

# Contextualising the Contrafacta of Trouvère Song

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*In memory of Ted and Michael Zajac, who had tough minds and tender hearts.*

## Abstract

Scholarship on medieval contrafacture has long been engaged in the *Kontrafakturjagd*, the hunt for songs whose textual and structural similarities suggest they might also share melodies. By making melodies freely exchangeable, this practice has tended to treat the music of medieval song as if it were an empty vessel, overlooking the ways in which contrafacta might construct musical meaning to serve various political, devotional, or aesthetic ends. Rather than making a case for contrafacture among songs whose shared melodies are questionable, this dissertation provides a context rich perspective on certain groups of ‘close contrafacta’—songs whose status as contrafacta is already known and supported by strong musical, textual, and contextual evidence. In five case studies, all of which take at least one song from the trouvère repertory, and which represent the most common contrafact genres—political *serventois*, Marian song, and crusade song—I consider the ways in which their melodies could signify. More specifically, I examine the interrelated layers of the melody’s performed sound structures, its cuing of previous texts on the listener, and its integration of old and new contexts.

The case studies reveal a culture that cared about melodic association and used it in sophisticated ways. In the first two chapters, which address political contrafacture, the music’s textual associations form a background against which the contrafact text reacts ironically, while its melodic origins evoke precise geopolitical loyalties or antagonisms. The third and fourth

chapters on Marian song, conversely, point toward efforts to intensify and develop a song's meaning through contrafacture, while the fifth chapter's contrafact text cites its own affective reason for melodic re-use. In all case studies, not only does the music cue text and context synoptically; its performed structures also intensify and subvert textual meanings, showing how music can enrich literary interpretations of medieval song.

## Acknowledgements

The fact that ‘hug-a-medievalist day’ exists and was created by medievalists probably says something about their gregariousness.<sup>1</sup> Having completed this doctorate in an institution with one of the highest concentrations of medievalists in the world, I can say that, if not *always* gregarious or huggable, the medievalists I have met are, without fail, academically kind. Foremost among these bearers of kindness is my supervisor, Elizabeth Eva Leach, without whose absolute intellectual integrity and steadfast encouragement this project would not have been possible.

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<sup>1</sup> For a fuller stereotype of the medievalist, see M. Halford, ‘Hug a Medievalist’, *New Yorker Magazine* (March 31, 2011), accessed 13 April 2017, at <http://www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/hug-a-medievalist>.

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## Abbreviations

- DMF* *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500), Analyse et traitement informatique de la langue Française*, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/>.
- Godefroy* Frédéric, Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle*, [https://www.classiques-garnier.com/numerique/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=58%3Agodefroy-dictionnaire-de-lancienne-langue-francaise&catid=33%3Acatalogue-bases-dicenc&Itemid=30](https://www.classiques-garnier.com/numerique/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=58%3Agodefroy-dictionnaire-de-lancienne-langue-francaise&catid=33%3Acatalogue-bases-dicenc&Itemid=30).
- Grove* Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell (eds.), *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.
- MGH SS* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum* (32 vols. in 34, Hanover, 1826-1934).
- OCM* Alison Latham (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Music*. [http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/public/book/omo\\_t114](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/public/book/omo_t114).
- RHGF* *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. M. Bouquet et. al. (24 vols., Paris, 1738-1904).
- RS* Refers to the Raynaud-Spanke system for numbering Old French songs, from Hans Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes* (Leiden, 1955).

## Manuscript Sigla

- A-Gu 409**—Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 409.
- CH-SGs 383**—St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 383.
- D-B Phill. Ms. 1996**—Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Ms. 1996.
- Dg-D**—Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, 2517-2518.
- Dg-M**—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 2163.
- Dg-o**—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 2193.
- Dg-S**—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, n.a.f. 24541.
- D-SI Ms.theol. 40**—Württembergische Landesbibliothek, theol. 40.
- F**—Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut.29.1.
- F-Lm 316**—Lille, Bibliothèque municipale, 316.
- F-Lm f.g. 50**—Lille, Bibliothèque municipale, fonds Godefroy 50.
- F-Pm 753**—Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 753.
- F-Pn fr. 5716**—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 5716.
- F-Pn lat. 4880**—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 4880.
- F-SOM 351**—Saint Omer, Bibliothèque de l’Agglomération de St-Omer, 351.
- GB-Lbl Burney 357**—London, British Library, Burney 357.
- GB-Lbl Royal 7.A.VI**—London, British Library, Royal 7.A.VI.
- GB-Ob Add. A.44**—Oxford, Bodleian Library, A.44.
- GB-Ob Douce 308**—Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308.
- TroubW**—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 844 (**TrouvM**).

**Trouva**—Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg.lat.1490.

**TrouvA**—Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, 657.

**TrouvC**—Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 389.

**TrouvD**— Frankfurt am Main, Stadtbibliothek, *olim* 29 (fragmentary, now unnumbered).

**TrouvF**—chansonier within London, British Library, Egerton 274.

**TrouvI**—chansonier within Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308.

**TrouvH**—Modena, Biblioteca estense universitaria, R4, 4.

**TrouvK**—Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, 5198.

**TrouvM**—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 844.

**TrouvN**—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 845.

**TrouvO**—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 846.

**TrouvP**—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 847.

**TrouvR**—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 1591.

**TrouvT**—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 12615.

**TrouvU**—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 20050.

**TrouvV**—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 24406.

**TrouvX**—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, n.a.fr. 1050.

**TrouvZ**—Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati, H.x.36.

**W1**—Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Helmstedt 628.

# Table of Contents

Introduction .....	13
1. Sources.....	19
2. Historiographical Overview .....	29
3. Methodological Approaches: Mapping Probabilities .....	43
4. Chapter Outline.....	51
5. Editorial Policies .....	54
5.1. Music.....	54
5.2. Text .....	57
Chapter 1: <i>Je chantaisse volentiers liement</i> and the Contrafacture of Baronial Revolt.....	59
1. Background.....	59
1.1 The Chastelain de Coucy.....	61
1.2 Musical Variation and Analysis of RS700 .....	63
2. RS699 in Context.....	72
2.1 <i>Dramatis personae</i> of the Baronial Revolt .....	78
2.2. Baronial Propaganda .....	83
2.3. Coucy's Legacy.....	85
2.4 Reading RS699.....	87
3. Conclusions .....	95
Chapter 2: Contrafacture and Combat: The Case of <i>Quant je pluz sui en paour de ma vie</i> .....	100
1. Background.....	100

1.1. Analysis of RS1227's Variation.....	103
1.2. Analysis of RS1227.....	107
1.3. RS1227: Between Bare Life and Sacrifice.....	110
2. RS1147.....	120
2.1. Judgement by Inquest.....	122
2.2. Sung Loyalty.....	133
3. The Jeu-parti and Verbal Combat.....	146
4. Conclusion.....	150
Chapter 3. Contrafacture as Theological Contemplation: A Conductus	
refashioned as both Marian song and <i>grand chant</i> .....	154
1. Background.....	154
1.1. RS885's Codicology.....	155
1.2. Musical Analysis of RS885.....	159
1.3. RS885's Text.....	162
2. <i>Sol sub nube latuit</i> .....	174
2.1. <i>Sol sub nube's</i> Codicological Contexts.....	181
3. RS1001: <i>Chanter et renvoisier sueil</i> .....	186
4. Conclusion.....	192
Chapter 4. The Contrafacture of Conversion: A Trouvère Song Adopted by	
Clerics.....	194
1. Background.....	194
1.1. RS711's Text.....	195
1.2. RS711's Music.....	199
2. RS709a.....	206

3. Ave Gemma.....	213
4. Conclusion .....	227
Chapter 5. Contrafacture and Authority in RS679 and RS358 .....	229
1. Background:.....	229
2. The Question of Homage.....	230
3. RS679's and RS358's Texts.....	234
4. Musical Analysis .....	240
5. Interpretations: Bringing Text and Music Together.....	244
6. Conclusion .....	252
Conclusion.....	254
Bibliography .....	261
Appendix 1: Manuscript Tables .....	284
Appendix 2.1: Musical Transcriptions for Chapter 1 .....	292
Appendix 2.2: Musical Transcriptions for Chapter 2.....	309
Appendix 2.3: Musical Transcriptions for Chapter 3.....	322
Appendix 2.4: Musical Transcriptions for Chapter 4.....	337
Appendix 2.5: Musical Transcriptions for Chapter 5.....	344
Appendix 3.1: Texts for Chapter 1 .....	353
Appendix 3.2: Texts for Chapter 2.....	359
Appendix 3.3: Texts for Chapter 3.....	370
Appendix 3.4: Texts for Chapter 4.....	377
Appendix 3.5: Texts for Chapter 5.....	382

## Introduction

One of the more memorable segments of BBC Radio 4's programme 'I'm Sorry I Haven't a Clue' features Victoria Wood singing the words from the theme of *Bob the Builder* to the tune of *I Dreamed a Dream*. The text and rhyme scheme from the children's show fit surprisingly well with *Les Misérables*' best-known melody. In her best musical theatre belt, Wood sings:

Bob the builder, can we fix it?  
Bob the builder, yes we can!  
Scooby, Muck, and Dizzy, Roley too,  
Lofty and Wendy join the crew.  
Bob and the gang have so much fun—  
Working together, they get the job done!  
Bob the builder, can we fix it?  
Bob the builder, yes we can, can, can, can, can!<sup>2</sup>

What makes this funny? The notion of humour as the coming together of opposites provides an apt starting point.<sup>3</sup> At a basic level, most listeners familiar with Western music conventions will register an incongruity between music and text: with its broad pace, stately syncopation, and melodramatic harmonic language, the music projects a sense of sentimentality, providing an uncharacteristically schmaltzy backdrop for Bob's pragmatic tasks. Part of the audience's delight also arises from

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<sup>2</sup> The performance is available on YouTube, accessed 30 January 2017, at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xw6hJrRy6xc>.

<sup>3</sup> This is known as the incongruous juxtaposition theory of humour, or what Francis Hutcheson described as our 'perception in the mind of something ludicrous'. See his *Philosophical Writings*, ed. R. S. Downie (London, 1994), p. 57.

hearing how well text and melody, despite their stylistic differences, fit together formally. That the text's first 'yes we can' coincides with an affecting move to II<sup>7</sup> earns a laugh from audience, as does the coincidence of the rhymes 'too' and 'crew' with the musical 'rhymes' governing those open and closed phrase endings. Wood exploits the music's sentimentality in performance, too: her emotive rendering of the last line's scalar rise on 'can, can, can...' earns the audience's biggest laughs. For listeners familiar with aspects of *I Dreamed a Dream*'s text, the humour of Wood's performance takes on further multivalence as intertextual comparison becomes possible: *I Dreamed a Dream*'s private, subjective voice contrasts with Bob and the gang's collective 'we', the latter deflating, and perhaps even satirising, the self-serious sentimentality of the former. Further layers of meaning and humour are available to those with a contextual knowledge of both songs—the tragic outcome of *I Dreamed a Dream*'s narrator lends bizarre pathos to Bob's building challenges, for example—so that impressions from the original song's music, text, and context influence the reactions of the most culturally informed listeners. For all members of the BBC's studio audience, however, the music of *I Dreamed a Dream* adds something that *Bob the Builder*'s text lacks on its own, and the effect is specific enough to evoke a response of laughter in everyone. This added component—whether it be (1) musical sounds and their culturally-bound associations, (2) the music's cuing of its original, remembered text, or (3) the music's remembered, previous contexts—signifies something for the

listener, and such meaning is, aside from the announcement of the songs' titles, expressed entirely musically.

This dissertation focuses on the contexts of contrafacture—the pairing of pre-existing melodies with new texts, a practice not so different from Wood's re-fashioning of *I Dreamed a Dream*. The historical period and cultural circumstances differ significantly, however: the contrafacta examined here are songs preserved from thirteenth-century France, most of their melodies originating in the trouvère repertory. Whereas the Wood example demonstrates contrafacture's humorous potential, these medieval contrafacta take on more varied, and often more serious, modes of musico-poetic playfulness. Some are *serventois*, serious political critiques reacting parodically or ironically against a courtly song text, while others tease out theological interpretations from the courtly chanson, subverting or extending its imagery for devotional ends, as in the clever Marian contrafacta of Gautier de Coinci.<sup>4</sup> In five case studies representing the most common contrafact genres—political *serventois*, Marian song, and crusade song—I aim to consider the contrafacta of this repertory with an openness to the possibility that song melodies meant something, in certain contexts, to medieval listeners, and that their re-use might be significant, even deliberate, subversive, or propagandist.

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<sup>4</sup> According to the late-thirteenth-century *Doctrina de compondre dictatz*, the *serventois* (*serventes* in Old Occitan) is so named 'because it serves and is subordinated to the song from which the melody and rhymes are taken, and because it must speak of lords or of vassals, blame or chastisement or praise or proofs, or of feats of arms or of war or of God or of laws or of justice' (trans. from Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1996), pp. 111-12. For the original text, see *ibid.*, pp. 111-12.

This departs from an early historiography on contrafacture, discussed further below, that sees the texts and melodies of medieval song as being empty of meaning. One feature used to support this historiographical view is song's strophic structure: if each stanza of a song's text is set to the same melody, regardless of how different those stanzas are in mood or subject matter, the music, in order to accommodate such varied texts, must be semantically neutral.<sup>5</sup> In other words, the apparent neutrality of contrafacture between stanzas can be extended to demonstrate the musical neutrality of contrafacture from song to song. The analogy between stanzas and songs breaks down, however, when considered from the perspective of performance: one of the most powerful effects of contrafacture, and one discussed further in the following chapters, is the process through which the listener comes to recognise the melody in its new textual disguise, something akin to what Sarah Kay has described using the Lacanian concept of the 'subject supposed to know', the experience of knowledge being difficult to locate because it is bound up with our desire and relationship with the O/other.<sup>6</sup> This unexpected moment of recognition is absent from stanza to stanza in a normal strophic song,

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<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of the problem of the stanza and musical meaning, see H. Tischler, 'Does Trouvère Melody Express Poetic Meanings?' *Orbis musicae* 10 (1990), pp. 87-97; L. Treitler, 'The Troubadours Singing their Poems', in R.A. Baltzer, T. Cable, and J.I. Wimsatt (eds.), *The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry* (Austin, 1991), pp. 15-14; and Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours*, p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> According to Jacques Lacan, knowledge begins at the moment the subject enters the Symbolic Order of language, which is also the moment in which the subject relinquishes their *jouissance*. See S. Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales: Troubadour Quotations and the Development of European Poetry* (Philadelphia, 2013), p. 19 and pp. 136-55.

where the listener expects the melody to be re-used with each strophe, and where there can be a teleological, or narrative, pull on the listener that prevents them from assigning the music-in-progress the kinds of lasting thematic associations one assigns to a song remembered in abstraction.

The view on the meaninglessness of strophic melodies also limits musical meaning to cases in which there is a written, mimetic relationship between text and melody: the thinking is that the same pitch patterns cannot possibly correspond to so many different textual situations laid out from stanza to stanza, so they must lack musical meaning. This denies the possibility that music, in order to signify, can do more than just imitate the text—that it can do what the text is not doing, and that the same music’s re-combination with different stanzas of text can, like reactants in a chemical reaction, produce something different in each case, which exceeds the sum of its parts. Certain aspects of the melody are perceived differently with each new stanza’s text, and a good performer can bring out these differences by varying their pace, tone, dynamic level, articulation, and body language between and within stanzas. Anyone familiar with variations in organ registration and dynamics between hymn verses knows this difference. In order for such difference to be accepted as real and worthy of musicological comment, however, the definition of music must be extended beyond music’s abstraction into pitches. And just as the stanza argument becomes untenable when taken out of abstraction and into concrete performance, so does the musical significance of contrafacture, like Victoria

Wood's radio segment, become increasingly accessible through a concretising awareness of its context.

The view of music underlying this project, therefore, is a broad one that includes pitches and their graphical representations, but considers equally the sound and performance of those pitches, their social, cultural, and political contexts, and the meanings, ambiguous or specific, that they may have symbolised for medieval subjects. By 'meanings', I refer to three interrelated layers: (1) the signifying potential of the melody's performed pitch-content and its effect on and relation to the text through which it is sounded; (2) the contrafact's capacity to evoke the melody's original text in the memory of the listening subject; and (3) the contextual significance of both model song and contrafact, cued by hearing their shared melody. These three layers reflect my primary interest in the meanings produced during the reception of contrafacta rather than during the creative process of making them. While a given group of contrafacta would have been composed in a definite, though not always linear, order, this was not necessarily the order in which audiences got to know those contrafacta. For this reason, establishing precise chronologies of contrafacta is not prioritised in the case studies, though I provide as much chronological information as possible for understanding the songs' contexts.

Meaning (1) is the most difficult layer to access methodologically, as it involves an analysis of melodies whose medieval aesthetic reception and structural understanding are largely lost, and whose monophonic nature precludes comparison with the various grammars of polyphonic music-

making from this period. What is available, however, is the notation of hundreds of trouvère songs, which can inform the analysis of specific cases.<sup>7</sup> Meanings (2) and (3) are accessed through analyses of the contrafact and model texts, historical sources relating to the songs' political, codicological, or authorial contexts, and the songs' placement and function within their own sources, outlined in the following section.

## **1. Sources**

The songs of the trouvère repertory are preserved in lavish chansonniers dating from the mid-thirteenth to early fourteenth centuries, at least thirty years after the first trouvères were active. The manuscripts are thus already a form of reception, and their diverse compilation patterns reflect the specific aims and concerns of their bookmakers. The books' material features reveal their status as luxury items commissioned by wealthy aristocratic and upper-bourgeois collectors: in general, both music and text are written by skilled scribes on generously marginated parchment; the songs are introduced with historiated initials and are often accompanied by gold-leaf illuminations depicting the trouvères. Based on linguistic and art-historical evidence, the provenances of these manuscripts have been traced to northeast France, specifically the region of Artois—the most affluent and densely populated region in Europe at the time, centred on Arras—as well as the regions of Picardy, Burgundy, and Lorraine.<sup>8</sup> The

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<sup>7</sup> My analytical and editorial approaches are discussed further in section 5.1 of this Introduction.

<sup>8</sup> On the provenances of a number of chansonniers, see A. Stones, 'Some Northern French Chansonniers and their Cultural Context', in B. Hagg and F.

manuscripts' datings and provenances are listed in Appendix 1. Where they exist, Schwan sigla are used throughout the dissertation, the prefix **Trouv-** appended to single sigla and dropped when aggregating groups of sigla. RISM sigla are used elsewhere.<sup>9</sup>

Whereas some of these sources contain songs exclusively, others have been bound or re-bound together with romances, motets, didactic works, and other courtly and devotional literature, certain combinations of which show an interest in intertextuality on the part of the compilers.<sup>10</sup> For songs that contain or were meant to contain notation, the staves are underlaid with the first stanza of each song's text, the remaining stanzas written out in blocks of text, so that the melody is sung from memory from the second stanza onward. As Sylvia Huot notes, although the song texts are verse poetry, they are not, as in romance verse, presented line by line on the page, but rather mixed within line breaks like prose. Each new stanza, however, is distinguished by its first initial, suggesting the melodic strophe rather than the poetic line is the basic meaningful unit of the song.<sup>11</sup>

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Billet (eds), *Ars septentrionalis* (Paris, 2010), pp. 169-87; and A. Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1260-1320: Part 1* (2 vols., London, 2013), ii. On the affluence of Arras, the economic hub of Artois and Flanders, see C. Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Arras* (Ithaca, 2007), p. 30.

<sup>9</sup> For a glossary of Schwan and RISM sigla used in this dissertation, see Manuscript Sigla on p. 8.

<sup>10</sup> **GB-Ob Douce 308** is one such example. See E.E. Leach, 'A Courtly Compilation: The Douce Chansonnier', in H. Deeming and E. E. Leach (eds.), *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 233.

<sup>11</sup> S. Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative* (Ithaca and London, 1987), p. 64.

The chansonniers are most commonly organised by author, alphabetical order, genre, or some combination of the three, sections by anonymous authors or with different organising principles often having been bound at the end, typically at a later stage. Songbooks organised by author tend to begin with trouvères of high aristocratic status and proceed in order of descending social rank. Recent literature has highlighted how the books' *compilatio*, *mise-en-page*, and presentation of trouvère portraits reflect notions of authorship: for example, Daniel E. O'Sullivan has noted that images of trouvères on horseback marked the bonds of chivalric service held exclusively by the aristocrat, that the alternation of genres within a single-author section could show off the trouvère's versatility, and that placing the songs of the most famous trouvères among those of more local, Arrageois authors could bolster the status of the latter.<sup>12</sup>

The chansonniers' music is codified in the conventional notation of chant—square notes—and, in one source, Messine neumes.<sup>13</sup> While many trouvères wrote devotional songs and there was plenty of musical crossover between the so-called secular and sacred spheres, song traditions were relatively distinct from those in which chant was performed and developed. The music of the trouvères is thus codified in a somewhat

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<sup>12</sup> On manuscript images and the *compilatio* of genres, see D. E. O'Sullivan, 'Thibaut de Champagne and Lyric *Auctoritas*', *Textual Cultures*, 8 (2013), pp. 31-49. On the integration of songs by aristocratic trouvères, particularly the jeux-partis of Thibaut de Champagne, among those of lesser known, urban trouvères in **Trouva** and **TrouvA**, see 'Words with Friends: Courtly Edition', in *Games and Gaming in Medieval Literature* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, and Hampshire, 2015), pp. 61-78.

<sup>13</sup> **TrouvU** is written in Messine neumes, which, like square notes, were used primarily for chant.

foreign ‘language’, which suggests both the degree of information lacking in song’s notational traces, as well as the redundancy, for medieval performers, of recording such information. The manuscripts’ general lack of wear and of notational amendment suggests they were not meant for sight reading, but cued music that was already known.<sup>14</sup> Like the manuscripts’ miniatures, the notation also added to the objects’ visual prestige, as evidenced by the ‘fake’ notation found in one manuscript.<sup>15</sup> The songbooks likely functioned as markers of status, used for display, impromptu performance, and discussion among their aristocratic patrons, as well as for the songs’ preservation. Within this context, scribal errors were likely not as relevant or important as they might seem to modern sight readers, though they are now crucial for analysing the songs’ dissemination.

One aspect of this underprescribed nature of the notation is its lack of codified rhythm. Ligatures indicate syllabic groupings rather than rhythmic patterns, and there is generally no discernible rule determining the stem length of stand-alone notes, which can vary between that of a punctum (breve), virga (long), or anything in between. In **TrouvO** and **TrouvM**, a limited number of songs show long-breve differentiation and can be read according to modal rhythm.<sup>16</sup> Matthew Thomson, who has documented the

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<sup>14</sup> On medieval musical notation as memory cue, see E.E. Leach, ‘Nature’s Forge and Mechanical Reproduction’, in M. Carruthers (ed.), *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 76-7.

<sup>15</sup> The manuscript in question is **Dg-o**, one of several sources transmitting the *Miracles* of Gautier de Coinci.

<sup>16</sup> For an analysis of **TrouvM**’s mensural additions, see J. Peraino, *New Music, Notions of Genre, and the “Manuscrit du Roi” circa 1300* (PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1995).

note forms throughout **TrouvO**, suggests that its seemingly mensural songs were copied from motets, given that **TrouvO** contains a motet section, and the only three songs with a particularly distinctive style of long-breve differentiation all have motet concordances.<sup>17</sup> As for the performance implications of the notes' rhythmic ambiguity, this issue has long divided musicologists.<sup>18</sup> The current consensus tends toward suspending the question of rhythm altogether: rhythmic singing is acknowledged as a possibility among certain song traditions, such as those related to the motet, but, as Hendrik van der Werf notes, the widely varied syllabic distribution of different source readings of the same song points toward performances that were 'not so precisely measured'.<sup>19</sup>

Some chansonniers preserve only partial notational traces. This is true of **TrouvC** and sections of **TrouvT** and **TrouvU**, which contain staves underlaid with texts but no notes. While these sources might be judged incomplete by modern scholars, the fact that they were kept for posterity

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<sup>17</sup> See Chapter 3 of M. Thomson, *Interaction between Polyphonic Motets and Monophonic Song in the Thirteenth Century* (D.Phil diss., University of Oxford, 2016). The modal rhythmic notation in **TrouvM** (**TroubW**) is a later addition toward the end of manuscript, written in a separate hand.

<sup>18</sup> For an overview of the historiography of rhythm in vernacular song, see J. Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadour and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 210-55.

<sup>19</sup> This argument is directed against earlier attempts to extrapolate poetic rhythm onto the music. See H. van der Werf, 'The "Not-so-precisely Measured" Music of the Middle Ages', *Performance Practice Review*, 1 (1988), pp. 44-9. Robert Lug has argued that song notation provides some, less strictly measured, rhythmic information, such as the inclusion of a doubled pitch in ligatures, which can support theories of 'micro-rhythm'. See R. Lug, 'Die Erfindung der modernen Notenschrift. Vorstadium und Beginn musikalischer Zeitmessung im 13. Jahrhundert', in E. Hess-Lüttich et al. (eds.), *Signs and Time—Zeit und Zeichen. An International Conference on the Semiotics of Time in Tübingen* (Tübingen, 1998), pp. 293-341.

speaks to their value as luxurious objects and the redundancy of notation among the books' well versed patron-collectors. Their lack of notes is also likely a product of the fact that music notators practiced a rarer skill than scribes, and were therefore in higher demand. Other manuscripts, such as **Trouvl**, the chansonnier within **GB-Ob Douce 308**, contain poetic texts but omit both staves and notation. Musicologists have tended to ignore such manuscripts under the assumption that the burden of proof for music making lies on the side of written notation. But, as Elizabeth Eva Leach has argued, these books contain other evidence for music-making: for example, **Trouvl**'s lyrics make frequent reference to singing; the source's surrounding narratives describe the kinds of musical activities in which the chansonnier's lyrics could be contextualised; and anyone who has sung from a noteless hymnbook or karaoke screen knows the effectiveness of text for cuing familiar or aurally learned songs.<sup>20</sup> Distinguishing between text and music manuscripts sets up a false dichotomy that denies certain musical possibilities, and for this reason, I have detailed the 'type of musical cue' for a given manuscript in Appendix 1 rather than assigning them 'text' or 'music' designations.

Despite the chansonniers' limits, notational or otherwise, in imparting musical information to modern scholars, each song is typically preserved in more than one source, providing valuable insight into its variation, errors, accidentals, and transmission. Schwan identified a complex network of

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<sup>20</sup> Leach, 'A Courtly Compilation', p. 233.

relationships between sources, which he grouped into two main stemmata:<sup>21</sup>

- Group 1 includes **TrouvK**, **TrouvN**, **TrouvX**, and **TrouvP** (the **KNXP** group), whose numerous shared songs, nearly identical in pitch content and note groupings, point toward a common exemplar.
- Group 2 includes **TrouvM**, **TrouvT**, **TrouvA**, and **Trouva**, most of which have connections with Arras and feature Arrageois trouvères alongside more aristocratic names.

Other sources have more complex relationships to these groups:

- The Burgundian source **TrouvO** traditionally belongs to Schwan's first group but has musical affinities with **TrouvM** and **TrouvT**.
- The Lorraine sources **TrouvU**, **TrouvC**, and **TrouvI** overlap significantly in the content of their songs.<sup>22</sup>
- **TrouvV** and **TrouvR** were copied with less attention to detail and contain several textual errors and anomalous song readings.<sup>23</sup> The latter half of **TrouvV** is related to the **KNXP** group in content, but, as will

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<sup>21</sup> See E. Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften* (Berlin, 1886).

<sup>22</sup> **TrouvI** and **TrouvC** have thirty-five concordances; **TrouvC** shares 211 songs with **TrouvU**; and **TrouvI** and **TrouvU** share eight songs (E. Doss-Quinby and S. N. Rosenberg, 'Introduction', in E. Doss-Quinby, S. N. Rosenberg, E. Aubrey (eds.), *The Old French Ballette: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308* (Geneva, 2006), p. lvii).

<sup>23</sup> M. O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 14-15.

become clear from my transcriptions, **TrouvV**'s frequent use of unique melodies sets it apart from the group musically.

The most common types of variation between sources involve differences in pitch content on syllables sung to two or more notes, as well as differences in syllable distribution over the same pitch contours, features that are not mutually exclusive: often, pitch variations on syllables occur when syllables are distributed differently over the same pitch patterns, likely a result of oral transmission, each singer or scribe having internalised the melody and applied it to new stanzas or texts in different ways. This phenomenon is difficult to see in transcriptions aligned by syllable, since they misalign the overall pitch contour of each version. For this reason, when similarities in pitch content between a song's sources are particularly obscured by its syllabic distribution, I have aligned the comparative transcription in question by pitch rather than syllable.<sup>24</sup>

A further sign of oral transmission is the tendency for repeated sections of a given song to show less variation than others. The most common overarching musical form of trouvère song is **XXY**, bar form, where the first section, **X**, is repeated once and followed by a new section of variable length, **Y**. This first section, **X**, typically comprises two musico-poetic lines, **ab**, so that the designation **XXY** can be broken down to **ababY**. While the music's structure often contains sophisticated patterns within the poetic line which transcend bar form, what is pertinent here is the fact that the **ab**

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<sup>24</sup> Transcriptions will be discussed further in section 5.1 of this Introduction.

sections are typically less varied than the **Y** sections, likely because they were sung and heard twice as often—a fact that would not make sense had the songs been copied solely from exemplars. (In this case, one would have to explain why the scribe varied to a greater extent the music of the **Y** section of each song they were copying.) This is not to say that the trouvères relied solely on oral transmission before the first extant sources appeared: as mentioned above, Schwan’s stemmata point toward several lost exemplars; moreover, John Haines and Elizabeth Eva Leach have argued for the existence of smaller, more provisional song booklets, which would explain similarities in order and content between localised sections of different manuscripts.<sup>25</sup> The notes that survive, therefore, are largely the outcome of an intricate combination of oral and literate traditions.

One aspect of variation that has some bearing on the transcription and analysis of this repertory is accidentals. A number of trouvère chansonniers begin their songs with *G* as a matter of convention, and their accidentals are scarce, appearing only to indicate exceptions to unwritten rules or to remind the reader of semitones already internalised from an oral tradition. **TrouvO**, a later manuscript from c.1300-1310, uses accidentals much more frequently throughout its songs, notating with more specificity music whose oral tradition is perhaps less easily remembered. One might take **TrouvO**’s semitones as indications of intervals that were known but not notated in

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<sup>25</sup> J. Haines, *Satire in the Songs of Renart le Nouvel* (Geneva, 2010), 89; E.E. Leach, ‘The Source Materials for Large Medieval Chansonniers’, accessed 28 December 2016, at <https://eeleach.wordpress.com/2016/08/22/the-source-materials-for-large-medieval-chansonniers/#more-1472>.

earlier sources. So, for example, a lack of *f#* in **KNXP** does not necessarily mean the *f* was not raised in performance. Because this implicit performance knowledge of accidentals is lost to modern musicologists, semitones should be approached with caution: an apparent difference in ‘modality’ between versions of the same song may have more to do with conventional differences in starting pitch.

Such variation between sources raises the question of what constitutes the ‘same’ melody, a crucial issue in any discussion of contrafacta. Because so many factors are at play in variation, establishing a universal boundary between notions of sameness and difference is difficult, if not impossible. An intuitive familiarity with the chansonnier sources, however, and with the features of variation outlined above, can help establish the likelihood that a melody’s variance is within the norms of the *trouvère* repertoire. If variation exceeds the common forms of syllabic redistribution and elaboration, if certain sections, especially the **ab** sections, are changed beyond recognition, or if the general melodic contour or poetic line length is no longer maintained, the melody’s ‘sameness’ is called into question, and other contextual or textual factors must be considered, factors discussed further in section 3 of this chapter. Potential errors can also provide insights: errors of a third or fifth, for example—occurring at manuscript line and clef changes where the scribe has orientated the notes one or two stave lines too high or low—can reveal scribal intentions nearer to those of the comparison melody’s scribe. Above all, as Daniel E. O’Sullivan has argued, determining ‘significant’ variance in music, as in text, requires a

knowledge of the immediate melodic context—it depends on the musical terms set up by the song itself.<sup>26</sup> On the continuum of melodic sameness to difference, then, where verbatim note copying—such as that found in **KNXP**—defines one end, and completely different melodies—such as some of those in **TrouvV**—define the other, the somewhat amorphous point at which two melodies’ equivalence goes from being probable to arguable is where the melody’s variance exceeds the repertory’s most common types and degrees of variation. Since my aim is to discuss the significance of clear cases of contrafacta rather than argue for new ones, my case studies focus on melodies whose equivalence is highly probable; the historiographical grounds on which I do this are the subject of the following section.

## 2. Historiographical Overview

With its synergetic fusion of text and melody, song cannot be easily contained within the disciplines of the modern university, and, as the following section aims to demonstrate, certain methodological assumptions underpinning the study of contrafacture arise from academia’s disciplinary isolationism. The earliest modern scholars of medieval lyric, however, were antiquarians and philologists with relatively polymathic tendencies: from 1702 onward, figures such as Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni, Lavesque de LaRavallière, Charles Burney, Jean-Benjamin de Laborde, and Heinrich

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<sup>26</sup> D.E. O’Sullivan, ‘Editing Melodic Variance in Trouvère Song’, *Textual Cultures*, 3 (2008), pp. 61-4.

Friedrich von der Hagen produced philological studies and textual editions of vernacular poetry that included anything from diplomatic transcriptions of the melodies to stylised musical editions with piano accompaniment.<sup>27</sup> The nineteenth-century philologists Wilhelm Wackernagel and Paul Meyer, moreover, linked instances of melodic re-use with cases of textual parody, formal imitation, and re-fashioning into Marian song; these connections were made not through an examination of the notes, however, but rather through certain uncanny resemblances between the textual phrases and versification patterns of different lyrics, as well as through manuscript rubrics instructing that poems be sung ‘to the tune of’ other songs.<sup>28</sup> Meyer, along with the philologist Karl Bartsch, focused on such instances of formal imitation in order to track poetic influence both within and across vernacular

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<sup>27</sup> On the early editions by Crescimbeni, LaRavallière, Burney, and Laborde, see J. Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères*, pp. 109-20. On Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen’s four-volume edition of Middle High German song, which includes musical transcriptions from the Jenaer Liederhandschrift, see E. Grunewald, *Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, 1780-1856: Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte der Germanistik* (Berlin and New York, 1988), pp. 193-6.

<sup>28</sup> By this time the medieval phenomenon of textual re-fashioning and melodic re-use was common knowledge. In his ‘Types de quelques chansons de Gautier de Coinci’, *Romania*, 17 (1888), pp. 429-37, Paul Meyer writes, ‘On sait qu’il a été d’usage, au moyen âge comme au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle et comme encore de nos jours, d’adapter des paroles pieuses à des melodies profanes et jouissant d’une certaine popularité. Cette operation entraîne nécessairement l’adoption de la forme rythmique à laquelle s’appliquait la mélodie empruntée’ (It is well known that it was customary in the Middle Ages, as in the sixteenth century, and as in our own day, to adapt devotional texts onto profane melodies, [a practice that] enjoyed a certain popularity. This practice necessarily entails the adoption of the rhythmic form to which the borrowed melody applies). Meyer then connects six Marian songs by Gautier de Coinci to their courtly models on the basis of their shared versifications and textual phrases. Wackernagel, whom Meyer cites, identifies the Marian song RS1856 by Jacques de Cambrai as using a melody by Thibaut de Champagne based on RS1856’s rubric in **TrouvC**, which reads ‘ou chant tuit mi desir’. See W. Wackernagel, *Altfranzösische Lieder und Leiche: aus Handschriften zu Bern und Neuenburg* (Basel, 1846), pp. 67 and 184.

repertoires, an exercise motivated as much by historical interest as by a nationalistic desire to recognise innovation where it was due.<sup>29</sup> In 1855, Bartsch noted certain correspondences between the poetic forms of *trouvère* and Middle High German songs in a short article appearing in the first volume of *Germania*.<sup>30</sup> He followed this with a more specific article in 1859 on the thematic and formal influence of *trouvère* and troubadour poems on the poetry of Rudolph von Neuenberg.<sup>31</sup> Notably, the term *Kontrafaktur* does not yet appear here. Bartsch, like Wackernagel before him and Hans Spanke after him, used the word *Nachahmung* (imitation) to describe what he saw as the medieval process of borrowing formal structures from poetic *Vorbilder*.<sup>32</sup> In 1890, Meyer took up the task of tracking poems with the same versification in the troubadour and *trouvère* repertoires as part of an article on the historical, literary, and documentary evidence of contact between the two traditions.<sup>33</sup> This interest in poetic

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<sup>29</sup> Meyer's 'Des rapports de la Poésie des trouvères avec celle des troubadours' begins by defending the originality of French poetry: 'notre ancienne poésie lyrique...offre assez de variété pour qu'on ne lui assigne pas une origine unique; qu'elle est, en général, aussi originale au nord qu'au sud...' (Our old lyric poetry... offers enough variety so that no one assigns it a single origin; it is, in general, just as original in the north as in the south') See Meyer, 'Des rapports de la poésie des Trouvères avec celle des Troubadours,' *Romania*, 19 (1890), p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> K. Bartsch, 'Nachahmungen provenzalischer Poesie im Deutschen', *Germania*, 1 (1856), pp. 480-82.

<sup>31</sup> K. Bartsch, 'Über den grafen Rudolf von Neuenburg', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, 11 (1859), pp. 145-62.

<sup>32</sup> Spanke's work on melodic and metrical re-use includes 'Das öftere Auftreten von Strophenformen und Melodien in der altfranzösischen Lyrik', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 51 (1928), pp. 73-117; 'Romanische mittellateinische Formen in der Metrik von Minnesangs Frühling', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 49 (1929), pp. 191-235; and *Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Metrik und Musik* (Berlin, 1936).

<sup>33</sup> Meyer, 'Des Rapports', pp. 11-32.

structure, first studied under a national-romantic impulse to track artistic influence, continued into the twentieth century alongside the formalist perspectives of scholars like Robert Guiette, Roger Dragonetti, Paul Zumthor, Ulrich Mölk, and Friedrich Wolfzettel, who valued the capacity for aesthetic meaning of the poems' diverse formal elements over their repetitive semantic content.<sup>34</sup>

Friedrich Gennrich's first article on contrafacture, published in 1918, can be seen in continuity with the work earlier philologists had done on versification. Gennrich, like Bartsch and Meyer, was interested in tracking the influence of formal structures within and across vernacular repertoires. But Gennrich also called for the inclusion of notated music in new editions of troubadour and trouvère poetry in order to aid in the analysis of the poems' versification.<sup>35</sup> Gennrich's article shows how melody can act as a

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<sup>34</sup> According to Guiette, 'Dans le cas de la chanson courtoise... il paraît clair qu'il dut y avoir une valeur perceptible sur le plan esthétique, sur le plan formel, qui pût, seule, justifier l'intérêt que suscita le genre' (In the case of courtly song, it seems clear that there must have been a perceptible aesthetic value, on the formal level, which could alone justify the interests aroused by the genre) (R. Guiette, *D'une poésie formelle en France au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1972), p. 61). See also Roger Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise* (Bruges, 1960); P. Zumthor, *Langue et techniques poétiques à l'époque romane (XIe-XIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1963); U. Mölk and F. Wolfzettel (eds.), *Répertoire métrique de la poésie lyrique française des origines à 1350* (Munich, 1972). On formalism as a point of departure from romanticism's concern with originality of content, and on modern music's influence on formalism, see E.E. Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (Ithaca and London, 2011), pp. 45-6.

<sup>35</sup> Among the editions Gennrich mentions featuring both text and music are Coussemaker's edition of Adam de la Halle's music published half a century earlier, and editions of French lyric poetry published more recently by Jeanroy, Brandin, Aubry, Bédier, and Beck (see F. Gennrich, 'Die Musik als Hilfswissenschaft der romanischen Philologie', *Zeitschrift für Philologie*, 39 (1918), pp. 331-3). Gennrich disagrees, however, with the way some of these earlier scholars rendered the music into modern notation (*ibid.*, p. 331).

tool to determine the validity of a supposed model's influence on the versification of an imitation. He examines the melodies of troubadour and trouvère poems to distinguish between poems that adopt the melodies of their respective models and those that have only textual forms in common. His method hinges upon the idea that if the replicated textual forms were really made from the purported original texts, then the melodies between them would have to match.<sup>36</sup> Poems with matching melodies he calls *Kontrafakta*, which he defines as 'Lieder... die in bewußter Anlehnung an irgend ein berühmtes oder bekanntes Vorbild nachgebildet wurden' (Songs that were modelled with conscious reference to any well-known example).<sup>37</sup>

Robert Falck has shown that Gennrich likely borrowed the term *Kontrafakta* from Kurt Hennig, who had published a dissertation a decade earlier on the Reformation practice of re-texting secular songs into sacred ones. Hennig's use of the term is historical; he takes the word from a rubric found in the fifteenth-century Pfullinger manuscript (**D-SI Ms.theol.40**).<sup>38</sup> The rubric presents the text of a devotional song modelled on the text of the anti-clerical song 'Es hat ein man sin wip verloren', which appears as follows: 'Es hat ein man sin wip verloren/ contrafact uff einen geistlichen sinn.' Two other devotional poems in the manuscript are simply labeled

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<sup>36</sup> Gennrich, *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters* (Frankfurt, 1965), pp. 1-2.

<sup>37</sup> Gennrich, 'Die Musik als Hilfswissenschaft', p. 333.

<sup>38</sup> Robert Falck, 'Parody and Contrafactum: A Terminological Clarification', *The Musical Quarterly*, 65 (1979), p. 13.

‘contrafactum’. They might have been sung, but are lacking extant, contemporary melodies. The melodies, however, are not necessarily relevant to the definition of contrafacture suggested in this manuscript because, as Falck points out, ‘it is not the melody that is the object of the contrafactum’, but rather ‘the text, which is changed – “counterfeited”- to “a sacred meaning” (“einen geistlichen sinn”)’.<sup>39</sup> Hennig, therefore, provides a definition of contrafacture that is correspondingly textual and specific in terms of direction: ‘to recast a secular poem as a sacred one’.<sup>40</sup>

While Gennrich adopted and expanded this definition into a musicological concept, literary scholars also adopted the term, secularising it to denote the intertextual imitation of a given literary template.<sup>41</sup> The result is that there are at least three conceptions of contrafacture in modern scholarship: the ‘historical’ term implying a movement from secular to sacred, the musical term denoting the re-texting of a pre-existing melody, and the literary term referring to the imitation of a pre-existing text. Georg von Dadelsen’s article on Contrafacture in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* summarises this ambiguity:

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<sup>39</sup> Falck, ‘Parody and Contrafactum’, p. 14.

<sup>40</sup> Falck, ‘Parody and Contrafactum’, p. 18. Falck is paraphrasing K. Hennig, *Die geistliche Kontrafaktur im Jahrhundert der Reformation* (Halle, 1909), p. 8. Notably, Hennig also describes contrafacta as conscious adaptations: ‘Den geistlichen Dichtungen muß ein bestimmtes weltliches Lied zugrunde liegen, an das der geistliche Liederdichter in irgend einer Weise mit Bewußtsein anknüpft’ (The sacred poem must be based on a secular song, to which the sacred text’s poet composes in a conscious way) (Hennig, *Die geistliche Kontrafaktur*, p. 7).

<sup>41</sup> For a discussion of the literary definition, see S. Kluwe, ‘E. T. A. Hoffmanns Kontrafakturprinzip: Ein Deutungsansatz zum Goldenen Topf’, in Hartmut Steinecke and Detlef Kremer (eds.), *E. T. A. Hoffman-Jahrbuch 2008* (Berlin, 2008), pp. 70-2.

Kontrafaktur bedeutet hist. zunächst offenbar die geistl. Umtextierung eines weltl. Liedes, wird aber in der neueren Lit. allgemeiner als die Ersetzung einer sprachgebundenen geistigen Aussage unter Wahrung der ursprünglichen Aussageform verstanden. Im mus. Fall bedeutet Kontrafaktur dann die Unterlegung eines neuen Textes unter einer mehrst. Vokalkompos. oder die Nachdichtung (Paraphrase, freie Nachbildung) oder Umdichtung eines Liedtextes zu einer unverändert übernommenen Liedweise, im literaturwiss. Bereich die ernste Nachdichtung einer literarischen Vorlage unter völliger oder weitgehender Wahrung des Inh. und der poetischen Form.<sup>42</sup>

To complicate matters further, the ‘historical’ definition of contrafacture can be expanded beyond the sacred/secular re-texting encountered by Hennig: the Latin verb *contrafacere* and its vernacular variants appear in medieval sources in a much wider range of contexts than the musico-literary ones defined above. The term’s meaning could range from the ‘substitution of words or phrases’ from a model text<sup>43</sup>, the sense in which Hennig found the term in **D-Sl Ms. Theol 40, 190**, to the making of an artistic likeness, or the process of making a ‘counterfeit’ (*contrefaiture*)—an act that emphasises superficial mimicry over capturing a thing’s inner essence.<sup>44</sup> All of these

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<sup>42</sup> ‘Contrafacture means, firstly in a historical sense, the sacred re-texting of a secular song, but in newer literature has come to be understood in a general sense as the replacement of one language-bound, intelligible statement with another which preserves the original’s form. In musical cases contrafacture means, then, the underlay of a new text in a [pre-existing] polyphonic (mehrstimmigen) vocal composition or the imitation (paraphrase, free adaptation) of a song text to an unchanged, borrowed melody (Liedweise). In literary studies, it refers to the serious paraphrasing of a literary model with complete or substantial preservation of the content or poetic form’ (G. von Dadelsen, ‘Parodie und Kontrafaktur’, in F. Blume and L. Finscher (eds.), *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Sachteil*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (9 vols., Kassel, London, and Stuttgart, 1994-2008), ix, col. 1395.

<sup>43</sup> Falck, ‘Parody and Contrafacture’, p. 13.

<sup>44</sup> G. Rector, ‘Courtly Romance, the Vernacular Psalms, and Generic Contrafaction’, *Viator*, 42 (2014), pp. 117-148, at p. 119. See also E.E. Leach, ‘Music and Verbal Meaning: Machaut’s Polytextual Songs’, *Speculum*, 85 (2010), pp. 567-91 at p. 582.

medieval uses are comparative in nature—neither a textual imitation, artistic likeness, or so-called ‘counterfeit’ can be fully understood without reference to something else. Geoff Rector, outlining instances of the Old French verb *contrefar*, sees the word’s etymological roots as ‘speaking to the face-to-face intimacy of things made or placed (*-far*) beside or against or with (*contra-*) one another’.<sup>45</sup> This observation anticipates his notion of literary contrafacta as belonging to what George Edmondson calls a ‘literary neighbourhood’, in which texts develop ethical and aesthetic relationships with one another based on their proximity.<sup>46</sup> While Rector’s etymologically inspired understanding of contrafacture is deeply literary and intertextual, the notion of things placed ‘against’ or ‘beside’ each other also applies to the musicological definition of contrafacture: what both disciplinary definitions have in common is a certain fixity of form, whether it be achieved by imitating a specific versification pattern or word structure, fitting different texts to the same melody, or a combination of both. By encouraging the expectation of sameness, these formal continuities draw attention to difference, constituting the core of contrafacture’s referential poetics. The difference between the disciplines is the medium of imitation: for what I call ‘musical contrafacta’—the subject of this dissertation—the necessary feature is the shared melody; for literary contrafacta, it is the imitated text.

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<sup>45</sup> Rector, ‘Generic Contrafaction’, p. 117.

<sup>46</sup> Rector, ‘Generic Contrafaction’, p. 119.

While the conflation of these two definitions had already occurred implicitly in the work of Meyer and Wackernagel, who assumed that musical contrafacta shared versification patterns, such conflation was made explicit in Gennrich's work on the Middle High German (MHG) song repertory. After introducing song melodies as a necessary check to determine whether poems with the same versification were musical contrafacta, Gennrich began to project those same melodies onto unnotated songs with the same versification, which he also called contrafacta. This circular reasoning emerged in an article he published on contrafacture in 1924/25 entitled 'Sieben Melodien zu mittelhochdeutschen Minneliedern' (Seven Melodies for Middle High German Love Songs).<sup>47</sup> The article aims to provide music for the MHG repertory, of which there is little extant musical notation, by projecting troubadour and trouvère melodies onto MHG song texts that share their versification, specifically their rhyme scheme, syllable count, and strophic structure. Gennrich acknowledged that he was not able to verify his hypothesis of contrafacture 'because of the almost complete lack of melodies to the German songs of this first period'.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless he asserted that his hypothesis had a 'large degree of probability', which he justified by the ease with which the *Minnesang* texts could be fitted to their imported melodies.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> F. Gennrich, 'Sieben Melodien zu mittelhochdeutschen Minneliedern', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 7 (1924/25), pp. 65-98.

<sup>48</sup> H. Hope, *Constructing Minnesang Musically* (D.Phil diss., University of Oxford, 2013), pp. 116-17.

<sup>49</sup> Hope, *Constructing Minnesang Musically*, p. 117. English translations by Hope.

Henry Hope has shown how Gennrich's insistence on borrowing French and Occitan melodies for unnotated MHG songs was ultimately rooted in an attitude that saw medieval German culture as derivative of, and inferior to, French and Occitan culture, despite Gennrich's own, contradictory attempts to elevate the artistic status of *Minnesang*. Gennrich, who was trained as a Romanist, viewed Paris as the cultural capital of medieval Europe. And although he believed there had been a mutual cultural exchange between the Occitan and French musical traditions, his accounts of France and Occitania's influence on German music were always one-directional.<sup>50</sup> At the same time, he argued for the superiority of vernacular monophonic music against the polyphonic secular music engaging his contemporaries, and he aspired to reconstruct a complete canon of German, French, and Occitan monophonic music to support his cause.<sup>51</sup> Hunting for contrafacta (the *Kontrafakturjagd*) was an essential element of this project of completion, not just for the MHG song repertory, but for any unnotated medieval song.<sup>52</sup>

Despite criticism from musicologists and philologists such as Hans Spanke, Ursula Aarburg, Robert Falck, and James V. McMahon, Gennrich's practice of applying melodies to poems with the same versification has had a significant influence on the modern discourse of

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<sup>50</sup> Hope, *Constructing Minnesang Musically*, p. 170.

<sup>51</sup> Hope, *Constructing Minnesang Musically*, p. 173.

<sup>52</sup> Gennrich, *Die Kontrafaktur*, p. 2.

contrafacture.<sup>53</sup> For example, looking at the most general refraction of the term ‘contrafactum’ in the common-usage *Oxford Companion to Music* yields the following description:

Contrafacta make up a significant portion of the surviving repertoires of 12th- and 13th-century Western monophonic secular song (i.e. of the troubadours, trouvères, and Minnesänger), enabling a limited group of melodies to be applied to a much larger body of texts with the same rhyme scheme.<sup>54</sup>

The writer concludes that melodies can be applied to unnotated poems with the same versification based on the premise that contrafacta, which he defines as vocal pieces ‘in which the original text is replaced by a new one’, make up a significant portion of these repertoires. In other words, since there is a large proportion of musical contrafacta, then there is a high probability that any two poems with the same versification will also share melodies. The phrase ‘can be applied’ may denote performance possibilities rather than musicological truth claims—that is, if a person wants to add music to poems lacking notation for performance, a notated song with the same versification makes this possible. But if the passage is instead describing the possibility of making musicological claims of

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<sup>53</sup> Ursula Aarburg proposed different categories of probability for potential contrafacta lacking notated melodies. Her criteria were based on the degree of textual and metrical resemblance between the alleged model and its imitation and the rarity of the versification pattern in question. See her ‘Melodien zum frühen deutschen Minnesang’, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 87 (1956/57), pp. 24-45. See also Spanke, ‘Das öftere Auftreten’, pp. 95-7; R. Falck and Martin Picker, ‘Contrafactum’, in *Grove*; and J.V. McMahon, ‘Contrafacture vs. Common Melodic Motives in Walther von Der Vogelweide’s “Palästinalied”’, *Revue belge de musicologie*, 36/38 (1982/84), pp. 8-9.

<sup>54</sup> Alex Lingas, ‘Contrafactum’, in *OCM*.

contrafacture, it assumes, again, that musical contrafacture's frequent re-use of versification is a biconditional phenomenon—that is, that shared versification structures, in turn, also frequently share melodies.<sup>55</sup> Such an assumption ignores the phenomenon of multiple melodic settings of the same text: if a given versification pattern appears with more than one melody, the question of which one to pair with other noteless texts of the same versification complicates the *Kontrafaktorjagd*.<sup>56</sup> Elizabeth Aubrey articulates this assumption more explicitly in her article 'The dialectic between Occitania and France in the Thirteenth Century':

In *contrafacta*, where the poetic structure of the imitated song was retained it is assumed that the melody also was borrowed, since the musical structure is so intimately tied to the syllable and verse number of the poem.<sup>57</sup>

This principle also informs Hans Tischler's sixteen-volume edition of trouvère songs, which groups the manuscript variants and contrafacta of each trouvère melody onto common systems for easy comparison. Many of the 'contrafacta' Tischler includes, however, are unnotated songs from both the trouvère and MHG song repertoires that share the same versification.

In a paragraph in his introduction, Tischler explains:

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<sup>55</sup> Gennrich codified this assumption in his terminology by denoting musical contrafacta with the same versification as *Reguläre Kontrafaktor* (Gennrich, *Die Kontrafaktor*, p. 48). In one of the largest contrafact groups, however, that of *Can vei la lauzeta mover*, the song texts use different rhyme schemes, a fact of which Gennrich was aware. See his *Die Kontrafaktor*, p.132.

<sup>56</sup> Gennrich referred to such songs as *Kontraposita*. See his *Die Kontrafaktor*, pp. 177-83.

<sup>57</sup> E. Aubrey, 'The Dialectic between Occitania and France in the Thirteenth Century', *Early Music History*, 16 (1997), p. 4.

Where a text without extant notation seems to be a contrafactum of one with music, it is given below the text of the basic version; where the same melody is set to different texts, all its versions are vertically coordinated with the basic version, but on separate staves.<sup>58</sup>

While there is clearly some benefit to presenting ‘potential’ contrafacta alongside ‘proven’ contrafacta—namely that the reader can consider the potential material for further investigation—the inclusion of unnotated or incomprehensibly-notated songs in musicological lists of contrafacta can lead to misunderstandings. One such example is RS1887, a song tentatively belonging to the group of contrafacta discussed in the dissertation’s first chapter, which share a melody with RS700, a song attributed to the Chastelain de Coucy. Hans-Herbert Räkel claims that RS1887 is ‘probably’ (*wohl*) a musical contrafact of RS700, despite the fact that RS1887 is only notated in **TrouvV**, whose divergent melodic readings are well known, and whose melody bears little resemblance either to RS700’s melody as it appears in other manuscripts, or to RS700’s melody within **TrouvV** itself, which is unique.<sup>59</sup> Räkel calls **TrouvV**’s reading of RS1887 a *Kontrapositum*, a term coined by Gennrich referring to the inversion of contrafacture, when an equivalent text has more than one melody. Räkel attributes **TrouvV**’s ‘alternative’ melodic reading of RS1887

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<sup>58</sup> *Trouvère lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, ed. H. Tischler (Neuhausen and Middleton, 1997), p. 6.

<sup>59</sup> See H.-H. S. Räkel, *Die musikalische Erscheinungsform der Trouvèrepoesie* (Bern, 1977), p. 59. Räkel does not include musical transcriptions of the melodies in question. However, my own transcription of RS700 and RS1887 in **TrouvV**, along with a transcription of RS700 from **TrouvA**, can be found in Appendix 2.1e.

to an unreliable scribe.<sup>60</sup> Such a characterization assumes, however, that RS1887's rightful melody is that of RS700, an assumption lacking the evidence of musical notation. Although Räkel does not clarify his grounds for designating RS1887 as a *Kontrapositum* of RS700, he has likely matched the two songs together based on their shared versification: Joseph Bédier and Pierre Aubry had previously listed RS700 as a poetic model for RS1887 at the suggestion of M. Alfred Jeanroy, since RS1887 replicates the complex *coblas capcaudadas* rhyme scheme of RS700.<sup>61</sup>

Despite being invoked without musical evidence, the term *Kontrapositum* gives Räkel's assertion an air of musicological authority. In an article arguing for Raoul de Soissons' authorship of RS1887's text, Ineke Hardy writes:

It may be noted that, according to Hans-Herbert Räkel, 'Nus ne poroit' [RS1887] was most likely sung to the melody of [RS]700, a song by the Chastelain de Couci which served as the model for 'Nus ne poroit'. In Räkel's opinion, the melody given in V [**TrouvV**] represents the substitution of a "zusammenhangloses Kontrapositum" for the original melody.<sup>62</sup>

Hardy does not explain what a 'zusammenhangloses Kontrapositum' is, probably because Räkel himself offers no definition; she allows the

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<sup>60</sup> Räkel, *Die musikalische Erscheinungsform*, p. 59. The fact that he initially describes the *Kontrapositum* as being 'zusammenhangloses' (incoherent) suggests he considers **TrouvV**'s melody to be erroneous rather than a viable alternative reading.

<sup>61</sup> J. Bédier and P. Aubry, *Chansons de croisade* (Paris, 1909), p. 260. Notably, Gennrich himself does not include RS1887 among the contrafacta or *Kontraposita* of RS700 in his *Die Kontrafaktur*.

<sup>62</sup> I. Hardy, 'Nus ne poroit de mauvaise raison: A Case for Raoul de Soissons', *Medium Ævum*, 70 (2001), p. 98.

musicological term to stand on its own. In a footnote, she recognises that Bédier and Aubry were the first to propose RS700 as a poetic model for RS1887.<sup>63</sup> That Hardy includes Râkel's musicological argument in addition to Bédier's and Aubry's metrical link suggests that she believes Râkel has independent musical reasons for assigning the term *Kontrapositum* to RS1887. Incidentally, Hardy herself unwittingly challenges Gennrich's practice of projection by showing that six of Raoul de Soissons' other decasyllabic songs adopt RS700's *coblas capcaudadas* rhyme scheme without adopting RS700's melody.<sup>64</sup> Yet, as discussed above, it seems that Râkel has already adopted Bédier's and Aubry's metrical link to project RS700's melody onto RS1887, and then interpreted **TrouvV**'s unreliable musical notation to support his assumption. In this case, the musicological convention of projecting melodies onto unnotated songs with the same versification has prompted a misunderstanding between musicologists and literary scholars: A textual link between poems is couched in musicological terms, creating the impression of musical evidence where little exists.

### **3. Methodological Approaches: Mapping Probabilities**

Misunderstandings like the one above provoke the question of how musicologists can gauge the likelihood of musical contrafacture based on the extent and quality of different types of evidence. So far, I have

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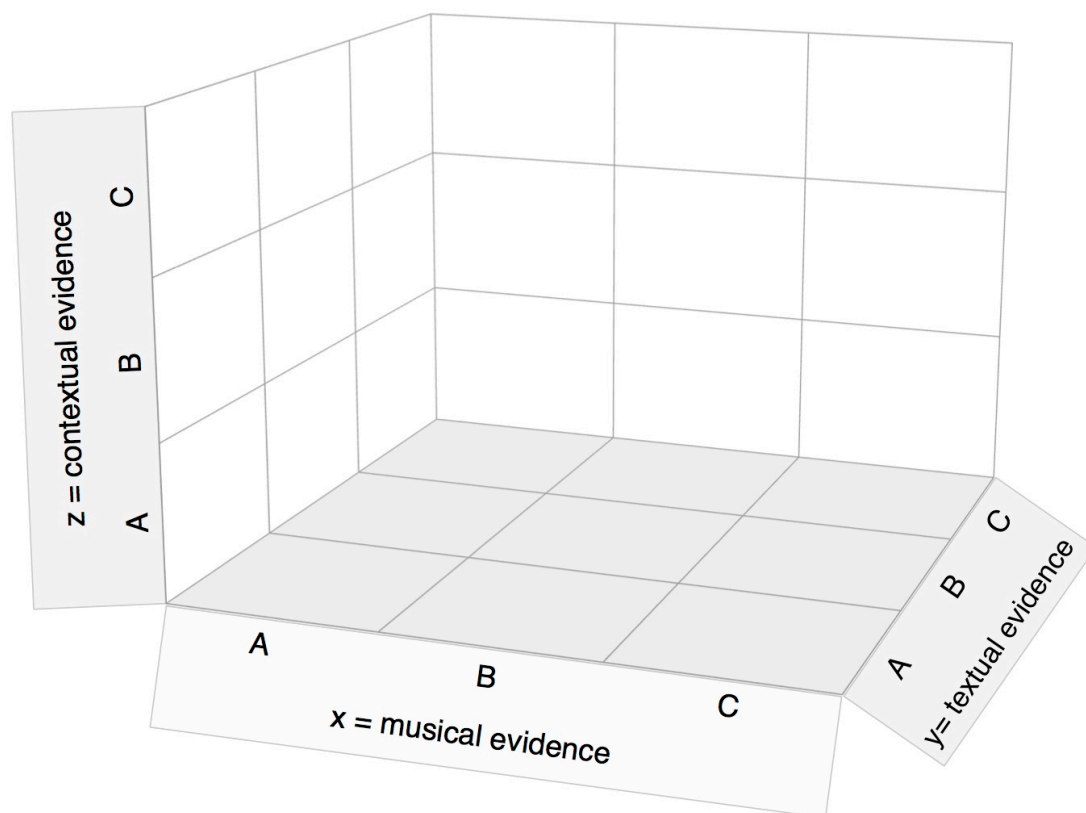
<sup>63</sup> Hardy, 'Nus ne poroit', p. 111, n. 59.

<sup>64</sup> Hardy, 'Nus ne poroit', p. 104. The songs are RS363, RS767, RS929, RS1154, RS1970, and RS2063. Of these six, RS363 and RS767 share the same rhyme sounds as RS700.

described how earlier scholars made claims of musical contrafacture based on textual versification—when poems shared rhyme scheme, syllable count, and strophic structure—as well as with musical evidence, when the melodies of two or more songs matched. This focus on textual and musical form reflects the formalist and typological interests of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century philologists and musicologists. But there are other kinds of evidence that can reinforce or undermine a hypothesis of musical contrafacture. These include, for example, links between the historical and geographical milieux of the songs in question, established through historical accounts and codicological analyses of song rubrics, organization, and layout, as well as internal historical evidence, quotation, and citation within the song texts. This latter group of evidence involving the semantic content of the texts I group under textual evidence, while the first group—historical and geographical links gathered through contemporary accounts and codicological analysis—I group under the term contextual evidence. There are three main types of evidence, then, in this model: musical, textual, and contextual.

In order to consider all three types of evidence simultaneously, I suggest visualising them as three axes on a graph, the x-axis indicating musical evidence, the y-axis indicating textual evidence, and the z-axis indicating contextual evidence, as shown in **Figure 1**. Each axis has three categories of probability, A, B, and C, which radiate outward from the graph's origin in a sequence that maps spatially one contrafact's relative closeness to another. The first category of the x-axis, musical evidence,

consists of provable cases of musical contrafacta, namely texts with notated melodies that do not require sustained argument or analysis to show that they are the same, and whose melodic variation does not exceed



**Figure 1: Contrafact Graph Setup**

the norms outlined at the end of section 1.1. This category also includes texts with scribal instructions to be sung to the melody of a particular song, where a melodic incipit is provided that replicates the opening of the model song's melody. These latter cases may only be included if the model song has an extant, notated melody.

Category B on the x-axis consists of arguable cases of musical contrafacture. A case is arguable if a given song and its potential contrafact have reliable, notated melodies resembling each other to various degrees.

In this category, the notated motivic material of the model and its potential contrafact is similar, but requires argument and analysis to show that both melodies might have evolved from a common song. Gennrich's designations for contrafacture referring to looser imitations of a model melody—*Entlehnung* (borrowing) and certain types of *irreguläre Kontrafaktur* (contrafacture where only parts of the melody are imitated)—can also be included in this category.<sup>65</sup>

Category C on the x-axis denotes possible but unprovable cases of contrafacture. The most obvious cases included in this category are unnotated songs with the same versification. Since there is no statistical information on whether songs sharing any or all aspects of their versification have a greater probability of being contrafacta, it is uncertain where, exactly, their relative placement in Category C would be. Although they may not have a relative placement on the x-axis, however, their textual features provide them with a relative placement on the y-axis, where textual evidence is mapped. Including unnotated songs as possibilities reinforces their status as music worthy of study by musicologists rather than just by literary scholars, and acknowledges the fact that texts with the same rhyme scheme and syllable count make a shared melody possible.

Category C also includes unnotated texts with scribal instructions indicating that the texts be sung to a pre-existing melody, of which only a textual incipit or title is provided. A given song text might have multiple

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<sup>65</sup> For *Entlehnung*, see Gennrich, *Die Kontrafaktur*, pp. 157-64. His section on *irreguläre Kontrafaktur* is found in *Die Kontrafaktur*, pp. 68-86.

melodies, so unnotated incipits do not always clarify which of the model text's melodies were intended for reuse. The evidence allowing musicologists to pair the new text to a pre-existing melody is thus not conclusive, as neither the model's nor the contrafact's melodies are notated. But since these cases demonstrate the re-use of a pre-existing melody, evidence for the practice of contrafacture itself is very strong. Therefore, though it can be difficult to prove which melody is cited by the scribe, these cases make for much likelier contrafacta than other unprovable cases, and should appear closer to the origin within this category. Contextual arguments represented on the z-axis can help to determine which melody is intended by the scribe, thus making one melodic version of the model song likelier than the others.

Textual evidence, on the y-axis, is also divided into three categories of probability. The first category on this axis, Category A, includes literary contrafacta whose authors clearly demonstrate an awareness of the previous text in their formulation of the new text. This is seen in what Jörn Gruber has termed *intertextuelle Aufhebung* or 'intertextual sublation', the practice of providing a textual reference at the start of the song to mark its relationship to a previous song, for example by using the same incipit.<sup>66</sup> Category A can also include song texts that quote or cite their model song—beyond the common idiomatic phrases of courtly discourse—at

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<sup>66</sup> On 'intertextual sublation' as the troubadour's practice of marking awareness of, and improvement upon, previous texts, see J. Gruber, *Die Dialektik des Trobar: Untersuchungen zur Struktur und Entwicklung des occitanischen und französischen Minnesangs des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Trier, 1983), pp. 98-101.

length elsewhere in the song, as well as direct translations of a model text into other languages. Category B includes contrafact texts with arguable formal or semantic links. Such features include versification patterns reproduced in the contrafacta, shared words occurring in the same position between texts, and unusual thematic or topical links.<sup>67</sup> Category C comprises song texts with no known links.

Likewise, the categories of the z-axis, which evaluates contextual evidence, are: A) strong contextual links, which is located closest to the graph's origin; B) some contextual links, placed further up along the z-axis; and C) no contextual links, which is placed on the vertical periphery of the graph.

Because text and melody are located on different axes, the graph avoids conflating identically versified poems and re-texted melodies, an error that had both resulted from and obscured previous definitions of contrafacture. With this model, the kinds of evidence supporting a given argument for contrafacture are immediately obvious, and can inform the work of literary scholars or musicologists regardless of their definition of contrafacture. Moreover, the graph's scatterplot format accommodates a fluid comparison of cases within each category, allowing for a more precise representation of probability than a discrete typology. At the same time, a typological shorthand is possible for each case through the graph's coordinates (x, y, z): contrafacta with provable melodic, textual, and

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<sup>67</sup> The relative rarity of different versification and metrical systems is discussed in Aarburg, 'Melodien zum frühen deutschen Minnesang', pp. 24-28.

contextual links can be defined as AAA contrafacta, while contrafacta with provable melodic links but arguable textual and contextual links are represented as ABB contrafacta, and so on. To avoid creating a false sense of certainty, however, the graph should always be treated as a secondary aid visualising a more fully developed musicological argument. It is a representation of musicological claims rather than objective proof of them.

Since this dissertation addresses questions of meaning, the cases comprising each chapter are selected on the basis of their being 'close' musicological contrafacta. This means that the x-axis designation must always be categorised as A. With the melody as a fixed point of contact, other links often emerge, and those contrafacta that succeeded in making it into the dissertation revealed close textual and contextual evidence as well, with designations of either A or B. Such 'close' contrafacta suggest a degree of conscious refashioning; they also make it likelier that audiences would have recognised the material being re-used. In order to unify the case studies with some thread of cultural continuity, the scope is limited to groups of contrafacta with at least one song from the trouvère repertory. Each chapter also begins with a graphical representation of its contrafacta, both to demonstrate the visualisation suggested above, and to give some sense of the musical, textual, and contextual links discussed in the pages that follow.

While the *Kontrafakturjagd* continues for unnotated medieval music—some recent convincing cases having been made by Andreas Haug, for

example—this dissertation’s more hermeneutic approach to contrafacture builds on a wider resurgence of the subject within the context of borrowing, quotation, and intertextuality in medieval music.<sup>68</sup> More recent publications by Jennifer Saltzstein, Daniel E. O’Sullivan, and Catherine A. Bradley have shown, respectively, how musical quotation functioned as an extension of the associative practice of Biblical gloss, bridging sacred and secular worlds; how contrafacta echoed, subverted, and sacralised courtly themes for Marian devotion; and how the modern study of contrafacture can challenge established chronologies of the motet.<sup>69</sup> Beyond these contributions, however, the means, meaning, and contexts of individual instances of contrafacture are rarely explored. What distinguishes this study from other recent work is the depth in which its cases are examined: each chapter provides a thick contextualisation that combines musico-poetic analysis, historical and literary research, and broader theoretical considerations, exploring the range of interpretations introduced by a song’s contrafaction within a given time and place. The cases also offer a

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<sup>68</sup> See A. Haug, ‘Kennen wir die Melodie zu einem Lied des ersten Trobador? Ein Versuch in wissenschaftlichem Wunschdenken’, in S. Glauch, S. Köbele, and U. Störmer-Caysa (eds.), *Projektion—Reflexion—Ferne: Räumliche Vorstellungen und Denkfiguren im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 2011), pp. 369-90. For an overview of recent literature on contrafacture, see D.E. O’Sullivan, ‘Contrafacture’, in A. Classen (ed.), *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms—Methods—Trends* (Berlin and Boston, 2010), pp. 1478-81.

<sup>69</sup> See J. Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry* (Cambridge, 2013); D.E. O’Sullivan, *Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century French Lyric* (Toronto and London, 2005); and C. Bradley, ‘Contrafacta and Transcribed Motets’, *Early Music History*, 32 (2013), pp. 1-70. See also C. Chaillou, ‘Emprunter et créer: quelques réflexions sur le *contrafactum*’, in C. Andrault-Schmitt, E. Bozoky, and S. Morrison (eds.), *Des nains ou des géants: emprunter et créer au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout, 2015).

unique way of grouping historical, literary, and musical information that reveals discontinuities between the approaches and assumptions of different disciplines.

#### 4. Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 discusses the chanson RS700 by the Chastelain de Coucy and its political contrafact, RS699, attributed to Hue de le Ferté. Both songs share their first line of text as well as their melody. The conventional, courtly text of the Chastelain's song focuses on the gulf between his unattainable lady's beautiful appearance and treacherous disposition, antifeminist themes that Hue de le Ferté reworks in order to defame a historical 'lady', Blanche de Castile, the regent of France and mother of Louis IX. The political contrafact was written during the French barons' rebellion against Blanche from 1226 to 1231 and typifies the gendered allegations made more widely to delegitimise her power. The chapter traces the aristocratic loyalties and political alliances of the makers of both songs, revealing the geopolitical associations of the melody's origin in Coucy.

Chapter 2 investigates the political, codicological, and text-music relationships between another chanson and its political contrafact: the trouvère song *Quant je pluz sui en paour de ma vie* by Blondel de Nesle, and an anonymous protest song voicing the French baronage's disaffection with King Louis IX's reforms.<sup>70</sup> Through an analysis of the melody shared

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<sup>70</sup> Their respective Raynaud-Spanke numbers are RS1227 and RS1147.

between both songs, I discuss how the music's micro- and macro-structures reinforce and challenge the unease expressed in the songs' texts. The political contrafact re-contextualises poetic phrases about deception and subordination from Blondel's song, inviting a comparison between Blondel's narrator's lady and the powerful figures under ridicule in the political song. The re-use of Blondel's melody is further politicised by a possible family relation between Blondel and the target of the political contrafact.

Chapter 3 provides a close reading of the text and music of *Pour mon chief reconforter* (RS885), a Marian contrafact apparently fashioned from the Latin conductus *Sol sub nube latuit*; the conductus has an additional contrafact from the trouvère repertory, which may also have influenced RS885. RS885 appears only in the earliest extant source of the Benedictine prior Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre Dame* (MND), compiled thirty years after Gautier's death. The song's exclusion from all later sources leads most scholars to question whether Gautier authored it, which perhaps explains the lack of scholarship on it. RS885's narrator is noticeably more self-reflexive than the universalised 'je' of Gautier's other Marian songs, alluding in the first person to Gautier's frequent headaches, increasing frailty, and impending death. The song's refrain, addressed in Latin to a pregnant Mary, contrasts Gautier's immanent death with the Virgin's immanent birth of Christ, evoking the Pauline notion of death of the self as coinciding with one's re-birth in Christ. Gautier's earthly gestation is emphasised by the fact that the song, and its representation of his life,

consist of nine stanzas. The chapter discusses RS885's literary, musical, and codicological relation to the conductus—which addresses the theological implications of the virgin birth—as well as its relation to the trouvère song, whose last poetic line paraphrases the conductus.

Chapter 4's contrafacta, like those of Chapter 3, reinforce and extend their model songs' textual themes rather than re-making them ironically. Here, I analyse a song by Thibaut de Champagne, *Tant ai Amors servies longuement* (RS711), whose narrator turns from earthly love toward God. I discuss the song's refashioning into two devotional contrafacta on conversion: a Marian song in Gautier's *MND*, whose authorship, like that of RS885, is questionable, and an interpolated lyric in Adam de la Basse's *Ludus super Anticlaudianum*. The Marian song is notable in that its first poetic line imitates that of RS711, a feature found in Chapter 1's political song. Following a close reading and thick contextualisation of all three songs, I trace their musical and geographical relationships with one another.

Chapter 5's contrafact text comments upon its own contrafactedness: the first two lines describe how it uses the melody of a famous trouvère, the Chastelain de Coucy, deemed an authoritative 'expert' on the sufferings of love, in order to legitimise the contrafact-maker's own suffering.<sup>71</sup> The

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<sup>71</sup> Li chastelains de couci ama tant/ qu'ainz por amors nus n'en ot dolor graindre:/ por ce ferai ma complainte en son chant,/ que ne cuit pas que la moie soit maindre' (The Chastelain de Coucy loved so greatly that no one had greater sorrow in love than he. For this reason, I set my lament to his song, because I do not think mine [my sorrow] is any less) (RS358, 1.1-4).

chapter places this contrafact within a wider body of medieval reception of the Chastelain's songs and mythologised persona, discussing to what extent the contrafact's refashioning expresses a gesture of homage towards the Chastelain de Coucy.

## **5. Editorial Policies**

### **5.1. Music**

Each case includes one comparative transcription aligned by syllable or aligned by pitch, depending on the extent to which differences in the distribution of notes over syllables obscure similarities in pitch contour. Transcriptions by pitch are labelled as such in the appendices. The comparative transcriptions include all available notated manuscript readings of the song in question, the staves ordered according to their relative similarity. To avoid having the reader scroll up and down excessively, to allow each melody to be read on its own terms, and so as not to privilege one reading over another, identical segments of the melody across different versions are notated entirely in each staff. Each manuscript is identified to the left of its staff by its respective Schwan or RISM siglum. To distinguish between different contrafacta within one contrafact group, each song's Raynaud-Spanke number is also included with its manuscript siglum.

One manuscript reading of each song is selected from the comparative transcription as the basis for a melodic analysis, and is included on its own in another, independent transcription. If two songs

from the same contrafact group appear in the same manuscript, the readings from this shared source are preferred for analysis, since they provide the most literal witness of how these songs relate to one another. Other criteria considered in the selection are the degree to which the reading represents widespread variation patterns across the sources and whether it contains errors. Ultimately, however, the melodic analysis is meant to apply only to that particular instantiation of the melody and cannot represent all source readings.

In all transcriptions, stemless notes are used, the ligatures indicated with a slur and the plicas shown with a stemmed quaver or semiquaver to provide an idea of the notation's visual appearance and literal relation to other manuscript readings. Manuscript line changes are marked with checkmarks or half barlines to help identify errors and determine the relevance of accidentals. Clef changes are marked with a numbered C or F to identify errors based on the misreading of clefs. Accidentals—mi and fa signs, which appear as modern sharps and flats—are rendered diplomatically, given the lack of scholarly agreement on their application, and therefore require some qualification for performance and analysis: my analyses proceed under the general notion that accidentals apply to the end of their manuscript line, or until they are cancelled within the line by their opposite sign (mi-signs cancelled by fa-signs and vice-versa). This is based on the fact that cancellations or emendations of a given accidental are limited to the manuscript line on which the accidental appears, and the same accidental is often re-applied on new manuscript lines. Therefore,

when source readings have a flat or sharp at the start of every manuscript line, those accidentals appear as a key signature in the transcription, and are treated as such. When sources have accidentals at the start of some manuscript lines, but not on every line, they appear in the transcription exactly where they appear at the source's line changes, that is, at the transcription's relevant checkmarks. More localised accidentals are also indicated locally in the transcription. In these latter two cases, I read the accidentals as applying until the next manuscript line (the next checkmark) or until they are cancelled within the line by their opposite sign.

Song analyses proceed according to the musical terms set up by the song itself, and largely from the perspective of performance, attending to how the music unfolds through time. Since my analyses focus on listener perception rather than authorial construction, and since the first stanza is nearly always the same in the dissemination of trouvère song, I treat the first stanza as being chronologically anterior to all other stanzas, generating a set of meanings that are then developed in further stanzas. While I recognise that the mobility of stanzas and the multitude of meanings created by such mobility cannot be fully contained in one, chronologically linear analysis, the fact that my close readings are based on one chosen source binds them only to that specific reading. References to alternative stanza sequences and inclusions are found in the textual editions of Appendix 3, allowing readers to form their own interpretations of textual variants.

Some of the language used in my analyses rests on anthropomorphic

conceptual metaphors: for example, at various points, the music is described as ‘establishing’, ‘imitating’, and ‘foreshadowing’ certain patterns, or ‘defying expectations’. While recognising the performer as the ultimate agent of such activity, I nevertheless use these metaphors to pinpoint the music’s potential effects, with the understanding that even the most basic analytical language is also rooted in conceptual metaphor: the idea of pitches moving ‘up’ or ‘down’, or being ‘high’ or ‘low’, rests on the conceptual metaphor of pitch relationships as relationships in vertical space, a metaphor that is not universal: other cultures have referred to the same musical phenomena as being, respectively, ‘sharp’ and ‘heavy’; ‘small’ and ‘large’; and ‘young’ and ‘old’.<sup>72</sup>

## 5.2. Text

The texts and translations of all of the contrafact case studies are found in Appendix 3. The standardised Old French and Latin texts found in Appendix 3 are taken from a literary edition where available, indicated above the text in question. Textual variation is marked in footnotes throughout Appendix 3, informed by the given textual edition. Texts in the musical transcriptions of Appendix 2 are transcribed directly from the sources; all punctuation for these individual readings is editorial, and all

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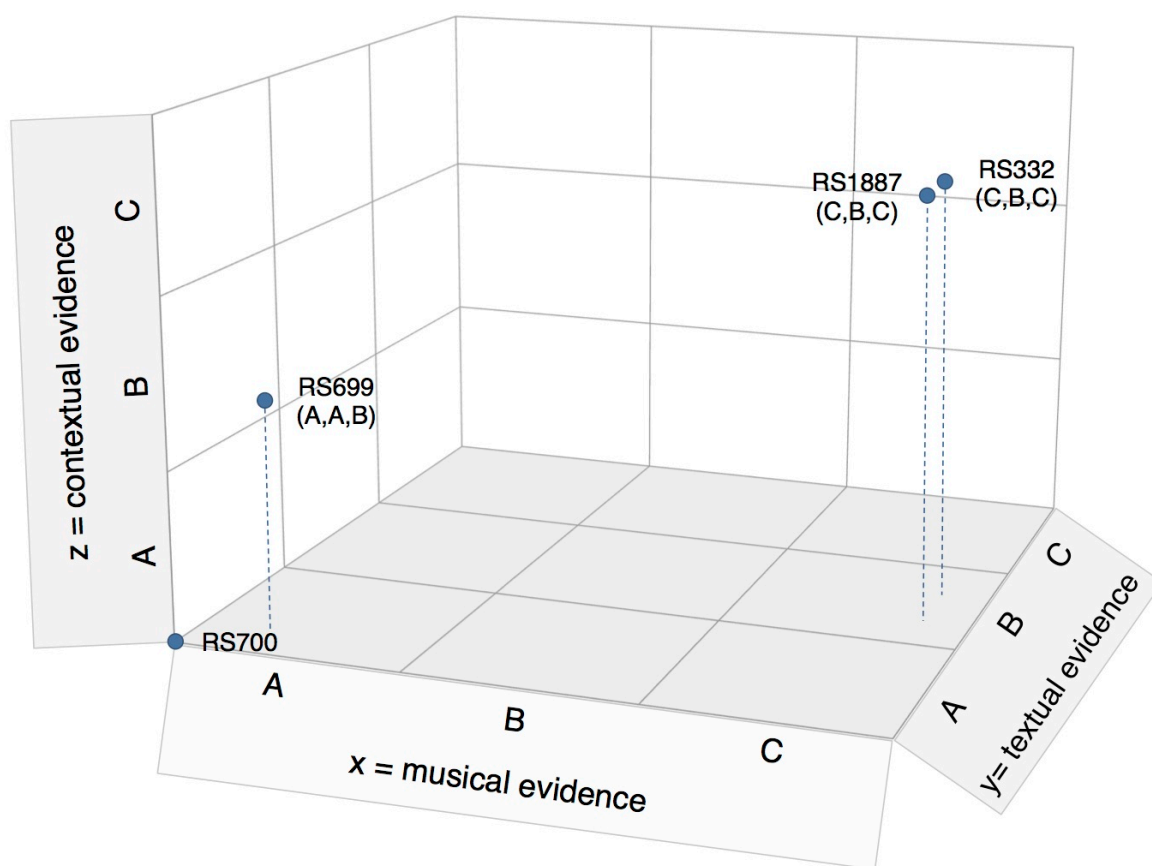
<sup>72</sup> ‘Sharpness’ and ‘heaviness’ is the language used by Ancient Greek music theorists; ‘small’ and ‘large’ are descriptors for Bali and Java pitches, and ‘young’ and ‘old’ are used by the Suyà of the Amazon basin. See L.M. Zbikowski, ‘Metaphor and Music Theory: Reflections from Cognitive Science’, *Music Theory Online*, 4 (1998), p. 3, accessed 11 April 2017, at <http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.98.4.1/mto.98.4.1.zbikowski.pdf>.

manuscript abbreviations are expanded. Capitalisation occurs only where it appears in the source, where editorial punctuation requires it, and for proper names. Translations taken or adapted from literary editions are indicated where the text appears in Appendix 3. Unmarked translations are my own.

# Chapter 1: *Je chantaisse volentiers liement* and the Contrafacture of Baronial Revolt

## 1. Background

The song RS700, attributed to the Chastelain de Coucy, and its *serventois* contrafact RS699, attributed to Hue de le Ferté, are related in several respects: two sources, **TrouvT** and **TrouvM**, contain both songs in notated form, their melodies only minimally varied within these sources; both songs share their first two lines of text, ‘Je chantaisse volentiers liement/ se je trouvaisse en mon cuer l’ochoison’, marking a deliberate textual relationship between them; and both have several indirect historical links,



**Figure 1.1: Graph of RS700's Contrafacta**

which the following chapter elucidates. On the graph in **Figure 1.1**, RS699's placement relative to RS700 is plotted as (A, A, B).

Two potential contrafacta of RS700 are excluded from this chapter:

RS1887 and RS332, both plotted on the graph with the coordinates (C, B, C).

- RS332 is a jeu-parti between Thibaut de Champagne and an opponent identified in the text as Baudoin, on the question of whether it is more effective to kiss a lady on her mouth or on her feet. Hans Tischler, following Friedrich Gennrich, claims the song is a contrafact of RS700 on metrical grounds.<sup>73</sup> Since RS332 lacks musical notation in all its manuscripts, however, the fact of contrafacture cannot be substantiated at the melodic level; it will therefore not feature in this discussion.
- RS1887 is a song from the seventh crusade (1248-52) with the incipit *On ne porroit de mauvese reson*. It is considered a contrafact of RS700 by Hans-Herbert Räkel and Hans Tischler on metrical grounds.<sup>74</sup> While it has a notated melody in one of its sources (**TrouvV**), whether that melody is the same as that of RS700 is the

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<sup>73</sup> See H. Tischler, 'Introduction', in Hans Tischler (ed.), *The Circle Around Gace Brulé: Four Famous Early Trouvères*, (Ottawa, 2002), p. xix. Cf. F. Gennrich, *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters* (Frankfurt, 1965), p. 187. Gennrich's claim is based on textual grounds, supplemented by the observation that most jeux-partis used melodies known to both participants in order to avoid musical difficulties, and that the Chastelain's melody was well known and fits RS332's metrical scheme.

<sup>74</sup> Räkel considers it, more specifically, to be a *Kontrapositum* of RS700, a re-working of its melody. See Räkel, *Die musikalische Erscheinungsform*, p. 59.

matter of some debate, discussed in detail in this dissertation's Introduction, and documented by my transcription of RS1887's melody in Appendix 1.1e. Because **TrouvV**'s notation is unreliable here, RS1887 is also excluded from the chapter.

## 1.1 The Chastelain de Coucy

RS700 survives in twelve manuscripts, ten of which contain the notated melody.<sup>75</sup> Six scribal attributions are extant in the sources, five of which are to the Chastelain de Coucy. Though the scribal attributions indicate quite clearly that the Chastelain composed RS700, his historical identity remains unproven. Modern musicologists identify him as Gui de Thourotte (*fl.* 1186-1203), the castellan or steward of Coucy, a prestigious hereditary title involving the management of the estate of the powerful lords of Coucy.<sup>76</sup> The nineteenth-century philologist Fritz Fath linked the Chastelain to the house of Thourotte based partly on later *vidas*' placement of the Chastelain within the first generation of *trouvères*, active from ca. 1180 to 1200: in the twelfth century, the family that held the post of *châtelain* was from the house of Thourotte; in the early thirteenth century, the post passed to the house of Magny.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> For a list of sources and their respective dates and provenances, see Appendix 1.

<sup>76</sup> A. Lerond, 'Introduction', in *Chansons attribuées au Chastelain de Coucy: Fin du XIIe – début du XIIIe siècle*, ed. A. Lerond (Paris, 1962), pp. 5-56, at p. 16. I refer to the figure of the *trouvère-châtelain* using the historical orthography Chastelain de Coucy. The general office of the *châtelain* is denoted using the modern orthography, Châtelain de Coucy.

<sup>77</sup> T. Karp, 'Chastelain de Coucy', in *Grove*.

Scholars, however, have not always agreed on the Chastelain's identity. In 1815, the first editor of the Chastelain's songs, Jean-Benjamin de La Borde, identified the Chastelain as *Raoul I, sire de Couci*, confusing the titles of *sire* and châtelain.<sup>78</sup> Later in the nineteenth century, Michel Francisque and Gaston Paris identified him as *Messir Reignault Castellain de Couchy*, as indicated in the rubric of the chanson *La douce voiz du louseignol sauvage* in **TrouvF**, although this is questionable because the rubric is written in a fifteenth-century hand.<sup>79</sup> The attribution likely refers to Renaut de Magny, who was the châtelain between 1207 and 1218. Renaut is also the name of the Chastelain's character in the *Roman du Chastelain de Couci et de la Dame de Fayel*, a fictional manifestation of the *cœur mangé* story written by Jakemes around 1300. As Fath suggested, the attribution to *Reignault* in the rubric of **TrouvF** could have been added later by a scribe familiar with Jakemes's *Roman*.<sup>80</sup>

Following this reasoning, Fath was the first to suggest that Gui IV de Coucy, that is, Gui de Thourotte, was the châtelain in question. Gui is mentioned as the Châtelain de Coucy in documents from 1186 to 1201, a period coinciding with the first generation of trouvères, and with the dates of Louis I of Blois (1172-1205), who is named in one of the Chastelain's songs.<sup>81</sup> Gui IV is also known to have participated in the third and fourth

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<sup>78</sup> Lerond, 'Introduction', p.16. I use 'Chastelain' here to denote the trouvère figure and 'châtelain' to denote the position of steward.

<sup>79</sup> Lerond, 'Introduction', p. 17. On the attribution's lack of authenticity, see Karp, 'Chastelain de Couci'.

<sup>80</sup> Lerond, 'Introduction', p. 17.

<sup>81</sup> Lerond, 'Introduction', pp. 17-18.

crusades, a fact that corresponds with two of the Chastelain's songs, which mention leaving for a crusade.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, the chronicler Villehardouin states that '*Guis li chastelains de Coci, morut et fu gitez en la mer*' (Guy de Coucy died and was buried at sea) in 1203, on his way home from the fourth crusade.<sup>83</sup> Although Jakemes' *Roman* is fictional, his Chastelain-trouvère Renaut also dies during the crusades, a plot element possibly inspired by the real Gui de Coucy's alleged death at sea.<sup>84</sup> The historical Renaut de Coucy, in contrast, is not reported to have participated in any crusade.<sup>85</sup>

For the purposes of this discussion, the following detail is especially noteworthy: when Gui IV returned to Coucy from the third crusade, he assisted Lord Enguerrand III, who was a minor at the time, in the regency of Coucy.<sup>86</sup> If Gui IV was indeed the Chastelain de Coucy, this would establish an important link between the Chastelain and Enguerrand, whose connection to the poet of the contrafact text, Hue de le Ferté, is discussed below.

## 1.2 Musical Variation and Analysis of RS700

A comparative transcription by pitch of all versions of RS700 and RS699, found in Appendix 2.1a, shows the first four poetic lines of the melody (the

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<sup>82</sup> Lerond, 'Introduction', p. 19. The two chansons that mention crusading are *A vous, amant, plus k'a nulle autre gent*, vv. 12, 41-48 and *Le nouveauz tanz et mais et violete*, vv. 1-8).

<sup>83</sup> Lerond, 'Introduction', p. 18.

<sup>84</sup> Lerond, 'Introduction', p. 19.

<sup>85</sup> Karp, 'Chastelain de Couci'.

<sup>86</sup> Karp, 'Chastelain de Couci'.

**abab** section) as being relatively uniform across all sources except **TrouvV**.<sup>87</sup> **TrouvX** has doubled the text and music at line 5 in a copying error, while the bracketed sections of **KP**'s version of line 6 indicate a third error. Based on differences in melodic contour from lines 5 to 7, marked in coloured boxes in the transcription, the musical readings can be divided into three main groups: **TTA**, **UMMO**, and **KXP**. The variation with the most bearing on the melody's sense, however, occurs in **TTA** in poetic line 8. After the ascent to *g* in syllable 3, the melody in **TTA** makes a stepwise descent to *c* instead of **KXP**'s *e* at syllable 5, shifting **TTA**'s melody down a third. Following line 8's final stepwise descent, **TTA** is left a fourth lower than the other sources. The effect of this is that **TTA**'s final line (line 9) ends a fourth below the final of *c* set up throughout the song and used just as prominently (in its relative pitch equivalent) in other manuscript readings. Because this shift downward occurs gradually throughout line 8 and in slightly different ways for each of **TTA**'s readings, I interpret it as a variation rather than an error. Since the pitch *c* concludes lines 1 to 6 in **TTA** and other manuscript versions, **TTA**'s shift away from this *c*-sonority distinguishes **TTA**'s readings in a strong aural sense from the others. In analysing RS700 and RS699, then, I consider the melodic readings of both **TrouvT** and **TrouvM**, since both sources contain notated versions of the two songs, and each source has a different, but representative, version of the melody. In the following pages, **TrouvT**'s reading of RS700 is referred

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<sup>87</sup> **TrouvV**'s tendency toward melodic divergence is discussed in section 3 of the Introduction.

to as **T1**, while **TrouvM**'s reading of RS700 is denoted by **M1**. **M1** and **T1**, along with these sources' readings of RS699, **M2** and **T2**, appear in their own comparative transcription in Appendix 2.1d. A single transcription of **T1** is shown below in **Example 1.1**.

In the first poetic line of both versions, a descending sequence of two pairs of rising seconds gives way to a more direct descent to *c* in **T1** (*F* in **M1**).<sup>88</sup> Line 1's subsequent rising second from *c* to *d* in **T1** (*F* to *G* in **M1**) evokes an extension of the previous descending sequence, but instead *c* (*F*) is reaffirmed at the line ending, a plica on *E* leading stepwise to the next line in **M1**. The repetition of *c* (*F*) at the end of line 1 signals the pitch's importance: in the next three lines, it becomes a central point above and below which the melody alternates. Whereas line 1 descends a fifth down to *c* (*F*), the majority of its pitches lying above *c* (*F*), line 2 begins a third below *c* (*F*), creating a sense of symmetry by coming to *c* (*F*) from underneath, then descending stepwise to *G* (*C*), an octave below the song's initial starting pitch. As in line 1, *c* (*F*) is reaffirmed at the end of line 2, and the effect is of a complimentary 'answer' phrase to line 1's question, each of the two lines punctuated by their strong concluding pitches.

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<sup>88</sup> The music of **TrouvM**'s first poetic line is missing, since the manuscript's miniature has been cut out, but is retrievable through line 3's repetition.

Syllable

Poetic Line

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

C2

1 Je chan - tais - se\_\_\_ vo - len - tiers\_\_\_ li - e - ment,\_\_\_

2 et je tro - vais - se ens mon\_ cuer\_ l'o - choi - son;

C3

3 mais [je] ne puis di - re\_\_\_ se\_\_\_ je ne ment,

4 k'ai - e d'a - mours nu - le riens s'i - re non.

5 pour - cou ne puis fai - re\_\_\_ li - e can - con,

6 k'a - mors le me\_\_\_ des - en - seig - ne,

7 ki\_\_\_ veut ke j'aim et\_ [ne]velt ke j'at - tai - gne,

8 en - si me\_\_\_ tient\_\_\_ a - mors en des - es - poir,\_\_\_

9 ke ne mo - chist ne ne laist joi - e a - voir.

**Example 1.1: Transcription of RS700 from TrouvT, fol.154r-v**

*c* (*F*) remains the final of each phrase until line 7, where a more sweeping phrasal structure is introduced: line 7's final, stepwise ascent to *d* (*A*) directs the melody to the opening *e* (*C*) of line 8, and line 8's closing stepwise descent to *a* (*G*) incites the listener's expectation of *G* (*F*), subsequently fulfilled at the opening of line 9. The effect is of one larger, more dynamic phrase composed of three smaller ones, each line merged together by its tonal foreshadowing of the one that follows.

Thematically, RS700 is relatively conventional for its treatment of unrequited love and its portrayal of the narrator's lady as being both desirable and treacherous. The song opens as follows:

Je chantaisse volentiers liement,  
 se je trovaisse en mon cuer l'ochoison;  
 maiz je ne puis dire, se je ne ment,  
 qu'aie d'Amours nule rienz se mal non.  
 Pour ce n'en puis fere lie chançon,  
 qu'Amours le me desenseigne,  
 qui veut que j'aim et ne veut que j'ataigne;  
 Einsint me tient Amours en desespoir,  
 que ne m'ocit ne ne lait joie avoir (1.1-9).<sup>89</sup>

I would willingly sing cheerfully if I found occasion in my heart, but I cannot say—unless I were to lie—that I possess anything from love but harm. Therefore I cannot sing a cheerful song, for I am untaught it by Love, who wishes that I love, but does not wish that I attain [love]. Thus Love keeps me in despair, neither killing me nor permitting me any happiness.

In **M1**, motif **A** at lines 6 and 8, marked out in **Example 1.2**, intensifies certain aspects of the text by virtue of its tessitura, since it contains the

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<sup>89</sup> All lines of RS700 not referring to a specific manuscript reading are quoted from Chastelain de Coucy, *Chansons attribuées au Chastelain de Coucy*, ed. Alain Lerond (Paris, 1962), pp. 63-5, which is based on **TrouvM**,

highest pitch of the song, *e*. In both lines, the motif is dramaticised further by an ascending leap of a fifth immediately preceding it. In particular, the treatment of ‘en desespoir’ in line 8, ‘en’ occurring at the fifth leap and ‘desespoir’ at the melody’s peak, allows the singer to perform the narrator’s despair more vividly. Further stanzas of text coincide effectively with this motif, especially in line 8, as will be discussed below.

A

M1, line 6

1. qu'a - mours le me des - en - seig - ne  
 2. ne rienz qu'a grant biau - te taig - ne  
 3. ne sai u nul con - fort preig - ne  
 4. ne ja - maiz tant ne mes - praig - ne  
 5. que de moi pi - tiez praig - ne

A

M1, line 8

1. ein - sint me tient a - mours en des - es - poir  
 2. fors qu'un pe - tit li mes - siet, ce m'est vis,  
 3. he, fran - che rienz cru - eaux, tant mar vous vi,  
 4. qu'as - sez aim mieuz mor - ir en douz de - sir  
 5. qu'el mont n'a, voir, si cru - el tra - hi - son

**Example 1.2. Lines 6 and 8 in TrouvM's reading of RS1227**

Notably, when line 7, the first line not to return to *F* (*c*), is combined with text, it is first combined with the phrase ‘qui veut que j’aim et ne veut que j’ataigne’ ([Love] who wishes that I love but does not wish for me to attain [love]). This is the first instance in which the narrator articulates his unfulfilled desire—the reason why he cannot ‘sing cheerfully’, as declared in the opening line—and the music’s avoidance of another tidy line ending on *F* (*c*) inscribes his desiring into the song’s musical syntax: ‘ataigne’, here in the context of not attaining, becomes the word on which the melodic line, for the first time, does not attain musical ‘closure’. While **M1**’s melody returns to *F* at the end of the stanza, **T1**, as discussed above, settles on *G*

rather than the pitch established through six previous line endings, *c*. The musical ambivalence one might hear in these last three lines of **T1**, especially in cases in which the melody lacks accompaniment, reflects the fundamental unattainability and ambivalence of the narrator's love object.

RS700's second stanza begins to reveal a characteristic split in the narrator's feelings for the lady:

Je ne doi pas Amours grant mal voloir,  
s'a la pluz bele del mont mon cuer rent,  
c'onques biautez ne fist si son pooir  
d'estre en nului tres esmereement  
com ele a fet en son tres biau cors gent;  
ne rienz qu'a grant biauté taigne  
ne voi q'en li n'en sa façon soufraise,  
fors q'un petit li messiet, ce m'est vis,  
ce que trop tient ses ieus de moi eschiz (2.1-9)

I ought not to wish Love great harm, as [he] has given my heart to the most beautiful lady in the world—never has Love made beauty so gracious as he has created it in her very beautiful and noble body; nothing can be seen in her that taints her great beauty, nor is there anything displeasing in her manner. Her only minor flaw, it seems to me, is that she keeps her eyes from glancing at me.

While nothing 'taints' the lady's beauty, the narrator still finds fault with her, and at this point the rhetoric of the song begins to shift from praise to blame. Again, the somewhat errant music of the last three lines provides a more immediate non-verbal background for this shift, its fulcrum located on the word 'taigne' (taint). 'Taigne', in the context of nothing 'tainting' the lady, coincides with the last of those neatly established, homogenous lines ending on *F* (*c*), just before the music increases in complexity. The placement of 'messiet' (flaw) at the dramatic fifth leap in line 8's motif **A**

undermines the narrator's insistence that his lady's flaw is only 'minor' ('petit'). Especially in **T1**, the music of the last three lines enacts a kind of removal of the artifice of finals introduced earlier, an exercise in musical dislocation that anticipates the song's theme of deceptive appearances. This dislocation is emphasised by the text's rhyme scheme, *coblas capcaudadas*, which follows the pattern ababbccdd, where the last rhyme sound of the first stanza, d, becomes the first rhyme sound of the second stanza, knitting together each stanza by means of vowel sound.<sup>90</sup> In **T1** in particular, the shared rhyme sounds between line 9 and each successive line 1 emphasize the shift of finals over the course of the stanza.

As RS700 progresses, the narrator's formulaic praise of the lady gives way to his thinly veiled hatred of her, and she devolves from having 'nothing displeasing in her manner' (2.7) to being a traitor who kills him with her pride.<sup>91</sup> This reaches an extreme in the third stanza, where he exclaims: 'Hé, franche rienz crueux, tant mar vous vi,/ quant pour ma mort nasquistes sanz merci' (Ha! noble, cruel creature, how unfortunate [for me] that I ever saw you, since you were born for my death, without pity) (3.8-9). The word 'vous' here—the first instance in which the narrator addresses the lady directly—is set on the highest note in **M1**'s motif **A** (shown in

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<sup>90</sup> All of the rhyme sounds work within a xyxyycczz framework, where x = the last rhyme used in the previous stanza, y = the first rhyme used in the previous stanza, c = a constant rhyme introduced in the first stanza (in RS700 it takes the sound *-aigne*), and z = a new rhyme introduced in each new stanza.

<sup>91</sup> 3.6-7 reads: 'ne sai u nul confort preigne;/ quar ses orgueus m'ocit et li mahaigne' (I do not know where I can take any comfort, for her pride kills me and wounds it). Hatred of the lady is made more explicit in **PV**'s readings of the text at 4.8-9, which read 'qu'assez aim mieuz morir en douz desire/ que vivre iriez et m'amie (**TrouvV**: ma dame) haïr', instead of **TrouvM**'s 'ma vie haïr'.

**Example 1.2)** and extends over two pitches, so that her jarring otherness seems to jut out of the line's texture. In the fifth stanza's reiteration of motif **A**, the narrator makes explicit the falseness of the lady's attractive veneer with the phrase 'there is no treason (*trahison*) so great in this world as a fine appearance and a treacherous (*felon*) disposition, the words *trahison* and *felon* extended over several pitches in both **M1** and **T1**.<sup>92</sup>

There are two highly conventional, but somewhat contradictory, views of the lady at work here that make RS700 ripe for the political contrafaction of RS699: the first is the notion of taint, namely that the lady's appearance belies her treacherous reality, a discovery that warrants the narrator's vilification of her. The second is that despite her culpability, the lady nevertheless exerts a powerful hold over the narrator, so that by the end of the fifth stanza and envoi, he begs her for mercy, using the prison-of-love topos to articulate her (and Love's) domination, the word *prison* stretched out over the end of motif **A**.<sup>93</sup> This vassal-like subservience of the courtly lover to the lady has long been noted by scholars of medieval lyric, more recent scholarship having highlighted the hybridised conceptions of gender such views might entail: as E. J. Burns and Sarah Kay have observed, the lady is typically feminine in her fetishised body but masculine in the lordly power she wields over the narrator.<sup>94</sup> For Kay, this hybridity is written into

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<sup>92</sup> 'qu'el mont n'a, voir, si crüel trahison/ com bel semblant et corage felon' (5.8-9).

<sup>93</sup> 'ne ja de sa prison/ ne quier issir, se mors u amez non' (6.3-4) (Only for death or love do I wish to leave his/her prison).

<sup>94</sup> E.J. Burns, 'Courtly Love: Who Needs it? Recent Feminist Work in the Medieval French Tradition', *Signs*, 27 (2001), pp. 23-57, at p. 27.

the masculine pronouns used to refer to the *domna* in troubadour song.<sup>95</sup> Most scholarship sees this third-gendered lady as not corresponding to any literal reality—she is a vaguely defined symbol, a fantasy object constructed within an overwhelmingly masculine, homosocial discourse, and scholarly interpretations of her have, since the work of Jean-Charles Huchet, hinged on an understanding of her role in the Lacanian economy of desire.<sup>96</sup> As Julia Kristeva writes, ‘the lady is seldom defined and, slipping away between restrained presence and absence, she is simply an imaginary addressee, the pretext for the [male poet’s] incantation’.<sup>97</sup> Nevertheless, the lady-symbol carries with her the potential for re-literalisation, should such gender hybridity spill over into real life. As it happens, RS700’s narrator’s suspicion of and domination by the courtly lady prefigures the power relations of RS699, when a real woman, Blanche de Castile, is distrusted for having control over the French crown.

## 2. RS699 in Context

The political *serventois* RS699 makes its origins and their associations clear to the listener: as noted above, it replicates not only RS700’s melody,

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<sup>95</sup> S. Kay, *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 91-4.

<sup>96</sup> See J.-C. Huchet, *L'amour discourtois: la "fin'amors" chez les premiers troubadours* (Toulouse, 1987). On the masculinity and homosociality of medieval lyric, see S. Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge, 1995). This does not necessarily mean women were excluded from the audience and performance of these songs, and there is ample evidence to suggest the contrary. See E.E. Leach, ‘A Courtly Compilation’, pp. 221-46, at p. 246, and W. Pfeffer, ‘Introduction: The Case for the Women Trouvères’, in E. Doss-Quinby, W. Pfeffer, J. T. Grimberty, and E. Aubrey (eds.), *Songs of the Women Trouvères* (Yale, 2001), pp. 1-44.

<sup>97</sup> J. Kristeva, *Tales of Love* (New York, 1987), p. 287.

but also its first two lines of text, ‘Je chantaisse volentiers liement/ se je trouvaisse en mon cuer l’ochoison’. It appears in two manuscripts, **TrouvM** and **TrouvT**, both with musical notation and the same six stanzas of text. In both manuscripts, the song is also followed, in the same order, by two other *serventois*, *En talent ai que je die*, and *Or somes a ce venu* (RS2062).<sup>98</sup> All three songs are contrafacta of trouvère chansons, refer to political events that took place between 1226 and 1231, and are attributed to Hue de le Ferté, a figure known chiefly for the political views gleaned from the songs themselves.<sup>99</sup> The fact that they appear as a unit is particularly striking in **TrouvM**, a manuscript that has undergone numerous alterations and additions, and whose finished order deviates significantly from that of its medieval table of contents. Unlike most other songs in **TrouvM**, the order of Hue’s three *serventois* remains the same as in the table of contents. This, along with the identical ordering of the *serventois* in **TrouvT**, suggests they were copied from a more ephemeral exemplar, perhaps even a political pamphlet, though the differences in **TrouvT** and **TrouvM**’s musical renditions of RS699 would necessitate multiple copies of the same

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<sup>98</sup> For the manuscripts’ folio numbers, provenances, and RISM sigla, see Appendix 1.

<sup>99</sup> *En talent ai que je die*, is a contrafact of *En chantant m’estuet complaindré* by Gace Brulé, while *Or somes a ce venu*, is a contrafact of the anonymous *Quant li oisillon menu*. In **TrouvT**, the three songs appear only four folios before RS700, which marks the beginning of the Chastelain’s repertory. For more on Hue de le Ferté and the *serventois* as a genre, see M.G. Grossel, ‘Quant le monde entre dans la chanson: Chansons politiques, chansons de croisade, serventois et autres tensons de trouvères’, in *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, 11 (Paris, 2004), pp. 213-230.

pamphlet, varied by intermediate stages of oral transmission or aural transcription.

Because of RS699's politically charged themes, a basic outline of the political climate of early thirteenth-century France is necessary to grasp the claims of the song's text. Situated in its historical context, what appears at first to be a series of enigmatic contemporary references emerges as a scathing piece of propaganda targeting Blanche de Castile, the mother of King Louis IX (Saint Louis), during her first regency of France, from 1226-34.

During the 1220s, the French court found itself threatened by a faction of powerful barons. In 1226, King Louis VIII died unexpectedly of dysentery on his way back to Paris from the Albigensian crusade. On his deathbed, as reported by his counsellors Walter of Cornut, Walter of Chartres, and Miles of Beauvais, the king granted his wife, Blanche of Castile, the authority to act as regent of France until their son and heir, the twelve-year-old Louis (the future Louis IX, later Saint Louis), came of age.<sup>100</sup> Blanche's regency is an early instance of the gradual emergence of female regency in medieval France, a phenomenon that would eventually become, as André Poulet puts it, a 'vocation' for French noblewomen.<sup>101</sup> Waiting for the new

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<sup>100</sup> L. Grant, *Blanche of Castile: Queen of France: Power, Religion and Culture in the Thirteenth Century* (New Haven, 2016), pp. 278-9. Grant notes that we will never know whether Louis VIII's statement on the succession was devised by Walter of Cornut, Walter of Chartres, and Miles of Beauvais; nevertheless, Louis IX's kingship was accepted without any real challenge. For Louis VIII's statement, see K. Crawford, *Perilous Performances: Gender and Regency in Early Modern France* (Cambridge, Mass, 2004), p. 216, n. 2.

<sup>101</sup> A. Poulet, 'Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation', in J. C. Parsons (ed.), *Medieval Queenship* (New York, 1998), pp. 93-116, at pp.

king to come of age was a recurrent complication faced by the Capetian monarchy, with their custom of father–son succession, as was the issue of the king’s frequent absences during the crusades.<sup>102</sup> The question of who would rule in the king’s minority or absence was primarily a question of trust: the royal mother, whose best interests were thought to coincide with those of the wellbeing of her son, was, in many cases, the person the king trusted above all others.<sup>103</sup> The regent-mother’s legitimacy also rested in the fact that as a woman she could not usurp the throne, and towards the end of the thirteenth century, restrictions were put in place to prevent

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111-15. Anne de Kiev and Adèle de Champagne preceded Blanche de Castile as regents of the Kingdom of France, though with much more limited power. Thibaut de Champagne’s mother, Blanche de Navarre, acted as regent of Champagne for him for over twenty years, during which there were several attempts by relatives to depose her. See Poulet ‘Capetian Women’, p. 111. The term ‘Salic Law’ originally refers to the legal code of the Salian Franks written during the time of Clovis. It was resurrected and re-interpreted in the fifteenth century under the influence of Jean de Montreuil in order to legitimise the exclusion of women from the throne (see Crawford, *Perilous Performances*, pp. 16-19). In thirteenth-century France, women were prohibited from being monarchs on the basis of tradition, but this practice was not yet observed under the pretext of Salic Law.

<sup>102</sup> Poulet, ‘Capetian Women’, p. 104.

<sup>103</sup> See Cosandey, ‘Puissance maternelle et pouvoir politique. La régence des reines mères’, *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire*, 25 (2005), pp. 69-90, at p. 69; Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 289; and P. Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers: The King’s Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (London and Washington, 1998), p. 119. See also U. Vones-Liebenstein, ‘Une femme gardienne du royaume? Régentes en temps de guerre (France-Castile, XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)’, in P. Contamine and O. Guyotjeannin (eds.), *La guerre, la violence et les gens au Moyen Âge* (2 vols., Paris 1996), i, pp. 9-22, which suggests that the role of regent-mother originated in the Île de France’s custom of entrusting noble mothers with the protection and tutelage of their children, and that this practice was reinforced by the Castilian tradition of strong female rulers brought to France by Blanche de Castile. There were, however, several pre-Capetian female regents (Stafford, *Queens*, pp. 141-74), but by the thirteenth century, these precedents had largely been forgotten. Cf. F. Olivier-Martin, *Les Régences et la Majorité des Rois (1060-1375)* (Paris, 1931), p. 45.

regent-widows from remarrying.<sup>104</sup> Although parallels of female rulership existed elsewhere at the time of Blanche's first regency, no official precedents for the guardianship of a minor had been established.<sup>105</sup> While the political void left by any monarch's absence invited baronial intrigue, dissent against Blanche was likely exacerbated by this lack of precedent.<sup>106</sup>

Most contemporary witnesses, however, viewed Blanche as a highly skilled ruler who used her tremendous influence in strategic and sophisticated ways. Her competence inevitably led to clichéd descriptions of her having a man's heart in a feeble women's body, so that, like the sovereign lady of *trouvère* song, her gender was conceived of in a hybridised way.<sup>107</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu reports that she 'administered, protected, and defended the rights of the realm with force, hard work, justice, and power, combining her manly heart with feminine intuition'.<sup>108</sup> Matthew Paris, who eventually became one of her greatest admirers, compared her to the Persian Empress Semiramis, an archetype of strong female rulership who was thought to have worn men's clothing.<sup>109</sup> For Blanche, reconciling her vast power with the fact that she was acting in her son's name—all the while maintaining her reputation for devout widowhood—entailed a performance well beyond established gender

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<sup>104</sup> Philip IV appointed his wife, Jeanne of Navarre as regent in 1294, but ruled that if she remarried, she would lose the regency. See Taylor, 'The Salic Law, French Queenship, and the Defense of Women in the Late Middle Ages', *French Historical Studies*, 29 (2006), pp. 543-64, at. p. 556.

<sup>105</sup> Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 280.

<sup>106</sup> Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 276.

<sup>107</sup> Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 282.

<sup>108</sup> Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 291.

<sup>109</sup> Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 324.

norms.<sup>110</sup> Recent historical research into her patronage patterns suggests she was invested in this performance, perhaps going so far as to intervene in artistic representations of herself.<sup>111</sup>

Nevertheless, some barons contested Blanche's legitimacy during the early years of her regency. Outwardly, they mistrusted her for her foreignness as well as her sex—she was the daughter of Alfonso IX of Castile and granddaughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry II of England.<sup>112</sup> But much of the barons' hostility also came from unresolved conflicts with the late King Louis XIII and the desire to bolster their positions to protect their own interests in an increasingly centralised bureaucracy. Since these conflicts are necessary for understanding RS699's text, the following is a brief overview of the barons involved in the rebellions against Blanche and their respective loyalties at the time of Saint Louis's coronation in 1226.

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<sup>110</sup> On regency and gender performance, see Crawford, *Perilous Performances*, pp. 9-10. During Louis IX's minority, Blanche was careful to sign all documents in his name, using his seal. During Blanche's second regency, while Louis was on crusade, the unanimous support she enjoyed among the barons made this pretext unnecessary. See Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 281.

<sup>111</sup> John Lowden has shown that the pose of Blanche's hand in the Toledo Bible moralisée was carefully changed at some stage, perhaps suggesting her own intervention. See his *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées* (2 vols., University Park, Pa, 2000), i, p. 128-32. On Blanche's cultivation of her image through patronage, see A. Gajewski, 'The Patronage Question under Review: Queen Blanche of Castile (1188-1252) and the Architecture of the Cistercian Abbeys at Royaumont, Maubuisson, and Le Lys', in T. Martin (ed.), *Reassessing the Role of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture* (Leiden, 2012), pp. 197-244.

<sup>112</sup> J. Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, trans. Gareth Evan Gollrad (Notre Dame, Indiana, 2009), p. 60.

## 2.1 *Dramatis personae* of the Baronial Revolt

Thibaut de Champagne (1201-1253), Count of Champagne, trouvère, crusader, and later King of Navarre, was not on good terms with Louis VIII at the time of his death. Part of this tension arose from the fact that Thibaut benefited greatly from tax exemptions through Jewish lenders, and Louis VIII had instituted laws regulating the employment of Jews for services involving usury.<sup>113</sup> As a sign of his hostility to Louis VIII, Thibaut did the bare minimum of forty days of service during the Albigensian crusade.<sup>114</sup> Moreover, he was believed to have had close ties with the King of Toulouse and to have opposed the siege of Avignon, one chronicler having accused him of plotting with Avignon's besieged inhabitants.<sup>115</sup> His dissidence during the Albigensian crusades made such an impression among the French nobility that when Louis VIII died, there were rumours that Thibaut had poisoned him.<sup>116</sup> For these reasons and others, it was in his own interest to join the coalition of barons intent on overtaking the guardianship of Louis IX, a coalition he supported for a number of months.<sup>117</sup> But his hostility did not last: he would switch sides early on and become Blanche's staunchest supporter, a 'traitor' in the eyes of the rebellious barons.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> J. Richard, *Saint Louis: Crusader King of France*, trans. S. D. Lloyd and J. Birrell (Cambridge, 1992), p. 41. See also Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>114</sup> See *Gesta Ludovici Octavi Franciae regis*, ed. M.J.J. Brial, *RHGF*, xvii, p. 309.

<sup>115</sup> *Chronicon Turonense*, ed. M.J.J. Brial, *RHGF*, xviii, pp. 316a, 317d. Cited from E. Berger, *Histoire de Blanche de Castile: Reine de France* (Paris, 1895), p. 41.

<sup>116</sup> For the long list of primary sources relating this conspiracy, see Berger, *Histoire*, p. 44.

<sup>117</sup> See the primary-source accounts in Berger, *Histoire*, pp. 80-3.

<sup>118</sup> On Thibaut's break from the conspiracy, see M. Wade Labarge, *Saint Louis: The Life of Louis IX of France* (London, 1968), p. 37.

Ferdinand of Flanders (1188-1233), the Portuguese-born Count of Flanders, had been a prisoner in the Louvre for twelve years at the time of Louis IX's coronation. He was considered a traitor to the French crown, having formed an alliance with King John of England and the Holy Roman Emperor, Otto IV, to fight against the French in the Battle of Bouvines in 1214.<sup>119</sup> While he was imprisoned, Ferdinand's wife, Joan of Flanders, ruled Flanders alone. Louis VIII had been planning to release Ferdinand in order to prevent a marriage between Ferdinand's wife, Joan, and the unpredictable count of Brittany, Pierre de Dreux, which would have given the latter his own fief. When Blanche obtained power, she immediately set to work preventing this marriage, which she ensured by releasing Ferdinand under relaxed conditions.<sup>120</sup> He remained loyal thereafter to her and to the French crown.<sup>121</sup> His release, however, enraged certain barons and incited rebellion against Blanche, discussed below.

Pierre de Dreux (1190-1250), known as Pierre Mauclerc, Count of Brittany, descendant of the powerful House of Dreux in Northern France, and second cousin of Louis VIII, boycotted Louis IX's coronation to show his independence from the crown, led a number of coalitions against Blanche, and remained hostile to her and to Thibaut de Champagne until his reconciliation with them in 1233. King Philip Augustus of France had given Mauclerc the county of Brittany by promoting his marriage to Alix,

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<sup>119</sup> Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 59.

<sup>120</sup> Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 84.

<sup>121</sup> Richard, *Saint Louis*, pp. 13-14.

Duchess of Brittany. In 1204, Philip Augustus had re-captured the Norman and Angevin lands accorded to the English by treaty four years earlier. While most of the great Anglo-Norman magnates had fled to England at Philip Augustus's advance, leaving behind a relatively stable county for him, he wished to ensure that the more vulnerable borderlands were held by his close family, including Mauclerc.<sup>122</sup> When Alix died in 1221, Mauclerc had to surrender the official title of count to his four-year-old son, becoming regent rather than count. Seeking a fief of his own, he resolved to marry Joan of Flanders, the same Joan whose husband Ferdinand was at that time imprisoned in the Louvre.<sup>123</sup> But the Pope, on Blanche's advice, refused to offer Joan an annulment, and when Blanche released Ferdinand from prison, any chance of a marriage between Joan and Mauclerc was effectively eliminated. In retaliation, Mauclerc gathered together Thibaut de Champagne and Hugh le Brun, the Count of La Marche, and prepared for war against the regent, though Thibaut's defection from the group disrupted their initial military plans.<sup>124</sup> There were at least three further acts of rebellion against the regent: one was a plan to abduct Louis IX in order to separate him from his mother's influence; the others consisted of an attack on Thibaut's lands and a plot supporting Henry III's re-invasion of the

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<sup>122</sup> L. Grant, 'Blanche of Castile and Normandy', in D. Crouch and K. Thompson (eds.), *Normandy and its Neighbours, 900-1250: Essays for David Bates* (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 118-27, at p. 120.

<sup>123</sup> G. Sivéry, *Blanche de Castile* (Paris 1990), p. 136.

<sup>124</sup> Berger, *Histoire*, pp. 80-3.

Angevin territories, from which Mauclerc stood to gain.<sup>125</sup> Blanche succeeded in quelling all three attempts at power.<sup>126</sup>

Enguerrand III de Coucy (1182-1242), Count of Dreux, first cousin of Pierre Mauclerc, and descendent of Louis VI through his mother, Alix of Dreux, was among the most powerful of the great barons, or *grands*. He stood to gain from the attacks on Thibaut's lands, in which he participated.<sup>127</sup> He is placed by two chroniclers at the centre of the plot to depose Blanche: the Ménéstral de Reims and John la Long of the *Chronica monasterii sancti Bertini* claim that the barons wished to wrest the crown from Louis IX and place it on Enguerrand's head on the basis of his relation to Louis VI.<sup>128</sup> This is likely an exaggeration: deposing the regent might give the conspirators significant influence over the king, but overthrowing the king himself, especially one with such legitimate claims to the throne,

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<sup>125</sup> The attempted abduction of Louis IX in 1227, his flight to Montlhéry, and his delivery by the citizens of Paris is described in *Chroniques de Saint-Denis*, ed. N. de Wailly and J. D. Guiniaut, in *RHGF*, xxi, p. 104; Jean de Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. J. Monfrin (Paris, 1995), pp. 41-42; and in Guillaume de Nangis, *Vie et vertus de saint Louis*, ed. P. Daunou and J. Naudet, in *RHGF*, xx, p. 314.

<sup>126</sup> The classic narrative of the revolts during Blanche's regency, with thorough reference to primary sources, is found in Berger, *Histoire*, pp. 108-202. Grant has recently demonstrated, however, that the threat of the baronial revolts on Blanche's regency are largely overblown by Louis IX's hagiographers, and that Blanche had other, significant issues to attend to during the period. See Grant's extensively documented account in her *Blanche of Castile*, pp. 78-105. For more general overviews, see Labarge, *Saint Louis*, pp. 37-40, Richard, *Saint Louis*, pp. 12-19, and Sivéry, *Blanche de Castile*, pp. 134-166.

<sup>127</sup> On Enguerrand's involvement in the war against Champagne, see Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H.R. Luard (3 vols., London, 1890) iii, p. 3. Le Goff calls Enguerrand the 'ringleader' of the propaganda movement against Blanche, though without indicating any primary sources. See Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 61-2.

<sup>128</sup> John of Ypres, *Chronica monasterii sancti Bertini*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH SS*, xxv, p. 809; *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims au XIIIe siècle*, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1876), no. 347.

would call into question the customs of succession on which they all depended.<sup>129</sup> Nevertheless, these accounts indicate the centrality of Enguerrand's role within Mauclerc's faction.

Philip Hurepel (1201-1235), the Count of Boulogne, half-brother of Louis VIII, and uncle of Louis IX, might have expected to hold some role as co-regent, given his close relation to the king, but Louis VIII's sole appointment of Blanche dashed these hopes.<sup>130</sup> Though he both attended and played a role safeguarding Louis IX's coronation, he began to collude with the families of Dreux, Chatillon and Coucy soon afterward.<sup>131</sup> The barons claimed both Mauclerc and Hurepel as their leaders, using Hurepel's close kinship to Louis VIII to legitimise their campaign.<sup>132</sup> Hurepel also supported the invasion of Thibaut de Champagne's lands a few years later.<sup>133</sup>

Hue de le Ferté's (d. 1232) involvement in the rebellion is only known from his three *serventois*. The *Layettes du trésor des chartes* record the letter of invitation he received for Louis IX's coronation, which he presumably attended, given that he is not mentioned among the barons who boycotted it.<sup>134</sup> Nevertheless, he must have thought he could benefit from colluding with Mauclerc. He and his family, the lords of Ferté-Bernard, held land in Maine bordering both Mauclerc's county of Brittany and the

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<sup>129</sup> Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, pp. 280-1, 300.

<sup>130</sup> Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 83.

<sup>131</sup> Jean de Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, pp. 36-9.

<sup>132</sup> Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 83.

<sup>133</sup> See Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 58-64 and Berger, *Histoire*, pp. 71-88.

<sup>134</sup> *Layettes du trésor des chartes*, ed. A Teulet, (5 vols., Paris, 1863-1909), ii, no. 1827.

Angevin territory re-captured in 1204 by Louis IX's grandfather, Philip Augustus, the area that Henry III was plotting to re-take with Mauclerc's help.<sup>135</sup> A *jeu-parti* (RS800) between Hue's son, Bernard de la Ferté, and the count of Brittany (*li cuens de Bretagne*) testifies to the continued rapport between the two families.<sup>136</sup>

## 2.2. Baronial Propaganda

RS699 and Hue's two other *serventois* were part of a larger attempt among Mauclerc's supporters, and among certain university members, to discredit Blanche during the baronial revolts and student strike of the late 1220s.<sup>137</sup>

The extant propaganda material is preserved in a small number of contemporary songs, and in the barons' attitudes as reported retrospectively—and to various degrees of reliability—by chroniclers.<sup>138</sup>

What all of the propaganda has in common is its attempt to re-sexualise Blanche, to stamp out her reputation of devout widowhood by exaggerating her 'womanliness' in its most sinful sense. Hue de le Ferté's two other

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<sup>135</sup> On the politics of Normandy, Brittany, and the Angevin lands during this period, see Lindy Grant, 'Blanche of Castile and Normandy', pp. 118-27.

<sup>136</sup> For RS800's text, see *Le Romancero François: Histoire de quelques anciens trouvères, et choix de leurs chansons*, ed. A.P. Paris (Paris, 1833), pp. 160-163. On the identity of the *cuens de Bretagne*, see J. Bédier, 'Les chansons du Comte de Bretagne', in J. Bédier (ed.), *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à M. Alfred Jeanroy* (Paris, 1928), pp. 477-95.

<sup>137</sup> Sivéry, *Blanche de Castile*, p. 141. In 1229, members of the University of Paris were engaged in their own revolt against Blanche. See Sivéry, *Blanche de Castile*, pp. 154-157.

<sup>138</sup> For a discussion of the chroniclers' biases, see Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, pp. 81-3. Hue de le Ferté's three *serventois*, as well as two songs attributed to the Count of Brittany, are presented with historical commentary in *Le Romancero François*, pp. 143-203. Examples of propaganda are also presented in Berger, *Histoire*, pp. 107-110, 144-159, and Sivéry, *Blanche de Castile*, pp. 147-166.

songs, for example, assert that Blanche was having affairs with Thibaut de Champagne and the roman legate, Romanus Frangipani, on whose advice the Pope had refused Joan of Flanders's annulment.<sup>139</sup> The chronicles of the minstrel of Reims, composed in the 1260s, go so far as to claim that Blanche had had a child with Cardinal Frangipani.<sup>140</sup> Moreover, the *Chronique rimée dite de Saint Magloire* presents Thibaut de Champagne as a debaucher (*ribaut*) who has liaisons with his *loial amie*, the queen of France.<sup>141</sup> In a contemporary dialogue song between the personas of Mauclerc and a certain Gautier, Blanche is referred to as *Dame Hersent*, the she-wolf in the stories of Renart the Fox, who is infamously raped by Renart.<sup>142</sup> *Dame Hersent* also appears as a priest's prostitute in a fabliau from the early thirteenth century, *Le Prestre teint* (The Dyed Priest)—an appropriate characterisation, given that the Latin term for she-wolf, *lupa*, had long been recognised as slang for prostitute.<sup>143</sup> According to the

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<sup>139</sup> Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 16. On Thibaut de Champagne's alleged passion for Blanche as reported by a chronicler of the *Grandes chroniques de France*, see Berger, *Histoire*, pp. 145-52. Regarding hostilities towards Frangipani, a verse voiced by the clerics of the University of Paris reads: 'Heu! Morimur strati, vincti, mersi, spoliati;/ Mentula legati nos facit ista pati'. ('Alas, we die lying on the ground, chained, drowned, robbed. The cock of the [papal] legate makes us suffer these things.'). quoted in *Le Romancero François*, p. 166.

<sup>140</sup> *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims au treizième siècle*, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1876), p. 96. This dating is from Robert Levine, 'Introduction', in *A Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Robert Levine (Lewiston, 1990), p. 1.

<sup>141</sup> *Chronique rime dite de Saint-Magloire*, *Historiens de France*, ed. N. de Wailly and L. Delisle, in *RHGF*, xxii, p. 83.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. D. Kelly, *The Medieval Imagination: Rhetoric and the Poetry of Courtly Love*, (Madison and London, 1978), pp. 40-1. For the song text, see *Recueil de chants historiques français depuis le Xlle jusqu'au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. A. Le Roux de Lincy (2 vols., Paris 1841-1842), i, p. 176. The song appears in **TrouvC**, fol. 87v and **TrouvU**, fol. 153r.

<sup>143</sup> This slang sense of *lupa* originated in Ancient Rome but extended into the middle ages: a ninth-century gloss on the Bible contained in a St. Gallen manuscript, for example, reads 'lupa meretrix dicitur' (she-wolf means prostitute),

*Grandes Chroniques de France*, the barons maintained that ‘la royne Blanche... ne devoit pas gouverner si grant chose comme le royaume de France et qu’il n’appartenoit pas à fame de tel chose faire’ (Queen Blanche... ought not to govern such a great thing as the Kingdom of France, and that it was not fitting for a woman to do such a thing).<sup>144</sup> Like the *domna/femna* distinction in medieval lyric, these characterisations demote Blanche from lady figure to woman, from third-gendered regent to prostitute, or, in the case of *Dame Hersent*, to prostitute-animal, perpetuating the long-entrenched link between woman and nature, femininity and animality.

### 2.3. Coucy’s Legacy

Enguerrand de Coucy’s involvement in the revolt raises questions about the geopolitical significance of the Chastelain de Coucy’s melody in this new context. With their land-designating titles serving as records of family conquest, the barons’ identities were constituted primarily through place, so much so that in political songs, the barons’ lands often become

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see *Glossae biblicae in codice Sangallensi*, ed. P. Vaciago (Turnhout, 2004), p. 422; and Bernard of Cluny’s *De Contemptu Mundi* contains a passage in which he condemns the one who desires money as being worse than a *lupa*. See Bernard of Cluny, *Scorn for the World: Bernard of Cluny’s De contemptu mundi: the Latin text with English Translation and an Introduction*, ed. and trans. R.E. Pepin (East Lansing, Mich., 1991), book 2, line 483. For the story of *Le prestre teint*, see *Le prestre teint*, in *Recueil général et complet des fabliaux des XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, ed. A. de Montaiglon and G. Raynaud (6 vols., Paris, 1872, 1890, repr. New York, 1964), vi, no. 139, pp. 8-23.

<sup>144</sup> *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. J. Viard (10 vols., Paris, 1920-53), vii, p. 38.

metonymies for their persons: Thibaut de Champagne becomes *Champagne*, the Count of Brittany becomes *li bretons*, and the Count of Bar is rendered *li barrois*.<sup>145</sup> To what extent, then, could a melody by the Chastelain de Coucy evoke the place of Coucy? The importance of names and titles extends to most trouvère manuscripts, with their authorial attributions, trouvère illuminations, and sections organised by author. Since RS700 is attributed to the Chastelain de Coucy in manuscripts dating into the fourteenth century, there was clearly an ongoing tradition of associating the song with him. When contemporary audiences heard RS700, many would have recognised its provenance at the court of Coucy. When Hue de le Ferté reused the Chastelain's melody some thirty years after its introduction, those who recognised it would have known its geographical associations. In Hue's reuse, however, the melody's geographical ties assumed new, provocative meanings because of Enguerrand de Coucy's overt association with the rebellion against Blanche de Castile and Thibaut de Champagne. The melody could be heard as signalling allegiance to Enguerrand's faction, or as underscoring the continued literary prowess (and corresponding physical power) of Coucy, acts of identification made more powerful precisely because they are not performed with words, but rather suggest themselves to the listener through the allusive qualities of the music. For audiences whose introduction to RS700 and RS699

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<sup>145</sup> The reference to *li barrois* is found in the dialogue song mentioned above between Mauclerc and Gautier; Mauclerc is referred to as *li bretons* in the same dialogue song; Thibaut is referred to as *Champagne* in RS1887.

followed the inverse chronological order of the songs' construction, hearing RS699 would have influenced later hearings of RS700, allowing the memory of the barons' message to be cued anew during RS700's long reception history.

If the Chastelain is identified as Guy IV, then he was active while Enguerrand III de Coucy was growing up there and aided in the regency of Coucy while Enguerrand was a minor.<sup>146</sup> This would establish a personal link between the Chastelain de Coucy, who composed the melody of RS699, and the young Enguerrand de Coucy, who played a central role in the revolt inspiring RS699's text.

## 2.4 Reading RS699

The text of RS699 immediately shows the influence of RS700. Besides replicating the text of the first two lines, Hue reuses the Chastelain's rhyme scheme of ababbccdd in the first stanza of RS699, preserving the original rhyme sounds. RS699 does not, however, adopt the elegant *coblas capcaudadas* rhyme sounds of RS700's subsequent stanzas. Instead, while maintaining the pattern ababbccdd, the rhyme sounds follow a *coblas doblas* pattern: the rhyme sounds of the first stanza are repeated in the second stanza (though *-ment* becomes *-ent*), then a new set of sounds is introduced for both the third and fourth stanzas, and a final set of sounds is used in both the fifth verse and the envoi. Notably, every stanza maintains

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<sup>146</sup> D. Mayer-Martin, *Melodic Materials in Trouvère Music: A Comparative Analysis of the Chansons of Châtelain de Coucy, Gace Brulé, Thibaut de Champagne, and Gillebert de Berneville* (PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 1981), pp. 34-5.

the constant rhyme sound *c* = *-aigne*, the same rhyme sound as in RS700. By replicating RS700's rhyme sounds in the first stanza of RS699, Hue de le Ferté evokes RS700 and its associations more strongly. Once the combination of the melody, the opening lines of text, and the familiar rhyme sounds cue the listener's memory, it is no longer necessary to reconstruct the complex sequence of rhyme sounds of RS700; Hue only has to evoke the chanson's basic effect by repeating the ababbccdd scheme with its constant *c* = *-aigne*.

The song opens by revealing that its subject is the French court, which the narrator praises ironically:

Je chantaisse volentiers liement,  
se je trouvaisse en mon cuer l'ochoison;  
et deïssë et l'estre et l'errement,  
se j'osaisse metre m'entention,  
de la grant cour de France, au douz renom,  
ou toute valour se baigne (1.1-6).<sup>147</sup>

I would willingly sing cheerfully if I found occasion in my heart, and would tell of both the fact of it and how things are going, if I dared reveal my thoughts, regarding the great court of France of noble renown, in which all valour bathes itself.

The irony here is emphasised by the endings *-ment*, which both occur at the ends of the phrases on the same, slightly ornamented ligature pitches.<sup>148</sup> The image of valour, almost personified, luxuriating indulgently

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<sup>147</sup> Old French text quoted from *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies*, no. 417.

<sup>148</sup> *Je ment* means 'I lie'. The phrase 'je ne ment' occurs at 1.3 in RS700.

in the warm bath of the French court suggests decadence, or perhaps the act of washing away sins.

The second stanza implicitly refers to Blanche de Castile as the narrator's lady (*dame*):

De ma dame vos di je vraiment  
qu'ele aime tant son petit enfaçon  
qu'el ne veut pas qu'il se travaut souvent  
en departir l'avoir de sa mason.  
Maiz ele en doune et depart a fuison;  
mout en envoie en Espagne  
et mout en met en esforcier Champaigne,  
s'en fait fermer chastiaux pour mieus valoir;  
De tant sunt ja par le creü si hoir. (2.1-9)

Of my lady, I tell you truly that she loves her little son so much that she does not wish for him to toil so often at distributing the wealth of his house. Instead, she gives and distributes in abundance. She sends much of it to Spain, and much is put into fortifying Champagne, enclosing castles so that they are worth more; her heirs are increased by that much.

The text maintains its ironic tone here, claiming that Blanche has taken control of Louis's royal wealth because 'she loves him so much' and does not want him to 'toil', reserving for herself the 'hard work' of emptying the royal treasury. The beneficiaries of this alleged smuggling operation are her Spanish cousins in France, her heirs, and Thibaut de Champagne, her faithful ally.<sup>149</sup> The image of enclosing castles may function as an analogy between Blanche de Castile and Adèle de Champagne, the mother of

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<sup>149</sup> Ferdinand of Flanders and Thibaut de Champagne's mother, Blanche de Navarre, were fellow Iberians and loyal supporters of Blanche. On Blanche's Spanish allies in France, see Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 84.

Philip II and regent of France from 1190-1192, who was known to have openly opposed her son's wishes by fortifying the castles of her dower.<sup>150</sup>

By 1231, Thibaut de Champagne had good reason to be fortifying his lands, as he had just fought a war against the Count of Nevers, and his lands in Champagne were now being attacked at both the French and Burgundian borders by the same barons who opposed Blanche's regency.<sup>151</sup> In both cases, Blanche came to Thibaut's aid: in the war against the Count of Nevers, she had intervened to make peace, and in the summer of 1231, she summoned the royal army to defend Thibaut against the barons, with Louis IX at the head of the royal defence.<sup>152</sup> Jean de Joinville recounts that the barons, having done homage to Louis IX, were reluctant to fight against him and tried to convince him to leave the battlefield. He repeatedly refused to do so; thus they had no choice but to retreat.<sup>153</sup> So the narrator's claim that Blanche is using royal money to fortify Champagne is historically true: Blanche did invest some (human) resources into defending Thibaut's lands, as he was one of few barons loyal to her at the time.

Judging by his other songs, Hue de le Ferté shared the barons' hostilities towards Thibaut de Champagne, as both songs attack him. One of them, *En talent ai que je die*, is devoted exclusively to denigrating him. It

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<sup>150</sup> See Vones-Liebenstein, 'Une femme gardienne du royaume?', p. 10, n. 4.

<sup>151</sup> De Joinville describes the barons' invasion of Champagne in his *Vie de saint Louis*, from book 18, §82 to book 19, §86, pp. 42-44.

<sup>152</sup> De Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, 1995, pp. 43-44. See also Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 17.

<sup>153</sup> De Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, p. 44.

challenges his legitimacy as Count of Champagne by accusing him of being a bastard and alluding to his *felonie*, his alleged murder of Louis VIII.<sup>154</sup> Thibaut was known as ‘the Posthumous’ because he was born after his father Thibaut III’s death.<sup>155</sup> Hue construes this to mean that Thibaut was conceived (‘fu engendrez’) after his father died (‘fu trespassez a mort de vie’) and is therefore not Thibaut III’s legitimate heir. Notably, *En talent ai que je die* is set to a melody by Gace Brulé, a first-generation trouvère associated with the court of Champagne, whose patrons included Thibaut de Champagne’s grandmother and possibly Blanche herself.<sup>156</sup> That Hue reuses the melody of this classic Champenois song for the purpose of slandering the Champenois count makes his accusations all the more cutting.

Hue’s anti-Thibaut sentiments reappear in the second stanza of RS699, where the narrator, distorting Magnificat imagery, claims that his lady (Blanche) disgraces a very high noble baron and elevates a wicked traitor<sup>157</sup>:

Se ma dame fust nee de Paris  
et ele fust roïne par raison;  
s’a ele assez fier cuer, ce m’est avis,  
por faire honte a un bien haut baron  
et d’alever un trahiteur felon.  
Deus en cest point la maintaigne

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<sup>154</sup> For the full text of *En talent ai que je die*, see *Trouvère lyrics with Melodies*, no. 70.

<sup>155</sup> Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 42.

<sup>156</sup> A. Wallensköld, ‘Introduction’, in *Les chansons de Thibaut de Champagne, Roi de Navarre*, ed. A. Wallensköld (Paris, 1920), xii. According to Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, Gace Brulé’s songs were performed for Blanche and Louis VIII in 1213. See his *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. H.-François Delaborde (Paris, 1899), p. 112.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. Lk. i. 52, ‘Deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles’.

et quart son fius, que ja feme ne praigne;  
quar par home ne puis je pas veoir  
qu'ele perde jamaiz son grant pooir (2.1-9).

Had my lady been born in Paris, she would have been the rightful queen, although she has a heart proud enough, in my opinion, to shame a very high-born baron and raise up a fell traitor. On this point, may God support her and look after her son, so that he never take a wife. For I cannot see that she [the queen] would lose her great power through any man.

The *trahiteur* in question is likely Thibaut de Champagne. He was considered a traitor because he had abandoned the rebellion against Blanche, and because of his alleged disloyalty to Louis VIII, including the *felonie* mentioned in Hue's other *serventois*, though there are other, more complex political and economic reasons for his unpopularity.<sup>158</sup> The allusion to the Magnificat casts Blanche as a kind of anti-Mary figure whom God should 'support', though the irony here is palpable. As the narrator emphasises, Blanche is a foreigner, born far from Paris, who would never allow a man to usurp her power, not even her own son, whose marriage she is preventing.<sup>159</sup>

The *bien haut baron* that Blanche has 'disgraced' is likely Pierre Mauclerc, the Count of Brittany. In 1227, Blanche summoned Mauclerc and the Duke of La Marche, Hugh le Brun, to court with the intention of persuading them to pledge their loyalty to her. They agreed to do so only at a very high price: the payment of ten thousand livres tournois and the gift of

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<sup>158</sup> Cf. Richard, *Saint Louis*, pp. 43-5.

<sup>159</sup> RS699, 2.7-9.

several Angevin lands.<sup>160</sup> Blanche approved of these conditions in an agreement known as the treaty of Vendôme. However, while Hugh le Brun kept the terms of the treaty, Mauclerc began to court the idea of forming an alliance with Henry III of England, even going so far as to pay him homage in October 1229.<sup>161</sup> When Blanche discovered this, she summoned Mauclerc to court to answer for treason, but he failed to show up, a sign of open rebellion. Blanche declared him an enemy of the French crown and called together the barons of the royal host to attack him. The barons, being sympathetic to Mauclerc, sent only a symbolic contingent. However, Thibaut arrived alongside an army of at least three hundred Champenois knights, which resulted in the repossession of the Angevin lands that Blanche had granted to Mauclerc in 1227 and their redistribution to Mauclerc's brother.<sup>162</sup> It was Blanche's decision to revoke Mauclerc's lands for his treachery; hence the narrator's claim that Blanche puts shame ('faire honte') on a 'bien haut baron', the great Count of Brittany.

The text of the envoi confirms this allusion to Mauclerc:

Deus, li las de la Bretagne  
trouvera il jamaiz ou il remaigne?  
S'ensi li veut toute terre tollir,  
dont ne sai jou qu'il puisse devenir (6.1-4).

God, the miserable creature from Brittany—will he ever find a place to dwell? If she wants to take all the land from him, I do not know what will become of him.

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<sup>160</sup> Richard, *Saint Louis*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>161</sup> Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 17.

<sup>162</sup> Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 18.

Here, the text mentions not only Mauclerc's origin ('Bretaigne'), but also the possibility of all of his lands being revoked, leaving the listener with an impression of the power disparity between the sovereign, Blanche, and her vassal.

The fourth stanza contains a seemingly enigmatic reference to Compiègne: 'Bien i parut l'autre jour a Compaigne,/ quant li baron ne porent droit avoir/ ne ne.s deigna esgarder ne veoir' (this was made evident the other day at Compiègne, when the barons could not receive justice, for she did not deign to look at them and did not see them) (4.7-9). There are two events involving Louis IX that took place in Compiègne during the year 1230: In March, Philip Hurepel and other barons brought their grievances to Louis IX and Blanche regarding Thibaut de Champagne, and in September, an official announcement of peace was made in Compiègne between Louis IX and Hurepel.<sup>163</sup> The song likely refers to the former event, during which Blanche refused their request for royal sanction of a judicial duel against Thibaut de Champagne, denying them a hearing.<sup>164</sup>

The last line in the fourth stanza of RS699 recalls the point in RS700 where the narrator finds fault with his lady for never casting her eyes in his direction.<sup>165</sup> With the phrase 'ne ne.s deigna esgarder ne veoir', the

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<sup>163</sup> Berger, *Histoire*, pp. 159, 191.

<sup>164</sup> Berger, *Histoire*, p. 159. See also Sivéry, *Blanche de Castile*, pp. 162-3.

<sup>165</sup> Cf. RS700, 2.8-9: 'fors q'un petit li messiet, ce m'est vis,/ ce que trop tient ses ieus de moi eschiz' (her only minor flaw, it seems to me, is that she keeps her eyes from glancing at me).

narrator of RS699 echoes RS700's courtly fixation on the lady's affirmation, portraying Blanche as an indifferent sovereign-figure, as incapable as RS700's lady of rendering mercy to her vassals. This comparison between Blanche and the courtly lady is first made explicit in RS699's second stanza, where the narrator refers to her as 'ma dame' (my lady).<sup>166</sup>

### 3. Conclusions

By placing Blanche within the metaphorical, musico-poetic structures of courtly love, Hue accomplishes several things. The first, introduced in this chapter at the end of section 1.2, is that he equates her with a figure who is by definition attractive but untrustworthy, undermining Blanche's projected persona. While the Chastelain's narrator's lady hides her treachery with a benevolent appearance, Hue's narrator's lady hides her treachery with her generous patronage of religious houses, books, and art. Blanche's outward persona is discredited, RS699 alleges, by her smuggling operations and sexual exploits, offences inseparable from the taint of her foreignness and gender. The dislocation of finals in the shared melody could be heard as reinforcing this tainted reality in each stanza.<sup>167</sup>

Secondly, the words 'my lady' epitomise the appropriative nature of reconstructing Blanche's persona within the largely masculine discourse of courtly song, where the reality of the feminine is regularly eclipsed and

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<sup>166</sup> RS700, 2.1.

<sup>167</sup> Cf. RS700, 3.1-4: 'Quant je reguart son debonaire vis/ et je la proi sanz bel repons avoir,/ n'est merveille s'en l'esgart m'esbahiz,/ quant g'i connoiz ma mort et sai de voir'. On Blanche's piety and patronage of Bibles and breviaries, see Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 578.

replaced with the male fantasy of the lady.<sup>168</sup> Such a discourse is already doomed to misrepresent the feminine, but here it seems to be intentionally exploited: Blanche's reality is replaced by the narrator's name for her, his possession of her symbolic persona evident in the possessive 'ma dame'. The symbolic domain in which Blanche is reconfigured, with its deeply internalised masculinist tropes, normalises the misogyny found in RS699's text. RS699's music enacts and completes the listener's re-entry into this symbolic world, cuing in them a familiar 'house of being' that programmatically excludes women.<sup>169</sup>

This symbolic affront on Blanche is significant because it is the barons' last resort. As the envoi and fourth stanza of RS699 reveal, the leader of the baronial revolt, Mauclerc, had at this point just been defeated, and violent retaliation was no longer a viable option. Moreover, the window of opportunity for claiming the regency was closing: by 1231, Louis IX was turning seventeen, an age fit for rulership by most contemporary standards, and deposing Blanche was not as realistic or profitable as it might have

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<sup>168</sup> See Judith Butler's summary of Luce Irigaray's gender critique in J. Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York, 1990), p. 18.

<sup>169</sup> Martin Heidegger uses this phrase to describe language's preoccupation with 'tagging' or 'labelling' and its effects on perception. Since language is a ubiquitous filter of our experience, our being always proceeds 'within' it. I use Heidegger's phrase in a slightly different sense, with the understanding that melody can also, like language, be 'tagged', assuming certain identities, in particular contexts, for particular subjects. These musical identities not only influence, but also envelope, one's perception, so that one is 'inside' the identity of the song while it lasts. For Heidegger's explanation, see 'Brief über den "Humanismus"', *Wegmarken, Gesamtausgabe 9*, ed. Friedrich-Wilhelm von Herrmann (Frankfurt am Main, 1976), p. 313, and the interpretation given in P. Vandeveld, 'Language as the House of Being? How to Bring Intelligibility to Heidegger while Keeping the Excitement', *Philosophy Compass*, 9 (2014), pp. 253-62 at p. 255).

been six years earlier. RS699 is perhaps less about overthrowing established rule, then, and more about defiance, about using words or signs as forms of resistance, even when there is no chance of victory. Contrafacture becomes, here, a form of symbolic violence, with its parodic placement of text against (*contra*) text, the melody and shared first two lines of poetry constituting the hinge on which that comparison turns.<sup>170</sup>

With RS699's reference to Compiègne, where Blanche denied the barons their right to judicial duel, the contrafact also invokes the more general threat of increased royal jurisdiction over traditional baronial rights, an issue discussed further in the next chapter. Given this encroachment on baronial power, RS699 and the other *serventois* from Louis IX's minority can be seen as attempts by the barons not only to voice their defiance, but also to assert (musically and poetically) their courtly identity in doing so, as if defending their cultural independence. Although the events they comment on are ephemeral, bounded by a particular historical moment, the songs' preservation in **MT** speaks to their wider influence on the social memory and identity of the books' patrons and readers. The songs' textual and paratextual naming of those involved in the revolt—Hue as political poet, Mauclerc as victim, and the magnates of Bar, Brittany, and Burgundy as co-conspirators in the dialogue song—associates this movement permanently with specific families to whom viewers of the manuscripts

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<sup>170</sup> I understand symbolic violence here in Slavoj Žižek's sense, as the forces of language underlying the everyday world order that give rise to physical violence (what he terms 'subjective violence') and structural oppression ('systemic violence'). See his *Violence: Six Sideways Glances* (London, 2008), pp. 1-2, 8-10.

would likely have had some personal knowledge or relation.<sup>171</sup> The personal inflection of these political narratives would have made them fertile for discussion and anecdote, perhaps provoking a sense of pride, embarrassment, or humour in readers.

The politicisation of aristocratic names extends beyond those mentioned in the notated *serventois* from Blanche's regency though. RS700 and RS699 serve as reminders of the political commitments of aristocratic trouvères more generally, and of the importance of understanding them within their intricate network of alliances. Far from the nineteenth-century ideal of the reclusive artist-composer, the authors of contrafacta responded to and engaged with their surrounding circumstances, composing songs that were part of a community of conflicting interests and loyalties.

The Chastelain de Coucy's melody does not function here simply as a blank musical canvas on which to make a political text singable. The melody forms an associative bridge between old and new texts, the desire

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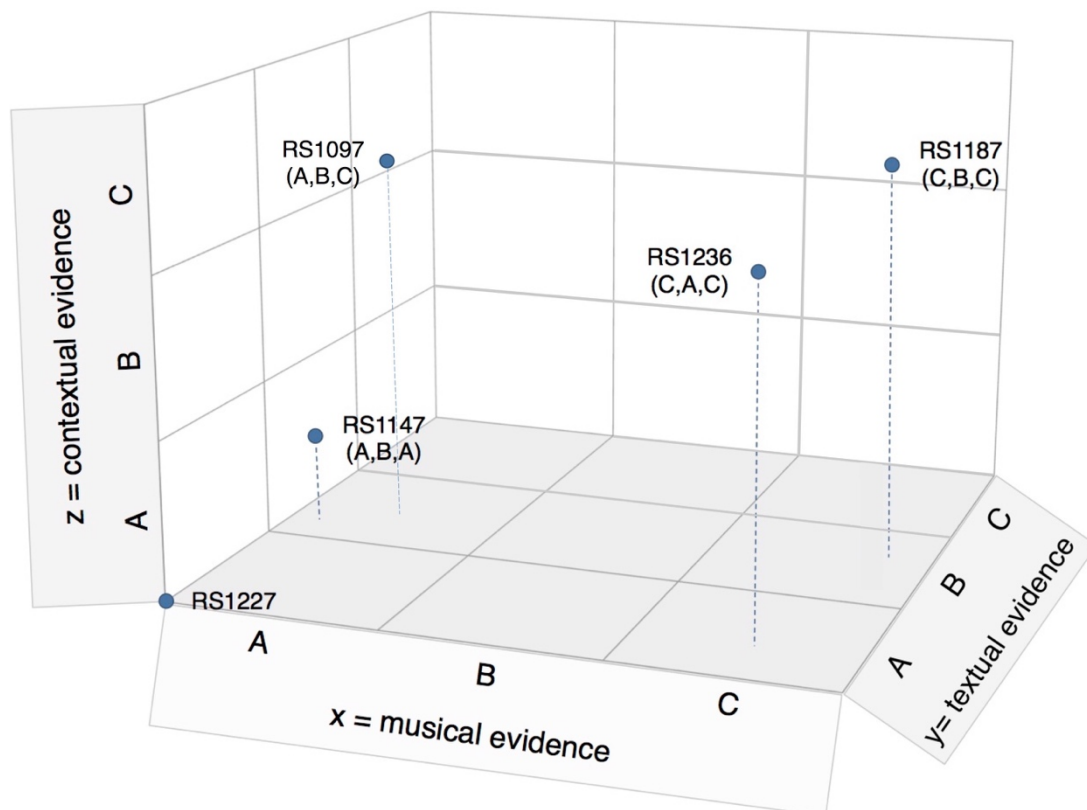
<sup>171</sup> For example, scholars have long linked **TrouvM**, which contains RS699, with Count Charles of Anjou (r.1247-1285), who was Blanche's son, and whose joint position as Count of Maine made him the overlord of Hue de le Ferté's family. Although it is no longer widely believed that Charles commissioned **TrouvM**, one of the manuscript's opening songs is attributed to 'li comte d'Angou', complete with a miniature of him on horseback, and two songs added at a later stage, RS165 and *Ben volgra s'esser poges*, mention Charles as their patron and King of Sicily. Although **TrouvM** is expressly Artesian in origin, some of its later sections may have been added at Charles's court in Naples. I am indebted to Alexandros Hatzikiriakos for these insights, presented at the Conference of Medieval and Renaissance Music in Sheffield, 2016. On the Ferté-Bernard family's relation to Charles, see M. L. Charles, *Les sires de Ferté-Bernard au Maine, depuis le XIe siècle* (Le Mans, 1870), p. 41. On Charles of Anjou's connection to music, see J. Maillard, 'Charles d'Anjou, roi trouvère du XIIIe siècle', *Musica Disciplina*, 21 (1967), pp. 7-66.

for intertextual comparison embodied in the texts' shared versification and opening poetic lines. The music, with its deep impressions on the memory, works together with the text to cue the audience's recognition of RS700, while RS700's geographical link to Enguerrand de Coucy imbues the melody with new political significance. By parodying the Chastelain's text, RS699 also establishes a tone of symbolic dominance that redresses the barons' military defeats. These features make RS699 appeal not only intellectually, but also emotionally, to those sympathetic to the barons' cause, offering a sense of cohesion and satisfaction to their political communities and a strong message of defiance to their opponents.

## Chapter 2: Contrafacture and Combat: The Case of *Quant je pluz sui en paour de ma vie*

### 1. Background

This chapter discusses the contrafacta of a chanson with the incipit *Quant je pluz sui en paour de ma vie*, identified by the Raynaud-Spanke number RS1227. RS1227 appears in ten manuscripts, five of which attribute it to the trouvère Blondel de Nesle. According to Yvan Lepage and Tischler, RS1227 has four known contrafacta, mapped in **Figure 2**. The musical, textual, and contextual relations of these songs to RS1227 are described below.



**Figure 2: Graph of RS1227's Contrafacta**

- **RS1187** is a jeu-parti with the incipit *Un jeu vous part, Andreu, ne laissies mie*. While RS1187 shares RS1227's rhyme scheme of **ababbabcccbabb**, it appears only in **TrouvC**, a source with staves but no notation, and will therefore be excluded from this discussion. Adding to this the fact of RS1187's lack of direct contextual links with RS1227, its coordinates on the graph are mapped as (C, B, C).
- **RS1236** is the anonymous Marian song *Quant je sui plus en perilleuse vie*.<sup>172</sup> It has what might be called musical notation, but the notation in its manuscript—F-Pn fr.2193, one of the sources of the Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*—has only two-lined staves with erratic square notes, its text located above the music rather than below, which suggests the notation was faked at a later stage to make the manuscript more prestigious. Although the Marian song's text is clearly a reworking of Blondel's chanson's text, preserving its versification, incipit, and several phrases, the song's lack of musical evidence makes it an unprovable case of musical contrafacture, excluding it from this dissertation. Its coordinates on the graph are therefore (C, A, C).
- **RS1097** is *Cuens je vos part un jeu par aatie*, a jeu-parti between Thibaut de Champagne and an opponent named Gui; RS1097 shares

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<sup>172</sup> The texts of all four contrafacta and a transcription of their music, on which rhythmic modes have been imposed, is found in *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies*, no. 695. My own musical transcriptions of RS1227, RS1147, and RS1097 are found in Appendix 2.2. Yvan Lepage's edition of RS1227's text with notes on manuscript variants is reproduced in Appendix 3.2.

RS1227's rhyme scheme but not its sounds. Its melody, notated in five sources and transcribed in Appendices 2.2a and 2.2b, is sufficiently close to that of RS1227 to warrant its inclusion on the A axis of musical evidence, giving it the coordinates (A, B, C).

- **RS1147** is an anonymous political song with the incipit *Gent de France*. Its melody, extant only in **TrouvK**, is nearly identical to **TrouvK**'s version of RS1227. The contrafact shares RS1227's rhyme scheme and sounds, except for the **c**-rhyme in line 10, which is subsumed into line 11 in the first two stanzas. In the third stanza, however, the **c**-rhyme is restored. RS1147 has several contextual connections with RS1227, which this chapter discusses in detail. Its coordinates are therefore (A, B, A).

A list of manuscripts containing RS1227, RS1147, and RS1097 is found in Appendix 1.2. **TrouvK** and **TrouvN**, both of which date from the 1270s, are the only sources containing all three songs, though **TrouvN**'s version of RS1147 is now lost. In **TrouvK**, the three songs belong to the manuscript's main corpus, which was produced by two scribes at most, one textual and one musical.<sup>173</sup> The main corpus opens with songs by composers of high noble rank, proceeds to songs by lesser-known composers of lesser noble rank, and concludes with a group of anonymous songs. RS1097 is found closest to the beginning, among Thibaut de Champagne's songs, at pp.39-

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<sup>173</sup> The text and music scribes of **TrouvK** may have been the same person. See Boorman et al., 'Sources, MS, §III: Secular Monophony' in *Grove*.

41; RS1227 is located further on among Blondel's songs at pp. 109-11; and RS1147 appears towards the end, among the anonymous songs of the main corpus, at pp. 366-7. Another series of anonymous songs, arranged in alphabetical order, was appended to **TrouvK** at a later stage but does not contain any of the songs in this contrafact group.<sup>174</sup> This narrows the chronology of both contrafacta down to before 1280, the approximate dating of **TrouvK**. It is generally agreed that Blondel de Nesle was part of the first generation of trouvères, active between 1180 and 1200, based on the dedications in his songs to Conon de Bethune and Gace Brulé.<sup>175</sup> One can assume, therefore, that RS1227 dates from this period. Since Thibaut de Champagne died in 1253, RS1097 cannot have been made after 1253. RS1147 was probably composed a few years after RS1097: based on its text's internal historical references, discussed in detail below, it can be given a *terminus post quem* of 1259.

### 1.1. Analysis of RS1227's Variation

RS1227's readings can be split into three main variant clusters, though the boundaries of these groups are somewhat fluid. The most obvious cluster is **KNX**, whose graphical and pitch-wise resemblances are typical of that source group, while similarities between other sources begin to emerge at poetic line 5, as indicated by the coloured boxes in the comparative transcription in Appendix 2.2a. Here, **TMUZ** open the line with *G* rather

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<sup>174</sup> See Huot, *From Song to Book*, pp. 51-52; and Boorman et al., 'Sources, MS, §III: Secular Monophony', in *Grove*.

<sup>175</sup> Karp, 'Blondel de Nesle', in *Grove*.

than *E* (*c* in **TrouvU**, which is written up a fourth from the other sources), ascending only to *b* rather than *c* in line 6, though this is possibly sung as a *b*-flat, given that **TrouvU** renders this note *e*-flat, and **KX**'s versions of RS1097 use *b*-flat. **RV** emerge as the third main variant here, with their ascent to *c* in line 5 and *d* in line 6, as shown in the green box in Appendix 2.2a. While **TrouvO**'s reading resembles that of **KNX** at the song's opening, it becomes more like **TMUZ** at its ascent to *d* in line 7, as indicated by its incorporation into their blue box in Appendix 2.2a. It then resembles **KNX** from lines 9-11, and, in the final poetic line (line 14), concludes with a melisma identical to **TrouvM** at *doucement*. In this way, it straddles both variant groups. Its characteristic application and cancellation of *F*-sharp, however, sets it apart from all other readings, providing a later source's window into semitone use that could arguably be applied backward to the less prescriptive readings of other sources, though its applicability to earlier practices is by no means certain. While **TrouvV** often contains aberrant musical readings, its version of RS1227 is unusually coherent: the only major inconsistency is its shift from an *F*-based sonority to one based, like the other sources, on *c*, which occurs at a clef error in poetic line 2.

While RS1227's melody is, like most *trouvère* melodies, in bar form, several of its source readings contain repetitions within the musical line. One such example is the re-use and re-ordering, in all three songs, of four melodic cells in poetic lines 5, 10, and 12 in **KNX** and in lines 5 and 10 of **TrouvO**, shown respectively in **Examples 2.1** and **2.2**. The latter example

shows the care with which accidentals are rendered in **TrouvO**: where a manuscript line change in poetic line 5 cancels the F-sharp, a flat is inserted in line 10 to produce the same effect. Another instance of repetition within the line occurs at the seventh syllable of line 1 and the third syllable of line 2, marked in red in the comparative transcription in Appendix 2.2a. While this repetition is most literal in **KXP**, even **TrouvV**'s rather different rendering of line 1's melodic cell is repeated approximately in line 2. The fact that these short melodic segments are repeated across different sources, despite variations of pitch from source to source, suggests they were perceived as independent motivic cells on which to build larger musical lines.

The least musically varied section of RS1227 is that of poetic lines 8-10. These are also the song's briefest lines, consisting of 3, 4, and 6 syllables respectively, their triplet of **c** rhymes suddenly increasing the rhyme frequency at the stanza's centre. The briefest of these lines, line 8, is musically identical across all sixteen of RS1227's, RS1147's, and RS1097's coherent source readings, as seen in Appendix 2.2a.<sup>176</sup> The end of poetic line 10, too, is identical across the sources, except for the slightly different syllable distribution of **TrouvU**. Such uniformity testifies to this section's memorability, the brevity of its poetic lines attracting the listener's attention. The fact that line 8 lacks any variation or elaboration also suggests it was marked out temporally or emphatically in performance from

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<sup>176</sup> **TrouvV**'s version of RS1097 is the only reading that differs at line 8, but its entire reading is anomalous.

KNX: RS1227  
5.s'e - le m'o - cit, siens en iert li pe - chiez;

KNX: RS1147  
5.car vous es - tes par en-que-ste ju - giez.

KNX: RS1097  
5.et li au - tres gui - le mult du - re - ment.

RS1227  
9.qu'en doi j'a li 10.de - man-der fors mer - ci?

RS1147  
dou - ce Fran - ce 9.n'a - piau't l'en plus en - si;

RS1097  
9.di - tes m'en droit, 10.si - re, tout o - ren - droit.

RS1227  
12.je ne m'en doi plain - dre mi - e;

RS1147  
12.u - ne ter - re a - cu - ver - tie,

RS1097  
12.et j'av - rai l'au - tre par - ti - e.

**Example 2.1: Comparison of motivic cells 1-4 in KNX's reading of RS1227, RS1147, and RS1097**

TrouvO, line 5  
5.s'e - le m'o - cist, suens en iert li pe - chiez;

TrouvO, line 10  
10.de - man-der fors mer - ci?

**Example 2.2: Comparison of motivic cells 1-4 in TrouvO**

the line that follows: if it had been subsumed into the following line and heard as part of a longer phrase, some slight variations or elaborations would likely have appeared, as they do in the song's longer poetic lines. The effects of this striking musico-poetic section on the text will be discussed further below.

Appendix 2.2b contains a comparative transcription of RS1227, RS1147, and RS1097 in **TrouvK**, the only source to contain all three songs. While the musical readings of the three songs are similar, the notation of Blondel's song and the political contrafact is, as noted above, virtually identical. The only two differences are found in the rising motif of poetic line 13, where Blondel's song passes from *E* to *G* and the political contrafact moves directly from *E* to *F* instead. Since it is generally agreed there was one music scribe throughout **TrouvK**'s main corpus, these notational similarities, beyond corroborating this notion, suggest that the scribe recognised that these songs shared their melody and copied one directly from the other or both from the same exemplar, perhaps wishing to emphasise graphically the fact of the song's contrafaction.

## 1.2. Analysis of RS1227

Since RS1227, RS1147, and RS1097 all appear in **TrouvK**, my analysis of RS1227 focuses on these manuscript readings. RS1227's transcription in **Example 2.3** marks out not only the ABAB repetitions of the music's bar form, but also some of the repetitions found within the musical line, which are shown in coloured boxes or brackets. Lines 6 and 11, shown here with

orange-coloured brackets, are identical, while lines 5 and 12 contain the same four groups of pitches in different orders, as introduced above in the variation analysis. While the final, stepwise descent of a fourth remains the same between 5 and 12, the first three components of line 5 are reversed in line 12, creating a nearly symmetrical framing of lines 7-10, lines 5 and 12 constituting the outer layer and lines 6 and 11 the inner layer. Within this doubly framed kernel, lines 8-10, the shortest poetic lines, provide an aural summary of the anchoring pitches preceding it, incorporating the final notes of the first six lines, *F*, *D*, and *C*, into its finals in the same order of appearance, marked out in coloured circles in **Example 2.3**. Line 7, with its notated B-flat, provides a transition between them, leading back to *F* in line 8.

This framed musical kernel, already emphasised by the brevity of its poetic phrases, is reflected in Blondel's rhyme scheme, **ababbbabcccabb**. As discussed above, lines 8-10 form the compact rhyming triplet **ccc**, further marking out the ends of these shortened lines, and giving the performer an opportunity for understated emphasis. These three central verses are framed by the symmetric rhyming patterns **bbab** and **babb**, forming a palindrome that is slightly lopsided within the text's larger structure, as well as being slightly out of sync with its corresponding musical pattern. The fact that these musical and poetic motifs initially resemble, but ultimately resist, yielding to pleasing symmetric patterns creates a somewhat uncomfortable structure, which reinforces the unease expressed in the song's text.

Syllable →

Poetic Line

C4 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1 Quant je plus sui en po - or de ma vi - e

2 et je mains doi par re - son es - tre liez

3 lors me se - mont ma vo - len - te et pri - e

4 et fin - e a - mours que je soi - e en - voi - siez

5 s'e - le m'o - cit siens en iert li pe - chiez

6 trop a douz non pour fe - re vi - la - ni - e

7 et se je sui par mes euz tra - veil - liez

8 dont la vi

9 quèn doi ja li

10 de - man - der fors mer - ci

11 puis que par mi sui de joi - e es - loig - niez

12 je ne m'en doi plain - dre mi - e

13 cõn - ment q'uai - e es - te i - riez

14 dou - ce - ment sui en - ging - niez

**Example 2.3: Framing of musical motifs around lines 8-10 in TrouvK's version of RS1227**

As far as the potential for text setting is concerned, there are several features of the melodic line whose direction, tessitura, and degree of motion have the potential to modify the meaning of the language it carries. While the AB section invites a high degree of expressivity, particularly with the rise to *d* at the sixth syllable of lines 1 and 3, lines 5 and 12 are more limited in their range and resigned in their tone, their final pitch of *C* providing a sense of closure. This closed quality of *C/c* arises through its consecutive repetition at the beginning of phrases 1-4, establishing it as the melody's initial reference point. Lines 6 and 11, rising a fifth and falling a seventh within the space of six syllables, furnish the text with more motion. The final two phrases of the melody, however, provide the most dramatic musical gestures of the song: whereas all previous lines end on a descent to one of the lowest notes of the phrase, the whole of line 13's musical phrase ascends to *c*, a clear break from the dominating pattern. The momentum continues into the final phrase as *c* ascends further to a *d*, the first pitch of line 14 and the highest pitch of the song. If the performer should choose to accentuate the text of these final two lines, their melodic shape provides ample opportunity for it.

### **1.3. RS1227: Between Bare Life and Sacrifice**

While the lady's absolute sovereignty aroused suspicion and accusation in Chapter 1, here her power makes the narrator fear for his life. This is clear from the first poetic line, 'Quant je pluz sui en paour de ma vie', the word *paour* (fear) extending over a five-note melisma that peaks at the highest

note of the phrase, *d.*<sup>177</sup> Fear of impending death places him in a familiar position for a *trouvère*-narrator, an in-between condition in which he desires to be happy but is removed from joy, is on the brink of gaining the lady's favour but might just as well be killed by her.<sup>178</sup> His heart, and, as he later claims, his entire self, are in the lady's possession, separated from his subjectivity in a limbo-like state.<sup>179</sup> The life that remains in him seems either scarce or a source of torment: this is suggested when he refers to the 'life that he has' ('*vie/ que je ai*') in the last four poetic lines of the second stanza: '*Pour ce vous proi que merci en aiez,/ quar se vous avec la vie/ que je ai m'i destraigniez,/ mal vi biauté sanz pitiez*' (That is why I beg you to have mercy on me; for if you torment me in this way, given the life that I have, then it is to my misfortune that I saw beauty without pity) (2.10-14). *Vie* could be understood here in the sense that the lady is tormenting the narrator 'with' the degraded life that he has, or that she ought to have mercy on him 'given' the waning store of life that he has left.

As is typical of the *grand chant*, the lover-narrator frames his survival as being completely dependent on the whims of the lady. In the third

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<sup>177</sup> RS1227's Old French text is quoted hereafter from Blondel de Nesle, *L'œuvre lyrique de Blondel de Nesle*, ed. Y. G. Lepage (Paris, 1994), pp. 272-92.

<sup>178</sup> In the first stanza, the narrator '*doi par raison estre liés*' (has good to reason to be happy) (1.2.) but is '*de joie eslongiez*' (removed from joy) (1.11).

<sup>179</sup> The sixth stanza anticipates both the narrator's impending death and the lady's immanent mercy: '*Chançon, di li que mal vi assamblee/ tante biauté com ele me moustra/ en sa face fresche et encoulouree,/ donc li orgueus en son cuer avala,/ qui son ami ocirre li fera./ [...] tost m'en iert guerredounee/ la painne, quant li plaira/ et pitiez l'en prendera*' (Song, tell her that it is to my misfortune that I saw so many aspects of beauty assembled together as she showed me in her fresh and colourful face, for which pride descended into her heart, which will make her kill her friend [...] Soon my suffering will be well compensated, when it pleases her and pity seizes her) (6.1-5, 6.12-14).

stanza, he emphasises the lady's freedom to withhold any sign of favour to him, declaring that no amount of suffering can necessarily earn her recompense ('ne puis par mal souffrir/ que la painne vueille guerredouner/ que je ai pour li eüe') (3.11), the word 'recompense' (*guerredouner*) coinciding with a melisma on the line's melodic peak of *c*. In the sixth stanza, within the central musico-poetic kernel of the song's structure, he claims that the lady alone 'has the power to heal quickly a man stricken by such a sweet malady as I' ('quar c'est la rienz en cest mont qui pluz a/ tost sané/ home navré/ de si douce enferté/ comme je sui') (6.7-11). The narrator's persecutions are suddenly recast in a juridical light in the climactic final lines of **UCHORVKNX**'s last stanza, where he claims he feels accused of a great misdeed, but is nevertheless condemned by a just law: 'je me senz de grant meffait chargiez; s'en seroit m'erme perie,/ car a boen droit sui jugiez;/ Deus prengne vos en pitiez' (7.10-14) ('I feel accused of a great misdeed; so would my soul perish, for I am condemned by a just law. May God have mercy on you').<sup>180</sup> In **RVKNX**, this judicial turn is preceded earlier in the stanza by the variant phrase 'or voi bien que la mort me justice' (now I see that death condemns me) (7.3), rendered as 'or voi bien que la morz me defie' (now I see that death challenges/defies me) in **MT**. Since the ultimate agent of condemnation is the lady, and since it is understood that she acts freely, the lady's voluntary actions are here

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<sup>180</sup> This is **TrouvM**'s reading, which is shared by **TrouvHTCU**. In **RVKNX**, however, the narrator is condemned by the lady's (or possibly the envious rivals') eyes ('par eulz jugiez'). See the textual variants in Appendix 3.2.

equated with the law. Her whims are more than simply cause for emotional suffering; they are, for the narrator, fatally legal.

One way to conceptualise this merging of the law with the sovereign's will—and one which has significant bearing on RS1227's *contrafacta*—is through Giorgio Agamben's model of sovereignty. For Agamben, the sovereign is paradoxically both inside and outside the law, since they have the right to suspend the juridical order in what we might call 'states of emergency', or, in Agamben's terminology, 'states of exception'.<sup>181</sup>

Agamben extends this claim further, arguing that the state of exception is in fact the norm; it forms the backbone of the Western political order, since the sovereign's right to act outside the political order is always justified by law, albeit under certain pretexts, and this right upholds the law itself. The state of exception is defined by its exclusion of certain people from social, cultural, and political life—from what Aristotle defines as the good life (*bios*)—reducing them to an 'inhuman' state of biological life (*zoê*), which Agamben calls bare life. Those reduced to bare life he calls *homines sacri*, sacred in the sense of their radical otherness and separateness from

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<sup>181</sup> This has to do with the close relationship between the exception (the inclusive exclusion, including in one's discourse what is excluded) and the example (the exclusive inclusion, showing an aspect of what is included, thereby excluding it from the rest of the class). The example 'shows its own signifying, and, in this way, suspends its meaning' (as with the neutralisation of the phrase 'I love you' when used as an example of speech acts). Conversely, the exception can only be shown not to belong with relation to the class in which it is excluded. The sovereign does this work, determining 'the originary inclusion of the living in the sphere of law' (G. Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. D. Heller-Roazen (Stanford, 1998), p. 26. The full discussion is found in Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, pp. 20-9.

everyday life.<sup>182</sup> Lacking all political rights, they can be killed with impunity, but cannot be sacrificed. Agamben's paradigm for bare life is the Nazi concentration camps, which arose out of the exploitation of states of exception, but other examples include the Guantanamo Bay prisons and the U.S. strategy of suspending rights by invoking interminable 'wars' on terror and drugs.

While Michel Foucault, Agamben's primary influence here, deals with the biopolitics of post-Enlightenment societies—particularly the increasing bestialisation of their subjects and control of their biological life (*zoê*)—Agamben subsumes into his theory the entirety of Western history, making it directly applicable to medieval culture.<sup>183</sup> Simon Gaunt has shown how the logic of bare life is also operative within medieval lyric, particularly in the lover-narrator's reduced state of subjugation to the lady. The courtly lady of RS1227, then, who is already presented as a sovereign figure, can be read as the sovereign of the state of exception, whose very person is equated with the law, and who reduces the lover-narrator to a state of bare

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<sup>182</sup> Agamben takes the term *homo sacer* from Roman law, the earliest extant definition (by Pompeius Festus) describing the sacred man as someone 'whom the people have judged on account of a crime' and can be killed with impunity, which is why 'it is customary for a bad or impure man to be called sacred' (Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, p. 71). For a more detailed explanation, see Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, pp. 71-4.

<sup>183</sup> As Simon Gaunt notes in his discussion of bare life in Troubadour poetry, Agamben is rare among theorists for his knowledge of the middle ages and its influence on modernity (S. Gaunt, *Love and Death in Troubadour Poetry* (Oxford, 2006), p. 51). For Agamben's own frequent discussion of the lyrics of the *trouvères*, troubadours, and Dante, see his *The End of the Poem: Studies in Poetics* (Stanford, 1999).

life. It is in this sense that we might think of the degraded 'life that the lover has' ('vie/ que je ai') (2.12).

The narrator's predicament is not, however, a pure instance of bare life, because despite acknowledging his absolute subjugation to the lady, he still hopes to merit her mercy through suffering and sacrificial death, sacrifice being an impossibility for *homo sacer*. At the end of the sixth stanza, in its final, climactic melodic phrases, he appeals to an economy of exchange between himself and the lady: 'tost m'en iert guerredounee/la painne, quant li plaira/ et pitiez l'en prendera' (soon my suffering will be well compensated, when it pleases her and pity seizes her) (6.12-14), the high notes on 'plaira' emphasising the lady's will in the matter. He articulates his suffering in terms of trials through which he must prove his worth, although his attitude toward them is ambivalent: in the second stanza, he begs the lady to 'test [him] less cruelly, as a friend' (Mains, s'il vous plaist, crüelment m'assaiez/ a ami;) (2.7-8), while in the third stanza, he claims that 'with great difficulty', he has 'overcome the pain which thought it could deter [him] from this love' ('Par grant effort ai la douleur veincue/ qui me quide de ceste aour tourner') (3.1-2). He notes that the pain itself has not yielded, implying rather that he has learned to endure his daily trials (maiz ne di pas qu'ele en soit recrüe, que chascun jour ne me vueille grever ma douce dame, et pour moi esprouver) (3.3-5).<sup>184</sup> This suffering takes on a superlative quality in the fifth stanza, which opens with the claim that 'never

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<sup>184</sup> 'I do not mean, however, that the pain has yielded, and that each day, my sweet lady does not want to make me suffer and put me to the test'.

before was one's heart, will, and thought towards a lady tested so thoroughly' (5.1-2). The narrator then contrasts this claim with the revelation that his trials take place in the presence of a favoured, but unworthy, rival: 'but I do not know how this lady could be loved by another who will not love her heart' (5.3-4).<sup>185</sup> The presence of a competitor complicates the narrator's appeal for acknowledgement: he must not only prove himself to the lady, but also against the rival.

One way in which the narrator can create a space for his own volition, challenge the lady's extreme sovereignty, and prove his worthiness over that of his rival is through the gift of the body, that is, through sacrificial death. Thus, at the opening of the fourth stanza, the narrator of RS1227 sings, '[the lady's mercy] would be sold at great cost, yet I cannot buy it without dying' (4.1-2).<sup>186</sup> In the fifth stanza, he emphasises the physicality of this gift, claiming that he has given the lady not only his heart, but 'all of himself': 'De cel cuer l'aim, qui pour li me laissa;/ et non pour quant ainc n'i ot dessevree,/ qu'entierement avec li me douna/ par mon gré./ S'or m'a grevé,/ c'est par ma volenté' (I love her with this same heart that left me for her; however, there was never any separation, because, at the same time that my heart [gave itself], it gave all of me with my consent) (5.5-10).

This introduces a specific ethical dimension to the power dynamic between him and the lady, the nature of which can be understood in light of

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<sup>185</sup> 'Onques mais cuers, ne voloirs, ne pensee/ envers dame si bien ne se prova;/ maiz je ne sai comment puisse estre amee/ cele d'autrui, qui son cuer n'amera.'

<sup>186</sup> 'Nenil, certes, ainz m'iert chiere vendue;/ maiz ne la puis sanz morir acheter'.

the economy of gift giving elaborated by Marcel Mauss and further developed by Jacques Derrida.<sup>187</sup> When a person receives a gift with gratitude, they begin to consider a way in which they can repay the gift-giver—not immediately, but in some distant, seemingly unrelated situation. Thus the beneficiary of the gift acquires a debt. Conversely, the act of gift giving usually results in the giver being pleased with their act of goodwill. The less grateful the beneficiary is, the more generous the giver considers herself to be, and the more ‘capital’ they gain from the act of giving.<sup>188</sup> According to Derrida, however, there is one kind of gift that lacks economy altogether: the ‘gift of death’. Gaunt summarises it in the context of courtly love as follows:

The ‘gift of death’ is, as Derrida puts it, ostensibly *un don sans économie* (a gift with no economy). [...] On the one hand, the right of God (or the gods, or the courtly Lady) not to give anything in exchange is recognized; on the other, some gift in exchange, some sign of favour, is clearly hoped for, be it eternal salvation, a good harvest, or sexual favours. But it is the gesture of giving oneself *sans espoir d’échange* (with no hope of exchange) that makes self-sacrifice the defining moment in responsibility and the foundation of ethics, the problem then being that true responsibility is an epistemological impossibility: no one can fully assume, that is, fully *know* her/his responsibility, for this means giving up one’s life.<sup>189</sup>

The corporeality of sacrifice—the giving of one’s body—is of course deeply imbued with Christian connotations, and in the immediate aristocratic

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<sup>187</sup> M. Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Halls (London and New York, rpt. 2002), pp. 16-22, 83-5.

<sup>188</sup> J. Caputo, ‘Instants, Secrets, Singularities: Dealing Death in Kierkegaard and Derrida’, in M. Matustik and M. Westphal (eds.), *Kierkegaard in Post/Modernity* (Bloomington, 1995), pp. 216-38.

<sup>189</sup> Gaunt, *Love and Death*, p. 26.

contexts of courtly lyric and romance, these connotations were themselves mingled with notions of chivalric sacrifice, which will become relevant for RS1227's *contrafacta*. The painful trials and sacrifice of the courtly lover are not so different from the dangerous feats of the knight, the latter often accumulating not only courtly renown, but also spiritual merit through the knight's imitation of the sufferings of Christ.<sup>190</sup> Both modes of sacrifice introduce an ethical dimension to the interaction between the knight/lover and a respective higher power, whether it be the lady, an overlord, or God: in acting without any hope of exchange, they assume special moral or spiritual status. In situations where the rhetoric of sacrifice alone suffices, however, and the victim does not necessarily die, the idea of sacrifice can become a leverage point for claiming the moral high ground. This is seen, for example, in the way crusade ideology interpreted the knight's trials as a form of atonement, giving him a sense of entitlement, and indeed in RS1227's narrator, whose painful trials and willingness to die for his lady suggest an attitude of moral superiority.<sup>191</sup> There is the sense that the lady

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<sup>190</sup> For medieval historical and literary sources showing the Christianising rhetoric of knightly ideology, see R. Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry* (Philadelphia, 2009), pp. 117-30. A typical example is found in the romance *Perlesvaus* (c. 1300-10), in which Perceval states: 'just as [Christ] exposed His body to pain and suffering and destruction for us, so must every man risk his body for Him' (Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors*, p. 122). See also B. Newman, *Medieval Crossover: Reading the Secular against the Sacred* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 2011), pp. 55-92.

<sup>191</sup> On the ideology of the crusades and medieval literary depictions of the knight's imitation of Christ, see R. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford 1999), pp. 85-6. Certain aspects of chivalry seem to have been propagated with the aim of reforming the violence of the nobility, but in many cases, chivalry served instead to legitimise that violence. See R. Kaeuper *Chivalry and Violence*, pp. 11-29, 192-193; M. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle*

is wrong to let the narrator suffer; he even suggests that ‘perhaps she may be blamed’ (5.11-12).<sup>192</sup> But the narrator avoids identifying as a victim by claiming repeatedly that his suffering is of his own volition.<sup>193</sup> In other words, the narrator’s offer of self-sacrifice as a means of creating leverage functions as a way out of his bare life existence, to re-establish his previous state. This is a logic that we will see recurring in different forms in RS1227’s *contrafacta*.

The value of knightly display as a sign of loyalty and authenticity becomes an undercurrent in the political *contrafact* RS1147, which defends the French barons’ right to judicial control over their fiefs and, by extension, to chivalric acts of violence. It was written during the judicial reforms of King Louis IX, which included the abolishment of judicial duelling and private warfare during the 1250s and 1260s. As a response to Louis IX’s unwelcome involvement in the affairs of the nobility, the song adopts not only RS1227’s melody, rhyme scheme, and rhyme sounds, but also, as I argue below, its ambivalent attitude towards subjugation to a sovereign power.

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*Ages* (London, 1965), pp. 68-76; and W.C. Brown, *Violence in Medieval Europe* (Harlow 2011), p. 255.

<sup>192</sup> ‘Ja ma dame reprochié ne sera,/ et s’en iert espoir blasmee’.

<sup>193</sup> The narrator acknowledges the role of his will in the following phrases: ‘Puiz que par moi sui de joie eslongiez,/ je ne m’en doi plaindre mie’ (1.12-14); ‘c’est par ma volenté: Ja ma dame reprochié ne sera’ (5.9-10); ‘Par son gré/ m’a si grevé/ et par ma volenté’ (7a.8-10); ‘c’a mon voloir ai esté engigniez’ (7.5).

## 2. RS1147

In RS1147's opening lines, the narrator commands the attention of the nobility, specifically 'all those born to fiefs', announcing that they have been deprived of their freedoms, since they are judged by inquest:

Gent de France, mult estes esbahie!  
Je di a touz ceus qui sont nez des fiez:  
Si m'aïe Deus, franc n'estes vous mes mie!  
Mult vous a l'en de franchise esloigniez,  
car vous estes par enqueste jugiez.  
Quant deffensse ne vos puet fere aïe,  
trop i estes crüelment engigniez.  
A touz pri,  
douce France n'apiaut l'en plus ensi;  
ançois ait non: le Païs aus Sougiez,  
une terre acuertie,  
le raigne as desconseilliez,  
qui en maint cas sont forciez.<sup>194</sup>

Gentlemen of France, now you are utterly astonished! I am speaking of all those born to fiefs: so help me God, you are free no more! You have been moved along far from your rights, for you are now condemned by inquest. Since no defence can come to your aid, you have been all too cruelly deceived. I implore everyone, sweet France ought not to be called that anymore; rather it should have the name Country of Slaves, Land Turned for the Worse, Kingdom of the Lost, who in many cases are violated.

The rhetoric of subjugation is like that of RS1227, only now transposed into political language. Whereas the first stanza of RS1227 states that the narrator is 'de joie eslongiez' (deprived of joy) (1.11), the first stanza of RS1147 claims that the nobility has been 'de franchise esloigniez' (deprived of its rights) (1.4). While RS1227's narrator is 'doucement

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<sup>194</sup> Text of this song quoted hereafter is from *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies*, no. 695. The full text and translation are located in Appendix 3.2.

engigniez' (sweetly deceived) (1.14), in RS1147, the nobility is 'crüelment engigniez' (cruelly deceived) (1.7). Unlike other textually close contrafacta, these phrases have not simply been replaced in the same positions; their reordering suggests, rather, an internalisation of the model song's semantic content prior to its re-use.

The first stanzas of both songs suggest a link between the oppressor in RS1147 and the lady of RS1227. The narrator of Blondel's original chanson claims that his lady has too sweet a name to do villainy ('trop a douz nom pour faire vilenie') (1.6). In the political song, however, the narrator expresses the opposite sentiment by personifying the kingdom of France and gendering it female: in lines 8-9, the central poetic kernel of RS1227, he begs everyone not to refer to 'sweet France' with such a name any longer. The implication is that since she, the kingdom of France, has been doing villainy, she does not deserve such a sweet name. 'Rather', says the narrator, she 'should be called Country of Slaves, Land of those deprived of rights, Kingdom of the Lost (*desconseilliez*)' (1.9-12), the word *desconseilliez* placed dramatically at the line 12's sweeping ascent up to *c.*<sup>195</sup>

First, this indicates that the perpetrator of these so-called injustices against the nobility is France—more specifically, France's administration under King Louis IX, which is clarified in the second stanza. Secondly, connecting RS1227's lady with the misdeeds of the French Kingdom offers

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<sup>195</sup> This is line 13 in RS1227 and in the musical analysis (RS1227's lines 9-10 are merged into one poetic line in RS1147).

a reading of the original song that probes beneath the lady's sweet appearance, exposing darker elements of the original narrator's rhetoric (as seen in the shift from 'sweetly deceived' to 'cruelly deceived'). By using the melody of RS1227, the author of RS1147 creates an associative background from the original song, allowing the new text to inhabit a space where the ethical and emotive associations of the original—the fear for one's life, the opposition of loyalty and despair towards a power-figure—are available to his listeners.

### **2.1. Judgement by Inquest**

The narrator of RS1147 tells the nobility that they are 'par enqueste jugiez' (condemned by inquest). This provides a clue to the song's specific historical circumstances. There are several instances to which the term *enqueste* might refer: before leaving for the seventh crusade, King Louis IX attempted to purge his government of corruption and prevent internal conflict by introducing into his kingdom hundreds of *enquêteurs*, traveling arbitrators recruited mostly from the Franciscan and Dominican orders, whose purpose was to hear the local people's complaints, either in Latin or the vernacular, regarding the corruption and misdeeds of royal officials. The *enquêteurs* were instructed to perform inquests into these allegations, taking special care, as Louis commanded, to hear cases brought forward by orphans, widows, and the sick, and to compensate the injured parties on

site, recording each case in writing for the King.<sup>196</sup> After having returned from the seventh crusade, Louis reinstated this practice, making it a permanent fixture of his government.<sup>197</sup> It would be incorrect, however, to associate this song's inquest with the inquests commissioned by Louis just before the seventh crusade: inquests arbitrated by the mendicant *enquêteurs* targeted administrative royal officials—Louis's *baillis*, *prévôts*, foresters, sergeants, and their families—whereas the targets of RS1127's inquest are, as the narrator says, 'all of those born to fiefs'—the entire landowning aristocracy.

Louis himself acted as arbiter in at least a dozen conflicts across Europe and in several cases within his own realm.<sup>198</sup> During and after his lifetime, he had a reputation for being a just king, and many of the chronicles are keen to demonstrate his justice: Joinville famously describes Louis sitting under an oak tree in Vincennes arbitrating local cases in what were known as the pleas of the *porte*.<sup>199</sup> Guillaume de Nangis recounts Louis's prosecution of a middle-class Parisian man for swearing in public, resulting in his lips being branded with a red-hot iron.<sup>200</sup> Guillaume de

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<sup>196</sup> The *enquêteurs* were first commissioned in 1247. See W.C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton, 1979), pp. 51-64 for a detailed account of their activities, gathered from data from extant government records. For demographic statistics on the inquests' plaintiffs, see Appendix Three of Jordan, *Louis IX*.

<sup>197</sup> Jordan, *Louis IX*, p. 153. Louis re-introduced the *enquêteurs* almost immediately upon his return from the crusades in 1254. See Jordan, *Louis IX*, p. 141.

<sup>198</sup> Jordan, *Louis IX*, p. 219.

<sup>199</sup> M. Wade Labarge, *Saint Louis*, pp. 174-175. See also Q. Griffiths, 'New Men among the Lay Counselors of Saint Louis' Parlement', *Medieval Studies*, 32 (1970), pp. 240-41.

<sup>200</sup> See Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 176-77.

Saint-Pathus recalls Louis's intervention in a case between his brother, Charles of Anjou, and a lower-ranking knight: Louis provided the knight with the best lawyers, making them swear that they would offer the best advice they could for the knight and avoid pandering to Charles' influence.<sup>201</sup> The most famous instance of a judicial intervention by the king, however, is the trial of Enguerrand IV de Coucy, the son of Blanche de Castile's detractor Enguerrand III. This case, judged by Louis himself, is also generally agreed by historians as being the subject of RS1127 because it involves a nobleman's forced submission to trial by inquest, the repercussions of which were felt by the whole aristocracy.<sup>202</sup>

Edmond Faral dates Enguerrand's trial to the summer of 1259, and provides a thorough analysis of the trial, including an appraisal of its primary sources and their legal implications.<sup>203</sup> As Faral indicates, there is no official record of the trial, but the events are recorded in six extant primary sources: Primat's Chronicle; the *Vie de saint Louis* by Guillaume de Saint Pathus; the *Gesta sancti Ludovici* by Guillaume de Nangis; the *Grand Chroniques de France*; the *Flores historiarum*; and the *Vie de saint Louis*, written in the fifteenth century at the initiative of Cardinal Charles de Bourbon.<sup>204</sup> Of these six sources, the two most detailed accounts of the event are Primat's chronicle, which is the oldest and most directly informed

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<sup>201</sup> See *RHGF*, xx, pp. 1115-1116. For an English translation of the account, see Richard, *Saint Louis*, pp. 212-213.

<sup>202</sup> Edmond Faral connects the event with RS1147. See E. Faral, 'Le Procès d'Enguerrand IV de Coucy', *Revue historique du droit*, 26 (1948), p. 258.

<sup>203</sup> Faral 'Le procès', pp. 213-58.

<sup>204</sup> Faral, 'Le procès', p. 215.

source, dating from 1274, and Guillaume de Saint-Pathus' *Vie*, dating from c. 1303, the witnesses of which include some of Louis's closest counsellors.<sup>205</sup> The main events of the case and its trial, which are common to both Primat's and Saint-Pathus' accounts unless otherwise specified, can be summarised as follows:

Three Flemish adolescent boys were found in Enguerrand IV de Coucy's woods with bows and arrows, but without hunting dogs or other equipment. They had been staying at the abbey of St. Nicholas-aux-Blois near Laon, the lands of which bordered those of Enguerrand, and had lost their way while hunting for rabbits in the forest. Enguerrand's foresters found the young people and informed Enguerrand, who had them arrested and hanged for trespassing on his lands. The case reached King Louis through a complaint raised by the abbot of St. Nicholas-aux-Blois and some relatives of the boys. Enguerrand was summoned before the king, charged with having sentenced the boys to death without a trial. Present with Enguerrand during his trial were several French barons, including the King of Navarre, the Duke of Burgundy, and the Counts of Bar, Soissons, and Brittany. According to Primat, Enguerrand requested that the case be submitted to the judgement of his peers, the barons, but this request was rejected on the technical grounds that Enguerrand's lands did not constitute

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<sup>205</sup> The original Latin version of Primat's chronicle is lost, but a close French translation, written in the 14<sup>th</sup> century by Jean de Vignay, was discovered by Paul Meyer. For the translation, see Primat, *Chronique de Primat, traduite par Jean du Vignay*, ed. P. Meyer, *RHGF*, xxiii, pp. 1-106. Primat's translated account of the trial is also included in Faral, 'Le procès', pp. 217-18. For an appraisal of these sources, see Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 260-69.

a barony. In Saint-Pathus' account, Enguerrand declared that he had neither hanged the boys nor ordered them to be hanged, and that he was willing to defend the truth of this statement by judicial duel.<sup>206</sup> King Louis denied this request, and, as both sources indicate, Enguerrand was forced to submit to judgment by inquest, in which he was found guilty.

On the advice of his royal counsellors, Louis ordered Enguerrand to pay a heavy fine (ten thousand *livres parisiens* according to Primat, twelve thousand according to Saint-Pathus), to relinquish to the abbey of St. Nicholas-aux-Blois the wood in which the boys had been found, to spend three years in the Holy Land, which was later redeemed at the cost of another twelve thousand *livres parisiens*, and to establish two or three chapels in which masses would be said for the souls of the boys in perpetuity.<sup>207</sup> Saint-Pathus adds that Enguerrand was stripped of his right to administer justice over hunting and fishing on his own lands, so that he could not imprison or put to death anyone for any offence committed there.<sup>208</sup> According to Primat, Louis's initial intention was to give Enguerrand a punishment resembling his crime ('si que il fust puni d'autel poine et condempné a mort semblable'), that is, to have him hanged. Only at the pleas of the barons did the king consider a gentler sentence.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> See Faral, 'Le procès', p. 220.

<sup>207</sup> In Primat it is two chapels; in Saint-Pathus it is three.

<sup>208</sup> See Faral, 'Le procès', p. 221.

<sup>209</sup> Faral, 'Le procès', p. 219.



**Figure 2.1:** *Louis IX dispensing justice, F-Pn fr. 5716, fol. 245v*

Saint-Pathus' narrative is particularly valuable because it offers an account of the arguments Enguerrand employed in his defence and Louis's responses to them. These anecdotal details, however, should be approached with caution: although Saint-Pathus was confessor to Louis's wife, Queen Marguerite, he did not know Louis IX personally, and he wrote his account more than thirty years after Louis's death.<sup>210</sup> He seems to have used Louis's canonisation proceedings, which are now only fragmentary, as his source, drawing on a summary of the testimonies of 330 witnesses, including the King's counsellors Jean de Joinville and Simon de Nesle. This means that there is a heavy bias reflecting the witnesses' intentions to

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<sup>210</sup> Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 260.

present a saintly and ideal image of the king for canonisation. Indeed, Enguerrand's case was so emblematic of Louis's character that an image of the hanged boys set against Louis 'dispensing justice' prefaces Saint-Pathus' chapter on 'la droite justice' in **F-Pn fr. 5716**, as shown in **Figure 2.1**. But it also makes Saint-Pathus' account an excellent record of how Louis's image was perceived and how his sainthood was understood at the time of his death.<sup>211</sup>

According to Saint-Pathus' account, after Enguerrand had heard the King's allegations, he withdrew to take counsel from his kinsmen, who constituted the entire baronage present at the trial, thus leaving Louis alone with the officials of his household. On returning to the king, Jean de Thorotte, acting as Enguerrand's advocate, argued that Enguerrand could not be judged by inquest because it touched his person (*sa persone*), his honour (*s'enneur*), and his heritage (*son heritage*). Instead, Enguerrand would defend his innocence by judicial duel, as mentioned above. As Faral explains, an inquest touching the person of the accused meant one where the accused risked being sentenced to death or some other form of corporal punishment.<sup>212</sup> An inquest touching one's honour undermined the seigneurial authority of the accused. Heritage, in this case, referred to the goods or possessions of the accused. These three aspects—person,

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<sup>211</sup> Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 260. For a more detailed discussion of early accounts of Louis IX's life, their chronology, and their circumstances of composition, see M.C. Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 2008).

<sup>212</sup> Faral, 'Le procès', p. 228.

honour, and heritage—constituted the nobility's *franchise*, the points on which the vassals enjoyed, before the initiatives of their overlord, an indefeasible immunity.<sup>213</sup> Tardif has shown through several examples that the nobility's right to refuse judgement by inquest when it infringed on their persons, honour, and heritage was an established custom of the French aristocracy.<sup>214</sup> The line in RS1147 'Mult vous a l'en de franchise esloigniez' (You have been moved along far from your rights) can be understood in this specific legal context. Louis seems to have overruled the traditional custom protecting the aristocracy's *franchise* in lieu of what he perceived to be his divinely ordained right to dispense justice, and to put the aristocracy in their place when their conduct was, as he saw it, glaringly immoral.

According to Saint-Pathus, Louis did not address Jean de Thorotte's argument directly. He opposed Enguerrand's request for trial by combat on moral rather than legal grounds, arguing that in cases concerning the poor, it was difficult to find anyone who would fight fairly against a powerful member of the aristocracy in order to defend the cause of three obscure boys. On the legitimacy of proceeding with trial by inquest, Louis invoked a precedent: he stated that he was doing nothing new ('faisait pas novelité') in judging a member of the nobility by inquest, since his grandfather Philip Augustus had performed an inquest on Jean de Sully for homicide, after which the king had occupied Sully Castle for more than twelve years.

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<sup>213</sup> Faral, 'Le procès', p. 228.

<sup>214</sup> J. Tardif, 'La date et le caractère de l'ordonnance de saint Louis sur les duels', *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 11 (1887), pp. 163-74 at p. 168.

When, later on the same day, Count Pierre de Bretagne addressed the king, restating Jean de Thorotte's assertion that a nobleman could not be forced to submit to trial by inquest when it touched his person, his honour, and his heritage, Louis again offered a response that avoided the legal crux of the matter. Saint-Pathus describes Louis's response as follows:

Il lui dit: 'vos ne deïstes pas einsi, en un tens qui est passé, quant les barons, qui de vos tenoient tout nu à nu sans autre moyen, prouver leur entencion en certains cas par bataille contre vos; ançois respondites devant nos que vos ne deviez pas aler avant par bataille, mès par enquestes, en tele besoigne; et disiez encore que bataille n'est pas voie de droit'. Et li benoiez rois dist, après, que il ne le pooient pas jugier, des coustumes du roiaume, par enqueste fete contre lui, a ce jorran ne se fust pas sousmis a la dite enqueste; mais toutevoies, se il seust bien la volenté de Dieu en cel cas, il ne lessast ne pour noblece de son lignage ne pour la puissance d'aucuns de ses amis que il ne feist de lui pleine justise.<sup>215</sup>

He [the king] said to him: you would not have said that, in a time that has passed, when the barons held you directly and without mediation to try their accusation in a certain case by battle against you; rather, you responded before us that you must not to go ahead by battle in this case, but by inquest; and you said, furthermore, that battle was not the way of the law'. And the blessed king said afterwards that they could not judge him [Enguerrand], according to the customs of the kingdom, by inquest made against him, given that he had not submitted himself to said inquest. Nevertheless, if he [the king] knew the will of God in this case, he could not let the nobility of his [Enguerrand's] lineage nor the power of any of his [Enguerrand's] friends prevent him [the king] from doing plain justice.

Louis circumvents Pierre de Bretagne's appeal to the customary rights of the aristocracy by revealing a contradiction in the count's views rather than a legal principle. As depicted here, Louis is aware of the fact that under

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<sup>215</sup> Faral, 'Le procès', p. 221.

customary law, he has no right to force Enguerrand to submit to inquest, but Louis is more concerned with 'doing plain justice' than with honouring aristocratic rights. In Saint-Pathus' account, the King's decisions are guided by divinely inspired moral instincts that take precedence over customary law and, in so doing, subvert the traditional power dynamic of lordship.

One of the laws or *ordonnances* that Louis established during the 1250s was the prohibition of trial by combat (judicial duelling) and its substitution with trial by inquest. Charles Mortet argues, however, that the prohibition did not apply in baronial courts, and Tardif suggests, more specifically, that it applied only in the royal domain and in Normandy.<sup>216</sup> Quentin Griffiths writes that the prohibition was more of a *mandement* (regulation) to the officers of the royal domain than an *ordonnance*, as there are no names of members of the *curia* who might have been present when the ban was decreed.<sup>217</sup> Most historians date the prohibition to 1258, with Griffiths narrowing it down to the *parlement* of the Nativity in 1258, which means the ban would have preceded Enguerrand's trial.<sup>218</sup> The ban does not seem to have affected the trial, however, since the law did not apply to baronial courts and the barons appear not to have been aware that judicial combat posed a problem.<sup>219</sup> Nevertheless, the ban on the duel was

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<sup>216</sup> C. Mortet, *Le Livre des Constitucions demenées el Chastelet de Paris* (Paris, 1883), pp. 7-8. See also Griffiths, 'New Men', pp. 270-71.

<sup>217</sup> See Griffiths, 'New Men', pp. 266, 270.

<sup>218</sup> Griffiths, 'New Men', p. 266. For a summary of the scholarly discussion on the date of the ban on judicial duelling, see Jordan, *Louis IX*, p. 204.

<sup>219</sup> Griffiths, 'New Men', p. 267. Tardif suggests that the procedure of trial by combat was rejected in Enguerrand's case because of a lack of formal authorisation by all the barons. See Tardif, 'La date', p. 186.

part of a larger program to displace violent combat—the aristocracy’s prized chivalric activity—with nonviolent, centrally administered judicial trials, in which verbal argument and proof by witness played an essential role. Louis followed his ban on judicial combat with prohibitions against private war, tournaments, and possibly even the carrying of arms.<sup>220</sup> His strict treatment of Enguerrand’s case can be seen as part of this crackdown on violence and the subordination of baronial and ecclesiastical matters to the crown.

From the perspective of the barons, the fact that Louis had arrested Enguerrand and nearly sentenced him to death for a judicial ruling made on his own lands threatened their own rights to baronial *haute justice*. As Saint-Pathus describes, the barons left the trial ‘esbahiz et confus’ (astonished and confused), a description recalling the opening line of RS1147, ‘Gent de France,/ mult estes esbahie!’ (1.1).<sup>221</sup> After the trial, Jean de Thorotte allegedly remarked to the barons that the king ‘feroit bien se il les pendoit toz’ (would do well to hang them all).<sup>222</sup>

It is striking that the repercussions of this one incident, the violation of Enguerrand’s *franchise*, are not only felt by the entire baronage, but felt in such a way that their lives seem threatened. Despite the irony of Jean de Thorotte’s statement, the way in which he describes this symbolic loss of life—hanging—transposes the low status and lack of rights of the three

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<sup>220</sup> On Louis’s prohibitions, see Jordan, *Louis IX*, p. 204.

<sup>221</sup> This section of Saint-Pathus’ account is found in Faral, ‘Le procès’, p. 221.

<sup>222</sup> See Faral, ‘Le procès’, p. 222.

boys onto the barons themselves. The features of bare life first seen in RS1227 manifest themselves again on two levels here: on one level is the death of three, supposedly expendable, foreign persons by the resident sovereign of those lands (Enguerrand); on another level is Louis IX's imposition of sovereignty on Enguerrand, and, by extension, on the barons, which threatens their political existence, if not their lives. It is no wonder that RS1147 was set to the melody of a chanson beginning with the line 'quant je pluz sui on paour de ma vie' (when I am most afraid for my life). The barons' loss of *franchise* is a loss of *bios*, and makes even their biological life (*zoê*) feel suddenly vulnerable. Like RS1227's narrator, the barons are condemned by a 'just law': their loss of power is a function of the widely-perceived legitimacy of Louis's judgements, given his image as the just king. Using RS1227's melody allows them to pinpoint this experience of bare life, making their anxieties accessible to listeners through the latter's emotional and intellectual familiarity with RS1227.

## 2.2. Sung Loyalty

The second stanza of RS1147 expresses a more general criticism, not of Saint Louis himself, but of the counsellors who influence his decisions:

Je sai de voir que de Dieu ne vient mie  
tel servage, tout soit il exploité.  
He loiauté, povre chose esbahie,  
vous ne trouvez qui de vous ait pitié.  
Vous eüssiés force et povoir et pié,  
car vous estes a nostre roi amie;  
mes li vostre sont trop a cler rengié  
entor lui.  
Je n'en conois qu'un autre seul o lui;

et icelui est si pris du clergié  
qu'il ne vous puet fere aïe.  
Tout ont ensemble broié  
et l'aumosne et le pechié.

I know in truth that this servitude does not come from God, even though it may be used. Oh Loyalty, you poor, confounded thing, you cannot find anyone who would have mercy on you. You would have had strength and power and firm footing, for you are a friend of our king; but your followers are too closely gathered around the clergy. I know of only one other with him, and this one is so besotted with the clergy that he cannot be of help to you. They [the clergy and this one other] have completely conflated both almsgiving and sin.

The first line undermines the notion that the barons' 'servage'—their subjugation to royal interests as epitomised in Enguerrand's trial—comes from God. This is a powerful assertion because it challenges the idea, deeply entrenched in public perception, that Louis's judicial interventions are divinely inspired. Instead, the narrator blames the stifling influence of the clergy for Louis's restrictions against the nobility. Personified Loyalty (*loiauté*) has no one from whom to receive mercy, meaning there are none to be found who exercise loyalty. Loyalty is seen here as a particularly aristocratic virtue, its followers being the noble knights who have sworn an oath to risk their lives in protection of and service to the King.<sup>223</sup> In effect, the stanza is lamenting the lack of members of the high nobility (*grands*) among the king's inner circle of counsellors; this lack of well bred, trustworthy men accounts for France's decline.

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<sup>223</sup> Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 105.

Loyalty is a 'friend' of the King because it is the exercise of kingship that gives loyalty its value and strength, and vice versa. But the King cannot exercise his loyalty properly, that is, he cannot make judgements respecting the rights of his vassals, because those members of the King's council who were once 'followers of loyalty' are now under the clergy's influence ('trop a cler rengié') (2.7). In line 9, part of that central musico-poetic section that in RS1227 lends itself so well to understated emphasis, the narrator singles out one specific 'follower of loyalty' whose infatuation with the clergy prohibits him from defending aristocratic rights. Faral and Richard identify him as Simon de Nesle, Lord of Nesle, one of Louis IX's closest advisors.<sup>224</sup> Simon de Nesle's relation to Blondel and to Enguerrand's trial will be discussed below.

The last two lines of the stanza provide a clue to the kinds of clerics being targeted: 'Tout ont ensemble broié/ et l'aumosne et le pechié' (they have completely conflated both almsgiving and sin) (2.13-14). The reference to almsgiving points to the mendicant orders, whose members, in principle, relied on alms for their livelihood. However, since mendicants were among the members of Louis's entourage, made up the majority of the administrative *enquêteurs*, and were the preferred beneficiaries of the King's generosity, they enjoyed more power than certain members of the nobility would have liked.<sup>225</sup> All three of the king's known confessors were

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<sup>224</sup> See Faral, 'Le procès', p. 241 and Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 175.

<sup>225</sup> Among the mendicants' detractors were Jean de Meun and Rutebeuf, who directly criticised the king for his close involvement with them, as well as the secular master Guillaume de Saint-Amour, who attacked the king for 'being

mendicants: Jean de Mons was a Franciscan while Geoffroy de Beaulieu and Guillaume de Chartres were Dominicans; the latter two were also biographers of the King.<sup>226</sup> They, along with the Franciscan Archbishop of Rouen, Eudes Rigaud (Odo Rigaud), were counted among the King's inner circle of counsellors.<sup>227</sup>

The barons' hostile attitude toward the mendicants manifested itself in issues of class. The mendicants, especially the Franciscans, were not prestigious orders with aristocratic ties, although they became increasingly sophisticated and institutionalised over the course of the thirteenth century. On the contrary, most of their members came from the petty nobility, bourgeoisie, and peasantry. During Louis's reign, mendicant clerks and lay magistrates of minor noble birth were recruited to court for their expertise in legal and judicial matters, which were becoming increasingly technical.<sup>228</sup> Whereas the King's council had traditionally consisted of great churchmen and nobles (the *proceres*), the barons under Louis's rule began to share

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surrounded and counselled by a group of self-righteous vagabonds' and accused the mendicants of being harbingers of the Antichrist. On Jean de Meun and Rutebeuf's criticisms, see Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 674; on Guillaume de Saint-Amour, see L.K. Little, 'Saint Louis' Involvement with the Friars', *Church History*, 33 (June, 1964), p. 140.

<sup>226</sup> The monarchy had associated itself with the mendicant movement since the 1220s, when the Dominicans established their house of Saint-Jacques in Paris. The master of the Dominican Order, Jordan of Saxony, wrote to the pope in 1226 praising Blanche de Castile for her support of the new foundation. Blanche's devotion to Francis of Assisi was also such that his companions sent his pillow to Blanche and Louis as a gift in 1228. See Grant, 'Blanche of Castile', pp. 208-9.

<sup>227</sup> Little, 'Saint Louis' Involvement', pp. 127-28, 132-33.

<sup>228</sup> Griffiths, 'New Men', pp. 268, 271-72.

judicial duties with clerical and lay specialists of more modest origins, whose welfare depended on career service to the crown.<sup>229</sup>

Underlying the barons' classism was a belief that the aristocracy were physically and morally superior to those of lower rank, sustained by the growing association of chivalric qualities with the upper class. Maurice Keen and Richard Kaeuper have noted the thirteenth century's reduced importance of the ceremony of dubbing (in which knighthood was awarded on the basis of merit), and increased focus on the knight's 'noble blood', the knightly class becoming synonymous with the nobility.<sup>230</sup> Kaeuper compares this development with contemporary literary depictions of the knight's valour being written on his beautiful body. As he observes, 'they [the aristocracy] are the beautiful people, the perfection of their bodies enhanced by contrast with the dwarves who so regularly appear in their menial service and who are usually as uncourtly in speech and manners as they are unlovely in body'.<sup>231</sup> It is no surprise that the word *vilain*—literally someone 'from the village'—was used to describe a commoner or peasant but could also mean 'vulgar', 'ugly', or 'of little value', and is a precursor to the English word 'villain'.<sup>232</sup> From the general perspective of the barons, the

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<sup>229</sup> On Louis's counsellors as representing a cross-section of French class, see W.C. Jordan, *Men at the Center: Redemptive Governance under Louis IX* (Budapest and New York, 2012). See also Jordan, *Louis IX*, p. 35; Griffiths, 'New Men', p. 247.

<sup>230</sup> In France, the number of dubbings dramatically decreased as requirements for finely crafted armour and weaponry made chivalric life more expensive. See Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 192 and Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, 2005), p. 145.

<sup>231</sup> Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 191.

<sup>232</sup> Robert Martin, 'vilain', in *DMF*.

lower classes were naturally unfit for the laws of chivalry, their social and physical inferiority being proofs of their moral weakness.

A contemporary political example of this view appears in a manifesto quoted in Matthew Paris' *Chronica Maiora*. Paris claims to have taken the text from a document issued in 1246 by a group of barons who formed a coalition, with the support of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, condemning the Pope for the clergy's infringement on noble rights.<sup>233</sup> The coalition included the Count of Brittany, Pierre Mauclerc, the Duke of Burgundy, Hugues IV, the Count of Angoulême and la Marche, Hugues de Lusignan, and the Count of Saint-Pol, Hugues de Châtillon. The manifesto's anti-clerical polemic is steeped in classist rhetoric:

'The clerks, having deceived us by a feigned humility, now rise against us with the cunning of foxes, swollen with pride, forgetting that it was by war and the blood of our ancestors that, under Charlemagne and others, the kingdom of France was converted from pagan error to the Catholic faith. They encroach to such an extent on the jurisdiction of secular princes that today the sons of serfs, as soon as they are clerks, judge, according to their law, the free and the sons of the free, when they should rather themselves be judged by us, according to the laws of the ancient conquerors of Gaul.'<sup>234</sup>

Here, the premise justifying the barons' power is described in corporeal terms: France owes its Catholic existence to the 'blood their ancestors shed', the laws of these 'ancient conquerors' constituting the basis of the nobility's rights. The image evoked is of the nobleman exerting his strong, well-bred body for the kingdom's benefit, as a physical pledge of loyalty.

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<sup>233</sup> Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 175.

<sup>234</sup> Translation quoted from Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 175

This is contrasted with the clerks' dishonest, fox-like 'cleverness', which calls to mind satirical depictions of the clergy in *Ysengrimus* and *Renard the Fox*. The principle underlying the barons' sentiments is that actions speak louder than words. The barons prove their trustworthiness through feats of physical combat in the King's service, not unlike how the narrator of RS1227 proves his loyalty through the pains, trials, and 'gift of death' performed for his lady's sake. The clerks' inability to risk their lives for the king renders them incapable of such loyalty.

This assumption is at work in two aspects of RS1147's political context: first, it provides an ethical rationalisation of the barons' opposition to Louis's reforms against violence, such as Louis's refusal to permit judicial duelling in Enguerrand's trial. Louis's reforms threaten the barons' chivalric values by limiting their violent displays of prowess to cases of royally sanctioned warfare. Secondly, it is under this logic that the barons question the trustworthiness of those aiding in Louis's reforms, namely his counsellors, because the clerks and laymen of Louis's council are not all from a knightly, and therefore trustworthy, class. As the second stanza of RS1147 shows, Loyalty's 'friendship' with the King ought to give it strength, power, and firm footing ('Vous eüssiés force et pouvoir et pié,/ car vous estes a nostre roi amie') (2.5-6). This image of the King providing Loyalty with strength indicates that when the King is able to support Loyalty, it thrives. But it could also mean that strength, power, and firm footing are fundamental traits of a Loyalty that thrives with the king's support. In other words, Loyalty is not found in a clever wordsmith, but in a powerfully built soldier.

The author of RS1147 cannot simply be a clever wordsmith, as the text's content is conveyed not simply in words, but also through the physical, embodied act of singing. RS1147's performer proves their trustworthiness in the same way the trouvère-performer does: through a convincing display of musical prowess. The demonstrative act of singing could be seen to function as a substitute for the violent displays of prowess that King Louis was attempting to reform. As Jacques Le Goff notes, 'It is interesting to observe that this violent pamphlet assumed the form of a song. This means that the people who held this point of view did not have the direct means to oppose these decisions militarily or legally. However, [...] they seized upon one of the instruments for forming public opinion'.<sup>235</sup> The author or performer could have used the charismatic power of musical performance to garner the favour of his listeners, internalising the song so completely that, like RS1227's narrator's gift of his body, the music becomes an offering of physical skill, its melody bound by the breath of the singer's lungs and inflected by the very specific patterns of their muscle memory, entraining these movements, in turn, in the bodies of the audience.

If, as Le Goff suggests, this song was the last resort of a landowner with no legal or military options left—and this was likely the case based on the lack of evidence of military or legal backlash from Louis's reforms and Enguerrand's trial—then a direct tirade against the King would be too easily

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<sup>235</sup> Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 674.

condemned or punished.<sup>236</sup> The benefit of using Blondel's musico-poetical template is that it allows for extensive irony in its superficial praise of the sovereign (or lady), but makes the song difficult to pin down as a direct affront on the King. Following Blondel's example, the narrator of RS1147 never implicates the sovereign directly, operating instead under the pretence of loyal concern for his king—yet the undercurrent of ironic criticism is relentless. This is most obvious in the third stanza:

Ce ne cuit nus, que je pour mal le die  
de mon seigneur, se Deus me face lié!  
Mais j'ai poor que s'ame en fust perie,  
et si aim bien saisine de mon fié.  
Quant ce savra, tost l'avra adrecié;  
son gentil cuer ne le souffreroit mie.  
Pour ce me plest qu'il en soit acointié  
et garni  
si que par ci n'ait nul pover seur lui  
deable anemi, qui l'avoit guetié.  
G'eüsse ma foi mentie  
se g'eüsse ensi lessié  
mon seigneur desconseillié.

Let nobody think that I say this to the detriment of my lord – God preserve me! But I fear that he [my lord] might lose his soul over this, and I'd like very well the control of my fief. When he learns this, he will quickly set it right. His noble heart would not tolerate it. It therefore pleases me that he should be acquainted with it and forewarned, in such a way that the diabolical enemy [who had been] waiting to ambush him should have no power over him. I would have betrayed my fealty [to you as my lord] if I had left my lord uncounselled.

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<sup>236</sup> Based on the ideals of kingship promoted in Louis IX's personal sermons and discussed among the court, as well as his widely documented reactions, historians such as William Chester Jordan and Sophie Delmas characterise Louis as being merciful to the marginalised but extremely intolerant of those who abused their power or failed to abide by his narrow vision of morality. In this sense, he was a 'genuinely repressive king' (Jordan, *Men at the Center*, pp. 101-4). The secular canon Guillaume de Saint-Amour insulted the king in a Pentecost sermon in 1256, and was subsequently deprived of his office and banished from the French kingdom. See Little, 'Saint Louis' Involvement', p. 141.

As in Blondel's chanson, the narrator makes a bold declaration of confidence in his sovereign ('Quant ce savra, tost l'avra adrecié/ son gentil cuer ne le souffreroit mie'), which develops the irony of the stanza's first line. Channelling this faithful lover-narrator, RS1147's narrator claims that the sovereign's 'noble heart' will set things right, the placement of 'tost l'avra adrecié' at line 5's closed ending on *C* giving it a sense of measured matter-of-factness, while the more emotive 'souffreroit mie' occurs on line 6's dynamic rise to *c*.<sup>237</sup>

The tone of concern over the state of Louis's soul and the suggestion that his political decisions are the work of the Devil discredits Louis's saintly image while remaining disguised as earnest solicitude. Here, the words 'garni'/'par ci' and 'seur lui' are dramatically placed at the songs central triplet of short poetic lines, this being the first stanza in which all three of RS1227's **ccc** rhymes are preserved. A new, additional **c**-rhyme at 'anemi' expands that central kernel's dramatising effect to include the Devil, the *F* on the last syllable of 'anemi' forming a temporary line ending resembling that of line 8.

The last line clarifies the narrator's motivations, however contrived they might be: It is out of lordly duty that the narrator offers his counsel. He is bound by loyalty to prevent his lord from remaining *desconseillié*

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<sup>237</sup> This recalls Blondel's narrator's claim that he will soon be compensated for his pain: 'tost m'en iert guerredounee la painne, quant li plaira et pitiez l'en prendera' (RS1227, 6.12-14).

(uncounselled/ in the dark), the usage of this term recalling the first stanza's description of France as 'le raigne as desconseilliez' (the kingdom of the lost) (1.12).

There is the sense that the narrator is posing as an exemplary vassal in order to contrast his apparent benevolence with the treachery of the king's counsellors. Like the narrator of Blondel's chanson, RS1147's narrator offers his pledge of loyalty not only to the king, but also against or in relation to certain rivals favoured by the king. These rivals include Louis's mendicant counsellors, discussed above, but also the king's lone baronial counsellor, the one who is 'besotted with the clergy' ('pris du clergié'), whom I have already mentioned was likely Simon de Nesle, Lord of Nesle through his paternal uncle and of Ailly-sur-Noye through his father and late older brother, Jean.<sup>238</sup> Simon was a regular member of the royal entourage from 1256 and appeared in almost all of the sessions of *parlement* from 1257 to 1285.<sup>239</sup> He was the king's closest counsellor among the *grands*, especially when it came to judicial matters, in which he shared the king's enthusiasm for harsh punishments.<sup>240</sup> He, along with a small group of counsellors, was entrusted with the task of receiving judicial complaints addressed personally to the king.<sup>241</sup> Louis evidently held Simon in high regard, as the King appointed him regent with the Abbot of Saint-Denis,

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<sup>238</sup> Jordan, *Men at the Center*, p. 71.

<sup>239</sup> Griffiths, 'New Men', pp. 241-42.

<sup>240</sup> W.M. Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesle en Picardie (XII-XIIIe siècle), leurs chartes et leur histoire* (2 vols., Paris, 1971), i, p. 58. For evidence of Simon de Nesle's unwavering support of Louis's punishments, see Jordan, *Men at the Center*, pp. 81-7.

<sup>241</sup> Newman, *Les seigneurs*, p 52.

Mathieu de Vendôme, during the eighth crusade (1270-1271).<sup>242</sup> It is also generally believed that Simon participated in Enguerrand de Coucy's inquest.<sup>243</sup> Faral points to a receipt documenting the expenses of the town of Chauny between Pentecost 1259 and Pentecost 1260. Article 2 of the document lists two fish at twenty shillings ('XX s.') 'qu'on presenta monsingneur de Nesle et monsingneur Perron le Chambrelain, quant il furent a Chauni, por le cause d'Engouren de Couci' (which were presented to my lord of Nesle and my lord Peter the Chamberlain when they were at Chauni for the cause of Enguerrand de Coucy).<sup>244</sup>

Simon de Nesle's likely involvement in the Coucy trial introduces the possibility of another interpretation of Blondel's melody. Simon grew up near Nesle in the region of Picardy, which was a prominent centre of training for French legalists.<sup>245</sup> Nesle is also the presumed origin of Blondel de Nesle, the maker of RS1227, Nesle being a part of his attribution in trouvère manuscripts **KNXPCa**.<sup>246</sup> Although Simon spent most of his life in Paris, acting as Lord of Nesle *in absentia*, he was likely familiar with the chansons of his seigneurie, especially a song as broadly disseminated as RS1227. I would suggest, therefore, that the author of RS1147 chose Blondel's melody for a very specific reason, namely to target Simon de Nesle musically as well as textually. The use of a widely disseminated

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<sup>242</sup> Newman, *Les seigneurs*, p 52.

<sup>243</sup> See Jordan, *Men at the Center*, pp. 77-8, and Louis Carolus-Barré, *Le procès de canonisation de Saint-Louis (1272-97)* (Rome, 1994), pp. 79-80.

<sup>244</sup> Faral, 'Le procès', p. 241.

<sup>245</sup> Griffiths, 'New Men', p. 245.

<sup>246</sup> Y.G. Lepage, 'Introduction', in Blondel de Nesle, *L'œuvre lyrique de Blondel de Nesle*, ed. Y.G. Lepage (Paris, 1994), p. 10.

melody from Nesle could have signalled that the song's criticisms were aimed at someone from that region. Moreover, should Simon have had occasion to hear the song, he might have interpreted it as the appropriation and distortion of material he associated with his Picard heritage and family home. In this specific political context, then, contrafacture functions as a form of cultural combat, which, in a kingdom occupied with anti-violence reform, could be seen as a substitution for physical, knightly combat.

The connection between Blondel de Nesle and Simon de Nesle may be based on more than just geographical proximity. Since Blondel de Nesle is mentioned in contemporary documents among the first generation of trouvères, Simon de Nesle would have known the figure of Blondel posthumously, when the oral traditions of Blondel's songs were being recorded in manuscripts and his legacy was beginning to take shape.<sup>247</sup> Blondel's identity has never been proven, and one recent scholar has questioned the degree to which he was a literary construct.<sup>248</sup> Nevertheless, the two historical candidates most favoured by philologists are Lord Jean II de Nesle, first suggested by Holger Dygge, and Lord Jean I de Nesle, whom Alan LePage suggested would better fit Blondel's chronology, since Jean I ruled from 1180-1202. Both figures are directly related to Simon de Nesle, Jean II de Nesle being Simon's maternal uncle,

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<sup>247</sup> On Blondel's connection with the first generation of trouvères, see LePage, 'Introduction', p. 10.

<sup>248</sup> D. Daolmi, *Trovatore amante spia: Otto secoli di cronache attorno al celebre favorito che salvò re Riccardo* (Lucca, 2015).

Jean I his grandfather.<sup>249</sup> If either of these identities is accurate, the melodic reference becomes even sharper: RS1147's author would have adopted Blondel's melody to use against his descendant, a possibility that opens up yet another range of interpretations, discussed further below.

### 3. The Jeu-parti and Verbal Combat

The third and final 'provable' contrafact of Blondel's chanson is a jeu-parti between the personas of Thibaut de Champagne and an opponent called Gui. The topic of the debate, appropriately enough, is loyalty. The song opens with the incipit 'Cuens, je vos part un geu pa aatie' and has the Raynaud-Spanke number RS1097. As mentioned at the outset of the chapter, the jeu-parti appears in seven manuscripts (trouvère sources **DKMOVXT**), six of which also contain Blondel's RS1227. The only manuscript containing RS1097 that lacks Blondel's chanson, **TrouvD**, is fragmentary, meaning Blondel's song may originally have been included there as well. In general, and especially in **KX**, RS1097's readings of each other are closer than they are to the readings of RS1227 in their respective manuscripts, suggesting the song was disseminated using exemplars independent of RS1227 and/ or a slightly different set of oral variations.<sup>250</sup> They are relatively close to **TMUZ**'s versions of RS1227, however, which is why both groups are marked in blue in Appendix 2.2a. As mentioned above, since Thibaut de Champagne died in 1253, six years before the

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<sup>249</sup> For biographies of Jean I and Jean II de Nesle, see Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesle*, ii, pp. 35-36 and 36-49 respectively.

<sup>250</sup> See the comparative transcription in Appendix 2.2a.

date of Enguerrand's trial, the jeu-parti must predate the political contrafact by at least six years, assuming Thibaut himself was involved in the jeu-parti's creation.

The question under debate is introduced by Gui in the first stanza: 'which of two knights is acting worse ('tret pis'): the one who loves his beloved loyally or the one who cruelly deceives her'? In the second stanza, Thibaut argues in favour of the loyal lover, while Gui takes up the third stanza to defend the deceptive lover. Thibaut further develops his case for the loyal lover in the fourth stanza, and the debate then concludes with two four-line envoys, each appealing to a different judge.

After opening with a declaration of his own lifelong commitment to loyalty, Thibaut suggests that the disloyal person's apparent immunity to the pains of love is really the numbing of his conscience. In Thibaut's words,

Li desloiaus ne bien ne mal ne sent,  
qu'endormiz est en sa vil tricherie;  
si ne li chaut li queus chies voist devant,  
tort ou droit,  
quant il deçoit  
celui qui tot metroit  
et cuer et cors en son commandement (2.5-11).

The disloyal one feels neither benefit nor harm (from love), for he is sleeping in his vile trickery. It does not matter to him which principle goes first, wrong or right, when he deceives the one who would place both heart and body completely at his command.

That Thibaut describes the loyal beloved as placing 'both heart and body' at the lover's command emphasises again the physicality of loyalty, that

loyalty is shown through acts—whether of love, song, or violence—done at the lover’s or sovereign’s will.

Gui argues that Thibaut’s support of loyalty is based on a lack of experience. Thibaut has never ‘loved to the point of suffering’ (*‘Ne savez pas d’amors jusqu’au doloir’*) (3.2), and therefore does not know the true meaning of obligation (*‘devoir’*) (3.7). According to Gui, the one who loves ‘is very much captured, and he fares worse than the other who dupes and tricks her and has forsaken all honour’ (*‘ce m’est vis, que mult est priscil qui aime, et trait pisque li autres, qui la guile et deçoitet a toute honor quitee’*) (3.8-12). The words ‘pris’ (captured) and ‘trait pis’ (fares worse) are emphasised by the proximity of their rhyme sounds to ‘ce m’est vis’, the three phrases occurring within the song’s central poetic kernel. ‘Pris’ is further emphasised by its being extended over two pitches in all RS1097’s sources except **TrouvV**, and both ‘pris’ and ‘pis’ stand out in the way they expand each line’s range with increasingly lower pitches.

Gui and Thibaut’s contrasting positions could be seen as a crystallisation of the divided self at the heart of Blondel’s poem. While Gui’s arguments recall the darker extremes of the chanson-narrator’s fluctuating attitude—his distress over his trials and the possibility of being killed—Thibaut’s arguments recall the narrator’s more optimistic declarations of steadfast devotion.<sup>251</sup> Thibaut’s claim in the fourth stanza that ‘refined love

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<sup>251</sup> RS1227, 6.1-5: *‘Chançons, di li que mar vi assamblee/ tante biauté com ele me moustra/ en sa face fresche et encoulouree,/ dont li orgueus en son cuer avala,/ qui son ami ocirre li fera’*. ‘Song, tell her [my lady] it is to my misfortune that I saw so many aspects of beauty assembled together as she showed me in her fresh

must always maintain its clear face and sweet smile' abstracts and deontologises Blondel's narrator's insistence that he 'has good reason to be happy' ('je mains doi par raison estre liés') (1.2) and is always devoted to loving his lady ('en li amer sui toz jors ententis') (7.5). Here, the jeu-parti functions as a gloss, as Michele Gally has described, making explicit and concrete what is implicit and rhetorical in the chanson.<sup>252</sup> RS1097 casts RS1227's conventional tropes in a critical light, exposing the chanson's underlying issues with a freshness that invites listeners to engage personally and intellectually with them.

Like RS1147, RS1097 also offers a nonviolent alternative to the aristocracy's prized pastime of armed combat. Whereas RS1147 engages in cultural appropriation through its melody, RS1097, the jeu-parti, is inherently combative in its format, the verbal duel offering a spectacle of focused competition comparable to that of a physical duel. Gui introduces the debate as a 'jeu par aatie', the term 'aatie' meaning hate/animosity, ardour/eagerness, or battle/combat.<sup>253</sup> Unlike the physical duel, however, this debate has a method of ensuring peaceful resolution should passions tempt the interlocutors into violence. The summoning of judges at the end gives the debate the character of a nonviolent trial or inquest, where a mediated decision is made after each party has testified and hostilities are

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and colourful face, for which pride descended into her heart, which will make her kill her friend'.

<sup>252</sup> See D.E. O'Sullivan's translation and citation of Gally's relevant passage in 'Words with Friends: Courtly Edition: The Jeux-Partis of Thibaut de Champagne', in S. Patterson (ed.), *Games and Gaming in Medieval Literature* (Basingstoke, 2015), p. 63.

<sup>253</sup> See Robert Martin, 'aatie', in *DMF*.

ceased. In the song's two envoys, the debaters of RS1097 appeal to Gilles (Gilon) 'in order to have peace' (5.4) and then to Pierre (Perron), 'whose opinion is like a sword' (6.2), suggesting the efficacy of substituting words (or opinions) for weapons. Like most *jeux-partis*, however, RS1097 does not record the judgements themselves. This lack of inscribed judgement allows the formal debate to continue informally within its performance context, providing a means of lively social interaction for audiences.

Given the likelihood of RS1097's chronological priority to RS1147, there is the possibility that the poet(s) and audiences of RS1147 were aware of RS1097. RS1147 may even have emerged out of a discussion on loyalty ensuing from a performance or remembered performance of RS1097 at the time of Enguerrand's trial. For those aware of RS1097, this awareness offers a new way of reading RS1147: replacing the verbal duel of RS1097 with RS1147's text on inquest performs poetically Louis IX's replacement of trial-by-combat with trial-by-inquest, incorporating the extradiegetic, substitutive work of *contrafacture* into RS1147's interpretation.

#### **4. Conclusion**

With its slightly off-kilter, uneasy melodic structure, its central triplet of short poetic lines coinciding with a textual nod to Simon de Nesle, and its widespread recognisability as Blondel's creation, RS1227's melody makes RS1147 a more cutting political attack than a solely literary reworking of Blondel's text. Using the music of Blondel, who is associated by name with

Nesle, implicates Simon de Nesle further, clarifying the identity of this ‘one other’ nobleman who is so ‘besotted with the clergy’ for those who know the melody’s courtly context. Here, RS699’s musical meaning offers a precision that the text lacks: the song-maker exploits a melody whose identity coincides with that of the text’s vague and nameless political target. But because of the music’s greater dependence on the listener’s subjectivity, its meaning is also more open-ended, perhaps deliberately so. The act of re-using Blondel’s melody could be heard as a form of cultural appropriation against the Nesle family: as in the case of RS700 and RS699, hearings of the political contrafact influence later performances of Blondel’s original song—the *serventois* cannot be unheard. RS1147’s influence is therefore potentially extended to all future performances of the melody, allowing the *serventois*-maker’s message to invade even the sincerest performances of RS1097 and RS1227.

RS1147 could also be heard as a way of drawing the ear of Simon, or as a reminder of how far he has fallen from the aristocratic greatness of his potential forebear Blondel. One might even hear the contrafact as being ventriloquised in Blondel’s voice, the memory of the melody arousing disapproving familial ghosts, holding Simon up against standards he cannot fulfil by invoking nostalgia for a lost aristocratic past.

More theoretically speaking, RS1147’s re-contextualisation of Blondel’s melody is, like RS699, an act of symbolic violence in the sense proposed by Slavoj Žižek, because it changes the melody’s historically bound identity into something new and unexpected. Since violence is generated from

symbolic understandings and formulations—the conditions giving rise to protest, for example, are first made meaningful in words, and the real objects of violent bigotry are the inaccurate, bigoted labels themselves—any ‘shift in our symbolic universe’ is violent in its potential to destabilise the dominant order of things. To describe these shifts in meaning, Žižek adopts Heidegger’s concept of ‘essencing’, the contextually-bound ‘making of essences that is the work of language’.<sup>254</sup> For Heidegger, the ‘essencing’ (*Wesung*) activity of language has a violent aspect to it: ‘the essence of violence resides in the violent character of the very imposition/ founding of the new mode of the Essence [*Wesen*]’.<sup>255</sup> Like language, music’s free-floating ‘signifiers’ also shift in meaning when their contextual backdrop changes. In this light, RS1147 is violent in its ‘re-essencing’ of RS1227’s music: a melody that initially represented Blondel’s poetic activity becomes a way of spurning his compatriot or family.

The melody also, however, has the capacity to capture the barons’ very particular experience of subjugation. With RS1227’s uneasy musical structure, its musical emphasis on words such as ‘paour’, ‘jugiez’, and ‘pitiez’ and its textual depiction of a dominating sovereign whose word is

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<sup>254</sup> Žižek, *Violence: Six Sideways Glances*, p. 58. A modern example is the pejorative use of ‘queer’ and its re-appropriation by the LGBTQ+ community (J.P.E. Harper-Scott, ‘Daniel Barenboim and music’s emancipatory symbolic violence’ [blogpost], accessed 13 March 2016, at <http://www.jpehs.co.uk/blog/page/2/>).

<sup>255</sup> Žižek, *Violence: Six Sideways Glances*, p. 58. For the concept Žižek is summarising, see Heidegger, *On the Essence of Language: the Metaphysics of Language and the Essencing of the Word; Concerning Herder’s Treatise on the Origin of Language*, trans. Wanda Torres Gregory and Yvonne Unna (Albany, NY, 2004).

law, the melody's associative space is linked with the experience of bare life. For those who know RS1227, this affective knowledge is made re-accessible in the music of RS1147, allowing the barons to pin down more precisely their own 'bare life' experience of having lost their rights.

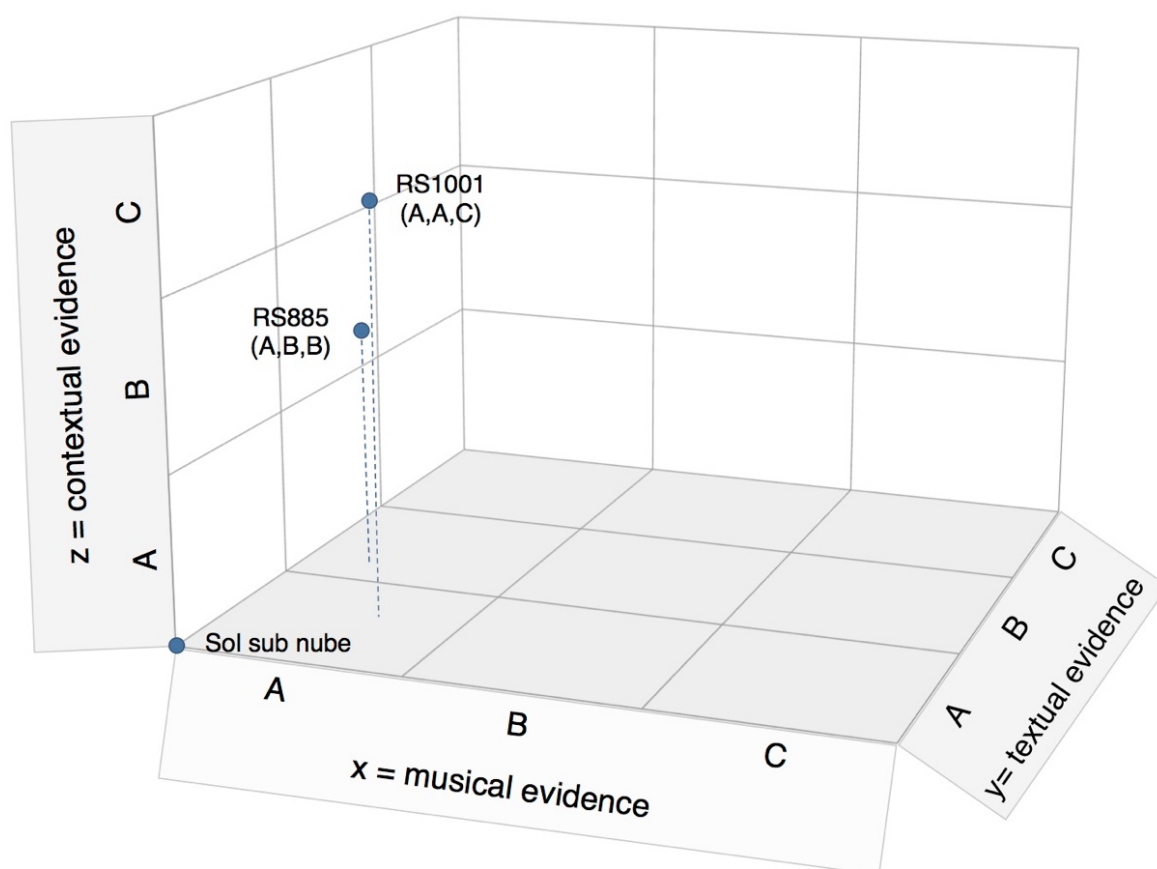
Familiarity with RS1097's debate on the pitfalls of loyalty further enriches the melody's associations: the question of the value of loyalty to a lady is easily reformulated into the question of the value of loyalty to a sovereign. At what cost is loyalty still worthwhile? What degree of suffering or loss of independence is the loyal subject willing to sustain? Such questions reiterate RS1227's themes of gift giving and sacrifice, which, in turn, become metaphors for the corporeal proofs of loyalty and valour so prized by the barons.

The gift of the body is also, of course, the singer's gift, the strengths and limits of their physical technique a way of proving themselves to the audience. The ways in which the music is entrained in the singer's body—the expansion and movement of breath to encompass the songs' aggression, ironic distance, or delight—affects sympathetically the bodies of those who listen, playing a crucial role in the music's interpretation. While this aspect of the music can only be imagined, the fundamental musicality of these texts is clear, and, as I have shown, significant. In the act of expressing an experience of bare life, the barons in fact choose a mode of expression furthest removed from bare life—the art of poetry and song. The richness of this mode of expression affords them, at the very least, a symbolic way out of their predicament.

# Chapter 3. Contrafacture as Theological Contemplation: A Conductus refashioned as both Marian song and *grand chant*

## 1. Background

This chapter's contrafact group consists of the two-part conductus *Sol sub nube latuit* (*Sol sub nube*), the Marian song *Pour mon chief reconforter* (RS885) thought to be by Gautier de Coinci, and the trouvère song *Chanter et renvoisier sueil* (RS1001) attributed to Thibaut de Blaison. RS885 shares *Sol sub nube*'s rhyme scheme and sounds, using a simplified version of the lower voice of its melody. The two songs also share theological themes and monastic contexts, giving RS885 the coordinates (A, B, B) on **Figure 3's**



**Figure 3: Graph of Sol Sub Nube's Contrafacta**

graph. RS1001 shares *Sol sub nube*'s melody and rhyme scheme but not its rhyme sounds, and appears to paraphrase *Sol sub nube*'s opening line, as discussed further in section 3.1 of this chapter. It is therefore plotted in **Figure 3** as (A, A, C). The chapter opens with a discussion of the Marian song RS885, as it is the likeliest to have used both other songs as models.

### 1.1. RS885's Codicology

Of the 114 manuscripts in which Gautier's *Miracles* survive in complete or fragmentary form, the song RS885 appears in only two sources, which I denote using Ducrot-Granderye's sigla, but with an added **Dg-** to distinguish them from trouvère sigla, rendering them **Dg-M** and **Dg-o**.<sup>256</sup> **Dg-M** is the earliest of all of the extant *Miracles* sources, having been signed and dated upon its completion in 1266 by the scribe Guillaume at the Benedictine monastery in Morigny, near Étampes.<sup>257</sup> Although the manuscript contains the 'complete' text of the *Miracles*, it includes only three of the eighteen songs transmitted widely as part of the *Miracles*, and one of these three, *Pour la Pucele en chantant me deport*, is set to a different melody from that in other sources.<sup>258</sup> In addition to these three

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<sup>256</sup> For A.P. Ducrot-Granderye's systematic study of Gautier's sources, see her *Étude sur les miracles de Notre Dame de Gautier de Coinci* (Geneva 1932). A more recent study of the sources is Duys, *Books Shaped by Song: Early Literary Literacy in the 'Miracles de Notre Dame' of Gautier de Coinci* (PhD diss., New York University, 1997). See also A. Butterfield, 'Introduction', in *Gautier de Coinci: Miracles, Music and Manuscripts*, Kathy Krause and Alison Stones (eds.) (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 1-18.

<sup>257</sup> Written in the same hand as the book itself, fol. 226 reads: *per manus Guillelmi monachis Maurigniacensis, anno Dni MCCLX sexto*.

<sup>258</sup> **Dg-M**'s text was deemed the 'most reliable', and the 'closest to Gautier's original' by Ducrot-Granderye (Ducrot-Granderye, *Étude sur les miracles*, p. 34). The Soissons manuscript (**Dg-S**, F-Pn n.a.f. 24541), which was housed in Soissons

widely transmitted songs are two songs unique to **Dg-M** and **Dg-o**, appearing with legible musical notation only in **Dg-M**. *Pour mon chief reconforter* is one of these additional songs. **Dg-M**'s early date (less than thirty years after Gautier's death) and Morigny's geographical proximity to Saint Médard, where Gautier spent his later years as grand prior, led Ducrot-Granderye to suggest the manuscript was a copy of one of Gautier's exemplars, given directly to Morigny by Saint Médard.<sup>259</sup> Koenig, however, finding no trace of communication between Saint-Médard and Morigny, doubted that **Dg-M**'s production involved a direct connection between the monasteries.<sup>260</sup> Alison Stones notes that the manuscript's only illustrations, two full-page miniatures painted by the same artist who did the foliate initials, are difficult to place, bearing no resemblance to the miniatures in *Miracles* sources produced later on in Soissons, Noyon, and Laon.<sup>261</sup> She draws attention to **Dg-M**'s lack of narrative illustration, an important element of later *Miracles* manuscripts, and an envoy section in

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but copied elsewhere in the early fourteenth century and is known for its beautiful miniatures, often forms the standard canon of the *Miracles*' musical and literary corpus, though determining a 'canon' of the *Miracles* presents its own difficulties, since the book's transmission is far from uniform. The idea of the *Miracles* as a 'text' is a central question in K. Krause and A. Stones (eds.), *Gautier de Coinci: Miracles, Music and Manuscripts* (Turnhout, 2006). The music's transmission is particularly complex, as certain songs appear in various sources with different melodies. For an outline of the music's transmission, see *Les chansons à la Vierge*, ed. J. Chailley, (Paris, 1959), pp. 3-48. See also T. Hunt, *Miraculous Rhymes: The Writing of Gautier de Coinci* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 16, and M. Switten, 'Borrowing, Citation, and Authorship in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre Dame*', in V.E. Greene, (ed.) *The Medieval Author in Medieval French Literature* (New York and Basingstoke 2006), p. 55, n. 4.

<sup>259</sup> See *Les chansons à la Vierge*, p. 30.

<sup>260</sup> *Les chansons à la Vierge*, p. 30.

<sup>261</sup> A. Stones, 'Notes on the Artistic Context of Some Gautier de Coinci Manuscripts', in K. Krause and A. Stones (eds.), *Gautier de Coinci: Miracles, Music and Manuscripts* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 66-72.

Gautier's epilogue addressing the book to Robert of Dive, prior of Saint Blaise and abbot of Saint-Eloi, Noyon, as well as a rubric unique to **Dg-M** with the same instructions in Latin.<sup>262</sup> She concludes that 'the Morigny manuscript can be read as a fair copy of Gautier's plain original, whereas the fully illustrated copies... would correspond to what Gautier hoped Robert would produce—although none of them can be dated to Robert's abbacy'.<sup>263</sup>

RS885's limited transmission leads some scholars to question its authorship. While Långfors recognises the song as Gautier's, Koenig considers it apocryphal.<sup>264</sup> Tony Hunt notes that the song is 'sometimes attributed to Gautier', but opts to exclude it from his detailed discussion of Gautier's song texts.<sup>265</sup> Jacques Chailley argues for the song's authenticity based on its text's elaboration of 'thèmes chers à Gautier', such as Gautier's oft-repeated claim that he writes a new song to the Virgin every year. Chailley suggests that the song text's emphasis on Gautier's old age, discussed further below, may be one reason why it evaded wider circulation: other exemplars of the *Miracles* had perhaps already been sent out for illustration and annotation by the time Gautier reached the final stages of his life.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> Stones credits Keith Busby with having noticed the rubric, which reads as follows on fol. 198: 'Incipit epistolam domini Galteri qui misit librum istum domine Roberti de Diva, priore sancti Blasii, postea abbate sancti Eligii Noviomentis'.

<sup>263</sup> Stones, 'Notes on the Artistic Context', p. 73.

<sup>264</sup> Hunt, *Miraculous Rhymes*, p. 82, fn. 14. See also Gautier de Coinci, *Les miracles de Notre Dame*, ed. V.F. Koenig (4 vols., Geneva, 1955-1970), XIV.

<sup>265</sup> See Hunt, *Miraculous Rhymes*, p. 82, n. 15.

<sup>266</sup> *Les chansons à la Vierge*, p. 31. Chailley dates the song to 1236 (Cf. *Les chansons à la Vierge*, p. 41).

Chailley and Donna Mayer-Martin are the only scholars to have both transcribed **RS885** and discussed it in any detail, a fact influenced perhaps by the song's questionable authorship. Chailley analyses the song in a comparative transcription that includes its two potential musical models, observing that Gautier's music is more closely related to that of the conductus, but that it may have also been influenced by Thibaut de Blaison's trouvère song.<sup>267</sup> Mayer-Martin essentially affirms Chailley's observations.<sup>268</sup> This is confirmed in my comparative transcriptions in Appendices 2.3b and 2.3c, in which RS885 resembles different aspects of all three notated conductus sources.

Chailley and Mayer-Martin, who cites Chailley, both describe RS885 as appearing at the end of the *Miracles* text in **Dg-M**.<sup>269</sup> This may be because it appears at the end of the late-thirteenth-century source **Dg-o**, which contains only the first book of *Miracles* and whose music is notated with what appears to be fake notation. On the contrary, RS885 is found in the middle of the *Miracles* in **Dg-M**, among three songs following the prologue to the second book of text. Moreover, RS885's opening stanza paraphrases the concluding text of the prologue, a fact that makes the song's authorial persona seem more intimate and self-conscious than in other songs.<sup>270</sup> In the following section, I intend to build on Chailley's and

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<sup>267</sup> *Les chansons à la Vierge*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>268</sup> D. Mayer-Martin, 'Respun Melodies for the Virgin: *Trouvère* Models for the Songs of Gautier de Coinci', in G.H.M. Claassens and W. Verbeke (eds.), *Medieval Manuscripts in Transition, Tradition and Creative Recycling* (Leuven, 2006), pp. 169-70.

<sup>269</sup> *Les chansons à la Vierge*, p. 30; Mayer-Martin, 'Respun Melodies', p. 169.

<sup>270</sup> A. Drzewicka, 'Le Livre ou la voix: le moi poétique dans les *Miracles de Notre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci', in *Le Moyen Âge*, 96 (1990), pp. 33-51, 256-261.

Mayer-Martin's observations, examining the song, its potential models, and their chronology in more detail.

## 1.2. Musical Analysis of RS885

**RS885** is a *chanson à refrain*: Poetic lines 1-8 form the song's strophic section, whose text changes with each stanza, while lines 9-12 constitute the refrain, the text and music of which are repeated after every stanza. Only after the last stanza does the refrain appear with a different text, as will be discussed in more detail below. A transcription of RS885 is shown in

### Example 3.1.

The opening line introduces a step-wise motif that begins on *D*, falls to *C*, climbs by step to *F*, and pivots on *F* and *D* before ending on an open *E*. *D*'s emergence as the first note of the phrase and its two subsequent repetitions establish it as a strong sonority. The rising gesture from *C* to *F*, labelled in purple as **M1**, establishes the phrase's limited range of a fourth. The second line's starting point and tonal contours are nearly identical to those in line 1, except that the penultimate gesture of the phrase sinks beyond *D* to *C*, allowing the phrase to conclude upward by step to a closed *D*. This modification transforms line 2 into a palindrome hinging on *F*, whose position at the top of the melodic arc emphasises the note further. **M1** is repeated here, though it is combined with fewer syllables.

Lines 3 and 4 repeat lines 1 to 2 exactly, as indicated by the red and blue brackets. This means that **M1** occurs four times within the strophe, while the note *D* is repeated no fewer than fourteen times. In addition to the more pronounced palindrome in lines 2 and 4, there is a smaller palindromic structure at the centre of each of these four lines, occurring in

the lines' stepwise motion from *D* to *F* and back to *D*, which is labelled in pink as **M2**. The similarity of lines 1 and 2, their limited range, and their repetition in lines 3 and 4 give the song a sense of simplicity, allowing it to impress itself easily on the memory. Beyond the balanced motion of each line, the only sense of direction is provided by the open and closed endings, which pull the melody from lines 1 to 2 and from 3 to 4.

Line 5 introduces a new musical idea: Its first note, *a*, is the highest note heard yet, extending the song's range to a sixth. The line consists of two motifs spanning a larger interval than any that have occurred yet, two stepwise descents of a fifth. The first descent begins on *a* and the second begins on *G*, allowing a new final note, *C*, to be introduced. Line 6 reverses this second descent: the melody makes its way from *C* back up to *G* before it descends by step to the closed ending (*C-D*) established in lines 2 and 4. Lines 7 and 8 simply repeat lines 5 and 6, as shown by the brackets in green and light blue. These repetitions establish lines 5-8 as a unified section whose increased movement contrasts with the relative stasis of lines 1-4.

The image shows a musical score for a Latin text, with 12 poetic lines. The notes are on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are: 1. Por mon chief re - con - for - ter, 2. por mon co - ra - ges - jo - ir, 3. un pou me vuel de - por - ter 4. en lo - er en con - jo - ir 5. ce - le qui pot com - por - ter 6. le grant roiz et sos - te - nir 7. que ne puet ter - re por - ter 8. ciel com - pren - dre ne te - nir. 9. Da - me, qui com - por - tas 10. neuf mois tot nos - tre de - port, 11. por ce por coi me de - port, 12. que le fil deu por - tas? The score includes various annotations: 'Syllable' with an arrow pointing to the right; 'F3' above the first syllable of line 1 and line 5; 'C4' below the first syllable of line 3; 'M1' in a purple box above syllables 2-5; 'M2' in a pink box above syllables 3-6; and various colored brackets (red, blue, green, cyan) on the right side of the staves, likely indicating melisma or specific musical phrases.

**Example 3.1: Transcription of RS885 from Dg-M, fol. 103r**

The refrain section maintains the extended range of a sixth introduced in lines 5-8, its melodic contours hinging on *D*, *F*, *G*, and *A*. The refrain's most dominant feature is the melisma on the last two syllables. As Chailley and Mayer-Martin observe, the entire refrain section, and especially the melisma, show the musical influence of *Sol sub nube* over Thibaut de

Blaison's RS1001, since RS1001 lacks a refrain entirely.<sup>271</sup> Although Gautier's melisma only approximates the melisma found in *Sol sub nube's* sources, its closest concordance being in the St. Gallen manuscript, the melisma's variation across *Sol sub nube's* sources shows that it was more fluid in performance than the song's syllabic phrases, as shown further below in **Example 3.2**. The melisma's potential as an emphatic device is one among many structural features that Gautier seems to have considered in his construction of the song text, others including the melody's open and closed endings, its repetitions, and its change of register and tessitura at line 5. A close examination of the text reveals how exactly Gautier uses these melodic features to refine, intensify, and deepen the song's meaning.

### 1.3. RS885's Text

In RS885's opening lines, Gautier's persona introduces the song as a form of consolation for his aching head. He announces that in order to 'comfort his head and uplift his heart' he wants to 'enjoy himself a little' by praising Mary.<sup>272</sup> That this consoling act of praise takes the form of a song is, of course, implied by its musical format. The third stanza confirms the role of song in Gautier's recovery: 'my entire heart, lady, laughs; all of my heart rejoices and trembles when singing a little of these sweet songs'.<sup>273</sup> Gautier's tendency to complain about debilitating headaches is well known;

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<sup>271</sup> See the comparative transcriptions in Appendices 2.2.a and 2.2.b.

<sup>272</sup> 'Por mon chief reconforter/ por mon corage esjoïr,/ un pou me vuel deporter/ en löer, en conjöier/ cele qui pot comporter/ le grant roïz...' (1.1-6).

<sup>273</sup> 'Toz li cuer, dame, me rit,/ toz m'esjoïst et tressaut,/ quant chanter puis un petit/ ces foz chans, se Deus me saut (3.1-4).

he alludes to them at multiple points in the *Miracles*.<sup>274</sup> As Anna Drzewicka observes, Gautier's updates on the condition of his head always serve as an explanation for his progress (or lack of progress) on his book. These moments of explanation reveal Gautier's writerly persona, or, in Drzewicka's terms, his *je-écrivain*, the persona concerned with the more practical matters of organising, completing, and disseminating his book. Drzewicka contrasts this persona with Gautier's *je-récit*, the voice immersed in the telling of tales in the tradition of the *conteur*, displayed most vividly in Gautier's narration of the miracle stories. Drzewicka is careful to note that these two personas are not mutually exclusive, and that in both personas, Gautier has an acute awareness of his writing's aural effect, as shown in his exuberant use of *anaphora*, *annominatio*, and *traductio*.<sup>275</sup> The difference between the two personas lies in Gautier's subject position in relation to the *Miracles*: the *je-récit* inhabits the work, while the *je-écrivain* stands outside of it. By opening with a reference to his headache, Gautier weaves aspects of his *je-écrivain* into the singing subject, setting the tone for a narrative voice characterised by a degree of self-reflexivity not found in his other songs.

RS885 uses the rhyme scheme *coblas singulares*, where each stanza has its own rhyme sounds, in this case an alternating pattern of two rhyme sounds throughout the stanza. The opening stanza begins with the alternating sounds *-er* and *-ir*. From lines 1-4, Gautier uses rhyming

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<sup>274</sup> It is unclear to what extent these headaches are autobiographical. For examples of Gautier's references to headaches in both Old French and English translation, see Hunt, *Miraculous Rhymes*, p. 11.

<sup>275</sup> See Drzewicka, 'Le Livre ou la voix?', pp. 245-63.

penultimate syllables as well: *–forter* and *–porter* are used in lines 1 and 3, while *–joïr* and *–joïr* are used in lines 2 and 4. These rhymes reflect the music’s alternating open and closed endings, allowing both the poetic and musical schemes of ABAB to coincide, the final two notes of each line reinforced by the final two rhyme syllables. Gautier uses *traductio* to extend the bi-syllabic rhymes of 1 and 3 into lines 5 and 7, as indicated below in bolded italics:

*Pour mon chief reconforter*  
*Por mon corage esjoïr*  
 un pou me vuel de***porter***  
 en lœer, en conoïr  
 cele qui pot com***porter***  
 le grant roiz et sostenir  
 que ne puet terre ***porter***  
 ciel comprendre ne tenir (1.1-8).

In order to comfort my head, in order to please my heart, I want to enjoy myself a little by praising, by delighting, in the one who could bear the grand king and nourish him whom neither earth could carry nor heaven comprehend or contain.

The emphasis on por(t) is maintained in the refrain through *annominatio* and *traductio*:

Dame, qui comportas  
 neuf mois tot nostre deport,  
 por ce por coi me deport,  
 que le fil deu portas?

My lady, you who bear all our delight for nine months, why [if you contain all delight], do I delight that you carry the Son of God [our delight]?

The refrain addresses an expectant Mary who is carrying Christ within her ‘for nine months’, but since this period of time takes place in the narrator’s present, she carries Christ, ‘all of our joy’, whenever the song is sung. The refrain therefore becomes a play on the words *comportas*, *deport*, and *portas*: since Mary bears (*comportas*) all our joy (*deport*), how can the narrator possibly access this joy in order to ‘re-joyce’ (*deport*) that she carries (*portas*) the Son of God? The seemingly whimsical wordplay of the refrain takes on a tinge of irony at the end of the second stanza, in which Gautier’s persona addresses his old age, predicting that as he gets older, his singing will eventually come off as raving senility:

Mere Dieu, des mon jovent  
 chasc’an te doi nouveau son  
 Je t’ai bien tenu covent  
 tant que none ou vespres son.  
 Vers la fin trai durement  
 par tens, ce croi, dira on,  
 se je chant plus longuement:  
 ‘Or rassote cist boen hom’ (2.1-8).

Mother of God, from my youth I have made you a new song every year;  
 I have kept the covenant until none and vespers; towards the end I  
 approach heavily; sometimes I think, if I sing much longer, someone  
 will say, ‘Now this good man raves!’.

Gautier’s persona’s claim that he has kept the covenant ‘from his youth’ evokes Psalm 71 (Psalm 70 in the Vulgate), whose narrator proclaims their steadfastness to God in their old age.<sup>276</sup> ‘None ou vespres’ here can be

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<sup>276</sup> Deus docuisti me ab adolescentia mea et usque nunc adnuntiabo mirabilia tua/ insuper et usque ad senectutem et canos Deus ne derelinquas me donec adnuntiem brachium tuum generationi cunctisque qui venturi sunt (Thou hast taught me, O God, from my youth: and till now I will declare thy wonderful works.

understood as the none and vespers of Gautier's life. The pull of the music from the open ending in line 1 to the closed ending in line 2 sets up the expectation for a resolution from lines 3 to 4. The fact that line 4's closed ending satisfies these expectations reinforces the sense of a promise having been kept, that the narrator has indeed 'kept the covenant well' ('bien tenu covent'). The narrator's shift of focus at line 5 towards his impending death coincides with the music's climb in tessitura, marking sonically the move from a retrospective to a forward-looking viewpoint. Gautier takes advantage of this melodic shift in other stanzas, particularly in stanza 3, where the narrator veers from expressing delight in his songs to dismissing those who speak 'folly', as well as in stanza 8, where the musical structure heightens the contrast between the blessed and the damned.

The refrain's reprisal following the second stanza does not just create the ironic sense that Gautier's excessive wordplay borders on senility; it also juxtaposes Gautier's immanent death with the Virgin's immanent birth of Christ. Mary's expectant body is evoked as both the bearer of the unborn and the potential bearer of the dead, the portal or gate carrying God to humanity and humanity back to God. Mary's function as *porta* is emphasised through the refrain's frequent repetition of the sound *por(t)*, particularly on the refrain's melisma. This implicit reference to *porta* is anticipated explicitly at the end of the second prologue, which immediately precedes the three songs in **Dg-M** among which RS885 is found.

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And unto old age and grey hairs: O God, forsake me not, until I shew forth thy arm to all the generation that is to come) (Ps. lxx. 17-18).

Ançoys que dou livre secont  
 riens vos die ne riens vos cont,  
 talens me prent que de li chant  
 et novel dit et novel chant.  
 Pour vos esbatre et deporter,  
 et por mon chief reconforter,  
 chanter en veil par grant deport,  
 car en ses chans mout me deport.  
 En ses doz chanz a deport tant  
 que je m'i vois mout deportant.  
 En li servir qui se deporte  
 dou ciel a s'ame oevre la porte.  
 Que cele ou tant de deport a,  
 Que toz depors neuf moys porta,  
 a la fin toz nos daint porter  
 en paradys por deporter.  
 Or entendez par grant deport  
 Comment pour li je me deport (393-410).<sup>277</sup>

Before I tell you or recount to you anything of the second book, a desire seizes me to sing both new ditties and new songs about her. To delight and amuse you and to comfort my head, I want to sing of her with great delight, for in these songs I take great delight. In these sweet songs there is such joy that I get quite carried away in them. Whoever delights in serving her, she opens the gate of heaven to their souls. For she in whom there is so much joy, who carried all joy for nine months, ultimately deigns to carry all of us to Paradise to rejoice. Now listen, with great delight, to how I delight on account of her!

RS885's wordplay on *port* seems to be an extension of the pattern introduced in the above passage, where the words *deport* (delight), *porte* (door), and *porter* (carry/ bear) associate Mary's power as intercessor with the pleasure involved in singing for her intercession. It is worth noting that while **RS885**'s authorship and 'authentic' status within the *Miracles* is questionable, this passage in the second prologue, which shares its thematic content with that of the first stanza of **RS885**, is considered an

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<sup>277</sup> See Gautier de Coinci, *Les miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. V.F. Koenig (4 vols., Geneva, 1955-1970), iii, pp. 280-1.

essential part of the *Miracles* corpus, appearing in at least twenty-three manuscripts as well as in Koenig's edition.<sup>278</sup> If **RS885** was completed after the second prologue, then whoever created **RS885** seems to have paraphrased the prologue's ending, rendering it into verse and then expanding on the idea of old age and death in subsequent stanzas.

Gautier himself may have, in his old age, drawn inspiration from his prologue's text and used it as the basis of **RS885**.<sup>279</sup> The second stanza's theme of encroaching death reappears at several points in the song, contributing towards a kind of living, autobiographical epitaph for Gautier's authorial persona. In the sixth stanza, the narrator pledges his faithfulness to Mary despite the fact that he grows old: 'Fleurs d'aiglentier, fleurs de lis/ ja por ce, s'a ma fin vois,/ ne por ce, se j'envellis,/ ne lairoi' (I will never abandon the Rose and the Lily, neither on account of coming to my end nor on account of growing old) (6.1-4). The seventh stanza emphasises the narrator's weakened and aged body, recognising the immortality of the soul over the corruptibility of the flesh:

Mere Deu, se mes las cors  
afebloie et desperit  
et envielit par defors,  
renouvele l'esperit.  
La chars, qui muert com un pors,  
ne puet chaloir, quant devit;  
mais a l'ame est li tresors  
qui sanz terme et sanz fin vit (7.1-8).

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<sup>278</sup> For the version in Koenig's edition, see Gautier de Coinci, *Les miracles*, iii, pp. 280-1.

<sup>279</sup> For the sake of simplicity, I refer hereafter to **RS885**'s author as Gautier, although an alternative author is possible.

Mother of God, although my poor body, enfeebled and dispirited and aged in its appearance, renews its spirit, the flesh, which dies like a pig, cannot warm when it dies, but in the soul is the treasure which lives without a [fixed] term and without end.

The final stanzas of RS885 move from the personal to the collective, addressing death from an eschatological perspective. The eighth stanza contrasts those who animate their hearts in order to serve Mary ('qui leur cuers aviveront/ a toi servir vivement') (8.3-4) with the 'wretched', who fail to do Mary's service sweetly ('et li las, qui ne feron/ ton servise docemont') (8.5-6), counting the former among the blessed and the latter among the damned. The ninth and final stanza adds to this descriptive eschatological account a prayer for Mary's intercession on Judgement Day:

Doiz de tote pieté,  
jointes mains te quier et pri  
qu'au grant jor tant redoté  
faces tant par ta merci  
au doz roi de verité  
qu'il die a nos qui sons ci  
le doz mot, le bien dité:  
'Venite, benedicti,

*regnum possidete.*  
*vos qui m'amez finement,*  
*sanz terme et sanz finement*  
*mecum congaudete (9.1-12).*

Give complete mercy. With joined hands I pray and wish that on that great day, greatly feared, you may do so much, by your mercy, to the great king of truth, that he may say to us who hear here the sweet word, the good dictum: *take possession of the kingdom. You who love me well without a [fixed] term and without end, rejoice with me.*

Rather than returning to the usual refrain text, the final refrain of RS885 paraphrases Matthew xxv. 34, in which Christ describes the separation of

the blessed from the damned at the final Judgement and the blessed's inheritance of the Kingdom.<sup>280</sup> At this point in the song, the refrain, having been sung eight times already with its usual text (*Dame qui comportas...*), would have established itself as a point of familiarity, encouraging listeners to participate more actively, whether through silent anticipation or singing. With its new text, the final refrain stands out by subverting the listeners' expectations. At the same time, the refrain's melody retains its force as a participatory cue, evoking a sense of gathering-together that suggests the large-scale assembly at the Last Judgement. The final melisma's elaboration of the word 'congaudete' (rejoice) echoes the line 'Gaude nova nupta!' in *Sol sub nube*'s refrain, which will be discussed in more detail below. The extended 'congaudete' also highlights the song's success in consoling the aches of the narrator's ailing body and in turning his thoughts, both through text and music, toward the hope of Mary's intercession.

The autobiographical tone of the 'je-écrivain' in which the narrator is portrayed here is unusual among Gautier's songs. Daniel E. O'Sullivan characterises Gautier's songs as being universally applicable, as encouraging a link between the experiences of the narrator and those of the listener. He writes:

Marian song creates a more direct relationship between the lyric 'I' and the listener: the listener understands Marian song in the context of his own life, substituting his unique circumstances for the protagonist's narrativised circumstances at the moment of performance. The salvific

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<sup>280</sup> Mt. xxv. 34: 'Then the King will say to those on his right, 'Come, you who are blessed by my Father; take your inheritance, the kingdom prepared for you since the creation of the world'.

discourse of Marian song becomes both universally applicable and infinitely specific as it bears directly upon each and every believer's own life situation.<sup>281</sup>

In the case of RS885, the relationship between the lyric 'I' and the listener is not as direct as described above. The narrator's references to his headache, his aged and weakened body, and to the claim that he writes a new song to the Virgin every year cast him unmistakably in Gautier's image. The song may encourage self-reflection and Marian devotion, but these responses are mediated by the specific experiences of Gautier's persona. Gautier is not invisible; he is intentionally present here, and his presence can be read in several ways. First, he may be seen as depicting himself as a model of Marian devotion, a model that does not necessarily emphasise his own goodness, but rather his lifelong faithfulness to the Virgin ('Je t'ai bien tenu covent/ tant que none ou vespres son') (2.3-4). This emphasis on Gautier's specific relationship with Mary and God's miraculous mimetic response to her intercession appears elsewhere in the miracle texts, particularly in Gautier's first-person narrative of the St. Léocade miracle at Vic-sur-Aisne.<sup>282</sup> Gautier's persona's role as exemplum applies also to the manner in which he approaches death: in a moment of physical discomfort and frailty, he places his trust in Mary, recognizing that 'a l'ame est li tresors qui sanz terme et sanz fin vit' (in the soul is the treasure that lives without term or end) (7.7-8). The particular way in which Gautier entrusts himself has important didactic implications too: as noted

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<sup>281</sup> O'Sullivan, *Marian Devotion*, p. 14.

<sup>282</sup> Cf. *Les miracles de Nostre Dame*, ii, pp. 214-48.

above, the consolation Gautier seeks is found not just through texts that redirect his thoughts away from his bodily suffering and towards the transcendent, but also through the very physical act of singing, suggesting that RS885 is not so much an attempt by Gautier to distract himself from an aching head but rather a transformative, perhaps even purgative act that acknowledges and embraces the body's pain in order for it to be healed by the voice's vibrations, and which demonstrates the transformative effect of Marian song, especially Gautier's Marian song, on the singer. The contrast in the verses and refrain between the dying narrator and the soon-to-be-born Christ recalls the Pauline notion that those who die in Christ are born again in Christ.<sup>283</sup> In this way, the refrain's repetitions reinforce an image of hope in the resurrection, of Christ being reborn in Gautier, which, through a form of micro-contrafacture, is externalised in the final refrain's appeal for intercession on Judgment Day.

Beyond the didactic, the presence of Gautier's persona has the effect of allowing the listener privileged access to a private moment. The listener imagines Gautier singing the song as he writes his book, or as part of his private devotions. Even the song's limited range suits the voice of an old, frail man. Gautier's voice reaches out from beyond the grave, constructing the image of a life fulfilled through Marian devotion, an image which functions, as suggested above, like an autobiographical epitaph. Moreover, every time the song's themes of old age and death are sung, Gautier's

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<sup>283</sup> Gal. ii. 20: 'I have been crucified with Christ, and it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me.' Christ's statement in Mt. xvi. 25 is also relevant: 'Whoever loses their life for my sake will gain it'. Cf. Lk. ix. 24 and Mk. viii. 35.

voice is reborn; in this way the song's performance serves to foreshadow Gautier's hoped-for resurrection.

The final refrain's use of *Sprachmischung*, the practice of mixing languages within the stanza, highlights not only the opening of Christ's quotation, where the text shifts into Latin, but also the brief intervention, within this quotation, back into French with the phrase 'vos qui m'amez finement,/ sans terme et sanz finement' (you who love me well without a fixed term and without end) (9.10-11). This shift in language marks the third occurrence of the line 'sanz terme et sanz finement' (without a fixed term and without end), the others having appeared almost consecutively at 7.7-8 and 8.1-2. With the word *terme*, which can refer not only to a fixed amount of time, but also to a term of pregnancy, Gautier seems to be comparing a human lifetime with the human period of gestation, a comparison that evokes the image of one's life as a mere term of formation, after which, with death, one's true life begins. The finiteness of both these senses of *terme* is negated to convey both the infiniteness of Mary's pregnancy within RS885 and eternal life.

The notion that Gautier is playing with ideas of temporality is further suggested by the fact that RS885 consists of nine stanzas; it is as if the song itself represents a term of gestation, with which a Christ-like message is being carried, or a pre-celestial, gestational earthly life, such as Gautier's own life. As a sung performance, RS885 is temporally finite—it dies when the performer falls silent. At the same time, Gautier's desire to be

remembered encompasses not only Mary's remembrance and mercy on Judgement Day, but also a more pragmatic desire to be remembered in earthly posterity through self representation, both in this song and in the larger, painstakingly planned 'book' of the *Miracles*. Though it lasts only nine stanzas, the song's *terme* is without end because of its cyclical capacity to be re-sung, and this is further extended by its preservation in **Dg-M** and **Dg-o**.

The question arises as to why Gautier selected this particular melody for RS885. As discussed at the beginning, he seems to have borrowed the melody from two sources, the lower part of the two-part conductus *Sol sub nube* and the trouvère song RS1001. Since *Sol sub nube*'s musical influence is more obvious, I address this song's text and sources first, considering in what contexts Gautier might have known the song, as well as what insights this contextual information can reveal about Gautier's use of contrafacture as a creative process.

## **2. *Sol sub nube latuit***

*Sol sub nube* is a two-part conductus from the Notre Dame School. It appears with notation in three Notre Dame sources: the Florence Manuscript (**F**) among 130 two-part conducti in the seventh fascicle; in the ninth fascicle of the Scottish Wolfenbüttel source (**W1**) and towards the end of a St.-Gall tropary and sequentiary (**CH-SGs 383**), probably made in the Cathedral of Lausanne before 1250 and housed in the Benedictine Abbey

of St. Gall by 1300.<sup>284</sup> RS885 corresponds most closely to the related sources **F** and **W1**, particularly the former. **Example 3.2** shows how lines 1 and 2 (and, by extension, also lines 3-4) of RS885 correspond more closely to those of **F**, while **Example 3.3** shows the resemblance between these two manuscripts' ascent of a fourth in line 5.<sup>285</sup> The more literal correspondance between RS885's reading and those of **F** and **W1** is epitomised in the final melisma, shown in **Example 3.4**. Here, RS885 resembles these two manuscripts particularly in its first eight notes, which are matched nearly identically. Meanwhile, **CH-SGs 383** (labelled St. Gall in the example) goes through the same sonorous checkpoints as the others, from *E* down to *C*, stepwise up to *F*, returning to *C*, and then to *a*, but the interim notes vary in pitch and number. RS885's close but non-identical resemblance to **F** and **W1**'s readings points toward a more complicated transmission of the conductus than the linear influence of one extant source on another, and highlights the potential flexibility of the melisma's performance.

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<sup>284</sup> See Appendix 1 for a list of sources and provenances. For information on the Lausanne MS, see C. Hospenthal, *Tropen zum Ordinarium missae in St. Gallen: Untersuchungen zu den Beständen in den Handschriften St. Gallen, Stiftbibliothek 381, 484, 376, 378, 380 und 382* (Bern, 2010).

<sup>285</sup> For the full comparative transcription of RS885 and *Sol sub nube*, see Appendix 2.3c.

CH-SGs 383 (St. Gall) C5

I-FI Pluteo 29.1 (F) A3

D-W Guelf. 628 Helmst. (W1) C5

RS885 (Dg-M) F3

1.sol sub nu - be la - tu - it 2.sed e - clip - sis

1.sol sub nu - be la - tu - it 2.sed e - clyp - sis

1.sol sub nu - be la - tu - it 2.sed e - clyp - sis

1.Por mon chief re - con - for - ter, 2.por mon co - ra -

**Example 3.2: Correspondence between F and RS885 at lines 1-2**

St. Gall ✓ A3

F ✓ A3

W1 ✓ C5

RS885

4.sum - mi pa tris fi - li - us 5.ma - ri - ta - ri

4.sum - mi pa - tris fi - li - us 5.ma - ri - ta - ri

4.en lo - er en con - jo - ir 5.ce - le qui pot

**Example 3.3: Ascent of a fourth between F and RS885 in line 5**

St. Gall

F

W1

RS885

rup - - - - - ta.

rup - - - - - ta.

rup - - - - - ta.

por - - - - - tas?

**Example 3.4: Correspondance between *Sol sub nube's* and *RS885's* melismas**

Many scholars have remarked on Gautier's evident familiarity with the Notre Dame repertory, including Chailley, who notes that Gautier borrows musical material from Latin conducti or clausulae for at least five songs in the *Miracles*.<sup>286</sup> As will be seen below, however, the codicological contexts

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<sup>286</sup> Gautier's *Talens m'est pris orendroit* borrows from the Latin hymn *Ave Virgo sapiens et natura*, and may also be a contrafact of a pastourelle by Jocelin de Bruges having the same rhyme scheme and sounds (RS1848), which appears in **GB-Ob MS Douce 308**. Gautier's *Amours dont sui espris* takes its melody from Blondel's *Amours dont sui espris m'efforce de chanter* (RS1545), but the melody of both songs is found in two Latin conducti from the Notre-Dame repertory: *Procurans odium* and *Purgator criminum*, the former also found in the repertory of the *Carmina Burana*. Gautier's *Hui matin a la journee* has multiple sources, including the duplum of a clausula for three voices from the Notre Dame school (after the Benedicamus Domino of the eleventh vespers for solemn feasts). The melody of Gautier's *Entendez tuit ensemble* resembles that of Pérotin's *Beata Viscera*, and Gautier's *Hui enfantez* is a contrafact of the sequence *Laetabundus*. For more detailed information, see *Les chansons à la Vierge*, pp. 49-60.

of *Sol sub nube*'s miscellaneous text-only manuscripts, of which there are six, offer a better glimpse of the song's intellectual and cultural milieu than the more practical groupings of its notated Notre Dame sources.<sup>287</sup> Among these text-only manuscripts are the only two sources to contain the complete seven stanzas of *Sol sub nube*'s text: an English collection of Latin prose and poetry now housed in the Bodleian Library (**GB-Ob Add. A.44**) and a collection of Latin exegetical texts originating from the Benedictine Monastery of St. Bertin in St.-Omer (**F-SOM 351**), both sources dating from the first quarter of the thirteenth century.<sup>288</sup>

*Sol sub nube*'s text centres on the miracle of the Incarnation at the Nativity. It shares its rhyme scheme, *coblas singulares*, with the verses and refrain of *Pour mon chief reconforter*, although the rhyme sounds differ between the two songs.<sup>289</sup> The conductus's opening lines use the image of the sun, whose emission of light remains unaffected when clouds overshadow its rays, as a metaphor for the way in which God's majesty was hidden but undiminished when he took human form. The image of a weightless cloud tempering the sun's beams reappears in the third stanza ('*Solis iubar temperat/ nubes molis nescia*') (3.1-2), recalling Alan of Lille's statement that Christ 'wore his humanity like a veil'.<sup>290</sup> The first stanza

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<sup>287</sup> I include among the counted sources but do not discuss the fifteenth-century source GB-Lbl Royal 7.A.VI from Durham Cathedral because it is not contemporary with the composition of Gautier's *Miracles*.

<sup>288</sup> For the seven stanzas of *Sol sub nube*'s text, see Appendix 3.3b.

<sup>289</sup> The most similar rhyme sounds between songs are found in their refrains. *Sol sub nube*'s refrain has the sounds *-a, -as, -as, -a*, while RS885's uses *-as, -ort, -ort, -as*.

<sup>290</sup> Latin text from Walter of Châtillon, *Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems*, ed. & trans. D. Traill (Oxford, 2013), p. 75.

depicts this union between God and the flesh (or Mary) as a joyful but unequal marriage: ‘Maritari noluit/ verbum patris altius,/ nubere non potuit/ caro gloriosius’ (The Word of the Father did not wish for a more exalted marriage, while flesh could not hope for a union that would bring it greater glory) (1.5-8).<sup>291</sup> The refrain, addressing the ‘new bride’, understood again as both Mary and the flesh, clarifies the theological concept underpinning the cloud metaphor: ‘Gaude nova nupta!/ Fides est et veritas/ quod a carne deitas/ non fuit corrupta’ (Rejoice, new bride! It is the truth, and it is the faith that the deity was not corrupted by the flesh).

In the song’s central stanzas (4-6), the focus shifts to one of the main principles of the Incarnation, Mary’s virginity. The fourth stanza meditates on the miraculous space within the pregnant Mary, an enclosed, untouched space to which only God has access. It begins, ‘O domus egregia,/ domus, inquam, domini, domus nulli pervia/ nisi deo homini’ (Ah, peerless abode! Abode, I repeat, of the Lord, abode accessible to none save the man-God) (4.1-4). The narrator’s fixation on the paradox of Mary’s pregnancy recalls RS885’s refrain (‘Dame, qui comportas/ neuf mois tot nostre deport,/ por ce por coi me deport,/ que le fil Deu portas?’). If Gautier was indeed inspired by the conductus text, then RS885’s refrain might be read not only as an ironic example of the logical extremes of Gautier’s wordplay, but also a performative, verbal expression of the paradox of the virgin birth emphasised in the conductus.

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<sup>291</sup> Translation from Walter of Châtillon, *The Shorter Poems*, p. 73. All translations of *Sol sub nube*’s text are from *ibid.*, pp. 73-77 unless otherwise indicated.

*Sol sub nube*'s fifth stanza explicitly addresses the paradoxical nature of the birth of Christ, who is both infinite and finite:

Absque dei numine  
sensu nullo capitur,  
quod de matre virgine  
Deus homo nascitur,  
qui mentis acumine,  
qui loco non clauditur.  
en stamen in homine  
lacet, sedet, graditur (5.1-8).

Without the will of God, no mind can grasp that from a virgin mother the man-God was born, whom no sharpness of intellect can encompass or space confine, but who, as a being in human form, lay down, sat, and walked.

The sixth stanza then introduces the image of the burning bush, which functions like the metaphor of the cloud to show that Christ loses none of his divinity in becoming human (that God is not corrupted by matter): 'Rubus non conburitur/ inter flammam ignium' (6.1-2). Since this image is followed by the claim that Christ's mother did not violate the 'lily of chastity' (nec mater transgreditur/ castitatis lilium) (6.3-4), the burning bush can be understood more specifically in terms of the fire of the Holy Spirit descending on the mother without consuming her virginity. The song's instructive imagery designates it not so much as a devotional Marian song of Gautier's ilk, but rather as a didactic song reflecting on Mary's central role in the theology of the Incarnation. Gautier seems to have transformed its theological Marian content into a devotional meditation.

The most notable thematic link between the two songs is found in the conductus' final stanza, which aspires towards a good end (*exitus*) 'in the Son of God', led by the Holy Spirit:

Ab hoc ergo medio  
fugiendum primitus  
et vero refugio  
aderendum penitus  
ut in Dei filio  
noster fiat exitus  
ad quem nos cum gaudio  
perducat paraclitus (7.1-8).

So we must first flee from Babylon and cling unflinchingly to our true refuge, so that our end may be in the son of God. May the Paraclete lead us joyfully to him!

By addressing the salvific implications of the Incarnation, the final stanza calls to mind the Holy Spirit or Paraclete's role in leading Christ to Earth and humanity to Heaven. The Spirit's conductive function in birth and death resembles that of Mary, who, as *porta*, bears the unborn Christ and the soul of Gautier in RS885.

## 2.1. *Sol sub nube's* Codicological Contexts

In the conductus's Bodleian Source, **GB-Ob Add. A.44**, *Sol sub nube* is immediately followed by a lament for the crucified Christ in the voice of Mary, further foregrounding the contrast between birth and death.<sup>292</sup> This

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<sup>292</sup> The item following this lament is a dialogue between Ganymede and Helen on homosexuality, a noteworthy contrast to the Marian songs, as it may be invoking the contentious issue of whether the miracle of the virgin birth was against nature (*contra naturam*) by following with a dialogical song about a phenomenon that was considered against nature (Cf. Alan of Lille, *De planctu naturae*, ed. Nikolaus M. Häring, in *Studi Medievali*, 19 (1978), pp. 806-79). Fol. 71r of the Graz manuscript

lament, with the incipit *Planctus autem nescia*, appears in two of *Sol sub nube*'s other text-only sources: in an exegetical manuscript from the Benedictine abbey at St. Lambrecht (**A-Gu 409**) dating from the second half of the twelfth century, whose Latin songs (including *Sol sub nube*) date from c. 1200; and a fourteenth-century manuscript (**F-Pn lat. 4880**) containing the third book of Julius Valerius's Alexander romance along with the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*.<sup>293</sup> **A-Gu 409**'s Latin songs are split into three groups, written in a hand from c. 1200 in what seem to have been previously empty spaces located at the beginning of the manuscript (fol. 1-2v), in the middle (fol. 70-72v), and at the end (fol. 273). *Sol sub nube* is found on the first folio, aptly preceded by a hymn paraphrasing Rhabanus Maurus' *Veni sancte spiritus* and followed by additional conducti on the Nativity theme, some of which are notated with unstaved neumes. *Planctus autem nescia* is located at the beginning of the second cycle of hymns and conducti at fol. 70, which follows the *Margarita Davidica*—an exposition on the psalms—and Hugh of St. Victor's gloss on Genesis. The three song cycles seem to function as exegetical tools framing and

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(**A-Gu 409**) contains a hymn with the incipit *Verbum patris humanatur*, where Christ's birth is described as exceeding the law of nature.

<sup>293</sup> Dates and provenances of **A-Gu 409** from O. Wonisch, 'Die St. Lambrecht-Grazer Handschriften', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 35 (1918), p. 67 and A. Kern *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz* (2 vols. in 1, Leipzig, 1939). Date of **F-Pn lat. 4880** from the online catalogue of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*. *Sol sub nube*'s place in relation to the other items of **F-Pn lat. 4880** is unclear, as the catalogue does not list the conductus's incipit among its items, nor does it list the items' folio numbers. If it is located among the *Cantica in honorem beatae Mariae* (item no. 7), then it follows directly from *Planctus autem nescia* (item no. 6), listed under the rubric *Planctus sanctae Mariae matris Domini super unicum filium suum pendentem in cruce, quem ipsa dictavit*. Cf. *Poésies populaires Latins: Antérieures au douzième siècle*, ed. E.P. du Ménil (Paris, 1843), p. 176, fn. 1.

reinforcing the manuscript's didactic texts, which also include Pseudo-Jerome's *Breviarium* on the Psalms and expositions on the Athanasian and Apostles' creeds.<sup>294</sup>

The St.-Omer source (**F-SOM 351**) has in common with **A-Gu 409** not only its Benedictine provenance, but also its exegetical contents, including the expositions on the Apostle's creed and the psalms.<sup>295</sup> A group of thirty-three Latin songs and poems, among which *Sol sub nube* is included, precedes the expositions, many of the songs having a didactic character. The lyrics are categorised further into Christmas hymns and love poems; a few moral-satirical poems also appear at the end of each group, including an impassioned condemnation of Henry II written after the murder of Thomas Becket.<sup>296</sup> Notably, *Sol sub nube* appears not among the Christmas hymns but rather at the end of the entire group of lyrics, directly before the exposition of the Apostle's creed, suggesting that the conductus functions as a preliminary gloss on the creed's doctrine of the Incarnation. Karl Strecker has demonstrated that these thirty-three anonymous lyrics constitute an anthology documenting the work of the twelfth-century poet Walter of Châtillon, a hypothesis that has been widely accepted.<sup>297</sup> The

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<sup>294</sup> One of the hymns, *Amor patris et filii*, with a concordance to a two-part sequence in **GB-Lbl Burney 357** fol. 15v-16r, focuses on the concept of the Holy Spirit as the love between the Father and the Son, which may have been included as an addendum to the exposition of the Nicene creed. Since the schism between East and West in 1054 over the credal addition that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son (*filioque*), there had been a need in the West to define and defend this idea.

<sup>295</sup> See *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, (7 vols., Paris, 1849-1885), iii, p. 172.

<sup>296</sup> Walter of Châtillon, *The Shorter Poems* p. xxi. See also *ibid.*, pp. liv-lv and pp. 32-33.

<sup>297</sup> Walter of Châtillon, *The Shorter Poems*, p. xxi.

early provenance of **A-Gu 409**, along with Walter's likely authorship of *Sol sub nube*, confirm the conductus's chronological priority to RS885. Though they do not confirm the melody used by that conductus, no version of an alternative melody to *Sol sub nube* survives, suggesting (though not definitively) that *Sol sub nube* was the first text to be sung to the shared melody of this contrafact group.

An additional text-only source, **D-B Phill. Ms. 1996**, is even earlier than **A-Gu 409**, dating to the second half of the twelfth century. **D-B Phill. Ms. 1996** is noteworthy for the location of its Latin songs, which were inserted into four blank spaces in the manuscript in a contemporary hand differing from that of the manuscript's textual tracts. While the source's main text contains the epistles of Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux's summary of Patristic works, and Anselm's sermons, the songs follow their own thematic trajectory: they begin with hymns for the Nativity, the last of these comparing the Incarnation with the manna that fell in the desert; the theme then shifts from manna to the Eucharist with a satirical song condemning sinful priests who perform the consecration (*Sacerdotes mementote*), nevertheless acknowledging the orthodox view that Christ is truly present in the Eucharist no matter how sinful the priest ('Miror ego, miror plane/ quod sub illo latet pane/ corpus Christi, quod prophane/ tractat manus illo mane').<sup>298</sup> *Sol sub nube* then completes the cycle, returning to the theme of the Nativity. Its location after *Sacerdotes mementote* foregrounds the

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<sup>298</sup> 'I am enormously astonished that the body of Christ hides under this bread, the body which profane hands handles this morning' (Walter Map, *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. T. Wright (London 1841), p. 50, vv. 71-74.

notion, shared between the Transubstantiation and the Incarnation, that God is fully present, both in the incarnate Christ, who rains down like manna at the Nativity, and in the Eucharist. *Sol sub nube* therefore functions like a didactic summary, distilling the material of previous songs into one memorable conductus.

Even from this superficial overview of *Sol sub nube*'s sources, several insights can be drawn concerning its social and intellectual contexts: first, the formal Latin tracts with which it circulated indicate that it was known and appreciated by the clerical, intellectual elite. Secondly, *Sol sub nube* has an element of plasticity wherein it acquires new meanings depending on the texts with which it is being paired, providing a glimpse into the myriad associative networks in which contemporaries would have thought of the song's contents. Gautier must have remembered *Sol sub nube* within a particular codicological, meditative, or didactic context, which would have informed his creative reworking of the song. Thirdly, the thoughtful compilation of *Sol sub nube* with expositions on the psalms and the creeds reveals the song's didactic function, particularly within a Benedictine context. Setting aside the likely notion that Gautier had committed *Sol sub nube* to memory, the fact that three of *Sol sub nube*'s sources have Benedictine provenances invites one to speculate as to whether Gautier's abbey (Vic-sur-Aisne) owned a manuscript like this, and whether *Sol sub nube* might have served a similar exegetical function within the manuscript. Some of the texts in these Benedictine sources, for example Augustine's letters and Anselm's sermons, would have been appropriate reading for the *Lectio divina*. *Sol sub nube* and other didactic songs may have been sung

during the meditation following the readings as a way of reinforcing the readings' spiritual insights through music.

Gautier has woven together several, disparate elements in the making of RS885, including the conclusion to the second prologue of the *Miracles* and the conductus. Gautier's third potential source of inspiration, Thibaut de Blaison's chanson RS1001, offers insights concerning Gautier's relationship to trouvère song and its audiences.

### **3. RS1001: *Chanter et renvoisier sueil***

There is no definitive evidence that Gautier used Thibaut de Blaison's chanson RS1001 as an additional model for RS885. Certain chronological and textual details, however, allow for the possibility that he did. The nineteenth-century historian Jules Brakelmann, relying on the internal evidence of Blaison's texts, judged Blaison's output to be from the beginning of the thirteenth century, allowing Brakelmann to link the trouvère with the prominent Seneschal of Poitou Thibaut de Blaison (d. 1229), who acted as arbiter of the truces established between Louis IX and Henri III during the barons' revolt against Blanche de Castille and was invited, along with a certain Hugo de Feritate (Hue de le Ferté), to attend Louis IX's coronation.<sup>299</sup> Unlike Hue, however, Thibaut de Blaison was loyal to and

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<sup>299</sup> For a list references to the documents in which Thibaut de Blaison is mentioned, see Thibaut de Blaison, *Les poésies de Thibaut de Blaison*, ed. T.H. Newcombe (Genève, 1978), pp. 15-20. Blaison's identity as seneschal has been accepted by the small number of scholars who have studied the trouvère's output, including Theodore Karp and Thibaut de Blaison's modern editor, Terence Newcombe. See Thibaut de Blaison, *Les Poésies de Thibaut de Blaison*, p. 20. Newcombe cites C. Appel, *Der Trobador Cadenet* (Halle, 1920), p. 74; O. Schultz-Gora, 'Das Verhältnis der provenzalischen Pastourelle zur altfranzösischen', in

closely connected with Blanche de Castille, both sharing the same religious sensibilities and Iberian roots.<sup>300</sup> There is some evidence that he came from the Guzmán family, of which Saint Dominic was a member, and plenty of evidence of his support of reformed monasteries, particularly of the Cistercian order.<sup>301</sup>

Thibaut died in 1229, seven years before Gautier in 1236. RS885 is written by Gautier or an apocryphal author, in either case before 1266, the date of its earliest source, **Dg-M**. If apocryphal, the song would have been added later to the *Miracles* corpus; RS885's epitaph-like tone suggests more specifically that it would have been written after Gautier's death in 1236, which would place it after Thibaut de Blaison's death as well. If the song is by Gautier, the best way of making sense of the text, as discussed above, is to assume it was completed in Gautier's final years—Chailley suggests the dates 1235 or 1236—which would also place it chronologically after Thibaut de Blaison's death.<sup>302</sup> Regardless of RS885's authorship, therefore, it seems reasonable to believe that the chanson RS1001 predates Gautier's RS885.

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*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 8 (1884), p. 110; and J. Audiau, *La pastourelle dans la poésie occitane au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1923), pp. viii-ix.

<sup>300</sup> See Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 247. On how Blanche looked after Thibaut's family after his death, see Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 370, n. 170.

<sup>301</sup> On Thibaut's gifts to monasteries, see Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 247. On his connection to Dominic, see Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 209;

<sup>302</sup> *Les chansons à la Vierge*, pp. 40-41. Chailley includes a detailed analysis of the songs' chronology, drawing on their manuscript locations, texts, and varying stylistic features to suggest that they originate from different *états*, or drafts of the *Miracles*. RS885 is included along with *Puisque voi la fleur novele* as part of a proposed fourth and final draft.

Because of Gautier's extensive practice of contrafacting trouvère chansons into devotional Marian songs, his awareness of and critical engagement with the trouvère repertory is well known; the notion that he might have come across RS1001 as part of his immersion in contemporary aristocratic culture is therefore not unfounded. At least one of Gautier's other, 'authentic' songs draws on both Latin and vernacular sources: *Amours dont sui espris* uses a melody shared by both a chanson by Blondel de Nesle and two Latin conducti—demonstrating that Gautier was not averse to incorporating elements from both Latin and courtly song.

Gautier's RS885 can easily be read as a Marian response to the chanson RS1001, where the trouvère's conventional discourse of devotion towards an idealised lady is redirected towards the ultimate feminine ideal, Our Lady; it can be understood as part of Gautier's wider mandate to draw the aristocracy into an 'exclusively Marian universe' by re-texting and recontextualising familiar courtly chansons with such verbal virtuosity and devotional assurance that he seems to beat them at their own game.<sup>303</sup> On a formal level, the chanson RS1001 departs from RS885 and from the conductus in that its stanzas consist of only eight lines, since it lacks a refrain. It does, however, share the rhyme scheme of both the conductus and RS885, *coblas singulares*. The only similarity in rhyme sounds occurs between the fourth stanzas of RS1001 and RS885: the former uses the sounds *-is* and *-ai/oi*, while the latter uses the sounds *-is* and *-ait/oit*, both containing repetitions of the syllable *-vis* at line endings. While this

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<sup>303</sup> Hunt, *Miraculous Rhymes*, p. 83.

similarity alone cannot constitute proof of Gautier's awareness of RS1001, it is worth noting the sounds' appearance in the same stanza.

In the first stanza of RS1001, the narrator claims that 'riens ne m'i puet conforter' (1.4) (nothing can comfort me), a claim that finds fulfilment in Gautier's successful attempt in RS885 to 'comfort his head' through singing. Gautier's headache can be read against the conventional, lovesick misery experienced by RS1001's narrator, introduced in the chanson's first stanza as follows:

Chanter et renvoisier sueil;  
or m'estuet plaindre et plorer  
quant je pert ce qu'amer sueil:  
riens ne mi puet conforter.  
Trop furent crüel mi oeil  
qui la m'oserent moustrer;  
g'en pleur et souspir et dueil,  
qu'a force mi fet amer (1.1-8).

I am in the habit of singing and being joyful; [but] now, when I lose that which I am in the habit of loving, I must lament and weep: nothing can comfort me. My eyes were so cruel for daring to show her to me—I weep and sigh and suffer for it, that she/they make(s) me love by force.

This 'forced' experience of love, which is later compared to the hunted bird's experience of entrapment ('plus m'a sorpis vostre vis/ qu'oiseil qui est pris au broi') (4.3-4), contrasts with Gautier's cathartic love for Mary, where the act of sung, Marian praise makes his heart laugh and rejoice ('Toz li cuers, dame, me rit,/ toz m'esjoïst et tressaut,/ quant chanter puis un petit/ ces foz chans, se Deus me saut') (3.1-3). Whether intentional or not, this contrast reflects Gautier's wider tendency to transform a chanson that focuses ostensibly on the suffering of erotic longing into a song celebrating

the joys of spiritual love.<sup>304</sup> At the same time, RS1001's narrator's experience of pain and death parallels Gautier's fixation on his own, immanent death. This is particularly evident in the fifth and final stanza of RS1001, which opens as follows:

En ma chançon je vous pri  
dame, plus ne vous demant,  
que ne metez en oubli  
cil qui pour vous va morant. (5.1-4)

Lady, in my song I beg you—no longer do I ask you—that you not put into oblivion the one who is dying for you.

The narrator's plea not to be forgotten in death resembles RS885's final stanza, where Gautier's narrator, with the 'joined hands' (*jointes mains*) (9.2) seemingly of both a praying monk and a desperate trouvère, begs Mary to intercede for him on the Day of Judgement. But while RS1001's narrator's condition hinges on the whims of an unreliable lady, the threat of his annihilation looming near, Gautier's prayer, directed towards the more dependable celestial Lady, has all of the spiritual assurance of a life of Marian devotion. Gautier reframes the familiar trouvère discourse in distinctly Christian terms: the trouvère's pain, anxiety, and death are absorbed and transcended. Gautier's narrator suffers pain and is mocked by 'fools' (3.5-8, 4.1-3) just as RS1001's narrator is threatened by rival lovers (5.5-8), but none of this torment 'changes [Gautier narrator's] temperature' ('si fait mot ne si fait dit/ ne me font ne froit ne chaut') (3.7-8)

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<sup>304</sup> *Les chansons à la Vierge*, p. 51.

because his vision of ultimate reality transcends worldly caprice.<sup>305</sup> The mnemonic proximity of the two texts, brought together by their shared melody, emphasises Gautier’s spiritual security against the more fragile, fluctuating condition of RS1001’s narrator.

One might even hear this instability reinforced in RS1001’s melodic deviations from RS885 and *Sol sub nube*: RS1001 opens with a larger range than that of the other two contrafacta, RS1001’s inclusion of E and G in the second and fourth poetic lines increasing the extent of the phrase’s initial downward and upward gestures, as shown in **Example 3.5**.<sup>306</sup> This is true of all of RS1001’s manuscript readings except **TrouvV**, whose melody diverges significantly from that of the others.<sup>307</sup> Poetic lines 5 to 8 of RS1001, though having a smaller range than RS885’s and *Sol sub nube*’s counterparts (a fifth versus a sixth), change direction more often, contributing towards the sense of aimlessness.

W1

RS885

RS1001

**Example 3.5: KNXPO’s version of RS1001’s at line 2 (repeated in line 4)**

<sup>305</sup> Gautier says that only those who have experienced ‘les douz maus d’amer’ (the sweet sickness of love) are worthy to sing with him of Mary. See Newman, *Medieval Crossover*, p. 123.

<sup>306</sup> For a comparative transcription of RS885, RS1001, and *Sol sub nube* by pitch, see Appendix 2.3b.

<sup>307</sup> For a comparative transcription of RS1001, see Appendix 2.3d.

A third degree of relation within this network of contrafacta emerges in the final two lines of RS1001 with what appears to be a nod to the opening line of *Sol sub nube*, 'sol sub nube latuit' (The sun disappears behind the clouds). RS1001's concluding lines read as follows: 'Deus dont qu'il soient honi/ ainz le soleil esconsant' (5.7-8) (God grant that they [the rival lovers] be condemned before the sun disappears). The citation's location at the end of the chanson as compared to its original placement at the beginning of the conductus suggests an effort to acknowledge the contrafact's source semantically rather than through the strict imitation of formal structures so central to traditional literary conceptions of contrafacture. The citation's location also forestalls any textual affirmation of the melody's source until the last moment, setting the song apart from the many contrafacta that open with *intertextuelle Aufhebung* in order to flaunt the songs' intertextual relationships from the start. This detail of location, along with the thematic, contextual, and language differences between RS1001 and *Sol sub nube*, suggests that RS1001's allusion to the disappearing sun is meant as a subtle sign of recognition rather than the kinds of detailed intertextual comparison for which Gautier's songs are designed.

#### **4. Conclusion**

RS885, therefore, deals with two levels of awareness of *Sol sub nube*: Gautier's own meditative and exegetical familiarity with the conductus, as discussed above, and Thibaut de Blaison's awareness of the conductus as filtered through RS1001. It is tempting to imagine Gautier involved in the rectification of an earlier process by which a melody from a theologically

orthodox conductus had been degraded into the kind of courtly material he dismisses in the second prologue as ‘shams, mockery, jests and jokes, tunes and little songs’.<sup>308</sup> But there is a more pragmatic purpose for using a melody with versions in both the courtly and clerical spheres, namely to ensure that RS885 resonates with audiences from both milieux. While RS885’s melody’s association with *Sol sub nube* invites clerical meditation on birth and death, finite and infinite temporality, and all of the intellectual and devotional tracts with which the conductus might have been associated codicologically, its link to RS1001 offers Gautier a ‘courtly’ subtext which he can adopt and transcend in RS885 as part of his didactic mission to the aristocracy, showing, in stark contrast with the trouvère narrator, that a life of Marian devotion, as well as a knack for musico-poetic self representation, is the ultimate defence against being ‘put into oblivion’ ([mis] ‘en oubli’) (RS1001, 5.3).

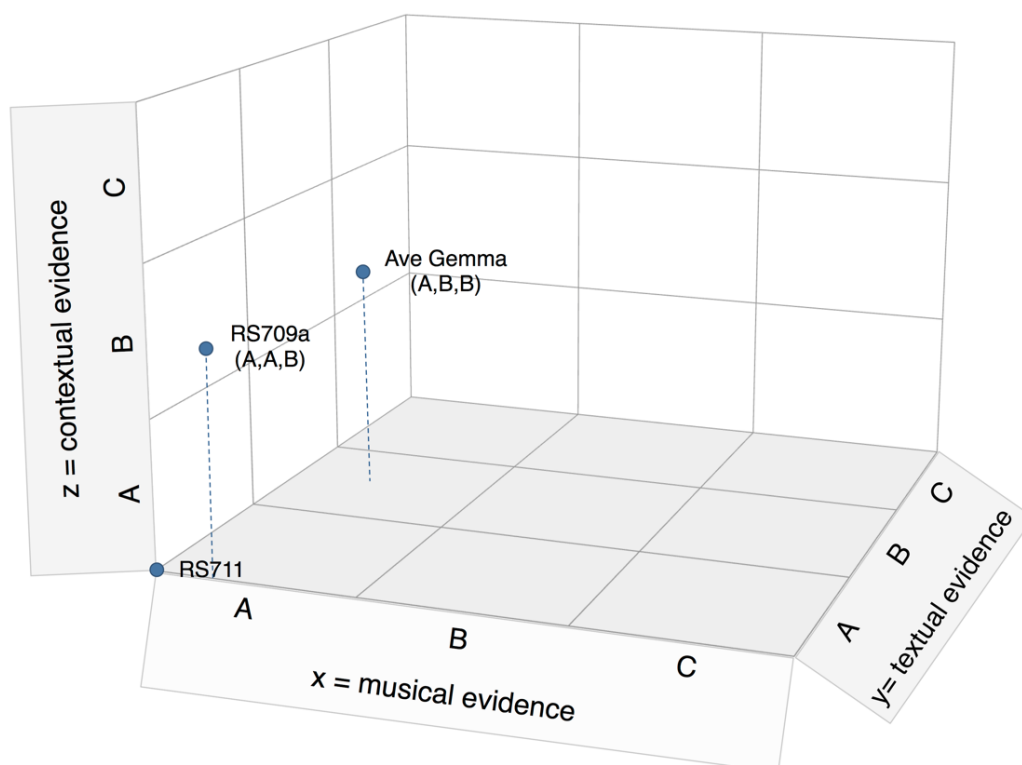
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<sup>308</sup> Hunt, *Miraculous Rhymes*, p. 65.

# Chapter 4. The Contrafacture of Conversion: A Trouvère Song Adopted by Clerics

## 1. Background

This chapter discusses a song attributed to Thibaut de Champagne, *Tant ai Amors servies longement* (RS711), and its two contrafacta, the Marian song *Tant ai servi le monde longement* (RS709a) and a sung prayer for St. Agnes's intercession, *Ave Gemma*. RS711 appears in seventeen manuscripts, thirteen of which are fully or partially notated; RS709a is notated in the first volume of the Gautier de Coinci manuscript **Dg-D**; and *Ave Gemma* is an interpolated lyric appearing in Adam de la Bassée's *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* (**F-Lm 316**).<sup>309</sup>



**Figure 4: Graph of RS711's contrafacta**

<sup>309</sup> For a table of manuscripts and their provenances, see Appendix 1.

RS709a shares RS711's rhyme scheme, rhyme sounds, and first line of text, while *Ave Gemma* shares RS711's rhyme scheme, giving them the respective text designations of A and B on the graph in **Figure 4**. The music of both contrafacta is notated with little variation from RS711, giving them the music designation of A, and both have arguable historical links with RS711, discussed below, which determine their contextual designation of B. The coordinates on the graph are therefore (A, A, B) for RS709a and (A, B, B) for *Ave Gemma*.

### 1.1. RS711's Text

Thibaut de Champagne's song *Tant ai Amors servies longuement* (RS711) is a generic hybrid. Combining aspects of courtly and devotional song, it voices the narrator's abandonment of, and final farewell to, the figure of Love, motivated by the narrator's conversion to God. RS711 is a love song inasmuch as it distills Thibaut's tendency to distance his narrator ironically from the discourse of courtly love. As Kathleen J. Brahney has observed, Thibaut's love songs are full of narrators who momentarily question and dismantle the logic of their amorous predicaments.<sup>310</sup> RS711 heightens this scepticism to the point that it changes the narrator's course of action, freeing him from the trap of lovesickness. Unlike Thibaut's other love songs, RS711's narrator immediately rejects the identity of a conventional lover, opening with the following words:

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<sup>310</sup> K.J. Brahney, 'Introduction', in *The Lyrics of Thibaut de Champagne*, ed. and trans., K.J. Brahney (New York, 1989), pp. xx-xi.

Tant ai Amors servies longuement  
 que desormés ne m'en doit nus reprendre,  
 se je m'en part. Ore a Dieu les commant  
 qu'en ne doit pas touz jorz folie enprendre  
 et cil est fous qui ne s'en set desfendre,  
 ne n'i conoist son mal ne son torment.  
 L'en me tendroit desormés por enfant,  
 car chascun tens doit sa seson atendre (1.1-8).<sup>311</sup>

I have served Love for so long that, henceforth, no one must reproach me if I desist. I commend her [Love] now to God, for one must not undertake folly forever, and he is a fool who does not know how to defend himself against it, nor recognizes its pain and torment. One would regard me henceforth as a child, for each turn of weather must attend its season.

The narrator's personification of Love allows his conversion to be seen not only as a departure from the practice of refined loving, but also as a relational act of rejection, as if Love were a long-admired lady whose service he was intent on leaving. The image of the child emphasises the immaturity of the narrator's former self, and perhaps also his fundamental, child-like dependence on Love's (or the lady's) approval. Thibaut uses a similar image in his devotional song *Mauvez arbres ne puet florir* (RS1410), where the narrator laments that, like a child, he has only hung from the branches of God's tree without properly climbing it.<sup>312</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> Text from *The Lyrics of Thibaut de Champagne*, ed. and trans. K.J. Brahney (New York, 1989), pp. 114-16. The stanzas of RS711 quoted hereafter are also from Brahney's edition.

<sup>312</sup> 'Bien cuit dou fruit ne gousterai/ que je cueilli, ançois m'avient/ si conme a l'enfant, bien le sai,/ qui [a la branche se soustient]/ qui entor l'arbre va et vient/ ne ja amont ne montera; ensi mes cuers foloiant va' (RS1410, 4.1-7) (I know well that I shall never taste of the fruit that I have gathered; thus it happens that I am like a child who [hangs upon a branch,] or comes and goes around a tree without ever

The abandonment of the practice of refined loving concerns not just the lover, but also the poet. Both personas surface in the narrator's voice, coming to the fore in the fourth stanza:

Autre chose ne me m'a Amors meri  
De tant com j'ai esté en sa baillie;  
Mes bien m'a Deus par sa pitié gueri,  
Quant delivré m'a de sa seignorie.  
Quant eschapez li sui sanz perdre vie,  
Ainz de mes euz si bon estre ne vi;  
Si cuit je fere oncor maint jeu parti  
et maint sonet et mainte raverdie.

I have never merited anything else from Love as long as I have been in her service; but God, in his pity, cured me when he delivered me from her lordship. I have never seen a better fate than when I escaped from her without losing my life. Thus I think I will make many a *jeu-parti*, and many a *sonet*, and *raverdie*.

The reference to *jeux-partis*, sonets, and *raverdies* in the last two lines—genres that Thibaut de Champagne supposedly produced—destabilises the distinction between poet and narrator, drawing attention to courtly love's fictive artifice. Moreover, by contrasting Love's lack of reward with the healing power of God, Love is shown to be the lesser god, and her credibility is undermined along with the whole artifice of courtly discourse.

The third stanza reveals the presence of a lady acting in parallel with the figure of Love:

Amors le veut et ma dame m'en prie  
que je m'en parte, et je mult l'en merci.

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climbing on it; so does my heart continue its foolish path). Text and translation from *The Lyrics of Thibaut de Champagne*, pp. 244-5.

Quant par le gré ma dame m'en chasti,  
meilleur reson n'i truis a ma partie (3.5-8)

Love now wishes, and my lady begs me, to go away, and I thank her greatly for it. If my lady willingly chastises me, I find no better reason to take my leave.

The lady's dismissal of the narrator suggests that his devotional turn originates in his own experience of rejection—that he suffers from the same bitterness of unrequited love afflicting nearly all other lover-narrators—undercutting his desire to distinguish himself from them. The pairing of the figure of Love and the lady also reinforces the narrator's treatment of Love as a kind of abstracted representation of the lady. The rejection of both the lady and the act of loving is reiterated in the envoy:

Or me gart Deus et d'amie et d'amer  
fors de cele que l'en doit aourer;  
la ne puet nus faillir a grant soudee (6.1-3).

May God keep me both from my beloved and from loving anyone but she who ought to be adored [Mary] and from whom one cannot fail to obtain recompense.

Not until the envoy is any reference made to Mary, so the song's classification as a Marian song hinges on the envoy's inclusion. Before the envoy, the song is devotional in a more general sense, pitting the Christian God and the god of Love against each other.

## 1.2. RS711's Music

A comparative transcription of RS711's melodic readings, found in Appendix 2.4a, shows a relatively uniform dissemination with some exceptions: while **TrouvV** is uncharacteristically similar to other versions of RS711, especially to **Trouva**, **TrouvA** diverges significantly from the others, resembling them only in some of its phrase endings. The second half of the song (poetic lines 5-8) is rendered somewhat differently by **Trouva**, **TrouvV**, **TrouvX**, and **TouvZ**, but the starting notes, ranges, and general contours of each phrase remain the same.

As noted in the Introduction, apparent differences in semitone placement must be approached with caution: while the interval between the highest note of the song in **KNXP**, *g*, and the note below it, *f*, appears to be a whole tone, **TrouvM** and **TrouvO** reduce this interval to a semitone; **TrouvM** does this by starting on *C* rather than *G*, so that the interval is between *b* and *c*, while **TrouvO** uses *f#* for *f*. One of the manuscript readings of the contrafacta, **F-Lm 316**, the source of Adam de la Basse's *Ludus*, also notates a semitone here by establishing *F* as its starting pitch, so that the highest pitches are *e* and *f*. Since **TrouvO**, a later manuscript from c.1300-1310, employs accidentals much more frequently throughout its songs, one might take **TrouvO**'s semitones as indications of intervals that were known but not notated in earlier sources. The lack of *f#* in **KNXP**, then, does not necessarily mean the *f* was not raised in performance. The choice of *F* as starting note for the monastic scribe of Adam's *Ludus*, who was presumably working within a tradition of liturgical music where starting

notes are selected for their semitone distribution, reinforces the hypothesis that there was a semitone between the top two notes. Discrepancies in the notation (or lack of notation) of semitones in the manuscripts seem likelier than the notion that the song's performance traditions differed so fundamentally in their sonority that **KNXP** were performed without any sharps.

Keeping an open mind about the interval between RS711's top two notes, I have selected the most common reading of RS711, represented here by **TrouvK**, as the basis of the analysis below, shown in **Example 4.1**. The overarching structure of RS711's music follows the pattern ABABCDC'D', indicated by the coloured brackets on the right of each staff. The music of the first poetic line establishes its starting note, *G*, as a strong, central pitch by returning to it through the descent of a third on syllables 3 and 4, shown in a purple box in the example. While the ensuing leap of a fifth shifts the song into the upper limits of the singer's range, the upper boundary and goal of that ascent, *g*, confirms the note's central place in the melody's structure. The phrase ending, *a*, can therefore be considered an open ending that finds its release on the starting note of the next line, *G*. The ending of the second line returns by stepwise descent from *c* back to *G*, closing on the figure *G-F-G*, which further emphasises *G*'s predominance and constitutes the first closed ending of the song. This pattern of alternating open and closed endings continues through the rest of the song.

The image displays a musical score for 'RS711 in TrouvK' with eight poetic lines. The score is written in a single system with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are in French. Above the staff, a 'Syllable' line is marked with numbers 1 through 10. The notes are grouped into poetic lines, numbered 1 to 8 on the left. Various melodic motifs are highlighted with colored boxes: light green boxes highlight motifs in lines 1, 3, and 5; purple boxes highlight motifs in lines 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7; blue boxes highlight motifs in lines 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7; yellow boxes highlight motifs in lines 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7; and pink boxes highlight motifs in lines 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7. The lyrics for each line are:
   
Line 1: Tant ai a - mors ser - vi - es lon - gue - ment:
   
Je ne sui pas si com cil au - tre gent
   
Line 2: que de - sor - mes ne m'en doit nus re - pren - dre
   
qui ont a - me puis i vue - lent con - ten - dre
   
Line 3: se je m'en part. Or - e a - dieu les com - mant
   
et di - ent mal par vi - lain es - cri - ent
   
Line 4: qu'en ne doit pas touz jorz fo - li - e en - pren - dre
   
mes nus ne doit seig - neur ser - vi - se ven - dre
   
Line 5: et cil est fous qui ne s'en let def - fen - dre
   
en - con - tre lui mes - di - re ne mes - pren - dre
   
Line 6: ne mi co - noist son mal ne son tor - ment
   
et s'il s'en part, par - te s'en bo - ne - ment
   
Line 7: l'en me ten - droit de - sor - mes por en - fant
   
En - droit de moi vueil je que tuit a - mant
   
Line 8: car chas - cun tens doit sa se - son a - ten - dre.
   
ai - ent grant bien, quant je plus n'i puis pren - dre.

**Example 4.1: RS711 in TrouvK**

The song's structure within the line is more complex than the overarching pattern described above. The latter motifs of lines 1 and 3, shown in light green boxes, are repeated and expanded in line 5, also marked with a light green box. Line 5's repeated material incites the listener's expectation that the next line will begin with *G*, as in lines 2 and 4. Instead, line 6 begins with *b*, setting up a palindromic motive, discussed below, that diverges noticeably from the preceding material.

Line 5's opening stepwise ascent resembles the initial gesture of each of the three preceding lines, only the entire motif is shifted up a third, anticipating the line's particularly high range, which hovers on *g* for four

syllables. That much of this line is sung at the top of the voice marks it out from the rest of the song and has the effect of emphasising whatever text is set with it. In the first and second stanzas, these are phrases that denigrate the lover and his ilk: 'et cil est fous qui ne s'en [Amor] let deffendre' (he is a fool who does not know how to defend himself against it [Love]) (1.5); '[nus ne doit] encontre lui [li seigneur] mesdire ne mesprendre' (no one should direct slander or misdeeds against their Lord) (2.5). In line 5 of the third and fourth stanzas, the music's extreme tessitura provides a kind of ecstatic outlet for the details of the narrator's escape from Love: 'Amors le veut et ma dame m'en prie [que je m'en parte]' (3.5) (Love now wishes, and my lady begs me, to go away); 'Quant eschapez li sui sanz perdre vie' (When I escaped from her without losing my life) (4.5).

In line 5 of the fifth stanza, the music highlights a statement fundamental to the narrator's ideological shift: 'Plus tost aime on en estrange contree' (5.5) (One prefers to love in a foreign land [where one cannot come and go than to love what one can find everyday]). This observation, which the narrator brands as a well-known 'folly', points toward the ultimate inaccessibility of the Lady. She lives in a foreign land, as an abstract ideal, and interaction with her is impossible, since she exists 'where one cannot come and go'. The notion of the lady as untouchable Other calls to mind Lacanian readings of courtly love, where she is configured as the *object petit a*, the unattainable object of desire who is

indifferent to the needs of the subject.<sup>313</sup> Slavoj Žižek provides a vivid, if slightly exaggerated, description of her as an ‘inhuman partner in the sense of a radical Otherness which is wholly incommensurable with our needs and desires’, and a ‘Master-Sovereign who subjects [his vassal] to senseless, outrageous, impossible, arbitrary, capricious ordeals’.<sup>314</sup> This last comparison between the lady and the *seigneur* is, in an earlier stage of the song, also made by RS711’s narrator, who states that ‘Nus ne doit seigneur servise vendre’ (2.4), meaning that the vassal must never expect compensation for the services he provides for the lord, or, indeed, for the courtly lady; the unconditional loyalty of the vassal, or courtly lover, is offered for free.

RS711’s melody contains other repeated patterns. The falling third motif occurring from *b* to *G* at the opening of the first line, discussed above, is the first of several falling- and rising-third motifs on *G*, *b*, and *d*, all marked out with purple boxes in **Example 4.1**. This motif recurs towards the end of the first line in the descent from *d* to *b*, and both motifs are reiterated in the opening line’s repetition in line 3. A rising third from *G* to *b* occurs at the transition between lines 4 and 5, followed by another descent from *d* to *b* at the end of the line. The symmetric pattern *b-G-b*, also indicated with purple boxes, sits towards the outer ends of the palindrome

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<sup>313</sup> See J.-C. Huchet, *L'amour discourtois*, p. 35.

<sup>314</sup> Žižek, Slavoj, ‘Courtly love, or, Woman as Thing’, in *The Metastases of Enjoyment: Six Essays on Women and Causality* (London, 1994), pp. 89-112 at p. 90.

from line 6 into line 7, which is marked out in orange brackets. The frequency of the note *b* in line 6, which occurs six times before the end of the palindrome, allowing only three notes at most to pass before it repeats itself, encourages a sense of stasis or circularity that contrasts with the wide-ranging motion of the previous line. Line 6's palindromic structure, as well as its pitch contour, which is step-wise with the exception of the *b-G-b* pattern, add to this sense of circularity. The first stanza introduces a fitting textual association for the music of this line: 'ne n'i conoist son mal ne son torment' (he [who doesn't know how to defend himself against love] recognises neither [Love's] pain nor its torment)—allowing the line's musical stasis to coincide with the textual threat of becoming trapped in love's torment.

At the beginning of line 7, the previous line's palindrome spills over into what appears to be another repetition, this time of the opening material of line 5. Just as the ascending scale is about to reach its top *g*, however, the melody changes direction, beginning a stepwise descent with *e* instead. This aberrant *e* signals a change from the alternating ABAB musical pattern of the first half of the song, establishes itself as the new upper pitch boundary of the rest of the song, and foreshadows the pattern-breaking to come in the next line.

RS711's final line begins by imitating line 6, but instead of descending from *b* to *G* on the third and fourth syllables, the melody moves by step from *b* to *a*, defying the expectations set up by all of the previous descents

of a third. In the first stanza, this unexpected *a* occurs on the word ‘tens’ in the proverb-like statement ‘chascun tens doit sa seson atendre’ (every turn of weather must attend its season) (1.8).<sup>315</sup> This not only draws attention to the word ‘tens’; the note’s divergence from the preceding falling-third gestures also make the word’s meaning more palpable, emphasising change, time, or perhaps even conversion. The text of the other stanzas benefits rhetorically from the note’s emphasis as well: ‘aient grant *bien*’ (2.8); ‘meilleur *reson*’ (3.8); ‘et maint *sonet*’ (4.8); ‘ici est *bien* [la folie prouvee]’ (5.8); ‘la ne puet *nus* [faillir a grant soudee]’ (6.8).

RS711’s emphasis on conversion makes it an ideal model for devotional contrafacture. Unlike other trouvère models for devotional song, RS711 directly addresses the trope of the lover’s fear of rejection and negates it by removing all hope of the lady’s favour. The god of Love is supplanted for a God who, as Bernard of Clairvaux writes, ‘ipse prior dilexit nos’ (loved us first), for whom unrequited love is therefore impossible.<sup>316</sup> The narrator thus seeks a good beyond the regular order of human flourishing and re-locates his desire to a place that transcends the lady’s whims.

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<sup>315</sup> This saying is not listed as a proverb in J.W. Hassell, *Middle French Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases* (Toronto, 1982).

<sup>316</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *Liber de diligendo Deo*, in *S. Bernardi opera*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais (8 vols., Rome, 1957-77), iii, p. 120.

## 2. RS709a

RS711's rejection of love from within the courtly idiom makes the song a particularly apt model for the music of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles*, which also dismisses courtly love by imitating, and attempting to surpass, the formal virtuosity characterising many a courtly song and romance. It is unlikely that Gautier reworked RS711 himself, since the Marian contrafact of RS711, *Tant ai le monde servi longement* (RS709a), appears in just one extant source of the *Miracles*, **Dg-D**, a late-thirteenth-century book of two volumes containing extensive scribal additions. Kathryn Duys has shown how the compiler of **Dg-D**, perhaps inspired by Gautier's declaration in *La Doutance de la mort* that 'commencier peut la ou je fin' (you may begin where I left off), embarked on an ambitious project of expansion that imitates Gautier's voice as well as his penchant for *compilatio*.<sup>317</sup> To Gautier's two books **Dg-D** adds a third, a series of stories about the desert fathers called the *Vie des Pères*, as well as several texts and songs that function as extended framing devices for the *Miracles*. Among these framing devices are four additional song cycles comprising twenty-seven songs, which bring the total number of songs in the manuscript to fifty-five. RS709a is the opening song of one of these added cycles, Song Cycle

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<sup>317</sup> See Kathryn Duys, *Books Shaped by Song: Early Literary Literacy in the "Miracles de Nostre Dame" of Gautier de Coinci* (Ph.D diss., New York University, 1997), p. 160.

C.<sup>318</sup> The cycle is located after Gautier's two prologues to Book I and before the first miracle story of Book I, *Comment Théophilus vint à penitance*.<sup>319</sup>

RS709a's text is narrated by a penitent voice who, in the song's opening stanza, declares his intention to reform himself:

Tant ai servi le monde longement  
que bien me doi d'or en avant reprendre.  
De lui me part; a celui me quemant  
qui pooir a de moi vers tous desfendre:  
C'est la puchele en cui Deus vaut descendre  
pour nous sauver et jeter de tourment.  
Douche virge, jointes mains, en plourant,  
merchi vous pri, que m'i voeilliés entendre (1.1-8).<sup>320</sup>

I have served the world so long that from this moment on I must reform myself. I take my leave of it [the world]; I commend myself to the one who has the power to defend me against everything, to the maiden in whom God wished to descend in order to save us and banish torment. Sweet virgin, with joined hands and tears I beseech you for mercy, that you might wish to hear me.

That RS709a's text was written with reference to RS711's text is clear from the first line, which alters only one word from that of its model.

Resemblances between the rhyme sounds and word choice of the two

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<sup>318</sup> The song cycle appears on a bifolium that was inserted into the third quire of the first codex during the book's final stage of completion. See Kathryn Duys, *Books Shaped by Song*, p. 174.

<sup>319</sup> For a table outlining the song cycles' locations within the contents of the manuscript, see Duys, *Books Shaped by Song*, p. 162. A list of the songs in each song cycle is found on p. 163.

<sup>320</sup> Text from *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies*, no. 423. All further quotations of RS709a are from this edition.

texts mark the entire stanza, encouraging comparisons between them. RS711's narrator retreats from Love, while RS709a's narrator retreats from the world; RS711's narrator commends Love to God, whereas RS709a's narrator commends himself to Mary; in RS711, the foolish cannot defend themselves against Love, but in RS709a, Mary can defend the narrator against anything. The similarities extend not just to rhyme sounds, but often to the sound of the entire word at the line's end, even if the word itself is not replicated exactly. For example, while the last line of RS711's opening stanza reads 'car chascun tens doit sa seson *atendre*', the last line of RS709a's first stanza is 'merchi vous pri, que m'i voelliés *entendre*'. Similarly, in the second stanza, 'contendre' (RS711 2.2) becomes 'comprende' (RS709a 2.2) and 'mesprendre' (RS711 2.5) becomes 'desprendre' (RS709a 2.5). This preoccupation with the sonic quality of words shows that the maker of the contrafact is not always distinguishing between text and music, but is replicating the sound in general, mimicking not just the melody, but the way the vowels and consonants of the text shape the notes.

This does not mean that the semantic or expressive implications of sound on the text are ignored. On the contrary, the content of RS709a's text suits the dramatic registral shifts of Thibaut's melody. **Example 4.2** shows, for instance, how line five's top-*g* notes intensify statements that are rhetorically appropriate for such intensification:

1. c'est la pu - che - le en cui deus\_ vaut des - cen - dre  
 2. Bon fait son tans en vous ser - vir des - pren - dre;  
 3. Ha - i cai - tis, com - ment o - sa a - ten - dre,  
 4. et sa char - tre li fe - sis - tes lués ren - dre  
 5. Bien m'a se - u li e - ne - mis sous - pren - dre,

**Example 4.2: Text and music of poetic line 5 for each of RS709a's five stanzas**

In RS709a, the upper limit of line 5 is extended even further than in RS711, to *aa*, the song's highest pitch, which only occurs here. The line's descent, on the word *descendre* in the first stanza, diverges slightly from lines 2 and 4 in this version, ending on *c* rather than *a*, a change that anticipates the new musical material of line 6. While all of the stanza's fifth lines lend themselves well to melodic emphasis, the third stanza's exclamatory tone benefits in particular from the heightened register ('Hated caitiff, how did he have the audacity to wait', [sweet virgin, for you and your child?]). Another example of text-music interplay is found in the first stanza of RS709a, which reserves the circularity and narrow range of line 6 for a reference to hell's torment: 'pour nous sauver et jeter de tourment' (in order to save us and banish hell's torment) (1.6).

Although the first stanza of RS709a contains the phrase 'jointes mains' (1.7), one of Gautier's distinctive phrases, the narrator does not identify as Gautier in particular. Unlike Gautier, RS709a's narrator has only just, at the moment of his sung conversion, cast off his longstanding loyalty to the world. Gautier, by contrast, is represented in *Pour mon chief reconforter* (RS885) and elsewhere in the *Miracles* as having served Mary from his

youth.<sup>321</sup> The worldliness of RS709a's narrator is reinforced in the last stanza, where he states, 'bien m'a seü li enemis sousprendre,/ car vescu ai lonc tans enfantieument' (The enemy has known well [how] to trap me, for I have long lived childishly). His former childishness recalls the childish lovers that Thibaut's narrator derides and would himself have been taken for had he continued to serve love.<sup>322</sup> In this way, RS709a's narrator generalises the specific *je* of RS711, making Thibaut's narrator's conversion accessible to the courtly aristocrats whose literary and musical tastes Gautier intended so fervently to direct towards God.

There is another subjectivity in which the song attempts to immerse the listener: Theophilus, the title character of Gautier's first miracle (*Comment Théophilus vint à penitance*), appears in the song's inner stanzas as an extreme example of Marian devotion and conversion. The miracle story opens by introducing Theophilus as archdeacon of Cilicia, emphasising his strong devotion to Mary. After Cilicia's bishop dies, Theophilus is unanimously elected to become the next bishop, but declines out of humility. The bishop elected in his place then unjustly strips Theophilus of his office as archdeacon. In order to recover and safeguard his post,

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<sup>321</sup> 'Mere Dieu, des mon jovent/ chasc'an te doi nouveau son/ Je t'ai bien tenu covent/ tant que none ou vespres son' (Mother of God, from my youth I have made you a new song every year; I have kept the covenant until none and vespers) (RS885, 2.1-4).

<sup>322</sup> 'L'en me tendroit desormés por enfant,/ car chascun tens doit sa seson atendre' (From now on I would consider him [the lover] a child, for every age must attend its season) (RS711, 1.1-8).

Theophilus barter his soul with the devil, but as he approaches old age he begins to regret this decision. He repents and fasts, calling on the Virgin Mary, who eventually wrests the contract from the devil. The song's third stanza comments on the story as follows:

Vo grant pitié, vo douç acointement,  
Theophilus le nous puet bien aprendre,  
qui renoia vous et vo fil briément  
et puis balla chartre de s'arme vendre.  
Haï caitis, comment osa attendre,  
douce virge, puis vous ne vostre enfant?  
Quant il perchut que meffait avoit tant,  
bien li deüst li cuers eu ventre fendre (3.1-3).

Your great mercy, your sweet company, Theophilus can teach it well to us, he who rashly renounced you and your son and then drew up a contract to sell his soul. Hated caitiff, how did he have the audacity to wait, sweet virgin, for you and your child? When he perceived that he had sinned greatly, his heart must have broken in his chest for you.

The song's commentary includes a harsh condemnation of Theophilus's sins, but it also reflects generously on his experience of guilt and audacious capacity for hope. The stanza's last line, 'bien li deüst li cuers eu ventre fendre' (his heart must have broken in his chest for you), evokes the influence of affect on his conversion, inviting listeners to experience vicariously his movement toward repentance. Taking words and phrases directly from Gautier's account of the story ('Haï caitis', etc.), the song acts as an intermediary between the didactic experience of hearing the miracle narrative and its internalisation, via music and the lyric *je*, into deeper layers of the listener's mind.

Aside from the St. Leocadia cycle, which appears in six *MND* manuscripts, *Tant ai le monde servi longement* is the only song of **Dg-D**'s fifty-five lyrics to summarise and comment extensively on one of Gautier's miracles.<sup>323</sup> Unlike most of **Dg-D**'s other songs, it therefore either assumes prior knowledge of the Theophilus story or involves a performance practice that presents the song and the narrative together. The sense of parallelism between song and story is reinforced in **Dg-D**'s layout: as noted above, *Tant ai le monde servi longement* is the first song in Cycle C, the song cycle preceding the first book of *Miracles* narratives, while *Comment Théophilus vint à penitance* is the first of the *Miracles* stories. Each begins its respective section, and the sections themselves are ordered consecutively, with only the second version of the table of contents, in Picard, in between. Considering that the songs of **Dg-D** always frame the narratives rather than being interspersed within them, this symmetry between sections is one of the only ways of signalling a relationship between them codicologically.<sup>324</sup> While placing the song at the end of Cycle C would have allowed both song and miracle story to be nearer to one another, with only the table of contents separating them, the song's placement at the beginning of the cycle seems to fulfil another, more generic pattern: the first three of Cycle C's six pieces are monophonic

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<sup>323</sup> However, the song *Chil en la vierge s'a ombra*, RS1927=1580, found on fol. 102r in Song Cycle D of **Dg-D** mentions Theophilus briefly in its fourth stanza. For a historical contextualisation and musico-poetic analysis of the St. Leocadia cycle, see C. Chamisyé Couderc, 'L'interprétation musicale du Cycle de Sainte Léocade', in K. M. Krause and A. Stones (eds.), *Gautier de Coinci*, pp. 149-65.

<sup>324</sup> Most other sources of the *MND* have the lyrics framing the miracle narratives.

songs, while the second three are motets; the first two pieces are in Old French, the middle two are in Latin, and the last two are bilingual.<sup>325</sup>

RS709a's meditation on the Theophilus miracle, and its transferral of insights and affects from the story into the listener's own lives, is further enriched by the themes of conversion in the melody's original text by Thibaut de Champagne. In effect, the song weaves together the accounts of two model penitents—Thibaut and Theophilus—to encourage conversion among those trapped 'in the world', whether it be through clerical avarice or an aristocratic preoccupation with courtly culture.

### 3. Ave Gemma

The Latin song *Ave Gemma* adds a third penitential layer to those of Thibaut and Theophilus. The song is one of thirty-eight interpolated lyrics in Adam de la Bassée's *Ludus Super Anticlaudianum* (*Ludus*), preserved solely in the late-thirteenth-century source **F-Lm 316** from Lille. As its name suggests, the *Ludus* is a re-working of the widely transmitted *Anticlaudianus*, written by Adam's fellow townsman Alan of Lille roughly a century earlier. Adam, a canon at the Collégiale de St. Pierre in Lille, describes in the *Ludus*'s prologue the serious illness afflicting him, the pain of which he likens to being 'perforated by the continuous blows of hammers'.<sup>326</sup> In light of his condition, he outlines his intention to 'leviter

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<sup>325</sup> See Duys, *Books Shaped by Song*, p. 163.

<sup>326</sup> Cited from P.H. Rastatter, *Ludus-Anticlaudian: A Thirteenth-Century French Translation of the Ludus super Anticlaudianum of Adam de la Bassée* by "A Monk

jocari', to rewrite the *Anticlaudianus* for 'recreation and enjoyment'.<sup>327</sup>

Keeping the plot relatively consistent with the original, he condenses Alan's sophisticated Latin verse into a lively Latin meter of thirteen-syllable, monorhymed quatrains and adds the musical interludes mentioned above, many of which are contrafacta of well known songs, chants, and motets.<sup>328</sup> Paul Bayart, the text's only modern editor, dates the poem to between 1279 and 1285, the period when Adam is documented as having been sick.<sup>329</sup> The obituary from the Collégiale de St. Pierre records the date of his death as February 8<sup>th</sup> 1286. As Andrew Hughes notes, Adam's sister was still alive twenty years later, which suggests he did not die an old man.<sup>330</sup>

The plot of Alan's *Anticlaudianus*, and, in turn, of Adam's *Ludus*, arises from a philosophical problem Nature faces, namely that 'she cannot understand the making of the soul'.<sup>331</sup> This problem is an obstacle to her project of making the 'perfect man', a project supported by the virtues as a means of restoring peace to an errant humanity. The first six books of the *Anticlaudianus*, as well as the part of the *Ludus* containing *Ave Gemma*, propose an allegorical solution to her problem. Reason is the first among the virtues to recognise that God alone can furnish the body with a soul, and the virtues elect Prudence to ascend beyond the celestial spheres and

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*from Cysoin*" (PhD diss., University of Oregon, 1966), p. lxxi, n. 20: 'jam incude mea, perforata continuis ictibus malleorum'.

<sup>327</sup> Rastatter, *Ludus-Anticlaudianus*, p. xiv.

<sup>328</sup> Rastatter, *Ludus-Anticlaudianus*, p. xiv describes the types of verse.

<sup>329</sup> Andrew Hughes, 'The "Ludus super Anticlaudianum" of Adam de la Bassée', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 23 (1970), pp. 1-25 at p. 3.

<sup>330</sup> Hughes, 'The "Ludus super Anticlaudianum"', p. 2.

<sup>331</sup> J. Simpson, 'The Information of Alan of Lille's "Anticlaudianus": A Preposterous Interpretation', *Traditio*, 47 (1992), p. 118.

into the Empyrean (paradise) to request such a soul from God himself.

Prudence's journey from Nature's realm to the Empyrean allegorises Alan's ideal educational model, setting out the successive psychological and linguistic milestones that mark the progression from one's natural inclinations to the ultimate contemplation of God by the superrational faculty of the intellect.

A useful illustration of Alan's allegorical approach is the chariot by which Prudence progresses on her journey, whose construction maps the mind's formation in natural philosophy. The chariot is built by the Liberal Arts in the order in which the mind has the capacity to learn them. The Trivium begins the chariot's construction: Grammar builds the tongue of the seat, Logic makes the axle, and Rhetoric constructs the carriage, painting it in pleasing colours. Then the Quadrivium—Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy—fashion the four wheels in that order.<sup>332</sup> While Music constructs her wheel, Adam has her sing to the melody of a song by Gace Brulé, constituting the first interpolated lyric of the *Ludus*.<sup>333</sup> Once the chariot takes off, its movement visualises the process of cognition: the five horses powering the chariot are the five senses, and the chariot's driver is Reason.

The second interpolated lyric to occur in the *Ludus* is *Ave Gemma*, but it appears only after Prudence has crossed over into the Empyrean. Having

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<sup>332</sup> Rastatter, *Ludus-Anticlaudian*, pp. xx-xxiii.

<sup>333</sup> The melody is from Gace Brulé's *Quant voi paroir la feuille en la ramee* (RS550).

successfully negotiated past the celestial spheres, Prudence must leave the chariot of the Liberal Arts behind, Reason having fainted at Empyrean's threshold. Theology (called *Nous* in the *Ludus*) becomes Prudence's new guide.<sup>334</sup> The concept of theology underlying this plot development can be understood in its Boethian, narrow sense as the investigation of form 'at its highest level of abstraction', taking God, who is pure form or being, as its focus. Form precedes all matter, constituting the structural properties that provide the basis for linguistic identity. A chair is only unambiguously a chair when it has legs and a seating surface; a human is only a human (rather than just a torso, a body, a confluence of particles) when they have been realised through that unifying force, particular to each person, called the soul. Matter cannot exist or be conceived of without form; likewise, everything is said to exist because of its distinctive form, and the naming of each entity depends on a pre-existing form from which it can be named. God, however, is pure form, since he is 'predicated on nothing but his own being'.<sup>335</sup> Because he has no pre-existing form, he cannot be named using rational language, but only through metaphor. It therefore follows that the

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<sup>334</sup> Whereas Theology is the study of pure form, *Nous*, understood in medieval philosophy as the intellect (*intellectus*), is, according to Boethian thought, the intuitive power of the mind that allows one to perceive Theology. According to Boethius, 'In divinis intellectualiter versari oportebit neque deduci ad imaginationes, sed potius ipsam inspicere formam quae vere forma neque imago est et quae esse ipsum est et ex qua esse est' (One must contemplate divine things intellectually and not be led to use images, but rather turn to that form which is the true form and which is not an image and which is Being itself and from which our being is derived). (Boethius, *The Theological Tractates*, ed. and trans. H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand (Cambridge Mass., 1946), 2.8). *Nous* takes over the role of Reason in the Empyrean.

<sup>335</sup> Simpson, 'The Information', p. 124.

Empyrean, the realm of pure form, is beyond the capacity of Reason and the Liberal Arts: ‘whereas the Arts can provide philosophical knowledge [leading up to theology], only Prudence is capable of theological perception’.<sup>336</sup>

Notably, in both the *Anticlaudianus* and the *Ludus*, Prudence takes just one of the chariot’s five horses with her into the Empyrean: Hearing. The privileging of this sense may reflect the Boethian belief that hearing, out of all the senses, is most directly connected to the soul.<sup>337</sup> Notable, too, is the fact that the first bulk of the *Ludus*’s interpolated lyrics—twenty-four of them—occur in the Empyrean, where hearing is the privileged sense, and where language operates according to metaphor rather than reason.<sup>338</sup> Appropriately, the singing of these lyrics is heard, not seen. Prudence overhears ‘a penitent voice’ reverberating from Earth, singing a series of prayers for mercy as she progresses through the company of saints toward God. Each sung prayer asks for the intercession of the saint or group of saints Prudence happens to be passing at any given moment; thus the

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<sup>336</sup> On language in the Empyrean, see ‘The Information’, p. 120.

<sup>337</sup> In his *De institutione musica*, Boethius says that ‘no path to the soul (*animam*) is as open for instruction as the sense of hearing. Thus, when rhythms and modes reach an intellect through the ears, they doubtless affect (*afficiant*) and reshape (*conformant*) the mind according to their particular character (*aequo modo*)’. Quoted from Stephen Blackwood, *The Consolation of Boethius as Poetic Liturgy*, (Oxford, 2015), p. 12.

<sup>338</sup> Hughes offers a description of their layout and order in his ‘The “Ludus super Anticlaudianum”’, p. 4. Transcriptions of all interpolated lyrics are found in the appendix of Jennifer Barnard, *The Journey of the Soul: The Role of Music in the Ludus super Anticlaudianum of Adam de la Bassée* (2 vols., PhD diss., University of Bristol, 2008), ii, pp. 341-474.

‘penitent voice’, despite its physical distance, is synchronised with Prudence’s progress.

As Hughes notes, the order of the lyrics follows the reverse order of the Litany of the Saints. Whereas the Litany starts with Christ, Mary, the angels, and the Patriarchs, the *Ludus* starts with the most ‘marginal’ saints, emphasising, perhaps, Prudence’s direction from the margins of heaven toward God, who is gradually revealed through the saints. The addressees of the first lyrics are those virgins whose purity was somehow compromised despite their intention for chastity, most often through the exposure, by force, of their naked bodies. Thus *Ave Gemma*, the first of the twenty-four supplicant lyrics, is addressed to Agnes, who was stripped naked in front of the citizens of Rome and forced into a brothel. The last lyric of the litany, addressed to Christ, is a two-part *Agnus Dei*, whose text highlights and intensifies the penitential tone of the preceding lyrics.

The two stanzas of verse following this ascent to Christ reveal that the ‘penitent voice’ is the voice of the poet himself, Adam.<sup>339</sup> As in the first stanza of RS711, the voice of the poet enters his creation, drawing attention to the musico-poetic artifice of the story. While Music as a Liberal Art—the theoretical study of musical proportion—is abandoned at the edge of Emyrean, the sound of music in practice comes to the foreground here. It is as if Adam is reminding the reader or listener to interpret the realm of theology metaphorically, as one would a poem or song; it is a sign that, as

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<sup>339</sup> Hughes, ‘The “Ludus super Anticlaudianum”’, p. 5.

poet, he is striving to capture something beyond the capacity of rational language. The fact that Prudence overhears his prayers is made to seem coincidental at first, but the synchronisation of his voice with Prudence's action gradually emphasises his role as the ultimate force driving the plot. Hughes, Rastatter, and Jennifer Barnard seem to treat the *Ludus* entirely according to the intention outlined in the prologue, as a light, welcome distraction from a serious illness. The litany section in particular, however, and the way it is ventriloquised by Adam, suggests a final reckoning with sickness and death rather than a distraction from it. Many of the song texts are deeply penitential. The prayer to St. Nicholas, for example, asks him to 'Pray God that He would grant that I should be consumed and weep for my life's failings, so that at last I should behold the Ones on high and be able to be their companion' (Ora Deum ut sic me conteri/ largiatur et flere miseros vitae lapsus quod tandem Superos/ videns, possim his comes fieri).<sup>340</sup> Likewise, the prayer to St. Stephen reads, 'Pray God, whose mercy knows no bound, to unite, with those in heaven, me, who through my wretchedness am cut off from them' (Ora deum cujus clementia/ finem nescit ut de miseria/ me abstractum jungat caelestibus).<sup>341</sup> The celestial setting of the poet's litany presents a wish for its efficacy; he sees it being fulfilled through the writing of the poetry. Moreover, like Gautier's *Pour mon chief reconforter*, the *Ludus* amplifies and perpetuates Adam's litany for as long as it is performed.

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<sup>340</sup> Text and translation from Barnard, *The Journey of the Soul*, p. 356.

<sup>341</sup> Text and translation from Barnard, *The Journey of the Soul*, p. 362.

Like the other interpolated lyrics in the *Ludus*'s manuscript, **F-Lm 316**, *Ave Gemma* is fully notated in late-thirteenth-century square notation. Like the *Ludus*'s other contrafacta, the song is cued with rubricated instructions citing its melodic source: the reader is told to sing 'sor tant ai amors servie longement', that is, to the tune of RS711. While *Ave Gemma*'s single stanza of text provides clear allusions to Agnes's life, a rubricated, marginal note in the same hand, reading 'ad sanctam Agnes' removes all doubt that she is the song's intended recipient. *Ave Gemma*'s direct citation of RS711, combined with its references to Agnes, invite the reader to compare Agnes's spiritual love with the worldly love condemned in RS711. Agnes is the antithesis of the prolific, aristocratic lover: she rejected the proposal of a high-ranking Roman soldier on the grounds that she was already the bride of Christ. According to the legend preserved in Pseudo-Ambrose's *Gesta sanctae agnetis*, before she was martyred, she was publicly shamed, stripped naked, and sent to a brothel, but her hair grew to cover her body and an angel prevented her from being raped, preserving her virginity.<sup>342</sup> *Ave Gemma* alludes both to her virginity— noting that she preferred 'pudoris speculum' (the mirror of purity) (1.4)—and to her spiritual marriage with Christ, 'who adorns [her] with glory by the ring which [she] is promised' ('quite per annulum Subarrhatam decorat gloria') (1.5-6). The cuing of associations linked to Agnes's fatal experience as desired object, sung to

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<sup>342</sup> Elisabeth Schulze-Busacker, 'Le Théâtre Occitan au XIVe Siècle: Le Jeu de Sainte Agnès', in H. Braet, J. Nowé, and G. Tournoy (eds.), *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (Leuven, 1985), p. 133.

the melody of a song about conversion from courtly love, stresses the extreme, even mortal, threat of worldly desire. At the same time, the desire expressed in *Ave Gemma*'s text for freedom from earthly imprisonment resembles, albeit superficially, that of the typical, imprisoned trouvère, only this desire is sublimated to a celestial lady whose intercession, like Mary's, is reliable.<sup>343</sup>

While *Ave Gemma*'s rubric refers textually to RS711, the song's notes suggest a close relationship with RS709a. The descent down a third from poetic lines 3-4, line 4 beginning on the note below the final, is shared almost exclusively between the manuscript readings of both songs (**F-Lm 316** for *Ave Gemma* and **Dg-D** for RS709a), as shown in blue in **Example 4.3**.

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<sup>343</sup> The invocation in the last four lines of *Ave Gemma* reads: Ora Deum qui te per annulum/ Subarrhatam decorat gloria/ ut lamenta mutet in gaudia/ et in caelum praesens ergastulum. (Pray God, who adorns you with glory by the ring which you are promised, that he would change our lamenting into joy and our present imprisonment into heavenly freedom). Latin text from Barnard, *The Journey of the Soul*, p. 347.

The image displays a musical score with ten staves, each representing a different version of a poetic text. The staves are labeled on the left as follows: F-Lm 316, DG-D, F-Pm 753, Trouva, TrouvV, TrouvZ, TrouvX, TrouvR, TrouvP, TrouvO, and TrouvM. Each staff contains a melodic line in treble clef with a 3/8 time signature and a corresponding line of text. The text is divided into two lines, 3 and 4. In the F-Lm 316 staff, a blue box highlights the transition between line 3 and line 4. In the TrouvR staff, a red box highlights the transition between line 3 and line 4. Various musical notations such as C2, C3, and F3 are placed above the staves to indicate specific notes or intervals. The lyrics for line 3 are: '3. pu-el-la - rum ge-rens in - si - gni - a' (F-Lm), '3. de lui me part; a ce - lui me que - mant' (DG-D), '3. se je m'en part. Or - e - a - dieu les com - mant' (F-Pm), '3. se je m'en part. Or - e - a - dieu les com - mant' (Trouva), '3. se je m'en part. Or - e - a - dieu les com - mant' (TrouvV), '3. se je m'en part or - e - a - dieu les co - mant' (TrouvZ), '3. se je m'en part or - e - a - dieu les co - mant' (TrouvX), '3. se je m'en part. Or - e - a - dieu les com - mant' (TrouvR), '3. se je m'en part or - e - a - dieu les com - mant' (TrouvP), '3. se je m'en part. Or - e - a - dieu les co - mant' (TrouvO), and '3. se je m'en part. Or - e - a - dieu les con - mant' (TrouvM). The lyrics for line 4 are: '4. prae - fe - ren - do pu - do - ris spe - cu - lum.' (F-Lm), '4. qui po - oir a de moi vers tous des - fen - dre:' (DG-D), '4. qu'en ne doit pas touz jorz fo - li - e en - pren - dre' (F-Pm), '4. qu'en ne doit pas touz jorz fo - li - e en - pren - dre' (Trouva), '4. qu'en ne doit pas touz jorz fo - li - e en - pren - dre' (TrouvV), '4. qu'en ne doit pas touz jors fo - li - e en - pren - dre' (TrouvZ), '4. qu'en ne doit pas touz jors fo - li - e en - pren - dre' (TrouvX), '4. du ne doit pas touz jours fo - li - e en - pren - dre' (TrouvR), '4. qu'en ne doit pas toz jors fo - li - e en - pren - dre' (TrouvP), '4. c'on ne doit pas toz jors fo - li - e em - pren - dre' (TrouvO), and '4. l'en ne doit pas toz jorz fo - li - e em - pren - dre' (TrouvM).

**Example 4.3: Comparative Transcription of Poetic Lines 3-4 in RS711, RS709a, and Ave Gemma**

This transition also occurs in **TrouvR**'s version of RS711, marked out in red above, but here it seems to be either an inconsistent variation or an error of a second when compared with the motif's first appearance in **TrouvR**'s line 2, which begins with the notes *G-G-a-b* rather than *F-G-a-b*. An error is likelier, given that line 4's divergent *F* occurs just after a clef change. A comparison of these lines in **TrouvR** is shown in **Example 4.4**.

**Example 4.4: Poetic Lines 1-4 of RS711 in TrouvR**

RS709a (in **Dg-D**) also has a discrepancy in the repetition supposedly intended between lines 2 and 4, but in this case the error appears to be in line 2: as shown in **Example 4.5**, **Dg-D**'s scribe has written the phrase a second too low after the first manuscript line break, while maintaining the melodic intervals found in line 4—hence the b-flat.

**Example 4.5: Poetic Lines 1 and 2 in Ave Gemma (F-LM 316) and RS709a (Dg-D)**

This error is remedied at the beginning of line 3, which starts on *G* again (see **Example 4.3** above). What was intended, therefore, seems to have been realised in line 4, the line that resembles most closely lines 2 and 4 of *Ave Gemma*. Significantly, RS709a's error of a second in line 2 begins on *E*, the starting pitch of *Ave Gemma*'s line 2. *Ave Gemma*, however, has a different starting note and final from RS709a—*F* rather than *G*—which suggests the possibility that RS709a's error of a second originated from a literal reading of *Ave Gemma*'s **F-Lm 316**, or of a similar, lost manuscript. Since, as discussed above, starting pitches are sometimes selected based on local scribal convention, the difference in starting pitch between **F-Lm**

**316** and **Dg-D** does not in itself rule out the possibility that **Dg-D**'s RS709a was copied from **F-Lm 316**'s *Ave Gemma*. But the graphical and pitch differences between the two versions in other parts of the song, for example in poetic lines 5 and 6, make a direct scribal link less likely. At the very least, the two versions were part of a close tradition, whether exclusively oral or recorded in lost sources, whose performance of lines 1-4 was related.

Only one source of Thibaut's RS711 resembles both RS709a and *Ave Gemma* not just in general melodic contour, but also in certain notable details: the Latin collection **F-Pm 753** from the Abbey of St. Martin in Tournai, which Thomas Falmagne dates to c.1260-5.<sup>344</sup> This manuscript is significant in that its only musical inclusion, notated or otherwise, is RS711, which occurs on the verso of the last folio. The rest of the source is devoted to two Latin florilegia: the *Bernardinum*, a compilation of writings attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, and the *Liber Florigerus*, a collection of writings attributed to Augustine, which directly precedes RS711. The prologue of the *Liber Florigerus* reveals its purpose in leading 'all men' toward the development of virtue and the hatred of vice, toward the love of God (*ad amorem Dei*) and contempt of the world (*et contemptum mundi*), and specifies these aims, and the book's contents, as being particularly relevant

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<sup>344</sup> T. Falmagne, 'Le Liber Florigerus: Recherches sur l'attribution d'un florilège augustinien du XIIIe siècle (avant 1260)', *Revue des études Augustiniennes et Patristiques*, 45 (1999), p. 141.

for preachers.<sup>345</sup> The source's clerical audience is therefore clear, as is RS711's potential function of strengthening the book's intention toward *contemptus mundi* and *amore Dei*.

**F-Pm 753's** version of RS711 sinks below the final note not at the beginning of lines 2 and 4, but halfway through both lines, replicating the middle of lines 2 and 4 in RS709a. The ensuing ascent of a fifth is also shared between RS709a and this version of RS711. This similar, unusual tendency for notes to fall below the final before the end of this phrase is marked in green in the following example.

**Example 4.6: Poetic Lines 3-4 in *Ave Gemma* (F-Lm 316), RS709a (Dg-D), and RS711 (F-Pm 753)**

**F-Pm 753's** version of RS711 also resembles *Ave Gemma* at the end of line 5, where the final melisma is identical, as shown in green in **Example**

<sup>345</sup> 'Et quidem omni homini ad dirigendas uias iustitiae et ad solatium spiritus sui, ad exercitium uirtutum et odium uitiorum, ad amorem Dei et contemptum mundi, ad roboranda etiam illa ad que predicantis intentio dirigi possit et debeat, hec quam maxime profutura putamus hunc ergo librum florigerum appellamus' ('And we believe that it will be of great benefit to all men for the purpose of directing their steps on the road of justice and for solace of their spirits, for the development of their virtues and hatred of vice, for their love of God and contempt of the world, and to strengthen that to which the intention of the person preaching should be directed'). Latin text quoted from Falmagne, 'Le Liber Florigerus', p. 142.

4.7. These are the only two occurrences of this particular phrase ending in all manuscripts.

F-Lm 316  
5.o - ra De - um qui te per a - nu - lum\_\_\_\_\_

DG-D  
5.c'est la pu - che - le en cui deus vaut des - cen - dre

F-Pm 753  
5.et cil est fous qui ne s'en set def - fen - dre\_\_\_\_\_

**Example 4.7: Poetic Line 5 in Ave Gemma (F-Lm 316), RS709a (Dg-D), and RS711 (F-Pm 753)**

All three versions also share the phrase ending of line 7, highlighted below in green in **Example 4.8**. This pattern occurs in four out of the eleven other manuscript readings shown in the complete comparative transcription in Appendix 2.4a.

F-Lm 316  
7.ut la - men - ta mu - tet in gau - di - a\_\_\_\_\_

DG-D  
7.Dou - che vir - ge, join - tes mains, en plou rant\_\_\_\_\_

F-Pm 753  
7.l'en me ten - droit de - sor - mes por en fant\_\_\_\_\_

**Example 4.8: Poetic Line 7 in Ave Gemma (F-Lm 316), RS709a (Dg-D), and RS711 (F-Pm 753)**

The musical resemblances between **Dg-D**, **F-Lm 316**, and **F-Pm 753** are strengthened by their geographical links. Alison Stones locates **Dg-D**'s provenance in the area of Théroutanne, St.-Omer, and Arras; **F-Lm 316** originates from the Collégiale de St. Pierre in Lille; and, as mentioned above, **F-Pm 753** belonged to the Abbey of St. Martin in Tournai. Falmagne has argued convincingly that the scribe or author of **F-Pm 753**, indicated in the manuscript by both his portrait and the name *Domnus W. de Courtracho*, was a canon and dean at the Collégiale de Notre Dame in Courtrai from 1226 onward.<sup>346</sup> If this is true, it further reinforces the connection between *Ave Gemma* and **F-Pm 753**'s version of RS711, since the chapters of St. Pierre and Notre Dame comprised two of three collegiate churches under the patronage of the Count of Flanders.<sup>347</sup> Furthermore, the archives of the Chapter of St. Pierre in Lille contain a record from 1229 of a transaction between the Collégiale at Lille and a certain 'W., doyen' from the chapter of Notre Dame de Courtrai, suggesting a direct interaction between the potential scribe of **F-Pm 753** and the home of Adam de la Basse.<sup>348</sup>

#### 4. Conclusion

Although Thibaut's RS711 was disseminated as far as Lorraine and Burgundy, the song's contrafaction occurred within the concentrated area

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<sup>346</sup> See Falmagne, 'Le Liber Florigerus', pp. 139-81.

<sup>347</sup> Falmagne, 'Le Liber Florigerus', p. 176.

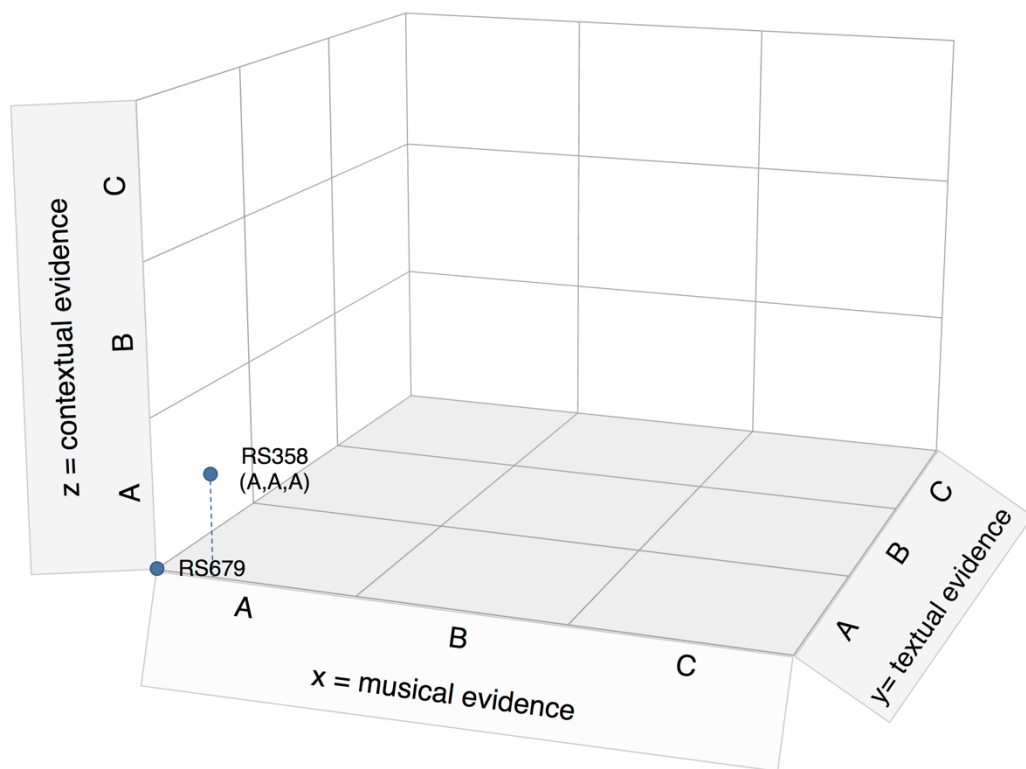
<sup>348</sup> The document is located at the Archives départementales du Nord, pièce 1869, no. 16 G 210.

described above, bordering Artois and Flanders. RS711's two contrafacta reflect the particularly rich culture of trouvère reception in this region, a region already known among scholars for its confraternities of jongleurs and the production of lavish trouvère chansonniers. Perhaps more significant is the fact that these two particular instances of trouvère reception are both associated with the clergy. Through their contrafacta, Adam de la Bassée and the compiler of RS709a demonstrate a serious engagement with and knowledge of courtly song—both figures having reworked over twenty of them—showing how song's influence extended far beyond the walls of the court. The contrafacta point toward the integration of the so-called sacred and secular spheres: Thibaut's narrator's conversion makes RS711 ripe for devotional and theological refashioning; RS711 taps into a formalised mode of desiring (the courtly chanson) that lends itself well to the desire inherent in conversion. The song's generic hybridity, in particular, allows it to depict in detail the world that it eschews. Like the prologue of **F-Pm 753's** *Florilegerus*, RS711 combines both *contemptus mundi* and *amor Dei*, both a sense of alienation and dismay over the futility of life as it is commonly lived—embodied in the courtly lady—as well as the serene confidence, in the envoy, that one has found a way out. The constant frustration and fulfilment of expectations in RS711's music maps this desire beyond language, where it undergirds both the trials of Theophilus and the penitential voice of Adam de la Bassée, thus magnifying the forces driving each narrator's internal change of season, each character's turn of weather.

## Chapter 5. Contrafacture and Authority in RS679 and RS358

### 1. Background:

This chapter examines a widely disseminated crusade song by the Chastelain de Coucy, RS679, and a contrafact that comments internally on its own contrafaction, RS358. The contrafact's textual reference to the Chastelain and his song, the songs' close musical correspondance, particularly in their shared sources, **KNXP**, and the fact that the textual citation itself comments directly on the context of the contrafact's creation give this song the coordinates (A, A, A) in **Figure 5's** graph.



**Figure 5: Graph of RS679's contrafact, RS358**

## 2. The Question of Homage

The early scholarship on contrafacture discussed in this dissertation's Introduction understood it tacitly as a form of flattery, as an exercise in poetic homage, partly because the concerns of such studies lay outside the question of imitation's function. Intent on identifying imitations of rare and complex rhyme schemes, which in turn could suggest networks of interaction between troubadours, trouvères, and *Minnesänger*, neither Bartsch nor Meyer discusses the purpose of such imitation in detail. They take for granted, rather, that poetic imitation is necessarily aspirational, and that the object of aspiration is, for the trouvères and *Minnesänger*, the troubadour repertory. Bartsch envisions the *Minnesänger* Rudolf von Neuenberg consulting troubadour songbooks to make his poetic imitations, which are, in Bartsch's opinion, disappointingly inferior, showing 'a weakening and flattening of the originally sharply defined thoughts' of the models.<sup>349</sup> Meyer reflects that the most important aspect of one poetic tradition's influence on another is its ability to excite minds and instil 'a sentiment of emulation'.<sup>350</sup> At the same time, he laments the apparent scarcity of evidence of Northern French influence on the troubadours, conceding that most forms of influence, according to his analyses, worked in the other direction.<sup>351</sup> Both figures struggle to reconcile their contemporary ideology of expressive authenticity, which prizes originality,

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<sup>349</sup> K. Bartsch, 'Über den Grafen Rudolf von Neuenburg', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, 11 (1859), p. 155.

<sup>350</sup> Meyer 'Des rapports', p. 42.

<sup>351</sup> Meyer, 'Des rapports', p. 41.

with the ‘derivative’ practices of the poets they intend to claim as part of their respective cultural heritages.

Over a century’s hindsight shows that the medieval concept of authenticity is completely at odds with the romantic expressive one. Whereas the latter sees close formal or content-based imitation as a desertion of the artist’s ‘innermost truth of his consciousness’, the former is achieved, mainly in academic exegetical circles, by building on the work of a named *auctor*, an intellectual authority from the distant past, often from the Ancient world.<sup>352</sup> The figure of the *auctor* operates in certain facets of lyric culture too: medieval Occitan treatises, grammars, and *razos* such as Vidal de Besalú’s *Razos de trobar* cite and quote esteemed troubadours in poetic exemplars, and the widespread practices of lyric insertion and refrain quotation can transform the lyric author into a mythologised authority on love.<sup>353</sup>

But medieval citation and quotation are not always about emulation: numerous lyrics are quoted without citing their authors, the quotations framed according to the various interpretative schemes of those that quote

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<sup>352</sup> For Hegel, for example, the use of historical subjects or genres was a primary source of disunity between a work’s spiritual content and its external presentation. See G.W.F. Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, trans. T. M. Knox (Oxford, 1975), p. 605; quoted in J. Garret, ‘Mendelssohn’s Babel: Romanticism and the Poetics of Translation’, *Music & Letters*, 80 (1999), pp. 30-1. On the terms *auctor* and *auctoritas* in the Middle Ages, see A. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1988), pp. 9-15.

<sup>353</sup> For a detailed discussion of the treatises, and of the divergent practices of quotation and citation versus paraphrase, see S. Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales: Troubadour Quotations and the Development of European Poetry* (Philadelphia, 2013).

them.<sup>354</sup> Much work has been done, too, on the ironic, referential, and associative functions and effects of lyric re-use, as outlined in the introduction.<sup>355</sup> While authorial naming and compilation patterns in some of the chansonniers suggest that song attribution was important in certain contexts, the authors themselves had no ownership of their material, which was freely glossed, reproduced, and refashioned in entirely new contexts, playing with ‘expectations of knowledge and recognition’.<sup>356</sup> In glosses on Classical texts, the commentators’ aim was not to imitate the author’s understanding, but to harmonise it with Christian philosophy.<sup>357</sup> As Jennifer Saltzstein notes, the multitude of commentators’ voices in a gloss on the Ovidian *L’art d’amours* could drown out that of the author.<sup>358</sup> Bernard of Chartres’s well-known image of medieval thinkers as ‘dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants’ is not about the deferential emulation of *auctores*; as Richard Southern puts it, ‘the important and original point was the dwarf *could* see a little further than the giant’.<sup>359</sup>

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<sup>354</sup> Here I use Kay’s distinction between quotation and citation, the former denoting the replication of text verbatim, the latter denoting a reference to a text or its author. Under these definitions, the two phenomena can be found together, but do not necessarily coincide. See Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales*, p. 2.

<sup>355</sup> See, for example, C. Chaillou, ‘Emprunter et créer’. F. Gernert, *Parodia y “contrafacta” en la literatura romántica medieval y renacentista: Historia, teoría y textos* (San Millán de la Cogolla, 2009); Marie-Geneviève Grossel, ‘Quand le monde entre dans la chanson’, *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, 11 (2004), pp. 213-30.

<sup>356</sup> Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales*, p. 19.

<sup>357</sup> The pagan author had provided truths under the *velamen figmentorum* (veil of fiction), and it was the commentator’s task to reveal these truths. This approach of medieval Christians was inspired by the Late Antique pagan writer Macrobius. See his *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, ed. J. Willis (Leipzig, 1970), 1.2.11, (p. 6.).

<sup>358</sup> J. Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 44.

<sup>359</sup> R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1967), p. 194.

The question arises, then: is medieval contrafacture ever about emulation? Is there ever a sense of homage involved? This chapter's contrafact, RS358, seems to be the nearest example to it in the trouvère repertory. It opens with the following lines:

Li chastelains de couci ama tant  
qu'ainz por amors nus n'en ot dolor graindre:  
por ce ferai ma complainte en son chant,  
que ne cuit pas que la moie soit maindre' (1.1-4)

The Chastelain de Coucy loved so greatly that no one had greater sorrow in love than he. For this reason, I set my lament to his song, because I do not think mine [my sorrow] is any less.

The claim that no one suffered more in love than the Chastelain is a testament to his reception, decades after his death in 1204, as an authority on love; it may allude to his fictionalised *vida*, the *Roman du châtelain de Coucy et de la dame de Fayel (Roman)*, a version of the eaten heart story written by Jakèmes in the late thirteenth century, around the time RS358 first appears in chansonnier sources. The story recounts the Chastelain's secret love affair with the Dame de Fayel, his death in the crusades, and the interception of his heart by the Dame's jealous husband, who has her eat it unwittingly. As Simon Gaunt has shown, the *Roman* presents the Chastelain's death and the consumption of his heart as a kind of unconscious sacrifice, as a secret desire for incorporation unknown even to the Chastelain himself.<sup>360</sup> The conventional image of the Chastelain giving

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<sup>360</sup> S. Gaunt, *Love and Death* (Oxford, 2006), p. 98.

his heart to his beloved, which appears repeatedly in the story's lyric interpolations, is gruesomely 'demetaphorized', the heart's incorporation evoking the Eucharist.<sup>361</sup> As discussed in Chapter 2, sacrifice introduces what Derrida sees as an ethical dimension to the economy of exchange, affording the victim special status, or, as René Girard's has argued, subsuming him into the mysterious Other to which he is offered.<sup>362</sup> This, along with the concreteness of the Chastelain's devotion—he 'really did' give his heart, just as he said he would—may contribute to his sense of authority in RS358. But the Chastelain is not an authority in the intellectual sense of *auctoritas* outlined above; his authority is much more charismatic, almost hagiographical, the authority of a courtly mentor whose virtue inspires imitation.<sup>363</sup>

### 3. RS679's and RS358's Texts

Unsurprisingly, the Chastelain's 'suffering in love' is also attested in the conventional courtly rhetoric of RS679, the song on which the contrafact is based. RS679 is one of the most widely disseminated of the Chastelain's songs, appearing in twelve chansonnier sources. In it, the Chastelain's narrator is 'obliged to leave [his] lady' (m'estuet ke jou ma dame lais) (4.8)

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<sup>361</sup> In this process of demetaphorization, the Heart as a signifier is internalised. The Dame eats the poet, and, by extension, poetry itself (Lacan's Symbolic Order). See Gaunt, *Love and Death*, p. 97.

<sup>362</sup> For Girard's view, see his *Sacrifice*, trans. Matthew Pattillo and David Dawson (East Lansing, Mich. 2011), p. 31.

<sup>363</sup> C. Stephen Jaeger describes the charismatic authority of the clerical mentor as opposed to the later, Scholastic authority of the author's reasoned arguments in his *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia, 1994), p. 79.

in order to go crusading ‘in a strange land’ (‘en terre estraigne’) (2.4) and will therefore ‘never stop suffering great pain’ (‘or ne quic mais ke grans maus me souffraigne’) (2.5). RS679 is one of the songs used by scholars to corroborate the notion that the historical Chastelain participated in the third and fourth crusades (1189-92 and 1202-4 respectively).<sup>364</sup> Appropriately enough, RS679 is interpolated into the *Roman du Chastelain de Coucy* at the point at which he leaves the Dame de Fayel in order to fight in the fourth crusade (vv. 7347-7398). RS679 also happens to be one of the interpolated lyrics foreshadowing the separation of the Chastelain’s heart from his body, the latter half of the third stanza reading as follows:

Et quant recort sa simple courtoisie  
et les dols mos ke suet a moi parler,  
coment me puet li cuers el cors durer?  
quant ne s’em part, certes molt est mauvais. (3.5-8)

And when I call to mind her simple courtesy and the sweet words with which she is accustomed to speak to me, how can my heart remain within my body? If it does not part from there it is assuredly most wretched.

This same stanza circulates in two other thirteenth-century romances, *Le Roman de la Violette*, (vv. 4624-4631) and *La Chastelaine de Vergy* (vv. 295-302).<sup>365</sup> These lines on the separation of the Chastelain’s heart from

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<sup>364</sup> Lerond, ‘Introduction’, p. 19. The other song has the incipit *Le nouveiauz tanz et mais et violete*.

<sup>365</sup> *Le Roman de la Violette* appears in four sources and the *La Chastelaine de Vergy* is in twenty-two. For respective manuscript lists, see [https://www.arlima.net/eh/gerbert\\_de\\_montreuil.html](https://www.arlima.net/eh/gerbert_de_montreuil.html) and [http://www.arlima.net/ad/chastelaine\\_de\\_vergi.html](http://www.arlima.net/ad/chastelaine_de_vergi.html).

his body thus become part of a mobile unit associated with the Chastelain's identity, and are equally evocative of the more macabre outcome of the *Roman du Chatelain de Coucy*. RS679 is also one of the only songs attributed to the Chastelain that lacks conflicting attributions in other sources: trouvère sources **KNXPMT**, the only sources with attributions for this song, all attribute it to 'li chastelains' in the song's concluding rubric. In **TrouvA**, RS679 is placed first among the Chastelain's songs, below a miniature of the Chastelain armed for battle on a horse, further reinforcing the song's iconic status.<sup>366</sup> With RS679's strong associations to the Chastelain and its widespread quotation in other contexts, the contrafact underscores the Chastelain's authority not just through the verbal claims of the contrafact's opening lines, but also by inciting the audience's recognition of RS679 and its previous (or contemporary) authoritative functions.

All the more striking, then, is the fact that the contrafact's narrator declares his suffering to be no less than that of the Chastelain ('ne cuit pas que la moie soit maindre'). Instead of bowing to the Chastelain's status as a charismatic authority, he uses it to legitimise his own suffering. The citation's appropriative (sung) speech act points toward a more fundamental appropriation of poetic form and melody (contrafacture), which differs from RS679's previous interpolations within romance in that poetic form and melody are here split from their original text. The contrafact's two

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<sup>366</sup> Alison Stones identifies the figure in the equestrian portrait as the Chastelain based on the image's heraldry. See Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, ii, p. 159.

modes of appropriation—citation and contrafacture—are connected: to imitate RS679's form and melody is somehow to tap into the famed sorrow of the Chastelain revealed in the citation; setting RS358's lament 'to the Chastelain's song' follows logically ('por ce') from having suffered like the Chastelain. The melody is re-used, then, in order to capture some kind of emotional or experiential authenticity belonging to the Chastelain's mythologised persona.

One aspect of this act of re-capturing is associative: the citation and the contrafacted melody work together to evoke the general mythology of the Chastelain within a song emblematic of him. This creates a conceptual background, rife with a range of intellectual and emotional associations, against which the claims of the contrafact text can be compared. The listener learns that, like the Chastelain of RS679 and of the *Roman*, the contrafact narrator has been separated from his beloved. And like the Chastelain, the force of separation is not, as it usually is, some internal facet of the narrator's psychology, masked by courtly postures of his unworthiness; nor is it the lady's rejection, real or perceived. Rather, in both cases, willing lovers are separated by external social or political pressures. In the first case (RS679), the Chastelain's persona leaves for the crusade; in the second case (RS358), the family of the narrator's beloved seem to have insisted on the lovers' separation, with the following consequence: 'Mortes vos ont frere et mere et parent,/ par un très fol désevrement mauvès' (1.7-8) (Brother and mother and parent have killed you by a foolish, terrible separation). In a twist of lyric convention, the lovers'

separation kills the beloved rather than the lover-narrator. These lines reveal the funereal undercurrent of RS358's narrator's *complainte*, death's central importance emphasised by the music's rise in tessitura at line 7, discussed further below.

Using the Chastelain's song as a basis for comparison increases the contrafact's relative solemnity: while the Chastelain of RS679 at least has the hope of seeing his lady again after the crusade (though this is thwarted in the *Roman*), the contrafact narrator's only apparent desire is to communicate his lack of hope. At the very least, his singing lacks any desire for love, and this spills over to a disavowal of musical creation. He asks 'Por qui ferai mès ne chançon ne chant,/ quant je ne bé à nule amor ataindre?' (For whom would I make a song or air when I do not aspire at all to attaining love?) (2.1-2), and finishes the song with the following lines: 'Je cuit amors, et adieu le conmant./ Jamès ne cuit vivre fors en torment;/ joie et déduit tout outréement lais (5.6-8) (I give up love and bid it farewell. Never will I stop living in torment; I abandon joy and delight completely.)

RS358's narrator's words resemble those of the Chastelain at the end of RS679's first stanza: 'et sachiés bien, Amors, seürement,/ s'ainc nus morut por avoir cuer dolent,/ dont n'ert par moi mais meüs vers ne lais' (1.1-8) (and be aware, Love, truly, that if anyone ever died of a sorrowing heart, then no song or lay will ever emanate from me.) Both quotations voice a recurrent lyric theme on the connection between singing and desiring, discussed further below: to sing is to desire, and the stagnation of desire results in musical and creative stasis, silencing the singer. The

Chastelain's quotation can also be read, however, as an exclusive claim over love's sorrows: if anyone ever died of lovesickness, it would be the Chastelain, which is why no more music would come from him. The contrafact seems to turn this on its head: the words 's'ainc nus morut por avoir cuer dolent', rendered conditionally in RS679, apply unconditionally to RS358's narrator upon the death of his beloved. The Chastelain's lines might be seen, then, as an open invitation for one-upmanship that the contrafact's narrator willingly takes on, the invitation reinforced by the fact that RS679 is addressed 'to all lovers, more than any other people' ('A vous amant, plus k'a nul'autre gent,/ est bien raisons ke ma dolor complaigne') (1.1-2). Since RS358's narrator's beloved (rather than the Chastelain) has indeed died of a 'cuer dolent', the Chastelain's claim is void, and music is free to emanate from him, namely the music of RS679's melody, newly resurrected in the contrafact.

Intertextual interpretations like these arise from the melody's capacity to signify, at the point of its recognition, an entire song—in this case RS679—and to cue, along with the contrafact's textual allusions, all ideas associated with it. But the melody does not just signify from the moment of its recognition. The unfolding of its pitch patterns, and their repetition, re-combination, and re-emphasis with new words in each stanza, allow for other aural and semantic levels of signification, accessible even to the rare listener lacking all knowledge of the Chastelain de Coucy. A musical analysis of the melody shared between RS679 and RS358 reveals some of these possibilities.

## 4. Musical Analysis

Notated versions of RS358 appear in the four closely related sources **KNXP**, all of which also contain or once contained RS679.<sup>367</sup> These four readings of RS358 are, however, closer in variation to each other than to the version of RS679 appearing in their respective manuscripts. While all versions of the melody in these sources, whether in RS358 and RS679, are only minimally varied, most lines being virtually identical, one line in particular, line 5, points to this closer link between shared songs rather than shared sources, shown below in **Example 5.1**.

In **TrouvX**, the clef change to C3 at 'mort' leads to an apparent error of a third, which continues to the next MS line change, following the word 'et' at syllable 8 of that line. The affected section is marked with a pink box in **Example 5.1**. The error seems likelier given its deviation from most other source readings: the versions of RS679 in **OTAMVRU** consist of a small rising interval at 'et' and 'quant/se', usually a third, followed by a stepwise descent back to the line's starting note or to its upper neighbour, culminating in a similar rising second or third on 'n'est riens'. These two rising-third motifs are marked with green boxes in **Example 5.1**. **TrouvX**'s version of RS679 rises a third too high for this motivic repetition, and **TrouvK** and **TrouvP**'s readings of RS679, despite having no clef or line

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<sup>367</sup> See the Table of Sources in Appendix 1.5. **TrouvN**'s version of RS679 is lost.

RS358: K  
5. la mort mi fet\_ re - gre - ter et con - plain - dre\_ 6. vos - tre cler vis be le et vos - tre cors\_ gent

RS358: N  
5. la mort mi fet\_ re - gre - ter et con - plain - dre\_ 6. vos - tre cler vis be le et vos - tre cors\_ gent

RS358: P  
5. la mort mi fet\_ re - gre - ter et con - plain - dre\_ 6. vos - tre cler vis be le et vos - tre cors\_ gent

RS358: X  
5. la mort mi fait\_ re - gre - ter et\_ plain - dre\_ 6. vos - tre cler vis be le et vos - tre gent\_ cors

RS679: X  
5. et se la\_ pert n'est riens qui me re - maig - ne\_ 6. et sa - chiez bien a - mors ve - raie - ment

RS679: P  
5. et se la\_ pert n'est riens qui me re - maig - ne\_ 6. et sa - chez bien a - mors ve - raie - ment

RS679: K  
5. et se la\_ pert n'est riens qui me re - maig - ne\_ 6. et sa - chez bien a - mors vrai - e - ment

RS679: O  
5. et quant la\_ pert n'est riens qui me re - maig - ne\_ 6. si sa - chiez bien a - mors cer - tei - ne - ment

RS679: T  
5. et quant li\_ pert n'est riens ki me re - maig - ne\_ 6. et sa - chiez bien a - mors seu - u - re - ment

RS679: A  
5. et qant li\_ pert n'est riens ki me re - maig - ne\_ 6. et sai - chiez bien a - mors cher - tai - ne - ment

RS679: M  
5. et quant li\_ pert n'est riens qui me re - maig - ne\_ 6. et sa - chiez bien a - mors se - u - re - ment

RS679: V  
5. et se la\_ pert n'est riens qui me re - maig - ne\_ 6. et sa - chiez bien a - mors tout\_ vrai - e - ment

RS679: R  
5. et se la\_ pert n'est riens qui me re - maig - ne\_ 6. et sa - chiez bien a - mors tout\_ vrai - e - ment

RS679: U  
5. et qant li\_ perz n'aim rien qui me re - maig - ne\_ 6. et sa - chiez bien a - mors se - u - re - ment

**Example 5.1: Comparative Transcription of RS358 and RS679, Poetic Line 5**

changes here, repeat this anomaly, suggesting **TrouvX** is either the model source for this group, or is visually identical to the model.

**KNXP**'s versions of RS358, however, conform to the more common double rising-third motif on 'la mort' and 'regret-', also shown in green boxes, the whole section marked in **TrouvX** with a light blue box. RS358's divergence from the version of RS679 in its own sources points toward a separate path of transmission for the two songs, giving credence to the idea that chansonniers were informed by smaller, more ephemeral song booklets. In no way, however, does this difference in transmission undermine the listener's ability to perceive both melodies as being the same; rather, it emphasises differences within the milieux of written circulation, which do not necessarily reflect the performers' knowledge of the songs.

The repeated thirds of poetic line 5 stand out in the larger context of the song's musical trajectory. This is because the melody, across all sources, is nearly monotonous, suspended around *a* for most of the song, its occasional pitch changes moving mainly by step. As shown in the comparative transcription in Appendix 2.5a, the pitch content is particularly repetitive in the **KNXP** group, which lack the neumatic elaborations on the fourth syllable of each of the first four lines. Since the **KNXP** group contain both RS679 and RS358, and since **KNXP**'s versions of RS679 are, with the exception of line 5's error, still closer to RS358 than any other extant version, I focus my analysis on one of the sources of this group, **TrouvX**.

The opening of **TrouvX**'s RS358 establishes *a* as a central pitch for the listener, its five consecutive repetitions giving it the character of an

intonation. The stepwise descent from *a* to *G* at the line's conclusion leads to another six consecutive *a* pitches at the beginning of the second line. The song's typical ABAB form in the first four poetic and musical lines doubles the occurrence of consecutive *a* pitches: the result is that **KNXP**'s versions of RS679 and RS358 contain the most consecutive repetitions of one pitch in the Chastelain's known repertory. The only melodic changes in poetic lines 1-4 occur at the stepwise ascent from *G* to *c* (and its stepwise return to *G*) in the second half of each line. The pitch *c*, being at the upper limit of each line's range, is emphasised by its tessitura; its relation with the prominent repeated pitch *a* creates a remembered sonority of a minor third.

Until the end of line 4, all intervals, including those between lines, are stepwise. The transition to line 5 constitutes the first interval of a consecutive third, drawing attention to the new line. That this interval is immediately followed by the two rising *b-d* motifs described above, which are placed a tone higher than the prominent *a-c* sonority of the previous lines, further emphasises line 5. In the contrafact's first stanza, these *b-d* motifs occur on the words 'la mort' and 're-gret-' in the phrase 'la mort mi fait regretter et complaindre', the narrator's first reference to death. In the second stanza, the words 'la mort' appear again in line 5, this time within the second of the two *b-d* gestures, in the phrase 'car venist or la mort pour moi destaindre' (that death would come to seize me). The first stanza's other, more accusatory reference to death—'morte vos ont frere et mere et parent'—discussed further above, occurs at a similarly prominent point in the music, in poetic line 7, the line with the highest tessitura. Its stepwise

ascent from *a* to *e* extends the *a-c* sonority of the first half of the song up another third and tops the *b-d* motifs of line 5, so that the song's most emphatic rising gestures increase in tessitura as the melody unfolds, moving through *a-c* in lines 1-4; *b-d* in line 5; and (*a*)-*c-e* in line 7. Lines 6 and 8, with their repeated *a* pitches, mimic the restricted range of the opening four lines, further emphasising, by contrast, lines 5 and 7.

## 5. Interpretations: Bringing Text and Music Together

Death's prominent place in the music reflects its prominence in the narrator's discourse. While the courtly lady is commonly elevated to a dominating, and often deadly, sovereign figure, here, in her absence, the sovereign role is played by death itself. In the fifth and final stanza, the narrator declares that he no longer values love, beauty, youth, money, or 'anything he can see'.<sup>368</sup> 'Why?' he asks. His answer constitutes the third appearance of 'la mort' in poetic line 5: 'because death dominates everything' ('Pour'ce que la mort toute mestroie'). Death takes the place of the lady as the narrator's elusive object of 'desire', if desire for death can be called desire. The second stanza's reference to death, in full, is:

Ne jamès jor de quiet en mon vivant  
 m'ire et mon duel, et ma dolor refraindre.  
 Car venist or la mort por moi destraindre;  
 si que morir m'esteut maintenant (2.3-6).

Nor do I ever seek [*quier*] while I live to moderate anger, pain, and grief  
 because death comes now to destroy me, so that I have to die now.

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<sup>368</sup> Pardieu, amors, je ne vos pris noïent,/ car morte est cel pour qui je vous  
 prisoie:/ je ne pris rien ne biauté, ne jovent,/ or, ne argent, ne chose que je voie.  
 (5.1-4).

Though death seems to be closing in here, the narrator later worries that he will have to continue living in pain: he asks in the fourth stanza, ‘S’or ne me muir, je vivrai touzjors mais?’ (If I do not die now, will I just keep living?). Like other trouvère-narrators, he is trapped in a state of living dead; unlike most of them, however, he detaches himself from any idea of hope or joy. RS358’s narrator’s unwavering desire for death is in itself a removal from the economy of desire: his growing nihilism, culminating in the last stanza’s renunciation of worldly things, eventually allows him the freedom of falling silent. That his lack of desire leads to silence is clear in his framing of the latter with the former—his concluding words, discussed above, place him squarely outside the realm of enjoyment: ‘je cuit amors, et adieu le conmant... joie et déduit tout outréement lais’ (5.6-8) (I give up love and bid it farewell... I abandon joy and delight completely).

This rhetorical framing of silence evokes Bernart de Ventadorn’s famous canso *Can vei la lauzeta mover*, in which the narrator declares his intention to fall silent, thereby removing himself from ‘both the object of his desire and language (the realm of desire)’, as Simon Gaunt has observed.<sup>369</sup> Gaunt’s characterisation of language as the ‘realm of desire’ is rooted in his Lacanian reading of courtly love—for Lacan, desire manifests itself in

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<sup>369</sup> Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 130. *Can vei la lauzeta mover*’s final lines read: ‘Tristan, ges no·n aures de me,/ qu’eu m’en vau, chaitius, no sai on./ De cantar me gic e·m recre,/ e de joi e d’amor m’escon’ (Tristan, you will have nothing from me, for I go away, wretched, I know not where. I abandon singing and knightly service and remove myself from joy and love) (text and translation quoted from *ibid.*, p. 130).

language, in what he calls the Symbolic Order. Since this relationship between desire and language has some bearing on the music of RS358, I outline it in more detail below.

Literary scholars such as Jean-Charles Huchet, Sarah Kay, and Simon Gaunt have long used Lacanian psychoanalytic theory to articulate the economy of desire between the narrator and his lady, and Lacan himself referred to courtly love in a number of his seminars, his accounts of subjectivity having been based, in part, on readings of medieval literature.<sup>370</sup> Although the undercurrents of desire can be generated in the Imaginary Order—the subject’s narcissistic self-image—desire itself is enacted in the Symbolic Order, the linguistic pact that links the subject to a community of others. The subject thinks and fantasises in concepts confined by the categorisations of language; but because the Symbolic Order never fully corresponds to the Real (the state of things beyond subjectivity), desire is always directed toward an object whose reality is not fully symbolised in the subject’s fantasy. While the subject may make certain demands for specific objects, desire itself has no object, because its apparent objects are always metonymic, that is, always substituting for something more, which evades language. In this way, desire continues to generate itself from its object’s lack. This disparity or lack in the other, this

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<sup>370</sup> Bruce Holsinger documents Lacan’s use of Ovid’s *Ars Amandi*, Andreas Capallanus’ *De Arte Amundi*, and works by Chrétien de Troyes, Guillaume de Poitier, Arnaud Daniel, Trumelac, and Raymond de Dorfort, as well as the influence of the theorist and medievalist Georges Bataille. See Holsinger, *The Premodern Condition: Medievalism and the Making of Theory* (Chicago, 2005), pp. 162-3.

aspect of the Real that resists symbolisation, Lacan refers to in his early seminars as the Thing (*das Ding*). He describes it as an 'irreducible kernel where the pressure of the Real is condensed'.<sup>371</sup> All art, for Lacan, 'encircles the Thing' rendering it 'both present and absent'.<sup>372</sup> The power of courtly lyric lies in its attempt to articulate the 'presence' of this absence in the guise of the lady. Like a vase, the courtly lady is constructed around the emptiness of the Thing.<sup>373</sup> Her sole existence as a fantasy of the narrator's subjectivity is demonstrated by his idealised and highly conventionalised descriptions of her. As Lacan observes, she is 'presented with depersonalised characteristics...the feminine object is emptied of all real substance'.<sup>374</sup> The narrator's attempt to symbolise the Thing in the familiar guise of the feminine is therapeutic. The other's lack is both terrifying and threatening; in concealing the threatening absence of the Thing, the idealised lady neutralises its 'traumatic dimension'.<sup>375</sup>

What happens when the lady is no longer available to conceal the Thing? This is the predicament of RS358's narrator. Although the narrator's lament may appear to be about a specific woman, a woman apparently

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<sup>371</sup> S. Kay, 'The Contradictions of Courtly Love and the Origins of Love Poetry: The Evidence of the Lauzengiers', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 26 (1996), p. 153.

<sup>372</sup> J. Lacan, *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan Book VII: The Ethics of Psychoanalysis, 1959-60*, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller, trans. Dennis Porter (New York, 1991), p. 141.

<sup>373</sup> Lacan borrows this image from Heidegger. See Elizabeth Howie, *Photography's Courtly Desires: Jacques Lacan, Roland Barthes, and the Photographic Beloved* (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2007), p. 47.

<sup>374</sup> Lacan, *Book VII*, p. 149.

<sup>375</sup> Žižek, 'Courtly Love', p. 90.

willing to be his lover (if not for her oppressive family), his description of her is just as de-personalized as that of any trouvère's lady: he laments having lost his beloved's 'noble and refined body, discernment, and goodness', nondescript qualities often associated with the lady figure.<sup>376</sup> She is presented as a fantasy, and this fact sublimates her to an idealised object. In death, however, her fundamental unattainability, and the fundamental unattainability of desire, are no longer hidden. By rendering her lifeless, the contrafact can be seen as interrogating the symbol of the lady, bringing to the fore the impossibility of her full correspondence with reality. She is symbolically alive, but physically dead—'between two deaths', to borrow another Lacanian term.<sup>377</sup> This is a reversal of the narrator's predicament, in which he enacts a symbolic death—disavowal of poetry and music—while still alive. Since the shape that the lady once gave to the void is obliterated, its traumatic strangeness resurfaces. One way of reading the unusually protracted repetitions of the Chastelain's melody, then, is as capturing this experience of trauma in a mode beyond the Symbolic Order, trauma being most commonly manifested through repetition.<sup>378</sup> The recurrence of the words 'la mort' on the ascending thirds of line 5 suggest musically that death is central to this trauma.

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<sup>376</sup> 'Or maudirai ma male destinée,/ quant j'ai perdu le gent cors acesmé,/ où tant avait de sens et de bonté' (3.5-7).

<sup>377</sup> On the second death as 'erasure from the symbolic universe', see Lacan, *The Ethics of Psychoanalysis*, pp. 294-5.

<sup>378</sup> On trauma, see Bruce Fink, *A Clinical Introduction to Lacanian Psychoanalysis*, p. 49.

The repeated thirds of line 5 can also be heard as a conjuring of the past, simulating in the listener's tonal memory the compulsive acts of recollection characteristic of grief, where the past is continuously relived in order to lay it to rest.<sup>379</sup> Although some of the surviving manuscript readings of the model song, RS679, lack these repeated thirds on account of variation, line 5 of the song's third stanza sees the Chastelain participating in an act of recollection: 'et quant recort sa simple courtoisie...' ('and when I recall her simple courtesy...'). When this text is sung to the contrafact's version of the melody, the version of RS679's music more likely to have been known by the contrafact-maker, the word 'recort' appears precisely between the two repeated third motifs, its text performing within the music the word's semantic function of linking past with present. This isolated co-incidence of musical repetition with the act of remembering, accidental or not, links music's ephemerality with that of the longed-for lady object, particularly the lost lady of RS348. Just as RS358's narrator's lady is simultaneously present and absent, a spectre in Derrida's sense of the word, so is musical repetition, remade with new texts, capable of invoking ghostly residues, rendering the past hauntingly

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<sup>379</sup> This reading is inspired by H. J. Swift's '*Tamainte consolation/ me fist lymagination: A Poetics of Mourning and Imagination in Late Medieval Dits*', in *The Erotics of Consolation: Desire and Distance in the Late Middle Ages*, C. Léglu and S. Milner (eds.) (New York and Basingstoke, 2008). Swift links the 'paradoxical condition of mourning, its continual compulsion to revisit the past in order to lay that past to rest' with Derrida's notion of spectres, which are conjured precisely in one's repeated attempts to eliminate them (Swift, 'A Poetics of Mourning', pp. 141-2, 159-60).

present.<sup>380</sup> This works not only in instances of repetition within the poetic line or at the level of the stanza, but also with the more temporally displaced repetition of contrafacture itself. RS384 conjures the ghost of its narrator's lady within music made nearly a century before RS358 was codified, music belonging to a mythologised courtly figure whose distance in time compounds the song's sense of loss.

Finally, RS348's repeated pitches can be understood in terms of desire. As Michael Camille notes, the lady is 'necessary for the lover's construction of desire; desire depends on that illusion'.<sup>381</sup> Without her, the narrator enters a state of libidinal stasis, and the repeated pitches in lines 1-4, 6, and 8, which set up *a* as both the origin and destination of each of these lines, allow the listener to experience this state vicariously. This same dynamic is at work for RS678's narrator, but in spatial terms: the destination of the crusades removes him from his true destination (the lady), and the music's stasis articulates this lack of direction.

It is not, then, just the idea of the Chastelain or of RS679 that gives RS358's contrafactedness rhetorical power; the sound of the Chastelain's music as it unravels through performance has multiple interpretative possibilities, and may also have inspired the contrafact maker to set his *complainte* 'en son chant', literally 'in' the Chastelain's song.

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<sup>380</sup> See Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York and London, 1994), pp. 2-8.

<sup>381</sup> M. Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (New York, 1998), p. 25.

The phrase ‘en son chant’ provides some clues to how the contrafact maker conceptualised their craft. The preposition ‘en’ implies a sense of interiority, evoking the conceptual metaphor of the contents of the *complainte* being placed within the container of the *chant*.<sup>382</sup> This resembles Dante’s description of the *canso* as ‘mansio capax sive receptaculum totius artis’ (a spacious house or receptacle of the whole artwork).<sup>383</sup> The term *chant* is used in some fourteenth-century texts in opposition to *dit* (a poem or lyrics), and there are fifteenth-century descriptions of putting a melody ‘in’ a *chant* (‘mettre un texte/chançon en chant’), which correspond to the modern French ‘mettre en musique’. But the term is more multivalent than that: it could also mean, variously, birdsong, the music of the spheres (‘chant du ciel’), and, in examples contemporary with RS358, the musico-poetical whole of a song.<sup>384</sup> Since RS358 mimics RS679’s rhyme scheme, one might understand *chant* as denoting both the musical tones and their realisation within vowel sounds—this would correspond to the Occitan term *so* (verbal and melodic sounds) in the thirteenth-century *Doctrina de compondre dictatz*, as differentiated from *moz* (words) and *razo* (subject matter).<sup>385</sup> As

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<sup>382</sup> See the entry for ‘en’ in *Godefroy and DMF*.

<sup>383</sup> A. Haug, ‘Musikalische Lyrik im Mittelalter’, in H. Danuser (ed.), *Handbuch der musikalischen Gattungen* (2 vols., Laaber, 2004), i, p. 117.

<sup>384</sup> This last sense of *chant* is used by Adam de la Halle, Blondel de Nesle, and the Chastelain de Coucy. See ‘chant’ in *Corpus de la littérature médiévale*, ed. Claude Blum, accessed 22 November 2016, [https://www.classiques-garnier.com/numerique/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=47%3Acorpus-de-la-litterature-medievale&catid=38%3Acatalogue-bases-litfra&Itemid=30](https://www.classiques-garnier.com/numerique/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=47%3Acorpus-de-la-litterature-medievale&catid=38%3Acatalogue-bases-litfra&Itemid=30).

<sup>385</sup> ‘De doctrina de compondre dictatz’, in *The Razos de trobar of Raimon Vidal and Associated Texts*, ed. J.H. Marshall (London, 1972), pp. 96-8. See Andreas Haug’s discussion of this in ‘Musikalische Lyrik’, pp. 117-18.

Andreas Haug has shown, the *Doctrina*'s conceptualisation of song, and Dante's parallel concept of *sententia*, *carmen*, and *cantus/oda* upends the modern dichotomy of text and melody by distinguishing instead between 'sound and meaning, container and content, voice and thought' — intimately linked poles within which the pendulum of poetic experience continuously oscillates.<sup>386</sup> The connection between these poles can be seen in RS358's poetic form as well as its musical form: the unique rhyme sound at the last line of each of the song's stanzas, for example, separates the final line from the main body of text, so that RS358's narrator's 'desevrement mauvais' (1.8) is performed both formally and semantically at the same time. Similarly, the last line of RS358's second stanza, 'ne de dolor au cuer si pesant fais' (2.8), separates the narrator's 'heavy heart' from the main body of the stanza, inscribing the Chastelain's fate into the poem's versification.

## 6. Conclusion

If form is conceived of as a container, a *mansio capex*, then contrafacture is like guiding the listener through a familiar building. William D. Paden has compared the lyric melody to 'an itinerary in the method of loci', where the loci are pitches and rhyme sounds presented in a familiar order; such an itinerary allows concepts associated with specific loci to be easily

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<sup>386</sup> Haug borrows the image of the pendulum from Paul Valéry. See Haug, 'Musikalische Lyrik', p. 118.

retrieved—hence its associative power.<sup>387</sup> But nothing prevents form itself from signifying; in the building metaphor, structural space can have just as much influence on one's experience as the building's contents. The close link between form and signification points to other motivations for contrafacture than the aspirational ones first assumed by Bartsch and Meyer. RS358 is not so much an homage to the Chastelain as it is an attempt to build on his success, to 'stand on his shoulders' and see a bit further into the courtly idiom.

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<sup>387</sup> W.D. Paden, 'What Singing Does to Words: Reflections on the Art of the Troubadours', *Exemplaria*, 17 (2005), pp. 481-506 at p. 503.

## Conclusion

The starting point for researching each case study has been Tischler's indispensable multi-volume edition of trouvère songs. In each entry, a given song's contrafacta are listed and assigned a genre: *chanson historique*, Marian song, planctus, conductus, and so on. On the page, in their neat categorisations, the contrafacta look contained and homogenous, as if they were all the random outcome of the same, predictable process. The effect of these chapters, I hope, has been to restore some flesh to these songs' schematic bones: by looking at their contexts in detail, the variety of their compositional circumstances becomes apparent, as does the range of interpretations they offered audiences.

Far from Pierre Bec's notion of contrafacta belonging to a parasitical register ('registre parasite'), the case studies reveal a culture that cared about melodic association and used it in sophisticated ways.<sup>388</sup> This is most obvious in RS679's opening text, which cites an affective reason for using the Chastelain's melody (since 'no one suffered greater in love than he').<sup>389</sup> But such sensitivity to association is also apparent, with different motivations and effects, in the other case studies, because of the textual or contextual links between their contrafacta. In the first two chapters, the music's textual associations form a background against which the contrafact text reacts ironically, while its melodic origins evoke precise geopolitical loyalties or antagonisms. The third and fourth chapters,

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<sup>388</sup> P. Bec is quoted from O'Sullivan, 'Contrafacture', p. 1480.

<sup>389</sup> For the full text, see Appendix 3.5.

conversely, point toward efforts to intensify and develop a song's meaning through contrafacture: in RS885 and RS709a, theological and devotional insights are reframed to suit new audiences or recapture the attention of familiar ones; in the case of *Ave Gemma* in the *Ludus*, melody type determines the song's place within the narrative's celestial hierarchy.

What all cases of the dissertation have in common is their capacity to cue memories of their respective model-songs, enriching both old and new songs with sonic, textual, and contextual layers of meaning. Unlike purely textual practices of contrafacture, musical contrafacture also allows for the creative exploitation of the flexibility of musical association.<sup>390</sup> A melody is neither a textual object nor a single event in time, but a series of musical patterns that vary in performance but nevertheless constitute an abstract unit. In trying to pin down a rather different concept, that of the musical 'work', Leo Treitler, drawing on Karl Dahlhaus, describes it as a 'schematic construct... [which] contains a number of phrases or parts that succeed each other in a determined order, but which we apprehend as coexisting all at once, not in real time'.<sup>391</sup> While a medieval melody is far removed from the modern and often problematised cultural assumptions underpinning the 'work concept', the melody nevertheless shares what Treitler describes as this 'synoptic' quality, this capacity to be identified as a whole in the abstract, which forms the basis of the process of recognition so integral to

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<sup>390</sup> This is most obvious in the multiple interpretive possibilities of RS1147's use of RS1227, described in section 2.2 of Chapter 2.

<sup>391</sup> L. Treitler, *Reflections on Musical Meaning and its Representations* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2011) p. 72.

the contrafact's engagement of its audience. The audience recognises 'that song', and is invited to think consciously of it in all its aspects, having been surprised into a state of active listening.

This occurs much more robustly in musical contrafacta than in purely textual ones, as the former's impetus of recognition, the melody, acts as a distinctive force throughout the song, as opposed to shared versification, which is less easily recognised, or textual quotation, which cues recognition of the abstract poem, but lasts for a fraction of the performance. As Chapter 5 suggests, however, these textual aspects within musical contrafacta need not be conceptually separate from the notion of sung music, the dichotomy of text and music being something of an anachronism: poetic line endings are sounds, and the musical contrafact's frequent re-use of rhyme sounds points toward a more holistic understanding of placing a text within a *chant*, in a melody governed not only by familiar strings of pitches, but also by the familiar patterns of vowel sounds in which those pitches are realised.<sup>392</sup>

While the previous song is being cued synoptically, the musical contrafact in question is also being performed in real time, and the formal aspects of music and text create their own time-bound meanings. The case studies' musical analyses suggest the range of significances a melody could have both on its own terms and in relation to the text, not simply as a

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<sup>392</sup> Just because musical contrafacta often share versification patterns does not mean the reverse is true. See the discussion of this in section 2 of the dissertation's Introduction.

mimetic reinforcement of the text, but also as a crucial determinant of emphasis and irony, which transform the text's meaning. By considering each stanza's distinct combination of text and music, the dissertation offers a method of process-based analysis, thus re-embedding the songs in their performance context and initiating a discussion on the subtle (and not so subtle) effects of sung text on listening subjectivities.

What the close musical contrafact does, then, particularly a contrafact with graphical designations ranging from AAA to ABB, is unite the abstract, synoptic identity of the previous song with the fleeting, performed existence of the re-fashioned song, ultimately leaving the old song's identity altered. Such alteration has the potential for symbolic violence: the first two chapters demonstrated how this can be exploited politically, their 're-essencing' of melodic identity akin to the symbolic violence of 're-essencing' words. Familiarity with these political contrafacta can affect later hearings of the model songs as well, allowing the barons' propogandizing to infiltrate even the most earnest performances of the trouvère songs RS700 and RS1227. Gautier de Coinci's and RS679's contrafacture is less outwardly appropriative, but it nevertheless engages in 're-essencing' to serve its makers' own respective aims of bolstering aristocratic devotion and channelling the emotional authenticity of a famous trouvère.

Contrafacture brings together other qualities as well: by showing how a single melody could become both sacred and secular, courtly and clerical, academic and monastic, central and peripheral, 'high-style' and 'low-style', it destabilises those scholarly dichotomies, linking them in unpredictable

ways. My five case studies have highlighted some of the conditions in which these seemingly remote contexts are, in fact, deeply integrated: for example, Chapter 4's contrafacta connect courtly, Benedictine monastic, and secular cathedral contexts within a small geographical area, while Chapter 3's RS885 draws on Latin conductus material as well as the courtly song of a trouvère with important ties to Blanche de Castile and the Dominican order, Thibaut de Blaison, who is, in turn, linked with Hue de le Ferté. In all of the dissertation's cases, close musical contrafacture provides a window into the diverse, and sometimes unexpected, influences and reception histories of trouvère song.

These discoveries suggest avenues for further research: the contrafacta of Adam de la Bassée's *Ludus* could be examined for further musical influences within local courtly and clerical networks, as well as for their role in a narrative more serious and philosophically inflected than has been previously suggested. The existence of several other thirteenth-century political *serventois* also invites a larger scale political discussion on music's emotional and intellectual influence during the reign of Louis IX.<sup>393</sup> More broadly, in addressing the question of what contrafacta 'mean', the dissertation prompts a much-needed discussion on music's role in the interpretation of medieval song. How does sung text differ from spoken

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<sup>393</sup> These *serventois* include the crusade songs RS1887 and *Ai Dieus, per qu'as facha tan gran maleza*, which denounce Louis's abandonment of the crusaders imprisoned in Egypt during the seventh crusade (1248-54), as well as Hue de le Ferté's two other songs, *En talent ai que je die*, and *Or somes a ce venu* (RS2062).

text? How do melodies set up and subvert expectations, and how do these expectations interact with the text? What interpretations become possible when song is considered in its embodied, performed dimension? These questions raise more fundamental issues: what does song's melodic variance say about its performance practice, particularly when certain kinds of liturgical chant were disseminated just as widely but with much more uniformity?<sup>394</sup> How can we understand accidental and semitone differences between sources in a way that transcends modern, literal approaches? The variations, clef changes, and errors within this dissertation's comparative transcriptions provide information on dissemination and scribal practice that deserves to be investigated on a larger scale.

Rather than starting with songs whose contextual or notational gaps limit us to speculation about their status as musical contrafacta, this dissertation shows what can be gained by looking at contrafacta with probability designations from AAA to ABB, whose detailed notational, textual, and contextual information is already available. In so doing, it invites further studies on 'close' contrafacta, which in turn can extend our notions of contrafacture's functions, as well as develop our knowledge of musical networks that transcend historiographically imposed divisions. Such insights could also be extrapolated onto more tentative cases of contrafacta—repertoires with 'lost' melodies, or cases where musical

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<sup>394</sup> On the uniformity of Dominican chant in particular, see E. Giraud, *The Production and Notation of Dominican manuscripts in thirteenth-century Paris* (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2014).

contrafacture is questionable—thus enabling the informed application of melodies to unnotated songs for the sake of performance. With a better understanding of the conditions in which musical contrafacta were made, a more grounded *Kontrafakturjagd* can begin.

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# Contextualising the Contrafacta of Trouvère Song

vol. 2: Appendices

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Oxford



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## Appendix 1: Manuscript Tables

## 1. Dates and Provenances of Manuscripts discussed in the Dissertation

Source	Date	Provenance	Songs from diss.	Type of Musical Cue
<b>A-Gu 409</b>	c. 1200	St. Lambrecht	<i>Sol sub nube</i>	text
<b>CH-SGs 383</b>	before 1250	Lausanne Cathedral	<i>Sol sub nube</i>	musical notation
<b>D-B Phill Ms. 1996</b>	1150-1200		<i>Sol sub nube</i>	text
<b>Dg-D</b>	1270-80?	Thérouanne/ St.-Omer/ Arras	RS709a	musical notation
<b>Dg-M</b>	1266	Benedictine monastery at Morigny	RS885	musical notation
<b>Dg-o</b>	13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Paris	RS885	musical notation
<b>W1</b>	first half of 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	St. Andrew's Priory, Scotland	<i>Sol sub nube</i>	musical notation
<b>F-Lm 316</b>	1280-90	Lille	<i>Ave Gemma</i>	musical notation
<b>F-Pm 753</b>	1260-5	Tournai region	RS711	musical notation
<b>F-Pn lat. 4880</b>	14 <sup>th</sup> c.		<i>Sol sub nube</i>	text
<b>F-SOM 351</b>	early 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	St. Bertin Abbey, St. Omer	<i>Sol sub nube</i>	text
<b>GB-Ob Add.A.44</b>	early 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Wigmore, Herefordshire?	<i>Sol sub nube</i>	text
<b>F</b>	1240-50	Paris	<i>Sol sub nube</i>	musical notation
<b>TrouvA</b>	c. 1278	Arras	RS700, RS711 RS679	musical notation
<b>TrouvC</b>	late 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Metz	RS1227 RS711 RS679 RS711	empty staves & text
<b>TrouvD</b>	13 <sup>th</sup> c.		RS1097	musical notation [fragment]
<b>TrouvF</b>	13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Tournai/ Cambrai	RS711	musical notation
<b>TrouvI</b>	early 14 <sup>th</sup> c.	Lorraine (Metz?)	--	text
<b>TrouvK</b>	c.1260-70	Artois/Picardy	RS700, RS1227, RS1147, RS1097, RS1001 RS711, RS679 RS358	musical notation
<b>TrouvM</b>	after 1253	Artois (Arras?)	RS700 RS699 RS1227	musical notation musical notation musical notation

Appendix 1: Manuscript Tables—Dates and Provenances

			RS1097 RS711 RS679	musical notation empty staves & text musical notation
<b>TrouvN</b>	c. 1280	Artois/Picardy	RS700 [lost] RS1227, RS1097 RS1001, RS711 RS679 [lost] RS358	musical notation
<b>TrouvO</b>	c.1300- 1310	Burgundy	RS700, RS1227 RS1097, RS1001 RS711, RS679	musical notation
<b>TrouvP</b>	1270-80	Artois/Picardy	RS700, RS1001 RS711, RS679 RS358	musical notation
<b>TrouvR</b>	early 14 <sup>th</sup> c.	Artois	RS1227, RS711 RS679	musical notation
<b>TrouvT</b>	1280-90	Artois (Arras?)	RS700, RS699 RS1227, RS1097 RS679	musical notation
<b>TrouvU</b>	1231	Lorraine (Metz?)	RS700 RS1227 RS679	musical notation
<b>TrouvV</b>	c.1270	Artois	RS700, RS1227 RS1097, RS1001 RS711, RS679	musical notation
<b>TrouvX</b>	1270-80	Arras?	RS700, RS1227 RS1097, RS1001 RS711, RS679 RS358	musical notation
<b>TrouvZ</b>	c.1300	Artois/Picardy	RS1227, RS711	musical notation
<b>Trouva</b>	late 13 <sup>th</sup> / early 14 <sup>th</sup> c.	Artois	RS700 RS1227 [lost] RS711 RS679 [lost]	musical notation

\*Dates and provenances of trouvère chansonniers are taken from Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, ii; Stones, 'Some Northern French Chansonniers and their Cultural Context', pp. 169-87; M. Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1985), pp. 184-5 (**TrouvM**); Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères*, p. 21; and 'Sources, MS, §III: Secular monophony' in *Grove*. Dates for the Gautier manuscripts are from Stones, 'Notes on the Artistic Context'; dates for other manuscripts are taken from their respective catalogues.

## 1.1. Sources for Chapter 1

	<b>RS700</b>	<b>RS699</b>
<b>TrouvA</b>	fol. 153v-4r musical notation attr. Chastelain de Coucy	
<b>TrouvC</b>	fol. 149r-v empty staves with text overlay attr. Garnier D'Aiches	
<b>TrouvH</b>	fol. 217v text	
<b>TrouvK</b>	pp. 105-6 musical notation attr. Chastelain de Coucy	
<b>TrouvM</b>	fol. 52r-v musical notation attr. Chastelain de Coucy	fol. 97r-v musical notation attr. Hue de le Ferté
<b>TrouvN</b>	[lost]	
<b>TrouvO</b>	fol. 62r-v musical notation	
<b>TrouvP</b>	fol. 37v-38r musical notation attr. Chastelain de Coucy	
<b>TrouvT</b>	fol. 154r-v musical notation attr. Chastelain de Coucy	fol. 149v-150r musical notation attr. Hue de le Ferté
<b>TrouvU</b>	fol. 5v-6r musical notation	
<b>TrouvV</b>	fol. 79r-v musical notation	
<b>TrouvX</b>	fol. 75r-v musical notation attr. Chastelain de Coucy	
<b>Trouva</b>	fol. 12r-v musical notation	

## 1.2. Sources for Chapter 2

	<b>RS1227</b>	<b>RS1147</b>	<b>RS1097</b>
<b>TrouvC</b>	fol. 198v-199v attr. Blondel de Nesle empty staves with text underlay		
<b>TrouvD</b>			fragment no. 1
<b>TrouvH</b>	fol. 227v-228r, text		
<b>TrouvK</b>	pp. 105-6 musical notation attr. Blondel de Nesle	pp. 366-7 musical notation	pp. 39-41 musical notation
<b>TrouvM</b>	fol. 137r-v musical notation attr. Blondel de Nesle		fol. 70v-71r musical notation
<b>TrouvN</b>	fol. 40v-41v musical notation attr. Blondel de Nesle		[lost] musical notation
<b>TrouvO</b>	fol. 112v-113v musical notation		fol. 23v-24r musical notation
<b>TrouvR</b>	fol. 119v-120v musical notation		
<b>TrouvT</b>	fol. 86v-87r  musical notation attr. Blondel de Nesle		fol. 119v-120v musical notation
<b>TrouvU</b>	fol. 12v-13v musical notation		
<b>TrouvV</b>	fol. 114v-115r musical notation		fol. 20v-21r musical notation
<b>TrouvX</b>	fol. 77v-78r musical notation attr. Blondel de Nesle		fol. 39v-40v musical notation
<b>TrouvZ</b>	fol. 8r-v musical notation		
<b>Trouva</b>	fol. 87a [lost]		

## 1.3. Sources for Chapter 3

	RS885	<i>Sol sub nube</i>	RS1001
<b>A-Gu 409</b>		fol. 1r text	
<b>CH-SGs 383</b>		fol. 169r-170r musical notation (2 parts)	
<b>D-B Phill.Ms.1996</b>		fol. 292v text	
<b>D-LEu 225</b>		fol. 178v text	
<b>Dg-M</b>	fol. 103r musical notation		
<b>Dg-o</b>	fol. 145r-146r 'fake' musical notation, staves with square notes under text		
<b>F-Pn lat. 4880</b>		fol. 83v-84r text	
<b>F-SOM 351</b>		fol. 20r-20v text	
<b>GB-Lbl Royal 7.A.VI</b>		fol. 107v text	
<b>GB-Ob Add.A.44</b>		fol. 40r-80v text	
<b>F</b>		fol. 354v-355r musical notation (2 parts)	
<b>TrouvK</b>			pp. 125-6, musical notation attr. Thibaut de Blaison
<b>TrouvN</b>			fol. 74r-v, musical notation attr. Thibaut de Blaison musical notation
<b>TrouvP</b>			fol. 152v-153r musical notation
<b>TrouvO</b>			fol. 25v-26r musical notation

Appendix 1: Manuscript Tables—Chapter 3

	<b>RS885</b>	<b><i>Sol sub nube</i></b>	<b>RS1001</b>
<b>TrouvV</b>			fol. 81r-v musical notation
<b>TrouvX</b>			fol. 87v-88r musical notation attr. Thibaut de Blaison
<b>W1</b>		fol. 119v (110v)- 120r (111r) musical notation (2 parts)	

## 1.4 Sources for Chapter 4

	<b>RS711</b>	<b>RS709a</b>	<b><i>Ave Gemma</i></b>
<b>DG-D</b>		fol. 13r musical notation	
<b>F-Lm 316</b>			fol. 17r-v musical notation
<b>F-Pm 753</b>	fol. 290v (fragment) musical notation		
<b>TrouvA</b>	fol. 152r-v musical notation		
<b>TrouvB</b>	fol. 1r-v, musical notation		
<b>TrouvC</b>	fol. 229r-230r musical notation attr. Thibaut de Navarre		
<b>TrouvF</b>	fol. 104v-105v musical notation		
<b>TrouvK</b>	pp. 47-8 musical notation attr. Thibaut de Navarre		
<b>TrouvM</b>	fol. 74r-v (fragmentary) musical notation attr. Thibaut de Navarre		
<b>TrouvN</b>	fol. 13 (frag) musical notation		
<b>TrouvO</b>	fol. 137v-138r musical notation		
<b>TrouvP</b>	fol. 47r-48r musical notation attr. Thibaut de Navarre		
<b>TrouvR</b>	fol. 44v-45r musical notation		
<b>TrouvS</b>	fol. 230r, text		
<b>TrouvV</b>	fol. 24r-v musical notation		
<b>TrouvX</b>	fol. 36v-37v, musical notation attr. Thibaut de Navarre		
<b>TrouvZ</b>	fol. 2v-3r, musical notation		
<b>Trouva</b>	fol. 8v-9r, musical notation		

## 1.5 Sources for Chapter 5

	RS679	RS358
<b>TrouvA</b>	fol. 153r-v musical notation	
<b>TrouvC</b>	fol. 17v-18r empty staves with text underlay	
<b>TrouvK</b>	pp. 107-108 attr. Chastelain de Coucy musical notation	pp. 311-312 musical notation
<b>TrouvM</b>	fol. 52v-53r attr. Chastelain de Coucy musical notation	
<b>TrouvN</b>	[lost]	fol. 148r-v musical notation
<b>TrouvO</b>	fol. 4v-5r musical notation	
<b>TrouvP</b>	fol. 39r-40r attr. Chastelain de Coucy musical notation	fol. 162v-163r musical notation
<b>TrouvR</b>	fol. 119r-v musical notation	
<b>TrouvT</b>	fol. 155r attr. Chastelain de Coucy musical notation	
<b>TrouvU</b>	fol. 19v-20r musical notation	
<b>TrouvV</b>	fol. 80r musical notation	
<b>TrouvX</b>	fol. 76v-77r attr. Chastelain de Coucy musical notation	fol. 197r-v musical notation
<b>Trouva</b>	[lost]	
<b>F-Lm f.g. 50</b>	vv. 7347-90 lyric interpolation (no notation or staves)	
<b>22 MSS for <i>La Chastelaine de Vergi</i></b>	vv. 295-302 lyric interpolation (no notation or staves) For the sources, see <a href="http://www.arlima.net/ad/chastelaine_de_vergi.html">http://www.arlima.net/ad/chastelaine_de_vergi.html</a>	
<b>4 MSS for <i>Le roman de la violette</i></b>	vv. 4624-31 lyric interpolation (no notation or staves) For the sources, see <a href="https://www.arlima.net/eh/gerbert_de_montreuil.html">https://www.arlima.net/eh/gerbert_de_montreuil.html</a>	

## Appendix 2.1: Musical Transcriptions for Chapter 1

### 2.1a. Comparative Transcription of RS700 and RS699 by Pitch

T: RS699  
C2  
1. Je chan - tais - se vo - len - tiers li - e - ment

T: RS700  
C2  
1. Je chan - tais - se vo - len - tiers li - e - ment

A: RS700  
C4 C3  
1. De kan - tais - se vo - len - tiers li - e - ment

U: RS700  
C4  
1. Je chan - tes - se vo - len tiers li - e - mant

M: RS700  
C4  
1. Je chan - tais - se vo - len - tiers li - e - ment

M: RS699  
C3  
1. Je chan - tas - se vo - len - tiers li - e - ment

O: RS700  
C2 C4  
1. Je chan - tas - se vo - len - tiers li - e - ment

K: RS700  
C2  
1. Je chan - tais - se vo - len - tiers li - e - ment

X: RS699  
C2 C3  
1. Je chan - tas - se vo - len - tiers li - e - ment

P: RS700  
C2  
1. Je chan - tas - se vo - len - tiers li - e - ment

V: RS700  
C4  
1. Je chan - tas - se vo - len - tiers li - e - ment

Appendix 2.1a: Comparative transcription of RS700 and RS699

T: RS699  
2.se je trou - vais - se en mon cuer l'o - coison ✓ C3

T: RS700  
2.se je trou - vais - se en mon cuer l'o - coi - son

A: RS700  
2.se je trou- vais - se en mon cuer la koi - son ✓

U: RS700  
2.se j'entrou- vas - se en mon cuer la choi son ✓

M: RS700  
2.se j'entrou- vais - se en mon cuer l'o - choi son ✓

M: RS699  
2.se j'entrou- vais - se en mon cuer l'o - choi son ✓

O: RS700  
2.se j'entrou - vas - se en mon\_ cuerla choi son ✓

K: RS700  
2.se s'en trou - vais - se en mon.cuer la che - son ✓

X: RS699  
2.se g'en trou - vasse se en mon.cuer la chai - son ✓

P: RS700  
2.se j'en trou - vas - se en mon.cuer la che - son ✓

V: RS700  
2.se j'en trou- vas - se en mon cuerla choi son C3

Appendix 2.1a: Comparative transcription of RS700 and RS699

The image displays a comparative transcription of musical scores for RS700 and RS699 across eleven different parts: T: RS699, T: RS700, A: RS700, U: RS700, M: RS700, M: RS699, O: RS700, K: RS700, X: RS699, P: RS700, and V: RS700. Each part consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The lyrics are: "3. et des - is - se et l'es - tre et l'er - re - ment" for T: RS699 and M: RS699; "3. mais [je] ne puis di - re se je ne ment" for T: RS700, A: RS700, O: RS700, K: RS700, X: RS699, P: RS700, and V: RS700; "3. mes je ne puis di - re se je ne mant" for U: RS700, M: RS700, and K: RS700; and "3. mes je ne puis di - re se je ne ment" for U: RS700, M: RS700, O: RS700, K: RS700, X: RS699, P: RS700, and V: RS700. The piano accompaniment lines include various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like C2, C3, and C4. The lyrics are written below the vocal lines, and the piano accompaniment lines are written below the vocal lines.

T: RS699  
3. et des - is - se et l'es - tre et l'er - re - ment

T: RS700  
3. mais [je] ne puis di - re se je ne ment

A: RS700  
3. mais jou ne puis di - re se jou ne ment

U: RS700  
3. mes je ne puis di - re se je ne mant

M: RS700  
3. mes je ne puis di - re se je ne ment

M: RS699  
3. et de - is - se et l'es - tre et l'er re - ment

O: RS700  
3. mes je ne puis di - re se je ne ment

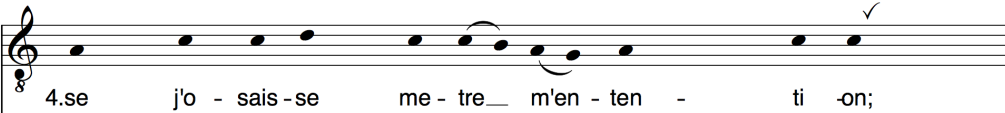
K: RS700  
3. mes je ne puis di - re se je ne ment


X: RS699  
3. mes je ne puis di - re se je ne ment


P: RS700  
3. mes je ne puis di - re se je ne ment


V: RS700  
3. mes je ne puis di - re se je ne ment


Appendix 2.1a: Comparative transcription of RS700 and RS699


T: RS699  4.se j'o - sais - se me - tre\_\_ m'en - ten - ti - on;


T: RS700  4.kai - e d'a mours nu - le\_\_ riens s'i - re non;


A: RS700  4.kai - e d'a mours nu - le\_\_ riens s'i - re non;

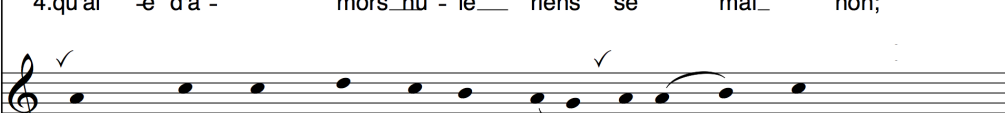
U: RS700  F2 4.k'ai - e d'a - mors\_\_nu - le rien\_ s'i - re non;


M: RS700  4.qu'ai - e d'a - mors\_\_nu - le rienz se mal non;

M: RS699  4.se j'o sais - se [me - tre]\_\_ m'en - ten - ti - on;

O: RS700  C4 4.qu'ai e d'a - mors\_\_nu - le\_\_ riensse bien\_ non;

K: RS700  4.qu'ai - e d'a - mors\_\_nu - le\_\_ riens se mal\_ non;

X: RS699  4.qu'ai - e d'a mors\_\_nu - le\_\_ riens se mal\_\_ non;

P: RS700  4.qu'ai - e d'a mors\_\_nu - le\_\_ riens se bien\_\_ non;

V: RS700  C3 4.qu'ai - e d'a mours nu - le\_\_ rienz se mal\_ non

Appendix 2.1a: Comparative transcription of RS700 and RS699

T: RS699  
5.de la grant cort de Fran - ce'au douc re - non

T: RS700  
5.pour cou ne puis fai-re li - e kan - con.

A: RS700  
5.pour ne puis fai-re li - e kan - con.

U: RS700  
5.por ceu ne puis fai-re li - e chan - con

M: RS700  
5.pour ce n'en puis fai-re li - e chan - con

M: RS699  
5.de la grantcort de France'au douz re - nom

O: RS700  
5.por ce ne puis fai-re li - e chan con

K: RS700  
5.pour ce ne puis fe-re li - e chan-con C1

X: RS699  
5.pour ce ne puis fai-re li - e chan-con  
text/music of lines 3-4 repeated here erroneously

P: RS700  
5.por ce ne puis fai-re li - e chan-con

V: RS700  
5.por ceu n'en puis fe-re li - e chan-son

Appendix 2.1a: Comparative transcription of RS700 and RS699

The image displays a comparative transcription of musical scores for RS700 and RS699 across nine different parts: T, A, U, M, O, K, X, P, and V. Each part is represented by a staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes. The scores are grouped into three color-coded sections: a red box for parts T, RS699, T, RS700, and A, RS700; a blue box for parts U, RS700, M, RS700, M, RS699, and O, RS700; and a green box for parts K, RS700, X, RS699, P, RS700, and V, RS700. The lyrics for each part are as follows:

- T: RS699:** 6.ou tou - te va - lors se baig - ne
- T: RS700:** 6.k'a - mors le me\_\_\_ des en- - saig - ne ne
- A: RS700:** 6.k'a - mours le me\_\_\_ desen - seig - ne
- U: RS700:** 6.qu'a - mors lo me\_\_\_ des - en - seig - ne
- M: RS700:** 6.qu'a - mours le me\_\_\_ des - en seig - ne
- M: RS699:** 6.ou tou te va - lors se baig - ne
- O: RS700:** 6.qu'a - mours le\_\_\_ me\_\_\_ des en- - saig - - ne
- K: RS700:** 6.qu'a - mours\_\_\_ le\_\_\_ me\_\_\_ des en- - saig - - ne
- X: RS699:** 6.qu'a - mours\_\_\_ le\_\_\_ me\_\_\_ des en- - saig - - ne
- P: RS700:** 6.qu'a - mours\_\_\_ le\_\_\_ me\_\_\_ des en- - saig - - ne
- V: RS700:** 6.qu'a - mors le me\_\_\_ des - en - seigne

Appendix 2.1a: Comparative transcription of RS700 and RS699

T: RS699  
 7.des pro - dom-es me lo qui ke s'em plaig - ne

T: RS700  
 7.ki veut ke j'aim et velt ke\_ j'a - taig - ne

A: RS700  
 7.ki veut ke j'aim et ne veut ke j'a - teig - ne

U: RS700  
 F2  
 7.qui veut que j'aim ne ne veut que j'a - taig - ne

M: RS700  
 F2  
 7.qui veut que j'aim et ne veut que j'a - taig - ne

M: RS699  
 C3 C4  
 7.des pro - dom-es me lo qui que s'en plaig - ne

O: RS700  
 C2 C4  
 7.qui veut que j'aing et ne veut que j'a - teig - ne

K: RS700  
 7.qui veut que l'aim et ne veut que je teig - ne

X: RS699  
 7.qui veut que l'aim et ne veut que je teig - ne

P: RS700  
 C2  
 7.qui veut que l'aim et ne veut que je teig - ne

V: RS700  
 7.qui veut que j'aing et ne veut que j'a - taig - ne

Appendix 2.1a: Comparative transcription of RS700 and RS699

T: RS699  
8.dont tant ja ki\_\_\_ bien por-ront veoir\_\_\_\_\_ 9.par\_\_\_\_\_

T: RS700  
8.en - si me\_\_\_ tient\_\_\_ a - mours endes es poir\_\_\_\_\_

A: RS700  
8.en - si me\_\_\_ tient\_\_\_ a mours en deses- poir\_\_\_\_\_

U: RS700  
8.ein - si me tient\_\_\_ a - mant en des - es - poir\_\_\_\_\_ C3

M: RS700  
8.ein -sint me\_\_\_ tient\_\_\_ a - moursen des - es - poir\_\_\_\_\_ F2 C3

M: RS699  
8.dont tant ja qui\_\_\_ bien por-ront ve -oir\_\_\_\_\_ C2

O: RS700  
8.en si mes tuet mo - rir en des-es - poir\_\_\_\_\_ C3

K: RS700  
8.en - si me\_\_\_ tient\_\_\_ a - moursen des - es - poir\_\_\_\_\_

X: RS699  
8.en - si me\_\_\_ tient\_\_\_ a - moursen des - es - poir\_\_\_\_\_ C2 C1

P: RS700  
8.en - si me\_\_\_ tient\_\_\_ a - moursen des - es - poir\_\_\_\_\_ C1

V: RS700  
8.ain - si me\_\_\_ tient\_\_\_ a - moursen des - es - poir\_\_\_\_\_

Appendix 2.1a: Comparative transcription of RS700 and RS699

T: RS699  9.tans je quit lor sens et lor sa - voir

T: RS700  9.ke ne mo - chist ne ne laist joi - e a - voir

A: RS700  9.ke ne mo - cist ne me laist joi e a - - voir

U: RS700  9.que ne mo - cit ne ne lait joi e a - - voir

M: RS700  9.que ne mo - cist ne me lait joi e a - - voir

M: RS699  9.ce quit partans lor sens et. lor sa voir

O: RS700  9.quel ne mo - cit ne ne lait joi - e a - voir

K: RS700  9.quel ne mo - cit ne ne let joi - e a - voir

X: RS699  9.quel ne mo - cit ne ne let joi - e a - voir

P: RS700  9.quel ne mo - cit ne ne let joi - e a - voir

V: RS700  9.que ne mo - cit ne ne let joi - e a - voir

## 2.1b. Transcription of RS700 from TrouvT, fol. 154r-v

Syllable

Poetic Line

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

C2

1 Je chan - tais - se\_\_\_ vo - len - tiers\_\_\_ li - e - ment,\_\_\_

2 et je tro - vais - se ens mon\_\_\_ cuer\_\_\_ l'o - choi - son;

3 mais [je] ne puis di - re\_\_\_ se\_\_\_ je ne ment,

C3

4 k'ai - e d'a - mours nu - le riens s'i - re non.

5 pour - cou ne puis fai - re\_\_\_ li - e can - con,

6 k'a - mors le me\_\_\_ des - en - seig - ne,

7 ki\_\_\_ veut ke j'aim et\_\_\_ [ne]velt ke j'at - tai - gne,

8 en - si me\_\_\_ tient\_\_\_ a - mors en des - es - poir,\_\_\_

9 ke ne mo - chist ne ne laist joi - e a - voir.

## 2.1c. Transcription of RS699 from TrouvT, fol. 149v-150r

Syllable

Poetic Line

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1 C2

1. Je chan - tais - se vo - len - tiers li - e - ment,  
 2. De ma da - me vos di je vrai - e - ment  
 3. Se ma da - me fust ne - e de Pa - ris

2 C3

1. se je trou - vais - se ens mon cuer l'o - coi - son;  
 2. k'e - le aim - e tant son pe - tit en - fan - çon;  
 3. et e - le fust ro - i - ne par rai - son;

3

1. et des - is - se et l'es - tre et l'er re - ment,  
 2. ke - ne velt pas qu'il se tra - vaut sou - vent  
 3. s'a e - le as - sez fier cuer, c'est m'est a - vis,

4

1. se j'o - sais - se me - tre m'en - ten - ti - on;  
 2. en de - par - tir l'a - voir de sa ma - son;  
 3. por fai - re hon - te a un bien haut ba - ron

5

1. de la grant cort de Fran ce'au douc re - non,  
 2. maiz e - le en do - ne et de - part a fui - son;  
 3. et d'a - le - ver un tra - i - tor fe - lon.

6

1. ou tou - te va - lors se baig - ne;  
 2. molt en en - voi - e en Es - paig - ne  
 3. Deus on ce point la man - taig - ne

7

1. des pro - dom - es me lo qui ke s'em plaig - ne,  
 2. et molt en met en es - for - chi - er Com - paigne  
 3. et gart son fill, ke ja fe - me ne preg - ne;

8

1. dont tant ja ki bien por - ront ve - oir,  
 2. s'en fait fer - mer chas - tiaus pour mieus va - loir;  
 3. car par ho - me ne puis je pas ve - oir

9

1. par tans je quit lor sens et lor sa - voir.  
 2. de tant sunt ja par li cre - u si oir.  
 3. k'e - le per - de ja - mais son grant po - oir.

### 2.1d. Comparative Transcription of RS700 and RS699 in MT

**Phrase 1: 1. Je chan - tais - se vo - len - tiers li - e - ment**

**T: RS700** (C2)  
 1. Je chan - tais - se vo - len - tiers li - e - ment

**T: RS699** (C2)  
 1. Je chan - tais - se vo - len - tiers li - e - ment

**M: RS700** (C4)  
 1. Je chan - tais - se vo - len - tiers li - e - ment

**M: RS699** (C3)  
 1. Je chan - tas - se vo - len - tiers li - e - ment

**Phrase 2: 2. se je trou - vais - se en mon\_ cuer\_ l'o - coi - son**

**T: RS700**  
 2. se je trou - vais - se en mon\_ cuer\_ l'o - coi - son

**T: RS699** (C3)  
 2. se je trou - vais - se ens mon\_ cuer\_ l'o - coi - son

**M: RS700**  
 2. se je trou - vais - se en mon\_ cuer\_ l'o - choi son

**M: RS699**  
 2. se je trou - vais - se en mon\_ cuer\_ l'o - choi son

Appendix 2.1d: Comparative Transcription of RS700 and RS699 in MT

T: RS700  
 3.mais [je] ne puis di - re<sup>C3</sup> se je ne ment

T: RS699  
 3.et des - is - se et l'es - tre et l'er re - ment

M: RS700  
 3.mes je ne puis di - re se je ne ment

M: RS699  
 3.et de - is - se et l'es - tre et l'er re - ment

T: RS700  
 4.kai - e d'a - mours nu - le riens s'i - re non;

T: RS699  
 4.se j'o - sais - se me - tre m'en - ten - ti - on;

M: RS700  
 4.qu'ai - e d'a - mours nu - le rienz se mal non;

M: RS699  
 4.se j'o - sais - se [me - tre] m'en - ten - ti - on;

Appendix 2.1d: Comparative Transcription of RS700 and RS699 in MT

T: RS700  
5.pour cou ne puis fai - re li - e kan - con.

T: RS699  
5.de la grant cort de Fran- ce'au douc re - non

M: RS700  
5.pour ce n'en puis fai - re li - e chan - con

M: RS699  
5.de la grant court de Fran- ce'au douz re - nom

T: RS700  
6.k'a - mors le me des - en - saig - ne

T: RS699  
6.ou tou - te va - lors se baig - ne

M: RS700  
6.qu'a - mors le me des - en - seig - ne

M: RS699  
6.ou tou - te va - lors se baig - ne

Appendix 2.1d: Comparative Transcription of RS700 and RS699 in MT

T: RS700  
 7.ki\_\_ veut ke j'aim et velt ke\_\_ j'a - taig - ne

T: RS699  
 7.des\_\_ pro-dom - es me lo qui ke s'em plaig - ne

M: RS700  
 F2  
 7.qui\_\_ veut que j'aim et ne veut\_\_ que j'a taig - ne

M: RS699  
 C3  
 7.des\_\_ pro-dom - es me lo qui que s'en plaig - ne

T: RS700  
 8.en - si me\_\_ tient\_\_ a-mours en des - es - poir\_\_

T: RS699  
 8.dont tant ja ki\_\_ bien por-ront ve - oir\_\_

M: RS700  
 F2  
 8.ein -sint me\_\_ tient\_\_ a-mours en des - es - poir\_\_

M: RS699  
 C2  
 8.dont tant ja qui\_\_ bien por-ront ve - oir\_\_

T: RS700  
 9.ke ne mo - chist ne ne laist joi - e a - voir

T: RS699  
 9.par\_\_ tans je\_\_ quit lor sens et lor\_\_ sa - voir

M: RS700  
 9.que ne mo - cist ne me lait joi - e a - voir\_\_

M: RS699  
 C3  
 9.ce quit par tans lor sens et\_\_ lor\_\_ sa voir\_\_

**2.1e. Comparative Transcription of RS700 in TrouvA and TrouvV and RS1887 in TrouvV**

A: RS700  
 1. De kan - tais - se vo - len - tiers li - e - ment

V: RS700  
 1. Je chan - tas - se vo - len - tiers li - e - ment

V: RS1887  
 1. On ne por - roit de mau - ve - se re - son

2. se je trou vais - se en mon - cuer la koi - son 3. mais jou ne puis

2. se j'en trou vas - se en mon - cuer la choi - son 3. mes je ne puis

2. bon - ne chan - con ne fe - re ne chan - ter 3. pour ce ni - vueil

di - re se - jou ne ment 4. kai - e d'a mours nu - le - riens s'i -

di - re se - je ne - ment 4. qu'ai - e d'a mours nu - le - rienz se

me - tre m'en - ten - ci - on 4. que - je as - sez au - tre cho - se a

Appendix 2.1e: Comparative Transcription of RS700 and RS1887

re non; 5.pour ne puis... fai - re... li - e... kan - con.  
mal... non 5.por ceun'en puis... fe - re... li - e... chan-son  
pen - ser 5.et non - pour - quant la ter - re d'ou - tre-mer  
6.k'a - mours le me... des en seig - ne 7.ki... veut ke j'aim et  
6.qu'a- mors le me... des- en - seigne 7.qui... veut que j'aing et  
6.voi en si tres... grant ba - lan - ce... 7.qu'a join - tes mainz proi -  
ne veut ke j'a - teig - ne 8.en - si me\_ tient... a mours en des  
ne veut que j'a taig - ne 8.ain - si me\_ tient... a - mours en des  
e on le... roy.de Fran-ce 8.qu'il ne\_croi - e... cou - art ne lo -  
es poir... 9.ke ne mo - cist ne me laist joi - e a - voir...  
es - poir... 9.que ne mo - cit ne ne let joi - e a - voir...  
sen - gier 9.de sa... hon - te ne de la... Dieu ven - gier.

## Appendix 2.2: Musical Transcriptions for Chapter 2

### 2.2a. Comparative Trans. of RS1227, RS1147, and RS1097

The image displays a comparative musical transcription of three songs: RS1227, RS1147, and RS1097. Each song is represented by a staff with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes. Red boxes highlight specific musical phrases in each staff, which correspond to the lyrics 'or de ma vi - e' and '2. et je mains' (or '2. et je doi' in some versions). The staves are labeled with their respective keys: C4, C3, C2, C5, C3, C4, C3, C4, C3, C4, C3, C4, C3, C4, C3, C4, C3, C4.

**RS1147 (K):** 1. Gent de Fran - ce, mult es - tes es - ba hi - e; 2. je di - a touz ceus qui sont nez des fiez;

**RS1227 (K):** 1. Quant je plus sui en po - or de ma vi - e 2. et je mains doi par re - son es - tre liez,

**RS1227 (N):** 1. Quant je plus sui en po - or de ma vi - e 2. et je mains doi par re - sons es - tre liez,

**RS1227 (X):** 1. Quant je plus sui en pa - or de ma vi - e 2. et je mains doi par rai - son es - tre liez,

**RS1227 (O):** 1. Quant je plus sui en pa - our de ma vi - e 2. et je mains doi par rai - son es - tre liez,

**RS1227 (U):** 1. Quant je plus sui en pa - or de ma vi - e 2. et je doi mains par rai - son es - tre liez,

**RS1227 (T):** 1. Quant je plus sui en pa - our de ma vi - e 2. et je mains doi par rai - son es - tre liez,

**RS1227 (M):** 1. Quant je pluz sui en pa - our de ma vi - e 2. et je mieuz doi par rai - son es - tre iriez,

**RS1227 (Z):** 1. Quant je pluz sui en pa - our de ma vi - e 2. et je mains doi par rai - son es - tre liez,

**RS1227 (R):** 1. Quant je plus sui en pa - our de ma mi - e 2. et je mains doi par rai - son es - tre liez,

**RS1227 (V):** 1. Quant je pluz sui en po - our de ma vi - e 2. et je mains doi par rai - son es - tre [liez],

**RS1097 (K):** 1. Cuens je vous part un gieu par a - a ti - e: 2. et si m'en met seur vos - tre ju - ge - ment.

**RS1097 (X):** 1. Cuens je vos part un gieu par a - a ti - e: 2. et si m'en met sur vos - tre ju - ge - ment.

**RS1097 (M):** 1. Cuens je vos part un geu par a - a ti - e: 2. et si m'en met sus vos - tre ju - ge - ment.

**RS1097 (O):** 1. Cuens je vos part un jeu par a - hai - ti - e: 2. et si m'en met sor vos - tre ju - ge - ment.

**RS1097 (V):** 1. Cuens je vos part un geu par a - hai - ti - e: 2. et si m'en met sor vos - tre ju - ge - ment.

## Appendix 2.2a: Comparative Transcription of RS1227, RS1147, RS1097

K: RS1147  
 3.si m'a - it\_ Deus, franc n'es - tes\_ vous\_ mes mi - e;\_ 4.mult\_ vous\_ a l'en\_ de fran - chi - se en - loi - gniez,

K: RS1227  
 3.lors m'i se - mont ma vo - len - te\_ et pri - e\_ 4.et\_ fi - ne a - mors que je\_ soi - e en - voi - siez.

N: RS1227  
 3.lors m'i se - mont ma vo - len - te\_ et pri - e\_ 4.et\_ fi - ne a - mour que je\_ soi - e en - voi - siez.

X: RS1227  
 3.lors m'i se - mont ma vo - len - te\_ et pri - e\_ 4.et\_ fi - ne a - mor que je\_ soi - e en - voi - siez.

O: RS1227  
 3.lors me se - mont ma vo - len - te\_ et pri - e\_ 4.et\_ fi - ne a - mour que je\_ soi - e en - voi - siez.

U: RS1227  
 2.lors me se - mont ma vo - len - tez\_ et pri - e\_ 4.et\_ fin\_ a - mor que je\_ soi - e en - voi - siez.

T: RS1227  
 3.lors me se - mont ma vo - len - tes\_ et pri - e\_ 4.et\_ fi - ne a - mors ke je\_ soi - e en - voi - sies.

M: RS1227  
 3.lors me se - mont ma vo - len - tes\_ et pri - e\_ 4.et\_ fi - ne a - mours que je\_ soi - e en - voi - siez.

Z: RS1227  
 3.dont m'i se - mont ma vo - len - tes\_ et pri - e\_ 4.et\_ fi - ne a - mours que je\_ soi - e en - voi - siez.

R: RS1227  
 3.lors m'i se - mont ma vo - len - tes\_ et pri - e\_ 4.et\_ fi - ne a - mour que je\_ soi - e en - voi - sies.

V: RS1227  
 3.lors m'i se - mont ma vo - len - tes\_ et pri - e\_ 4.et\_ fi - ne a - mour que je\_ soi - e en - voi - siez.

K: RS1097  
 3.Dui che - va - lier ai - ment\_ chas - cuns\_ s'a - mi - e: 4.li\_ uns\_ des deus ai - me\_ mult\_ loi - au - ment

X: RS1097  
 3.Dui che - va - lier ai - ment\_ chas - cuns\_ s'a - mi - e: 4.li\_ uns\_ des deus ai - me\_ mult\_ loi - au - ment

M: RS1097  
 3.Dui che - va - lier ai - ment\_ chas - cuns\_ s'a - mi e: 4.li\_ uns\_ des deus ai - me\_ mult\_ loi - au - ment

O: RS1097  
 3.Dui che - va - lier ai - ment\_ chas - cuns\_ s'a - mi - e: 4.li\_ uns\_ des dous ai - me\_ mout\_ le - au - ment

V: RS1097  
 3.Dui che - va - lier ai - ment\_ chas - cuns\_ s'a - mi e: 4.li\_ uns\_ des deus ai - me\_ mult\_ loi - au - ment

## Appendix 2.2a: Comparative Transcription of RS1227, RS1147, RS1097

K: RS1147  
5.car vous es - tes par en - que - ste ju - giez. 6.Quant def - fens - se ne vos puet fe - re a - i - e

K: RS1227  
5.s'e - le m'o - cit, siens en iert li pe - chiez; 6.trop a douz non pour fe - re vi - la - ni - e;

N: RS1227  
5.s'e - le m'o - cit, siens en ert li pe - chiez; 6.trop a douz non pour fe - re vi - la - ni - e;

X: RS1227  
5.s'e - le m'o - cit, siens en ert li pe - chiez; 6.trop a douz non pour fai - re vi - la - ni - e;

O: RS1227  
5.s'e - le m'o - cist, suens en iert li pe - chiez; 6.trop a va - lour por fai - re vi - la - ni - e;

U: RS1227  
5.s'e - le m'o - cit, siens en iert li pe - chiez; 6.trop a douz non por fai - re vi - le - ni - e;

T: RS1227  
5.s'e - le m'o - chist, siens en iert li pe - chiez; 6.trop a doo non por fai - re vi - lo - ni - e;

M: RS1227  
5.s'e - le m'o - cit, suens en iert li pe - chiez; 6.trop a douz nom por fai - re vi - le - ni - e;

Z: RS1227  
5.s'e - le m'o - cit, suens en iert li pe - chiez; 6.trop a douz nom por fai - re vi - le - ni - e;

R: RS1227  
5.s'e - le m'o - cit, siens en ert li pe - chies; 6.trop a douz nom por fai - re vi - lou - ni - e;

V: RS1227  
5.s'e - le m'o - cit, suens en iert li pe - chiez; 6.trop a douz nom por fai - re vi - le - ni - e;

K: RS1097  
5.et li au - tres gui - le mult du - re - ment. 6.Li quels tret pis se deus vous be - ne - i - e,

X: RS1097  
5.et li au - tres gui - le mult du - re - ment. 6.Li quels trait pis se deus vos be - ne - i - e,

M: RS1097  
5.et li au - tres gui - le mult du - re - ment. 6.Li queus vaut pis se deus vos be - ne - i - e,

O: RS1097  
5.et li au - tres gui - le mult du - re - ment. 6.Li quels trait pis se deus vos be - ne - i - e,

V: RS1097  
5.et li au - tres gui - le mult du - re - ment. 6.Li quels trait pis se deus vos be - ne - i - e,

Appendix 2.2a: Comparative Transcription of RS1227, RS1147, RS1097

K: RS1147  
7.trop i es - tes cru - el - ment en - gi - gniez.

K: RS1227  
7.et se je sui par mes euz tra - veil - liez,

N: RS1227  
7.et se je sui par mes euz tra - veil - liez,

X: RS1227  
7.et se je sui par mes euz tra - vail - liez,

O: RS1227  
7.et se je sui par mes eulz tra - vail - liez,

U: RS1227  
7.et se je sui par mes euz tra - vail - liez,

T: RS1227  
7.mais se je sui par mes ieus tra - vail - lies,

M: RS1227  
7.mais se je sui par mes ieus tra - veil - lies,

Z: RS1227  
7.mais se je sui par mes ieus tra - veil - lies,

R: RS1227  
7.et se je sui par mes iolz tra - vil - lies,

V: RS1227  
7.et se je sui par mes ieus tra - veil - liez,

K: RS1097  
7.ou li loi - aus, ou cil qui tri - che et ment

X: RS1097  
7.ou li loi - aus, ou cil qui tri - che et ment

M: RS1097  
7.ou li loi - aus, ou cil qui trich - e et ment

O: RS1097  
7.ou le - aux hons ou cil qui tri - che et ment

V: RS1097  
7.ou li loi - aus, ou cil qui tri - che et ment

Appendix 2.2a: Comparative Transcription of RS1227, RS1147, RS1097

The image displays a comparative transcription of three musical sources: RS1147, RS1227, and RS1097. The score is organized into three main sections, each with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The first section (measures 8-10) is for the vocal parts K, N, X, O, U, T, M, Z, R, and V. The second section (measures 9-10) is for the vocal parts K, X, M, O, and V. The third section (measures 9-10) is for the vocal parts K, X, M, O, and V. A red box highlights the first two staves, K: RS1147 and K: RS1227, which show the initial part of the first section. The lyrics are in French and are transcribed below the musical notation. The notation includes notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as accents (v) and fermatas (F3).

**Section 1 (Measures 8-10):**

- K: RS1147:** 8.a touz pri, dou - ce Fran - ce 9.n'a - piaut l'en plus en - si;
- K: RS1227:** 8.dont la vi 9.qu'en doi j'a - li 10.de - man - der fors mer - ci?
- N: RS1227:** 8.dont la vi 9.qu'en doi je a - li 10.de - man - der fors mer - ci?
- X: RS1227:** 8.dont la vi 9.qu'en doi j'a - li 10.de - man - der fors mer - ci?
- O: RS1227:** 8.dont la vi 9.qu'en doi je - li 10.de - man - der fors mer - ci?
- U: RS1227:** 8.dont la vi 9.qu'en doi je - li 10.de - man - der fors mer - ci?
- T: RS1227:** 8.dont la vi 9.qu'en doi je - li 10.de - man - der fors mer - chi?
- M: RS1227:** 8.dont la vi 9.qu'en doi je - li 10.de - man - der fors mer - ci?
- Z: RS1227:** 8.dont la vi 9.qu'en doi je - li 10.de - man - der fors mer - ci?
- R: RS1227:** 8.dont la vi 9.qu'en doi je a - li 10.de - man - der fors mer - ci?
- V: RS1227:** 8.dont la vi 9.qu'en doi je - li 10.de - man - der fors mer - ci?

**Section 2 (Measures 9-10):**

- K: RS1097:** 8.et de - coit? 9.di - tes m'en droit, 10.si - re, tout o - ren - droit.
- X: RS1097:** 8.et de - coit? 9.di - tes m'en droit, 10.si - re, tout o - ren - droit.
- M: RS1097:** 8.et de - coit? 9.di - tes m'en droit, 10.si - re, tot o - ren - droit.
- O: RS1097:** 8.et de - coit? 9.di - tes m'en donc, 10.si - re, tot o - ren - droit.
- V: RS1097:** 8.et de - coit? 9.di - tes m'en droit, 10.si - re, tout o - ren - droit.

## Appendix 2.2a: Comparative Transcription of RS1227, RS1147, RS1097

K: RS1147  
 11.an - cois ait non: le Pa - is aus Sou - gnez, 12.u - ne ter - re a - cu - ver - tie,

K: RS1227  
 11.puis que par mi sui de joi - e es - loi - gniez, 12.je ne m'en doi plain - dre mi - e;

N: RS1227  
 11.puis que par mi sui de joi - e es - loi - gniez, 12.je ne m'en doi plain - dre mi - e;

X: RS1227  
 11.puis que par mi sui de joi - e es - loi - gniez, 12.je ne m'en doi plain - dre mi - e;

O: RS1227  
 11.puis que par moi sui de joi - e es - loi - gniez, 12.je ne m'en doi plain - dre mi - e;

U: RS1227  
 11.pues que par moi sui de joi - e es - loi - gniez, 12.je ne m'en doi plain - dre mi - e;

T: RS1227  
 11.puis ke par moi sui de joi - e es - lon - gies, 12.je ne m'en doi plain - dre mi - e;

M: RS1227  
 11.puiz que par moi sui de joi - e es - loi - gnies, 12.je ne m'en doi plain - dre mi - e;

Z: RS1227  
 11.puiz que par moi sui de joi - e es - loi - gniez, 12.je ne m'en doi plain - dre mi - e;

R: RS1227  
 11.puiz que par mi sui de joi - e es - loi - gniez, 12.je ne m'en doi plain - dre mi - e;

V: RS1227  
 11.puiz que par mi sui de joi - e es - loi - gniez, 12.je ne m'en doi mi - e plain - dre;

K: RS1097  
 11.Et si pre - nez l'un des deus main - te - nant, 12.et j'av - rai l'au - tre par - ti - e.

X: RS1097  
 11.Et si pre - nes l'un des deus main - te - nant, 12.et j'av - rai l'au - tre par - ti - e.

M: RS1097  
 11.Et si pre - nes l'un des dous main - te - nant, 12.et j'av - rai l'au - tre par - ti - e.

O: RS1097  
 11.Et si pre - nes l'un des dous main - te - nant, 12.et j'av - rai l'au - tre par - ti - e.

V: RS1097  
 11.Et si pre - nes l'un des deus main - te - nant, 12.et j'av - rai l'au - tre par - ti - e.

## Appendix 2.2a: Comparative Transcription of RS1227, RS1147, RS1097

K: RS1147  
 13.le raig - ne<sub>as</sub> des - con - seil - liez, qui en maint cas sont for - ciez.\_\_\_\_

K: RS1227  
 13.con - ment qu'ai - e<sub>es</sub> - te i - riez, 14.dou - ce - ment sui en - gi - - gniez.\_\_\_\_

N: RS1227  
 13.con - ment qu'ai - e<sub>es</sub> - te i - riez, 14.dou - ce - ment sui en - gi - - gniez.\_\_\_\_

X: RS1227  
 13.con - ment qu'ai - e<sub>es</sub> - te i - riez, 14.dou - ce - ment sui en - gi - - gniez.\_\_\_\_

O: RS1227  
 13.co - ment qu'ai - e<sub>es</sub> - te i - riez, 14.dou - ce - ment sui en - gi - - gniez.\_\_\_\_

U: RS1227  
 13.co - ment k'ai - e<sub>es</sub> - te i - riez, 14.dol - ce - ment sui en - gi - - gniez.\_\_\_\_

T: RS1227  
 13.co - ment k'ai - e<sub>es</sub> - te i - riez, 14.do - ce - ment sui en - gi - - gnies.\_\_\_\_

M: RS1227  
 13.co - ment qu'ai - e<sub>es</sub> - te i - riez, 14.dou - ce - ment sui en - gi - - gniez.\_\_\_\_

Z: RS1227  
 13.co - ment qu'ai - e<sub>es</sub> - te i - riez, 14.dou - ce - ment sui en - gi - - gniez.\_\_\_\_

R: RS1227  
 13.co - ment qu'ai - e<sub>es</sub> - te i - riez, 14.do - ce - ment sui en - gi - - gnies.\_\_\_\_

V: RS1227  
 13.con - ment qu'ai - e<sub>es</sub> - te i - riez, 14.dou - ce - ment sui en - gi - - gniez.\_\_\_\_

K: RS1097  
 13.et res - pon - drai a - ve - nant, 14.se - lonc voz diz, en chan - tant.

X: RS1097  
 13.et res - pon - drai a - ve - nant, 14.se - lonc voz diz, en chan - tant.

M: RS1097  
 13.et res - pon - dre a - ve - nant, 14.se - lon voz diz, en chan - tant.

O: RS1097  
 13.et res - pon - drai a - ve - nant, 14.se - lonc voz diz, en chan - tant.

V: RS1097  
 13.et res - pon - derai a - vant\_\_\_\_ 14.se - lonc vos diz, en chan - tant.

## 2.2b. Comparative Transcription of RS1227, RS1147, and RS1097 in TrouvK

RS1227 pp. 109-111

1. Quant je plus sui en pa - or de ma vi - e:

RS1147 pp. 366-367

1. Gent de fran - ce mult es - tes es - ba - hi - e:

RS1097 pp. 39-41

1. Cuens je vous part un gieu par a - a - ti - e:

RS1227

2. et je mains doi par re - son es - tre liez.

RS1147

2. je di a touz ceuz qui sont nez des fiez.

RS1097

2. et li m'en met seur vos - tre ju - ge - ment.

RS1227

3. lors mi se - mont ma vo - len - te et pri - e:

RS1147

3. si m'a - it dex franc n'es - tes vous mes mi - e:

RS1097

3. dui che - va - lier ai - ment chas - cuns s'a - mi - e:

Appendix 2.2b: Comp. trans. of RS1227, RS1147, RS1097 in TrouvK

RS1227  
4.et fin - e a - mors que je soi - e en - voi - siez.

RS1147  
4.mult vous a l'en de fran - chi - se en - loi - gniez.

RS1097  
4.li uns des deus ai - me mult loi - au - ment.

RS1227  
5.s'e - le mo - cit siens en ert li pe - chiez.

RS1147  
5.car vous es - tes par en - ques - te ju - giez.

RS1097  
5.et li au - tres gui - le mult du - re - ment.

RS1227  
6.trop a douz non pour fe - re vi - la - ni - e

RS1147  
6.quant def - fen - se ne vos puet fe - re a - i - e

RS1097  
6.li quels tret pis se dex vous be - ne - i - e

RS1227  
7.et se je sui par mes euz tra - veil - liez

RS1147  
7.trop i es - tes cru - el - ment en - ging - niez

RS1097  
7.ou li loi - aux ou cil qui triche et ment

Appendix 2.2b: Comp. trans. of RS1227, RS1147, RS1097 in **TrouvK**

RS1227 8.dont la vi. 9.qu'en doi je \_\_\_\_\_ li \_\_\_\_\_

RS1147 8.a touz pri. 9.dou - ce fran - ce \_\_\_\_\_

RS1097 8.et de - coit. 9.di - tes m'en \_\_\_\_\_ droit. \_\_\_\_\_

RS1227 10.de - man - der fors mer - - - ci

RS1147 10.n'a - piaut l'en plus en - - - si.

RS1097 10.si - re tout o - ren - - - droit.

RS1227 11.puis que par mi sui de joi - e es - loi - gniez

RS1147 11.an - cois ait non le pa - is \_\_\_\_\_ aus sou - giez.

RS1097 11.et li pre - nez \_\_\_\_\_ l'un des deus \_\_\_\_\_ main - te - nant. \_\_\_\_\_

RS1227 12.je ne m'en doi plain - dre \_\_\_\_\_ mi - e.

RS1147 12.une ter - re a - cu - ver - ti - e.

RS1097 12.et j'au - rai l'au - tre par - ti - e.

Appendix 2.2b: Comp. trans. of RS1227, RS1147, RS1097 in **TrouvK**

RS1227  
 13.con - ment qu'ai - e est - e*j* - riez:

RS1147  
 13.le raig - ne al des - con - seil - liez.

RS1097  
 13.et res - pon - drai a - ve - nant.

RS1227  
 14.dou - ce - ment sui en - ging - - nierz:

RS1147  
 14.qui en maint cas sont for - - ciez.

RS1097  
 14.se - lonc voz diz en chan - tant.

## 2.2c. RS1227 in TrouvK, pp. 109-10

Syllable →

Poetic Line

1 C4 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1 Quant je plus sui en po - or de ma vi - e

2 et je mains doi par re - son es - tre liez

3 lors me se - mont ma vo - len - te et pri - e

4 et fin - e a - mours que je soi - e en - voi - siez

5 s'e - le m'o - cit siens en iert li pe - chiez

6 trop a douz non pour fe - re vi - la - ni - e

7 et se je sui par mes euz tra - veil - liez

8 dont la vi

9 quen doi ja li

10 de - man - der fors mer - ci

11 puis que par mi sui de joi - e es - loig - niez

12 je ne m'en doi plain - dre mi - e

13 con - ment q'uai - e es - te i - riez

14 dou - ce - ment sui en - ging - niez

## 2.2d. RS1147 in TrouvK, pp. 366-7

Syllable

Poetic Line

C4

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1 Gent de Fran - ce mult es - tes es - ba - hi - e;

2 je di a touz ceus qui sont nez des fiez:

3 si m'a - it Deus franc n'es - tes vous mes mi - e;

4 mult vous a l'en de fran - chi - se en - loi - gniez,

5 car vous es - tes par en - que - ste ju - giez.

6 Quant de - fens - se ne vos puet fe - re a - i - e

7 trop i es - tes cru - el - ment en - gi - gniez.

8 A touz pri,

9 dou - ce Fran - ce

10 n'a - piat l'en plus en - si;

11 an - cois ait non: le Pa - is aus Sou - giez,

12 u - ne ter - re a - cu - ver - tie,

13 le raig - ne as des - con - seil - liez,

14 qui en maint cas sont for - ciez.

## Appendix 2.3: Musical Transcriptions for Chapter 3

### 2.3a. RS885 in Dg-M, fol. 103r.

Syllable →

Poetic Line

F3 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1 Por mon chief re - con - for - ter,

2 por mon co - ra - ge es - jo - ir,

3 un pou me vuel de - por - ter

C4 4 en lo - er en con jo - ir

5 ce - le qui pot com - por - ter

6 le grant roiz et sos - te - nir

7 que ne puet ter - re por - ter

8 ciel com - pren - dre ne te - nir.

9 Da - me, qui com - por - tas

10 neuf mois tot nos - tre de - port,

11 por ce por coi me de - port,

12 que le fil deu por - tas?

**2.3b. Comparative Transcription by Pitch of RS885 in Dg-M;  
RS1001 in TrouvK; and *Sol sub nube* in W1**

**System 1:**

- Sol sub Nube (W1):** 1. Sol sub nu - be la - tu it
- RS885 (Dg-M):** 1. Por mon chief ren - con - for - ter, ✓
- RS1001 (TrouvK):** 1. Chan - ter et ren - voi - sier\_\_\_sueil;

**System 2:**

- W1:** 2. sed e clyp - sis nes - ci - us
- RS885:** 2. por mon co - ra - - ge es - jo - ir, ✓
- RS1001:** 2. or\_\_\_m'e - stuet plain - dre et\_\_\_plo - rer

**System 3:**

- W1:** 3. cum se car - ni mis - cu - it ✓
- RS885:** 3. un pou me vuel de - por - ter ✓
- RS1001:** 3. quant je pert ce q'a - mer\_\_\_sueil:

Appendix 2.3b: Comp. Transcription of RS885, RS1001, *Sol sub nube*

W1

RS885

RS1001

4.sum - mi pa - tris fi - li - us

4.en lo - er en con - jo - ir

4.riens ne mi puet con - for - ter.

W1

RS885

RS1001

5.ma - ri - ta - ri no - lu - it

5.ce - le qui pot com - por - ter

5.Trop fu - rent cru - el mi oeil

W1

RS885

RS1001

6.ver - bum pa - tris al - ti - us

6.le grant roiz et sos - te - nir

6.qui la m'o - se - rent mous - trer;

Appendix 2.3b: Comp. Transcription of RS885, RS1001, *Sol sub nube*

W1

RS885

RS1001

7.nu - be - re non po - - tu - it

7.que ne puet ter - re por - ter

7.g'en pleur et sous - pir et dueil:

W1

RS885

RS1001

8.ca - ro glo - ri - o - - si - us

8.ciel com - pren - dre ne te - nir.

8.qu'a for - ce mi fet a - mer.

W1

RS885

9.Gau - de no va nup - ta

9.Da - me, qui com - por - tas

Appendix 2.3b: Comp. Transcription of RS885, RS1001, *Sol sub nube*

W1

8

10.fi - des est et ver - ri - tas

RS885

8

10.nuef mois tot nos tre de - port,

√ F3

√ F3

W1

8

11.quod a car - ne de - i tas

RS885

8

11.por ce por coi me de - port,

√

W1

8

12.non fu - it cor - rup ta.

RS885

8

12.que le fil deu por - - - - - tas?

2.3c. Comparative Transcription of *Sol sub nube*

CH-SGs 383 (St. Gall)

A3

1. sol sub nu - be la - tu - it 2. sed e - clip - sis

I-FI Pluteo 29.1 (F)

C5

1. sol sub nu - be la - tu - it 2. sed e - clyp - sis

D-W Guelf. 628 Helmst. (W1)

F4

1. sol sub nu - be la - tu - it 2. sed e - clyp - sis

RS885 (Dg-M)

F3

1. Por mon chief re - con - for - ter, 2. por mon co - ra -

Appendix 2.3c: Comparative Transcription of *Sol sub nube*

St. Gall

nes - ci - us 3.cum se car - ni mis - cu - it

F

nes - ci - us 3.cum se car - ni mis - cu - it

W1

nes - ci - us 3.cum se car - ni mis - cu - it

RS885

ge es - jo - ir, 3.un pou me vuel de - por - ter

C4

Appendix 2.3c: Comparative Transcription of *Sol sub nube*

The image displays a comparative transcription of the Latin text "Sol sub nube" from four different sources: St. Gall, F, W1, and RS885. Each source is represented by a pair of staves (treble and alto clefs) with Latin lyrics written below. The lyrics are: "4. sum - mi pa - tris fi - li - us" and "5. ma - ri - ta - ri".

Key annotations include:

- St. Gall:** A checkmark and "A3" above the first staff.
- F:** A checkmark and "A3" above the first staff.
- W1:** A checkmark above the first staff and a checkmark and "C5" above the second staff.

The lyrics for each source are as follows:

- St. Gall:** 4. sum - mi pa tris fi - li - us 5. ma - ri - ta - ri
- F:** 4. sum - mi pa - tris fi - li - us 5. ma - ri - ta - ri
- W1:** 4. sum - mi pa - tris fi - li - us 5. ma - ri - ta - ri
- RS885:** 4. en lo - er en con - jo - ir 5. ce - le qui pot

Appendix 2.3c: Comparative Transcription of *Sol sub nube*

St. Gall

no - lu - it 6.pa - tris ver - bum al - ti - us 7.nu - be - re non

F

no - lu - it 6.ver - bum pa - tris\_ al - ti - us 7.nu - be - re non

W1

no - lu - it 6.ver - bum pa - tris\_ al - ti - us 7.nu - be - re non

RS885

com - por - ter 6.le grant roiz et sos - te - nir 7.que\_\_ne puet ter -

Appendix 2.3c: Comparative Transcription of *Sol sub nube*

The image displays a comparative transcription of the musical score for 'Sol sub nube' across five different sources: St. Gall, F, W1, and RS885. Each source is represented by a set of two staves (treble and alto clefs) with lyrics written below. The lyrics are: 'po - tu - it 8.ca - ro glo- ri - o - si - us' for the first three sources, and '-re\_\_\_ por - ter 8.ciel com - pren - dre ne\_\_\_ te - nir.' for the last two. The notation includes various note values, rests, and phrasing marks such as checkmarks and 'A4' or 'F4' indicators.

St. Gall

✓ A4

po - tu - it 8.ca - ro glo- ri - o - si - us ✓

F

po - tu - it 8.ca - ro glo- ri - o - si - us F4

W1

po - tu - it 8.ca - ro glo- ri - o - si - us

RS885

✓

-re\_\_\_ por - ter 8.ciel com - pren - dre ne\_\_\_ te - nir.

Appendix 2.3c: Comparative Transcription of *Sol sub nube*

St. Gall

9. Gau - de no - va nup - ta 10. fi - des est et ver - ri - tas

F

9. Gau - de no - va nup - ta 10. fi - des est et ver - ri - tas

W1

9. Gau - de no - va nup - ta 10. fi - des est et ver - ri - tas

RS885

9. Da - me, qui com - por - tas 10. nuef mois tot nos - tre de - port,

Appendix 2.3c: Comparative Transcription of *Sol sub nube*

The image displays a comparative transcription of the Gregorian chant 'Sol sub nube' across four different manuscript versions: St. Gall, F, W1, and RS885. Each version is presented on a two-staff system (treble clef, 8-line staff). The lyrics are written below the notes, with some words connected by hyphens to indicate syllables. The St. Gall and F versions have identical lyrics: '11. quod a car - ne de - i tas 12. non fu - it cor -'. The W1 version has the same lyrics but includes a checkmark above the second measure. The RS885 version has different lyrics: '11. por ce por - coi me de - port, 12. que le fil deu'. There are also checkmarks above the first and second measures of the RS885 version.

St. Gall

11. quod a car - ne de - i tas 12. non fu - it cor -

F

11. quod a car - ne de - i tas 12. non fu - it cor -

W1

11. quod a car - ne de - i tas 12. non fu - it cor -

RS885

11. por ce por - coi me de - port, 12. que le fil deu

Appendix 2.3c: Comparative Transcription of *Sol sub nube*

The image displays a comparative transcription of the musical piece "Sol sub nube" from four different sources: St. Gall, F, W1, and RS885. Each source is represented by a system of two staves, with the upper staff in treble clef and the lower staff in alto clef. The notation includes various note values, rests, and phrasing slurs. The lyrics are written below the lower staff of each system: "rup" and "ta." for St. Gall, F, and W1; and "por" and "tas?" for RS885. The RS885 version shows a distinct melodic contour compared to the other sources, particularly in the final notes.

### 2.3d. Comparative Transcription of RS1001

K F3  
1.Chan - ter et ren - voi - sier\_ seuil; 2.or\_ m'e-stuet plain - dre et plo - rer

N F3  
1.Chan - ter et ren - voi - sier\_ seuil; 2.or\_ m'e-stuet plain - dre et plo - rer

X F3  
1.Chan - ter et ren - voi - sier\_ seuil; 2.or\_ m'e-stuet plain - dre et plo - rer

P F3  
1.Chan - ter et ren - voi - sier\_ seuil; 2.or\_ m'e-stuet plain - dre et plo - rer

O F3  
1.Chan - ter et ren - voi - sier\_ seuil; 2.or\_ m'e-stuet plain - dre et plo - rer

V C3  
1.Chan - ter et ren - voi - sier\_ seuil; 2.or\_ m'es-teut plain - dre et plou - rer

K F3  
3.quant je pert ce q'a - mer\_ seuil: 4.riens ne\_ mi\_ puet con - for - ter.

N F3  
3.quant je pert ce q'a - mer\_ seuil: 4.rien ne\_ mi\_ puet con - for - ter.

X F3  
3.quant je pert ce q'a - mer\_ seuil: 4.riens ne\_ mi\_ puet con - for - ter.

P F3  
3.quant je pert ce q'a - mer\_ seuil: 4.riens ne\_ mi\_ puet con - for - ter.

O F3  
3.quant je pert ce q'a - mer\_ vuil: 4.riens ne\_ mi\_ puet con - for - ter.

V C3  
3.quant je pert ce qu'a - mer\_ seuil: 4.rienz ne mi puet\_ con - for - ter.

Appendix 2.3d: Comparative Transcription of RS1001

5.trop fu - rent cru - el mi oeil 6.qui la m'o - se - rent mous-trer;

5.trop fu - rent cru - el mi oil 6.qui la m'o - se - rent mous-trer;

5.trop fu - rent cru - el mi oil 6.qui la m'o - se - rent mos - trer;

5.trop fu - rent cru - el mi oil 6.qui la m'o - se - rent mos - trer;

5.trop fu - rent cru - el mi huil 6.qant il s'o - se - rent mos - trer;

5.trop fu - rent cru - el mi oeu 6.qui la m'o - se - rent mous-trer;

7.g'en pleur et sous - pir et dueil, 8.qu'a for - ce m'i fet a - mer.

7.g'en pleur et sous - pir et dueil, 8.qu'a for - ce m'i fet a - mer.

7.g'en plor et sous - pir et dueil, 8.qu'a for - ce m'es - tuet a - mer.

7.j'en pleur et sos - pir et dueil, 8.qu'a for - ce m'i - fet a - mer.

7.je plour et so - pir et duil, 8.car for - ce m'i fait a - mer.

7.i'en pleur et sou - pir et duel, 8.qu'a for - ce m'es - teus a - mer.

## Appendix 2.4: Musical Transcriptions for Chapter 4

### 2.4a. Comparative Transcription of RS711, RS709a, and Ave Gemma

F-Lm 316  
1. A - ve gem - ma quae lu - cis co - pi - a: 2. et vir - tu - te vin - cis car - bun - cu - lum

DG-D  
1. Tant ai ser - vi le mon - de lon - ge - ment 2. que bien me doi. d'or en a - vant re - pren - dre.

F-Pm 753  
1. Tant ai a - mors ser - vi - es lon - gue - ment: 2. que de - sor - mes ne m'en doit nus re - pren - dre

Trouva  
1. Tant ai a - mors ser - vi - es lon - gue - ment: 2. que de - sor - mes ne m'en doit nus re - pren - dre

TrouvV  
1. Tant ai a - mours ser - vi - e lon - gue - ment: 2. que de - sor - mes ne m'en doit nus re - pren - dre

TrouvZ  
1. Tant ai a - mors ser - vi - es lon - gue - ment: 2. que de - sor - mes ne m'en doit nus re - pren - dre

TrouvX  
1. Tant ai a - mors ser - vi - es lon - gue - ment: 2. que de - sor - mes ne m'en doit nus re - pren - dre

TrouvR  
1. Tant ai a - mors ser - vi - es lon - gue - ment: 2. que de - sor - mais ne m'en doit nus re - pren - dre

TrouvP  
1. Tant ai a - mors ser - vi - es lon - gue - ment: 2. que de - sor - mes ne m'en doit nus re - pren - dre

TrouvO  
1. Tant ai a - mors ser - vi - es lon - gue - ment: 2. que de - sor - mais ne m'en doit nus re - pren - dre

TrouvM  
1. Tant ai a - mors ser - vi - es lon - gue - ment: 2. que de - sor - mes ne m'en doit nus re - pren - dre

TrouvF  
1. T

TrouvB  
1. Tant ai a - mors ser - vi - es lon - gue - ment: 2. que de - sor - mes ne m'en doit nus re - pren - dre

TrouvK  
1. Tant ai a - mors ser - vi - es lon - gue - ment: 2. que de - sor - mes ne m'en doit nus re - pren - dre

TrouvA  
1. Tant ai a - mors ser - vi - es lon - gue - ment: 2. que de - sor - mes ne m'en doit nus re - pren - dre

Appendix 2.4a: Comp. Transcription of RS711, RS709a, and Ave Gemma

F-Lm 316  
3.pu-el-la - rum ge-rens in - si - gni - a\_\_\_\_ 4.prae - fe-ren-do pu - do - ris spe - cu - lum.\_\_\_\_

DG-D  
3.de lui me\_\_part; a ce - lui me\_\_ que - mant\_\_ 4.qui po-oir a\_\_ de moi vers tous des - fen - dre:

F-Pm 753  
3.se je m'en\_part. Or - e\_a-dieu les\_\_ com - mant\_\_ 4.qu'en ne doit pas touz jorz fo - li - e\_en - pren - dre

Trouva  
3.se je m'en\_part. Or - e\_a-dieu les\_\_ com - mant\_\_ 4.qu'en ne doit pas touz jorz fo - li - e\_en - pren - dre

TrouvV  
3.se je m'en\_part. Or - e\_a-dieu les\_\_ com - mant\_\_ 4.qu'en ne doit pas touz jorz fo - li - e\_en - pren - dre

TrouvZ  
3.se je m'en\_part or - e\_a-dieu les\_\_ co - mant\_\_ 4.qu'en ne doit pas touz jors fo - li - e\_en - pren - dre

TrouvX  
3.se je m'en\_part or - e\_a-dieu les\_\_ co - mant\_\_ 4.qu'en ne doit pas touz jors fo - li - e\_en - pren - dre

TrouvR  
3.se je m'en\_part. Or - e\_a-dieu les\_\_ com - mant\_\_ 4.du ne doit pas touz jours fo - li - e\_en - pren - dre

TrouvP  
3.se je m'en\_part or - e\_a-dieu les\_\_ com - mant\_\_ 4.qu'en ne doit pas toz jors fo - li - e\_en - pren - dre

TrouvO  
3.se je m'en\_part. Or - e\_a-dieu les\_\_ co - mant\_\_ 4.c'on ne doit pas toz jors fo - li - e\_em - pren - dre

TrouvM  
3.se je m'en\_part. Or - e\_a-dieu les\_\_ con - mant\_\_ 4.l'en ne doit pas toz jorz fo - li - e\_em - pren - dre

TrouvF

TrouvB  
3.se je m'en\_part. Or - e\_a-dieu les\_\_ com - mant\_\_ 4.qu'en ne doit pas touz jorz fo - li - e\_en - pren - dre

TrouvK  
3.se je m'en\_part. Or - e\_a-dieu les\_\_ com - mant\_\_ 4.qu'en ne doit pas touz jorz fo - li - e\_en - pren - dre

TrouvA  
3.se je m'en\_part or - e\_a - dieu les com-mant 4. qu'en ne doit pas touz jorz fo - li - e\_en - pren - dre

Appendix 2.4a: Comp. Transcription of RS711, RS709a, and Ave Gemma

F-Lm 316  
5.o - ra De - um qui te per a - nu - lum\_\_\_ 6.sub - arr - ha - tam de - co - rat glo - ri - a\_\_\_

DG-D  
5.c'est la pu - che - le en cui deus vout des - cen - dre 6.pour nous sau - ver\_ et je - ter de tour ment\_

F-Pm 753  
5.et cil est fous qui ne s'en set def - fen - dre\_\_\_ 6.ne n'i co - noist son mal ne sa\_ tor - men - te

Trouva  
5.et cil est fous qui ne s'en set def - fen - dre\_\_\_ 6.ne n'i co - noist son mal ne son tor - ment\_

TrouvV  
5.et cil est fous qui ne s'en set def - fen - dre\_\_\_ 6.ne n'i con - noist son mal ne son tor - ment\_

TrouvZ  
5.et cil est fous qui ne s'en set def - fen - dre\_\_\_ 6.ne n'i co - noist son mal ne son tor - ment\_

TrouvX  
5.et cil est fous qui ne s'en set def - fen - dre\_\_\_ 6.ne n'i co - noist son mal ne son tor - ment\_

TrouvR  
5.et cil est fous qui ne s'i set def - fan - dre\_\_\_ 6.ne n'i co - noist son mal ne son tor - ment\_

TrouvP  
5.et cil est fous qui ne s'en set def - fen - dre\_\_\_ 6.ne n'i que - noist son mal ne son tor - ment\_

TrouvO  
5.et cil est fous qui ne s'en set def - fen - dre\_\_\_ 6.ne n'i co - noist son mal ne son tor - ment\_

TrouvM

TrouvF

TrouvB  
5.et cil est fous qui ne s'en set def - fen - dre\_\_\_ 6.ne n'i co - noist son mal ne son tor - ment\_

TrouvK  
5.et cil est fous qui ne s'en set def - fen - dre\_\_\_ 6.ne n'i co - noist son mal ne son tor - ment\_

TrouvA  
5.et cil est fous qui ne s'en set def - fen - dre\_\_\_ 6.ne n'i co - noist son mal ne son tor - ment\_

Appendix 2.4a: Comp. Transcription of RS711, RS709a, and Ave Gemma

F-Lm 316  
 7.ut la - men - ta mu - tet in gau - di - a 8.et in cae - lum prae - sens er - gas - tu - lum

DG-D  
 7.Dou - che vir - ge, join - tes mains, en plou rant 8.mer - chi vous pri, que m'i voeil - lies en - ten - dre

F-Pm 753  
 7.l'en me ten - droit de - sor - mes por en fant 8.car chas - cun tens doit sa se - son a - ten - dre.

Trouva  
 7.l'en me ten - droit de - sor - mes por en fant 8.car chas - cun tens doit sa se - son a - ten - dre.

TrouvV  
 7.on me ten - droit de - sor - mes por en fant 8.que chas - cuns tanz doit sa se - son a - ten - dre.

TrouvZ  
 7.l'en m'en ten - droit de - sor - mes por en fant 8.car chas - cun tens doit sa sais - son a - ten - dre.

TrouvX  
 7.l'en m'en ten - droit de - sor - mes por en fant 8.car chas - cun tens doit sa sais - son a - ten - dre.

TrouvR  
 7.du me ten - roit des - ore - mais pour en fant 8.car chas - cuns temps doit sa sais - sons a - ten - dre.

TrouvP  
 7.on m'en ten - roit de - sor - mes por en fant 8.que chas - cun tens doit sa se - son a - ten - dre.

TrouvO  
 7.l'en me ten - droit de - sor - mais por en fant 8.car chas - cuns tens doit sa sai - son a - ten - dre.

TrouvM

TrouvF  
 me ten - droit des - ore - mais por en fant 8.car chas - con tans doit sa se - son a - ten - dre.

TrouvB  
 7.l'en me ten - droit de - sor - mes por en fant 8.car chas - cun tens doit sa se - son a - ten - dre.

TrouvK  
 7.l'en me ten - droit de - sor - mes por en fant 8.car chas - cun tens doit sa se - son a - ten - dre.

TrouvA  
 7.l'en me ten - droit de - sor - mes por en fant 8.car chas - cun tens doit sa se - son a - ten - dre.

## 2.4b. Transcription of RS711, attr. Thibaut de Champagne, from TrouvK, pp. 47-8

Syllable

Poetic line

1 C2 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 C3 9 10

1 Tant ai a - mors ser - vi - es lon - gue - ment:\_\_\_  
Je ne sui pas si com cil au - tre \_\_\_ gent \_\_\_

2 que de - sor - mes ne m'en doit nus re - pren - dre  
qui ont a - me C2 puis i vue-lent con - ten - dre

3 se je m'en part. Or - e a - dieu les com - mant \_\_\_  
C3 et di - ent mal par vi - lain es - cri - ent \_\_\_

4 qu'en ne doit pas touz jorz fo - li - e en - pren - dre  
mes nus ne doit seig-neur ser - vi - se ven - dre

5 et cil est fous qui ne s'en let def - fen - dre \_\_\_  
en - con - tre lui mes - di - re ne mes - pren - dre \_\_\_

6 ne mi co - noist son mal ne son tor - ment \_\_\_  
et s'il s'en part, par - te s'en bo - ne - ment. \_\_\_

7 l'en me ten - droit de - sor - mes por en - fant \_\_\_  
En - droit de moi vueil je que tuit a - mant \_\_\_

8 car chas-cun tens doit sa se - son a - ten - dre.  
ai - ent grant bien, quant je plus n'i puis pren - dre.

3. Amours, m'a fet maint bien tresques ici,  
qu'ele m'a fet amer sanz vilanie  
la plus tres bele et la meilleur ausi,  
au mien cuidier, qui onques fust choisie.  
Amors le veut et ma dame m'en prie  
que je m'en parte, et je mult l'en merci.  
Quant par le gre ma dame m'en chasti,  
meilleur reson n'i truis a ma partie.

5. Au commencer se doit on bien garder  
d'entreprendre chose desmesuree  
mes bone Amor ne let honme apenser  
ne bien choisir ou mete sa pensee.  
Plus tost aime on en estrange contree,  
ou on ne puet ne venir ne aler,  
qu'on ne fet ce qu'on puet toz jorz trouver;  
ici est bien la folie prouvee.

4. Autre chose ne m'a Amors meri  
de tant com j'ai este en sa baillie;  
mes bien m'a Deus par sa pitie gueri,  
quant delivre m'a de sa seignorie.  
Quant eschapez li sui sanz perdre vie,  
ainz de mes euz si bon estre ne vi;  
si cuil je fere oncor maint jeu parti  
et maint sonet et mainte raverdie.

6. Or me gart Deus et d'amie et d'amer  
fors de cele que l'en doit aouer;  
la ne puet nus faillir a grant soudee.

### 2.4c. Transcription of RS709a from Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, scribal addition in Dg-D, fol. 13r

Syllable

Poetic line

1 c<sub>2</sub> 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
Tant ai ser - vi le mon - de lon - ge - ment  
Dou - ce da - me de cui tous bien des - cent,

2 c<sub>3</sub>  
que bien me doi d'or en a - vant re - pren - dre.  
la qui bon - te nus cuers a vant puet com - pren - dre,

3  
de lui me part; a ce - lui me que - mant  
da - me du mon - de et du ciel en - se - ment,

4  
qui po - oir a de moi vers tous des - fen - dre:  
a vo dou - chour nu - le ne s'i puet pren - dre.

5  
c'est la pu - che - le en cui deus vaut des - cen - dre  
Bon fait son tans en vous ser - vir des - pren - dre;

6 c<sub>4</sub>  
pour nous sau - ver et je - ter de tour - ment  
car qui vous sert de fin cuer hum - le - ment

7  
Dou - che vir - ge, join - tes mains, en plou - rant  
li e - ne - mis n'a po - oir vrai - e - ment

8  
mer - chi vous pri, que m'i voeil - lies en - ten - dre  
de lui gre - ver, puis c'a il se vient ren - dre

3. Vo grant pitié, vo douç acointement,  
Theophilus le nous puet bien aprendre,  
qui renoia vous et vo fil briément  
et puis balla chartre de s'arme vendre.  
Haï caitis, comment osa atendre,  
douce virge, puis vous ne vostre enfant?  
Quant il perchut que meffait avoit tant,  
bien li deüst li cuers eu ventre fendre.

4. Douce dame, quant merchi vint criant  
Theophilus devant vous soi estendre,  
son grant meschief vers vo fil erramment  
par vo pitié vausistes entreprendre  
et sa chartre li fesistes lués rendre  
qu'il avoit baillie desloiaument  
a l'enemi, qui par dechevement  
s'arme et son cors quidoit en infer pendre.

5. Douce dame, de cuer devotement  
des ore mais voel vo servise enprendre.  
A vous proier jour et nuit doucement  
vaurrai mon cuer, que qu'il ait fait, aprendre.  
Bien m'a seü li enemis sousprendre,  
car vescu ai lonc tans enfantieument.  
Or est li tans de querre alegement,  
car mes cors ert assés tost pourre cendre.

2.4d. Transcription of *Ave Gemma*, attr. Adam de la Bassée,  
F-Lm 316, fol. 17r-v

Syllable

Poetic line

The image shows a musical score for the hymn 'Ave Gemma'. It consists of eight poetic lines, each with a corresponding musical staff. The syllables are numbered 1 through 10 at the top. The music is written in a single system with a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are mostly quarter and eighth notes, with some slurs and accents. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across notes. The lyrics are: 1. A - ve gem - ma quae lu - cis co - pi - a: 2. et vir - tu - te vin - cis car - bun - cu - lum 3. pu - el - la - rum ge - rens in - si - gni - a 4. prae - fe - ren - do pu - do - ris spe - cu - lum 5. o - ra De - um qui te per a - nu - lum 6. sub - arr - ha - tam de - co - rat glo - ri - a 7. ut la - men - ta mu - tet in gau - di - a 8. et in cae - lum prae - sens er - gas - tu - lum

1 A - ve gem - ma quae lu - cis co - pi - a:\_\_\_\_\_

2 et vir - tu - te vin - cis car - bun - cu - lum\_\_\_\_\_

3 pu - el - la - rum ge - rens in - si - gni - a\_\_\_\_\_

4 prae - fe - ren - do pu - do - ris spe - cu - lum\_\_\_\_\_

5 o - ra De - um qui te per a - nu - lum\_\_\_\_\_

6 sub - arr - ha - tam de - co - rat glo - ri - a\_\_\_\_\_

7 ut la - men - ta mu - tet in gau - di - a\_\_\_\_\_

8 et in cae - lum prae - sens er - gas - tu - lum\_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 2.5: Musical Transcriptions for Chapter 5

### 2.5a. Comparative Transcription of RS679 and RS358

The image displays a comparative musical transcription of two songs, RS358 and RS679, across various parts. Each part is shown on a separate staff with its corresponding lyrics. The notation includes treble clefs, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes, with some words hyphenated across lines. The parts are labeled as follows:

- RS358: K** (C4): 1.li chas - te - lains de cou - ci a - ma tant
- RS358: N** (C3): 1.li chas - te - lains de cou - ci a - ma tant
- RS358: P** (C4): 1.li chas - te - lains de cou - ci a - ma tant
- RS358: X** (C4): 1.li chas - te - lains de cou - ci a - ma tant
- RS679: X** (C4): 1.A vos a - manz plus qu'a nu - le au - tre gent
- RS679: P** (C3): 1.A vos a - mans plus qu'a nu - le au - tre gent
- RS679: K** (C3): 1.A vous a - manz plus qu'a nu - le au - tre gent
- RS679: O** (C4): 1.A vous a - mours plus qu'a nu - le au - tre gent
- RS679: T** (F2): 1.A vous a - mant ains k'a nu - le au - tre gent
- RS679: A** (F2): 1.A vous a - mant plus k'a nu - le au - tre gent
- RS679: M**: (Empty staff)
- RS679: V** (C4): 1.A vous a - mours plus qu'a nu - le au - tre gent
- RS679: R** (C4): 1.A vous a - mant plus qu'a nul - le au - tre gent
- RS679: U** (C4): 1.A vos a - mours plus qu'a nu - le au - tre gent

## Appendix 2.5a: Comparative Transcription of RS679 and RS358

RS358: K 2.qu'ainz por a - mor nus n'en ot do - lor\_\_\_\_\_ grain - dre

RS358: N 2.quant por a - mor nus n'en ot do - lor\_\_\_\_\_ grain - dre

RS358: P 2.qu'ainz por a - mor nus n'en ot do - lor\_\_\_\_\_ grain - dre

RS358: X 2.qu'ainz por a - mor nus n'en ot do - lor\_\_\_\_\_ grain - dre

RS679: X 2.est bien rai - son que ma do - lor con - plaig - ne\_\_\_\_\_

RS679: P 2.est il re - son que ma do - leur con - plaig - ne\_\_\_\_\_

RS679: K 2.est bien re - son que ma do - lor con - plaig - ne\_\_\_\_\_

RS679: O 2.est bien rai - sons que ma do - lour con - plaig - ne\_\_\_\_\_

RS679: T 2.est bien rai - son que ma do - lor con - plaig - ne\_\_\_\_\_

RS679: A <sup>F3</sup> 2.est bien rai - sons <sup>F2</sup> ke ma do - lor con - plaig - ne\_\_\_\_\_

RS679: M rai - sons que ma do - lor con - plaig - ne\_\_\_\_\_

RS679: V 2.est bien rai - son que ma do - lor con - plaig - ne\_\_\_\_\_

RS679: R 2.et il rai - sons que ma do - lour con - plaig - ne\_\_\_\_\_

RS679: U 2.est bien rai - sons que ma do - lor con - plaig - ne\_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 2.5a: Comparative Transcription of RS679 and RS358

RS358: K 3.por ce fe - rai ma con - plain - te en son \_\_\_ chant \_\_\_

RS358: N 3.por ce fe - rai ma con - plain - te en son \_\_\_ chant \_\_\_

RS358: P 3.por ce fe - rai ma con - plain - te en son \_\_\_ chant \_\_\_

RS358: X 3.por ce fe - rai ma con - plain - te en son \_\_\_ chant \_\_\_

RS679: X 3.quant il m'es - tuet par - tir ou - tre - e - ment \_\_\_

RS679: P 3.quant il m'es - tuet par - tir ou - tre - e - ment \_\_\_

RS679: K 3.quant il m'es - tuet par - tir ou - tre - e - ment \_\_\_

RS679: O 3.quant il m'es - tuet par - tir ou - tre - e - ment \_\_\_

RS679: T 3.car il m'es - tuet par - tir ou - tre - e - ment \_\_\_

RS679: A 3.kar il m'es - teut par - tir or \_\_\_ au - tre - ment \_\_\_

RS679: M <sup>C4</sup> 3.quar il m'es - tuet par - tir ou - tre - e - ment \_\_\_

RS679: V 3.quant il m'es - teut par - tir ou - tre - e - ment \_\_\_

RS679: R 3.quant il m'es - tuet par - tir ou - tre - e - ment \_\_\_

RS679: U 3.car il m'es - tuet par - tir ou - tre - e - ment \_\_\_

## Appendix 2.5a: Comparative Transcription of RS679 and RS358

RS358: K 4. que ne cuit pas que la moi - e soit main - dre

RS358: N 4. que ne cuit pas que la moi - e soit main - dre

RS358: P 4. que ne cuit pas que la moi - e soit main - dre

RS358: X 4. ne ne cuit pas que la moi - e soit main - dre

RS679: X 4. et de - se - vrer de ma le - au com - paig - ne

RS679: P 4. et de - se - vrer de ma loi - al com - paig - ne

RS679: K 4. et de - se - vrer de ma loi - al com - paig - ne

RS679: O 4. et de - se - vrer de ma loi - al con - paig - ne

RS679: T 4. et de - se - vrer de ma loi - al com - paig - ne

RS679: A 4. et de - se - vrer de ma dou - che con - paig - ne

RS679: M 4. et de - se - vrer de ma loi - al com - paig - ne

RS679: V 4. et de - se - vrer de ma loi - al con - paig - ne <sup>C3</sup>

RS679: R 4. et des - se - vrer de ma loi - alz con - paig - ne

RS679: U 4. et de - se - vrer de ma dol - ce con - paig - ne

## Appendix 2.5a: Comparative Transcription of RS679 and RS358

RS358: K  
 5.la mort mi fet re - gre - ter et con - plain - dre

RS358: N  
 5.la mort mi fet re - gre - ter et con - plain - dre

RS358: P  
 5.la mort mi fet re - gre - ter et con - plain - dre

RS358: X  
 5.la mort mi fait re - gre - ter et plain - dre

RS679: X  
 5.et se la pert n'est riens qui me re - maig - ne

RS679: P  
 5.et se la pert n'est riens qui me re - maig - ne

RS679: K  
 5.et se la pert n'est riens qui me re - maig - ne

RS679: O  
 5.et quant la pert n'est riens qui me re - maig - ne

RS679: T  
 5.et quant li pert n'est riens ki me re - maig - ne

RS679: A  
 5.et quant li part n'est riens ki me re - maig - ne

RS679: M  
 5.et quant li pert n'est riens qui me re - maig - ne

RS679: V  
 5.et se la pert n'est riens qui me re - maig - ne

RS679: R  
 5.et se la pert n'est riens qui me re - maig - ne

RS679: U  
 5.et quant li perz n'aim rien qui me re - maig - ne

## Appendix 2.5a: Comparative Transcription of RS679 and RS358

RS358: K  
6.vos - tre cler vis be - le et vos - tre cors gent

RS358: N  
6.vos - tre cler vis be - le et vos - tre cors gent

RS358: P  
6.vos - tre cler vis be - le et vos - tre cors gent

RS358: X  
6.vos - tre cler vis be - le et vos - tre gent cors

RS679: X  
6.et sa - chies bien a - mors ve - raie - ment

RS679: P  
6.et sa - chez bien a - mors ve - raie - ment

RS679: K  
6.et sa - chez bien a - mors vrai - e - ment

RS679: O  
6.si sa - chiez bien a - mors cer - tei - ne - ment

RS679: T  
6.et sa - chies bien a - mors seu - u - re - ment

RS679: A  
6.et sa - chies bien a - mors cher - tai - ne - ment

RS679: M  
6.et sa - chies bien a - mors se - u - re - ment

RS679: V  
6.et sa - chiez bien a - mors tout vrai - e - ment

RS679: R  
6.et sa - chiez bien a - mors tout vrai - e - ment

RS679: U  
6.et sa - chiez bien a - mors se - u - re - ment

## Appendix 2.5a: Comparative Transcription of RS679 and RS358

RS358: K  
 7. mor - te vos ont fre - re et mer - e et pa - rent 8. par un tres fol de - se - vre - ment mau - ves

RS358: N  
 7. mor - te vos ont fre - re et mer - e et pa - rent 8. par un tres fol de - se - vre - ment mau - vais

RS358: P  
 7. mor - te vos ont fre - re et mer - e et pa - rent 8. par un tres fol de - se - vre - ment mau - vez

RS358: X  
 7. mort el vos ont fre - re et mer - e et pa - rent 8. par tres fol des - se - vre - ment mau - vais

RS679: X  
 7. se nus mo - rut por a - voir cuer do - lent 8. ja - mes par moi n'iert le - uz vers ne\_\_lais

RS679: P  
 7. se nus mo - rut pour a - voir cuer do - lant 8. ja - mes par moi n'iert le - uz vers ne\_\_lais

RS679: K  
 7. se nus mo - rust pour a - voir cuer do - lent 8. ja - mes par moi n'iert le - uz vers ne\_\_lais

RS679: O  
 7. s'ainz nuls mo - rut por a - voir cuer do - lant 8. ja - mes par moi n'iert le - us vers ne\_\_lais

RS679: T  
 7. s'ainc nus mo - rut por a - voir cuer do - lent 8. dont n'iert par moi maiz me - us vers ne\_\_lais

RS679: A  
 7. s'ains nus mo - rust pour a - voir cuer do - lent 8. dont n'iert par moi es me - us sons ne\_\_lais

RS679: M  
 7. s'ainc nuls mo - rut pour a - voir cuer do - lent 8. dont n'iert par moi maiz me - us vers ne\_\_lais

RS679: V  
 7. s'ainz nus mo - rut pour a - voir cuer do - lant 8. ja - mes par moi n'iert le - us vers ne\_\_lais

RS679: R  
 7. s'ainc nulz mo - rut pour a - voir cuer do - lent 8. ja - mais par moi n'iert le - us vers ne\_\_lais

RS679: U  
 7. s'ainz nus mo - rout por a - voir cuer do - lant 8. ja - mais par moi n'iert chan - tez vers ne\_\_lais

## 2.5b. Transcription of RS679 from TrouvX, fols. 76v-77r

Syllable

Poetic line

C4 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 10+

1  
 1.A vos a - manz plus qu'a nu - le au - tre gent  
 2.A - hi a - mors qu'iert il dont et co - ment  
 3.Par dieu a - mors grief m'est a con - si - vrer

2  
 1.est bien rai - son que ma do - lor con - plaig - ne  
 2.co - ven - dra il qu'a la fin con - gie praig - ne  
 3.le grant so - las et la grant con - paig - ni - e

3  
 1.quant il m'es - tuet par - tir ou - tre - e - ment  
 2.oil, cer - tes ne peut es - tre au - tre - ment  
 3.et le des - duit que mi so - loit mos - trer

4  
 1.et de - se - vrer de ma le - au com - paig - ne  
 2.a - ler m'es - tuet mo - rir en ter - re e - strange  
 3.ce - le qui m'iert et ma da - me et m'a - mi - e

5  
 C3  
 1.et se la pert n'est riens qui me re - maig - ne  
 2.et fi/si - ne cuit que do - lor me souf - fraig - ne  
 3.et quant re - cort sa sim - ple cor - toi - si - e

6  
 1.et sa - chies bien a - mors ve - rai - e - ment  
 2.quant de cest mal n'en ai a - le - ge - ment  
 3.et les douz moz que sueil a li par - ler

7  
 1.se nus mo - rut pour a - voir cuer do - lent  
 2.ne de nul - ui guer - re - don n'en a - tent  
 3.co - ment me peut le cuer au cors du - rer

8  
 1.ja - mes par moi n'iert le uz vers ne - lais  
 2.fors que de li ne sai se k'iert ja - mes  
 3.quant ne me part cer - tes mult est mau - ves

## 2.5c. Transcription of RS358 from TrouvX, fols. 197r-v

Syllable

Poetic line

1 C4 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 10+

1. Li chas - te - lains de cou - ci a - ma tant  
 2. Por qui fe - rai mes ne chan - con ne chant  
 3. Mult ai veu et mult ai es - pro - ve

2. 1. qu'ainz por a - mor nus n'en ot do - lor grain - dre  
 2. quant je ne be a nu - le a - mor a - tain - dre  
 3. main - te mer - veil - le eu - e et en - du - re - e

3. 1. por ce fe - rai ma con - plain - te en son chant  
 2. ne ja - mes jor ne qui - er a mon vi - vant  
 3. mes ces - te m'a le cors si a ter - re

4. 1. ne ne cuit pas que la moi - e soit main - dre  
 2. m'i - re et mon duel ne ma do - lor re - frain - dre  
 3. que je ne puis a - voir lon - gue du - re - e

5. C3 1. la mort mi fait re - gre - ter et plain - dre  
 2. car ve - nist or la mort por moi des - train - dre  
 3. or mau - di - rai ma ma - le des - ti - ne - e

6. C4 1. vos - tre cler vis be - le et vos - tre gent cors  
 2. si que mo - rir m'es - teust main - te - nant  
 3. quant j'ai per - du le gent cors a - ces - me

7. C3 1. mort el vos ont fre - re et mer - e et pa - rent  
 2. c'on - ques mes hom n'ot do - lor si tres grant  
 3. ou tant a - voit de sens et de bon - te

8. 1. par (un) tres fol de - se - vre - ment mau - vais  
 2. ne (de) do - lor au cuer si pe - sant fais  
 3. qui va - loit melz que li re - au - me de france

## Appendix 3.1: Texts for Chapter 1

## 3.1a. RS700, attr. Chastelain de Coucy

Old French text and variants from *Chansons attribuées au Chastelain de Coucy*, ed. Alain Lerond (Paris, 1964), pp. 63-7 (based on **TrouvM**).

1. Je chantaisse volentiers liement, se je trovasse en mon cuer l'ochaison; maiz je ne puis dire, se je ne ment, qu'aille d'Amours nule rienz se mal non. Pour ce n'en puis fere lie chançon, qu'Amours le me desenseigne, qui veut que j'aim et ne veut que j'ataigne; Einsint me tient Amours en desesper, que ne m'ocit ne ne lait joie avoir.	1-10a 2-10b 3-10a 4-10b 5-10b 6-7+c 7-10+c 8-10d 9-10d	I would willingly sing cheerfully if I found occasion in my heart, but I cannot say—unless I were to lie— that I possess anything from love but harm. Therefore I cannot sing a cheerful song, for I am untaught it by Love, who wishes that I love, but does not wish that I attain [love]. Thus Love keeps me in despair, neither killing me nor permitting me any happiness.
2. Je ne doi pas Amours grant mal voloir s'a la pluz bele del mont mon cuer rent, c'onques biautez ne fist si son pooir d'estre en nului tres esmereement com ele a fet en son tres biau cors gent; ne rienz qu'a grant biauté taigne ne voi qu'en li n'en sa façon soufraise, fors q'un petit li messiet, ce m'est vis, ce que trop tient ses ieus de moi eschiz.	1-10a 2-10b 3-10a 4-10b 5-10b 6-7+c 7-10+c 8-10d 9-10d	I ought not to wish Love great harm, as [he] has given my heart to the most beautiful lady in the world—never has Love made beauty so gracious as he has created it in her very beautiful and noble body; nothing can be seen in her that taints her great beauty, nor is there anything displeasing in her manner. Her only minor flaw, it seems to me, is that she keeps her eyes from glancing at me.

*Stanzas contained in the MSS:* **CHMOTU**: 1-5 + envoi; **AKXa**: 1-5; **P**: 1-4 + envoi; **V**: 1, 3, 4, 5.

*St. 1: v.1. CAHU*: moult (**H**: bien; **A**: De)—**v.2 KPUX**: Se g'en—**v.3 T**: the first je is missing; **C**: ne sai dire—**v.4 OP**: se bien non; **ACHTUa**: s'ire non—**v.5 A**: ce is omitted; n'en is replaced with ne; **V**: liee chanson—**v.7 T**: ne is omitted; **U**: j'a ne ne; **C**: et veut ke j'aince et; **KPV** morir en—**v.9 KOPX**: Qu'el ne m'ocit; **Aa**: ne me lait; **H**: Qu'el ne m'i lest morir ne joi a.

*St. 2: v.1. UC*: Amours nul mal; **C**: Amours trop mal; **O**: doi mais Amour; **H**: Ne m'i doit pas Amour trop mal—**v.2. O**: Se la pluz; **KCPUX**: S'a la (**P**: Se la) plus bele (**UC**: meilleur) du monde mon—**v.3 U**: C'onques amours ne; **v.4 Aa**: en un lieu tres esmereement; **U**: d'estre en un leu si amerousement; **H**: en nule autre si acesmeement—**v.5 U**: fet a son; **H**: en son cors bel et gent; **KOPX**: C'ele fet de (**O**: fet en) son—**v.6 H**: Car rienz; **KOPX**: Que rienz qu'a (**O**: que rienz qui a—8 syll.); **UC**: n'est rienz (**C**: n'ait rienz) qui a (**C**: c'a)—**v.7 OAa**: ne truis qu'en; **C**: Ne cuit k'en li nulle faisson; **U**: Ne quit k'en li ne son gent cors; **H**: N'est qui en lui n'en son cler vis; **KPX**: N'est vis qu'a; **v.8 C**: se m'est vis; **H**: une rienz li messiet; **KPX**: fors q'un seul pou li messiet—**v.9. H**: Qu'ele tient trop vers moi ses euz es; **C**: c'eu k'envers moi tient ces ieuls trop es; **U**: Q'ele envers moi tient trop ses euz est.

Appendix 3.1a: Text of RS700

<p>3. Quant je reguart son debonaire vis          et je la proi sanz bel respons avoir          n'est merveille s'en l'esguart m'esbahiz          quant g'i connoiz ma mort et sai de voir.          Puis que mercis ne m'i deigne valoir,          ne sai u nul confort preigne,          quar ses orgueus m'ocit et li mahaigne.          Hé, franche rienz crueux, tant mar vous vi,          quant pour ma mort nasquistes sanz merci.</p>	<p>1-10a          2-10b          3-10a          4-10b          5-10b          6-7+c          7-10+c          8-10d          9-10d</p>	<p>When I look at her          benevolent face and beg to          her without getting a          favourable response, is it          any wonder that I become          paralysed by her look, when          I see my death in it and know          it truly? Since mercy does          not consider me worthy, I do          not know where I can take          any comfort, for her pride          kills me and wounds it. Ha!          noble, cruel creature, how          unfortunate [for me] that I          ever saw you, since you          were born for my death,          without pity.</p>
<hr/>		
<p>4. Que ferai, Deus, partirai me de li,          ainz que s'amours me par ai tout ocis?          Naie, certes! Il ne puet estre ainsi,          qu'amours me tient et m'a volentez priz,          Qui a mon cuer en li pour morir mis;          Ne jamaiz tant ne mespraigue          que sanz merci u sanz mort en revaigne!          Qu'assez aim mieuz morir en douz desir          que vivre iriez et ma vie haïr.</p>	<p>1-10a          2-10b          3-10a          4-10b          5-10b          6-7+c          7-10+c          8-10d          9-10d</p>	<p>What shall I do, God? Shall I          separate myself from her          before her love has          completely killed me? No,          certainly, it cannot be so, as          love keeps me and has          taken me willingly, [Love]          who has placed my heart in          her to die. Let me not          express myself without          getting either mercy or death          in return! For I prefer to die in          sweet desire than to live in          anger and hate my life.</p>

*St. 3: v.1 U: vis is missing; v.2 C: la prie por bel; O: la pris au bel; U: je li pri son bel; v.3 C: m'abahi; AOUVa: n'est meruelles (U: ne me mervoil) s'el (O: s'au) regard m'es—v. 4 KOPVX: quant je connoiz; HCU: Car g'i (C: car je) connoiz; Aa: ma mort je sai—v.5 T: ne is missing; V: ne m'i deigne valoir; O: ne me deigne; UC: ne m'i puet rienz valoir; H: que se pitiez ne—v.6: HC: ne sai ou bon confort; U: nul conseil preigne; OV: Ne (V: dont) ne sai mais ou nul (V: ou je nul)—v.7 CU: ke ces (U: ke ses); V: et me mahaigne—v.8 T: tant is missing; KAOPVXa: ha (A: a) douce rienz; H: Ha bele rienz coraus tant—v.9 C: pour amour nasquistes.*

*St.4: v.1 U: me is missing; KPTVX: partirai moi de li; C: Deus ke ferai partirai moi de li; v.2 H: nenil certes ne porroit avenir—v.3: AOa: naie (O: nenil) voir las il; KCPUVX: nenil voir las il ne puet estre issi (CU: ains m'estuet estre ensi); H: Q'ainc nus servise itant ne m'a beli—v.4 KPX: m'a volentiers priz; aACU: tient a sa volentez priz; H: Li plaint li plor la dolor li sospir—v. 5 H: en poi d'eure mi porroit bien merir—v. 6 P: Ne jamaiz jor ne; C: ne li taigne; U: Ne gamaiz ne s'en revengne; H: Car s'a li plait et ele daigne—v.7 CU: se ceste amor m'ocist bien l'en covaigne; H: A son servise a mon cors en demeine—v.8 ATA: en douz consir; KOPVX: qu'a vueil mieuz morir en douz (O: mieuz morir ou douz; P: mieuz morir en bon); CU: muels ain morir ensi en boen consir; H: et saiche bien que je n'en puis garir—v.9 P: et m'amie haïr; V: ma dame haïr; CU: et (U: n'en) a ma mort haïr; H: se par li non des maus don crieng morir.*

## Appendix 3.1a: Text of RS700

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5. Puiz que mes cuers ne s'en veut revenir de vous, dame, pour cui il m'a guerpi, ausmosne avriez, sel voliez retenir, car s'il revient, a moi a il failli. Pour vostre honour et pour Dieu vous en pri que de moi pitiez vous praigne, qu'il n'afiert pas a vous que rienz s'en plaigne, qu'el mont n'a, voir, si crüel trahison com bel semblant et corage felon.	1-10a 2-10b 3-10a 4-10b 5-10b 6-7+c 7-10+c 8-10d 9-10d	Since my heart does not wish to return from you, lady, for whom it has left me, you should have it as alms if you want to keep it, because if it comes back, it has failed me. For your honour and for God's sake I beg you to take pity on me. It would not suit you to complain of anything, as there is no treason so great in this world as a fine appearance and a treacherous heart.
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<b>Envoi:</b> Dame, coment qu'il m'en praigne, merci Amours de ce qu'ele m'adaigne et tieigne a suen, ne ja de sa prison ne quier issir, se mors u amez non.	6-7+c 7-10+c 8-10d 9-10d	My Lady, however he might take me, I beg Love that she esteem me worthy of love, and have me at her [or his] service. Only for death or love do I wish to leave his/her prison.
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*St. 5: v.1 H: mes is missing; C: ne se veut; KAOVXa: des que mes cuers ne s'en (Aa: ne se) veut revenir (O: vost revenir)—v.2 I: il me gurpi—v.3 KACHOUVXa: aumosne (O: aumos) avrez (C: avriés) sel daigniez retenir (A: se daigniez retenti)—v.4 A: kar si revient; O: car se revient—v.5 H: pour amor Deu et por onor vous pri—v.6 aACHKOUVX: que de lui (CKVX: de li) pitié (A: piteiés) vous pri; v.7 aAKX: que nus s'en plaigne; U: a ma dame c'on s'en plaigne; HV: il (V: qu'il) n'afiert pas a vous que rienz; v.8 Aa: k'el mont n'avoit si; O: coment n'avoit si; C: k'el monde n'ait si; V: q'il n'a el mont si; U: qu'el siecle n'a si mortel trahison; H: qu'ainc Dex ne fist si mortel trahison—v.9 O: c'un bel; KTVX: semblant de corage felon.*

*Envoi: v.1: qu'il m'en praigne; T: m'en is missing; CU: Amors coi k'il m'en avaigne—v.2 HOPT: qu'ele me daigne; UC: Li rent (C: ma dame) merci de ce qu'ele me dengne—v.3 CHOPTU: tenir a sien (H: tenir por sien)—v. 4 H: ne quier partir se; O: ne quiert issir a nul jour se morz non; C: se mors ou navreis non.*

### 3.1b. RS699, attr. Hue de le Ferté

Old French text from *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, ed. H. Tischler (Neuhausen and Middleton, 1997, no. 417 (based on **TrouvM**)).

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<p>1. Je chantaisse volontiers liement,  se je trouvaisse en mon cuer l'ochoison;  et deïssè et l'estre et l'errement,  se j'osaisse metre m'entention,  de la grant cour de France, au douz renom,  ou toute valour se baigne;  des pseudomes me lo, qui que s'en plaigne,  don tant i a que bien porront veoir,  ce quit, par tans lor sens et lor savoir.</p>	<p>1-10a  2-10b  3-10a  4-10b  5-10b  6-7'c  7-10'c  8-10d  9-10d</p>	<p>I would willingly sing cheerfully if I found occasion in my heart, and would tell of both the fact of it and how things are going, if I dared reveal my thoughts, regarding the great court of France of noble renown, where all valour bathes itself. I praise noble men, no matter who complains about it, of whom there are many, so that, over time, they [these noble men] will be able to see their intelligence and knowledge.</p>
<hr/>		
<p>2. De ma dame vos di je vraiment  qu'ele aime tant son petit enfaçon  qu'el ne veut pas qu'il se travaut souvent  en departir l'avoir de sa mason.  Maiz ele en doune et depart a fuison;  mout en envoie en Espagne  et mout en met en esforcier Champagne,  s'en fait fermer chastiaux pour mieus valoir;  De tant sunt ja par le creü si hoir.</p>	<p>1-10a  2-10b  3-10a  4-10b  5-10b  6-7'c  7-10'c  8-10d  9-10d</p>	<p>Of my lady, I tell you truly that she loves her little son so much that she does not wish for him to toil so often at distributing the wealth of his house. Instead, she gives and distributes in abundance. She sends much of it to Spain, and much is put into fortifying Champagne, enclosing castles so that they are worth more; her heirs are increased by that much.</p>

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3. Se ma dame fust nee de Paris et ele fust roïne par raison; s'a ele assez fier cuer, ce m'est avis, por faire honte a un bien haut baron et d'alever un trahiteur felon. Deus en cest point la maintaigne et quart son fius, que ja feme ne praigne; quar par home ne puis je pas veoir qu'ele perde jamaiz son grant pooir.	1-10a 2-10b 3-10a 4-10b 5-10b 6-7'c 7-10'c 8-10d 9-10d	Had my lady been born in Paris, she would have been the rightful queen, although she has a heart proud enough, in my opinion, to shame a very high-born baron and raise up a fell traitor. On this point, may God support her and look after her son, so that he never take a wife. For I cannot see that she [the queen] would lose her great power through any man.
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4. Preudome sunt et sage et de haut pris, s'en doivent bien avoir bon guerredon cil qui li ont enseigné et appris a eslongier ceus de ci environ. Et ele a bien fermee sa leçon, quar tous les het et desdaigne. Bien i parut l'autre jour a Compaigne, quant li baron ne porent droit avoir ne ne.s deigna esgarder ne veoir.	1-10a 2-10b 3-10a 4-10b 5-10b 6-7'c 7-10'c 8-10d 9-10d	Those who have taught her to distance [from herself] the people from [around] here are noble and wise and worthy, so they must be well rewarded for this. And she has learned her lesson well, for she hates and disdains all of them. This was made evident the other day at Compiègne, when the barons could not receive justice, for she did not deign to look at them and did not see them.
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<p>5. Que vont querant cil fol baron bregier  qui ne viennent a ma dame servir,  qui mieuz savroit tout le mont justicier  qu'entr'eus trestouz d'un povre bourc joïr?  Et del tresor, s'ele en fait son plaisir,  ne voi qu'a eus en ataigne;  conquise en a la justice roumaigne,  si qu'ele fait les bons pour maus tenir  et les pluseurs en une hore saintir.</p>	<p>1-10a  2-10b  3-10a  4-10b  5-10b  6-7'c  7-10'c  8-10d  9-10d</p>	<p>What are these foolish  barons seeking, who  have not come to serve  my lady, who would know  better how to govern the  whole world than to run  an impoverished village?  And as for the treasure, if  she does as she wishes  with it, I cannot see it  reaching them. She has  mastered Roman justice  [or Romaine Frangipani]  so that she causes good  people to be thought bad  and the majority sainted  in a moment.</p>
<hr/>		
<p><b>Envoi:</b> Deus, li las de la Bretagne  trouvera il jamaiz ou il remaigne?  S'ensi li veut toute terre tollir,  dont ne sai jou qu'il puisse devenir</p>	<p>6-7'c  7-10'c  8-10d  9-10d</p>	<p>God, the miserable  creature from Brittany—  will he ever find a place to  dwell? If she wants to take  all the land from him, I do  not know what will become  of him.</p>

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## Appendix 3.2: Texts for Chapter 2

### 3.2a. RS1227: attr. Blondel de Nesle

Old French text and variations from Blondel de Nesle, *L'œuvre lyrique de Blondel de Nesle*, ed. Yvan G. Lepage (Paris, 1994), pp. 271-92; based on **TrouvM**.

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1. Quant je pluz sui en paour de ma vie	1-10a'	When I am most afraid for
et je mains doi par raison estre liés,	2-10b	my life and have good
lors me semont ma volentez et prie	3-10a'	reason to be happy, then
et fine Amours que je soie envoisiez.	4-10b	my will and <i>fin Amors</i>
S'ele m'ocit, suens en iert li pechiez;	5-10b	summon me and plead
trop a douz nom pour faire vilenie;	6-10a'	that I might be made
maiz se je sui par mes iex traveilliez,	7-10b	cheerful. If she slays me,
dont la vi,	8-3c	the sin will be hers, [but]
qu'en doi je li	9-4c	she has too sweet a name
demander fors merci?	10-6c	to do villainy. But if I am
Puiz que par moi sui de joie eslongiez,	11-10b	tortured through my eyes,
je ne m'en doi plaindre mie;	12-7a'	with which I saw her, what
comment qu'aie esté iriez,	13-7b	can I ask of her but
doucement sui engigniez.	14-7b	mercy? Since I am
		deprived of joy through my
		own fault, I must not
		complain at all; however
		wretched I may have
		been, I am [now] most
		sweetly seduced.

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*Stanzas contained in the MSS: MTZ: 1-6 + envoi; U: 1-5 + 7a, 7, envoi; C: 1-4 + 7a, 7; H: 1, 2, 5, 6, 4, 3, 7; O: 1-4 + 7; RVKNX: 1, 2, 5, 6, 7. For the text of stanza 7a, see Blondel de Nesle, *L'œuvre lyrique de Blondel de Nesle*, p. 284 (Appendice I—this stanza is denoted by VI<sup>bis</sup> in this edition). Since UC are not discussed in detail in Chapter 2, stanza 7a is omitted here.*

*St. 1: v.1 R: en paour de ma mie—v.2 UC: et je doi mains; M: je mieuz doi par raison estre iriez; this has been altered after UCTZHORKNX—v.3 Z dont me semont ma volentez et prie; ZRVKNX: m'i semont; v.5 CX Celle m'ocit; V: suens en est—v.6 O: Trop a valour; UCHORVKNX: et se je sui; H: maiz se g'i sui—v.8 M: dont je la—v.9 RVN: je a li; KX: j'a li—v.11. C: deske por moi sui; RVKNX: puiz que par mi—v.12: je ne m'en doi mie plaindre.*

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2. Amours, mal vi ceus qui vous ont trahie,	1-10a'	Love, it is my misfortune
quant vous seur moi vostre duel en vengiez.	2-10b	that I saw those who
Et si n'ai pas envers vous desservie	3-10a'	betrayed you when you
nule chose dont doie estre empiriez.	4-10b	avenged your sorrow
Mon cuer avez, pieça n'en fui aidiez;	5-10b	[about them] on me. Yet I
ainz m'a laissé pour vostre compaignie.	6-10a'	have not done anything
Mains, s'il vous plaist, crüelment m'assaiez	7-10b	against you with which I
a ami;	8-3c	should be reproached.
quar ja de mi	9-4c	You have my heart, some
ne ferez anemi.	10-6c	time ago I was not helped
Pour ce vous proi que merci en aiez;	11-10b	by it; instead, it left me for
quar se vous avec la vie	12-7a'	your companionship.
que je ai m'i destraigniez,	13-7b	Please test me less
mar vi biauté sanz pitiez.	14-7b	cruelly, as a friend, for you
		will never make an enemy
		of me. That is why I beg
		you to have mercy on me;
		for if you torment me in
		this way, given the life that
		I have, then it is to my
		misfortune that I saw
		beauty without pity.

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*St. 2: v.2 HVKNX: quant vous vers moi; UC: vostre dolor en vengiez—v.3 C: je ne l'ai pas envers; U: je n'en ai pas; O: si n'ai je; HVKNX: je (V: ainz) ne cuidai envers vous; R: je n'ai je riens envers vous—v.4 VKNX: avoir chose dont; CR: chose nulle dont; X nule chose dont je deüsse; HRVKNX: deüsse estre iriez—v.6 U: m'a guerpi pour; V: ainz m'a laissé puis vostre; c: vostre courtoisie; O: seigneurie—v.7 CORVKNX et s'il vous plaist; TZ cruelment s'il vous plaist—v.8 O: Ce vos di—v.9 UC: ke ja de mi; R: ne ja de mi; ZCVKNX: ja de moi—v.11 U: anceis vous proi; O: mais je vous proi; HRVKNX: et s'il vos plaist de moi merci—v.12 U: que se vous; HOV: et se vous; V: quar se vous aiez; H: quar se vous avez anvie; O: quar se vous aviez l'envie; T: vie *is erased and corrected to nui*—v.13: UC: que je meing; H: que si fort; O: que g'i ai; R: que je y ay; ZCUHO: que je ai, me destraigniez.*

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<p>3. Par grant effort ai la douleur veincue  qui me quide de ceste amour tourner;  maiz ne di pas qu'ele en soit recreüe,  que chascun jour ne me vueille grever  ma douce dame, et pour moi esprouver,  pour qui j'ai si toute autre amour perdue,  si que je n'ai de quoi autrui amer  ne servir.  Ne deservir  ne puis par mal souffrir,  que la painne vueille guerredouer  que je ai pour li eüe;  ne sai se merci trouver  porrai en son cuer aver.</p>	<p>1-10a'  2-10b  3-10a'  4-10b  5-10b  6-10a'  7-10b  8-3c  9-4c  10-6c  11-10b  12-7a'  13-7b  14-7b</p>	<p>With great difficulty I  overcame the pain that  thought it could deter me  from this love. I do not  mean, however, that the  pain has yielded, and that  each day, my sweet lady  does not want to make me  suffer and put me to the  test, for which I have lost  all other love, to the point  that I lack the resources to  love and serve any other  lady but herself. Nor can I  can merit, through terrible  suffering, her recompense  for the pain I have had on  her account. I do not know  if I can [ever] find mercy in  her avaricious heart.</p>
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*St. 3: v.1 UCO* a grant effort; *U*: par droit effort—*v. 2 TZUH*: me quida; *C*: cuidorie; *O*: cuidai de ceste honor; *C* de ceste amour geteir; *U*: de ceste amour oster—*v. 3: UC*: je ne di pas; *HO*: si ne di pas; *O*: maiz ne cuit pas; *C*: ke me en soit recreüe; *Z*: qu'ele en soit deceüe, *v.4: UC*: ainz lo me fait chascun jor (*C*: chierement) comparer; *H*: m'i face grever; *O*: la face engignier; *TZ*: viegne grever—*v.5 U*: la dolce riens por mon cuer; *C*: dame por moi a—*v.6 O*: par cui g'i ai; *UCH*: si que j'en ai; *HO*: toute joie amour—*v.7 C*: et se n'ai maix; *U*: ne je n'ai mais; *H*: nul cuer d'autrui—*v.10: C*: n'i truis por; *Z*: par nul mal—*v.11: O*: ma painne; *C*: la painne me puist—*v.12: C*: j'en ai; *H*: j'ai tant; *U*: pour li aiie—*v.13: Z* ne sai se porai trouver—*v.14: Z*: merci en son cuer aver; *UCO*: porroie en son cuer aver.

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<p>4. Nenil, certes, ainz m'iert chiere vendue;          maiz ne la puis sanz morir achater.          Joie eu de li, si la m'a retolue;          rienz n'i a mis qu'ele n'en vueille oster,          fors volenté, qu'ele n'en puet jeter,          dont l'amours est en mon cuer descendue,          qu'el m'a leissié pour son cors desirrer.          Si desir          qu'a son plaisir          puisse de li joïr,          quar autrement ne la quier enganer.          Si m'en soit joie rendue          et puisse amour recovrer,          com je di voir sanz fausser.</p>	<p>1-10a'          2-10b          3-10a'          4-10b          5-10b          6-10a'          7-10b          8-3c          9-4c          10-6c          11-10b          12-7a'          13-7b          14-7b</p>	<p>Certainly not, [this mercy]          would be sold at great          cost, yet I cannot buy it          without dying. I received          joy from her, but she took          it back from me. She has          never wanted to give me          anything that she has not          wanted to take back,          except for my will, which          she cannot remove, with          which love has descended          into my heart, [this love]          which she left me in order          for me to desire her body.          And so I desire that, by          her wish, I might find joy in          her, since I am not looking          to deceive her otherwise.          Thus joy could be          rendered to me and I          could recover love, as I          am telling the truth without          lying.</p>
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*St. 4: v.1 TZ: Naie, certe; H: Merci non voir trop m'est; OC: Nenil, par deu; UCO: ainceis m'iert chier; Z: mout chier—v.2 O: Je n'en cuit pas sanz morir; CU: Ke sans morir ne la cuit achater; H: Qant per morir la m'estuet achater; TZ: maiz je nel; OC: morir eschaper—v.3 O: mais or m'est retolue—v.5 O: rienz n'i ai; U: que n'en revuelle oster—v.6: C: celi n'en puet jeter; T: qu'ele n'en puet oster—v.7 C: ke moi laissait ne l'ai son cors; H: qu'el me dona ancor ne l'ai; U: Ne ja mien vuell ne l'en querisse aler—v.8: U: tant desir; H: ainz desir; O: et desir—v.9 H: qu'a mon plaisir; v.10 O: me lait de li joïr—v.11 OC: la quier engignier—v.12 UO: Si me soit; v.14 C: ke j'ai voir dit sanz fausser.*

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5. Onques mais cuers, ne voloirs, ne pensee envers dame si bien ne se prova; maiz je ne sai comment puisse estre amee cele d'autrui, qui son cuer n'amera. De cel cuer l'aim, qui pour li me lascia; et nonpourquant ainc n'i ot dessevree, qu'entierement avec li me douna par mon gré. S'or m'a grevé, c'est par ma volenté: Ja ma dame reprochié ne sera, et s'en iert espoir blasmee; maiz nului n'en pesera tant com moi, quant ce sera.	1-10a' 2-10b 3-10a' 4-10b 5-10b 6-10a' 7-10b 8-3c 9-4c 10-6c 11-10b 12-7a' 13-7b 14-7b	Never before was one's heart, will, and thought towards a lady tested so thoroughly, but I do not know how this lady could be loved by another who will not love her heart. [As for me,] I love her with this same heart that left me for her; however, there was never any separation, because, at the same time that my heart [gave itself], it gave all of me with my consent. Therefore, if she has damaged me, it is by my own will. My lady will never be reproached, yet perhaps she will be blamed; but no one will be more crushed than I when this [the lady being blamed] happens.
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*St. 5: v.1 UCHVKNX: en voloir n'en pensee; R: en oir n'en—v.2 UC: bien ne s'esprova—v.3 VKNX: et si ne sai comment; H: si ne sai pas comment—v.4 Z: cele k'autrui; C: c'onkes son cuer n'amait—v.5: C: ceu tieng a mien ke premiers me lascia; U: ce tieng a sien que por mien me lascia; HRVKNX: mon cuer; v.7 U: n'en autrement avec li; UC: li l'en porta; HRVKNX: li s'en ala—v.8 HRVKNX: de; TZHRVKNX; son gré—v.9: HRVKNX: s'el m'a grevé; UC: M'a si grevé—v.10 UC et par ma; HVKNX: c'est a ma—v.11 HRVKNX: Quar (H: que) ja ma dame reprové; U: ja ma dolce dame; UC: reproche n'en avra—v.12 UCHRVKNX: s'en sera espoir—v.13: X: mes a nului; UCHRVKNX: plus de moi.*

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6. Chançons, di li que mar vi assamblee	1-10a'	Song, tell her [my lady]
tante biauté com ele me moustra	2-10b	that it is to my misfortune
en sa face fresche et encouloree,	3-10a'	that I saw so many
dont li orgueus en son cuer avala,	4-10b	aspects of beauty
qui son ami ocirre li fera.	5-10b	assembled together as
S'Amours li laist avoir longue duree,	6-10a'	she showed me in her
quar c'est la rienz en cest mont qui pluz a	7-10b	fresh and colourful face,
tost sané	8-3c	for which pride descended
home navré	9-4c	into her heart, which will
de si douce enferté	10-6c	make her kill her friend.
comme je sui—bien ait qui me navra!	11-10b	May Love let her have a
tost m'en iert guerredounee	12-7a'	long life, for it is she alone
la painne, quant li plaira	13-7b	in this world who has the
et pitiez l'en prendera.	14-7b	power to heal quickly a
		man stricken by such a
		sweet malady as I—grace
		be rendered to the one
		who wounded me! Soon
		my suffering will be well
		compensated, when it
		pleases her and pity
		seizes her.

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*St. 6: v.1 HRVKNX: Amors, di li; C: si mal vi; U: tant mal vi—v.2 UCHRVKNX: tant de biauté—v.3 X: en sa face coloree; RVKN: en sa face belle et encolouree; H: en sa face et bele et coloree; en sa face vermeille et (omitted in U) coloree—v.4 C: per coi l'orguel; UC: el cuer li avala; H: son cuer s'en ala—v.5 UC ocirre li rova—v.6 RVKNX: Sa fine amour m'i (R: qui) doinst; UCH: me (H: m'i) doinst—v.7: U: ele est la rienz; UCHRVKNX: pluz tost—v.8 UCHRVKNX: a sané—v.10 ZVKNX: douce enfremeté; UCHRVKNX: grant enferté—v.11 VKNX: con je sui; C: come je seux lais; U: las con je sui; H: com je sui plains; X: mal ai qui me navra; U: qui m'en navra; RVKN: ki m'i navra—v.12 C: Ke tost m'avrait reseneie; UHRVKNX: tost m'avra; TZRVKNX: guerredoné; U: ma painne (H: la dolor; C: ma dolor; R: ma dame, VKNX: la bonté)—v.14 U: et qant pitiés l'en prendra; R: li en prendra; VKNX: semondra.*

7. (In **UCHORVKNX**, text from **U**)

Coment que soit ma joie deffenie,	1-10a'	Although my joy is
ainz de vivre ne fui jor enuiez.	2-10b	eliminated, yet I was never
Mais or voi bien que la morz me defie,	3-10a'	for a moment sick of living.
et si ai bien mes travalz emploiez,	4-10b	But now I see that death
c'a mon voloir ai esté engigniez.	5-10b	defies me, and so I have
Or sont cil lié qui de moi ont envie;	6-10a'	embraced my torment; By
et se par els sui de riens empiriez,	7-10b	my own volition I have
je lor pri	8-3c	been duped. Those who
et si lor di	9-4c	are envious of me are now
qu'il priënt deu por mi,	10-6c	joyful; and if by them I am
Que je me senz de grant meffait chargiez;	11-10b	in any way degraded, I ask
s'en seroit m'erme perie,	12-7a'	them and say to them that
car a boen droit sui jugiez;	13-7b	they pray to God for me,
Deus prengne vos en pitiez.	14-7b	because I feel accused of
		a great misdeed; so would
		my soul perish, for I am
		condemned by a just law.
		May God have mercy on
		you.

**Envoi** (only in **MT**):

Quennes, en Blondel est nee	12-7a'	Conon, love was born in
l'amour, qui ja ne faudra;	13-7b	Blondel, and he will never
tant de mal ne li fera.	14-7b	give up, whatever harm it
		may do him.

*St. 7: v.1 V: joie est defenie—v.2 H: ne fai jor; R: jor avisés; V: jor esmaiez—v.3 CRVKNX: la mort me defie; R: mi defie; H: me maistrie; RVKNX me justice—v.4 O: mout par ai bien; C: malement ai mes travalz; HRVKNX: mout i a bien travalz; C: bien mon servixe emploié—v.5 C: A mon voloir; O: esté angoissiez—v.6 O: S'en sont cil; OX: cil liez—v.7 C: Se ja par els; HRVKNX: et se gi (RX: je) sui par aus; X: riens is omitted—v.8 C: je lor di—v.9 VKNX: et is omitted. C: et se lor pri—v.11 CR: car je me senz; HRVKNX: que je sui trop; O: quar je sui de si; OVKNX: granz mesfaiz; C: chairgié—v.12 O: que m'ame en sera—v.13: H puis q'a boen droit; RVKNX: Puis que par eulz sui jugiez; O: bien voi qu'a la mort sui jugiez—v.14 R: deus is omitted.*

*Envoi: v.1 T: Queues; Z: Pitiés, en Blondel*

**3.2b. RS1147 (anon.)**

Old French text from *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, no. 695 (based on **TrouvK**, the only extant source).

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1. Gent de France, mult estes esbahie!	1-10a'	Gentlemen of France, now
Je di a touz ceus qui sont nez des fiez:	2-10b	you are utterly astonished! I
Si m'aït Deus, franc n'estes vous mes	3-10a'	am speaking of all those born
mie!	4-10b	to fiefs: so help me God, you
Mult vous a l'en de franchise esloigniez,	5-10b	are free no more! You have
car vous estes par enqueste jugiez.	6-10a'	been moved along far from
Quant deffensse ne vos puet fere aïe,	7-10b	your rights, for you are now
trop i estes crüelment engigniez.	8-3c	condemned by inquest. Since
A touz pri,	9-10c	no defence can come to your
douce France n'apiaut l'en plus ensi;	10-10b	aid, you have been all too
ançois ait non: le Païs aus Sougiez,	11-10b	cruelly deceived. I implore
une terre acuvertie,	12-7a'	everyone, sweet France
le raigne as desconseilliez,	13-7b	ought not to be called that
qui en maint cas sont forciez.		anymore; rather it should
		have the name Country of
		Slaves, Land Turned for the
		Worse, Kingdom of the Lost,
		who in many cases are
		violated.

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2. Je sai de voir que de Dieu ne vient mie	1-10a'	I know in truth that this
tel servage, tout soit il exploité.	2-10b	servitude does not come
He loiauté, povre chose esbahie,	3-10a'	from God, even though it
vous ne trouvez qui de vous ait pitié.	4-10b	may be used. Oh Loyalty,
Vous eüssiés force et povoir et pié,	5-10b	you poor, confounded thing,
car vous estes a nostre roi amie;	6-10a'	you cannot find anyone who
mes li vostre sont trop a cler rengié	7-10b	would have mercy on you.
entor lui.	8-3c	You would have had strength
Je n'en conois qu'un autre seul o lui;	9-10c	and power and firm footing,
et icelui est si pris du clergié	10-10b	for you are a friend of our
qu'il ne vous puet fere aïe.	11-10b	king; but your followers are
Tout ont ensemble broié	12-7a'	too closely gathered around
et l'aumosne et le pechié.	13-7b	the clergy. I know of only one
		other with him, and this one
		is so besotted with the clergy
		that he cannot be of help to
		you. They have completely
		conflated both almsgiving
		and sin.

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3. Ce ne cuit nus, que je pour mal le die	1-10a'	Let nobody think that I say this to the detriment of my lord—
de mon seigneur, se Deus me face lié!	2-10b	God preserve me! But I fear that
Mais j'ai poor que s'ame en fust perie,	3-10a'	he [my lord] might lose his soul
et si aim bien saisine de mon fié.	4-10b	over this, and I'd like very well
Quant ce savra, tost l'avra adrelié;	5-10b	the control of my fief. When he
son gentil cuer ne le souffreroit mie.	6-10a'	learns this, he will quickly set it
Pour ce me plect qu'il en soit acointié	7-10b	right. His noble heart would not
et garni	8-3c	tolerate it. It therefore pleases
si que par ci	9-4c	me that he should be
n'ait nul povoir seur lui	10-6c	acquainted with it and
deable anemi, qui l'avoit guetié.	11-10b	forewarned, in such a way that
G'eüsse ma foi mentie	12-7a'	the diabolical enemy [who had
se g'eüsse ensi lessié	13-7b	been] waiting to ambush him
mon seigneur desconseillié.	14-7b	should have no power over him. I would have betrayed my fealty [to you as my lord] if I had left my lord uncounselled.

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### 3.2c. RS1097 (Thibaut de Champagne and Gui)

Old French text from *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, no. 695.

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1. Cuens, je vos part un geu par aaitie,	1-10a'	Count, I share with you a
et si m'en met seur vostre jugement:	2-10b	game by combat, and I
Dui chevalier aiment chascuns s'amie.	3-10a'	thereby put myself under
Li uns des deus aime mult loiaument	4-10b	your judgement:
et li autres guile mult durement.	5-10b	two knights each love their
Li queus tret pis, se Deus vos beneïe,	6-10a'	beloved. The first of the two
ou li loiaus ou cil qui triche et ment	7-10b	loves very loyally, and the
et deçoit?	8-3c	other deceives most cruelly.
Dites m'en droit,	9-4c	Which of them is doing
sire, tot orendroit!	10-6c	worse, (may God bless
Et si prenez l'un des deus maintenant,	11-10b	you), the faithful one, or the
et j'avrai l'autre partie	12-7a'	one who is tricking and
et respondré avenant,	13-7b	lying and deceiving? Tell
selon vos dis, en chantant.	14-7b	me the truth of it, Lord, straight away! Take one of the two [sides] now, and I'll have the other part and respond suitably, according to what you say, by singing.

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<p>2. Mesire Gui, mult me siet la partie;  mes dou mellor vos dirai mon semblant,  que loiautez n'iert ja par moi perie;  encor la bé a tenir mon vivant.  Li desloiaus ne bien ne mal ne sent,  qu'endormiz est en sa vil tricherie;  si ne li chaut li queus chies voist devant,  tort ou droit,  quant il deçoit  celui qui tot metroit  et cuer et cors en son commandement.  Dehaiz ait qui plus s'i fie!  Qui bien a et bien atent  ja n'avra son cuer dolant.</p>	<p>1-10a'  2-10b  3-10a'  4-10b  5-10b  6-10a'  7-10b  8-3c  9-4c  10-6c  11-10b  12-7a'  13-7b  14-7b</p>	<p>2. My lord Gui, this taking-of-  sides suits me well; but  concerning the better [knight]  I will tell you my opinion: that  loyalty will never be destroyed  by me; moreover, I yearn to  preserve it for the rest of my  life. The disloyal one feels  neither benefit nor harm [from  love], for he is idling in his vile  trickery. It does not matter to  him which principle goes  first—wrong or right—when  he deceives the one who  would place both heart and  body completely at his  command. Accursed be  anyone who places his trust in  him! He who has good and  expects good will never have  a grieving heart.</p>
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<p>3. Cuens, je sai bien auques vostre  pensee.  Ne savez pas d'amors jusqu'au doloir;  toutes dolors sont vers celi rosee  d'ome qui aime et n'en puet joie avoir.  Et je pri Deu qu'il vos face savoir  quel mal cil sent qui bien aime a celee.  Adonc primes savrez vos bien devoir,  ce m'est vis,  que mult est pris  cil qui aime, et trait pis  que li autres, qui la guile et deçoit  et a toute honor quitee;  endroit moi por nul avoir  ne vueil avoir tel voloir.</p>	<p>1-10a'  2-10b  3-10a'  4-10b  5-10b  6-10a'  7-10b  8-3c  9-4c  10-6c  11-10b  12-7a'  13-7b  14-7b</p>	<p>Count, I can clearly see some  of your way of thinking. [But]  you are not familiar with love  to the point of suffering; All  pains of a man who loves and  cannot have joy from it are  dew for this kind of thinking.  And I pray that God should  make you realise what pain a  man feels who loves properly  in secret. Then, for the first  time, you will properly know  obligation. It seems to me that  the one who loves is very  much captured, and he fares  worse than the other who  dupes and tricks her and has  forsaken all honour. As for  me, under no circumstances  do I wish to have such  desiring.</p>
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## Appendix 3.2c: Text of RS1097

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4. Messire Gui, toz jorz iert honoree la bone amors, la ou ele est por voir; mains trait de mal qui toute a sa pensee en la joie dont muevent tuit savoir. La fole gent n'i pueent remenoir, ainz dist chascuns que trop atent qui bee. Fin amerres doit tot jors meintener son cler vis et son doz ris, qui li est paradis; si ne se doit pas puis de li doloir dont atent joie honoree. Qui s'i fait apercevoir, tuit li doivent mal avoir.	1-10a' 2-10b 3-10a' 4-10b 5-10b 6-10a' 7-10b 8-3c 9-4c 10-6c 11-10b 12-7a' 13-7b 14-7b	My lord Gui, may good love be honoured always, there where it lies true. He fares better who has his whole intent on the joy by which all are moved to wisdom. Foolish people cannot persevere [in love]; rather, they all say that he who desires waits too long. Refined love must always maintain its clear face and sweet smile, which is paradise to him. Thus he should not grieve about the one from whom he anticipates [receiving] honourable joy. He who puts up appearances [i.e. is seen grieving] ought to be opposed by everyone.
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### Envoi 1:

A Gilon pri qu'il en die le voir; qui a tort de la meslee ne qui s'en doit plus doloir, die le por pais avoir.	1-10b 2-7a' 3-7b 4-7b	I ask Gilon that he tell the truth of the matter about who is wrong in our debate and who should grieve the most about it. May he say this in order to have peace.
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### Envoi 2:

Sor dan Perron m'en met a son voloir, qui dou vis resemble espee, qu'il nos face remenoir et voir die a son poir.	1-10b 2-7a' 3-7b 4-7b	I submit to the will of Perron, whose opinion is like a sword, that he should make us retreat, and speak the truth in his power.
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## Appendix 3.3: Texts for Chapter 3

## 3.3a: RS885, attr. Gautier de Coinci

Old French text from *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies*, no. 585 (Based on **Dg-M**, RS885's only extant source).

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<p>1. Por mon chief reconforter, por mon corage esjoïr, un pou me vuel deporter en löer, en conjoïr cele qui pot comporter le grant roiz et sostenir que ne puet terre porter ciel comprendre ne tenir.</p> <p><i>Dame, qui comportas neuf mois tot nostre deport, por ce por coi me deport, que le fil Deu portas?</i></p>	<p>1-7a 2-7b 3-7a 4-7b 5-7a 6-7b 7-7a 8-7b</p> <p>9-6c 10-7d 11-7d 12-6c</p>	<p>In order to comfort my head, in order to please my heart, I want to enjoy myself a little by praising, by delighting, in the one who could bear the grand king and nourish him whom neither earth could carry nor heaven comprehend or contain.</p> <p><i>My lady, you who are carrying all of our delight for nine months, why [if you contain all delight], do I delight that you carry the son of God [our delight]?</i></p>
<hr/>		
<p>2. Mere Dieu, des mon jovent chasc'an te doi nouveau son je t'ai bien tenu covent tant que none ou vespres son. Vers la fin trai durement; par tens, ce croi, dira on, se je chant plus longuement: 'or rassote cist boen hom'.</p> <p><i>Dame...</i></p>	<p>1-7a 2-7b 3-7a 4-7b 5-7a 6-7b 7-7a 8-7b</p>	<p>Mother of God, from my youth I have made you a new song every year; I have kept the covenant until none and vespers; towards the end I approach heavily; sometimes I think, if I sing much longer, someone will say, 'now this good man raves!'.  <i>My lady...</i></p>
<hr/>		
<p>3. Toz li cuers, dame, me rit, toz m'esjoïst et tressaut, quant chanter puis un petit ces foz chans, se Deus me saut. S'aucun fol folie en die petit ou neent m'en chaut; si fait mot ne si fait dit ne me font ne froit ne chaut.</p> <p><i>Dame...</i></p>	<p>1-7a 2-7b 3-7a 4-7b 5-7a 6-7b 7-7a 8-7b</p>	<p>My entire heart, lady, laughs; all of my heart rejoices and trembles when I can sing a little of these sweet songs, if God saves me. If some fool speaks folly, I do not care at all; if he says one thing or another, it does not change my temperature.  <i>My lady...</i></p>

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Appendix 3.3a: Text of RS885

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<p>4. Mere Deu, il m'est avis,  qui por toi me guaberoit  qu'il seroit deable vis;  car tes fiz m'en vengeroit,  li granz rois de paradis  que tot le mont doter doit  car toz puet ses anemis  agraventer de son doit.</p>	<p>1-7a  2-7b  3-7a  4-7b  5-7a  6-7b  7-7a  8-7b</p>	<p>Mother of God, it seems to me that he  who would mock me for your sake  would be seen as a devil; for your son  would avenge me—the great king of  paradise, whom all the world should  fear—for he can vanquish all of his  enemies with his power.</p>
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*Dame...*

*My lady...*

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<p>5. Mere Deu, jones et vieuz,  soit clers, soit lais, fait savoir  qu'il te sert de mieuz en mieuz  tant que t'amor puist avoir.  Ton non, don sort laiz et mieuz  a löer ne lairoi, voir,  tant com puisse ovrir les ieuz  ne la lange remouvoir.</p>	<p>1-7a  2-7b  3-7a  4-7b  5-7a  6-7b  7-7a  8-7b</p>	<p>Mother of God, young and old—be they  cleric or lay—make it known that they  serve you better and better inasmuch as  they might have your love. Your name,  from which emerge milk and honey, I  will never stop praising, truly, as long as  I can open my eyes and move my  tongue.</p>
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*Dame...*

*My lady...*

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<p>6. Fleurs d'aiglentier, fleurs de lis  ja por ce, s'a ma fin vois,  ne por ce, se j'envellis,  ne lairoi; ne me renvois  por t'amor, don sui espris  Ne pris mais le monde un pois  J'ai grant droit, se le despris,  car n'i a point de cras pois.</p>	<p>1-7a  2-7b  3-7a  4-7b  5-7a  6-7b  7-7a  8-7b</p>	<p>I will never abandon the Rose and the  Lily, neither on account of coming to my  end nor on account of growing old;  do not send me away because of [my]  love for you, which inflames me. I no  longer rate the world more than a pea  and am absolutely right to disparage it,  for there is no blubber at all*/ no  profitable burden.</p>
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*Dame...*

*My lady...*

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<p>7. Mere Deu, se mes las cors  afebloie et desperit  et envielit par defors,  renouvele l'esperit.  La chars, qui muert com un pors,  ne peut chaloir, quant devit;  mais a l'ame est li tresors  qui sanz terme et sanz fin vit.</p>	<p>1-7a  2-7b  3-7a  4-7b  5-7a  6-7b  7-7a  8-7b</p>	<p>Mother of God, although my poor body,  enfeebled and dispirited and aged in its  appearance, renews its spirit, the flesh,  which dies like a pig, cannot warm when  it dies, but in the soul is the treasure  which lives without a [fixed] term and  without end.</p>
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*Dame...*

*My lady...*

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\*the reference to blubber likely refers to the medieval dish of *craspois*, made of pea and whale blubber, the sense being that the world is like a pea without the blubber. I am grateful to Huw Grange for this piece of trivia.

### Appendix 3.3a: Text of RS885

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<p>8. Dame, ou ciel cil viveront sanz terme et sanz finement qui leur cuers aviveront a toi servir vivement et li las, qui ne feront ton servise docement es tormenz d'enfer seront dempné pardurablement.</p>	<p>1-7a 2-7b 3-7a 4-7b 5-7a 6-7b 7-7a 8-7b</p>	<p>My lady, in heaven these ones will live without a [fixed] term and without end, who animate their hearts in order to serve you devotedly, and the wretched, who cannot do your service sweetly, will be in the torments of hell, damned forever.</p>
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*Dame...*

*My lady...*

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<p>9. Doiz de tote pïeté, jointes mains te quier [mercy] et pri qu'au grant jor tant redoté faces tant par ta merci au doz roi de verité, qu'il die a nos qui sons ci le doz mot, le bien dité: 'Venite, benedicti,  <i>regnum possidete.</i> <i>Vos qui m'amez finement,</i> <i>sanz terme et sanz finement</i> <i>mecum congaudete.'</i></p>	<p>1-7a 2-7b 3-7a 4-7b 5-7a 6-7b 7-7a 8-7b  9-6c 10-7d 11-7d 12-6c</p>	<p>Give complete mercy. With joined hands I pray and wish that on that great day, greatly feared, you may do so much, by your mercy, to the great king of truth, that he may say to us who hear here the sweet word, the good dictum: 'Come, you blessed ones,  <i>take possession of the Kingdom; you who love me well without a [fixed] term and without end, rejoice with me.'</i></p>
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### 3.3b: Sol sub nube latuit

Latin Text taken from *Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems*, p. 75.

English translation of Stanzas 1, 2, 4, 7, 8 adapted from the same edition (trans. D. A. Traill). Stanzas 3 and 6 translated by Gustav Zamore, 2015.

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<p>1. Sol sub nube latuit, sed eclipsis nescius, cum se carni miscuit summi patris filius. Maritari noluit verbum patris altius, nubere non potuit caro gloriosius.</p>	<p>1-7a 2-7b 3-7a 4-7b 5-7a 6-7b 7-7a 8-7b</p>	<p>The sun hides behind the cloud, not knowing of eclipses. When the son of the highest father blended himself with the flesh, the Word of the Father did not wish for a more exalted marriage, while flesh could not hope for a union that would bring it greater glory.</p>
<p><i>Gaude, nova nupta! Fides est et veritas, quod a carne deitas non fuit corrupta.</i></p>	<p>9-6c 10-7d 11-7d 12-6c</p>	<p><i>Rejoice, O you new bride! It is the faith, and it is the truth that the deity was not corrupted by the flesh.</i></p>

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<p>2. Sois iubar temperat, nubes molis nescia, terra fructum generat quo dulcescunt omnia. Celo terras federat nova data gratia. Tollere qui venerat captivantis spolia.</p>	<p>1-7a 2-7b 3-7a 4-7b 5-7a 6-7b 7-7a 8-7b</p>	<p>The weightless clouds temper the sun; the earth brings forth fruits by which everything becomes sweet. The newly given grace joins earth to heaven: he had come to take the spoils of war from the one who is keeping us in captivity.</p>
<p><i>Gaude...</i></p>		<p><i>Rejoice...</i></p>

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<p>3. Qui solus eternus est, et qui regit omnia, quod non erat, factus est, nec tamen res alia; illum, qui solatus est, stricta ligat fascia, iacet qui immensus est, inter animalia.</p>	<p>1-7a 2-7b 3-7a 4-7b 5-7a 6-7b 7-7a 8-7b</p>	<p>He who alone is eternal, and who rules all things, was made into that which he was not before, and yet he did not change. Swaddling clothes tightly enclosed him who is free from all things, and the Infinite lies among animals.</p>
<p><i>Gaude...</i></p>		<p><i>Rejoice...</i></p>

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Appendix 3.3b: Text of *Sol sub nube*

<p>4. O domus egregia, domus inquam, domini, domus nulli pervia nisi Deo homini. O mira materia, portus data nemini nulli quidem propria nisi matri virgini.</p>	<p>1-7a 2-7b 3-7a 4-7b 5-7a 6-7b 7-7a 8-7b</p>	<p>Ah, peerless abode! Abode, I repeat, of the Lord, abode accessible to none save the man-God. O amazing matter, a port given to no one, proper to no one, except for the virgin mother.</p>
<p><i>Gaude...</i></p>		<p><i>Rejoice...</i></p>
<p>5. Absque Dei numine sensu nullo capitur, quod de matre virgine Deus homo nascitur, qui mentis acumine qui loco non clauditur en stamen in homine iacet, sedet, graditur.</p>	<p>1-7a 2-7b 3-7a 4-7b 5-7a 6-7b 7-7a 8-7b</p>	<p>Without the will of God, no mind can grasp that from a virgin mother the man-God was born, whom no sharpness of intellect can encompass or space confine, but who, as a being in human form, lay down, sat, and walked.</p>
<p><i>Gaude...</i></p>		<p><i>Rejoice...</i></p>
<p>6. Rubus non conburitur inter flammam ignium nec mater transgreditur castitatis lilium hoc non intelligitur ab ullo mortalium, nisi a quo fugitur Babilonis medium.</p>	<p>1-7a 2-7b 3-7a 4-7b 5-7a 6-7b 7-7a 8-7b</p>	<p>The bush is not burned by the fire, nor does the mother lose the lily of chastity. This is not understood by any mortal, except by the one who is free from Babylon.</p>
<p><i>Gaude...</i></p>		<p><i>Rejoice...</i></p>
<p>7. Ab hoc ergo medio fugiendum primitus et vero refugio aderendum penitus ut in Dei filio noster fiat exitus ad quem nos cum gaudio perducat paraclitus.</p>	<p>1-7a 2-7b 3-7a 4-7b 5-7a 6-7b 7-7a 8-7b</p>	<p>So we must first flee from Babylon and cling unflinchingly to our true refuge, so that our end may be in the son of God. May the Paraclete lead us joyfully to him!</p>
<p><i>Gaude...</i></p>		<p><i>Rejoice...</i></p>

**3.3c. RS1001, attr. Thibaut de Blaison**

Old French text and variants from *Les poésies de Thibaut de Blaison*, ed. Terence H. Newcombe, (Genève, 1978), pp. 62-63 (based on **TrouvK**).

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1. Chanter et renvoisier sueil; or m'estuet plaindre et plorer quant je pert ce qu'amer sueil: riens ne mi puet conforter. Trop furent crüel mi oeil Qui la m'oserent moustrer; G'en pleur et souspir et dueil, Qu'a force mi fet amer.	1-7a 2-7b 3-7a 4-7b 5-7a 6-7b 7-7a 8-7b	I am in the habit of singing and being joyful; [but] now, when I lose that which I am accustomed to loving, I must lament and weep: nothing can comfort me. My eyes were so cruel for daring to show her to me—I weep and sigh and suffer for it, that she/they make(s) me love by force.
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2. Bien me puis apercevoir qu'il est voirs ce que l'en dit: ce qu'en a a son vouloir l'en le prise mult petit, et ce qu'en ne puet avoir tient l'en a si grant delit. amors le m'ont fet savoir qui m'on mis en leur escrit.	1-7a 2-7b 3-7a 4-7b 5-7a 6-7b 7-7a 8-7b	I can well perceive that it is truly as they say: that which one has whenever one wishes, one values very little, and that which one cannot have, one holds to be such a great delight. Lovers, who have counted me amongst their number, have made me know it.
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3. Hé dame, de vostre ami pour Dieu praigne vous pitié! Nel metez mie en oubli s'il est de vous esloignié. Son cuer a parmi parti: vostre en est l'une moitié, De l'autre n'est il sesi se n'est par vostre congié.	1-7a 2-7b 3-7a 4-7b 5-7a 6-7b 7-7a 8-7b	For God's sake, my lady, may pity take hold of you concerning your friend! Do not forget him completely if he happens to be far away from you. He has cut his heart in two: one half of it is yours; he does not possess the other part, except by your leave.
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*St. 1:* **v.1 PO:** suel—**v.2 V:** mesteut—**v.3 O:** vuil—**v.4 N:** rien—**v.5 NPX:** oil; **O:** huil—**v.6 O:** qant il s'oserent moster—**v.7 O:** G'en] je; **O:** duil—**v.8 O:** Qu'a] car; **X:** mi fet] mestuet; **V:** mesteut.

*St.2:* **v.2 V:** que cest; **O:** que voir est; **X:** ce que] quanq—**v.3 NPX:** L'en] on; **V:** qu'en—**v.5 NPXV:** l'en] on; **O:** qu'en le tient—**v.6 O:** ma fait; **v.7 O:** m'a mis en son escrit.

*St. 3:* **v.3 O:** ne le metez en; **V:** mie] pas; **v.4 O:** se de vos est esloignié; **V:** s'est; **K:** elloignie; **V:** esloigniez—**v.5 O:** mes cuers est partiz par mi—**v.6 V:** vous en avez la moitié—**v.7 O:** si est l'autre ce m'est vis; **P:** sesis—**v.8 O:** je sui urens touz sougiez

## Appendix 3.3c: Text of RS1001

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<p>4. Douce dame, ce m'est vis,          bien sai pour vous me morrai:          plus m'a sorpris vostre vis          qu'oiseil qui est pris au broi.          Quant regard vostre cler vis          que tant aim de cuer verai,          je cuit bien enragier vis,          se n'avez merci de moi.</p>	<p>1-7a          2-7b          3-7a          4-7b          5-7a          6-7b          7-7a          8-7b</p>	<p>Sweet lady, as I see it, I know I will die          for you. Your face astonished me more          than a bird captured in a trap. When I          look at your clear face, which I love so          much from a true heart, I think I will go          mad if you do not have mercy on me.</p>
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<p>5. En ma chançon je vous pri,          dame, plus ne vous demant,          que ne metez en oubli          cil qui pour vous va morant.          Ce sont certes anemi          qui si vos vont delaiant:          Deus dont qu'il soient honi          Ainz le soleil esconsant.</p>	<p>1-7a          2-7b          3-7a          4-7b          5-7a          6-7b          7-7a          8-7b</p>	<p>Lady, in my song I beg you—no longer          do I ask you—that you not put into          oblivion the one who is dying for you.          They are indeed enemies who go about          so putting you off: God grant that they          be condemned before the sun          disappears.</p>
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*St.4: v.1 X: avis—v.2 O: pour vous me] que por vos—v.3 O: plus ma uren amor sopis—  
v.4 P: a; V: bra—v.5 V: esgart—v.6 V: quie tant aing de cuer vrai; O: que j'ain de cuer  
verai—v.7 P: bien is missing—v.8 O: de moi merci*

*St.5: v.1. N: je is missing—v.3 O: ne metez pas en oubli—v.4 PV: cel; O: moi qui vos ai  
ame tant—v.6 O: vos vont si—v.8 P: resconsant*

## Appendix 3.4: Texts for Chapter 4

### 3.4a. RS711, attr. Thibaut de Champagne

Old French text and variants from Thibaut de Champagne, *The Lyrics of Thibaut de Champagne*, pp. 114-17. Translation slightly adapted from the same edition (trans. K. J. Brahney). \*This edition includes only major lexical variants and differing lines.

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<p>1. Tant ai Amors servies longuement que desormés ne m'en doit nus reprendre, se je m'en part. Ore a Dieu les commant qu'en ne doit pas touz jorz folie enprendre; et cil est fous qui ne s'en set desfendre, ne n'i conoist son mal ne son torment. L'en me tendroit desormés por enfant, car chascun tens doit sa seson attendre.</p>	<p>1-10a 2-10'b 3-10a 4-10'b 5-10'b 6-10a 7-10a 8-10'b</p>	<p>I have served Love for so long that, henceforth, no one must reproach me if I desist. I commend her now to God, for one must not undertake folly forever, and he is a fool who does not know how to defend himself against it, nor recognizes its pain and torment. One would regard me henceforth as a child, for each turn of weather must await its season.</p>
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<p>2. Je ne sui pas si com cil autre gent qui ont amé, puis i vuelent contendre et dient mal par vilain escrient. Mes nus ne doit seigneur servise vendre, encontre lui mesdire ne mesprendre; et s'il s'en part, parte s'en bonement. Endroit de moi vueil je que tuit amant aient grant bien, quant je plus n'i puis prendre.</p>	<p>1-10a 2-10'b 3-10a 4-10'b 5-10'b 6-10a 7-10a 8-10'b</p>	<p>I am not like those other people who have loved and then wish to dispute it and speak slander through vile ill-will. No one should sell his services to his lord, nor direct slander or misdeeds against him; but let him who breaks away, break away in good faith. I, for my part, want all lovers to receive great favors, even though I may not partake.</p>
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*St. 1:* v.1 **BKMtNOPX**: servies—v.3 **KCKNOPRSVXZ**: les; v.4 **Aa**: pas chertes; **C**: aprendre

*St. 2:* v.1 **F**: sierc pas—v.2 **C**: containdre; **B**: entendre—v.3 **MT**: lor fier; **C**: lor fol; **CK**: escrient—v.4 **BMtSV**: seigneur servise rendre—v.5 **BKOPSVX**: encontre lui—v.6 **C**: pairt per son s'an; **X**: maintenant

Appendix 3.4a: Text of RS711

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<p>3. Amours, m'a fet maint bien tresques ici,  qu'ele m'a fet amer sanz vilanie  la plus tres bele et la meilleur ausi,  au mien cuidier, qui onques fust choisie.  Amors le veut et ma dame m'en prie  que je m'en parte, et je mult l'en merci.  Quant par le gré ma dame m'en chasti,  meilleur reson n'i truis a ma partie.</p>	<p>1-10c  2-10'd  3-10c  4-10'd  5-10'd  6-10c  7-10c  8-10'd</p>	<p>Up to this point Love has done me great good, for she has made me love, without baseness, the most beautiful and the best, in my opinion, who has ever been chosen. Love now wishes, and my lady begs me, to go away, and I thank her greatly for it. If my lady willingly chastises me, I find no better reason to take my leave.</p>
<hr/>		
<p>4. Autre chose ne me m'a Amors meri  De tant com j'ai esté en sa baillie;  Mes bien m'a Deus par sa pitié gueri,  Quant delivré m'a de sa seignorie.  Quant eschapez li sui sanz perdre vie,  Ainz de mes euz si bon estre ne vi;  Si cuit je fere oncor maint jeu parti  et maint sonet et mainte raverdie.</p>	<p>1-10c  2-10'd  3-10c  4-10'd  5-10'd  6-10c  7-10c  8-10'd</p>	<p>I have never merited anything else from Love as long as I have been in her service; but God, in his pity, cured me when he delivered me from her lordship. I have never seen a better fate than when I escaped from her without losing my life. Thus I think I will write many a jeu-parti, and many a <i>sonet</i> and <i>reverdie</i>.</p>
<hr/>		
<p>5. Au commencier se doit on bien garder  d'entreprendre chose desmesuree,  mes bone Amor ne let honme apenser  ne bien choisir ou mete sa pensee.  Plus tost aime on en estrange contree,  ou on ne puet ne venir ne aler,  qu'on ne fet ce q'on puet toz jorz trouver;  ici est bien la folie prouvee.</p>	<p>1-10e  2-10'f  3-10e  4-10'f  5-10'f  6-10e  7-10e  8-10'f</p>	<p>At first one must keep oneself from undertaking anything excessive, but true love does not let a man think, or choose rightly where to direct his thought. One prefers to love, rather, in a foreign land, where one cannot come and go, than love what one can find everyday; all this is proven folly!</p>

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*St. 3: v.3 MT: plus courtoisie—v.4 Mt: qui onques fust veue ne; FS: fust en vie—v.5 F: A l'otroie; B adds quant delivré m'a de sa seignorie here—v.6 F: et mout m'en loche d'amors et le—v.7 A: par garni; R: par garniz*

*St. 4: vv.4-5 Mt: these lines are interchanged. v.7 K: jor parti; Mt: main chant jolif—v.8 R: et maint sonet is missing; RZa maint envoiserie; A: envoiseure*

*St. 5: v.3 C: homme asenier—v.7 C: ke ceu c'on puet veoir et esgardeir*

## Appendix 3.4a: Text of RS711

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**Envoi:**

Or me gart Deus et d'amie et d'amer  
fors de cele que l'en doit aourer;  
la ne puet nus faillir a grant soudee.

1-10e    May God keep me both from  
2-10e    my beloved and from loving  
3-10'f   anyone but she who ought to  
          be adored [Mary], and from  
          whom one cannot fail to obtain  
          recompense.

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**3.4b. RS709a, attr. Gautier de Coinci**

Old French Text from *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies*, no. 423 (based on the only extant source, **Dg-D**).

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<p>1. Tant ai servi le monde longement que bien me doi d'or en avant reprendre. De lui me part; a celui me quemant qui pooir a de moi vers tous desfendre: C'est la puchele en cui Deus vaut descendre pour nous sauver et jeter de tourment. Douche virge, jointes mains, en plourant, merchi vous pri, que m'i voeilliés entendre.</p>	<p>1-10a 2-10'b 3-10a 4-10'b 5-10'b  6-10a 7-10a 8-10'b</p>	<p>I have served the world for so long that from this moment on I must reform myself. I take my leave of it [the world]; I commend myself to the one who has the power to defend me against everything, to the maiden in whom God wished to descend in order to save us and banish torment. Sweet virgin, with joined hands and tears I beseech you for mercy, that you might wish to hear me.</p>
<hr/>		
<p>2. Douce dame de cui tous biens descent, la qui bonté nus cuers ne puet comprendre, dame du monde et du ciel ensemment, a vo douchour nule ne s'i puet prendre. Bon fait son tans en vous servir despendre; car qui vous sert de fin cuer humlement, li enemis n'a pooir vraiment de lui grever, puis c'a li se vient rendre.</p>	<p>1-10a 2-10'b  3-10a 4-10'b 5-10'b  6-10a 7-10a 8-10'b</p>	<p>Sweet lady from whom all good descends, whose goodness no heart can comprehend, lady of both heaven and earth, to your sweetness none can compare. It is good to spend one's time serving you; for truly, the enemy has no power to harm him who serves you humbly with a pure heart after he gives himself to her.</p>
<hr/>		
<p>3. Vo grant pitié, vo douç acointement, Theophilus le nous puet bien aprendre, qui renoia vous et vo fil briément et puis balla chartre de s'arme vendre. Haï caitis, comment osa atendre, douce virge, puis vous ne vostre enfant? Quant il perchut que meffait avoit tant, bien li deüst li cuers eu ventre fendre.</p>	<p>1-10a 2-10'b 3-10a 4-10'b 5-10'b 6-10a 7-10a 8-10'b</p>	<p>Your great mercy, your sweet company, Theophilus can teach it well to us, he who rashly renounced you and your son and then drew up a contract to sell his soul. Hated caitiff, how did he have the audacity to wait, sweet virgin, for you and your child? When he perceived that he had sinned greatly, his heart must have broken in his chest for you.</p>

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4. Douce dame, quant merchi vint criant Theophilus devant vous soi estendre, son grant meschief vers vo fil erramment par vo pitié vausistes entreprendre et sa chartre li fesistes lués rendre qu'il avoit baillie desloiaument a l'enemi, qui par decevement s'arme et son cors quidoit en infer pendre.	1-10a 2-10'b 3-10a 4-10'b 5-10'b 6-10a 7-10a 8-10'b	Sweet lady, when Theophilus came, crying for mercy, to proffer himself before you, [for] his great misdeeds toward your son, immediately, by your pity, you desired to act, and his contract would have made him give up himself, which he had given disloyally to the enemy, who by deceit intended to strangle his soul and body in hell.
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5. Douce dame, de cuer devotement des ore mais voel vo servise enprendre. A vous proier jour et nuit doucement vaurrai mon cuer, que qu'il ait fait, aprendre. Bien m'a seü li enemis sousprendre, car vescu ai lonc tans enfantieument. Or est li tans de querre alegement, car mes cors ert assés tost pouvre cendre.	1-10a 2-10'b 3-10a 4-10'b 5-10'b 6-10a 7-10a 8-10'b	Sweet lady, with a devoted heart I wish to embrace your service from this moment. I will bid my heart to pray sweetly to you day and night, whatever it [the heart] has done, in order to learn. The enemy has known well [how] to trap me, for I have long lived childishly. Now is the time to seek relief, for my body will very soon be ashes.
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### 3.4c. *Ave Gemma*, attr. Adam de la Bassée

Latin text from Jennifer A. Barnard, *The Journey of the Soul*, vol. 2 (Ph.D. diss., University of Bristol), p. 348.

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Ave gemma quae lucis copia: et virtute vincis carbunculum puellarum gerens insignia praefendo pudoris speculum. Ora deum qui te per annulum subarrhatam decorat gloria ut lamenta mutet in gaudia et in caelum praesens ergastulum.	1-10a 2-10b 3-10a 4-10b 5-10b 6-10a 7-10a 8-10b	Hail jewel, who in the abundance of your light and excellence outshine the carbuncle, showing the traits of girls by preferring the mirror of purity. Pray God, who adorns you with glory by the ring which you are promised, that he would change our lamenting into joy and our present imprisonment into heavenly freedom.
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## Appendix 3.5: Texts for Chapter 5

### 3.5a. RS679, attr. Chastelain de Coucy

Old French text from the University of Warwick's online project 'Troubadours, trouvères and the Crusades', based on **AMT**. Translation slightly adapted from the same.<sup>395</sup> For textual variants, see *Chansons attribuées au Chastelain de Coucy: Fin du XIIe – début du XIIIe siècle*, ed. A. Lerond (Paris, 1962), pp. 58-62.

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<p>1. A vous amant, plus k'a nul'autre gent, est bien raisons ke ma dolor complaigne, car il m'estuet partir outreement et desevrer de ma loial compaigne; et, quant li pert, n'est riens ki me remaigne; et sachiés bien, Amors, seürement, s'ainc nus morut por avoir cuer dolent, dont n'ert par moi mais meüs vers ne lais.</p>	<p>1-10a 2-10'b 3-10a 4-10'b 5-10'b 6-10a 7-10a 8-10c</p>	<p>To you, lovers, more than all other people, it is right that I express my grief, for of necessity I am compelled to leave and part from my faithful companion; and once I lose her, there is nothing left to me; and be aware, Love, truly, that if anyone ever died of a sorrowing heart, then no song or lay will ever emanate from me.</p>
<hr/>		
<p>2. Beaus sire Diex, k'iert il dont et coment? convenra il k'ens la fin congié praigne? Oïl, par Dieu, ne puet estre autrement, sans li m'estuet aler en terre estraaigne; or ne quic mais ke grans maus me soffraigne quant de li n'ai confort n'alegement, ne de nule autre amor joie n'atent fors ke de li, ne sai se ch'iert jamais.</p>	<p>1-10a 2-10'b 3-10a 4-10'b 5-10'b 6-10a 7-10a 8-10c</p>	<p>Good Lord God, what will therefore come about, and how? Shall I finally have to take my leave of her? Yes, by God, it cannot be otherwise, without her I must go into a foreign land; I do not think now ever to be free of dreadful pain, since I have no comfort or consolation from her, and expect no joy from any other love but hers, and I do not know whether this will ever be.</p>

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<sup>395</sup> See 'RS679' in 'Troubadours, trouvères and the Crusades', University of Warwick, (accessed 25 February 2017) at <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/modernlanguages/research/french/crusades/texts/of/rs679/#page1>. This translation is by L. Barbieri, 2015.

### Appendix 3.5a: Text of RS679

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3. Beaus sire Diex, k'iert il del consirrer, del grant soulas et de la compaignie et des samblanz ke me soloit moustrer cele ki m'ert dame, compaigne, amie? Et quant recort sa simple courtoisie et les dols mos ke suet a moi parler, coment me puet li cuers el cors durer? quant ne s'em part, certes molt est mauvais.	1-10a 2-10'b 3-10a 4-10'b 5-10'b 6-10a 7-10a 8-10c	Good Lord God, what will become of the kind thoughts, the great solace, the companionship and loving looks which the one who was my lady, companion, friend, used to bestow on me? And when I call to mind her simple courtesy and the sweet words with which she is accustomed to speak to me, how can my heart remain within my body? If it does not part from there it is assuredly most wretched.
4. Ne me vaut pas Diex por noient doner tos les deduis k'ai eüs ens ma vie, ains les me fait chierement comperer, s'ai grant paour chis loiers ne m'ochie; merchi Amors, s'ainc Diex fist vilonie, ke vilains fait boine amor desevrer: ne je ne puis l'amor de moi oster et si m'estuet ke jou ma dame lais.	1-10a 2-10'b 3-10a 4-10'b 5-10'b 6-10a 7-10a 8-10c	Not for nothing has God wished to grant me all the delights I have had in my life; instead he makes me pay dearly for them, to the point where I fear that this price will be my death. Have pity, Love, if God ever acted basely; it is a cruel thing to sunder good love: but I cannot free myself of love, and yet I am obliged to leave my lady.
5. Or seront lié li faus losengeor cui tant pesoit des biens k'avoir soloie, mais ja de çou n'ere pelerins jor ke ja vers aus boine volenté aie; por tant porrai perdre tote ma voie, car tant m'ont fait de mal li traïtor, se Diex voloit k'il eüssent m'amor, ne me porroit cargier plus pesant fais.	1-10a 2-10'b 3-10a 4-10'b 5-10'b 6-10a 7-10a 8-10c	Now the false slanderers who so resented the good things I used to enjoy will be glad, but I shall never be so penitent as ever to be well disposed towards them; for this reason I could lose all the benefits of my pilgrimage, because the traitors have done me so much harm that if God desired me to love them, He could not burden me with a heavier load.

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<p>6. Je m'en vois, dame: a Dieu le creator comanc vo cors, en quel lieu ke je soie, ne sai se ja verrés mais mon retor; aventure est que jamais vous revoie; por Dieu vous pri, en quel lieu ke je soie, ke nos convens tenés, viegne ou demour, et je proi Dieu k'ausi me doinst honor com je vous ai esté amis verais.</p>	<p>1-10a 2-10'b 3-10a 4-10'b 5-10'b 6-10a 7-10a 8-10c</p>	<p>I leave, Lady: I commend you to God the creator, wherever I may be, and I know not if you will ever see my return; it is a matter of chance whether I shall see you again; I beg you, for God's sake, wherever I may be, to keep true to our promise, whether I return or stay, and I pray God to grant me honour, just as I have been your true friend.</p>
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**Envoi:**

<p>De moie part di, chançons, si t'en croie, que sols m'en vois, que n'ai altre seignor; et bien sachiez, dame de grant valor, se je revieg, que por vos servir nais.</p>	<p>1-10'b 2-10a 3-10a 4-10c</p>	<p>Song, say on my behalf, and may you be believed, that I leave alone, since I have no other lord; and be well aware, lady of great worth, that if I return, I was born to serve you.</p>
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**3.5b. RS358 (anon.)**

Old French Text from Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies*, no. 423.  
(based on **TrouvK**).

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<p>1. Li Chastelains de Couci ama tant, Qu'ainz por amors nus n'en ot dolor graindre: Por ce ferai ma complainte en son chant, Que ne cuit pas que la moie soit maindre. La mort mi fet regreter et conplaindre vostre cler vis, bele, et vostre cors gent. Morte vos ont frere et mere et parent, par un très fol désevrement mauvés.</p>	<p>1-10a 2-10'b 3-10a 4-10'b 5-10'b 6-10a 7-10a 8-10c</p>	<p>The Chatelain de Coucy loved so greatly that no one had greater sorrow in love than he. For this reason, I set my lament in his song, because I do not think mine [my sorrow] is any less. Death makes me lament and grieve for your clear, beautiful face and noble body. Brother and mother and parent have killed you by a foolish, terrible separation.</p>
<p>2. Por qui ferai mès ne chançon ne chant, Quant je ne bé à nule amor ataindre? Ne jamès jor de quiet en mon vivant M'ire et mon duel, et ma dolor refrainde.</p>	<p>1-10a 2-10'b 3-10a 4-10'b</p>	<p>For whom would I make a song or air when I do not aspire at all to attaining love? Nor do I ever seek, while I</p>

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## Appendix 3.5b: Text of RS358

Car venist or la mort por moi destraindre; si que morir m'esteut maintenant; C'onques mès hom n'ot un mail si très grant, Ne de dolor au cuer si pesant fais.	5-10'b 6-10a 7-10a 8-10c	live, to moderate anger, pain, and grief, because death comes now to destroy me, so that I have to die now. Never did a man have an affliction so great, nor in his heart such a heavy burden of sorrow.
3. Mult ai veü et mult ai esprouvé Mainte merveille eue et endurée: Mès ceste m'a le cors si aterré, que je ne puis avoir longue durée. Or maudirai ma male destinée, Quant j'ai perdu le gent cors acesmé, Où tant avait de sens et de bonté; Qui valait melz que le roïaume d'Ais.	1-10a 2-10'b 3-10a 4-10'b 5-10'b 6-10a 7-10a 8-10c	I have seen, felt, and endured many marvels, but this [marvel] has so floored my body that that I cannot possibly survive long. Now I will curse my ill-fated destiny, because I have lost the noble and refined body which contained such wisdom and goodness, who was worth more to me than the Kingdom of Aix.
4. Je départi de li outre mon gré: C'estoit la riens dont je plus me doloie. Ore a la mort le départ confirmé; A touzjors mès c'est ce qui me tout joie. Nule dolor ne se prent à la moie: Car je sai bien, jamès ne la verré. Hélas! Chétif, où iré? Que feré? S'or ne me muir, je vivrai touzjors mais.	1-10a 2-10'b 3-10a 4-10'b 5-10'b 6-10a 7-10a 8-10c	I parted from her against my will: this was the creature who had made sorrow most painful to me. Now this departure has confirmed death/ death has confirmed this departure. She who was my complete joy is gone forever. There is no pain comparable to mine: for I know I shall never see her again. Alas! Where to go? What to do? If I do not die now, will I just keep on living?
5. Pardieu, Amors, je ne vos pris noïent, Car morte est cel pour qui je vous prisoie: Je ne pris rien ne biauté, ne jovent, Or, ne argent, ne chose que je voie. Pourquoi? Pour'ce que la mort tout mestroie. Je cuit amors, et adieu le conmant. Jamès ne cuit vivre fors en torment; Joie et déduit tout outréement lais.	1-10a 2-10'b 3-10a 4-10'b 5-10'b 6-10a 7-10a 8-10c	By God, Love, you are worth nothing to me, since the one for whom I prized you is dead. I no longer value anything: not beauty, youth, gold or silver, or anything I can see. Why? Because death dominates everything. I give up love and bid it farewell. I do not wish to live except in torment—I abandon joy and delight completely.