



**The Art of
Grafted Song**
Citation and Allusion
in the Age of Machaut

Dolanda Plumley

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YOLANDA PLUMLEY

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of Machaut*

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To my mother and father
To Bill

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When visiting Kraków one September, I found myself in a restaurant one evening listening to a performance of Klezmer music. As part of the program, the young ensemble presented a work of its own creation, which I subsequently discovered was entitled “a musical joke.” The joke apparently passed unnoticed by most, to judge from the impassive faces of the other tourists, although all were certainly taken by the lively quality of the composition and the impressive dexterity of the musicians. But to those familiar with the music of Frederic Chopin it brought a knowing smile, for the work was built around quotations from four mazurkas by that composer. The humor of this work lay in the collision of two musical cultures, both indigenous to Poland but distant from one another in terms of register and style as well as temporally: nineteenth-century Romantic Polish art music, itself evoking national folk dance, found itself transplanted here into the Jewish musical tradition, also rooted in dance, and playfully transformed into something new in a virtuosic tour de force. It came as no surprise to learn the musicians themselves had a foot in both traditions; they had studied at Kraków conservatory and their creative jape won them first prize in the open class in a Chopin competition held there.

Quotations, citations, and allusions are encountered in all manner of Western musical and literary genres and traditions from across the ages, not least in works from the medieval period. Whatever the motivation behind them, and whether serious or playful in intent, deliberate acts of borrowing—specifically, where existing material is consciously introduced with the intention it should be apprehended—permit authors to arrest their audience’s attention and to manipulate its interpretations. Yet, as my example from Kraków illustrates, for an author’s “message” to hit its mark presupposes creator and addressee share

knowledge of the traditions and materials involved, and also depends on the alertness and analytic competence of the addressee. Although we are blessed with the survival of hundreds of late medieval French secular songs and lyrics, our present-day understanding of these works and the patchy history of this tradition is challenged in many ways. When I first began to explore borrowings in fourteenth-century French songs some years ago, it quickly struck me that tracing the citational practices of this repertory had potential to unlock some of the elusive subtleties of individual works and that it might even help resolve certain enigmas surrounding the production and history of this corpus. The focus of my book is on the art of lyric at an important crossroads in its development, roughly spanning ca. 1300 to ca. 1380. This period of increasing literacy saw the emergence of a new school of lyric poetry and song-writing, as the poetic forms (the so-called *formes fixes*) that were to dominate French song and lyric production for some two hundred years crystallized and an Ars nova revolutionized musical style and its notation; it corresponds to the life span of Guillaume de Machaut, who is generally considered the towering representative of poetry and music of this time and trailblazer in the art of lyric. Yet for all that it has been viewed as a period of lyric renewal, one rooted in writing, vernacular poets and composers in the age of Machaut continued to cultivate the long established penchant for citation and its reliance on the remembered as well as the written. Tracing this phenomenon across fourteenth-century lyrics with and without music, I propose here, offers rich insights into many aspects relating to the composition of poetry and music at this time: it sheds light on the compositional process itself, and promotes a closer understanding of individual works and their reception; it informs us about attitudes to authorship, and about poetic and musical knowledge at specific points in given milieus, and even enhances our understanding of when, where, and in which contexts the Ars nova polyphonic chanson emerged; it informs us of the dynamic relationship between poets and composers, who so often seem to occupy separate spheres in our modern historical imaginations, and between these authors and their audiences; all this provides a richer context within which we might better gauge the contribution of Machaut, who looms so large in our perception of the musical and poetic endeavor of this period.

The writing of this book has been greatly aided by the generosity of many colleagues. The initial stages of research were undertaken during a fellowship at Villa I Tatti, Harvard's Center for Renaissance Studies in Florence, in 2002–2003. The multidisciplinary environment I experienced there did much to shape my thinking; I am deeply grateful to Joseph Connors, then Director, and to Françoise Connors for their warm welcome, and to Michael Roche, Katherine Bosi, and other library staff for their assistance in gathering the

resources I needed during that stay and in ensuing visits. I was lucky to benefit from many stimulating discussions with other I Tatti fellows that year and subsequently; I am especially grateful to Stefano Jossa for our many conversations on intertextuality over the years, and to Jan Stejskal, Karel Thein, Monica Calabritto, Anna Maria Busse Berger, Giuseppe Gerbino, Giuliano Di Bacco, Allen Grieco, and Frances Andrews for many stimulating and happy exchanges. A generous grant by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, UK, enabled me to develop and expand my interests in citation and intertextuality in late medieval music and culture in the context of an interdisciplinary project entitled *Citation and Allusion in the Ars Nova French Chanson and Motet: Memory, Tradition, and Innovation*, which ran from 2007 to 2010. Two interdisciplinary workshops and a conference hosted at the University of Exeter between 2007 and 2009 as part of that project led to fruitful encounters with scholars from a range of disciplines, including Benjamin Albritton, Kevin Brownlee, Jacques Boogaart, Ardis Butterfield, Emma Cayley, Helen Deeming, Mark Everist, Naomi Howell, Sarah Kay, Barton Palmer, and Anne Stone; I am grateful to all the participants in those events for their stimulating input, and for the written contributions that fed into the two volumes of essays I co-edited (variously) with Stefano Jossa and Giuliano De Bacco (published under the title *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*). I was very fortunate to have Giuliano Di Bacco as a research fellow on the project, and I am grateful for all his hard work in building our online archive of French medieval lyrics, which is currently undergoing further development and which I hope will facilitate further research on the song and lyric poetry collections of late medieval France (see <http://www.jechante.ex.ac.uk/archive/>).

The generous support of the Leverhulme Trust enabled me to further develop my fascination with Machaut in a project devoted to this poet-composer, and to expand the final section of the present monograph. The completion of this book would not have been possible without the periods of study leave awarded by the University of Exeter, for which I am very grateful. I wish to express my gratitude also to the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and the Bibliothèque de Valenciennes for their kind permission to reproduce certain manuscript pages from their respective collections.

Particular thanks are due to Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, Anna Maria Busse Berger, and Peter Lefferts for their support, encouragement, and stimulating exchanges over the years, and to those who generously shared with me their work prior to its publication, notably Ardis Butterfield, Mark Everist, Elizabeth Eva Leach, Samuel Rosenberg, and Jennifer Saltzstein. Since completing the draft of this monograph in 2011, several publications on related topics have appeared that I have not been able to integrate fully (or at all) into my

discussion; where possible, I have indicated these recent studies in the notes or bibliography.

Warm thanks are due to the anonymous readers for Oxford University Press for their helpful and insightful comments and encouragement, and to Jacques Boogaart, Ardis Butterfield, Giuliano Di Bacco, Michael Rose-Steel, Uri Smilansky, and Anne Stone for their feedback on individual chapters. Thanks are due to my former doctoral students Naomi Howell, Uri Smilansky, and Tamsyn Rose-Steel for their stimulating company over the past years; I am grateful to Uri for his careful assistance with the music examples presented herein, and I extend particular thanks to Tamsyn, whose doctoral research on citation in *Ars nova* motets unfolded alongside my investigations into the chanson tradition, for heroically reading the whole text and providing indispensable practical help in myriad matters relating to this project. A very warm vote of gratitude is due to Barton Palmer, who, in anticipation of our collaboration on a new edition of Machaut's lyrics (part of our new complete edition of Machaut), has generously provided translations for many lyrics by Machaut and several others presented herein, as well as kindly advising me on certain of my own translations. Many thanks to Suzanne Ryan and Adam Cohen at Oxford University Press for their enthusiasm and diligence in bringing this book to fruition, and to Erica Woods-Tucker and her production team, especially Bonnie Blackburn for her careful copy-editing and many wise insights and observations.

Finally, I wish to thank my family: my parents Reg and Maria Rosa for their love and support over the years, my brother Xavier and sister-in-law Fiona for our cheering, if regrettably all too infrequent, reunions. Last, but certainly not least, my heartfelt thanks to Bill, who sometimes wryly describes himself as "the other Guillaume" in my life; secretly he knows he's the one and only—in the words of an expert in these matters: "*Biaus dous amis, parfaitement amés, / A qui je sui entierement donnee, / Vous ne povez de moy estre oubliez.*"

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A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

Throughout this book, I use the term *refrain* (italic, lower case) to distinguish the lyric “tags” that are cited in so many literary and musical works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from the repeated formal section of Refrain-songs, which I term Refrain (upper case r, no italics). Thus, “Refrain forms” is used to refer collectively to the short song forms characterized by repeated Refrain sections.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Manuscripts

<i>A</i>	Paris, BnF, fonds français 1584
<i>Ak1955</i>	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka Ak1955 / KN195, k. 1 & 2
<i>B</i>	Paris, BnF, fonds français 1585
<i>Ba</i>	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit.115
<i>Br</i>	Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 19606
<i>Bud</i>	Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár, U.Fr.l.m 298
<i>C</i>	Paris, BnF, fonds français 1586
<i>CaB</i>	Cambrai, Mediathèque municipale, B 1328
<i>Cb</i>	Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, 564
<i>Douce 139</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 139
<i>Douce 165</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 165
<i>Douce 308</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308
<i>Dur</i>	Durham, Cathedral Library, C.I.20
<i>E</i>	Paris, BnF, fonds français 9221
<i>F</i>	Paris, BnF, fonds français 22545
<i>FP</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichiano 26
<i>G</i>	Paris, BnF, fonds français 22546
<i>Gr 133</i>	Ghent, Rijksarchief, 133
<i>Gr 3360</i>	Ghent, Rijksarchief, Varia D. 3360
<i>Iv</i>	Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, 115
<i>JP</i>	<i>Le Jardin de Plaisance et de Rhetorique</i> (Paris: Antoine Védard, 1501)

<i>Lei</i>	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.L. 2720
<i>Mo</i>	Montpellier, Bibliothèque Inter-Universitaire, Section Médecine, H196
<i>Penn</i>	Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Codex 902 (formerly French 15)
<i>Pic</i>	Paris, BnF, Collection de Picardie 67
<i>Pit</i>	Paris, BnF, fonds ital. 568
<i>PR</i>	Paris, BnF, nouvelle acquisition française 6771
<i>Trém</i>	Paris, BnF, nouvelle acquisition française 23190
<i>trouvère a</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regina 1490
<i>trouvère C</i>	Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 389
<i>trouvère R</i>	Paris, BnF, fonds français 1591
<i>trouvère U</i>	Paris, BnF, fonds français 20050
<i>Tu</i>	Turin, Biblioteca nazionale, Varia 42
<i>Tu 10</i>	Turin, Archivio di Stato, J.b.IX.10
<i>Ut</i>	Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 6 E 37 II
<i>Vg</i>	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ferrell-Vogüé MS. Private Collection of James E. and Elizabeth J. Ferrell
<i>Watriquet A</i>	Paris, BnF, fonds français 14968
<i>Watriquet C</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3525
<i>We</i>	London, Westminster Abbey Library, 21

Other Abbreviations

BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
<i>Fauvel</i>	<i>Roman de Fauvel</i> , in the version in BnF fr. 146
<i>MGG</i> ¹	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> , ed. Friedrich Blume, 16 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949–79)
<i>New Grove II</i>	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001)
RS	Hans Spanke, ed., <i>G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Lieder, neu bearbeitet und ergänzt von Hans Spanke</i> , vol. 1 (1955; reprint with index, Leiden: Brill, 1980)
<i>SC</i>	<i>Sote Chançon</i> (from <i>Fauvel</i>)
vdB	Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, ed., <i>Rondeaux et refrains du XIIIe siècle au début du XIVe</i> (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969)

The Art of Grafted Song

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Introduction

Quid enim suavius quam duos praecipuos vates audire idem loquentes? ... hic opportune in opus suum quae prior vates dixerat transferendo fecit ut sua esse credantur.

What is more pleasing than to hear two outstanding poets saying the same thing? ... the latter transferred the earlier poet's words into his own work with such skill that the borrowing seemed to be his own invention. (Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 5.3.16)¹

Just as our own society delights in using citations, quotations, and allusions in an array of contexts and media—in advertising, political satire, social comment, popular music, to name but a few—authors from classical times were intensely aware of the vast potential for borrowings to enrich their literary utterances. In the text from which the quotation above is drawn, Macrobius discusses how Virgil openly appropriated material from Homer to create a new work that delighted its readers by the manner in which it complemented, transformed, and, arguably, even surpassed its model. In turn, Virgil himself became a major source of inspiration and quotation of his works a topos in its own right; an extreme example is Ausonius' *Cento nuptialis*, which celebrates a wedding through an artful collage of Virgil's writings.²

¹ Cited and translated by Kelly, *Conspiracy of Allusion*, 74, n. 104.

² Translated as *A Nuptial Cento* by H. G. Evelyn-White for the Loeb Classical Library. On citations in and of Virgil and a stimulating critique of approaches to allusion and intertextuality by contemporary Romanists, see Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext*. See also the various essays in Gioseffi, ed., *Uso, riuso e abuso dei testi classici*.

Throughout the Middle Ages, this art of *descriptio*—the reworking of an original text through strict imitation, paraphrasing, or emulation—remained fundamental to rhetorical practices.³ Like their classical predecessors, medieval authors evoked canonical texts or their producers by means of direct quotations or more subtle allusions, through imitative modeling, or, simply, by naming. In so doing, they demonstrated their respect for tradition while impressing the stamp of authority on their own work. The Bible, of course, was the ultimate authority, followed by the Church Fathers and other religious commentators. Greek and Latin classics were also frequently cited to endorse works, not just by those writing in Latin but also by late medieval authors using the vernacular. The latter also evoked canonical texts from their own tradition, including works by their peers. Sometimes, the motivation was to subvert, challenge, or compete with others rather than to pay tribute, and to invite comparison of their own efforts with these models.

The practice of building new from old in the Middle Ages was by no means the preserve of written texts, but is witnessed equally in the visual arts and architecture, and in other forms of cultural expression, including music.⁴ In the case of music, elaborating the sacred chants by adding new words or music was a long-standing practice within the Western tradition, one that served to lend solemnity to high points in the Church calendar or to render items more relevant to particular feasts. As musical notation grew more versatile, this practice gave rise to polyphonic compositions of increasing splendor and complexity, of which the great organal works of Leonin, Perotin, and their contemporaries are supreme examples. *Contrafacta* are further manifestations of wholesale and premeditated musical borrowing, where tunes from existing songs were provided with new words. Although expediency must sometimes have been the driving force here, many cases imply that composers considered the adoption of familiar melodies to be a powerful means to engage their listeners and guide their interpretation. In his Marian *contrafacta* of celebrated love-songs by Blondel de Nesle and Gace Brulé, Gautier de Coinci exploited his lay audience's secular tastes to push an overtly spiritual message, that it is better to love the Virgin than the earthly lady; in one case, he opened a song by evoking the incipits of familiar high-style *grands chants* but also added *refrains* after each stanza to instill the jaunty register of popular dance-song.⁵

³ See Kelly, *The Conspiracy of Allusion*.

⁴ See the collected essays in Plumley et al., eds., *Citation, Intertextuality, Memory*, and in Toubert and Moret, eds., *Remploi, citation, plagiat*.

⁵ See Switten, "Borrowing"; Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, ch. 6; and Plumley, "Citational Practices."

The two musical practices just discussed represent extreme examples of quotation, where the act of borrowing was explicit and the express purpose was to stimulate the listener's musical memory to engage with the meanings and associations of a remembered work. The relationship between new works and their models could, of course, be far more subtle or complex, as where text or music is paraphrased rather than openly quoted, or where multiple allusions are juxtaposed or woven so seamlessly into the fabric of their new work as to be almost invisible. Distinguishing between accidental or inevitable echoes—such as those arising from common parlance or from particular linguistic or stylistic conventions⁶—and those consciously introduced by the author with an interpretive intent can be especially challenging. For certain modern literary theorists like Julia Kristeva, “any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations,”⁷ or, as Gérard Genette later put it, can be understood as a textual “palimpsest,”⁸ a compilation of past utterances, whether consciously or unconsciously devised. The more deliberate kind of relationship between works that concerns me here corresponds to what Marko Juvan has recently termed “citationality” or “explicit intertextuality.”

For Juvan, a citational text is “one for which the reader can, in a given context of literary life, justifiably suppose its author intentionally acquired other pre-texts, counting on the public not only to be able to recognize citational connections but to interpret them as an aesthetically and semantically relevant writing strategy.”⁹ Explicit quotations or more veiled allusions summon into the interpretive space existing texts and voices that superimpose, fuse with, and color the new utterance. Such borrowings can import an interpretive filter, lend authority, or simply add luster to the new work;¹⁰ they may ironize another's discourse, or merely serve to reinforce the genre or stylistic register or to test the readers' knowledge of canonical works. As Juvan stresses, whatever the motivation, for deliberate quotations or allusions to be fully effective as the

⁶ In Jauss's terms, where works meet the horizons of generic expectation; see *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*.

⁷ Kristeva, *Desire*, 66.

⁸ Genette, *Palimpsestes*.

⁹ Juvan, *History and Poetics of Intertextuality*, ch. 5, p. 146. On quotation in general, see also Orr, *Intertextuality*, ch. 4. For other recent discussions and definitions of citation, quotation, and allusion in the medieval vernacular lyric tradition in particular, see Kay, “How Long is a Quotation,” and Rose-Steel, “The Fourteenth-Century French Motet,” ch. 1.

¹⁰ In his discussion of citations of classical texts in musical interpolations in the *Roman de Fauvel*, Holford-Strevens draws the distinction between “local quotations, in which the words merely lend lustre to the new text, and contextual quotations, in which they bring their old home with them”; see “Fauvel Goes to School,” 59.

author intended depends on a shared cultural knowledge (and a certain complicity) between addresser and addressee.¹¹ Gauging precisely an author's intention and predicting the reader's reaction, though, can be a tricky business;¹² authors may borrow material simply because it is useful or inspiring and such "thefts" nevertheless may be apprehended and their associations brought to bear on the reader's interpretation.¹³

Repertories as culturally distant as those from the Middle Ages, of course, can be especially daunting in this regard. Yet the self-conscious allusiveness that pervades late medieval literary and musical practices invites our scrutiny of the repertories of this time from the perspective of "citationality," including the secular lyric tradition of fourteenth-century France, which will concern me here. As cultural "tourists" in late medieval France, we face considerable challenges in negotiating these works, not least in how to distinguish deliberate borrowings from stylized conventions. Yet, as I shall argue here, unraveling the many puzzles of this repertory's citational practices proves richly informative about the culture it represents. I use the term "citational practice" in a broad sense, to embrace quotation, citation, allusion, and other forms of modeling (loose or more pervasive) undertaken consciously by authors, whether or not with the intention that such borrowing should be apprehended; the term "citation" will thus serve me both as a useful catch-all for deliberate appropriations in general, and, in certain contexts, in its specific sense to indicate the naming of an author or work.¹⁴ Studying citation across the fourteenth-century repertories of lyrics and songs, I propose, sheds valuable light on attitudes to authorship and to the past, on the compositional process, and on strategies of interpretation, and even provides clues as to how authors wished for their works to be apprehended. It informs us, too, about shared cultural knowledge within specific milieus, affording glimpses of what was known and popular, what was considered meaningful, and perhaps even why. In short, it has potential

¹¹ As William Irwin suggests in his discussion of allusion, "an author must intend this indirect reference, and it must be in principle possible that the intended audience could detect it." "What is an Allusion?," 290. As Irwin points out, the Latin etymology of allusion (*alludere*, to play, jest, or sport) betrays the inherent playfulness of this device.

¹² As Stephen Hinds puts it, "not even through the most apparently objectively verifiable allusion...can access ultimately be gained to what an alluding poet at any given moment *intended* by such an allusion" (*Allusion and Intertext*, 144).

¹³ See Hinds's discussion of "open" citations and "thefts" in relation to Virgil, *ibid.*, 21–25.

¹⁴ In some disciplines, including musicology, the term "citation" is sometimes used interchangeably with "quotation"; for further discussion of terminology, see the bibliography in n. 9 above.

to inform us about artistic communities and the collective memory that united its members.

Late medieval musical as well as literary culture, indeed, was profoundly conditioned by what Antoine Compagnon terms “le travail de la citation” (the work of citation).¹⁵ The thirteenth century has long been recognized for the particular richness of its citational practice. In addition to chant-based composition, we find freely-composed Latin religious songs with biblical or classical citations in their texts.¹⁶ Some polyphonic conducti evoke sources from their own tradition; the text of the polyphonic conductus *Hac in die rege nato*, for instance, is a collage of incipits of various other two-voice conducti and the music of at least one of these models is also evoked.¹⁷ Another polyphonic genre that, like the conductus, emanated from clerical circles in the early 1200s is the motet, a form especially noted for its citational proclivities. Here, newly-composed upper voices, each carrying its own text, combine with a fragment of existing chant; in addition to this structural combination of old and new, vivid intertextual play is frequently occasioned by this superimposition of multiple texts, a topic much discussed in recent times.¹⁸ Johannes de Grocheio, writing at the turn of the thirteenth century, was of the opinion that the motet was hardly suited to a lay public, which he deemed to lack the necessary refinement to understand its rich subtleties.¹⁹ Yet motet composers were strongly attracted to lay musical culture; sometimes they used vernacular dance-songs instead of chant for their foundation (tenor) parts and punctuated the upper voices of their French-texted motets with myriad evocations of popular *refrains*.

As Ardis Butterfield has recently emphasized, *refrains* permeate vernacular narrative and other lyric forms of the period, and frequently disrupt genre; she

¹⁵ Compagnon, *La Seconde main*.

¹⁶ Schmidt, “The Quotation in Goliardic Poetry.”

¹⁷ This playful evocation was surely executed in the knowledge it would be apprehended by fellow musicians and clerics. The theorist Anonymous IV certainly was alert to the game here because he mentioned the incipit citations when referring to this work in his treatise. See Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus*, xxxiv–xxxv (text and translations), 74–80 (musical edition). On the musical quotation, see Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*, 208. See Reckow’s edition, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, I: 82 (available online at http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/13th/ANO4MUS_TEXT.html, accessed 1 Sept. 2011).

¹⁸ See in particular Huot, *Allegorical Play*; Everist, *French Motets*; and Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*. The motet is also a good example of what Paul Zumthor called *mouvance* (the dynamic mobility of the work over the course of its transmission); some examples appear in different contexts with alternative texts in one or both of the upper parts, sometimes in French where the original was Latin or vice versa. See Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale*, ch. 2, and also Baltzer, “The Polyphonic Progeny.”

¹⁹ Page, “Johannes de Grocheio.”

argues that even where music is absent, as in the *roman*, these popular lyric tags carried a registral charge that introduces a lyric moment into the host work.²⁰ Although their precise cultural meaning remains rather mysterious,²¹ *refrains* often functioned as courtly aphorisms and, like proverbs, well-known sayings, and other kinds of commonplaces, took on the mantle of citation. It seems possible they represented symbols of song that triggered the recollection of an orally-transmitted popular song repertory, although this continues to be debated.²² Whatever their origin and precise associations, *refrains* were vastly popular and certain examples enjoyed surprising longevity, lingering in the popular imagination for many decades. As well as appearing in motets, *refrains* pervade freely-composed vernacular songs of the thirteenth century, and were especially intimately bound into the identity of song forms associated with dance and with measured rhythm; they appear even to have provided the starting point for the composition of such works.²³

Loftier styles of song cultivated by the *trouvères*, notably the prestigious *grand chant*, feature citations of a more targeted kind. Like their southern counterparts, the *trouvères* evoked songs from their own tradition,²⁴ drawing on existing formal models or loosely engaging with the *topoi*, themes, or motifs of earlier works, or openly quoting songs by predecessors or peers. In so doing, they invested their works with amorous authority, paid tribute to fellow songwriters, or aligned themselves with illustrious antecedents. The usual place to host such quotations was in the incipit, a sensitive locus for intertextual play since classical times,²⁵ although they could also appear elsewhere in the work. Gilles de Viés Maisons's *Se par mon chant me pooie alegier* (RS 1252) provides fascinating testimony to an apparent friendly citational exchange between peers; each stanza closes with the quotation of a song by a contemporary (including Gace Brulé, the Chastelain de Couci, and Blondel de Nesle), one of which, in

²⁰ Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*.

²¹ For Butterfield, the very ubiquity of *refrains* (and the significant overlap that exists between families of *refrains*) raises questions about their status as citations; moreover, she suggests that “such anonymous, inclusive forms of speech and melody do not easily admit a notion of original, authorial creation” and are best understood as reflecting a more general intertextual impulse; *ibid.*, 244.

²² See Salzman, “Relocating the Thirteenth-Century Refrain.”

²³ See the discussion in Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 44–50.

²⁴ On quotation in the troubadour repertory, see especially Gruber, *Die Dialektik des Trobar*, and Kay, “Grafting the Knowledge Community” and “How Long is a Quotation?,” and Nicholson, “Branches of Knowledge.”

²⁵ See Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation*; Gruber, *Die Dialektik des Trobar*, 118–42; and Rosenberg, “Incipit Citation.”

turn, was dedicated to Gilles.²⁶ Whether making targeted references to the songs of peers or infusing their own works with more diffuse evocations of lyric commonplaces, the trouvères exercised considerable creativity in grafting new material upon old.

As the age of the trouvères drew to a close around 1300, eclipsed by new tastes, what became of the vigorous citational tradition within vernacular love-song? The fourteenth century was considered in its own time an era of renewal and change in the art of vernacular lyric composition. This was reflected in the advent of a host of new poetic forms—the so-called “fixed” lyric forms—and of a musical *Ars nova*, where a sophisticated and rhythmically flexible new style combined with polyphony. The man consistently associated with this new school of lyric then as now was Guillaume de Machaut (ca. 1300–77). Credited in his own time as a leading poet and composer, and inventor of many novel lyric forms,²⁷ Machaut continues to loom large in modern-day views of the period. He is considered, at once, the last of an illustrious genealogy of authors equally adept in the crafting of poetry and music, and a key figure in what Sylvia Huot has styled the shift “from song to book.”²⁸ The fourteenth-century lyric forms and polyphonic song style certainly reflect the increasing textualization of late medieval culture. Authors displayed their technical ingenuity in the new fixed poetic forms by ringing the changes on familiar forms, conceits, topoi, and themes,²⁹ a process greatly facilitated by writing. The new musical style associated with such lyrics, for its part, was stimulated by advances in musical notation in the early 1300s. Recent studies of the highly literate *Ars nova* motet suggest that citational play remained a vital force in that context,³⁰ but the extent to which the traditional allusiveness of the vernacular chanson persisted into this age of writing has yet to be clearly elucidated. Decades ago, Ursula Günther observed musical and textual citations in certain polyphonic songs by Machaut and his contemporaries, but she concluded that this phenomenon died out in the French chanson tradition with the advent in the 1380s and 1390s of the complex musical style she dubbed *Ars subtilior*. My own research has established, on the contrary, that it flourished in the post-Machaut generation, and that, despite their fascination with notation, the avant-garde songwriters of that time considered citational play

²⁶ Frank, “La Chanson *Lasso me*.”

²⁷ *Règles de la seconde rhétorique*, in Langlois, ed., *Recueil*, 12.

²⁸ Huot, *From Song to Book*.

²⁹ See Johnson, *Poets and Players*. There is good evidence from Machaut’s own corpus to suggest the author depended on written supports for the composition of both his words and music; see ch. 8 below, and Huot, *From Song to Book*, ch. 8.

³⁰ Notably Rose-Steel, “French *Ars Nova* Motets.”

an additional means of weaving subtlety and complexity into their highly idiosyncratic works.³¹ Evidence has also emerged in recent years to suggest that the citational impulse was more widespread in song-writing of Machaut's day than previously supposed.³² Where, when, and how this developed within the Ars nova song tradition, however, has yet to be explored.

My aim in this book is to trace the trajectory of the Ars nova chanson from its roots in early dance-song from ca. 1300 to the mature polyphonic works of Machaut, and to explore the part played by citational practice in its development. I demonstrate that the grafting principle was far more prevalent in lyrics and song settings of this period than hitherto supposed, and so pervasive in those favored short forms characterized by repeated Refrain sections³³ as to suggest that this feature was considered integral to their identity. The horticultural metaphor of grafting is especially apposite in discussing this phenomenon; the verb *enter* (to graft) appears repeatedly in contemporary sources to describe citational songs and lyrics:³⁴ we find references to *dits entés*, *chansons amoureuses entees*, *ballades entees*, and *cantilena entata*, labels that betray poet-composers' alertness to the potential afforded by the splicing of a fresh lyric scion upon authoritative, older stock.³⁵ An abundance of textual and musical references to old and recent songs, to *refrains* and other lyric commonplaces, to medieval romances, and even to classical texts pervade lyrics and songs of this period, and I argue here that these borrowings played a key role in experimentation within form, genre, and literary and musical style. Grafted song of this age, I propose, was the product of a profoundly collaborative lyric culture.

My study builds on, and complements, recent research into the thirteenth-century tradition of *refrain* citation, notably Ardis Butterfield's rich and detailed appraisal of the textual and musical interconnections thereby engendered across

³¹ Plumley, "Citation and Allusion"; "Playing the Citation Game"; "An 'Episode'."

³² See Albritton, "Citation and Allusion"; Plumley, "Intertextuality."

³³ That is, the ballade, rondeau, and virelai, and related types, which I shall refer to collectively as Refrain-song or the Refrain forms.

³⁴ Butterfield, "*Enté*." Jehan Renart uses a textile metaphor to describe the lyric interpolations in his *Roman de la Rose*, which he refers to as "embroideries," while Gautier de Coinci evokes horticultural imagery in the "flowers" that embellish his work, which chimes with the grafting metaphor so often used to describe citational practice in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; see Switten, "Borrowing," 40–1.

³⁵ Through this marriage of old and new, an auspicious artistic "father" gave birth to a worthy "son." It is no surprise that, in addition to its frequent use within vernacular love literature, the grafting metaphor should have served political poems dealing with royal succession, such as the *Dit de l'arbre* of Watriquet de Couvin and *Li Regret Guillaume* by Jehan de Le Mote, two authors I discuss in this book.

narrative and lyric genres.³⁶ Taking into account music as well as literature into the early fourteenth century, Butterfield emphasizes the continued importance of performance—of song as sounding artifact—in this age of writing, thereby adding nuance to Huot’s influential song-to-book model. The continuities Butterfield discerns in musical as well as poetic practices, especially in relation to the thirteenth-century tradition of *refrain* citation, invite us to reappraise how far the *Ars nova* chanson really broke with the past. No book-length study has yet been devoted to the fourteenth-century polyphonic chanson, but, traditionally, music histories of this period focus on the rise of *Ars nova* and on the changes this effected in notation, musical style, and form, not least in this dominant genre. Although Machaut is sometimes styled the last of the *trouvères*, it is the novelty of his chansons that generally is dwelt upon rather than their debt to the past. Moreover, musicologists have naturally tended to privilege the musical dimension in their analyses of individual works and in their broader surveys of the repertory, and they have tended not to stray far beyond the musical sources to consider the broader context of fixed-form lyric poetry composition.

I propose here that charting the varying kinds of borrowings and appropriations found in the fourteenth-century lyric with and without music—including quotations, citations, allusions, and imitative modeling—proves a powerful investigative tool with which to refine our understanding of *Ars nova* song and its sister poetic forms. Contextualizing Machaut’s achievements and, especially, gauging his contribution to the development of the polyphonic chanson, has been a challenge due to the dearth of comparable works datable to the 1350s or before. By delving into the wider context surrounding lyric composition in the generations preceding and including Machaut’s own, I seek to build a more detailed picture of the habits, influences, and tastes that shaped his output. I take into account lyric genres and repertories largely ignored or overlooked by musicologists because of their lack of musical notation, and spotlight contemporaries who have remained invisible or in Machaut’s shadow in our historical imaginations. At the same time, I seek to provide a more balanced account of the art of lyric than that generally offered by literary scholars, by considering the musical dimension of lyrics with and without music; as I propose here, even lyrics composed without music in mind may carry a musical charge, what I term a “virtual” musicality. Starting at the turn of the thirteenth century, I trace new initiatives and experiments emanating from Paris and

³⁶ Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*; she extends her exploration of *refrain* citation in *The Familiar Enemy*. Important recent work on *refrains* as lyric insertions in narrative and didactic works, mostly from the thirteenth century, is presented in Ibos-Augé, *Chanter et lire dans le récit médiéval*.

neighboring territories, and demonstrate how citational practices were intimately inscribed within the evolving fixed forms that came to dominate song and lyric composition from the mid-fourteenth to the sixteenth century. For Machaut and his contemporaries working at the vanguard in the middle decades of the fourteenth century, citation was a mainstay for composition.

Studying citational practices in this way can yield tantalizing insights into how authors assembled their lyric materials, what fired their imaginations, and how they wished their works to be interpreted. By infusing their works with ephemeral echoes of popular *refrains*, quotations from well-known songs, or more extensive plundering of existing models, poets and composers appealed to the shared memory of absent works and tacitly invited the listener to interpret the new through the filter of the old (and maybe also the reverse). By evoking illustrious predecessors, they instilled authority in their work while situating themselves within an authorial genealogy.

Recent research by literary scholars has shown how lyric poetry of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries provided a formalized space for competitive encounters between peers; as Jane Taylor has emphasized, this was an age when professional and amateur lyric poets sought to acquire cultural capital by parading their skills before highly engaged and expert audiences, at and beyond the court.³⁷ Music, I believe, formed part of this profoundly collaborative culture of lyric exchange. Although the new song style was complex, we know some members of the elite aspired to write and perform musical settings. Valois prince Jehan, Duke of Berry, who contributed a lyric response to the *Cent ballades* devised by Jehan Le Seneschal and his associates in the late 1380s, was apparently skilled in composing and singing songs; Machaut implies this in his *Fonteinne amoureuse*, while in his *Voir Dit* he recounts how he trained an eager young noblewoman to write lyrics and songs in response to his own; we know, too, that Valentina Visconti, mother of poet Charles d'Orléans, and King Johan I of Aragon were accomplished musicians, and that the latter also composed songs in *Ars nova* style. Evidence I present in this book demonstrates that competitive lyric encounters, staged and written, with music and without, equally preoccupied the bourgeois class. This provides a corrective to Daniel Poirion's supposition that citational lyric exchange, like the one that famously animated the court of Charles d'Orléans ca. 1470, was a later, aristocratic, and nonmusical phenomenon;³⁸ it also corrects assumptions that the *Ars nova* chanson was essentially a product of aristocratic court culture.³⁹

³⁷ Taylor, *The Making of Poetry*; see also Cayley, *Debate and Dialogue*.

³⁸ See Poirion, *Le Poète et le prince*, 177–90.

³⁹ See, for instance, Lawrence Earp, "Lyrics for Reading."

Studying citation, I suggest, can be richly informative about the poetic and musical knowledge of fourteenth-century authors and their audiences. We gain surprising insights into the circulation of works across wide geographical or chronological divides; it seems that, even in this era of apparent change and renewal, past traditions in lyric-writing continued to fire the collective imagination, sometimes well beyond what the extant written sources imply. This has implications for our understanding of song within the written culture of its time. Songs and lyrics may have been produced, recorded, and circulated using written supports, but they nevertheless retained an aural identity; moreover, their authors were surely inspired by materials encountered in performance as well as on parchment. Indeed, Anna Maria Busse Berger has emphasized the importance of aural memory for the composition and transmission of medieval music; recently, she has argued that even highly literate songs of the late *Ars nova* had potential to be transmitted orally and to be committed to memory as aural constructs, as well as recorded in written form.⁴⁰ The citational practice of this song-writing tradition and the light this sheds on how poetry and music were devised and apprehended reminds us of the significance of memory in late medieval culture; it suggests that the distinctions we make between oral and written, especially in the fourteenth century, are still, perhaps, rather too inflexible.

My study of what I call here “the art of grafted song” makes no claim to offer a comprehensive account of citational practices in the fourteenth-century French *chanson* tradition. It is of necessity selective. I focus mainly on the Refrain forms that became the favored vehicles for *Ars nova* songwriters, but, in seeking to provide a richer context for Machaut’s place within lyric practices of the day, I spotlight less familiar repertoires rather than revisiting the late fourteenth-century song collections better known to musicologists and previously commented on by Günther, myself, and others.⁴¹ Neither are all the interrelationships I draw attention to over the course of the book subjected to thorough interpretation. For some cases, I explore in detail how borrowings influence our interpretation of a new work, while in others I simply highlight the relationships as part of a broader argument about contacts between authors, milieus, or sources, and so on; where possible, I have provided the texts

⁴⁰ See Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, and ead., “Quotation in Medieval Music.” Oswald von Wolkenstein, who could neither read nor write, apparently composed songs modeled on French polyphonic chansons that he had heard when visiting aristocratic courts and committed to memory; Berger proposes he elaborated his own work around material drawn from the remembered song before having it copied for bestowal on a patron or to ensure its posterity.

⁴¹ See the Epilogue for some brief case studies and recent bibliography.

and translations, which will permit readers, should they so wish, to ponder these relationships further than is possible for me to do here.

In part I, I explore song-writing in the very early years of the fourteenth century. Some time close to the turn of the thirteenth century, Refrain-song emerged as a locus for compositional experiments in which citation was apparently deeply implicated. Chapter 1 focuses on songs transmitted in the Douce chansonnier (*Douce 308*), a manuscript made in Lorraine in the 1310s, which, despite its lack of musical notation, affords an invaluable snapshot of the rich variety of song types cultivated ca. 1300. Alongside many of the genres and forms popular in the thirteenth century, such as the *grand chant*, motet, rondeau, *jeu parti*, and *pastourelle*, we find a corpus of dance-songs that are collectively labeled *ballettes*. In these, Christopher Page saw the seeds of a new order of Refrain-song that was soon to usurp the exalted position long enjoyed by the *grand chant*.⁴² I explore the contribution of citational practice to the broadening of scope of this humble dance-song as it evolved into a more ambitious vehicle for lyric expression. Certain *ballettes* feature reminiscences of existing songs that reinforce or undermine our expectations of the dance genre. We find evidence, too, of the collective and collaborative experience of lyric. I show how intricate intratextualities link a number of *ballettes* with one another and with other song types copied elsewhere in the manuscript; this case study reinforces an earlier hypothesis that the chansonnier presents the products of a local coterie of songwriters.

Chapters 2 and 3 explore the ferment of experimentation within song in Paris in the 1310s, as reflected in the celebrated *Roman de Fauvel* manuscript, BnF fr. 146. This source is especially significant for musicologists because it presents some of the earliest traces of the Ars nova notational principles that soon revolutionized musical practice. Many musical items gathered in the corpus of works by Lescurel and in the *Roman de Fauvel* bear witness to the musical experiments under way in the capital in those years. Significantly, the French songs presented there include no *grands chants*, *jeux partis*, or *pastourelles*, genres so esteemed in the previous century. Rather, we find a new style of Refrain-song, in which the old ties with dance had been further loosened, along with novel vernacular hybrids; citational practice plays a prominent role in the dissolution and reassignment of generic boundaries here, and in the experimental application of polyphony to the genre. Investigation of the sources of these citations suggests, on the one hand, that the Douce *ballettes* were by now well known in the capital, and, on the other, that Lescurel, long assumed to be dead soon after 1300, was probably active close in time and place to those involved in creating the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel*.

⁴² Page, "Tradition and Innovation."

Part II investigates various performance contexts for citational lyrics with and without music in Paris and the north, and the influence of formalized lyric competitions staged by urban *puy*s. I consider here a range of lyric genres from the 1320s to 1350s drawn from repertoires largely unfamiliar to musicology but that I believe contribute to our understanding of the development of the *formes fixes* and the Ars nova polyphonic chanson. Some unusual works from ca. 1330 composed and performed by Watriquet de Couvin at the French royal court (chapter 4) show citation in the service of satire. I identify new matches for some of the courtly distichs that frame these nonsense lyrics, thereby strengthening long-held suspicions that these are “grafted” works. Although these *fastras* are unnotated, singing was probably involved in their performance. Watriquet’s borrowings reveal his intimacy with the wider song repertory; since he worked within the same royal circles that produced the *Fauvel* manuscript it is perhaps no surprise to find he quoted music from that source, but we learn, too, that trouvère songs were still circulating in this milieu. The manuscript that transmits Watriquet’s lyrics provides valuable evidence about where, when, and for whom these works were performed, and some fascinating clues about their mode of composition and performance. This case provides tantalizing insights into the occasion for lyric and song at the French court at a time when Machaut was a regular visitor there with his patron, Jehan, King of Bohemia.

Watriquet’s *fastras*, like the citational works of *Fauvel* and *Douce* 308, evoke the spirit of formal lyric encounters at urban lyric contests known as *puy*s, which flourished in Artois, Hainaut, and Flanders and played an active role in the development of the new fixed forms. These lyric institutions, which usually animated the assemblies of bourgeois confraternities, cultivated Refrain lyrics and songs; the genre was evidently not restricted to elite circles alone. Chapter 5 examines the ritual activities and lyric output of one such institution from Watriquet’s native Hainaut. A unique collection of lyrics written for the *puy* of Valenciennes together with some surviving statutes informs us about the practices, organization, and membership of this institution and the role of lyric therein. By the late fourteenth century, citational play had become an intrinsic part of the challenge set to authors participating in such lyric contests, but evidence presented here suggests this was already in action, along with the involvement of music, before the mid-fourteenth century. The winning entries to poetry contests hosted by the Parisian goldsmiths at their annual jamboree betray a predilection for borrowing. So, too, do some of the lyrics of the religious polyphonic rondeaux that feature, without their music, in the miracle plays written and staged for the same occasion; I present enticing evidence that shows some of these sung

rondeaux were modeled on secular songs.⁴³ By good fortune, the plays, and thus the lyrics that accompany them, are dated; this provides unique evidence with which to track the development of the new polyphonic *chanson* in these mystery years of its history, in addition to fascinating insights into the musical, dramatic, and poetic tastes of the Parisian mercantile class. Incidental music cued in the plays further attests to its taste for sophisticated polyphony, including motets and *chansons* of the new order. I match a song cited in the play dated 1350 with a polyphonic *virelai* known to us from a late fourteenth-century music manuscript: this offers us a very rare signpost in the development of *Ars nova* song and a direct point of comparison with Machaut's earliest polyphonic examples.

Chapters 6 and 7 turn to another little-studied contemporary of Machaut, Jehan de Le Mote, who, like Watriquet de Couvin, hailed from Hainaut but spent time in Paris. Le Mote's lyrics, which survive without music, provide direct comparison with Machaut's and offer important insights into how the favored ballade form had evolved by ca. 1340, when Machaut was probably first experimenting with this form and its setting to polyphony. Although there survives no extant music attributed to Le Mote, like Machaut, he was celebrated in his day both as a leading composer and a poet. Since today he is considered a key player in the development of the new-style ballade form, it is significant to find citational play proliferating in his surviving lyrics. Le Mote may well have influenced Machaut; as I show here, the two were involved with ongoing citational exchanges. More famous is Le Mote's exchange with Philippe de Vitry, eminent composer and exponent of the *Ars nova*, and with the shadowy Jehan Champion, which I explore in chapter 7; this set of lyrics may have instigated a new fashion for intertextual sequences of lyrics and for the "mythological" ballade. Despite the lack of musical notation here, this was a contest between musicians: I uncover new information about Champion that reveals that he, too, was a noted musician. I also present new evidence for Le Mote's standing as a composer in his day in the form of hitherto unnoticed quotations of his lyrics in two anonymous musical works; this case study may even offer a rare glimpse of the kind of music he probably wrote. Machaut was certainly not alone in possessing advanced skills as poet and composer of vernacular lyric, and these direct contemporaries reflect the kind of musical milieu with which Machaut was familiar and which doubtless helped shape the development of *Ars nova* song.

Part III turns to Machaut and situates his output within the broad context of lyric- and song-writing explored in parts I and II. Recent scholarship on his

⁴³ Wilkins, "Music in the Fourteenth-Century 'Miracles de Nostre Dame'."

lyric output has been much preoccupied with what one recent commentator terms Machaut's "distinctly scribal authorial poetics."⁴⁴ My investigation into Machaut's citational practice in his songs and lyric poetry seeks to balance this now traditional view by demonstrating the importance of memory in the compositional process of his lyrics and songs and for the transmission of the older materials he wove into their fabric. In chapter 8, I trace pervasive borrowings of different kinds across his Refrain-songs and lyrics without music, and illustrate how he plumbed material from peers and predecessors. The legacy of the *trouvères* was evidently still ringing, loud and clear, in the ears of the poet-composer and his original audience. In addition to more targeted quotations and allusions, we find citations of familiar *refrains* and commonplaces; for all their novelty, Machaut's chansons and lyrics thus display strong elements of continuity with earlier traditions in terms of lyric material and, to some extent, in the manner in which this was crafted.

In chapter 9, we see how Machaut served as his own authority in the art of love-through-lyric. Case studies from his collection of unnotated lyrics known as *La Loange des dames* illustrate how he replicated material to construct new lyrics and to create interrelated sequences. Recent interpretations of Machaut's lyric output have been strongly influenced by prevailing ideas regarding the author's self-conscious desire to guide his readers through his written oeuvre; I argue that the patterns of citational play in *La Loange des dames* suggest he was happy here for his lyrics to be savored individually or in small, interrelated groups. Finally, in chapter 10 I explore how playful citational exchange animates the art of lyric composition in Machaut's great mature work of the early 1360s, *Le Livre dou Voir Dit*. Citational engagement orchestrates the burgeoning love affair between poet and young admirer at the center of the plot, as well as a more "professional" lyric skirmish with one of the author's real-life associates. A network of interrelated works spawned by Machaut's contribution to the latter offers a glimpse of the artistic milieu within which he operated and clues as to how his peers—and, possibly, his patrons—engaged with, and responded to, his compositions.

In sum, this study seeks to build a more nuanced understanding of the genre of song in the age of *Ars nova*, one that reflects the continuing symbiosis between musical and poetic composition that was evidently recognized by poets and composers of the time but is so easily overlooked today due to our discipline-bound perspectives. This study of what I have termed the "art of grafted song" enlightens us about attitudes to authorship and canonicity in

⁴⁴ Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 7; for Leach, in Machaut's output "written authorship directs both of the oral arts, poetry and music" (*ibid.*, 8).

this age of self-conscious new departures; poets and composers like Machaut were at once keen to stress their own authorial identity yet eager to align themselves with past traditions and predecessors and to situate themselves in relation to their peers. Machaut's renown, in turn, made his own lyric output the subject of borrowings by his younger contemporaries and immediate successors. As formalized lyric exchanges and compilation of lyric cycles grew increasingly popular among poets, the post-Machaut generation of songwriters continued the tradition of citational engagement within the *chanson*, even as they endeavored to extend the boundaries of musical style. Poets and composers active in French royal and princely circles and in southern France and Italy paid tribute to their great predecessor by quoting from his songs and lyrics. In so doing, they were perhaps simultaneously tipping their hats to him as a master of citation, while demonstrating their own prowess in the intricate and fascinating art of grafted song. The citational impulse, it seems, continued to sit at the heart of *Ars nova* song and to provide a platform for the ingenuity of its creators no less than before.

PART I

Citation, Genre, and Experiments in Song in the Early Fourteenth Century

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Est etiam alius modus cantilenarum, quem *cantum insertum* vel *cantilenam entatam* vocant, qui ad modum cantilenarum incipit et earum fine clauditur vel finitur.¹

There is another kind of Refrain-song which they [i.e. Parisians] call “inserted song” or “grafted Refrain-song,” which begins and ends or closes in the manner of Refrain-songs.

Johannes de Grocheio, a Norman residing in Paris, provides fascinating if elliptical testimony to citational practices in song-writing at the turn of the thirteenth century. His remarkable treatise on music offers a rich account of the different kinds of secular music current in the capital at the time.² In a section devoted to secular vocal monophony, Grocheio divides song into two main categories. The *cantus* category concerns genres of a lofty kind, the *cantus coronatus* and *cantus versualis*, which were distinguished by their aristocratic connections and ideals, and the *cantus gestualis*, the *chanson de geste*. The *cantilena*, in

¹ Johannes de Grocheio, *Ars musica*, 70, which, like Page (“Johannes de Grocheio,” 27 and n. 41), reads *entatam* where Rohloff read *entratam*. Page understands this to be a Latinization of the French verb *enter*. Butterfield (“*Enté*,” 98) questions Page’s translation of *insertus* as “ornamented,” suggesting this to be “an over-elaborate rendition of a term whose plain sense would fit just as well, if not rather better, with the idea of grafting.”

² For a recent and detailed discussion of the treatise and its historiography, and the arguments for a later date of composition of ca. 1325, see Mullally, “Johannes de Grocheio’s ‘Musica Vulgaris’.” On Grocheio as philosopher of music, see Haines and DeWitt, “Johannes de Grocheio.”

contrast, embraces three main varieties of Refrain-song long associated with dance, which are considered forerunners of the favorite song forms of the *Ars nova*: the *rotundellus*, sung at feasts and banquets in Grocheio's day, corresponds to the fourteenth-century rondeau; the *ductia*, a dance-song enjoyed by the young, matches the virelai, which even in Machaut's time retained its choreographic identity; and the more serious and complex *stantipes*, which has recently been linked to the ballade.³

Given the resemblances between Grocheio's *cantilena* forms and those that came to dominate the *Ars nova*, his allusion to the existence of a grafted variety is rather tantalizing. His comments, though, cited above, are frustratingly succinct; the only detail he offers concerning its form is that it begins and ends like all *cantilena*, which from some of his earlier comments implies that it featured an initial and concluding Refrain. Nevertheless, the terms *cantus insertus* and *cantilena entata* leave no doubt that we are dealing here with a type of citational song. As I intimated in the introduction, the French verb *enter* (to graft) is commonly encountered as a literary metaphor in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sources that allude to citational practice;⁴ *cantus insertus* offers an alternative descriptor for the practice of "inserting" lyric elements into existing material, and evokes the long-standing practice of *refrain* citation. Whether Grocheio had in mind a specific type of Refrain-song associated with citational practice is hard to say. He cites as an example of *cantilena entata* an unidentified French song that begins with the words *Je m'endormi el sentier*. This incipit suggests it was a *pastourelle*, a genre defined by thematic content—the erotic encounter of a knight and a shepherdess—rather than by its precise form. Such songs were often cast into the form of the *chanson avec des refrains*, where each stanza was grafted upon a different, borrowed *refrain*.⁵ Although this form would offer a plausible match for Grocheio's *cantilena entata*, other candidates are the ballade or rondeau, which feature single Refrain sections that often comprise borrowings. Grocheio's term *cantilena entata* could thus refer to any kind of Refrain-song that carries borrowed material.⁶

³ Mullally, "Johannes de Grocheio's 'Musica Vulgaris,'" 14.

⁴ Butterfield, "Enté."

⁵ Doss-Quinby (*Les Refrains*, 109) suggests that just over a third of all extant *chansons avec des refrains* are *pastourelles*. *Refrains* were long believed to have originated in existing *rondets*. It is now thought more likely that newly-composed stanzas were grafted onto autonomous snippets of lyric material to create new *rondets*; see Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 43–5. I use italics to refer to these lyric tags, and normal font to indicate the recurrent formal section of songs (Refrain); see *A Note on Terminology*.

⁶ Butterfield ("Enté," 98–9) remarks that Grocheio suggests implicitly that the *cantilena entata* differed from the *rondellus*, which term, he argues, should only be applied to *cantilene* of

My exploration of citational practice in the fourteenth-century chanson begins with a study of a particular repertory of Refrain-songs transmitted in a chansonnier that forms part of manuscript *Douce 308*. This songbook, which was copied ca. 1310, represents one of the most extensive compilations of vernacular song from the period and although, sadly, it lacks musical notation, it bears important witness to the wealth of forms cultivated in Grocheio's time. The rondeaux transmitted there demonstrate a penchant for citation, as do the songs gathered under the rubric *ballettes*; it the latter that will form the focus of my discussion. The Douce *ballettes* are important to our understanding of the development of the Ars nova chanson because they are prototypes for two forms that later preoccupied song composers: the virelai and the ballade.⁷ These songs feature the classic kind of *refrain* citation so familiar from thirteenth-century rondeaux and motets, but alongside these lyric commonplaces we also find targeting of specific works from the trouvère song repertory. Especially interesting are references to well-known *grands chants* and the blurring of generic boundaries caused as elements associated with this "aristocratic" high-style tradition fuse with "popular" ones, within a form that was still intimately associated with dance.⁸

In what follows, I explore how, on the eve of Ars nova, citational practice contributed to the transformation of the humble Refrain-song into a vehicle at the cutting edge of musical endeavor. Just as writers of motets at this time were challenging generic expectations, it seems authors of Refrain-songs were intent in forging a novel kind of hybrid within the genre of song. We will see, too, how intratextual relationships pervade this collection of *ballettes* and connect it with other song repertories transmitted in the chansonnier. These relationships hint at the activities of a coterie of authors and lend weight to an earlier hypothesis that the songbook might represent a record of the lyric output of a

the rondeau type. Maybe he simply meant that citations could occur in a variety of songs, not just those of the *rondellus* type. Mullally assumes Grocheio was referring to the *motet enté*, which is characterized by the presence of *refrains* spliced across its opening and close; Mullally, "Johannes de Grocheio's 'Musica Vulgaris,'" 8. Butterfield (*Poetry and Music*, 99) suggests that Grocheio's use of the terms *insertus* and *entatus* "refers to the texts rather than the music."

⁷ Page ("Tradition and Innovation," 382) proposed that certain of the three-stanza *ballettes* featuring the ABABX form typical of *grand chant* represent early prototypes for the Ars nova ballade; see also n. 55 below, and the discussion in ch. 3 below. O'Sullivan (*Marian Devotion*) considers similar fusions of contrasting registers in his discussion of hybridization in Marian songs by Gautier de Coinci and Thibaut de Navarre.

⁸ I echo here Pierre Bec's use of the terms *aristocratisant* and *popularisant* (see *La Lyrique française*), which he used to distinguish between what Christopher Page has termed "high" and "low" style.

northern *puy*. These early citational complexes are fascinating precursors of the intertextual sequences of ballades that were increasingly to preoccupy songwriters in the second half of the fourteenth century.

The Douce Chansonnier

Douce 308 transmits the *chansonnier* alongside five other books and is believed to have been copied for a prominent family of Metz in northeastern France in the second decade of the fourteenth century.⁹ The songbook, like the *Tournoy de Chauvency* and the *Voeux de paon*,¹⁰ is thought to have originated locally and the manuscript as a whole is believed to have been designed to meet the tastes of a specific audience in Lorraine.¹¹ The *chansonnier* is unusual in presenting its contents grouped according to lyric type.¹² Taking pride of place is a section presenting 93 *grands chants*, followed by others that collect together, respectively, 19 *estampies*, 36 *jeux partis*, 57 *pastourelles*, 191 *ballettes*, 22 *sottes chansons contre amours*, and, finally, 37 *rondets*, which are grouped with 64 motet texts.¹³ Each song fascicle was thus conceived as a separate unit and gathers together examples of a single song type (or two, in the case of the *rondeau-motet* section).¹⁴

⁹ Doss-Quinby et al., *The Old French Ballette*, I; on the dating of the *chansonnier*, see *ibid.*, liii.

¹⁰ The *chansonnier* shares its illuminator with those two sections. It also shares its scribes with the *Tournoy*, and is also linked to that work in terms of gatherings; on the codicological structure of the manuscript, see Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 19–34.

¹¹ Doss-Quinby et al., *The Old French Ballette*, I–li.

¹² *Trouvère* manuscripts are typically ordered by author, with those of higher social status placed first, or alphabetically; see Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, ch. 2, and a more general discussion in Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, ch. 10.

¹³ These figures follow Doss-Quinby et al., *The Old French Ballette*, xlvii–xlviii.

¹⁴ In the case of the *grand chant*, *pastourelle*, and *sotte chanson* sections, thematic content rather than form defines the collection, while the reverse is true for the *jeux partis*, *ballettes*, *rondeaux*, and motets; see Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 80–88. Various explanations for the grouping together of the *rondeaux* and motets have been proposed; Doss-Quinby et al. (*The Old French Ballette*, xlix) suggest it relates to the presence of *refrains* within these works, while Mullally (“The Ballade before Machaut,” 260) proposes they were perhaps copied from a source with polyphonic settings. Page (*Discarding Images*, 43–64) points to sociological reasons for the linking of these two forms: both were performed at religious feasts. Stevens (“Medieval Song,” 399) notes the two forms are similarly classed together in the index of MS Rome, Var. Reg. 1490, which is of similar date to *Douce* 308. Atchison (*The Chansonnier*, 82) proposes that the *rondeau-motet* section fell outside the original design of the songbook, which presented the works according to a symmetrical sequence: first love songs (*grands chants*); second, dance songs (*estampies*); third and fourth, debate songs