SOUND, VIOLENCE, AND THE PERIOD EAR IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

Jenna Rebecca Phillips

A DISSERTATION
PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY
OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

RECOMMENDED FOR ACCEPTANCE
BY THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Adviser: William Chester Jordan

May 2016

© Copyright by Jenna Rebecca Phillips, 2016. All rights reserved.

ABSTRACT

This project seeks to recapture a distant sound-world at a time when written record began to compete with human memory as a means of preserving information, when the proliferation of documents in the vernacular began to reveal the private lives of thirteenth-century warriors and their communities. Knights, counts and crusaders used music and poetry to broadcast their political identities; in so doing they elevated the cadences of regional languages to new levels of prestige. The evolving "recording technology" of the four-line musical staff (and its swift adoption beyond the monastery, by noble and bourgeois patrons alike), meant that for the first time in Western history, the songs and oral traditions that were on people's lips and playing in their heads—the background music of human history—were being written down. This thesis restores these records to their historical contexts—specifically within waves of military conquest in northern Europe and the Mediterranean.

Archival documents from France's Départements du Pas-de-Calais and du Nord are employed alongside poetic, musical records found in *chansonniers*, chronicles, and a rare, portable performer's roll, to study the social world of one of Europe's most prolific centers for secular musical composition, the French appanage of Artois during the lifetime of count Robert II (1248-1302). Investigating the historical conditions of vernacular media production, I provide a database of several hundred knights and trouvères. This research indicates that demand for vernacular records was driven by the bellicose, literate circles of northern French aristocracy and that singers were often veterans of repeat campaigns. Meanwhile, records of the competitive/combative musical

genre of the *jeu parti* reveal that performance could transcend divisions of class and gender. Their vivid documentation allows me to begin reconstructing what, in my thesis, I call "the period ear."

Chapters address in succession: the thirteenth-century social and political conditions of northern France and its Flemish border; the agonistic, musical culture of the tournament, focusing on records from *Le Hem* and *Chauvency*; performance and transmission of *jeux partis* in Artois and beyond; and finally, the French nobility as perceived by its opponents during the conquest of Sicily.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF MAJOR TROUVÈRE MANUSCRIPTS	xii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE THE TOURNAMENT AS "DEEP PLAY" IN ROBERT II'S ARTOIS	47
CHAPTER TWO THE SOUNDSCAPE OF THE TOURNAMENT	88
CHAPTER THREE THE PRAGMATISM OF LOVE IN THE OLD FRENCH *JEU PARTI*	144
CHAPTER FOUR SINGERS WITHOUT BORDERS: A PERFORMER'S *ROTULUS* AND THE TRANSMISSION OF *JEUX PARTIS*	184
CHAPTER FIVE ORAL AND WRITTEN TRADITIONS IN THE LEGENDS OF THE SICILIAN VESPERS	219
CONCLUSION	261
APPENDIX A: KNIGHTS PARTICIPATING AT THE TOURNAMENT AT LE HEM, 1278	269
APPENDIX B: SINGERS AND JUDGES OF *JEUX PARTIS*	279
BIBLIOGRAPHY	293

Diverse voci fanno dolci note;
così diversi scanni in nostra vita
rendon dolce armonia tra queste rote.

Differing voices join to sound sweet music;
so do the different orders in our life
render sweet harmony among these spheres.

Dante Alighieri, *Paradiso* VI, ll. 124-126

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Much of this dissertation is about the gathering together of vivacious communities in thirteenth-century Artois, but it has been the vivacious community of teachers, friends and family at Princeton and beyond that has sustained me throughout the completion of this project. My first and greatest debts are to my adviser and committee members. Fortune smiled on me in giving me the opportunity to study with William Chester Jordan. He is the kind of adviser who, by example, makes one wish always to strive towards a higher ideal. He pointed me to the music of the trouvères, and in his graduate seminars, demonstrated that no text is so small that it does not have secrets to unlock. He has saved me from more faux pas than I care to mention, with characteristic humor and humanity. Tony Grafton has been a font of sagacity and kindness, and in lending his conceptual vision of the past and pragmatic advice about the present, he has helped this become a far more coherent and interesting dissertation. He always asks the questions that make one's work better, and in words as eloquent as any of the classical luminaries he teaches. Anna Zayaruznaya graciously welcomed me, an interloper from the history department, into her sparkling course and seminars on early music, and has offered intellectual support, both at Princeton and now at the Yale music department. To John Haldon I owe my first encounter with French crusaders as they were seen through Byzantine eyes, my first encounter with Greek fire and with the workings of a trebuchet. Not only John's scholarship, but, as Director of Graduate Studies, his compassion and good humor towards us graduate students, has contributed to the remarkably amiable environment in the Princeton history department. Not least, my deep gratitude is due to Gabrielle Spiegel of Johns Hopkins University, who to my enormous delight agreed to act as my outside committee member and for whose critical readings, insights, and support I am unspeakably thankful.

My research has been enriched by the astute comments of a number of other scholars. Carol Symes read parts of the dissertation and made numerous penetrating suggestions. Peter Brown read and and offered his luminous perceptions at an early stage of writing,

and encouragement throughout. Cecilia Gaposchkin has been a source of advice and mentorship, as has Adam Beaver who brought the Mediterranean alive in a wonderful course, and gave generously of his time and feedback. I am indebted to Alan Stahl for his excellent paleography course, and to Marco Ruffini, now at Rome, La Sapienza, for many years of friendship and art historical wisdom.

Sections of chapters one, four and five have been presented at the International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo (2013 and 2015), at the Medieval Song Lab, Yale University (2014). The Late Antique Medieval and Byzantine (LAMB) Workshop and the Medieval Studies seminars at Princeton have provided a lively forum for the exchange of ideas, and I am particularly indebted to the following members of the "medieval mafia": Hagar Barak, Tom Boeve, Andrew Collings, Hollis Dvorkin, Brianna Gustafson, Rebecca Johnson, Jamie Kreiner, Meg Leja, Molly Lester, Glenn McDorman, Hartley Miller, Lee Mordechai, Randall Pippinger, Joe Ricci, Christian Sahner, Jack Tannous, and Troy Tice.

The cohort of graduate students that I joined made every day spent in Dickinson Hall and Firestone Library stimulating, and often joyful. They are too many to name, but especial thanks are due to Alexander Bevilacqua, Hannah-Louise Clark, Frederic Clark, Heidi Hausse, Justene Hill, Zack Kagan-Guthrie, Andrei Pesic, Padraic Scanlon, Ksenia Tatarchenko and Lain Wilson. Many days and nights of hard work and good cheer have been enlivened by the friendship of Henry Cowles and Anna Bonnell-Freidin, Paul Davis, Valeria Escauriaza López Fadul, Cynthia Houng and Helen Pfeifer.

Numerous archivists and librarians have aided me in this project and helped to supply me with documents I will surely be using for years to come. My particular gratitude is owing to the staffs of the Archives Départementales du Pas-de-Calais and du Nord, Lambeth Palace Library, the Biblioteca Nazionale di Palermo, the Rijksarchief te Gent (and to Professor Marc Boone who kindly oriented me there), and of course to the entire staff of Princeton's Firestone Library.

In the history department, my enduring thanks are also due to Jaclyn Wasneski and Kristy Novak, Judith Hanson, Reagan Maraghy and so many of their colleagues who meet every challenge with skill, patience and grace.

All of this research would have been impossible without the generous financial support of the Princeton History Department, the Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies, and the Mrs. Giles Whiting Foundation.

I also wish to gratefully acknowledge several wonderful mentors from my undergraduate institution, the University of California at Berkeley, who first made the practice of history seem thrilling and vitally important to me, and have offered so many words of encouragement and insight over the years: Randy Starn, David Henkin, Haya Bar-Itzhak, Steven Justice. The memory of Robert Brentano, whose love for teaching primary sources to undergraduates first made me want to be a medievalist, lives on with respect and fondness, as does that of Alan Dundes, who brought the world of oral tradition alive. Also remembered is Anne Crowden, uncompromising Scottish violin teacher and chamber music conductor who astutely encouraged me to pursue theatrical comedy in addition to classical violin. I think of her when I study the *jeux partis*.

Two family members have given daily and unreservedly of their perceptive insights and boundless support. Dyche Mullins, my brilliant husband, has done everything from cheering me with improvised double-dactyl poems about Robert of Artois to accompanying me in my attempt at retracing the battle lines outside of Courtrai. If I understand anything of romantic love, it is because of him. My mother, Dr. Judy Friedman, is my constant reminder that there is goodness in the world. With her humor and common sense, she has aided me in a thousand ways, not least by reading with a careful and skeptical eye every chapter. Her love sustains me in all things. I dedicate this dissertation to both of them.

LIST OF FIGURES

Introduction, Figure 1. King David, playing a rebec or viol, Hildescheim, St. Godehard's Church, St. Albans Psalter, fol. 209r. Twelfth century.

Introduction, Figure 2. King David, holding a bowed instrument. Toulouse, Saint Sernin Basilica, Lintel sculpture. Eleventh century.

Introduction, Figure 3. *Li granz desirs et la douce pensee*, by "li cuens dangou," Chansonnier du Roi (Trouvère MS M), Paris: BNF, fr. 844, fol. 8r.

Introduction, Figure 4. *I entrant del douz termine*, by "me sire morisses de craon," Chansonnier du Roi (Trouvère MS M), Paris: BNF, fr. 844, fol. 49r.

Chapter 1, Figure 1. Chessman (knight). French or English, walrus ivory. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. AN1685a.587. Thirteenth century.

Chapter 1, Figure 2. Seal of Robert II of Artois, Louis Deschamps des Pas, *Sceaux des Comtes d'Artois* (Paris: Didron, 1857)

Chapter 1, Figure 3. Letter recording tournament debts of Robert II of Artois. AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 27.36. 1281.

Chapter 1, Figure 4. Opening page of Sarrasin's *Roman du Hem*, Paris, BNF fr. 1588, fol. 119r.

Chapter 1, Figure 5. Illustration of "le jeu du robardel," *Tournoi de Chauvency,* Oxford: Bodleian Douce 308, fol. 113r. ca. 1310.

Chapter 2, Figure 1. *Ensi doit dame aler a son ami*, refrain with music in the *Court de Paradis*, Paris BNF fr. 25532, fol. 333v.

Chapter 2, Music Example 1. *Ensi doit dame aler a son ami.*

Chapter 2, Figure 2. Detail of rondeau, *Ainsi doit on aler a son ami* in Paris, BNF fr. 12786, fol. 77r.

Chapter 3, Figure 1. *Mise en page,* Chansonnier du Roi (Trouvère MS M), Paris, BNF fr. 844, fol.5r.

Chapter 3, Figure 2. Illustration of a *jeu parti* between Simon d'Authie and Gilles le Vinier (Långfors CXXXI), Arras: Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 657, fol. 136r.

Chapter 3, Figure 3. Illustration depicting *jeu parti* singers (untonsured). Oxford: Bodleian Douce 308, fol. 178r.

Chapter 3, Figure 4. A jeu parti between Gillebert de Berneville and Thomas Herier (Långfors CXXXVIII) Chansonnier de Noailles. Paris, BNF fr. 12615 fol. 34r.

Chapter 3, Music Example 1. *Thumas Herier partie ai trouvee*, (Langfors CXXXVIII) verse 2. Music with text of Thomas Herier's response to Gillebert de Berneville's question.

Chapter 4, Figure 1. Roll containing *jeux partis*. London: Lambeth Palace Library MS 1681. dorse showing first membrane

Chapter 4, Figures 2-3. Lambeth Palace Library MS 1681. String visible at right.

Chapter 4, Figure 4. Author portrait of Guillaume Machaut, Paris, BNF fr. 1586, fol. 121.

Chapter 4, Figure 5. Scene of the Grand Pont, with St. Denis preaching, and clerics afloat on the Seine, singing from a roll. *Vie de St. Denis*, Paris, BNF fr. 2021, fol. 99r.

Chapter 4, Figure 6. Three clerics singing a motet from a roll. London: British Library, Arundel, MS 83, fol. 63v.

Chapter 5, Figure 1. Il *Castel Nuovo* or *Maschio Angioino,* Naples, erected by Charles of Anjou, 1279

Chapter 5, Figure 2. *Chiesa Santo Spirito*, Palermo, twelfth century.

MAJOR TROUVÈRE MANUSCRIPTS
with sigla, date, and provenance, when known*

A Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 657 "chansonnier d'Arras"
date and provenance: 1278 (dated in a colophon), Picardy or Burgundy

B Berne, Stadt- und Universitätbibliothek, MS 231
date and provenance: 1260's, Artois

C Berne, Stadt- und Universitätbibliothek, MS 389
date and provenance: thirteenth century, Lorraine (Metz?) **lacks notation*

F London, British Library, Eg. 274
date & provenance: 1260's, Artois

H Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Alfa. R 4, 4
date and provenance: 1254, Lombardy **lacks notation*

I Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308
date and provenance: early fourteenth century, Lorraine **lacks notation*

K Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 5198 "chansonnier de l'Arsenal"
date and provenance: 1270's, Picardy or Artois

L Paris, BNF, f. fr. 765 , ff. 48-63
date and provenance: late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, France

M Paris, BNF, fr. 844 "Chansonnier du Roi"
date and provenance: ca.1253-1258, Artois or Arrageois scribes (possibly Arras)[1]

N Paris, BNF, fr. 845
date and provenance: 1270-80, Picardy or Artois

O Paris, BNF fr. 846, "chansonnier Cangé"
date and provenance: c.1280-1290, Burgundy

P Paris, BNF fr. 847
date and provenance: 1270-80, Picardy-Artois region

Q Paris, BNF fr. 1109, fos. 311-25
date and provenance: after 1310 (date given on f.143 at end of Tresor) Picardy

---

* Dates and provenances for all MSS with notation are based on "Sources, MS, III. Secular monophony," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2001. Additional information is based on catalog descriptions supplied by individual archives, or otherwise noted.

[1] This dating is the recent assessment of John Haines, "The Songbook for William of Villehardouin," in *Viewing the Morea,* Gerstel, ed., (Washington D.C., 2013).

R	Paris, BNF fr. 1591 date and provenance: beginning 14th century, Artois
S	Paris, BNF fr. 12581 date and provenance: 1275-1300, Champagne[2] **lacks notation*
T	Paris, BNF fr. 12615, "chansonnier de Noailles" date and provenance: 1270-s-80s, Artois early 14th cen. libellus of Adam de la Halle bound in at the end (f.224-233v)
U	Paris BNF fr. 20050, "St-Germain-des-Prés" date and Provenance: ca. 1240-1250, Lorraine
V	Paris, BNF fr. 24406 date and Provenance: after 1266 (date given in a rubric on fol.120)
W	Paris, BNF fr. 25566, "Adam de la Halle MS" date and provenance: end of 13c, Artois
Wa	Fos. 2r-9v of W
X	Paris BNF fr. 1050, "chansonnier Clairambault" date and provenance: 1270-80, probably Arras
Z	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli intronati, H.X.36 Date and Provenance: late 13th or early 14th century Artois or Picardy
a	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg.lat 1490 date and provenance: late 13 or early 14th century; Artois
b	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat 1522 date and provenance: beginning of fourteenth century, Artois **lacks notation*
i	Paris, BNF, fr. 12483 date and provenance: 1325-1350, Soissons (?)[3]
za	Zagreb, University Library, MR 92 date and provenance: 1275-1300, Padua (?)[4] **lacks notation*

[2] Luca Barbieri, "*Deteriores non inanes*. Il canzoniere S della lirica in lingua d'oïl," *Convivio: Estudios sobre la poesía de cancionero*, Vicenç Beltrán and Juan Paredes, eds., (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2006), 145-74.
[3] Arthur Langfors, "Notice du manuscrit français 12483 de la Bibliothèque nationale," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, 39 (1916), 503-665.
[4] Lucilla Spetia, "Le recueil MR 92 de Zagreb et son histoire," *Cultura Neolatina,* 53 (1993), 151-95.

Introduction

> La douce Mère Dieu ama son de viele
> A Arras la cité fist cortoisie bele
> Aus Jougleors dona sainte digne chandele[1]
>
> The sweet mother of God loved the sound of the fiddle. In the city of Arras she did a great courtesy; she gave the holy, blessed candle to its jongleurs.

This verse, appearing in an anonymous text known as the *Dit des Taboureurs*, is one of hundreds of lyrics dating from the thirteenth century that attest to a vibrant musical life enjoyed in and around Arras, the most populous city in France's northern appanage of Artois. The verse boasts of the Queen of Heaven's special fondness for Arras's fiddlers, making reference to the foundation legend of the confraternity of jongleurs in that city, which, incorporated by 1194 was one of the first associations of professional performers in Europe.[2] According to the legend, two jongleurs—one from Saint Pol and the other from Brabant—were locked in a blood feud following the murder of one jongleur's brother, committed at the devil's instigation. For each jongleur, to see his enemy was to wish to kill him. One Wednesday night, the Virgin Mary appeared in separate visions to both men. "Are you asleep?" she asked, "listen to what I tell you." She instructed each man to travel to Arras, to seek out the bishop at the Church of Our Lady Saint Mary, and make his peace with his enemy in the bishop's presence. It happened that at this time, an outbreak of disease known as "the fire of Hell" (*ignis infernalis*), or Saint Anthony's Fire was afflicting the inhabitants of Arras, rich and poor alike. The Virgin promised that if

[1] *Dit des Taboureurs,* ed. W. Noomen, *Le jongleur par lui-même*, (Louvain: Peeters, 2003), p. 142-151.

[2] Editions of the legend in its Latin and vernacular versions appear in Roger Berger, *Le Nécrologe de la Confrérie des Jongleurs et des Bourgeois d'Arras*, *(1194-1361)*, (Arras: Mémoires de la Commission Départementale des Monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1970) 2:137-156.

the jongleurs were to find concord and friendship with one another, she would bring a cure to the city's inhabitants in the form of a candle, whose wax, when submerged in water, had the power to heal the afflicted.

Having received their visions, the two men set out, making haste to complete the journey to Arras. When the bishop was confronted with the first man's story, he displayed skepticism, doubting him because he was a jongleur. But hearing the same story from the second, he became convinced, and brought peace and accord between them, pardoning them, and telling them to love both friend and enemy for God, which they did with contrite hearts. At the cock's crow the following morning, the Virgin reappeared before the jongleurs, presenting them with the healing candle, the *sainte chandelle*, burning with celestial fire.[3] And the miraculous cure was performed as the sick were given water in which the candle's wax had been dipped, until the city was healed.

The *sainte chandelle* became the relic treasured by Arras's jongleurs, while its cure of the fiery affliction was memorialized in the confraternity's name: the *Carité de Notre Dame des Ardents d'Arras*. The story was recorded in Latin in the last quarter of the twelfth century; in the thirteenth it was translated into French. By the mid-thirteenth century, the Carité won papal approval for the cult of their miraculous relic, founding a

[3] Today, most scholars agree that the name and symptoms describe an outbreak of Saint Anthony's Fire, or ergotism, a condition arising from eating contaminated cereals. A learned discussion of this, and an interpretation of the legend within the context of Arras's ecclesiastical politics is provided by Symes, *A Common Stage, Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 85-92.

chapel in one of Arras's central market squares, and retelling the legend in yearly civic festivals.[4]

This foundation legend, and its annual, ritualized performance within the urban space of Arras, played a key role in elevating the status of the jongleurs in that city, Carol Symes has persuasively argued. Entertainers and actors, who have historically been considered as marginal or transgressive figures, were the object of special derision from the twelfth-century Church. John Baldwin, in numerous publications that span seemingly opposite poles of medieval society—those of theology and *jongleurie*—has revealed to us the suspicion with which many scholastics held the figure of the entertainer at the close of the twelfth century.[5] It was against this negative image that the miraculous legend of the jongleurs of Arras acted so powerfully. Following in Symes's footsteps, scholars such as Jennifer Saltzstein have construed the numerous literary amendments to the legend in Latin and French as the means by which jongleurs conveyed the literate, even clerical authority of their organization.[6] Accordingly, the legend of the *sainte chandelle* and its role in civic life has been interpreted almost exclusively from the viewpoint of the profession of the jongleur. Its narrative, however, includes elements that spoke to broader social issues, and it is these issues that are a point of departure of the present study.

---

[4] See the brilliant work of Carol Symes in showing how the legend and its ritualized, performative retelling of it elevated the jongleur's status in Arras. *A Common Stage,* 85-92.
[5] John Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants; the social views of Peter the Chanter and his circle*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970)*;* "Jean Renart et le tournoi de Saint-Trond: Une Conjonction de l'histoire et de la Littérature," *Annales,* 45 (1990), 565-88; "The Image of the Jongleur in Northern France around 1200," *Speculum*, 72, (1997), 635-663; *Aristocratic Life in Medieval France: The Romances of Jean Renart and Gerbert de Montreuil, 1190-1230* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).
[6] Saltzstein, Jennifer "Cleric-Trouvères and the *Jeux-partis* of Medieval Arras," *Viator,* 43 (2012), 147-64.

This is a study in which jongleurs, minstrels and trouvères appear, but it is not about them only. It is primarily concerned with their employers: the aristocratic patrons for whom their entertainments were composed, and who, by their own participation in the trouvère's arts, equally had a hand in elevating the prestige of the profession. I begin with the *Sainte Chandelle* legend because I suggest it reveals a set of widely-held attitudes about the junction of violence, physical affliction, miraculous intervention, and music, that reached beyond the concerns of minstrels in Arras. Consider the narrative structure: two conflicts are introduced, that of an outbreak of pestilence afflicting the local population, and that of a cycle of violence sustained by the mortal hatred between men (armed and encouraged by the devil).[7] The men, we are told, hail from Brabant and Saint Pol (the former, a duchy across the eastern border, the latter, a small county in northern Artois) and meet in Arras.

Geographically the story situates us in a region all too familiar with the scourge of private war in the eleventh through early thirteenth centuries. The motif of violent feud would resonate with a contemporary audience, in whom it might call to mind political events or local lore. It was the trouvères of the same region who had set in writing the bloody but popular chanson de geste, *Raoul of Cambrai*, an epic of vendetta that was expanded in continuations throughout the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries (one of its continuations centers on a siege of the city of Arras).[8] Local saints' lives

[7] "Sed letale inter se gerentes odium, adeo quod si alter alteri obviaret, alter alterum stricto mucrone detruncaret. Alter enim alterius fratrem, diabolo suggerente et arma ministrante, occiderat." Berger, ed., *Le Nécrologe*, 141.
[8] *Raoul de Cambrai*, now classified among the "rebellious vassal" cycle of *chanson de geste*, is made up of at least three sections of distinct origin. On the poetic and manuscript tradition, see William Kibler, "Introduction," *Raoul de Cambrai: chanson de geste du XIIe siècle*, Sarah Kay, ed., (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1996), and Sarah Kay, ed., *Raoul de Cambrai*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

regularly incorporated vignettes of endemic violence and its hard-won cessation, showing us that the successful imposition of peace was itself viewed as no less than miraculous.[9] As described by the *Life* of Saint Arnulf, writing in the early twelfth century, "all across Flanders, the daily homicides and the insatiable spilling of human blood disturbed the peace and quiet of the whole region."[10]

The Peace and Truce of God movement of the eleventh century, aimed at curbing private war, met with mixed results in the region. But its marked popularity, soon followed by that of the crusading movement, is attributed by scholars to the intensity with which Franco-Flemish society hoped to redirect its ferocious appetite for violence.[11] This was likewise the initial motive for approving the new martial sport of the tournament, first known to be mentioned (as the Latin neologism *torneamenta*) in a Peace of God charter issued by the Count of Hainaut in 1114.[12] Over the following several centuries, the aristocracy of this region would retain a reputation as Europe's most reliable source of crusading recruits, the most avid and extravagant in hosting tournaments, and among the most prolific in their patronage of musical innovation, a tradition that would continue to flourish through the Renaissance.[13]

---

[9] See, for example, the *Vita Arnulfi* (ca.1120) in which the bishop Arnulf's pacification of the havoc wrought by private vendetta at the Flemish fairs is supplied as evidence of his sanctity, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores,* 15-2, 872-904. The episode is discussed in David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London: Longman Group, 1992), along with a wider discussion of endemic violence in the region, 59-61.
[10] "per cuncta Flandriae loca, quotidiana homicidia et insatiabiles humani sanguinis effusiones pacem et quietem totius regionis turbaverant," *Vita Arnulfi*, quoted by Henri Platelle, "La violence et ses remèdes en Flandre au XIe siècle," *Sacris erudiri,* 23 (1971), 101-173 at 108.
[11] Geoffrey Koziol, "Monks, Feuds, and the Making of Peace in Eleventh-Century Flanders," *Historical Reflections/ Réflexions Historiques*, 14 (1987), 531-549, 534.
[12] Eljas Oksanen, *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World, 1066-1216*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 117.
[13] On the zest for both crusading and tourneying in north-east France and Flanders, see David Crouch, *Tournament*, (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), 5-7; on the musical tradition as it

Returning to the *sainte chandelle* legend, how were its conflicts resolved? The story presents the hope of alleviating affliction through miraculous intervention—by the Virgin's mercy, and, through association, by the minstrel's art. Different forms of affliction—cyclic violence and epidemic—are mysteriously joined in their resolution, according to the logic of the narrative. The miraculous reconciliation between two feuding men is rewarded by a miraculous cure for local disease.

The final element in the resolution of conflict, the narrative implies, has to do with the minstrel's art itself. The Virgin addresses the protagonists approvingly as "You jongleurs, who live by singing and playing the vielle," before presenting them with the candle illuminated by celestial fire.[14] We can readily see from the lyrics quoted at the opening of this chapter that popular tradition specifically credited the music of Arras's jongleurs with having pleased the mother of God and motivated her gift of the healing candle. Yet another anonymous song from the mid-thirteenth century makes even more grandiose claims to divine affection for Arras's musical scene: [15]

> Arras est escole de tous biens entendre[...]
> Je vi l'autre jor le ciel lasus fendre:
> Dex voloit d'Arras les motés aprendre.
> *Et per lidoureles*
> *Vadou vadu vadourenne*
> Quant Diex fu malades, por lui rehaitier

---

evolved in the later Middle Ages, a classic work is that of Craig Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy, 1364-1419: a documentary history,* (Henryville: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979).
[14] "Nostre Dame sainte Marie, ele, la douce mere Dieu, .j. petit apres le coc chantant, descent du cuer, et portoit en sa main un cierge alumé del feu celestial. "Vos, jugleor," fet ele, "qui vivez de chant et de vielle, venez ça. Ceste chandoile vos baill a garder a toz jorz mes parmenablement." Berger, ed., *Nécrologe*, 151.
[15] The song can be approximately dated by its inclusion several members of Arras's *Carité*, for example Bretiaus (l. 24) = Jehan Bretel, who flourished after 1250, and died in 1274; discussed in below in Chapters Three and Four.

A l'ostel le Prince se vint acointier [...][16]

> Arras is the school where all good things are heard [...] The other day, I saw the heavens open: God wished to learn motets at Arras. *Et per lidoureles, Vadou vadu vadourenne*
> When God was sick, to lift his spirits, he came [to Arras] as a guest at the hotel of the Prince[17] [...]

The tradition of vernacular music composition that flourished in urban Arras, as it did in towns and aristocratic courts throughout the county of Artois and its northeastern neighbors, nurtured a sense of pride, reflected in the divine sanction it claimed for itself. The lyrics express this with a surprisingly humorous mix of bombast and self-deprecation (while God comes to Arras to lift his spirits, the in-fighting of the bourgeois inhabitants there ultimately aggravates his fever).

But this playfulness does not obscure the shadow of danger voiced by the *sainte chandelle* narrative, or even by the light-hearted song about God's visit to Arras, where the sounds of a new art form, the motet, are sought out as a curative for illness. The description of listening to pleasant song for its therapeutic effects resembles the way, in another era, we might expect a recuperating patient to take the healing waters of a spa. Music, these lyrics imply—even courtly, non-sacred music—had the potential to ameliorate affliction.

While the lyrics from Arras couch this sentiment in their own irreverent manner, the notion of music as having therapeutic effects stretched to antiquity, and, in medieval

[16] Roger Berger, ed., *Littérature et Société Arrageoises au XIIIe siècle: Les chansons et dits artésiens,* (Arras: Mémoires de la Commission Départementale des Monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1981), 120, ll. 1-10.
[17] The Prince in question refers to the "Prince du Puy," (literally, the Prince of the Podium) the jongleur or trouvère crowned each year by the *Carité des jongleurs*. See Berger, *Littérature et Société Arrageoises*, 120, note 10.

France, was cited by music theorists as it was by biblical exegetes.[18] The latter group pointed to evidence from the first Book of Samuel, in which the skillful playing on the lyre by the young David was said to bring solace to King Saul, and drive away the evil spirit that afflicted him.[19] (I Samuel 16:16-18) A favorite subject of high medieval iconography, the musical king was often pictured with the attribute of his harp, but he also appeared in more secularized contexts, even playing a jongleur's rebec.[20] [Figures 1 and 2] The classical conception that vocal and instrumental music could bring the individual soul into harmony with the cosmos was likewise widely known through Boethius, and was extended by theorists to the belief that sweet music could engender social harmony. Such ideas were enduring: by the sixteenth century, when the *Académie de Poésie et de Musique* was founded in Paris, its statutes affirmed that "where music is disordered, there morals are also depraved, and where it is well ordered, there men are well disciplined morally."[21] Some of these ideas, as they were reflected in musical treatises and practice, are the subject of Chapter Two.

---

[18] Peregrine Horden, ed., *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity,* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); a fuller examination of this topic appears in Chapter Two of this dissertation.
[19] See, for example, the discussion by Peter Murray Jones, "Music Therapy in the Later Middle Ages: The Case of Hugo van der Goes," in Horden, ed., *Music as Medicine*, 120-46.
[20] As Sylvie Huot has shown, he was also pictured in chansonniers as a "spiritualized trouvère," *Song to Book, The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 287-92. His image playing the rebec or other instruments associated with jongleurs are commonly found in twelfth- and thirteenth-century sculptural programs and manuscripts; for a discussion of one such image appearing next to a vernacular *Chanson de saint Alexis*, see Laura Kendrick, "1123? A Richly Illustrated Latin Psalter Prefaced by a Vernacular *Chanson de saint Alexis* is Produced at the English Monastery of St. Albans for Christina of Markyate," in Dennis Hollier and R. Howard Bloch, *A New History of French Literature*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 23-30.
[21] The Letters Patent and Statutes of the Academy of Poetry and Music, founded in 1270, are quoted by Kate Van Orden in her probing study of the development of music and *ballet de cour* during the wars of religion, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); the classic study of the French academies is that of Frances

Figure 1. David, playing a rebec or viol, is surrounded by harpists, men with cymbals and trumpets, and below, two men striking timbrels with hammers. Twelfth century. St. Albans Psalter, fol. 209r, St. Godehard's Church, Hildescheim.

Figure 2. King David, holding a bowed instrument, is seated on two lions: Lintel sculpture, eleventh century, Saint Sernin Basilica, Toulouse.

The premise of the following study is that physical and psychic affliction, and war, were often the counterpoint against which the songs of the trouvères were heard. My geographic and temporal focus rests largely on the county of Artois during the lifetime of its most bellicose ruler, count Robert II (1248-1302). As one of the chief military leaders of his lifetime, a patron of the vernacular arts and music, and an enthusiast of tournaments, Arthurian romance, and the many courtly pleasures associated with the cult

Yates, who includes editions of their Statutes in her appendices. *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1947).

of chivalry, Robert II's life is instructive. It allows us to trace, at times, how the realities of war and the powerful sense of duty experienced by the French aristocracy were interwoven with chivalric fictions spun in stories and songs. Medieval entertainments—song genres such as *jeux partis* and pastourelles, the refrains, dances, and theatrics that were interspersed with tournament games—are traditionally seen by scholars in isolation from the biographical experiences of their participants. My study aims to redress this. I argue that in many cases, these entertainments developed as cultural strategies for making cognitive harmony with life's most dissonant experiences.

Robert II of Artois

Although not a singer himself, Robert governed the county of Artois during a golden age of musical and literary achievement, patronizing trouvères and minstrels whom he retained to perform at his residences, during the tournaments he frequented, and on at least several of his numerous military campaigns. Between Robert and his fellow military commander and uncle, Charles of Anjou (1227-1285), whom Robert and his armies often served, the two men patronized some of the most brilliant literary and musical minds of the century: Adam de la Halle, Perrin d'Angicourt, Rutebeuf, Jean de Meung, Sordello. Brunetto Latini, the Tuscan author who tutored a young Dante Alighieri and took refuge in Arras and Paris following his expulsion from Florence, is believed to have worked under the patronage of Charles of Anjou, for whom his *Trésor* (written in the Picard dialect of Artois), was probably written.[22] We can follow a paper

[22] Francis Carmody, *Li Livres Dou Tresor de Brunetto Latini: Edition Critique* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), xvii-xviii; Julia Bolton Holloway, *Twice-Told Tales: Brunetto Latino and Dante Alighieri,* (New York: P. Lang, 1993), 60-65; recent work on Charles of Anjou's musical patronage is that of Stefano Asperti, *Carlo I d'Angio e i Trovatori:*

trail of payments made to minstrels and performers, dedications in long octosyllabic poems and prose narratives,[23] propaganda songs used for military recruitment[24] and verse accounts of battles.[25] To this we may add the songs that Charles of Anjou himself composed and the *chansonniers* he and Robert likely commissioned.[26] Together, this scattered evidence tells a story of patronage that runs parallel to the military conquests for which both men are better known. More than this, it suggests the importance and prestige that these men of arms accorded to the vernacular arts.

While Charles of Anjou (youngest brother of Louis IX), the great engineer of the political crusade to Italy and the catalyst for the famous Sicilian Vespers uprising in 1282, has been the object of a considerable body of scholarship, Robert of Artois has, until recently, attracted only meager scholarly attention. Even in French popular culture today, it is his grandson Robert III who is far better known, as a central character in a TV series based on the historical novels by Maurice Druon, *Les Rois Maudits*.[27] Robert II's plight of obscurity is changing, however, with a growing interest in the luxuriant records of his administration housed in the Archives Départementales du Pas-de-Calais.[28] New

---

Componenti "provenzali" e angioine nella tradizione manoscritta della lirica trobadorica (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1995).

[23] Adenet le Roy's *Cléomadés*, dedicated to Robert of Artois, ll. 18687-18697, Adam de la Halle's *Le Roi du Sezile* was dedicated to Charles of Anjou.

[24] Such as Rutebeuf's crusade songs and eulogies of fallen crusade heroes, ca. 1255-77.

[25] "La complainte du comte de flandres," a heroic depiction in octosyllables of Robert II's actions during the Franco-Flemish war, appears in a codex from Artois that also contains lyrics, notated Latin hymns and satirical poetry against the English, housed at Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS Aldini 219, fols. 6r-13v.

[26] On Charles of Anjou's own compositions, see Jean Maillard, *Charles d'Anjou: Roi Trouvère du XIIIème Siècle* (American Institute of Musicology: Musicological Studies and Documents, 18, 1956); on Robert's likely commissioning of the chansonnier containing the works of Adam de la Halle, see Symes, *A Common Stage*, 232, 249.

[27] Set during the reign of Philip the Fair and continuing into the Hundred Years War, these are the novels to which George R.R. Martin credited the inspiration behind his *Game of Thrones* series.

[28] For instance, Bernard Delmaire and Malcolm Vale have both commented on the extensive yet underutilized records housed in this collection, along with the Archives Départementales du

work on his influence at the court of Philip the Fair is also calling for his rehabilitation. Xavier Hélary, who has published several monographs addressing, among other things, Robert's role as the commander of the royal army in the 1290's and at the disastrous battle of Courtrai in 1302, has also provided the most complete portrait to date of the count of Artois's military career, in his 2012 article, "Qu'est-ce qu'un chef de guerre de la fin du XIIIe siècle?"[29] Building on work by Jean Favier, Hélary argues that historians of the reign of Philip the Fair have been engrossed by the circle of "légistes" around the king at the expense of his closest aristocratic advisors. He paints a portrait of the count of Artois throughout his career as the champion of Capetian prerogatives, "À chaque fois qu'il en a l'occasion, il apparaît comme le tenant de la position la plus dure, la plus intransigeante, en deça de laquelle se tient généralement Philippe le Bel [...] Robert d'Artois était à la fois le héros et le héraut de la dynastie capétienne."[30]

Hélary does not discuss Robert's family or cultural life, and is explicitly circumspect in considering psychological motivations or the impact of his career. Some of these lacunae have been addressed in English scholarship. Carol Symes, in her study of urban theatricality in Arras, showed us how Robert enacted a political identity through staged civic events—his first *joyeuse entrée* into Arras in 1268, the tournaments he orchestrated in the town square. She also pioneered the study of his patronage of

---

Nord; Delmaire, *Le Compte Général du Receveur d'Artois pour 1303*, (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1977); Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270-1380* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[29]Xavier Hélary, *L'armée du roi de France: La guerre de Saint Louis à Philippe le Bel* (Paris: Perrin, 2012); *Courtrai 11 Juillet 1302,* (Paris: Tallander, 2012); "Qu'est-ce qu'un chef de guerre de la fin du XIIIe siècle? L'exemple de Robert II, Comte d'Artois (1248-1302)," *Rivista di Studi Militari*, (2012): 69-81; "French nobility and the military requirements of the king (ca. 1260 – ca. 1314)" in *The Capetian Century: 1213-1314*, William Chester Jordan and Jenna Phillips, eds., (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

[30] Hélary, "Qu'est-ce qu'un chef de guerre," 77.

minstrels, in particular that of Adam de la Halle.[31] Placing Robert in the context of his Capetian heritage and the aristocratic culture in which he participated later in life, William Jordan offered a darker portrait of the count of Artois, focusing on his adoption of a wolf and its menacing implications as part of Robert's household.[32] Drawing extensively on the Artois archives, Jean Dunbabin and Malcolm Vale have both reconstructed, in vivid colors, substantial narratives of the count's courtly life in France and his sojourn in Sicily.[33] Drawing on this work, and on the count's own records, I would like to add a brief profile that may fill in a few missing pieces about Robert II's biography, with reference to the familial relationships that motivated his most important life decisions, and also to the ongoing presence of trouvère music and courtly entertainments in his entourage. I suggest we consider Robert of Artois both as a paragon of chivalric self-fashioning—one whose identity was carefully crafted to embody his perceived ideal of a Capetian warrior—and as a symbol of aristocratic brutality and the excesses of French foreign policy, both of which were being confronted with a changing political landscape by the fourteenth century.

---

[31] In this, Symes builds on the nineteenth-century work of Henri Guy, *Essai sur la Vie et les oeuvres Littéraires de Trouvère Adan de le Hale* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1969 [Paris:1898]).
[32] William Chester Jordan, "Count Robert's 'Pet' Wolf," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 155, (2011), 404-417.
[33] Malcolm Vale, *the Princely Court*; and by the same author, *Origins of the Hundred Years War,* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996); Jean Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1266-1305* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). In addition to these works, a portrait of Robert is provided by several works by M. le Comte de Loisne, "Itinéraire de Robert II, Comte d'Artois, 1267-1302)" *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques (BPH)*, (1913), 362-383; and "Une Cour Féodale vers la fin du xiii ^{e} siècle. 'L'hôtel' de Robert II, comte d'Artois" *BPH* (1918), 84-143.

Robert II of Artois was born December 18, 1248, grandson of Louis VIII (r.1223-1226) and Blanche of Castile, son of Robert I and Mahaut of Brabant.[34] Like the land to which he was heir, Robert II was shaped by the union of Capetian culture and that of the princely courts to the northeast of the French domain. His mother, eldest daughter of the Duke of Brabant, came from a family known for its patronage of trouvères.[35] Her marriage to Robert I in 1237 was an extravagant affair, described by a disapproving Cistercian chronicler as a "spectacle of vanities" filled with minstrels, some of whom did acrobatics, while others served the wedding feast while riding atop scarlet-draped oxen.[36]

Robert I did not live long to enjoy such luxuries. In 1248, he joined his brothers, Louis IX, Alphonse of Poitiers and Charles of Anjou in taking the cross on the crusade to Egypt. The carefully-planned logistics for the expedition required him to leave his pregnant wife Mahaut, sailing from Aigues-Mortes shortly before she gave birth to his only son and namesake. (She had given birth to their daughter, Blanche, several years

---

[34] His date of birth was established in a biographical study of his maternal aunt by Marguerite Gastout, "Béatrix de Brabant, landgravine de Thuringe, reine des Romains, comtesse de Flandre, dame de Courtrai (1225?-1288)," *Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie*. 3rd series: 13, (1943), 165 n.1

[35] Her brother, Duke Henry III of Brabant, was himself known as "le trouvère," composing chansons and retaining trouvères in his court with whom he also sang duets, or *jeux partis*; her sister, Béatrice de Brabant, later wife of Guillaume de Dampierre, was also a patron of trouvères (several songs are dedicated to her); she too is believed to be the anonymous "comtesse" in several *jeux partis*; her husband Guillaume de Dampierre, count of Flanders, was also famous for his patronage of poets and minstrels. A good study of this nexus of courtly patronage appears in Albert Henry, *L'Oeuvre lyrique d'Henri III, duc de Brabant*, (Bruges: De Tempel, 1948); see also the many publications by Arthur Dinaux, such as *Les trouvères: brabançons, hainuyers, liégois et* namurois, (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), and on Beatrice of Brabant specifically, Gastout, "Béatrix de Brabant."

[36] "Ibi, sicut dicuntur, usque ad centum quadraginta milites, et illi qui dicuntur ministelli, in spectaculis vanitatis multa ibi fecerunt, sicut ille qui in equo super chordam in aere equitavit, et sicut illi qui duos boves de scarlata vestitos equitabant, cornicantes ad singula fercula quae apponobantur." Alberic de Trois Fontaines, quoted by Dinaux, *Trouvères, jongleurs, et ménéstrels du nord de la France et du midi de la Belgique*, 4 vols. (Paris: Techener, 1837-1863) 3: 415.

before).[37] In Egypt in 1250, while most of the army showed prudence, Robert I would lead a charge into the city of Mansourah, where he, along with 300 knights were slaughtered.

Few details are known of Robert II's childhood, but sources indicate that he spent time both at the court of his maternal aunt, Beatrice of Brabant, at her residence in Courtrai, and at the royal court of his uncle, Louis IX, in Paris.[38] The upbringing of children in the court of the future saint was hardly indulgent.[39] From the precepts Louis IX later wrote for his own son and daughter, and his well-known antipathy for aristocratic excess, we can infer that it was not at the royal French court that Robert of Artois nurtured his love for courtly entertainments. Robert "would have wondered during his visits with the great man that the king never hunted, never swore, never gambled, loathed tournaments, tolerated minstrelsy only within the limits of the most rigorous decency, watered his wine, spurned elaborate dishes [...] detested war, crusading—holy war—being the only exception, albeit a significant exception."[40]

In life and in his memory after death, Louis IX surely infused Robert, like all those around him, with a sense of his magnanimity, and a pride in the sanctity of French kingship. Yet the man Robert grew into was in many ways the antithesis of the king, his uncle. As an adult, in addition to his patronage of theater and music—which included the

---

[37] Drawn to the holy cause herself, Mahaut also took a crusader's vow and traveled to join her husband in August of 1249, perhaps leaving her children in the care of her sister, Beatrice of Brabant, Mahaut undertook the journey with Alphonse of Poitiers and his wife Jeanne of Toulouse. Later indications show that her son, Robert II, was raised, at least in part, at the court of his aunt, Beatrice of Brabant, at her principal residence in Courtrai. Gastout, "Béatrix de Brabant," 58 and 165.

[38] Hélary notes that Robert is frequently mentioned alongside the sons of the king by chroniclers; "Qu-est-ce qu'un chef de guerre," 71, and Gastout, "Béatrix de Brabant," 164.

[39] Jordan, "Count Robert's 'Pet' Wolf," 404.

[40] Jordan, "Count Robert's 'Pet' Wolf," 405-6.

bawdy *pastourelles* of his favored trouvère, Adam de la Halle—he himself enjoyed acting. In a tournament he helped to orchestrate at Le Hem in 1278, theatrical vignettes were performed in between jousts. Robert played the role of the Arthurian hero, Yvain, knight of the lion, while an actor dressed in an elaborate lion costume accompanied him. His fiscal records are replete with debts—of hundreds and even thousands of pounds—owed for ransoms on the occasions when his team was not victorious at the tournaments.

Another likely influence on the child was his youngest uncle, Charles of Anjou (1227-1285), "notre chier oncles Charles," as he referred to him in correspondence.[41] We know of the closeness between the two men later in their lives—Robert would ultimately serve Charles and his heirs for over a decade in the kingdom of Sicily—but it is possible that their bond was forged when Robert was still a boy, in the 1250's. Upon his return from the crusade to Egypt, Charles of Anjou was often at the courts of Brabant and Flanders, where his political ambitions drew him into the Avesnes-Dampierre quarrel. Beginning in 1253, he was present, aiding and conspiring with the countess of Flanders.[42] During this time, he surely would have looked in on his brother's widow in Artois, and encountered his little nephew, newly orphaned after Robert I's death on crusade. Charles too had lost his father, whose death following the Albigensian crusade in 1226 predated his own birth, and he had been raised in part at his brother Robert I's court in Artois.[43] If

---

[41] As, for example, in a letter from 1282, AD: Pas-de-Calais, Série A, register 1, fol. 2v.
[42] In 1253, he aided the countess of Flanders, hoping to receive the county of Hainaut in compensation. The affair was settled by Louis IX the following year. Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London: Longman, 1998), 36-38.
[43] Louis VIII (1187-1226) died of dysentery following his participation in the Albigensian Crusade; Charles of Anjou spent parts of his childhood in the courts of his older brothers—the first notice we have of him is at the court of Robert I of Artois (in documents from 1237), and then at that of Alphonse. See Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, 11.

he tried to soften the blow of Robert I's death by telling his young nephew stories of his father's bravery against the Saracens, they would have been among the child's earliest memories.

Whatever the details of their relationship, it was likely in this milieu that the young Robert II first came to associate war heroes with the arts of the trouvères, for during Charles's visits at the court of Brabant, he also sang. A number of Charles's *chansons* remain, but as with most medieval musical records, the date and location of their performance is lost to us. This is not true, however, of at least one genre of song that Charles sung, the musical debate known as the *jeu parti*. A *jeu parti*—a "game in two parts," was a popular musical game in the northern cities and courts of Artois and Brabant. Two singers debated a question—often of love and sexual etiquette—in six alternating verses. They addressed one another by name, and in the final verses, named two more individuals to judge the winner. Their records are singular, therefore, in providing us with knowledge of four singers that took part in each performance. Among hundreds of surviving texts, we have several *jeux partis* performed between Charles of Anjou, Henry III, Duke of Brabant (b. ca.1230, d. 1261), and their favored trouvères, Gillebert de Berneville and Perrin d'Angicourt (both natives of Artois). Beatrice of Brabant, Robert's maternal aunt (and Henry III's sister), also appears to have judged a *jeu parti*.[44] (*Jeux Partis* are the subject of Chapters three and four).

Henry III's death in 1261 provides a terminus ante quem for his songs at least, and this date, along with Charles' activities in Flanders, suggest they would have

[44] Participants in the *jeux partis* are listed in Appendix B, They are discussed by Arthur Långfors, in the Introduction to his edition, with Alfred Jeanroy and L. Brandin, *Recueil Général des Jeux partis Français* vols.1-2 (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Edouard Champion, 1926).

performed together during the preceding decade. It was also in the mid-50's that a songbook was commissioned—one of the most luxurious created in the thirteenth century—containing songs (and *jeux partis*) of Charles of Anjou and Henry III, among others.[45] Copied by scribes in Arras (or of Arrageois origin), it is thought to have been commissioned either by or for Charles of Anjou.[46]

If the young Robert of Artois was present in the household of his aunt in his first decade of life, he would have witnessed his uncles and aunts partaking in some of these musical gatherings. Of broader significance to this study, these assorted clues give a sense of the value placed on musical performance in the northern courts, among the crusading nobility and their families.[47] The songbook mentioned, now known as the "Chansonnier du Roi," opens with an anonymous song dedicated to the Virgin, and is then organized by noble trouvères: William of Villehardouin, Prince of Morea; Charles of Anjou; the Count of Bar; the Duke of Brabant. The identity of each composer is indicated by his rubricated name, and his illustrated portrait, in which he is depicted not as a singer,

---

[45] Today known as the "Chansonnier du Roi," or trouvère MS M; Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 844.

[46] The initial view of the manuscript, put forth by Jean Beck and Louise Beck in their 1938 facsimile edition, was that it was commissioned for Charles of Anjou. This was later challenged by Jean Lognon, and more recently by John Haines. In two superb studies of this manuscript, Haines makes a compelling argument that it was commissioned by Charles of Anjou as a wedding gift for a fellow crusader and trouvère, William of Villehardouin, Prince of Morea, for his marriage to Anna Komnena Doukaina in 1259. The book, it appears, was either compiled in Arras, or by Arrageois scribes working in the Levant. Haines, "The Songbook for William of Villehardouin, Prince of the Morea (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 844): A Crucial Case in the History of Vernacular Song Collections," in *Viewing the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*, ed. Sharon Gerstel, (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2013), 57-110, and Haines, "The Transformations of the 'Manuscrit Du Roi'." *Musica Disciplina* 52 (1998): 5–43.

[47] Incidentally, these details also contradict a claim often casually repeated about the *jeux partis*, that they were a genre of music specific to Arras; the nobles who sung them were geographically distributed far more widely, as discussed in Chapter Three.

but as a knight charging on his horse, weapon drawn.[48] [Figuress 3 & 4] Today we hardly associate the image of a war hero with that of a singer-songwriter, but this was the ubiquitous pairing we find in illustrated thirteenth-century chansonniers. I believe it was an association even more frequently reinforced by the men themselves, who, in between their campaigns, so often found time to compose and perform songs of love, Marian piety, conquest (sexual or territorial), and comedy.

Figure 3. *Li granz desirs et la douce pensee*, by "li cuens dangou," in Chansonnier M, (Chansonnier du Roi), fol. 8r.

Figure 4. *I entrant del douz termine*, by "me sire morisses de craon," in Chansonnier M, (Chansonnier du Roi), fol. 49r. Morisse II de Craon fought in the third crusade. Atop his portrait are two figures in combat, one wielding a rock, the other a dagger.

[48] On the iconography and format of this and other chansonniers, see Huot, *Song to Book*, ch. 2.

If Robert's later tastes and extravagances did not reflect an upbringing in Louis IX's court, in one important respect he did fulfil Capetian expectations. This was in his unerring loyalty to his father's family and the crown. At every turn in his life's path, he chose service, to his uncles Louis IX and Charles of Anjou, in defending the holdings of his sister in Navarre following the death of her husband, then to his cousins, Philip III and Philip IV. That Robert II saw himself as a defender and protector of French lands and interests may also have been shaped by the region of Artois that was his inheritance. Lying on the northern French frontier, its borders with Flanders had been repeatedly contested in the century before Robert's birth, and would again become the site of conflict at the time of his death. Artois was the northern "buffer zone" of Capetian France, and Robert may have seen himself as its fierce border-lord.[49]

His adult life began officially in 1267, when, at nineteen, he was knighted by the king during a ceremony at Pentecost, alongside his cousin, the future Philip III. Saint Louis had recently announced his plan for the crusade to Tunis, and Robert took the crusader's vow, enlisting a number of knights to accompany him by the time he set sail from Aigues-Mortes in 1270.[50] Despite the devastating losses on that expedition, and the death of the king, Robert II distinguished himself, leading the vanguard in a battle against

---

[49] The unique traits of frontier regions—cultural, social, and economic, military—and their role as "buffer zones" were discussed in the very different context of the Byzantine Empire by John Haldon and Hugh Kennedy. Their argument, that the specific challenges of living on a frontier "gave rise to a particular local feeling," may account for some of the cultural traits that were peculiar to Artois, but distinct, for example, from the the Ile-de-France. Haldon and Kennedy, "Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organization of Society in the Borderlands" in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, Hugh Kennedy, ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 2006), 85.

[50] Among others, Robert retained his step-father, Gui de Châtillon, count of Saint-Pol, whom he gave 15,000 l.t. for Gui to recruit 30 knights on the crusade. Paris, Archives Nationales (AN) J790 n. 141, and Hélary, "Qu-est-ce qu'un chef de guerre," 71.

the Tunisians. Upon his return to France, he was honored for his acts of bravery at the coronation of Philip III. According to tradition, prior to the coronation ceremony, the sword of Charlemagne, "l'épée Joyeuse" was to be carried by the worthiest knight. As the *Grandes chroniques* report, the king was to bestow this honor "au plus loyal et au plus prudhome du royaume et de tous les barons, et a celui qui plus aime l'honeur et le profit du royaume et de la couronne."[51] The knight chosen was Robert of Artois.

His itinerary over the next two decades is suggestive of how indispensable the count of Artois would become to members of his family. In 1272, he was in the Midi, alongside Philip III, in a show of force against the rebellious count of Foix. In 1275, he made his way to Rome and Naples to meet his uncle, Charles of Anjou, recently crowned king of Sicily following his victories over the last of the Hohenstaufen. Robert would aid Charles in governing that kingdom, being appointed as the vicar-general in 1275-6 while his uncle went on an extended trip, laying plans to further enlarge his Mediterranean holdings. Eighteen months later, further records reveal the count of Artois returning to France in aid of his sister, who was facing a succession crisis in Navarre following the death of her husband, Henry the Fat, king of Navarre and count of Champagne and Brie. At Philip III's orders, a feudal army was assembled in the Midi, and Robert was charged with leading it, with the help of the constable of France. As Hélary has shown, the count of Artois' arrival at the head of the royal army had immediate effect in suppressing the rebellion and in restoring order in Navarre and Pamplona. When his soldiers began pillaging Pamplona, he did not hesitate in exacting punishment. The *Grandes Chroniques*

---

[51] Discussed by Hélary, "Qu-est-ce qu'un chef de guerre," 72.

report that "he went through the whole realm of Navarre, taking all in his hand, in such a way that no one would dare contradict or resist him."[52]

For a few years, the count of Artois found respite back in his own county.[53] It was at this time that records show Robert appearing at an extraordinary three-day tournament festival at Le Hem, in Artois, where in between jousts, he enacted the role of Yvain. The 4600- line account of this tournament was penned by a trouvère hired to document not only the jousts, theatrical spectacle, dances, and feasts, but also the heraldic devices and names of 185 of the [male] guests (see Appendix A). An analysis of this event is the subject of Chapter One. Throughout, we witness the lavish lifestyle of the count. His favored residence was at the large hunting park at Hesdin, where he constructed gardens filled with marvels.[54] Mechanical monkeys bobbed on a bridge at approaching guests; the design of a pavilion in one of the rose-gardens resembled the castle of Jealousy in the contemporary *Roman de la Rose*.[55] Hunting was another passion: attention was lavished on his hunting dogs (at one point he owned seventy-four), his

[52] "Il alla par tout le royaume de Navarre et il prit tout en sa main, sans que personne n'ose le contredire ou lui résister," *Grandes Chroniques*, ed. Viard, VIII, 72, quoted by Hélary, "Qu'est-ce qu'un chef de guerre"

[53] His first wife, Amicie of Courtenay, had died in Italy in 1275, leaving him with two young children, Mahaut and Philip. In 1277, he took as his second wife Agnes of Dampierre, an alliance that would at least temporarily help consolidate the friendship between the counts of Flanders and their French neighbors.

[54] His mechanical statues may have been inspired by the famous moving fountains and statues of Frederic II, that Robert would have seen during his stays in the Kingdom of Sicily. The gardens were expanded by Robert's daughter, Mahaut, and continued to host the region's illustrious musicians: the great *ars nova* composer, Guillaume de Machaut, was inspired at Hesdin to write his *Remede de Fortune*. A detailed study of the gardens is provided by Anne Hagopian van Buren, "Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin," in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. Elisabeth MacDougall, (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1986), 115–34. Robert entertained the royal court at Hesdin on a number of occasions, as in 1294, when the court met there while making plans for the campaign in Gascony, and again in 1298 when making plans for the campaign in Flanders, AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 2.21v

[55] Van Buren, "Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin,"122.

falcons, and especially his horses. He maintained a stud farm where they were bred and where they recuperated following his many tournaments and wars.[56]

In 1282, news reached France of an uprising on the island of Sicily during which many of the French and Provençal occupants had been massacred, while others were taken prisoner. Letters from Charles of Anjou were urgently sent to the king of France requesting aid and asking specifically for Robert of Artois. Military contracts drawn up in Artois in the summer of 1282, in which Robert engaged knights for a year or more of service in the kingdom of Sicily, proliferate in the count's archive.[57] By the autumn, he set out, along with the count of Alençon, brother of Philip III, in a company of several hundred men. The difficulties in the Kingdom of Sicily were not easily contained. While Charles of Anjou retained control of his capital in Naples and of the southern Italian peninsula, the grain-rich island of Sicily welcomed Constanza, grand-daughter of Sicily's last legitimate ruler, Frederick II, and her husband, Peter III of Aragon, as their queen and king. The Aragonese fleet inflicted a crushing defeat on the Angevins in 1283, taking Charles's son and heir prisoner. Two years later, Charles of Anjou's health failed. His son imprisoned, his vision of building a powerful Mediterranean kingdom, and perhaps

---

[56] Naturally, Robert also employed a veterinarian; "Maistre Bienvenu, physician," who tended to sick or wounded horses ("por le restor de chevaus") in Artois as well as during the campaign in Gascony in 1298: Archives Departementales (AD) Pas-de-Calais, Série A, register 2, fol. 21r. He may have used the well-worn thirteenth-century copy of *Chirurgia Equorum* (or one like it) now at Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale: MS 483, fol. 26r and following. On Robert's hunting dogs and types of horses, see Auguste le comte de Loisne, "Une Cour Féodale vers la fin du xiiie siècle. 'L'hôtel' de Robert II, comte d'Artois" *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1918):84-143, 97; on care of horses at stud-farm at Cercamp-lès-Frévent, Y. Poulle-Drieux, "La pratique de l'hippiatrie à a fin du Moyen Âge," dans *Comprendre et maîtriser la nature au Moyen Âge, Mélanges d'histoire des sciences offert à G. Geaujouan,* (Geneva: Droz, 1994), 329-336.

[57] Recorded, for example, in AD: Pas-de-Calais, Série 1, A1, fols. 1v, 2v, 4v, 5v.

even an empire, seemed to crumble around him. His death, in 1285, was commemorated in elegaic verse by Adam de la Halle.

Until 1291, Robert remained in Sicily, and while he had been rewarded for his service there with several fiefs, he nevertheless drew on his income from Artois to make loans to the Sicilian kingdom and pay for soldiers.[58] The expenses in Sicily were also subsidized heavily by the French king.[59] He acted as regent, or *baillie du royaume* until Charles II's release and coronation in Naples in 1289. The attack on the Angevin kingdom of Sicily, a papal fief, had further ramifications, triggering another bloody and morally bankrupt conflict on the mainland, proclaimed as a crusade against Aragon in 1285. Many knights from Artois who did not venture as far as Sicily fought instead on this front against the Aragonese.[60] War between the Angevin peninsula and the Aragonese-controlled island continued to run hot and cold for decades, and was only nominally resolved in 1302 with the Treaty of Caltabalotta.[61]

The count of Artois might have stayed even longer in Italy had he not received another request for help from the new French king, Philip the Fair. The early 1290's saw the king of France becoming embroiled in an expensive and impractical war in Aquitaine

---

[58] On the count of Artois's involvement in the Regno and his administration there, see the recent work of Jean Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily,*especially 103-6, and J. Andreas Keisewetter, "La Cancelleria Angioina" in *L'Etat Angevin: Pouvoir, Culture et Société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle*. (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1998), 361-415.
[59] As late as November, 1290, Robert II received 20,000 l.t. from Philip IV to bolster the Sicilian project,, paid half in money and half in letters of credit through Italian merchants; Paris, AN: J 530. 9.
[60] Some of these are listed in my Appendix A, which lists the knights present at Robert II's tournament at Le Hem, and the wars in which they fought.
[61] The best English work untangling the complicated political history of the Mezzogiorno and Sicily in the later Middle Ages is that of David Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms, 1200-1500: The Struggle for Dominion* (Longman: London and New York, 1997).

and Gascony against the duke of Aquitaine, Edward I of England.[62] Hélary credits Robert of Artois as having encouraged the French king in escalating these hostilities, while Malcolm Vale has reconstructed a detailed account of his role in the skirmishes and sieges between the French and English in the 1290's.[63] In 1296, Robert of Artois was appointed by the king as lieutenant in Gascony and the duchy of Aquitaine.[64] Again, the nobility of Artois was mobilized to fight under their count.[65] While pitched battles were few, the operation took its toll: in the summers, disease beleaguered the army, afflicting Robert himself in 1296. [66] He recovered, and led a decisive victory at Bonnegarde in February, 1297.

No sooner had Robert brought the fighting in Gascony to an end than the conflict shifted north to Flanders. Flanders and England maintained close relations due to the lucrative wool trade, on which the Flemish cloth industry relied. Count Guy of Flanders' alliance with Edward I of England in 1294, during the outbreak of the French-English conflict, jeopardized his relationship with the French king, to whom he was a vassal. Philip the Fair retaliated with a dangerous game: exacting fines on Flanders, he also

---

[62] On the financial and strategic problems caused by this war, see Joseph Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

[63] The constable of France had taken over the duchy of Aquitaine in 1294; the English regained some territory in a counterattack the following year. For further details, Malcolm Vale, *The Origins of the Hundred Years War,* 186-226; Hélary, "Qu'est-ce que un chef de guerre," 75.

[64] He was empowered to negotiate alliances and truces, inspect garrisons, confer knighthood, take homages, fealties and oaths, AD: Pas-de-Calais, A.41.12-18. He was authorized to act "as if the king were personally present," AD: Pas-de-Calais, A.41.12, and see Vale, *Origins of the Hundred Years War*, 208.

[65] Great sums of money were borrowed to pay for foot-soldiers, siege-engines, crossbows, bacinets, gorgets Paris, AN: J 530, 10. In April-July 1296, Robert of Artois received 68,538 *l.* 8 s. 8 d. *t* , which Malcolm Vale estimated that he quickly spent at a monthly average of 29,500 *l.t.*.; Vale, *Origins of the Hundred Years War,* 212; on the military equipment amassed, 202, 213.

[66] Vale discusses some of the medications and remedies prescribed at this time, not least a reviving cordial made from *testiculis castorum* (beavers' testicles): *Origins of the Hundred Years War,* 211-212.

prohibited trade with England, alienating the Flemish nobility, as well as the powerful Flemish towns. The explosive situation, resulting in war between the French and Flemish nobility, uprisings of the burghers and industrial workers in Bruges and Ghent, and the disastrous battle at Courtrai in 1302 and its aftermath, has been well studied.[67]

Robert's role in all these conflicts was central. In August 1297, he led the French army to victory against the Flemish at the battle of Furnes, for which he was elevated to a peer of the realm. The casualties were dear: among others, Robert's only son, Philip of Artois, was fatally wounded.[68] We can only guess at what this loss meant to him, but a cloud seemed to hover over his actions in the following few years of his life. While in his younger days, he chose the lion of heroic romance as his totem, going so far as to have it imprinted on his seal,[69] in 1298 the fancy struck him to assume another symbol: a wolf. The wolf, in fact, was not only a symbol; it was a real animal he kept, possibly found as a whelp during a hunt, and adopted.[70] It was cared for by Guillot, who also looked after his hunting dogs and falcons, but it was not, apparently, much restrained, as payments were regularly made to terrorized peasants, whose geese, sheep, lambs and calves were regularly the casualties of "le leu."[71] The wolf was noticed in the Artois registers by

---

[67] For example, Frantz Funck-Brentano, *Les origines de la guerre de cent ans, Philippe le Bel en Flandre,* (Paris: H. Champion, 1897), Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, ch.5; Hélary, *Courtrai, 11 Juillet 1302*; Raoul C. van Caenegem, ed., *1302: Le Desastre de Courtrai, Mythe et réalité de la bataille des Eperons d'or*, (Anvers: Fonds Mercator, 2002); J.F. Verbruggen, *The Battle of the Golden Spurs (Courtrai, 11 July 1302)* ed. Kelly DeVries, trans. David Richard Ferguson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 1-26; among many others.

[68] The somewhat moving letters acknowledging his son's death and designating his grandson as the heir of Artois (as opposed to his daughter), were determined to be forgeries. They were apparently created by his grandson, Robert III, during the decades of legal battles he unsuccessfully waged against his aunt, Mahaut, for possession of Artois. Paris, AN: J 439, 3r.

[69] On Robert of Artois' seals, see Brigitte Bedos-Rézak, "The Arthurian Legend in the Arts: The Knight and Lion Motif on some Medieval Seals," *Avalon to Camelot*, 3 (1987), 30-34.

[70] This is one theory offered by Jordan, "Count Robert's Pet Wolf," 411-12.

[71] AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 162, fols. 39r-41v; and A 178, fols. 68v-76r.

Malcolm Vale, while Jordan observed that this sort of "pet" was "inevitably an assertion of power," given what peasants felt about wolves.[72] Evidence of the wolf's reputation can be found not only in the count's household registers; we can confirm that it was known to Robert's contemporaries—and hated by his opponents—because it appeared after his death, its legend embedded in the story of the count's downfall at the battle of Courtrai.

When the urban society of Flanders rose against the French at Bruges and Ghent in 1302, an elite army was mobilized, led by Robert of Artois. This august military commander, who had barely if ever met with defeat,[73] here made a disastrous tactical error, leading his cavalry in a charge through a marshy field just outside the castle of Courtrai. Perhaps he was over-confident of his knowledge of the terrain, having spent time at Courtrai as a child. Reconnaissance of the landscape and the opposing force was entrusted to one of Robert of Artois' heralds. Of the Flemish army the herald was said to have reported, "My lord count, I've seen nothing other than brawlers and armed weavers; and when I had a look at the army, I saw no one of importance except Guillaume de Juliers and my lord Gui, a young knight, son of Gui de Dampierre."[74]

The Flemish army, composed largely of cloth-workers and townspeople who served as infantry, supported by cross-bowmen, Flemish nobles and foreign mercenaries,

---

[72] Jordan, "Count Robert's Pet Wolf," 407.

[73] While Malcolm Vale considers Robert's victories in Gascony to have been more ambiguous, Hélary points out that until his death, chroniclers depicted him as the consummate, undefeated military leader of the time: "He had shown himself to be a tireless army commander in the wars of Philip III and Philip IV, and as regent of Sicily, and had acquired an aura that made him the greatest man of war of his time. In fact, until the disaster at Kortrijk, he had always been victorious. Warriors generally like serving under a commander upon whom victory smiles," he writes, in a discussion of the motivations behind voluntary military service, Hélary, "French Nobility and the military requirements of the King;" Vale, *Origins of the Hundred Years War,* 201.

[74] In Hélary, *Courtrai*, 98-99.

had chosen a strategically superior position that forced the French cavalry to cross two muddy waterways before reaching them. The French horsemen, whose formation became disorganized in crossing the streams, met a tight formation of Flemish pikes and *goedendags*—the long spiked clubs that were the favored weapon of the Flemish urban militias. The cavalry pushed the Flemish line back in places, but they were unable to pierce it decisively. While a cavalry line would ordinarily have regrouped for a second charge, the waterways at their backs prevented this maneuver, and instead horses and men stumbled, while knights were trampled along with their golden spurs in the deep mud, according to Lodewijk Van Velthem's chronicle.[75] The Flemish, who knew their odds in facing the French royal army, had agreed among themselves not to take prisoners for ransom, as was the standard practice and a great source of revenue for combatants. Casualties among the French leaders were seen almost at once: Raoul de Nesle, Constable of France fell, as did Godefroy of Brabant. When Robert of Artois led his battalion into the fray, his warhorse, Morel, was struck and injured by a *goedendag*. In a Flemish version of events, the Count of Artois asked for mercy for himself and his horse, promising riches in return, but no quarter was given. Robert of Artois died, surrounded by the carnage of his army, on a field on which he had possibly played as a child, next to the castle at Courtrai. The stunning victory of the Flemish was evidence that the armored knight mounted on his warhorse was no longer a weapon that reigned supreme. Among other things, the French defeat at the dawn of the fourteenth century showed that the rules of war were changing; that the ideals of chivalry, which had in fact grown up around the

---

[75] The French army's tactical maneuvers, and the accounts in which they appear, are discussed in Hélary, *Courtrai*, 92-109.

practice of taking knights prisoner in battle—could be trumped by a new class of people united by a very different set of values.

The revolts against the French and their cultural implications in vernacular writing

The battle that took place at Courtrai on the eleventh of July, 1302, is still celebrated as a national holiday in Flemish Belgium, and Henri Pirenne voiced the sentiment shared by many of his fellow Belgians in describing the episode as "le plus glorieux de notre histoire militaire."[76] Its later nicknames "Guldensporenslag," or "la bataille des Éperons d'Or", or "the battle of the Golden Spurs" evoked the paradox of the French defeat: gold-plated spurs, "the distinctive insignia of chivalry," were traditionally bestowed on a knight at the ceremony of his dubbing, or as a reward for the victor of a tournament, and there were many such champions who wore their spurs into battle against the Flemish infantry.[77] Yet on the muddy fields at Courtrai the tables were unexpectedly turned. Now it was the Flemish foot-soldiers that collected these spurs — hundreds of pairs of them — from their fallen opponents, and brought them as a trophy and an offering to the thirteenth-century church Our Lady of Courtrai. [78] Today, reproductions of them are still hung from the ceiling of the ambulatory, like so many glittering stars.

---

[76] Henri Pirenne, "La Version Flamande et la Version Française de la Bataille de Courtrai," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire,* 4th ser., 17 (1890): 11-50, 14

[77] Golden Spurs were a particular mark of status: an esquire, by contrast, could only wear silvered spurs, while a valet's were tin. Stephen V. Grancsay, "A Pair of Spurs Bearing the Bourbon Motto" in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 36:8 (August, 1941), 170-72.

[78] In the fourteenth century, the spurs remained at Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk Kortrijk until the French regained them in 1382 following their victory at the battle of Roosebeeke.

The chronicle that mentions Robert's wolf, by Lodewijk van Velthem, likely drew on the Flemish popular tradition that grew up immediately after the event. The chronicle reports that the wolf was by the count's side at the start of the battle, but turned against him, trying to bite him, while his horse, Morel, the large black destrier, also supposedly refused to charge.[79] What the Flemish stories tell us is that the symbols of power with which aristocrats such as Robert chose to represent themselves could also rally their enemies against them, as the taking of the golden spurs also illustrates. In his lifetime, Robert and his close associates witnessed two rebellions—in Sicily and later Flanders—both unthinkable to the French and many other contemporaries, given the stature of their military. Their defeat at Courtrai sent a shock-wave through Christendom; it was said that even Boniface VIII was awoken from bed to hear the news when it arrived in Rome. Popular songs were soon being sung by the English, commemorating the rebuff of their traditional enemies, and in 1314 when the English were themselves defeated by the Scottish foot-soldiers at Bannockburn, the latter were likened to the Flemish. Revolts, of which there were many in the fourteenth century, and many fuelled by peasants, were often conducted with a memory of the upset at Courtrai.[80]

From an economic standpoint, both uprisings were incited by periods of heavy French taxation (a theme that will be discussed more fully in Chapter Five, devoted to the Sicilian Vespers). But they were not only about taxation, as the narratives of both

---

[79] Lodewijk Van Velthem, *Voortzetting van den Spiegel Historiael (1248–1316)*, 3 vols. (Brussels: F. Hayez; Maurice Lamertin; and Paleis der Academien, 1906–38), Book IV, chs. 24, 41.

[80] Giles le Muisit, *Chronique et annals,* ed. H. Lemaître, Société de l'histoire de France (Paris: 1905), 68. The two English chronicles are Thomas Gray of Heton*, Scalachronica*, and *Vita Edwardi Secundi Auctore Malmesburiensi*, cited by J. F. Verbruggen, *The Battle of the Golden Spurs,* xxiii.

conflicts reveal. The social component common to both uprisings was an otherwise heterogeneous society united by its violent resentment of French domination, and specifically the of imposition of Francophone culture. Language played a key role in both revolts, with shibboleths used first in Sicily and then in the so-called Bruges Matins, to identify (so as to slaughter) French speakers unable to pronounce the local dialect.[81] On the island of Sicily, the first vernacular Sicilian chronicles appeared in the years following their expulsion of the French, retelling their version of events. Both the Sicilian and later the Flemish chroniclers would make much of vernacular rhetoric, expressed in songs of resistance or the rousing oratory of rebel leaders, that unified otherwise diverse populations and strengthened their resolve.

The European society that produced both revolts was at the same time witness to its own little revolution in the vernacular languages. Regional dialects, as markers of identity and pride, were gaining ground among the literati as the vehicles for artistic expression. Of course, this was not *really* new: vernacular poetry and music always existed, always *will* exist, as ubiquitous forms of entertainment, expression and communication, in Europe as in every other part of the world. But in the thirteenth century, vernacular languages were garnering a newfound prestige — Picard and Provençal, Sicilian, Italian, even Flemish could be used to connote an elegance and sophistication that hitherto had only been associated with Latin.[82] At the end of our

[81] The Sicilian pass-word was *ciciru*, (chickpea), while the Brugeois used the phrase *scilt ende vriend* (shield and friend), or in some accounts, *scilten vriend*, "guild friend," to discern those who could not enunciate "scilt."

[82] The rise of vernacular literature had already begun in the twelfth century, and steadily gained momentum throughout our period. Two classic accounts are those of Ernst Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* trans. Willard Trask, (New York: Pantheon, 1953), esp. 25-30, and Erich Auerbach, *Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), esp. 200-325.

period, around 1304, Dante Alighieri would pen Europe's first treatise on the vernacular languages, in which he made the unabashed claim that between the two "types" of language, Latin and the vulgar tongues, *nobilior est vulgaris*.[83] To him, the language humans acquire in infancy is natural, while Latin is artificial. While other species, such as birds, may appear to speak, and while even angels communicate (albeit wordlessly he claimed), language is what distinguishes humans from all other species; the defining marker of our humanity.

Many of these ideas were already in circulation long before Dante formulated *De Vulgari Eloquentia.* We know that already in the previous century the vernacular tongues connoted a newfound prestige because the people who heard and composed in them considered them worthy of writing down. Thus, unlike much of the poetry and music that humans have sung, the oral traditions which are so ubiquitous, so fundamental a part of cultural memory that they are seldom committed to writing, unlike the unknown multitudes of lost ditties and songs which people have had running through their heads throughout the centuries — the background music of human history — unlike these, in the thirteenth century, society increasingly saw fit to commit them to writing. And, as suggested above, those who appreciated vernacular documents best were often found

---

In France, the appearance of Old French prose chronicles was analyzed by Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth- Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). Much has been written, too on Old French language and folklore: notably the works of Paul Zumthor, such as his *Essai de Poétique Médiévale*, (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1972). Vernacular writing in Italy is discussed in the final chapter of this dissertation. The increasing appearance of the vernacular in written documents was not restricted to the artistic spheres alone: legal documents in French and Flemish were gaining ground in the same period. A fine analysis and overview of the Flemish case is Emily Kadens, *The Vernacular in a Latin world: Changing the language of record in thirteenth-century Flanders* (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Princeton, 2001).

[83] Dante Alighieri, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, Steven Botterill, ed. and trans., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

among the bellicose French aristocracy.

Sources of trouvère song and their historiography

About twenty major songbooks containing Old French lyrics and music date from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (Table 1: Major trouvère manuscripts). Scores of other manuscript sources contain lyrics, either the texts of complete songs, or a line or two—a refrain—inserted into non-musical texts. Approximately 2,200 songs are extant from these sources, two-thirds of them with musical notation.[84] The trouvères of northern France and Flanders, like their counterparts in Italy, Germany and the Iberian Peninsula, built on a tradition of courtly song that first flourished in Occitan-speaking courts, borrowing and adapting the musical genres of the troubadours to fit their own cultural sensibilities.

In the thirteenth century, almost the entirety of this repertory was monophonic, set for a solo voice, although as we saw at the the beginning of this chapter, the new motets—choral pieces for two or more voices—were generating excitement in places like Arras. (Adam de la Halle's compositions, ca. 1270's, are among the earliest secular motets.) Scribes used a square notation for nearly all of the monophonic trouvère repertory. That this notation makes no indication of rhythm or tempo leaves a great deal

[84] A concise overview of the scope of the troubadour and trouvère traditions is found in Samuel Rosenberg, Margaret Switten and Gérard le Vot, eds., *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: An Anthology of Poems and Melodies* (New York : Garland Publishing, 1998), 4; a fairly up-to-date list and discussion of medieval manuscripts containing secular monophony across the Occitan, French, German, Galego-Portuguese and Italian traditions appears in "Sources, MS, III. Secular monophony," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed., Stanley Sadie, (New York: Grove, 2001); the standard reference works are Gaston Raynaud, *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIIIe et XIVe siècles,* (Paris, 1884), revised by H. Spanke, ed., *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes* (Leiden, 1955, rev., enlarged 1980 by A. Bahat).

to interpretation as to just how trouvère song was heard in performance. But the existence, in itself, of musical notation for secular song was extraordinary. The troubadour tradition, by contrast, which predated that of the trouvères by around seventy years, was eventually codified in some thirty major songbooks; only two of these contain notation, providing melodies for about 250 songs out of at least 2500 texts.[85]

The geographical distribution of these trouvère sources equally attracts our notice: fifteen of their chansonniers are believed to have been produced in Artois, based on decoration and scribal orthography.[86] Several others were made in Lorraine and Burgundy. None have been localized to Paris.

This geographical pattern coincides with an earlier trend in vernacular writing among the Franco-Flemish aristocracy, that is, the emergence of historical writing in vernacular prose in the first decades of the thirteenth century. As Gabrielle Spiegel showed in several important publications, the first Old French prose chronicles were sponsored by a northern aristocratic elite who witnessed the erosion of their own political autonomy to the benefit of the French crown under Philip Augustus (1180-1223), during his struggles with the counts of Flanders and the kings of England. Historical writing, Spiegel argued, served a social function for an aristocracy that was threatened politically by the centralization of royal power, and economically by a rising middle class. For the

---

[85] Rosenberg, *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 4.

[86] The loci of thirteenth- and early-fourteenth century chansonnier production should not trick us into thinking that only Artois and her neighbors were instrumental in the written tradition of trouvère music: as John Haines has argued based on manuscript fragments containing Old French song lyrics, it is Anglo-Norman England that provides the earliest evidence of written song in a Romance language. The Anglo-Norman diaspora, Haines and others have pointed out, "more French than the French, took pains to preserve the culture and literature of their native land." Haines, "The Songbook for William of Villehardouin," see also Ian Short, "Patrons and Polyglots: French Literature in Twelfth-Century England," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 14 (1992).

nobility to associate itself with Charlemagne as a distant progenitor and an exemplary crusader, in a language accessible to those untutored in Latin, offered "a vehicle through which to recuperate a sense of social worth and political legitimacy. The French aristocracy's romancing of the past, in that sense, entailed both the *mise en roman*—the recasting of historical writing into Old French—and the quest for a lost world of chivalric power, ethical value, and aristocratic autonomy."[87]

I suggest that some of the exuberance of later thirteenth-century northern nobles for recording their vernacular musical traditions can be traced to the prestige invested in vernacular writing by this previous generation. Although in a very different guise, the chansonniers also encoded the chivalric, crusading ethos of their patrons. Sylvie Huot, in tracing the oral and visual components that coalesced in the trouvère anthologies, showed that songs were typically arranged by author, adhering to a strict hierarchy beginning with aristocratic trouvères, followed by non-nobles, and ending with anonymous songs. While this arrangement may at first strike us as unremarkable, Huot noticed that the figure of the author assumed an importance unlike that in other anthologies (anthologies of romance narrative for example), and interpreted this as a significant element in the emergence of author-composers, such as Guillaume de Machaut, in the following century. In the chansonniers, richly colored author portraits depict non-nobles as singers and musicians, scribes, illuminators; nobles, often decorated with gold leaf, are depicted as knights on horseback. [See figuress 3 and 4]. Another attribute of the noble trouvères is that a large number of them—perhaps the majority—were crusaders.[88] Huot does not

[87] Spiegel, *Romancing the Past,* 317; *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: a survey*, (Brookline: Classical Folio Editions, 1978).
[88] While nothing like a complete analysis, we can take a random sampling of this based on the three chansonniers for which Huot offers a list of authors with illustrated portraits (*Song to Book,*

make note of this, but it is a detail that was not likely to have been lost on contemporary readers, especially as some of them wrote crusading songs.[89] Often appearing first in the anthologies was the prolific Thibaut IV, count of Champagne and King of Navarre. Not only a crusader himself, he was a descendant of the first crusading leader to compose courtly song, Guillaume IX of Poitiers, Duke of Aquitaine, known as "the first troubadour." His compositions were imitated and cited by successive generations of troubadours and trouvères, aided by his stature as a knight-at-arms and a seducer of women.[90] From its origins, the music of the troubadours and trouvères had been entertwined with the crusading aristocracy, whose bravery and heroism infused even the

---

p.55-57). This particular list underrepresents trouvère-crusaders of the later thirteenth century (especially as MS M was defaced, with dozens of portraits removed), such as Thibaut IV of Champagne, John of Brienne, William of Villehardouin. To Huot's lists of noble trouvères, I have marked those who are known to have taken the cross:

Chansonnier A, noble trouvères
Châtelain de Couci_____3rd + 4th Crusades
Gautier de Dargies_____3rd Crusade
Ugon de Bregi________3rd Crusade

Chansonnier *a*, noble trouvères
Gace Brulé_____3rd +/ 4th Crusades (probable, based on internal poetic evidence)
Vidame de Chartres_3rd + 4th Crusades

Chansonnier M, noble trouvères
Comte d'Anjou_______7th + 8th Crusades, Sicilian "crusade"
Thibaut II de Bar______*not a crusader*
Duc de Brabant_______*not a crusader*
Vidame de Chartres____3rd + 4th Crusades
Morisses de Creon_____3rd Crusade
Gilles de Beaumont____*no known biographical data*
Jehan de Louvois______*no known biographical data*
Bouchart de Malh_____*no known biographical data*
Gilles de Vieux-Maisons_*no known biographical data*
Pierre de Craon_______3rd Crusade
Gautier de Dargies_____3rd Crusade

[89] The still classic edition of *Chansons de Croisade* is that by Joseph Bédier, (Paris: Champion, 1909); a more recent study is that by C. Th. Dijkstra, *La Chanson de Croisade, Etude thématique d'un genre hybride,* (Amsterdam: Schiphouwer en Brinkman, 1995).
[90] *The Vidas of the Troubadours*, trans. Margarita Egan, (New York: Garland, 1984), 45; see also Michel Dillange, *Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine: le duc troubadour* (La Crèche: Geste, 2002).

most tender love-song with the new chivalric masculinity.[91] This past was encoded in the song anthologies. Judith Peraino described their compilation as "a nostalgic enterprise," but they were more than that; on their pages singers of the past are joined by those still living: testimony to a tradition that was continually evolving in love songs, song-debates, and a panoply of other genres.[92]

Until recently, many historians were unaware of the copious repertory of trouvère lyrics that began to appear in thirteenth-century manuscripts, although they have long been known to philologists and musicologists. Often, these sources were assumed to lie only in the domain of the literary scholar or the musicologist.[93] While some musical genres have been subjected to historical inquiry—crusaders' songs for example—others, such as the *jeu parti*, are almost completely unknown to historians, and have only rarely attracted study even by other disciplines. An earlier generation of French scholars may have unintentionally set the stage for this unevenness of study, by placing certain poetic and musical genres on an artistic pedestal. The *grands chants courtoises* (songs of refined love), for example, were traditionally seen simply as better works of art than the bawdy

---

[91] "Au XIIIe siècle, les troubadours prisent plus la Guerre que l'Amour," remarked Martin Aurell, in an excellent discussion of the political aspects of troubadour music, "Chanson et propagande politique: les troubadours gibelins (1255-1285)" in *Le forme della propaganda politica nel Due e nel Trecento. Relazioni tenute al convegno internazionale di Trieste, 2-5 marzo 1993*, (Rome : École Française de Rome, 1994), 183-202.
[92] Judith Peraino, *Giving voice to love : song and self-expression from the troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 23.
[93] For example, Jacques le Goff, in a chapter on Saint Louis entitled "The King in Music," gave a brief if eloquent evocation of the sacred music that marked the hours of the king's days, while nevertheless apologizing, "I would like to immediately express my regrets for the near total absence of music in this chapter due to my ignorance and lack of in-depth synthetic and analytical studies on the subject." *Saint Louis,* Gareth Evan Gollrad, trans., (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 462.

pastourelles, the supposedly mundane women's *chansons de toile*, or the *jeux partis,* several of which were described by Alfred Jeanroy, a superb nineteenth-century philologist, as "les spécimens les plus médiocres d'un genre qui ne fut pas fécond en chefs-d'oeuvre."[94] Chansons de geste, meanwhile, are widely recognized as indispensable sources across disciplines ("The reason we are medievalists is to study the *Song of Roland,*" Bernard Cerquiglini once proclaimed), although *Roland* itself has received disproportionate attention, as Sarah Kay forcefully argued.[95]

These tides of research are changing. Samuel Rosenberg, the eminent scholar of Old French literature, has, with musicologists Margaret Switten, Gerard le Vot, Hans Tischler and Hendrik Van der Werf, jointly published invaluable editions of trouvère and troubadour song.[96] He has repeatedly called attention to the trouvère corpus, while making it more widely accessible to the non-specialist. John Baldwin has also cultivated the study of trouvères and jongleurs in the context of French court life.[97] In 2007 he

---

[94] Jeanroy, "*Jeux Partis* Inédits du XIIIe Siècle," *Revue des langues romanes*, 10 (1897): 350-367. Paradoxically, the generation of scholars who made the bulk of this repertoire available to us in their wave of nineteenth- and twentieth-century editions, may have dampened scholarly enthusiasm for such sources by self-deprecating comments that were practically *de rigeur.* Even glowing book-reviews of new editions were not exempt: "Il est entendu que la poésie courtoise dont il s'agit ici ne brille pas par l'originalité des idées développés," wrote E.C. van Bellen, "Comtes Rendus de Henry, Albert, 'L'Oeuvre lyrique d'Henri III, duc de Brabant'," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire,* 28, (1950): 561-53.

[95] Bernard Cerquiglini, "Roland à Roncevaux, ou la trahison des clercs," *Litterature,* 42 (May 1981) 40; Sarah Kay, *The Chansons de geste in the Age of Romance: Political Fictions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

[96] For example, Rosenberg, Switten and Le Vot, eds., *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères*; Rosenberg and Hans Tishler, eds., *Chanter M'Estuet, Songs of the Trouvères,* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980); Rosenberg and Samuel Danon, ed. and trans., Hendrik van der Werf, music ed., *The Lyrics and melodies of Gace Brulé,* (New York: Garland, 1985); Eglal Doss-Quinby has likewise collaborated on numerous anthology editions, including, with John Tasker Grimbert, Wendy Pfeffer and Elizabeth Aubrey, *Songs of the Women Trouvères,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

[97] See note 5 above; also his forthcoming work, *Knights, Lords and Ladies: In Search of Aristocrats in the Paris Region,* 1180-1220.

collaborated with an interdisciplinary group of scholars from France and the United States to focus attention on an understudied codex from Lorraine, Bodleian Douce 308, a miscellany containing song lyrics, a poetic account of a tournament from 1285 (at which dozens of songs were also sung), and assorted fictional works.[98] The range of technical and methodological questions raised by this one codex is reflected in the variety of disciplines of the contributors to the project, and anticipates future interdisciplinary collaborations in the study of medieval musical culture.[99] In 2014, Anna Zayaruznaya and Rebecca Fiebrink published a first report on *The Digital Fauvel*, begun at Princeton as a joint project between Music and Computer Science.[100] The project is creating an interactive facsimile of the *Roman de Fauvel*, a handsome yet complex fourteenth-century codex containing poetry, images and music satirizing the French royal court (preserved in the manuscript Paris, BN, fr. 146). The emergence of projects such as this one—whose stated aim is to move "beyond mere digitization in ways that can benefit scholars and students alike"—are at the least making the visual features of manuscripts more widely accessible. But by incorporating transcriptions, translations, sound recordings and historical notes, they will also enhance the ability of new scholars to navigate the challenges posed by such manuscripts—in themselves "early multimedia objects."[101]

---

[98] Mireille Chazan and Nancy Regalado, eds., *Lettres, musique et société en Lorraine médiévale : autour du Tournoi de Chauvency: Ms. Oxford Bodleian Douce 308*, (Genève: Droz, 2012)
[99] Another recent publication that draws together scholars with the intent to approach musical codices more holistically is that of Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach, eds., *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
[100] Fiebrink and Zayaruznaya, "Reimagining the facsimile: project report on *The Digital Fauvel,*" *Early Music*, (2014), 599-604.
[101] "The Digital Fauvel at Princeton," http://digitalfauvel.cs.princeton.edu/The_Digital_Fauvel/Welcome.html

Of course, historical musicologists have for decades been making the music of the trouvères more intelligible to the modern eye and ear, through scholarship as well as recordings of songs that had gone unsung for centuries. Christopher Page has been among the most influential voices in this area. His many publications, drawing on kaleidescopic arrays of archival and published materials, situate the music and musicians of northern France in a cultural context that encompasses the changing expectations for chivalric masculinity; tensions between clergy, minstrels, and the knightly classes; the acoustics of the court architecture or urban spaces in which trouvère music was heard and the "listening practices" of medieval audiences.[102] His analyses have not been wholly uncontroversial, nor have the recordings made by his vocal group, *Gothic Voices*.[103] Nevertheless, we see glimmers of Page's influence in a wide variety of studies, including recent explorations of the "soundscape" of medieval France, from Gretchen Peters' *Musical Sounds of Medieval French Cities*, to Emma Dillon's *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260-1330*. Both of these recent (2012) monographs work from the basic assumption that for us to conceive of the sensory, emotional experience of music to the medieval ear, we must take into consideration a more expansive auditory spectrum. In this sense, Dillon's "sonorous city" is particularly evocative, juxtaposing the hubbub of urban life with the emergent polyphonies of the *ars nova* motet.[104]

---

[102] A number of these publications are discussed in more detail in later chapters. Several seminal works include *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100-1300*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and songs in France 1100-1300*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); *Discarding Images: reflections on music and culture in medieval France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); *The Christian West and its Singers: The First Thousand Years,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).
[103] See a recent critique in Zayaruznaya, *The Monstrous New Art*, 66-68.
[104] *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260-1330* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 84.

The present dissertation adopts a similar approach, while drawing on sources that have largely gone unstudied, in particular, the corpus of the *jeux partis*, and narrative accounts of thirteenth-century tournaments. Lacking in polish and pretense, the lyrics of the *jeux partis* bring us impassioned commentaries on the exigencies daily life that are at once humorous and profound—how to adhere to the etiquette of chivalry; how to find inspiration for music composition; how to win in love or fortune. "When does a true lover compose better love songs? Either when he has already possessed his lover, or when he serves her in hope, desiring the enjoyment of her love?" An answer: "Desire is its own form of riches... he who already possesses the pot of gold wanders astray, and loses his singing."[105] Or, "The king wishes you to fight with him in Rome for the empire, yet a beautiful and wise woman who loves you and whom you love begs you not to go; whom should you leave, your mistress or the king?"[106] Or, "Between two ladies, whose heart is more true, she who wishes her lover to go to the jousting match at Ghent and win honor, or she who wishes to prevent her lover from undertaking this peril?"[107]

The *jeu parti's* discursive style took part in what Alex Novikoff recently called "the culture of disputation," paradigmatic of medieval scholasticism.[108] Yet unlike the quodlibetal questions being debated by male students and theologians at the University of Paris, *jeu parti* texts represented the voices of knights, burghers, women of noble and non-noble status, trouvères and jongleurs, in addition to a few clerics. Modern scholars

---

[105] The numbering of *jeux partis* established by Arthur Långfors in his edition will be used throughout: Långfors, *Recueil Général*, LXXXVI
[106] Långfors, *Recueil Général*, CLXXI
[107] Långfors, *Recueil Général*, XLV
[108] Alex J. Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice and Performance,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013)

routinely dismiss their questions as "homogeneous [...] point[s] of courtly casuistry" and therefore have failed to engage with their texts as serious social commentary.[110] Yet they offer us as historians direct access to the fears and desires pulsing in the hearts of individuals who we typically encounter through far less intimate documents.

This fabric of emotional experience, woven from music and lyrics in the thirteenth century, is the material with which I attempt to reconstruct what we might call "the period ear." The concept is inspired by the work of Michael Baxandall, whose innovative approach to Renaissance art was aimed at understanding "the period eye;" the way visual perception was informed by "Quattrocento cognitive style." Baxandall approached this by examining the cultural and economic conditions in which painters worked, and the semantic range of the vocabulary used to evaluate painting style. Instead of painters' contracts (no equivalent existed between composers and patrons), musicologists employ an ingenious array of documents—from treatises written by thirteenth-century Parisian singing teachers, to descriptions of singing and listening in Old French Romance—in order to better understand how music was practiced and conceptualized in the medieval and Renaissance past. And the field of historical musicology has another tool at its disposal: performance.[111]

The notion of the "period ear" was invoked by the musicologist Shai Burstyn to discuss the possibility—or futility—of "authentic listening" in modern performances of

---

[110] To single out but one description in Doss-Quinby, *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 92; Doss-Quinby is paraphrasing the 1926 comment of the *jeux partis*' editor, Arthur Långfors, who also characterized the genre's subject matter as "assez homogène," *Recueil Général*, ix.

[111] Some of the challenges and rewards of trying to understand the cognitive realities of a musical past, using documents as well as rehearsal and performance are discussed by Jesse Rodin, "Form and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Music: Problems, Fallacies, New Directions," [forthcoming: *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*]

early music.[111] Burstyn engaged with an ongoing debate theorizing historical performance practice, to which Richard Taruskin and many others have vociferously contributed.[112] To ask whether we can ever listen in an "authentic" fashion is a distinct problem from that with which this dissertation engages. Instead, the present study is concerned with the question of what might constitute the thirteenth-century "musical-cognitive realities."[113]

In his discussion of ways of seeing in fifteenth-century Florence, Baxandall wrote

> the picture is sensitive to the kinds of interpretative skill—patterns, categories, inferences, analogies—the mind brings to it. A man's capacity to distinguish a certain kind of form or relationship to forms will have consequences for the attention with which he addresses a picture. [...] One brings to the picture a mass of information and assumptions drawn from general experience.[114]

To begin to grasp the "mass of information and assumptions drawn from general experience" that communities of northern French men and women brought with them to the performance, for example, of a *jeu parti*, or a song of springtime love intoned by the beside of a wounded combatant, is the objective that motivates my study.

In the musically-prolific courts of the French thirteenth century, the mental equipment of the aristocratic class, whose *raison d'être* was increasingly the defense of

[111] Burstyn, "In Quest of the Period Ear," *Early Music*, 25, (1997), 692-701.
[112] A small sample of this considerable literature can be found in M. Morrow, "Musical performance and authenticity," *Early Music,* 6 (1978), 233-46; Taruskin, "The Authenticity Movement Can Become a Positivistic Purgatory, Literalistic and Dehumanizing," *Early Music,* 12 (1984), 3-12; *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Rob Wegman, "Sense and Sensibility in Late-Medieval Music," *Early Music,* 23, (1995), 298-312.
[113] In addition to Baxandall, Burstyn's "cognitive reality" is also inspired by Le Goff's classic work on the ambiguous history of *mentalités*.
[114] Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 34-5.

the realm, included the psychological preparation for and recovery from war.[115] I argue that the delicacy and emotional sophistication of the trouvères' songs was the counterbalance to a culture of violence and conquest. The neglected context of the music of the trouvères, by the time their chansonniers were being compiled, was the intermittent warfare at the borderlands of the French superpower: in Italy, Sicily, Gascony and Flanders.

Chapter One addresses the detailed vernacular record of a tournament that took place at Le Hem, in Artois, in 1278. I draw on this and other documents to try and better understand the demography of the contestants at a joust or a tournament. I revisit an old question, of what factors accounted for the passion with which both young men and veterans returning from combat competed in these dangerous and elaborate rituals of martial valor, despite prohibitions by the Church.

Chapter Two turns to another aspect of the tournament, what at first appears to be an inconsequential detail found in many of our records beginning in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. This is the appearance of song lyrics and refrains throughout the days of mock battle—sung by men, before charging their horses into a mêlée or by their female spectators, following the clash of lances in the lists, and in many more instances in between. These references to music may appear so inconsequential that they

[115] On the development of this slogan in Capetian propaganda from the reign of Philip Augustus to that of Philip the Fair, see Gabrielle Spiegel, "'Defense of the realm': evolution of a Capetian propaganda slogan," *Journal of Medieval History,* 3 (1977): 115-133. Hélary, building on the work of Spiegel and Strayer, shows how the slogan was employed in military recruitment of the nobility under Philip the Fair, preceding the *arrière-ban*, an expression meant to legally justify a general call to arms and compulsory military service. Hélary, "French Nobility and the Military Requirements of the King."

are often passed over in silence; I have attempted to approach them systematically across a variety of documents, giving special attention to sources that provide their own explanations of what singing accomplished for the "spirit," or for the physical performance of the singers or listeners.

In Chapters Three and Four the elite aristocratic milieu so far at the center of my investigation is replaced by a wider sector of northern French society: the communities that took part in the the popular song-debate known as the *jeu parti*. In order to better understand these texts, I assembled a table of the nearly two hundred known contestants who entered the *jeu parti's* imagined courtroom, a performative space in which questions of life and love were argued, not in the scholastic manner, but rather by citing proverbs and using wit and melody to find—*trover*—their answers. Chapter Four engages with a longstanding problem in our texts: the lack of written judgments following the *jeu parti's* envois. Focusing on a unique *rotulus* found in England and containing several *jeux partis,* Chapter Four asks what it might tell us about the performance and transmission of *jeux partis* between disparate communities.

In Chapter Five, we depart from the vivid world of play that was so richly enjoyed in the verdant county of Artois, by following the French to Sicily—the Angevin object of conquest beginning in the 1260's. Spearheaded by Charles of Anjou, who in 1266 was crowned King of Sicily, the French presence in Sicily in the 1270's and 80's was sustained by Robert II and great number of his knights from Artois. In Sicilian chronicles and letters of this period, the sinister underside of the French ethos of conquest is exposed, as are the voices of their resilient opponents recorded in legends and song.

The commitment of the northern French aristocracy to their games and play leads

us to ask what shadows these opulent pastimes obscured. Violence, experienced or perpetrated, was never long absent from the lives of the central figures in this study. A continuum existed between aristocrats' games, and their wars. As one Sicilian observer of the French conquest would reflect, "game indeed brings forth a perilous struggle."[116]

[116] Saba Malaspina, *Die Chronik des Saba Malaspina*, Walter Koller and August Nitschke, eds. *MGH*, 35. (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1999), Lib. 8, 287; paraphrasing Horace, discussed in Ch. 5.

Chapter One

The Tournament as "Deep Play" in Robert II's Artois

In 1149, as crusaders returned to France from the Holy Land, they came to the attention of the great Cistercian, Bernard of Clairvaux. Seeking to curb their dangerous games, he wrote a letter to Suger, abbot of Saint Denis and regent in the king's absence. "It is time," he said,

> and there is urgent need, that you should now take up the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, against a diabolical custom which is endeavoring to grow up a second time. Men who have just returned from the Crusade [...] have fixed one of those abominable meetings [known as tournaments],[1] to attack and slay each other, after the festival of Easter, being bent on violating all laws. Judge in what disposition of mind they have made the journey to Jerusalem, since they have returned in such a mood. How aptly can this be said of them: *We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed; they are stricken, but they have not grieved; they are consumed, but they have refused to receive correction.* After so many hardships and perils, after the sufferings and the misfortunes which they have had to endure, when the realm is in peace, these men return to it only to disturb it and throw it into confusion."[2]

He goes on to implore Suger to put a stop to the tournament.

I begin this inquiry into the aristocratic "play culture" of which the medieval tournament took part with the powerful words of Bernard of Clairvaux, because he evokes familiar critiques of the dangerous game, while showing us the continuity that could exist between warfare in crusade, and warfare as play. What was it about this game that gave it its enduring, enthusiastic popularity, despite prohibitions, and even for warriors returning, as Bernard put it, from "so many hardships and perils, the sufferings they have had to endure"?

---

[1] Bernard's term "nundinas," was glossed by the editor according to the description given in the *Life of S. Bernard* by William of S. Thierry as "an armed party of young nobles who, [...] engaged in the profession of arms traversed the country looking for those objectionable meetings which are called tourneys (*Tornetas*). Others call them tournaments (*Torneamentum*)." Cited in Bernard of Clairvaux, *Life and Works of Saint Bernard,* Dom. John Mabillon, ed., Samuel Eales, ed. and trans., 4 vols. (London: John Hodges, 1889) vol. 2, note 4.

[2] "Letter CCCLXXVI, A.D. 1149," in Bernard of Clairvaux, *Life and Works of Saint Bernard,* vol. 2, 930-31.

In what follows, I focus on the records of a jousting tournament that took place at Le Hem, next to the Somme river in Robert II's appanage of Artois. Held in 1278, the event took place on the feast of Saint Denis, lasting for three days, October 8-10. The reason we have a detailed record of this occasion is because a trouvère was commissioned by the event's hostess, as an eye-witness, to keep a scorecard of who jousted with whom and notes of the festivities, from which he reconstructed a rhyming narrative in his vernacular Picard. This genre of writing is an early example of the heraldic "festival books" created to commemorate special occasions. The result, now referred to as the *Roman du Hem*, is a 4,600-line account that recorded one hundred and thirty-nine jousts between knights, speeches that were made, as well as the details of elaborate theatrical vignettes performed as interludes to the tilt. These took their inspiration from Chretien de Troyes' Arthurian romance, "Yvain, Knight of the Lion." The hosts, Lord Aubert de Longueval and his sister (unnamed in the text), along with honored guests, enacted the parts of Queen Guenivere, the seneschal Kay, and other familiar figures. The hero Yvain was played by the count of Artois, accompanied by an actor wearing a lion costume. The reportage also includes information about female spectators, and the circle dances, "caroles", that they danced late into the night. "It never happens that you tire of dancing caroles," he the author noted, "with such fine company."[3] This narrative, along with a similar work commemorating a five-day tournament in Lorraine in 1285 known as the *Tournoi de Chauvency*, comprise our most complete eye-witness accounts of the thirteenth-century tournament, and possibly of any

[3] "A fait commencier les caroles/ Qui durerent pres que la nuit/ Il ne'st mie drois qu'il anuit/ Avoec si noble compaignie" Sarrasin, *Le Roman du Hem,* Albert Henry, ed., (Brussels: Éditions de la Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1939), ll. 1512-1515

tournaments.

By likening the tournament, in my title, to “deep play,” I employ the term made famous by the cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz. A concept that Geertz borrowed from the utilitarian philosopher Jeremy Bentham, “deep play” can be defined as a game for which the stakes are so high— either in terms of gambling, money, status, or, as at the tournament, in its exposure to bodily injury or death—that it cannot be explained by purely rational or utilitarian means.[4] In other words, men engage in “deep play” for reasons that go beyond the apparently justifiable. I draw inspiration from Geertz in the sense of approaching games as highly symbolic activities, and in what follows, I wish to examine the possible symbolism of this game that was so central to chivalric identity, and what it may have meant for its community of warriors, part of the “play community” of thirteenth-century Artois.

While the celebrated warrior was at the center of this community, the tournament records also give us a glimpse of the social structures on which he depended. By examining the festivals surrounding the tournament in the 1270’s, we are presented with a vertical slice of life, in which not only warriors, but their wives, sisters, daughters, and even the working folk, from blacksmith to horse-breeder, had integral parts to play. A microcosm of life in Artois emerges, if idealized through the motions of the festival and its games. “It is through playing that society expresses its interpretation of life and the world,” observed the cultural historian Johan Huizinga.[5] In his book, entitled *Homo Ludens*, Huizinga saw play as touching something deep within the human, arguing that it is constitutive to civilization. Based on the investment of many thirteenth-century nobles

[4] Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight,” *Daedalus*, 101 (1972), 1-37, 15.
[5] *Homo Ludens*: *a Study of the Play-element in Culture* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1949), 46

in their games—financial, physical; investments of creative ingenuity—they too seemed to consider games and play as hallmarks of civilized society.

Aristocratic Games and Self-Representation

When the Arabic game of *shatranj* spread to western European society as the game of chess in the eleventh century, the icons represented in the pieces were altered to fit the Western courts. The crown piece, the *shah* (a Persian word, from whence Lat. *scacus* and Old French *eschec*) translated easily, becoming *rex*, the king. His vizier, *furz*, changed gender to become the powerful Queen. The *al-fil* (elephant), became the bishop in most places, though in northern France this piece was sometimes depicted as a dog, and sometimes, a court fool. *Rukh* (chariot) kept its name (rook), changing to the symbol of a tower. The horse, *faras*, became the knight.[6]

The “grant jeou des eschez” (the great game of chess) for which Count Robert II of Artois ordered pieces to be sculpted from ivory, in Paris in the spring of 1300, contained of course, four knights, and although this and several other other precious sets he owned are now dispersed, from contemporary ivory game pieces we may guess at what they looked like.[7] Unlike the most common icon for the knight in modern versions of the game (a horse’s head) the expensive medieval set was typically sculpted to show an armored knight astride his destrier, charging forward, his sword raised and shield at

[6] H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 420-425; of Robert of Artois’ chess pieces, and other pastimes in the medieval courts specifically, Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270-1380* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 165-200.

[7] “Ce jour meesme a Biertaut l’eschequetier, pour le grant jeou des eschez pour monsigneur et pour viij peonneaus divoire. xxx s. par.” AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 162, fol. 37v, and see Vale, *Princely Court*, 175.

the ready. This posture is familiar to us since it was the standard equestrian iconography of the noble warrior that appears on the male aristocrat's seal, his *signum* embodying personal authority and identity.[8]

Figure 1. Chessman (knight). French or English, thirteenth century, walrus ivory. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. AN1685a.587

Figure 2. SIGILLUM ROBERTI COMITIS ATREBATENSIS
Seal of Robert II of Artois in Louis Deschamps des Pas, *Sceaux des Comtes d'Artois*

In 1275, Robert II of Artois had issued a new deputy seal bearing the device of a lion's head, rather than the Artois coat of arms used by his predecessors and successors.[9] This unusual choice of imagery, Brigitte Bedos-Rezak mused, was perhaps inspired by a whimsical identification with the famous knight of Chrétien de Troyes' romance, *Yvain, the Knight with the Lion*, a role which he would enact three years later. "This extraordinary variation [of the lion seal], along with his performance in the tournament,

[8] On the iconography and development of medieval seals generally, Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Signes et insignes du pouvoir royal et seigneurial au Moyen Age: le témoignage des sceaux," in *Form and Order in Medieval France. Studies in Social and Quantitative Sigillography,* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993 [1984]), 47-62.
[9] Louis Douët-d'Arcq, *Collection de Sceaux*, 3 vols. (Paris: H. Plon, 1863), 1: no. 358, and Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "The Knight and Lion Motif on some Medieval Seals," *Avalon to Camelot*, Vol. 2 (1987), 30-34.

tends to show Robert as seriously involved with the Arthurian world of romance, and more precisely with the character of Yvain."[10] Indeed, his eccentric adoption of a wolf cub in the 1290's might also have been inspired by the Arthurian hero who, in Chrétien's story, saves the noble beast from death, and is rewarded with a faithful vassal and friend in return.

That aristocrats used their games of strategy and sport—from chess to hunting to the tournament—as platforms for representing their prowess, wealth, and the kind of power that could afford such lavish trivialities, was one of the functions of play at the highest echelons of medieval life. That Robert of Artois did so, a man whose accounts from the later thirteenth century survive in abundance, along with literary descriptions of his performances in tourneys and battles, gives us a window into how he promoted and defined himself, his chivalric self-fashioning. Robert is a figure that will be woven in and out of this story, but in the following chapter, my main interest is the entrée he provides into the culture of play in the northern French county of Artois. Medieval chess pieces, which were referred to not as "a set" but as a *familia* (O.F. *maisnie*), remind us that not only chess but all games are representations of individuals maneuvering within a social framework: a group, a family, or community, and its opponents.

Robert's registers reveal more than just ivory chess pieces. In 1274, when he was a married man of twenty-six, he had already accumulated an impressive list of debts totaling 114,536 *livres parisis*.[11] They ranged from the minutiae of daily life, including

---

[10] Bedos-Rezak, "The Knight and Lion Motif," 33.
[11] AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 22.18. Both the Paris pound (*livre parisis*) and that of Tours (*livre tournois*) appear as units of currency in Robert's account records in Artois.

his household staff — Matilde his washwoman (owed 20 *l.p.*), Helie his cheese-supplier (18 *l.p.*), Dionysia "la Coiffiere" (9 *l.p.*) — to various luxuries and entertainments: 46 *l.p.* for a goldsmith, a few more *livres* to Garnot, "custodian of bears at Paris," likely used for bear-baiting. Larger sums were owed to French and Lombard creditors in the wealthy money-lending centers of Arras and Douai, and the greatest expenses, incurred for raising an army, had been borrowed from the highest officials in France, and to king Philip III himself, whom he owed a staggering 51,661 *l.p.*

Among the items on this list, itself a remarkable snapshot of the lifestyle, duties and proclivities of the young count, we find references not only to warfare but also to the games of war — his many tournament debts. To the Castellan of Arras, 216 *l.p.,* "pro torneamentis;" to Jehanne Huluch, 40 *l.t.* "for losses at the tournament," and so on.[12] The sums he spent on horses ran into the hundreds, and while many of these were for the battlefield, the finest were used at tournaments too.[13] In 1281, he recorded another debt to repay his cousin, (also named Robert), son of the count of Flanders, for 3387 *l.* 5 *s. t.,* "for the losses that he and his men suffered with us and in our company at a tournament at Creeil."[14] Evidently, the two men had joined forces at a Creeil tournament, only to suffer a crushing capture by opposing teams, for which they would pay dearly in ransoms. Robert of Artois seems to have offered to cover his cousin's expenses.[15]

---

[12] His six outstanding debts owing for tournaments added up to a little over 700 *l.p.* (assuming an exchange rate of 1.25 *l.t.*to 1 *l.p.*)*,* AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 22.18
[13] The total debts for horses came to 640 *l.p.*, AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 22.18
[14] AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 27.36.
[15] Deals of cooperation between fellow tourneyers were not uncommon; we know from William Marshal's biography that he teamed up with another skilled fighter, agreeing to share both profits and losses at the tournament circuit over a period of eighteen months in the later twelfth century (discussed in the following chapter).

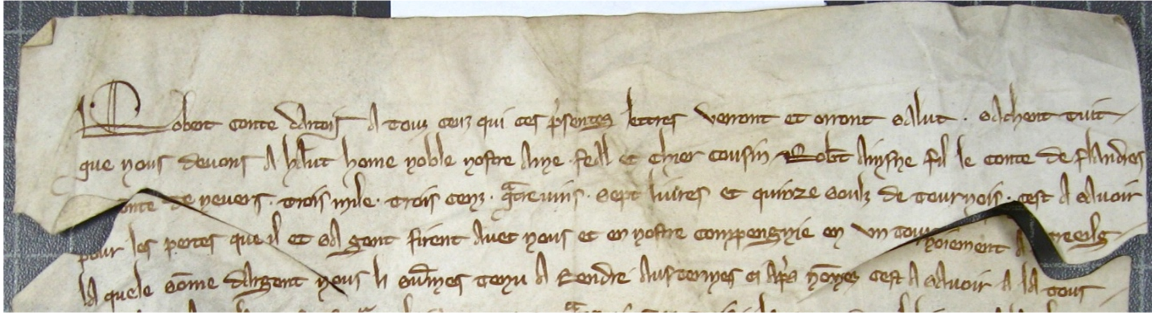


Figure 3. "Robert conte dartois a tous ceuz qui ces presentes lettres verront et orront salut. sachent tuit que nous devons a haut home noble nostre ame feal et chier cousin Robert aisne fil le conte de flandres [et?] conte de nevers. trois mile trois cens quatrevins sept livres et quinz soulz de tournois. cest a savoir pour les pertes que il et sa gent firent avec nous et en nostre compengnie en un tournoiement a Creeilg [...]"

July 17, 1281, AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 27.36.

When he performed the role of the Knight with the Lion in Artois in 1278, he was well known to fellow jousters and audience members, either because they had fought alongside him during military engagements, or simply by reputation (See Appendix A). In this sense, the comparison between Robert and a legendary hero, even at the relatively young age of thirty when he made this acting début, was not entirely unwarranted. Knighted at Compiègne by his uncle Louis IX in 1267, he had participated in the crusade to Tunis in 1270, and been honored as the bearer of *l'epée joyeuse* –Charlemagne's sword, at the coronation of Philip III. He had successfully led a royal army in crushing a rebellion in Navarre in 1274, defending the interests of his sister Blanche, Queen of Navarre, and when he arrived at Le Hem, he had only just returned from serving his uncle Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily.

Thus when he made his stage entrance, ladies were described as craning their necks to watch "the vassal with the lion" from the grandstand. His armor adorned him "like wings." Even the actor playing the allegorical figure of Strength (*Fortrece)* admired

him: “By the head of Saint John of Amiens, what a warrior! And, God save me, I never saw with my own eyes any man who looked more like my lord, the count of Artois.”[16]

Robert did not “outgrow” his passion for competitive battle.[17] Throughout his life, he would come to be known for the extravagance and theatricality both of his games and his wars. As Hélary noted, “When not on campaign, Robert obsessively attended tournaments. Not a tournament took place without the count of Artois taking part, despite the interdictions that, under the pressure of the Church who found these diversions so frivolous and dangerous, were repeated under Philip III and Philip the Fair.”[18]

Festival Books: *Le Roman du Hem* and *Le Tornoi de Chauvency*

Integral to these performative games was their documentation: a poet was commissioned to take notes, gather accurate information about each guest from the heralds and the ladies, and then compose a verse narrative of the occasion.[19] The so-called “festival books” that resulted (at Le Hem in 1278, at the tournament of Chauvency

---

[16] Mention of the head of Saint John of Amiens was likewise a local, “insider’s” reference: the precious relic, brought back from the fourth crusade and housed at the new cathedral being built at nearby Amiens had more to do with community pride in thirteenth century Artois than King Arthur’s court. “Par le cief Saint Jehan d’Amiens, /Dist Fortrece, cis est vassaus. Et si puisse jou estre saus,/ Jen e vi onques de mes iex/ Nul homme qui resanlast mix/ Monseigneur le conte d’Artois.” Sarrasin, *Roman du Hem,* ll. 2804-2809.

[17] Indeed, his collective tournament debts in 1274 paled in comparison with those from a single tournament in 1281, (pictured above). The sum of 3,387 *l.t.*, to be paid over a period of three years, was owed to his cousin, Robert of Bethune, son of the Count of Flanders.

[18] Hélary, “Qu’est-ce qu’un chef de guerre?,” 76.

[19] The method of collecting information at such events is described in the next book of this genre, the *Tournoi de Chauvency,* where the author, Jacques Bretel, describes the help he receives from the herald Bruiant and others in identifying the guests present. Bretel, *Le Tournoi de Chauvency,* ed. Maurice Delbouille (Paris: E. Droz, 1932), ll. 245-402. A discussion of the terms of the contract are discussed by Regalado, “A Contract for an Early Festival Book: Sarrasin’s *Le Roman du Hem* (1278)” in *Acts and Texts: Performance and Ritual in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Evelyn Birge Vitz, ed., Ludus 8. (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2007), 250-267.

in 1285) are the first of their kind: a new genre of writing, inaugurated to cast real events and people into a heroic context and a heroic time.[20]

A hundred years earlier, Chrétien de Troyes had incorporated a fictive tournament into each of his Arthurian romances, reflecting what was, in the twelfth century, the new fever for this form of martial sport. Widely diffused, Chrétien's works helped bring the world of the round table and the celebrated origins of the cult of chivalry to a new level of popularity among aristocratic and bourgeois circles in France. By the time the first festival books began to document real tournaments in the manner of a *roman*, John Baldwin observed, "la littérature n'est donc pas à l'écart du processus historique, mais imprègne le phénomène historique de ses propres valeurs. Parfois la vie imite l'art."[21]

The cultural shifts that accounted for the commissioning of this type of book were outlined by Nancy Freeman Regalado in her nuanced analysis of the contract between the trouvère-author of the *Roman du Hem*, and his employer. These shifts, in Regalado's view, were three: "the vogue of writing down works performed in the vernacular; a new fashion for artistic commemoration of celebratory or ritual events, and a developing

---

[20] "Il est bien difficile de faire entrer ce récit dans un des genres connus" pondered Albert Henry, the work's modern editor, in his introduction, "ce n'est pas un roman d'aventures ni un roman de moeurs proprement dit; ce n'est pas non plus un veritable roman historique; le mot *roman* n'a d'ailleurs ici que son sens primitif: composition en langue vulgaire." "Introduction," *Roman du Hem*, xii. Formalized souvenirs of tournaments were not unknown; as early as the 1170's a clerk was commissioned by the Young King Henry of England to set down his tournament victories in written form, a copy of which would come into the hands of William the Marshal's biographer. The earliest armorial role appeared almost contemporaneously with our tournament at Le Hem, produced for the royal tournament fought in 1279 at Compiègne, and sponsored by Philip III. This listed princes and knights present with descriptions of their coats of arms; it is not a narrative document. On these developments, see David Crouch, *Tournament* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), 36-38.

[21] Baldwin, "Preface" in *Lettres, musique et société en Lorraine médiévale: autour du Tournoi de Chauvency,* Mireille Chazan and Nancy Freeman Regalado, eds., (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2012), 9.

aristocratic taste for vernacular books as deluxe productions."[22] While all of these points were true, her last observation—that the taste for festival books corresponded with an enjoyment of deluxe codices—is misleading when it comes to this particular specimen, since its text is completely unadorned, a copy with frequent scribal errors, functional for a reader but not a status object.[23] This fact would seem to underline a different point than the one she is making: that the manuscript was not primarily intended to be admired, but rather to be read aloud, to be heard, even performed, and the opening lines mention both speaking and listening (quoted below, Figure 4). "A *reportage* in verse," the *Roman du Hem*'s modern editor, Albert Henry described it, and the rhyming octosyllabic meter and Picard dialect both would have facilitated its oral performance and comprehension among a community of listeners.[24] Given its appearance, Henry hypothesized that the manuscript was a copied from an original, shortly after its composition in 1278, probably as a souvenir made for a participant at the tournament. In the next extant book of this genre, *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, also written by a trouvère from Artois, the author interspersed his text with refrains from no less than thirty-five popular songs— strains of music wafting in and out of a text otherwise intended to be spoken.[25] (These are addressed in the following chapter.)

---

[22] Regalado, "A Contract for an Early Festival Book," 252.

[23] The *Roman du Hem* by Sarrasin exists now in a single manuscript, Paris, BN fr. 1588 (anc.7609), thirteenth century, of Amiénois or Vermandois provenance, and appears alongside poetic works of Philippe de Remi, lord of Beaumanoir (d.1265) a trouvère and knight who had been in the service of Amicie de Courtenay, Robert of Artois's first wife. On the manuscript, Albert Henry, "Introduction," *Roman du Hem,* xiii-xvi.

[24] Henry, "Introduction" *Roman du Hem,* xii-iv; on the shift from oral to silent reading, see Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

[25] The refrains in the *Tournoi* were collected in a critical edition by Nico van den Boogaard. *Rondeaux et Refrains Du XIIe Siècle Au Début Du XIVe* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969).

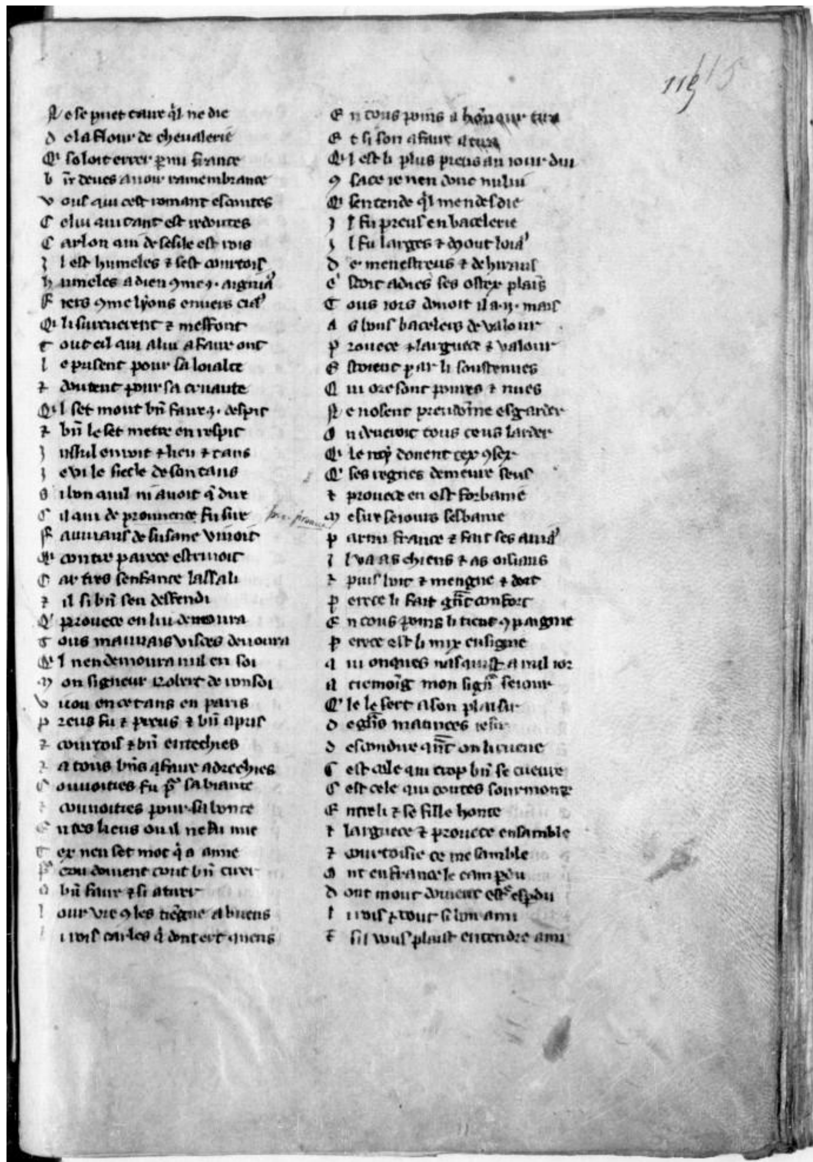


Figure 4.
The opening page of Sarrasin's *Roman du Hem*, Paris, BN fr. 1588

The text begins:

Ne se puet taire qu'il ne die
De la flour de chevalerie
Qui soloit errer parmi France.
Bien devés avoir ramembrance,
Vous qui cest romant escoutés,
Celui qui tant est redoutés
Carlon, qui de Sesile est rois.

[One can't keep quiet, he has to speak of that flower of chivalry, who used to wander about France. Well ought you to remember him, you who listen to this romance—he who is so formidable, Charles, King of Sicily.]

The festival books, as Regalado notes, grew in scope and popularity over the centuries, evolving into magnificently illustrated Renaissance codices, produced for a wide range of celebrations (weddings, most often). But in the late thirteenth century, they began in the north-east region between France and Flanders, commissioned, in this case, by a nobleman and his sister. And they were not produced for just any type of celebration or ritual, but only for specific ones: spectacular theatrical jousts, the performative games

of the nobility. The advent of the festival books is a signpost to us of the value being awarded to play in the cultivation of a heroic self-image.

The forbidden sport

Foreign princes had long been familiar with Artois and its northern neighbors of Brabant, Hainaut, Flanders, as the heartland of the tournament circuit. The first known appearance of the Latin neologism *torneamentum* was in a Peace of God charter issued by the Count of Hainaut in 1112. (Count Baldwin III sought to curtail the bloody vendettas of the town of Valenciennes, by funneling aggressions into the martial sport.)[26] Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the tournament came to be known outside of France as the *conflictus Gallicus*, and along with its growing popularity, it attracted censure from the Church, and eventually secular powers in France as well. That the beloved sport was periodically banned did not necessarily diminish its attraction, and the reputation of the region for licit and illict games continued to grow.[27] Just as one went to Auxerre to acquire the best wine,[28] in the later 1200's, it is clear that one went to Artois and its neighborhood for trouvères, tournaments, and every kind of game.

---

[26] Eljas Oksanen, *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World, 1066-1216* (Cambridge, 2012), 116-119; on the mutations of feudal warfare in the early twelfth century into the chivalric sport, Dominique Barthélemy, "The Chivalric Transformation and the Origins of Tournament as seen through Norman Chroniclers" trans. Graham Robert Edwards, *Haskins Society Journal* 20 (2008):141-160.

[27] As shown by continued measures to prevent them, as for example during the reign of Philip IV, who in 1304 discouraged the production of tournaments by threatening not only the fighters, but those who hired lodgings to them, as well as the merchants who provided the food, armor, horses, saddlery, fodder. See Crouch, *Tournament*, 53.

[28] The wines of Auxerre, Beaune and Savigny seem to have been expensive and especially prized, at least in the household of Count Robert; see comments of Auguste le comte de Loisne, "Une Cour Féodale vers la fin du xiiie siècle. 'L'hôtel' de Robert II, comte d'Artois" *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1918); 84-143, 92. A "wine course" was also served after dinner at the tournament of Chauvency, featuring wines of Auxerre and of Riviere. Bretel, *Chauvency,* ll. 4177-80. On Auxerre wine in particular, see also

Because of the game's perilous nature, it had attracted vehement opposition. This came first from members of the Church, as the letter of Bernard of Clairvaux quoted above suggests. Bernard was writing in1149, as crusaders returned home from Syria, but in 1146, the year preceding the crusade to Syria, tournaments were suspended across the realm.[29] One index of the continued popularity of the tournament was the escalation of measures to prevent them. The Third Lateran Council of 1179 condemned the "detestable fairs or holidays, which are called *torneamenta* [...] in which knights are accustomed to fix a date and to gather to demonstrate their strength and rash bravery with frequent loss of life and danger to the soul."[30] The Council stipulated that men who died there should be refused ecclesiastical burial—a prohibition that was only erratically followed. In the thirteenth century, censure came increasingly from secular rulers: Louis IX imposed a two-year ban on them in 1260; this was renewed under Philip III. Philip III's policy was illustrative of the conflicting views held by clergy (and pious rulers such as his father) on the one hand, and the nobility on the other: in 1279, he authorized an intermission on the ban, just long enough for a grand tournament to be held at Compiègne at which he himself took part.[31]

During periods of interdiction, what were the methods employed by the nobility to preserve their games and circumvent prohibitions? One was to hold the tournament just beyond the limits of French territory, as was done in 1285 at Chauvency, in Lorraine

---

John Benton, "Nicholas de Clairvaux à la recherché du vin d'Auxerre d'après une letter inedité du XIIe siècle," *Annales de Bourgogne* 34 (1962): 252-5.

[29] Crouch, *Tournament*, 20.

[30] The problem of tournaments and the clergy is discussed in detail by Baldwin, from whom the Third Lateran Council's language is quoted; *Aristocratic Life*, 86-90.

[31] This event was held in honor of the visit of Charles of Anjou's son, visiting France from Sicily; Crouch, *Tournament*, 45-46, and Ruth Harvey, *Moriz von Craûn and the Chivalric World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 160.

and under the jurisdiction of the Holy Roman Empire. Another was to call the event a "feste" rather than a "tornoi," as was conveniently done at Le Hem, in Artois, just inside the French border. Likewise, the main attraction, the melee, which at Chauvency occurred on the fourth day of festivities, following a mass in the morning (a pragmatic detail, since casualties and fatalities were not unusual), was replaced at Le Hem with jousting only.[32]

The denomination "tournament" or "tournoi," as Juliet Vale defined it, "refers specifically to a contest between two teams using sharp weapons in a melee simulating the procedures of warfare."[33] This mock-battle was initiated by the *estor*—the charge of two opposing lines of mounted knights. Teams were typically grouped by geographical provenance or genetic ties, as was seen above between Robert of Artois and his cousin at Crecy. In northern France, the "home team" was referred to simply as *Dedens* (those 'within') while the challengers were *Dehors* (outsiders).[34] Each man or family group shouted the name of his hometown as his battlecry.[35]

Defenders of the tournament against ecclesiastical proscriptions routinely argued that it was a necessary martial exercise in preparation for real conflict. Famously, this was one of the arguments made by Richard I of England, when he defied the pope's edict

---

[32] In our narration of it, the author refers to it as a *feste* rather than a *tournoi*. Juliet Vale has suggested that a melee might have been planned for the third day, that was not carried out.
[33] Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry, Chivalric Society and its Context 1270-1350,* (Boydell Press, 1982), 5.
[34] *Dedens* and *dehors* are used throughout Bretel's in the *Tornoiment de Chauvency,* and are well attested elsewhere, Crouch, *Tournament*, 72-76. A wonderfully graphic map, showing the geographical provenance of participating knights as they composed the two teams at Chauvency was created by Juliet Vale, in her appendices to *Edward III and Chivalry,* 165.
[35] Bretel's 800-line description of the melee itself at Chauvency is full of these cries, for example, "Aubers d'Orne avec lui mainne/ a haute vois escrïent 'Vianne'/ Sandras 'Hauci', Simars 'Lalain'/ Bauduins 'Douai', Colars 'Biausrain'/ Reniers 'Prini', Jehans 'Rosieres'/ La furent les mellees fieres." ll. 3933-3938.

against them in order to prepare troops for the third crusade, as well as to keep up with the French army whose skills, he noted, were better honed.[36] The same case was made by the poet at Le Hem, dramatically claiming that God himself could see the importance of training future crusaders to the Holy Land through tournament practice.[37] This practical function, accompanied by the occasion to win honor, repute, and not least financial gain, so ardently reflected in the sources of the period, have justly been the focus of modern scholars.[38]

At Le Hem, guests arrived throughout the day on October 8; on that night a banquet was held by their hosts, Aubert de Longueval and his sister, whose role as an organizer appeared to be central, as on the following days she would occupy the seat of honor overseeing the jousting, reigning as "Queen Guenivere." It should be noted that Le Hem was by no means unique in its incorporation of Arthurian romance and theatrics—the classic one-day tournament seems increasingly to have been replaced at this time by what were referred to as "Round Tables" (popular especially in England, and increasingly so during the reign of Edward I.) On the following two days, October 9 and 10, jousting and theater were interspersed. There was musical performance: young women singing

---

[36] Ecclesiastical prohibitions of the tournament and responses to them by Richard I and others are reviewed by Harvey, *Moriz von Craûn*, 127-137; the overview of N. Denholm-Young is also informative, "The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century," in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, Eds. R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin, R.W. Southern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), 240-268.

[37] Sarrasin, *Roman du Hem*, ll. 174-191. This was not merely a poetic fiction; in 1235 we have a report of another tournament with Arthurian elements, held at nearby Hesdin; the only detail recorded about it was that it inspired many of the barons of Flanders who attended to take the cross, cited by Crouch, *Tournament*, 117.

[38] Of the many discussions of the tournament in a broader sociological context, Matthew Strickland's analysis of honor, shame, and reputation is especially insightful, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066-1217* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 98-153; Maurice Keen's *Chivalry* also provides a wealth of information (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 83-102.

and musicians with instruments were brought in. The day came to a close with the final jousts being fought by torchlight, and this was followed by dinner and dancing caroles.[39] In short, the variety of activity and the elaborate ritual is something more than military training. To the modern eye, it could easily be dismissed as aristocratic excess and decadence. It was certainly extremely fun.

In a classic, and still influential essay, "Les jeunes dans la société aristocratique," Georges Duby offered what remains one of the finest interpretations of the twelfth-century tournament in its sociological context.[40] His account was especially persuasive because it explained the romantic (and romanticized) imagery of the errant knight vis-à-vis the social pressures and realities of the time. Duby examined the stage of life of the *juventus* (youth); who in the French vernacular texts would be referred to as *baceler* and *baceler erant*. The term refers to the male who is no longer a *puer* or *adulescentulus*; that is, he has been dubbed a knight, but as of yet has no children, and is probably unmarried.[41] Following his ritual entry into knighthood, a youth's father might designate a mentor to accompany his son on a period of travel and wandering, in which he could hope to promote himself in society through the tournament circuit or warfare. His mentor,

---

[39] While it was standard, at an ordinary tournament, for participants to attend Mass on the morning of a melee, there is no mention of religious observance before the jousts at Le Hem; if it took place, it preceded the action narrated by Sarrasin. Nevertheless, the moral conviction in the knights' activities is suggested in an opening speech (at least, the opening lines of the trouvère's poem) defending the tournament from its critics, dramatically claiming that God himself favored the tournament.

[40] In Georges Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. Cynthia Postan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 112-122. Keen revisited the question of the "knight errant" and his practical function in society, (and the effect of such bands on the countryside) in his final chapter, "Chivalry and War"; his incisive discussion fills in some of the practical, fiscal details of traveling knights and men-at-arms, which are lacking in Duby. *Chivalry,* 224-233.

[41] Citing the biography of William Marshal, Duby added that a period of extended youth was not uncommon, indeed it was often exacerbated by the challenges of forging appropriate marriage alliances; William was considered a *juventus* into his forties, when he did ultimately marry.

Duby suggests, should also be a "youth," albeit with greater experience. But above all "the youth found himself caught up in a band of 'friends' who 'loved each other like brothers'. This 'company', or 'household' (*maisnie*)—to use the words of the documents written in the common tongue—was sometimes formed immediately after the ceremony of dubbing, by the young warriors who had received together the 'sacrament of knighthood' on the same day, and who remained together thereafter. More frequently the company collected around a leader who 'retained' the young men, that is who gave them arms and money and guided them towards adventure and its rewards."[42]

Duby's sociological explanation is of course just an example of a rich literature assessing the tournament in a variety of its social, economic, and military functions. Maurice Keen, for example, outlined five essential reasons that the tournament remained popular: in addition to being undeniably good military training and even recruitment grounds for war, it offered men prospects of enrichment through the ransom of prisoners or capture of warhorses. In a period of increasing bourgeois wealth, the aristocratic tournament was also an expression of elite social identity, it enabled men to win renown and enhance their social standing. This was accomplished both among male peers, and, significantly, before a female audience, who, in the words of one author, "watched [the tournament] from the city walls and aroused the men to passionate excitement by their flirtatious behavior."[43] Maurice Keen reminded us not to underestimate the erotic undercurrent that is discerned equally in chivalric literature as it is in the historical records such as at Le Hem.

[42] Duby, *Chivalrous Society*, 114.
[43] Cited in Keen, *Chivalry*, 91.

The social makeup of the men who jousted at Le Hem in 1278 reveals a picture that diverges in some points from these accounts, in particular from the youth-driven account of Duby. Woven into its narrative, the *Roman du Hem* records the names of 185 of the men who jousted at the three-day event, along with brief descriptions, enabling us to begin piecing together an image of the social group present.[44] Many of these 185 men who competed at the tilt at Le Hem can be found in other documents and chronicles from the period, and I find a quarter of those named in other records from contemporary military campaigns. This information is represented in an annotated list of the jousters, compiled in Appendix A, building on Albert Henry's "Personnages Historiques," in his 1939 edition of the text. Although nobility from across the channel had been invited (Jean Bailleul, future king of Scotland was in attendance, with his uncle, Enguerran), its overwhelming flavor was local rather than international, as David Crouch and Juliet Vale noticed.[45] There is no doubt that a frequent noun used to describe contestants is *baceler*, but among the bachelors are nearly as many names of seasoned warriors. The male jousters were of varied ages: Giles, Châtelain of Neuville jousted; so did his three sons.[46] Ferri III, Duke of Lorraine was there; hardly a *juventus*, he had been married for twenty-

[44] The total number of guests, including both sexes, was estimated by the author at 700, (ll. 520-21). Following the geneaological research of Albert Henry, a fairly reliable prosopographical picture emerges, which I have built upon with information from other contemporary chronicles regarding Robert's involvement in the Flemish conflict, the *Chronique artésienne (1295-1304)*, Ed., Frantz Funck-Brentano (Paris: A. Picard, 1899). Of the 185 individuals mentioned and described, 45 can be positively be identified as having participated in the expeditions to Tunis, (1270); against the Count of Foix (1272), Sicily (1282); Gascony, Guyenne, and Flanders (1297-1302), in all of which Robert II had fought. 28 participated in the crusade against Aragon in 1285. 4 of the lords present at Le Hem fought on the side of Flanders at the Battle of Courtrai; several others were killed at that battle, fighting for France.
[45] Prominent nobility hailed from Artois, Auvergne, Champagne and Flanders, see comments of Henry, "Introduction," *Roman du Hem,* lxi-lxiv, and Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, 23.
[46] Gilles' three progeny in attendance were Aimer, Gui and Jean. Gilles himself was described by the count of Artois as among his "amis et feaux," in a letter from December 6, 1273; AD: Pas-de-Calais A 31.27

three years by the time he jousted at Le Hem in 1278. Additionally, I count ten men who had taken the cross in 1269-70, on Louis IX's fatal crusade to Tunis, and the memory of that expedition would have been strong in the hearts of others. One young man is identified as the son of the late Raoul d'Estree, Marshal of France, who also died on that crusade with Saint Louis. One avid jouster, Mahieu de Roie, Lord of Garmegni, if we can believe it, had fought at Damietta on the *previous* crusade, twenty-seven years earlier.[47]

Forty-two of the men present would fight alongside Count Robert over the next two decades. Another twenty-eight would fight in the 1280's in the political crusade against Aragon, while Robert was in Sicily. The individuals whom I have been able to trace may understate the actual numbers of those whose lives were woven into this fabric of warfare and tournament.[48]

Other tournament sources likewise indicate the presence of older knights or veterans. At the Chauvency tournament in 1285, the trouvère recording events contrasted the "bachelers de jone aage et chevaliers de grant barnage."[49] Elsewhere, he comments that the young bachelors who had barely fought a battle would speak with and learn from the *anciens*, "who had done a great deal in the métier of arms and in real life."[50] The exact meaning of *ancien* is always ambiguous; it can connote an elder, or an experienced person, or a former combatant (not wholly unlike our English "veteran," from Lat. *vetus, veteris*; "old; forefather"). We saw in Bernard of Clairvaux's letter, alive with

---

[47] Albert Henry, "Introduction," *Roman du Hem*, c.
[48] A number of the names on the guest-list turn up in other records of Arras; some as ruffians, harassing a rich banker, another as a judge in a musical competition. Others, such as Arnoul III, Count of Guines, became crippled by his tournament debts, and had to sell his county to the king. Pierre of Fampoux, present at the tournament, later worked in Count Robert's administration, where, as the bailli of Saint-Omer, he acquired the nickname "l'Orrible." See Appendix A.
[49] Bretel, *Chauvency,* ll. 1944-5
[50] Bretel, *Chauvency*, ll. 1232 and following.

consternation, that crusaders returning to France in 1149 avidly took part in tournaments. The same was true a century later. In the spring of 1251, the count of Flanders, William II, had only recently returned from Egypt, and was still recovering from a wound in his leg, when a tournament was announced by the lords of Trazegnies and Silly.[51] The count fought again, but perhaps he still suffered from his injury, since, while leading a group of Flemish knights into the melee, he was wounded, falling from his horse and perishing. (Whether his death at that tournament was accidental or an ambush would be much speculated on by contemporaries.) In the later twelfth century, crusaders were also acknowledged at a tournament attended by William Marshal. At the end of a day of tourneying, the great English knight had reportedly shared his tournament winnings "as croisiez e as prisons/ e molt quita de lors prisons/ des chevalers qu'il aveit pris."[52] In other words, he was particularly generous with crusaders and the men he had taken prisoner during the course of the melee. Magnanimity towards veterans may have been expected of chivalric etiquette.[53]

The emotion felt by *anciens* at jousts and tournaments was captured by a poet writing from nearby Hainaut, "Li dis des .iii. mestiers d'àrmes" (The ditty of the three métiers of arms):

---

[51] Gastout, "Béatrix de Brabant," 60-61. On the circumstances of William of Dampierre's death, see Boone, *Une Société urbanisée,* 34.

[52] *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal,* Paul Meyer, ed., (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1891), ll. 3559-61.

[53] As is suggested by a remarkable request made by the veteran knight, Pierre de Pillart, in the late thirteenth century. Accused of stealing a horse, Pillart was imprisoned and ultimately addressed his petition to the king of France (probably Philip III), pointing to his extensive military record—"I was with you and your elders at Damietta, then in Sicily, and at the siege of Marseille, and at the siege of Tunis." edited by Elie Berger, "Adressée au Roi de France par un vétéran des armées de Saint Louis et de Charles d'Anjou," in *Études d'Histoire du Moyen Age dediées a Gabriel Monod,* (Paris: Leopold Cerf, 1896), 343-349.

Li anchyen qui s'entremissent
D'armes, les jouenes joster fissent,
Premier aprendre à cevaucier
Pour retourner, pour encaucier,
Puis pour son corps d'armes pener
[…]
Si con Gauwains et Piercevaus,
En la fumée des chevaus
Qui monte en l'air, et en la poudre
En la tounoire et en l'esfoudre
De tabours et de trompeours
D'assallans, de deffendeours,
Al merteleïs des espées
Où ses ventailles sont copées,
Où ses cotes d'armes desroutes;
Là où se departent ses routes
Par la force des plus poissans,
Où toudis est li cuers croissans
Al baceler [ll. 33-37 and 74-85]

> The veterans who participate in feats of arms insist that youngsters go jousting, firstly so as to learn to manage their horses, restraining them and urging them on; secondly so as to toughen up their bodies in respect of arms […] Like a veritable Gawain or Perceval, among the steaming horses, and the dust as it climbs in the air, in the thunder of drums, and the blaze of trumpets, of attackers and defenders, in the clatter of sword strokes, where their ventailles are slashed, where their coats of arms ripped; there where the press of men is pushed apart, by the power of the strongest, where the heart of the young knight ever beats high. [54]

Although the poet asserts that the joust is for the young men, that it is something of a finishing school,[55] he also matter-of-factly states that it is the veterans who push the young men to compete. It is the *anchyen* who are, in this account, the instigators, who perpetuate the institution, and who comprehend its vital importance in preparation for survival in battle.[56]

---

[54] The poet is Jean de Condé, who was squire to the squire to the count of Hainaut from 1317-1337. I use the lively translation by David Crouch, appearing in his appendices in *Tournament*, 203-204. The original text is included from A. Scheler's edition in *Dits et contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Condé,* 3 Vols. (Brussels: V. Deveaux, 1866-67), Vol. 2, 72-74.

[55] "Establirent il pour aprendre les jouenes gens à bien combatre," ll. 49.

[56] An interesting parallel for the opposite gender is found in accounts of older women who lead the young girls to public dances, who dress them in their old finery, and nudge the shy ones into

Meanwhile, the writer's enjoyment of the visceral shock of the joust is manifest. Every sense is utilized; this is an exercise in physical prowess and control; the warrior learns to be at one with his horse's movements, able to take a blow in stride, his "resolute spirit and disposition" unperturbed by sword strokes, armor, the noise of the drums, the rising dust. A few stanzas later, speaking of the pinnacle of the three *métiers d'armes*, "mortal combat", the poet croons, "Li coart n'en ont point d'envie/ C'est pour le cors et pour le vie/ Où l'ame en est en aventure" (Here the coward is beyond hope/ It's life and limb that are at stake/ It's in this trial that the soul is). [ll. 113-115] The poem conveys far more than obligatory practice and discipline. The intensity of feeling for battle, "where the soul is," suggests a different social function of the tournament or joust than that which is usually assumed. It suggests that the tournament was just as charged and thrilling, perhaps even as psychologically necessary to the veterans as it was to the untried youths.

Just as the popularity for modeling tournaments and jousts on Arthurian legend created a conceptual link with a mythic, heroic past, the array of ages and levels of experience at Le Hem indicates a tangible continuity between waning and rising generations of warriors. This intergenerational continuity and the presence of veterans at the tournament leads us to consider another implication for the role of the martial games in society; that is, as a means of preserving the feeling of brotherhood experienced during war, and as a counterpoint to the stress it entailed.

---

the limelight, Indeed this very comparison was made by the English Dominican author John Bromyard, who likened the 'wrinkled old women' who led girls to the dances, to the old knights leading young squires to the field. See discussion of Bromyard's text in Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France, 1100-1300* (London: Dent, 1989), 115.

We have seen the frequency of the military engagements in which Robert of Artois and his vassals participated in the later thirteenth century. Their rhythm of life, we can extrapolate, was established by the short- and long-distance expeditions with companions-in-arms. Fighting was the essence of being for the aristocratic male, yet the experience of a campaign may hardly have matched its glittering ideals. The clash of violence did not often end in a swift and heroic death for one party or the other, and injuries, either bodily or psychological, were the visible residue of the realities of warfare. Attrition rates, especially on the foreign campaigns to Tunis or Sicily, ballooned when an army encountered disease such as dysentery or malaria, and Jean Dunbabin has underscored just how many of the northern French who came to fight in Sicily in the 1260's to '80's succumbed to disease.[57] During Robert of Artois' campaigns in Gascony in the late 1290's, much of his army suffered from an outbreak of illness—perhaps camp fever, Malcolm Vale speculated.[58] If the unparalleled thrill attained in the clash of battle left an indelible mark on the psyche of the warriors, it was accompanied with other indelible realities.

In studies of the psychological ramifications of modern warfare, it is well-documented that combatants returning home commonly suffer from a disconnect between the intensity of their experiences in the field, and civilian life. A clinical interest in the impact of experiences of "overwhelming intensity" on the human consciousness started

[57] The fate of many crusaders at Tunis, along with that of Saint Louis is well known; the noticeably high number of northern French to die in the Kingdom of Sicily, possibly from outbreaks of malaria, was documented by Jean Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1266-1305*, 102.
[58] Vale, *Origins of the Hundred Years War*, 211.

to evolve in Paris in the late nineteenth century, when the French psychologist Pierre Janet published his findings on patients suffering from memory loss, somnambulism, and hysteria.[59] He observed that in individuals who had undergone events of overwhelming intensity, there was a disruption to their normal cognitive integration of experience into memory. Janet's early theories of dissociation were strongly influential on Sigmund Freud, who in 1919 wrote his "Psycho-analysis and the War Neuroses," and Abraham Kardiner, who systematically defined our modern notion of post-traumatic stress disorder.[60] Since the late twentieth century, a growing literature on combat- and other forms of acute trauma has appeared, and one of the central questions asked by clinicians is why some trauma survivors display resilience, while others are more vulnerable to symptoms of post-traumatic stress and impaired functioning.[61]

One of the determining factors for resilience in the face of trauma, in the modern world, is a person's social support system.[62] As is observed in one clinical study of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, "in some cases the trauma can be eventually successfully resolved with an integration of the traumatic events into the totality of a person's life

---

[59] An overview of Janet's impact on modern studies of psychological trauma appears in the work of the Bessel van der Kolk, M.D., "The Body Keeps the Score: Memory and the Evolving Psychobiology of Post Traumatic Stress," *Harvard Review of Psychiatry* (1994): 253-65; Janet's first work, based on his treatment of patients in Paris suffering from memory loss, somnambulism, and psychological dissociation is *L'automatisme psychologique: essai de psychologie expérimentale sur les formes inférieures de l'activité humaine*, 5th edition (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1907).

[60] Abraham Kardiner, *The Traumatic Neuroses of War,* (New York: Hoebner, 1941).

[61] Current theories are discussed by Alexander McFarlane, "Resilience, Vulnerability, and the Course of Posttraumatic Reactions" in *Traumatic Stress: The Effects of Overwhelming Experience on Mind, Body, and Society*, van der Kolk, McFarlane and Weisath, eds. (New York: Guilford Press, 1996), 155-181.

[62] van der Kolk, "The Psychological Consequences of Overwhelming Life Experiences," in *Psychological Trauma*, van der Kolk, ed., (Washington: American Psychiatric Press, 1987), 1-30, 11.

experiences."[63] Modern combat veterans who are less resilient complain of outbursts of violence, startle responses and recurrent nightmares, sometimes on the anniversary of a comrade's death. Subjects report feeling a deep emotional connection with comrades lost in the field, while struggling to feel emotionally close to their families, who lack direct involvement with their experiences in war. These memories remain vivid "despite the passage of time."[64]

The profound solidarity and identification with one's brother in arms is, of course, not a modern phenomenon. In a fifteenth-century treatise on chivalry written by the northern French knight, Jean de Beuil, the emotional experience of community in battle was put thus:

> You love your comrade so much in war. When you see that your quarrel is just, and your blood is fighting well, tears rise to your eyes. A great sweet feeling of loyalty and of pity fills your heart on seeing your friend so valiantly exposing his body to achieve the will of our Creator. And then you are prepared to go and die or live with him, and for love not to abandon him. And out of that there arises such a delight, that *he who has not experienced it is not fit to say what delight is*. Do you think that a man who does that fears death? Not at all, for he feels so strengthened, so elated, that he does not know where he is. Truly, he is afraid of nothing."[65] [emphasis added]

---

[63] van der Kolk, "The Psychological Consequences of Overwhelming Life Experiences," 2.

[64] The quotation is of a study of Vietnam veterans with PTSD that persisted over a decade after combat, Bessel van der Kolk, "The Role of the Group in Trauma Response" in *Psychological Trauma*, 153-171, esp.160-161.

[65] "On s'entr'ayme tant à la guerre. On pense on soy-meismes: Laisseray-je ad ce tirant oster par sa cruauté le bien d'autruy, où il n'a riens. Quant on voit sa querelle bonne et son sang bien combatre, la larme en vient à l'ueil. Il vient une doulceur qu cueur de loyaulté et de pitié de veoir son amy, qui si vaillamment expose son corps pour faire et acomplir le commandement de nostre Createur. Et puis on se dispose d'aller mourir ou vivre avec luy, et pour amour ne l'abandonner point. En cela vient une delectacion telle que, qui ne l'a essaiée, il n'est homme qui sceust dire quel bien c'est. Pensez-vous que homme qui face cela craingne la mort? Nennil; car il est tant reconforté, il est si ravi qu'il ne scet où il est. Vraiement il n'a paour de rien." Jean de Beuil, *Le Jouvencel Par Jean de Bueil, Suivi Du Commentaire de Guillaume Tringant*. 2 Vols. (Paris: Renouard, H. Laurens, 1887), vol. 2, 20-21. The passage is discussed by John Keegan in a comparison of the medieval and modern experience battle; the translation is Keegan's, with my own minor corrections from the original. *Soldiers: a History of Men in Battle* (London: H. Hamilton, 1985), 19.

A concise but similar sentiment, voiced by one of the members of Robert of Artois's *maisnie* – his "household," or retinue of knights, put it simply:

> Nous nous rendons, sauves nos vies
> Et nos armes et nos amies
> Du tout sommes en vo manaie
>
> We give ourselves to you, you saved our lives, and our arms, and our friends. We are utterly in your group. [66]

This kind of sentiment did not appear in literary texts only: two jousters present at Le Hem were addressed by the count of Artois in a letter from 1273 as his "amis et feaux," "quar nous desirons vo comepignie seur tous autres," (for I wish for your company above all others).[67]

The passages above capture the intensity of war and the importance of the group in that experience. In his foundational writings, Pierre Janet's focus was on the individual, but his insights have bearing. Finding that overpowering emotional reactions interfere with the ordinary construction of memory schemes, he observed that it is this construction of memory that contributes to our sense of self, our individual identities; what he called *l'idée du moi*.[68] It is evident from the medieval accounts that for a man who, from a young age, spent his life fighting alongside his kinsmen and companions, who had known not only discipline and preparation, but the heightened adrenaline, joy, sorrow of loss in battle, that *l'idée du moi* was utterly wrapped up in the *l'idée du nous*—

[66] Sarrasin, *Roman du Hem*, ll. 1345-1347. Translations are my own except when otherwise indicated.
[67]The letter names Messire Giles de Neuville (châtelain of Neuville) and "le seigneur de Hachecourt," (Jehan de Hargicourt), AD: Pas-de-Calais A 31.27. Jehan de Hargicourt regularly accompanied Robert of Artois to tournaments (AD: Pas-de-Calais A 1 fol.7r), as did his son Pierre, who was present at Le Hem, and who died in Robert's company at Courtrai in 1302, according to the *Chronique Artésienne*, see Appendix.
[68] Appearing in his chapter "L'oubli et les diverses existences," *L'automatisme psychologique*, 117-118.

the *maisnie*. The physical and emotional experience of the group fighting together was unmatched outside of the battlefield. A feeling of solidarity enabled the individual to face or transcend fear.

That these groups when not on a real battlefield gathered under the auspices of "play" should not lull us into discounting the power of their social bonds, which were that much stronger because the stakes were often those of life and death. The insistence of the communities in Artois, Flanders, and elsewhere in Europe on holding tournaments, despite their repeated prohibitions by the Church and eventually the kings of France, had to do not only with the necessity of maintaining their technical skills and physique during peace-time, but with maintaining the very fabric of their group, their team, their friends. If the modern symptoms and antidotes to trauma observed by Janet, van der Kolk and others held true in an earlier age, the continuity of this social group from wars to courtly life may have helped to envelop jarring and painful memories with the succoring rituals of chivalry. The enactment of the chivalric virtues at a tournament festival, and narrative retelling through commemorative festival books may have enabled warriors to unravel memories of brutality enacted upon them, or of the brutal acts they had committed, and weave them into a new narrative in which every man was a hero, and was recognized and celebrated as such by his home community.

With this possibility in mind, we will enter into the world revealed by the festival books of *Le Hem* and *Chauvency,* and in so doing engage with the community that contributed to the *feste* in its entirety: heroic comrades absent and present, mythical and

real, the nobility, and the workers manning the stalls; in short, the event as it was seen and reported by our embedded trouvères.

The *Roman du Hem* opens by casting the net of its imagined community far beyond those seated in the newly-constructed stalls by the jousting field.[69] The poet admonishes his listeners not to forget their friend and absent hero, Charles of Anjou, the youngest brother of Saint Louis,:

> Ne se puet taire qu'il ne die
> De la flour de chevalerie
> Qui soloit errer parmi France.
> Bien devés avoir ramembrance,
> Vous qui cest romant escoutés,
> Celui qui tant est redoutés
> Carlon, qui de Sesile est rois.[70]

> One can't keep quiet, he has to speak of that flower of chivalry, who used to wander about France. Well ought you to remember him, you who listen to this romance—he who is so formidable, Charles, King of Sicily.

Charles, like his nephew Robert, was well known to the audience as the youngest brother of their king, for whom many had fought in Sicily. To the poet, "Il fu large et mout loiaus" (a man of great loyalty and generosity), and the memory of this absent friend is the occasion to introduce the allegorical patrons of chivalry: Prowess, Largesse and Valor. "How these noble virtues were honored" back when Charles was in France, the poet wistfully reminded his audience. In those days, minstrels and heralds were never neglected, since Charles gave freely, "with both hands." "Prouece et Larguece et Valour/

[69] On the ideal site and landscapes chosen for tournaments (often field bounded by a castle on one side and a wood or body of water on the other which helped contain the sprawl, and destruction, of the melee) see discussion in J. Vale, *Edward III*, 7-8, and Crouch, *Tournament,* 41-55.
[70] Sarrasin, *Roman du Hem*, ll.1-7.

Estoient par li soustenues,/ Qui ore sont povres et nues." (Prowess, Largesse and Valor, who today go poor and naked, used to be sustained by him.)[71]

Such happy memories are contrasted with the modern age, dominated not by energetic, chivalric values, but by the dreadful figure of *Sejour* (Idleness), and her daughter *Honte* (Shame). The new, shameful age has been ushered in, according to the poet, by nothing less than the edict banning the tournament, instituted by Philip III, son of "le bon roi Loöy,"

> Icil rois dont je vous recort;
> Ou fust a droit ou fust a tort,
> Il desfendi le tournoiier,
> Dont mout de gent dut anoiier.
> Premierement li glougleour
> I gaaignoient cascun jour,
> Et li hiraut et li lormier,
> Li marissal et li selier;
> Neis cil qui oevrent en gisant
> Vont souvent le roi maudisant,
> Par qui tournoi sont desfendu:
> "tout n'en soient il desfendu!",
> font cil qui vendent les bons vins
> Et cil qui vendent les commins
> Et les pertris et les plouviers;
> Toutes gens qui sont de mestiers
> Dient: "Amen, que Dix l'otroit!"
> Mains povres hom i gaagnoit.[72]

> This is the king of whom I remind you; whether he was right or wrong, he forbade the tournament, which rubbed quite a few people the wrong way. First the jongleurs, they earn their living thus, every day, and the heralds, and the harness-makers, the blacksmiths, and the saddle-makers, those who make tombstones, they often go about, speaking badly of the king, by whom tournaments were forbidden, "All this ought not to be forbidden!" mutter those who sell the fine wines, and those who sell rabbits, and the partridge- and the plover-sellers, all those who work in the professions say, "Amen, that God would authorize them!" Many poor men earn their bread that way.

---

[71] Sarrasin, *Roman du Hem*, ll. 52-54.
[72] Sarrasin, *Roman du Hem*, ll. 113-130.

With this candid reporting from the ranks of the working classes, our poet introduces another group who provided the infrastructure for the great gatherings while benefiting economically from them. This is a class of people seldom included in discussions of the tournament (either by medieval or modern authors) and in this moment, the poet becomes their spokesmen, an amplifier to the beseeching, grumbling notes in their voices. Listing his own profession, that of the jongleur, in the first category of those whose livelihoods depend on such festivities, his tone is heartfelt. More than other professions, the saddlers, blackmiths or wine vendors, whose wares had set prices, entertainers were especially dependent on the generosity of their patrons. Suddenly, the abstract figure of Largesse is brought into perfect focus, and we, the audience, appreciate the extent to which local economies benefited from the events and their influx of the wealthy and elite crowds.

Larger tournaments could attract several thousand guests, who traveled from across Europe to attend.[73] Smaller gatherings, in the hundreds, were more common, and could easily be found every few weeks throughout the year, with the exception of Lent. In northern France, dedicated fields were established, often situated midway between two towns or settlements, which would be used to house the opposing teams of the mock battle. Jongleurs and heralds, whose profession was always peripatetic, were expert at keeping abreast of the itineraries of powerful men and their retinues, and would plan their travel accordingly.[74] But the other professions listed, the ferriers, food vendors, and so

[73] As at the Compiegne tournament, where David Crouch estimated that a minimum of 3,000 knights gathered; *Tournament*, 77-78.

[74] with varying degrees of success; see the account of the disappointed troubadour who arrived in Foix, having just missed the count and his retinue; this and other details of the traveling minstrel's profession are found in Christopher Page, "Court and City in France, 1100-1300" in *Antiquity and the Middle Ages: From Ancient Greece to the 15th century,* James McKinnon, ed., (London: Macmillan, 1990), 197-217, 212.

on, were far less mobile, and must have been hugely affected by a sudden drop in the frequency of the tournament circuit.

Beyond indicating the tournament's impact on local economies, the pathos and detail of this passage brings the sensory experience beyond the jousting field to life. We feel ourselves amid the tents of food and drink, the echoing calls of the heralds, the hammering of the blacksmiths, the sheen and smell of oiled leather saddles. The air must have been thick with dust, horses, and the smoke of roasting game.

The material life humming around the northern French tournament is by no means recorded only in poetry; all of the goods listed are found in amplitude among Robert of Artois's household accounts, along with the accoutrements and eccentricities reserved only for the very wealthy: a decorative shield (probably used only for processions or plays) was emblazoned with the head of a Tatar d'Outremer,[75] fine cloth purchased for the uniforms of his squires;[76] wages and expenses for keeping his pack of seventy hunting dogs,[77] costly spices,[78] a dozen pairs of polished iron spurs, and a pair of golden spurs, for the count himself.[79] The money that flowed through Artois in the thirteenth century was most concentrated in the urban centers, with their Artesian and Italian bankers and cloth merchants, and that bourgeois culture with its creativity and corruption will be examined in the following chapters. But the local economies of the region's roving tournaments gives us another picture of how wealth was moved around the countryside,

---

[75] AD: Pas-de-Calais A 179.4. Sections of this lengthy rotulus were edited by A. de Loisne in his "pièces justificatives," *Cour Féodale,* 102-143, at 97.
[76] AD: Pas-de-Calais A 162 fol. 37r.
[77] AD: Pas-de-Calais A 161.41
[78] Ginger ("zinzimbre"), saffron, garingal, olive oil, sugar, almonds, among others. AD: Pas-de-Calais A 150.54
[79] AD: Pas-de-Calais A 179.4.

bringing into focus another fundamental facet of these cherished games, and what they meant to the "play community."

Women in the play community

Until now, I have emphasized the importance of the male-male relationships in the perpetuation of the tournament culture, but what both our festival books bear witness to is the privileged role of women in the tournament space. And what roles! Not merely the refined spectators watching and cheering from the stands, they enjoy the spotlight as actors, dancers, as choreographers of humorous and sophisticated games played at midnight, with mildly erotic overtones. They are also singers, and the instigators of many of the thirty-five songs that the trouvère captured, punctuating the tournament at Chauvency.

At Le Hem, the "court" of the framing drama, was, significantly, presided over by Queen Guinevere. Other ladies had starring roles as the embodiments of abstract values: Dame Courtoisie, Fortrece, also the haggard Sejour (Idleness). There were parts for the four maidens rescued by Robert. The most arresting female figure was Soredamours, another character adapted from Chrétien de Troyes' oeuvre.[80] In this context, she was the object of humiliation and punishment for having impugned the martial skills of her lover. Seated on an old nag, a sword dangled from her neck, and she was led before the audience while a dwarf beat her with a scourge. [81] This spectacle was repeated at

[80] This is another reference to Chrétien de Troyes: she is a character in his *Cligès.*
[81] The dwarf actor may have been another employee of Robert of Artois, since we find regular payments to "li nain" in his later household accounts. For example, in AD: Pas-de-Calais A 162 fol.40r, a dwarf and three other entertainers were paid to go to Paris to work at a "feste".

intervals, until her cruel lover was finally defeated by another knight, vindicating her.[82]

Women had always been present at the tournament as viewers from the stands, and at the end of a hard day of competition, they made the society considerably more interesting. At Le Hem and Chauvency, dances were held each night after dinner, and were an opportunity to relax and flirt until the early hours of the morning. But they also took place during the day, as when the women at Chauvency performed their own carole prior to the exhibitions of masculine virility. The loveliness of this all-female spectacle drew rhapsodic praise from Bretel the poet:

> Et les dames se deportoient,
> A Chauvenci, joieusement,
> Et karolent mout cointement
> Une karole si tres noble
> Que jusques en Constantinoble
> Ne desa jusque en Compotestle
> Ne cuit je c'on veist ains plus belle.
> Les dames main a main se tienent
> Et tout ainsi com ellez vienent,
> Se prent chascunne a sa compaigne,
> Ne nus hons ne s'i acompaigne;
> Ainsi s'en vont faisant le tor,
> Et bacheler lour vont entor
>
> And the ladies make their way to Chauvency, joyfully, and dance caroles most gracefully. A carole so very noble — that not even in Constantinople, nor even in Compostela, could you see, I believe, anything more beautiful! The ladies took one another, hand in hand, and everyone went around in this way, each taking the other in her company, unaccompanied by men, they circle round like so, making the tour, and the bachelors gathered round. [83]

As the circle of ladies dances round, their appreciative spectators comment on the

---

[82] This was continued until she was proven right, in match between her knight, and one of Queen Guenivere's champions, played by Wautier de Hardecourt. In a wonderful detail, the young woman has the choice afterwards between the champion and her cruel lover, but she decides to stay faithful to the latter, with the acerbic "Sir Kay" commenting, "Que plus ferés femes de max [...] Plus ara a vous d'amitiés" (the more you mistreat women, […] the more they'll love you). ll. 3228, 3231.
[83] Bretel, *Chauvency*, ll. 3095-3106.

appearance and beauty of each one. The early fourteenth-century miniatures that accompany the *Tounoi de Chauvency* in the Bodleian's MS Douce 308 depict two of the dancing games that were played in the late nights (the *Robardel* and the *Jeu du Chapelet*) in which ladies with joined hands can be seen dancing, accompanied by a viol.[84] [Figure 5] The choreography of the larger, daytime group dance, although not represented artistically, can nonetheless be fairly well pictured from Bretel's fine description. From a birds-eye view, two circles would be visible, the inner one composed of women, their hands touching, rotating in one direction, while the outer, male circle, remained stationary and the men "counsel one another" on what they see. Unlike the nighttime dances, this performance was not fueled by wine; indeed it took place following morning mass, and preceded the main event of the five-day festival, the melee that was held on Thursday afternoon.

The women's-only carole, at which the knights were spectators, was a dramatic juxtaposition with the melee that followed that afternoon. The choreography of the dance is a graceful expression of group unity and accord; a counterpoint to the jarring choreography of the *estor*—the charge with which, at the bugle or herald's call, opposing lines galloped towards each other.

[84] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308, fol. 113r.

Figure 5. Illustration of the dancing game, "le jeu du robardel," in the manuscript of the *Tournoi de Chauvency,* Oxford, Bodleian Douce 308, fol. 113r. (ca. 1310, Metz?)

The numerous eruptions of the party into song might likewise be seen both as a divertissement, and an enactment of social harmony. The remarkable emphasis on singing in the *Tournoi de Chauvency* was seen by M. Delbouille as exemplary of the uses of song in secular reunions: "Pendant les joutes, on chante en amenant les chevaliers dans la lice; le soir, on chante en reentrant au château; on chante pendant les repas; on chante encore, le jeudi, en se rendant au tournoi. Mais c'est surtout après le repas du soir que chacun dit son refrain, à l'heure de la dance."[85]

The emphasis on graceful and sensuous behavior seen in the dances is echoed in the musical lyrics also: the clasping of hands is the refrain of one of the first songs we hear, "jointes mains, douce dame, vos pri merci" (my hands clasped, sweet lady, I seek your pity);[86] as well as one of the last, which is sung as knights and ladies leave the

[85] Maurice Delbouille, "Introduction," *Tournoi de Chauvency*, lxv.
[86] Bretel, *Tournoi*, ll. 1366. This refrain, along with the rest of the song and musical notation, appears in the Roman de Fauvel, fol. 25r.

tournament, making their way away from the field, as valets hold torches to illuminate their path, "Je taig par le doi m'amie – Vaigne avant cui je en fas tort!" (I hold the finger of my sweetheart – let him whom I wrong thereby step forward.)[87] The drama of this song mimics the dramatic juxtaposition of sexual roles during the tournament: the capacity of the knight to maneuver from a gesture as delicate and dainty as the touching of a lady's finger, to an aggressive masculine stance, ready to hold his ground against competitors.

Clasping hands and entering into dance and song, following the exercise of the fight, was also a gentle way of welcoming warriors back into courtly society. As a ritual, it mimicked the transition undergone by the warriors when returning home from their frequent military engagements. The rhythm of the tournament revealed by the day-and-night reportage of the festival books is one of numerous graceful transitions between the poles of battle and of courtly society. These transitions, whether punctuated by dancing, or lit by the luminous orbs of torches as the guests travel from the arena back to their dinner, may have been another way of metaphorically integrating the violent discrepancies of life experience into harmonious whole.[88]

The festival books and the production of memory

Of the growing appetite for vernacular literature, as patrons and also authors, women have rightly garnered attention. Underlining their roles as the bearers of tradition, it has even been stated that medieval women "were the transmitters of memory," and the

[87] Bretel, *Tournoi*, ll. 4121-22.
[88] It should also be noted that wives commonly accompanied their husbands on crusades and other campaigns, as did Robert of Artois's first wife, Amicie de Courtenay, who died on the journey, in 1275.

very existence of the festival book of 1278, commissioned from the poet by the same woman who played Queen Guinevere generally supports this ambitious claim.[89] In the closing lines of his narrative, the poet Sarrasin tells us that the queen had ordered him to produce the “little book” and “if he made a beautiful poem of it, she would pay him so well that he would have nothing to complain of.”[90] The oral and literate cultures that flourished side by side in Artois were themselves a sophisticated infrastructure for the production of memory. The thriving professions of the trouvère and the herald — bearers of the oral “news media” — were becoming increasingly specialized.[91] The growing quantities of their works committed to parchment and paper is an index of the centrality and rising prestige of the vernacular languages in the thirteenth century.

The ubiquitous presence of entertainers and trouvères in Count Robert’s household was noticed by Carol Symes. Employed at Robert’s residences in Artois, they followed him to Sicily, and accompanied him even onto the battlefield at Courtrai. Symes interpreted the nearness of entertainers to the battlefield as evidence that they filled a variety of vocational roles; as herald, messenger, emissary, “in so doing, they were expected to bring theater, or at least a touch of theatricality to diplomatic missions and

---

[89] A brief but provocative discussion of women’s role at the tournament appears in David Crouch’s *Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France: 900-1300*. (New York: Pearson/Longman, 2005), 316-320; on women as bearers of memory, Elizabeth Van Houts, “Introduction”, in *Medieval Memories: Men, Women, and the Past, 700-1300*, (New York: Longman, 2001), and also see her *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900-1200* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1999), 65-92, treating the roles of women in the ninth to twelfth centuries as bearers of oral and written memory and family reputation.

[90] “Et la roïne qui la fu/ Li commanda et si li dit/ Que, s’il en faisoit un bel dit/ Qu’ele le paieroit si bien/ Qu’il ne s’en plainderoit de rien, Et feroit a sa gent paiier.” *Roman du Hem*, ll. 4608-4613. The terms of the contract are discussed by Regalado, “A Contract for an Early Festival Book: Sarrasin’s *Le Roman du Hem* (1278)”.

[91] The classic work is that of Edmond Faral, *Les Jongleurs En France Au Moyen Age*. (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1987[1910]); on the emergence and specialization of heralds in particular, Keen, *Chivalry,* 125-142.

everyday life."[92]

The entertainers in Robert's retinue had another purpose, equally suggested by their proximity to the battlefield. Like the poets Sarrasin and Bretel, who were paid to gather names and record verse accounts of the theatrical tournaments, and like the poets who have been honored since time immemorial for their ability to retell the heroic deeds of great men through song, the trouvères were present to document the feats of their patrons, to enter their names into the halls of fame. Should their masters fall, it was hoped that their words would preserve their heroic deeds even in death.

In discussion above of the psychological role of the tournament for the war veterans and future warriors of Artois, I invoked Pierre Janet's foundational insights into the way humans integrate their memories into the construction of self, *l'idée du moi*, or perhaps *l'idée du nous*, in the case of the group mentality in medieval Artois. Since Janet, it has been appreciated that this integration of the totality of one's life experiences into a "memory scheme" as psychologists now put it (or a "memory palace" as a medieval scholastic might have described it) is a basic aspect of normal cognitive behavior, and that this normal process can be disrupted by experiences of overwhelming intensity, such as warfare.[93]

The tournament culture in Artois was implicitly organized around such an

---

[92] Symes, *Common Stage*, 249. It is well established that the minstrel savvy at eking out a living knew how to shift seamlessly from one role to another as occasion required, though it should be remembered that the distinct professions and skill sets of the trouvère and herald were accorded different levels of prestige. This, the trouvère Jacques Bretel does not let us forget. To his ears, heralds make "braying" noises, a reflection of their general uncouthness, and the crucial fact that they don't speak in verse. Bretel, *Tournoi de Chauvency*, esp. at ll. 1226-31, passim.

[93] On the construction of the memory palace, and other mnemonic systems, Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), and Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

integration of memories, connecting and weaving together the experience of warfare into the totality of the social sphere. This was accomplished through the expensive and imaginative events, which, as our manuscripts show us, were themselves actively remembered and retold through verse performances. One question with which we began, of what inspired these dramatic performances and the festival books that accompanied them, is answered, to some extent, by saying that they served a basic function in the construction of memory for the warrior caste.

Drawing on a long-established tradition of mnemonic practice, St. Thomas Aquinas, writing from Paris around the same time, would conceptualize his skillful memory scheme as a *catena aurea* — a golden chain, each link of which connected one discrete piece of information to the next.[94] While most of our tournament goers may have cared little for scholastic thought, this metaphor for the construction of memory was in a sense what their games accomplished: a way of linking themselves with a gleaming unbreakable chain of heroes, that extended temporally backwards, to their own fathers, uncles, and *anciens*, to distant or legendary kings such as Charlemagne and Arthur. They were also linked laterally with a community of absent friends, and even with the contemporary values, the guardians of chivalry: Fortrece, Valeur, Cortoisie, Largesse.

Unexpectedly, what the records of their games bring vividly to life through the medium of the trouvère, is the very tangible link between the opulence of the tournament, and the local economies; connecting the immaterial guardian of Largesse with the poor jongleur, the sweating blacksmith, and the wine vendor. The most visible expression of

---

[94] Aquinas's *Catena Aurea,* a compilation of exegetical texts on the Gospels, was composed in 1263; it drew on an established tradition of the *catena*, or chain, as a genre of scholarly commentary. An explanation of this other uses of the *catena* as a common mode for associatively grouping information appear in Carruthers, *Book of Memory,* 3-7, 78.

the *catena aurea* of this community, however, was the nightly linking of hands and intertwining of fingers, as dancers used their joined bodies to enact the social bonds and solidarity of their group, uniting so many disparate parts into a continuous, circulating whole.

Chapter Two

The Soundscape of the Tournament

> Someone who cannot sing well will nevertheless sing something to himself, not because the song that he sings affects him with particular satisfaction, but because those who express a kind of inborn sweetness from the soul—regardless of how it is expressed—find pleasure. Is it not equally evident that the morale of those fighting in battle is roused by the call of trumpets? If it is true that fury and wrath can be brought forth out of a peaceful state of mind, there is no doubt that a more temperate mode can calm the wrath or excessive desire of a troubled mind. How does it come about that when someone voluntarily listens to a song with ears and mind, he is also involuntarily turned toward it in such a way that his body responds with motions somehow similar to the song heard? How does it happen that the mind itself, solely by means of memory, picks out some melody previously heard? From all these accounts it appears beyond doubt that music is so naturally united with us that we cannot be free from it even if we so desired.[1]
>
> Boethius, *De Institutione Musica,* Book I [186-7]

Boethius wrote these words about the pleasure afforded by singing, and the somatic influence of music on the human body in the early sixth century, drawing on a tradition that stretched back to classical and Biblical sources, and perhaps earlier.[3] In the Europe of the High Middle Ages, theologians and music theorists frequently cited Boethius' treatise and others like it, bearing witness to an enduring intellectual fascination with the power of melody on the human spirit.

---

[1] "Et qui suaviter canere non potest, sibi tamen aliquid canit, non quod eum aliqua voluptate id quod canit afficiat, sed quod quandam insitam dulcedinem ex animo proferentes, quoquo modo proferant, delectantur. Nonne illud etiam manifestum est, in bellum pugnantium animos tubarum carmine accendi? Quod si verisimile est, ab animi pacato statu quemquam ad furorem atque iracundiam posse proferri, non est dubium quod conturbatae mentis iracundiam vel nimiam cupiditatem modestior modus possit adstringere. Quid? Quod, cum aliquis cantilenam libentius auribus atque animo capit, ad illud etiam non sponte convertitur, ut motum quoque aliquem similem auditae cantilenae corpus effingat; et quod omnino aliquod melos auditum sibi memor animus ipse decerpat? ut ex his omnibus perspicue nec dubitanter appareat, ita nobis musicam naturaliter esse coniunctam, ut ea ne si velimus quidem carere possimus." Latin text ed. by Christian Meyer, Boethius*, Traité de la Musique*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 30; the translation is that of Calvin Bower, Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 8.

[3] An excellent overview of this topic is provided in the collection of essays edited by Peregrine Horden, *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy Since Antiquity*. In this volume, on the Platonic-Pythagorean tradition, see Martin West, "Music Therapy in Antiquity," 51-68, and on the Biblical traditions see Amnon Shiloah, "Jewish and Muslim Traditions of Music Therapy," both in Horden, ed., *Music as Medicine*, 69-83.

Was a related or parallel notion of the psychological and physical changes effected by singing shared by the ranks of the lay aristocracy? Ideas about music were not recorded as explicitly by the nobility as they were by intellectuals. We know that by the thirteenth century, secular and vernacular music enjoyed increasing popularity and prestige, as outlined in the Introductory chapter. Voluminous anthologies of song were produced as objects of status and beauty for French aristocrats. They included the compositions of "professional" troubadours and trouvères, but also those of nobles themselves, "amateurs" such as Guillaume IX of Aquitaine, a hero of the first crusade known to his contemporaries as the first troubadour as well as the Châtelain of Coucy and Thibaut de Champagne, also crusaders. These warriors known for their bravery and also for their songs of courtly love are depicted in *chansonniers* in gold-inflected illustrations next to their musical compositions, astride their horses, brandishing their weapons.

The representation of warriors as composers and singers appears to have been new, but the association between sound, music, and war was less attenuated than one might now assume. *Arma virumque cano*, the first line of Virgil's *Aeneid*, and the line with which countless medieval schoolboys came to study Latin, was only one of many familiar associations between song and war in the Middle Ages. As Boethius' quotation indicates, the use of horns and drums to excite soldiers was ancient. At least since Alexander the Great brought his aulos player on campaign, "inciting the Macedonian thereby to snatch up his arms and sword," as one twelfth-century author would put it,[4] melody and rhythm had been employed to inspire martial emotion, spurring troops to

[4] Anna Komnene makes reference to the famous story of Alexander and Timotheus the aulos-player in her *Alexiad*, trans. Elizabeth Dawes, (London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1928), 3. Anna mentions the story in passing, as if expecting her reader to already know it.

greater deeds in battle, and from a logistical standpoint, to communicate orders and keep large bodies of men unified in step.

Sung or chanted epics were the heroic medium by which warriors aspired to broadcast their fame and to be commemorated. This had surely been true as long as epic singers had sung of Hector and Achilles, Beowulf and Hrothgar, or the heroes of any of the oral traditions that gave birth to European vernacular literature. For the warriors of medieval France, the defining epic of heroism was the story of Charlemagne and Roland, codified in the eleventh-century *Chanson de Roland*. Hearing a singer retell the brave deeds of Roland and Olivier could stir courage in the hearts of an army about to march into battle, as it was said to have done for the Normans on their way to Hastings, according to several chroniclers.[5]

One of the chief concerns of this dissertation is to understand the relationship between the warrior aristocracy of northern France, and the rich melodic soundscape it produced and inhabited. In the previous chapter, I examined the multifaceted experience of the tournament festivals, and demonstrated, I hope, that the *anciens*—war veterans—could constitute a significant presence on such an occasion. I argued that the event in its totality, from the perilous mock warfare to dancing, feasting and song, served to bind the community together as a whole, and may have provided a therapeutic component in reintegrating warriors into their courtly lives in Artois.

This chapter will focus on what at first appears to be a minor aspect of this melodic culture: the appearance of music at the tournament beginning in the late twelfth

[5] Both accounts in which the singer, Taillefer, is mentioned, post-date the battle by at least a generation; the first was William of Malmesbury, and later Wace, *Roman de Rou*: “Taillefer, qui mult bien chantout/ Sor un cheval qui tost alout,/ Devant le duc alout chantant/ De Karlemaigne et de Rollant;” cited and discussed in Faral’s classic, *Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Champion, 1910), 55-56; see also Page, *Owl and the Nightingale*, 43 note 10.

and early thirteenth centuries. These references to music have appeared so inconsequential, in fact, that they have largely been passed over in silence. Even the best historical work on the medieval tournament has barely acknowledged the presence of music during and around the martial fracas of such events. In the rich scenarios presented by Maurice Keen, Georges Duby, Michel Parisse, Juliet Vale, Juliet Barker and David Crouch, courtly music, when mentioned at all, is represented as an independent aristocratic phenomenon.[14] Musicologists, meanwhile, are so familiar with the locus of the tournament as a popular staging-ground for musical performance that this venue at times is taken for granted.[15] The result is that these references have not been studied systematically with an eye to understanding why medieval aristocrats punctuated their dangerous sports with song and dance. In what follows, I will piece together a taxonomy of how music was used at a high medieval tournament, and offer an analysis of the practical and psychological effects accomplished by music-making.

---

[14] The important exception to this august list is John Baldwin, who, in several studies has looked closely at the interrelationship of the tournament and the jongleur; especially "Jean Renart et le Tournoi de Saint-Trond: une conjonction de l'histoire et de la littérature," *Annales*, 45 (1990): 565-588, and "The Image of the Jongleur in Northern France around 1200," *Speculum*, 72 (1997): 635-663. See Maurice Keen, *Chivalry*, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1984), Duby, *The Chivalrous Society* trans. Cynthia Postan (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), Michel Parisse, "Le tournoi en France, des origins à la fin du xiiie siècle," in *Das Ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter: Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formenund Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums,* ed. Josef Fleckenstein, (Göttingen: Veröffentlichungen des Max-Plank-Instituts für Geschichte, *80*, 1985): 175-211, Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry, Chivalric Society and its Context 1270-1350* (Boydell Press, 1982), and "Violence and the Tournament," in *Violence in Medieval Society,* ed. R.W. Kaeuper, (Woodbridge, 2000), 143-58, Barker, *The Tournament in England 1100*-1400, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), Crouch, *Tournament* (New York: Palgrave, 2005).

[15] Excellent studies of medieval song by John Haines and Judith Peraino, for example, mention the tournament in passing; Haines, *Satire in the Songs of Renart le Nouvel,* (Geneva: Droz, 2010); Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); other examples might be chosen. Most recently, Elizabeth Eva Leach, in a brief article on Chauvency, has gestured towards a more serious study of the music as it relates to context at the tournament, "A Courtly Compilation: The Douce Chansonnier" *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context* in Leach and Deeming, eds., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 221-46; Leach indicates this is a preview of a larger work to come.

Our sources reveal a pattern of four distinct contexts in which songs and dances were performed by men and women before, during, and immediately following days of jousting and mêlée: first, as participants and spectators approached the lists on the morning of a tournament; second, as they left the field at the close of the day; third, during the evening dining and subsequent entertainment; and fourth, for the benefit of those wounded at the tournament. Sacred music also framed the tournament: a mass was sung either the night before or the morning of the competition. Its dedication to the Virgin Mary was periodically efficacious in bringing jousting victories.[16] In the first three contexts listed above, songs were often the accompaniment to dance, and this was particularly true after dinner, when *caroles* and provocative games were enjoyed throughout the night.[17] Humorous songs or poems may on occasion have been composed specifically for performance at such occasions: this was one explanation offered of the fragment of a lyric poem known as the *Tournoiemenz des Dames*, depicting the tussle of an all-female mêlée.[18] Another lyric by the noted troubadour Bertran de Born, is believed by David Crouch to be an elaborate invitation composed to publicize a tournament held by Raymond V of Toulouse—to be sung by a minstrel traveling from court to court.[19]

In the final part of the chapter, I will broaden the scope of my subject beyond the sphere of the tournament, and examine how music was used in a medicinal capacity for

[16] As is recounted in the life of the Brabantese knight Walter of Birkbeke, whose miraculous victories, facilitated by the Virgin's interventions, influenced him to become a Cistercian. *Acta Sanctorum*, 22 January.
[17] The author of *Chauvency* remarks, "In such a feast and in such joy was spent a good part of the night, so that each was more and more gleeful in singing; this festival and joy were such that even the Lord and his saints were pleased. And why shouldn't they be? Since, by Mary, I've never in my life seen people as pretty, and joyful, and lighthearted!" ll.1367-76.
[18] The text by Huon d'Oisy was edited by Jeanroy, "Note sur le tournoiement des dames," *Romania*, 28 (1899), 240-44; Crouch comments on it in *Tournament*, 167.
[19] Crouch, *Tournament*, 175.

the wounded and the sick, both at tournaments and elsewhere. I draw on archival evidence as well as discussions in medical, theological and philosophical writings about the healing powers of music. This larger philosophical framework is, in my view, essential to understanding why music was integral to the aristocratic warrior's lifestyle. It deepens our understanding of why song and minstrels were prevalent at tournaments and during wars. The belief in music as a form of medicine (and the related notion described in some medieval sources as *eutrapelia*, "judicious pleasure in the spoken word")[20] helps us understand something of the medieval way of listening, what I call the "period ear." It helps us adapt our mental horizon to approach melody and lyrics as would an inhabitant of thirteenth century France. As Boethius wrote elsewhere in his *De Institutione Musica*, "indeed no path to the mind is as open for instruction as the sense of hearing. Thus, when rhythms and modes reach the mind through the ears, they doubtless affect and reshape that mind according to their particular character."[21]

The sources from which we can glean information about music interspersed with tournaments fall into several categories. The first is comprised of factual narrative accounts: they are rare and precious. These include the biography of William Marshal (b. ca.1145, d.1219), which depicts tournaments in Normandy, northern France and Flanders,

---

[20] The concept of *eutrapelia* was known from Aristotle's *Ethics*, as translated by Robert Grosseteste: "Circa delectabile autem quod quidem in ludo, medius quidam eutrapelos, et disposcio eutrapelia," and "[Eutrapelia est] tali dicere et audire qualia modesto et liberali congruunt," quoted in Page. That the scholastic interest in *eutrapelia* informed thirteenth-century thinking on the healthfulness of music and eloquence is argued by Page, *Owl and the Nightingale*, 38-39.

[21] "Nulla enim magis ad animum disciplinis via quam auribus patet. Cum ergo per eas rythmi modique ad animum usque descenderint, dubitari non potest, quin aequo modo mentem atque ipsa sunt afficiant atque conforment." Boethius, *De Institutione Musice*, Book I: 181. Trans., Bower.

and captures many aspects of Anglo-Norman aristocratic culture in the later twelfth and early thirteenth century. The most complete depiction we have of any single tournament in the thirteenth century, and the central focus of the chapter, is the *Tournoi de Chauvency*, an eye-witness record, 4,563 lines in length, that contains lyrics from thirty-five songs performed by nobles and minstrels during the course of the six-day event.[22] Located in Lorraine, and consequently lying outside of French jurisdiction in the thirteenth century, the tournament at Chauvency took place on October 1-6, 1285, at a time when the mêlée had been prohibited as a sport in France. It attracted nobles from Burgundy, Flanders, France and Germany. Like the *Roman du Hem* (1278), the text commemorating this event is a forerunner of the festival books that became increasingly popular in commemorating the heraldic devices of nobles present at great courtly gatherings (by the Renaissance, often weddings). Its author-reporter, the trouvère Jacques Bretel who was invited to attend and chronicle the event, conspired with a herald to keep track of the names of 160 notable guests (recently studied by Laurence Delobette as a source of information about Burgundian nobility).[23] The result is a detailed day-by-day account, what Maurice Keen once described as "an extraordinary mingling" of "flagrant

[22] Anne Ibos-Augé, in her exhaustive study of medieval french lyric insertions, calculates thirty-five refrains in total, ten of which are combined in the form of a dialogue during the *jeu du chapelet*. *Chanter et lire dans le récit médiéval*, *La function des insertions lyriques dans les oeuvres narratives et didactiques d'oïl aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles,* 2 vols. (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 1: 37.
[23] Delobette, in tracing the participants of Burgundian lineage, situates their presence at this tournament into a larger pattern of familial and feudal alliances between the nobles of Burgundy and Lorraine, "La Noblesse Comtoise au Tournoi de Chauvency" in *Lettres, musique et société en Lorraine médiévale : autour du Tournoi de Chauvency: Ms. Oxford Bodleian Douce 308*, ed. Regalado et al., (Genève: Droz, 2012), 246-272.

social snobbery, amorous song and gallant exchange set alongside the fierce competition and crude excitement of the fighting."[24]

Next among our sources are works of romance dating from the same era. Despite being works of fiction, historians and musicologists have observed that romances supply a great deal of accurate information about aristocratic life unavailable in Latin sources. John Baldwin argued that the meticulous renderings of clothing, food, entertainment, tournaments, and so on were intended to create an *effet de réel* for the romance's aristocratic audience, lending an air of verisimilitude to the otherwise fictional stories.[25] The heroes of romance were often themselves singers, as Lancelot had been. A vogue for including musical lyrics inserted into the narratives of romance began in the early thirteenth century with Jean Renart's *Guillaume de Dole* (ca. 1220), in which the author included ninety-two refrains.[26] The songs so elegantly embroider the work, the author tells us, "that an uncouth person could never understand it. Believe me, this work surpasses all others. No one will ever tire of hearing it, because it can be both sung and read."[27] In addition to *Guillaume de Dole*, romances such as the *Sone de Nansay* (ca. 1270), *Li Tournoimenz Antecrit* (ca. 1250) and *Escanor* (ca. 1280) all provide descriptions of music and dance in the context of the tournament.

Musical treatises also supply information, and make passing comment on what instruments to play at tournaments. The most valuable for our purposes is the *Ars Musice* (ca. 1270) written by Johannes de Groecheio (Fr. Jean de Gruchy), a master of music in Paris. Composed at the request of his students, his work is our invaluable textbook of

[24] Keen, *Chivalry*, 94.
[25] Baldwin, *Aristocratic Life in Medieval France*, 13.
[26] Jean Renart, *Guillaume de Dole*, Terry and Durling, trans., 19.
[27] Jean Renart, *Guillaume de Dole*, Terry and Durling, trans., 19.

secular as well as sacred music that could commonly be heard in late thirteenth-century France.

Archival records from Artois showing payments to minstrels provide hints about how music was used at the tournament, and are even more revealing on the role of minstrels during Robert of Artois' military campaigns. At least nine separate minstrels and three fools were employed by Robert, appearing in his accounts again and again over the course of his adult life. One of these, Guillaume le trompeur, became his vassal, performing fealty to him in 1282, and receiving an annual income of 25 l.p. in return for his *loial service*.[28]

From these sources and others, we find that descriptions of when and how music was integrated into the tournament largely corroborate one another. They also contradict an assumption that is periodically voiced—that scenes of singing included in factual sources about the tournament, such as that of William Marshal, are merely the inventions of authors who, influenced by chivalric fiction, mold their narrations of life to mimic art.[29] Rather, the data suggests that instrumental music and lyrical song were valued and practiced by medieval men and women, and that remaining documentation may underrepresent the extent of this vibrant musical culture.

The soundscape of the tournament has rarely been considered by modern scholars. When it is invoked at all, as is admirably done in David Crouch's recent book, jarring, war-like sounds are emphasized. This impression is informed by sources such as that of

---

[28] AD: Pas-de-Calais, A.1 fol. 8r.

[29] Juliet Barker views William Marshal's singing at Joigny with suspicion, while not discounting it entirely: "[Female] presence, and the uncharacteristic courtly act [of singing] of the Marshal, suggest that romance influence was already beginning to filter through, and that the courtly anecdote was not unexpected nor out of place in a chivalric biography," *The Tournament in England,* 101.

the twelfth-century monk and historian, John of Marmoutier, writing ca. 1170, who construes a tournament at Mont-St-Michel in this way:

> Fit congressus, commiscentur acies, fit multus armorum strepitus, sonant litui, tube multiplicis varia vox intonat, dant destrales dissonos hinnitus, a clipeis aureis sole relucentibus Mons ipse Michaelineus resplenduit. Adunantur viri ad certamen, franguntur haste fraxinee, emutilantur enses.[30]

> The charge begins, the battle lines merge together in a great din of arms, the curved battle horns are sounded amid a blaring multitude of trumpets, which gives over to the dissonant neighing of warhorses, while shields glitter like gold in the sun shining on Mont-St-Michel. Men are joined in battle, their ash lances shattered, their swords mangled.

The sonic experience captured by John of Marmoutier resounds with clanging metal, a cacophony of horns and horses, the crack of broken lances and notched swords. He mentions that the lances were made of ash—hardest of the hard wood—for an ash lance to be shattered amplified the force of the battle scene. John, a monk, never actually witnessed the tournament he described, and this passage is barely distinguishable from the author's scenes of real battle.

Compare this with the scene in between jousts at Chauvency, as the knight Conon d'Ouren prepares to charge down the tilt:

> Iqui estoit grans li reviaus
> A sez armes aparillier;
> Rire et joier et grasillier
> Oïssiéz dames et pucelles,
> Et chanter sez chançons novelles,
> Trompez tantir, soner tabors;
> Flaiot, fretel font lors labor,
> Ribaut huient et garcon braient.
> Li jousteour plus ne delaient,
> Cheval saillent et lambel volent,
> Hyraut parmi les renz parolent
> D'armes li uns encontre l'autre.

[30] Jean de Marmoutier, *Historia Gaufredi ducis Normannorum et Comitis Andegavorum*, in *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, René Poupardin and Louis Halphen, eds., (Paris: Picard, 1913), 183. This episode is discussed in Crouch, *Tournament*, 91-92.

> Et Cuenes vint lance sour fautre,
> Dedans son hiaume escrïent "Oure" (ll. 788-801)[31]

> Here there was great revelry, he [Conon] takes up his arms. Ripples of laughter, rejoicing and amusements can be heard, along with new songs sung by married women and maidens. Trumpets sound, drums are beaten, flutes and pan-flutes do their work; the grooms yell and the boys bray.[32] The jousters delay no more: horses sail forth and banners fly. The heralds in the stands discuss the feats of arms with one another. Conon fewters his lance, and from within his helmet shouts his battle-cry, "Oure!"

This is a far more diverse soundscape than that reported of the twelfth-century tournament quoted above. Its author, Jacques Bretel, was a witness, and his profession of poet and lyricist shows in his interest in each distinct sound: the hubbub of the crowd, the singing of women, the fanfare of instruments, the "braying" of excited boys; the matter of arms spoken of by heralds;[33] the cry of the knight himself. One quarter of the thousand verses describing the mêlée, as calculated by Nancy Regalado, "are devoted to the ladies, love, and 'li grans deduis dou bel parler' (l. 3384; the great pleasures of fine speech)."[34]

Throughout his narration of the five-day event, Bretel is supremely attentive to the sounds around him, suggesting that a rich acoustic world is available for examination. The poet-author evidently takes pride in the ability of his own ear to pick up voices. As *Chauvency*'s editor Maurice Delbuille observed, Bretel holds his own profession above

[31] Ouren sur l'Our was located in the duchy of Luxembourg; Conon became "sire d'Ouren" in 1290. Delbouille, "Introduction" to Bretel, *Le tournoi de Chauvency*, (Paris: Droz, 1932), xcii.
[32] Exactly what type of employee the *ribauts* and *garçons* designate is ambiguous; Delbouille translates "ribaut" as "a little groom" (valet infime); later Bretel enumerates a variety of attendants: "garçon, valet et escuier;/ Et menestrel et mesaiger/ Et d'autre gent mainte maniere/ Vont sonant et vienent ariere,/ Qui les novelles aportoient" (v. 3089-93), how interchangeable these terms are is a question posed by Sylvère Menelgado in his informative discussion of the herald's profession. "Les hérauts, les ménestrels et Jacques Bretel dans le *Tournoi de Chauvency*" in Regalado et al., *Musique et Lettres,* 299-318 at 310, note 4.
[33] Although at other points, heralds too "begin their braying," as when they shout out a running commentary on the jousts. (ll. 608, 713)
[34] Regalado, "Picturing the Story of Chivalry in Jacques Bretel's Tournoi de Chauvency (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308)," *Tributes to Jonathan Alexander*, S. L. Engle and G. B. Guest, eds. (London: Harvery Miller, 2006), 341-52, 346.

that of the noisy heralds (whose speech is likened to that "of beasts" and "a brouhaha of ravens").[35] He takes pleasure in poking fun at their *faus patois*, the accents and dialects of out-of-town heralds and guests who each speak "in their own Latin."[36] Foreign idiom is faithfully reproduced, as in the characteristic Picardisms of a herald from Artois, (*kiens* for *chiens*; *wardez* for *regardez; chertes* for *certes*, and so on) or that of the Alsacian knight Conrad Warnier, who speaks a "fransois moitiét romans moitiét tïois," supplying our earliest examples of the argot of Germans speaking in French.[37] Michel Zinc, in his study of the *Tornoi de Chauvency*, reminds us that the audience for whom the work was intended knew these knights and heralds personally, and to gently mock the broken French of Conrad would be to bring a distant friend to life, along with the memory of a happy week spent at the tournament. Bretel was employing a trouvère's version of the rhetorical device of *captatio benevolentiae*, the winning of goodwill from one's audience.[38]

The difference in the auditory spectrum presented in the accounts by Jacques Bretel and John of Marmoutier could be accounted for by their temporal separation of over one hundred years. During this time the practice of the tournament was evolving and

---

[35] "Hyraus braient come corbel" ll. 1126; they are also compared to howling beasts: "Ausiment crie come beste/ Li hiraus en son faus patois." ll. 682-3. Heralds "begin their braying" elsewhere, as at ll. 608, 713.

[36] "Adont escrïent cis hiraut/ Chascunz huia en son latin/ Et je crioie "Bazentin"/ Que je cuida que ce fust cil." (ll. 472-476). Delbouille addresses the language used by Bretel, a dialect from Lorraine, as well as those of the tournament's foreign guests; "Introduction," *Chauvency,* xxix – xlix. On the expression of speaking "in their own Latin" or "Lati," a phrase that had currency in troubadour circles, see Christopher Davis, "'Chascus en lor lati': Guilhem IX, Birdsong, and the Language of Poetry," *Tenso*, 30 (2015), 2-24.

[37] "Se moquer des voisins germanophones et de leur façon de parler," Michel Zinc comments, "est une vieille tradition de la Lorraine romanophone," noting that the mutilation of the French tongue in the mouths of foreigners can be found also in *Renart Teinturier, Jehan et Blonde* of Philippe de Remi. "'On connaît la Chanson' Des échos familiers: chansons insérées et accent alsacien dans *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*," in *Lettres, Musique et Société,* 37-45 at 41.

[38] Zinc, "On connaît la Chanson," in *Lettres, Musique et Société*, 42.

being refined along with aristocratic tastes, the prominent inclusion of women in later accounts of narratives being one of the most notable changes. The importance of the feminine in Bretel's narrative is apparent from his own incipit to the work, "D'amors et d'armes et de joie/ Est ma matiere."[39] (Love, arms, and joy is my subject).

The difference is also a function of the works' intended audiences: while Marmoutier's is a chronicle composed in Latin, Bretel's rhymed verse, written in the French dialect of Lorraine, begs to be read aloud. Is one account more "realistic" or reliable than the other? This is an impossible question to answer, but it is worth recalling that Jacques Bretel was an eye-witness to the tournament at Chauvency: he kept notes during the events, and completed the work within the year.[40] John of Marmoutier was a monk, describing a tournament that he did not witness, which had occurred fifty years prior.[41]

Song and Dance on the Way to the Tournament

Let us begin by reviewing a scene from the biography of William Marshal, in which group singing occurs as a team of knights gears up for a tournament at Joigny, in the Ile-de-France. The Marshal was one of the great knights of the twelfth century Angevin Empire, whose participation in tournaments in the second half of the century (during

---

[39] Bretel, *Chauvency,* ll. 6-7

[40] On Bretel's compositional technique and the dates of his commission to complete the work, see Delbouille, "Introduction" *Chauvency*. A renewed interest in Chauvency following a related conference in 2007 has spurred interdisciplinary interest in the work, and publications by scholars of French literature such as Rosenberg, Butterfield, and Regalado, address its music in context. However, the lack of musical notation in the manuscript itself has been a barrier to its study as a musical text, as multiple scholars have lamented. *Musique, Lettres et Société,* Chazan and Regalado, eds.

[41] David Crouch discusses the circumstances in which John of Marmoutier's *Gesta* was composed, and proposes that his narration of the tournament at Mont-St-Michel may have been influenced by his reading of Wace de Bayeux. *Tournament*, 164-5.

which he regularly acted as "team captain" for the Young King Henry, coaching the prince to victory), fueled his impressive rise at the English court. Eighteen tournaments in which he competed are mentioned in the work.

On the morning of a tournament at Joigny, in 1178, William Marshal and his team donned their armor, prepared their horses, dismounting at a meadow outside the lists and waiting for the competition to commence. News has reached them that their group will be outnumbered by the opposing team. It is with some apprehension, therefore, that they stand about, when they see the countess of Joigny arriving, accompanied by a group of married and unmarried women. "Molt lor fu vis qu'amendé furent/ Por la sorvenue des dames: si furent il, quer cors et ames/ E hardemenz e cuers doublerent/ A toz assemble qui la erent."[46] (They felt themselves to be greatly strengthened by the arrival of the women, and so they were, in body and spirit, and the bravery doubled in the hearts of all who were present.) One of the knights suggests that they dance a *carole* to pass the time, and asks, "who will be so courteous as to sing for us?" William Marshal, "who sang well, though he didn't brag about it," begins a song. What song he sings is not recorded, only that it pleases the company, and soon everyone has joined in, and is singing along.[47]

When the song is finished, a young man, newly made a herald-at-arms, begins "a new song" including a cheeky refrain directed at William Marshal: "Mareschal/ Kar me donez un boen cheval!" (Marshal, won't you give me a fine horse!). At this, so the story goes, the Marshal slipped away from the scene of the dance, followed by the young herald, and rode until he came upon a group of men coming from the tournament. Without hesitation, he knocked one of these from his horse with his lance, claiming the

---

[46] Bretel, *Chauvency*, ll. 3466-70,
[47] "Molt lor plout a toz cels qu'i érent/ E bonement o lui chantérent." Bretel, *Chauvency,* ll. 3480-81.

steed. “Puis fist li hiraucel monter;/ E cil, sanz plus dire parole,/ Se fiert otot en la karole/ E dist a toz: “Vez quel cheval!/ Cest me dona le Mareschal.”[48] (Then he had the herald mount it, who without another word, rode back to the dance, saying to everyone “Take a look at this horse! The Marshal gave it to me.”)

According to this account, song is the lubricant for social interactions; it enables the team to courteously invite the women to dance; it also allows the whole group to join in singing together. The young herald shows off his wit by improvising a refrain in his song, challenging William Marshal to live up to his reputation as one of the premier knights of his day, and demonstrate both his prowess and his generosity. And, if we believe the tale, the Marshal meets the challenge even before the dancing has come to an end.

That the team’s nervousness has been dissipated, the author tells us, has an impact on their subsequent performance on the field of combat. We are told that the team goes forth in a synchronized, tight formation “so that not one of them advanced ahead of another,” and in so doing were able to repel their opponents, who are described as attacking individually, rather than as a unit.[49] Not only has the song and dance improved their morale, but their physical performance has also been synchronized. The dance is explicitly credited by the author as giving the men courage. “Cil qui avoient esté en la quarole ove les dames/ Mistrent e cors e cuers e ames/ En bien faire” (The men who danced in the *carole* with the ladies set their bodies, hearts and spirits in good standing).[50]

[48] Bretel, *Chauvency,* ll. 3508-12.
[49] “Mais molt errerent sagement/ E rengié e sereement,/ Qu’onques nuls n’en trespassa autre./ Uns de cels de la mout de faltre/ Si vait ferir enmi le tas,/ Mais il ne lor eschapa pas,/ Qu’en es le pas fu al frein pris.” *L’Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal,* Paul Meyer, ed., 2 vols., (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1891), ll.3527-32.
[50] *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, ll. 3538-41.

To what extent is this episode reliable as a historical record? William Marshal's biography was written in 1219-25, the tournament at Joigny took place in 1178. The portrait it paints of the Marshal, one that so succinctly captures his attributes of fine singing, military acumen, and largesse, has the ring of family lore to it (which does not make it untrue, even if details were smoothed over time). Christopher Page remarked that the author of the Marshal's biography was likely influenced by reading romances such as *Lancelot*, in which the hero is admired for his singing. "Putting aside the question of whether William Marshal did indeed sing for a *carole*," he concludes, "it is certain that his biographer […] believed that to put such a scene into his poem would do honour to [his] memory."[52]

But other details from his biography confirm that William Marshal was indeed a singer, and that he had a fondness for the kind of music appropriate to dancing. Shortly before his death, he would request that his daughter sing for him at his bedside. She sang a *rotrouenge*—a genre of trouvère song—and when she did so haltingly, he corrected her, teaching her to sing it as it should be done. This exchange, appearing towards the end of the biography, is counted among its most reliable parts, since the Marshal's deathbed scenes were so recent (having occurred within five years of the work's composition), and they had been witnessed by the same individuals who commissioned his biography.[53] We will return to the poignant account of the Marshal's music-lesson to his daughter from his bedside; the point here is that he was clearly at home with the vernacular love song of his day, and indeed that it held a particular meaning for him since he wished to hear it (in

---

[52] Page, *Owl and the Nightingale*, 88.
[53] "Foreward," in *History of William Marshal,* A.J. Holden, ed., D. S. Gregory, trans., D. Crouch, notes, 2 vols, (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2002), vol. 1, v-vi.

fact, he wished to sing himself) before parting this world. Although the scene of the tournament at Joigny had taken place four decades earlier, there is no particular reason to question the veracity of his singing for a *carole* there, or to credit the scene's invention to the influence of fictional romances.

Moreover, we find singing and *carole*-dancing preceding the fighting of tournaments in other sources, factual and fictive. In the early thirteenth-century romance, *Guillaume de Dole,* the minstrel Jouglet rides alongside the men who travel from their hostels in a nearby town to the tournament field. Jouglet spurs them on: "Mount up! Let's go!" To give them some momentum he plays a few chords, "striking his bow against the vielle."[54] Once the horses are saddled, a young knight from Normandy begins to sing, and Jouglet accompanies him. The song he sings is *Bele Aiglentine*, a *chanson de toile* in which a young woman reveals to her mother her pregnancy after an affair with a knight; it ends happily with their marriage. "To the sound of flutes and vielles, Guillaume, accompanied by all kinds of princes and counts, went to watch the jousting."[55] In another romance, the *Sone de Nansay*, the hero listens to the lovely Yde sing a *chansonette*; she begins, "To my friend I owe my heart, and a white lance for jousting." Upon hearing this, Sone spurs his horse to the joust with renewed force, defeating his opponents, who "meet with sorrow."[56]

The closest corollary to the episode in William Marshal's biography comes from the description of an all-female *carole* that captivated knights on their way to the mêlée at

---

[54] Jean Renart, *Guillaume de Dole*, Terry and Durling, trans., 48-49.
[55] Jean Renart, *Guillaume de Dole*, Terry and Durling, trans., 50.
[56] "Je doins mon cuer a mon ami/ et la blanque lanche au jouster," *Sone de Nausay*, ll. 10921 and following; ed. Moritz Goldschmidt, (Tübingen: Litteraarischer Verein in Stuttgart, 1899), 283-5.

Chauvency.[57] At that dance, the countess of Luxembourg begins to sing, "An si bone conpaignie – Doit on bien joie mener!" (In such fine company, one cannot help but feel joy!).[58] A herald exhorts the dallying nobles to get on with the tournament: "The day is short, it is already night!" As the company hastens to the field, they are accompanied by a great noise of "trompes, tabor, cor et harainnes" (horns, drums, hornpipes and brass trumpets), and the knights, as they ride, continue singing at "chançonnetes et a chans." (ll.3145-7).

Refrains: Lyrics and Music

In the scene above, we are told that the countess of Luxembourg rides in a procession of guests approaching the tournament stands, along with her sister Margot:

> Et la bele Margot, sa suer,
> Encommença de jolif cuer
> Ceste chançon, cler et seri:
> '*Ainsi doit on aler a son ami!*' [59]

The lovely Margot, her sister, lightheartedly began this song, with a clear, smooth voice:

This is how you must approach your lover!

The insertion of a refrain such as this was apparently judged sufficient by the author to indicate the song's performance. Yet this minimal amount of information raises a variety of questions to the modern reader: were there additional lyrics, and if so, what were they?

---

[57] The description of the carole appears in *Chauvency* at ll. 3094-3118.

[58] Although the text provides only these two lines, those same lyrics appear in three other contemporary sources, telling us that the refrain of this song enjoyed some popularity when it was sung at Chauvency in 1285. : *Renart le Nouvel* (ca. 1288); in Adam de la Halle's *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion* (ca. 1280's), and in the *Salut d'Amours* "Celui qu'Amors conduit et maine" (mid-1200's). A concordance of refrains in Chauvency is available in Elizabeth Eva Leach, "A Courtly Compilation," 235-39. It is refrain no. 200 in Nico van den Boogaard's standard classification, *Rondeaux et Refrains du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe.* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969).

[59] Bretel, *Chauvency*, ll. 3183-87.

What was the song's melody? Setting aside the actual event of Margot singing to her sister on the way to a tournament, what was a reader of the text in its manuscript form expected to do, when reciting the text aloud?

This manner of minimalist lyric insertion was standard practice in thirteenth-century texts of nearly every sort—at least those intended for public recitation. Refrains, described by Samuel Rosenberg as "petits morceaux flottants et mobiles," appeared in sermons, romances and fabliaux, in the musical comedies being written by Adam de la Halle.[61] They made their way in the *Cantiques Salemon*—a translation and adaptation of the Song of Songs.[62] They were used to gloss a translation of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*.[63] In eighty sources from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, over 1100 refrains have been collected.[64] Refrains, moreover, were the building-blocks of at least five genres of vernacular song: rondeaux, motets, motets *entés* ("grafted" motets), the so-called *chanson à refrains* and the *chanson avec des refrains.*

The rondeau, a genre of dance song (also known as the *rondet de carole*), is a likely candidate for one type of music heard at Chauvency, as well as that referred to in William Marshal's *Histoire*. Along with the virelai and balade, the rondeau was one of the three *formes fixes* used in French musical composition down to the sixteenth century.

---

[61] Rosenberg, "Le *Tournoi de Chauvency* et le Chansonnier du Ms. Douce 308 reliés par le chant," in *Lettres, Musique et Société,* Chazan and Regalado, eds., 423-33 at 424.
[62] Ibos-Augé, *Chanter et Lire*, vol. 1, 139.
[63] Jennifer Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry,* Gallica, 30 (D.S. Brewer, 2013), 36.
[64] Ibos-Augé provides a superb appendix of texts furnished with lyric insertions in her *Chanter et Lire* (vol. 1, 339-57); an augmented and searchable version of this has recently been made available by Ibos-Augé, Mark Everist, and Adam Field in a database sponsored by the Universities of Southampton, Tours and Poitiers: http://refrain.ac.uk/. The standard works on which this is drawn are Friedrich Gennrich, "Bibliographisches Verzeichnis der französischen Refrains des 12 und 13 Jahrhunderts*,"* in *Summa musicae medii aevi* 14 (1964); and Nico H.J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et Refrains*; Boogard counts just over 1,900 refrains.

In it the poetry and melody of the refrain are repeated in each stanza, creating a prosodic circularity that matched the choreography of the dance.[65] Some sources indicate that singing alternated between a soloist and a chorus as a call and response, the refrain serving as the chorus's response. In his treatise *Ars Musice,* Johannes de Grocheio, a music theorist and teacher writing from Paris ca. 1270, explained the rondeau in the following way:

> Any round or *rotundellus* is called a *cantilena* by many in that it turns back on itself like a circle and begins and is terminated at the same place. We call it a round or *rotundellus* the parts of which do not have a *cantus* different from the *cantus* of the response or refrain […] And a *cantilena* of this type is usually sung in the west, namely in Normandy, by girls and young men at feasts and at great celebrations for their enhancement.[66]

Johannes reveals not only that a call and response was commonly incorporated into group singing, but that this was characteristically heard at a courtly festival. Recalling the scene described above, of knights at Joigny who joined in singing along with William Marshal, one suspects this may have been the format.

---

[65] In each of these, the song's verses are structured around a refrain: for example, the rondeau—a genre associated with dancing, also known as the *rondet de carol*—repeats the refrain's poetry and music to create a feeling of circularity: its eight-line stanza opens and closes with the two-line refrain (corresponding to two melodic phrases), and uses the rhyme of the initial couplet (AB) throughout the stanza: ABaAabAB; its melody is thus ABAAABAB. On the rondeau containing the refrain *Ainsi doit on aler*, see Doss-Quinby et al in *Songs of the Women Trouvères,* 179-181. Standard works on the refrain include Eglal Doss-Quinby; Ardis Butterfield "Repetition and Variation in the Thirteenth-Century Refrain," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. 116 (1991), 1-23; Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry, and Genre*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 101-125.

[66] Johannes de Grocheio, *Ars Musice,* [9.6], "Cantilena vero quelibet rotunda vel rotundellus a pluribus dicitur eo quod ad modum circuli in seipsam reflectitur et incipit et terminator in eodem. Nos autem solum illam rotundam vel rotundellum dicimus cuius partes non habent diversum cantum a cantu responsorii. vel refractus et long tractu cantatur velud cantus coronatus. Cuiusmodi est gallice. Toute sole passerai levert boscage. Et huiusmodi cantilena versus occidentem puta in normannia solet decantari a puellis et iuvenibus in festis et magnis conviviis ad eorum decorationem." Constant Mews, John Crossley, Catherine Jeffreys, Leigh McKinnon and Carol Williams, ed. and trans., (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2011), 68-9.

The refrain sung above, *Ainsi doit on aler a son ami*, in addition to its appearance in the *Tornoi de Chauvency,* occurs in five other works: a rondeau,[68] two motets (with music),[69] a *chanson avec des refrains*,[70] and in another narrative text, *La Court de Paradis* (with music).[71] One of the musical sources is monophonic (*La Court de Paradis*; Figure 1), where the refrain appears with a single line of notation above it. The others are early examples of polyphony, showing us that it was being combined with other vernacular refrains and Latin liturgical chant in the newly popular genre of the motet.[72]

If concordances do not definitively tell us what melodies accompanied the refrains sung at Chauvency, they at least supply viable options.[73] The musical examples reveal that the melody for *Ainsi doit on aler a son ami* was stable across the three

---

[68] Paris, BN fr. 12786 fol. 77r. On this manuscript see the elegant study of Mark Everist, "The Polyphonic Rondeau c. 1300: Repertory and Context" in *Early Music History,* vol.15 (1996), 59-96. The manuscript contains over thirty rondeau lyrics, intended to be complemented by polyphonic music, but the notation was never inscribed; consequently, the text is surrounded by large empty spaces.

[69] In the classification of Gennrich, Motet 435, which appears with the same (or very similar) melodies in the following two manuscripts: Paris, BN fr. 844 (trouvère ms. R), fol. 209v, which includes musical notation, and Paris, BN fr. 12615 (trouvère ms. N), fol 191v, also including musical notation. It is worth noting that the edition of this motet provided by Tischler and reproduced by Butterfield, contains errors; Tischler and Butterfield represent the upper line of the motet as if it were identical in both manuscripts, whereas the phrase 'Ensi doit on aler' begins on *b* in fr. 12615 and on *a* in fr. 844 (likely a scribal error?); there are other slight differences. Butterfield also provides the incorrect folio number for fr. 844. See Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)*,* 87-102, music example 5. The second is Motet 1143: Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, MS Reg. 1490.

[70] The *chanson avec des refrains* provides a slight variant of the text: "Ainsi va bele dame a son ami," this appears in Paris, BN fr.22543; Paris, BN fr. 20050, Modena, Bibl. Estense MS R 4.4, Berne, Stadt- und Univ. Bibl. MS 389.

[71] Paris, BN fr. 25532 fol. 333v. See Figure 1 and music example 1.

[72] To create these short motets, *Ainsi doit on aler* was combined with another refrain on a similar theme, *renvoisiement i voit a mon ami*, "joyfully I go to my lover," with the tenor on the melisma for *Hodie;* see Everist, *French Motets*, 121-24.

[73] The melody for *Ensi doit dame aler a son ami,* as it appears in the *Court de Paradis* was discussed by Ibos-Augé in a comparative study of the notated refrains in the *Court de* Paradis. Ibos-Augé suggests that the recurrence of the interval of a third in eleven of the nineteen melodic insertions in this work ties these refrains together, and contributes to a musical unity in the *roman*. "Les refrains de la 'Court de Paradis': Variance et cohérence des insertions lyriques dans un poème narrative du XIIIe siècle," *Revue de Musicologie,* 93 (2007): 229-267.

manuscripts, suggesting that a single melody might be associated with the refrain, either due to written transmission or in an oral repository of song.[74]

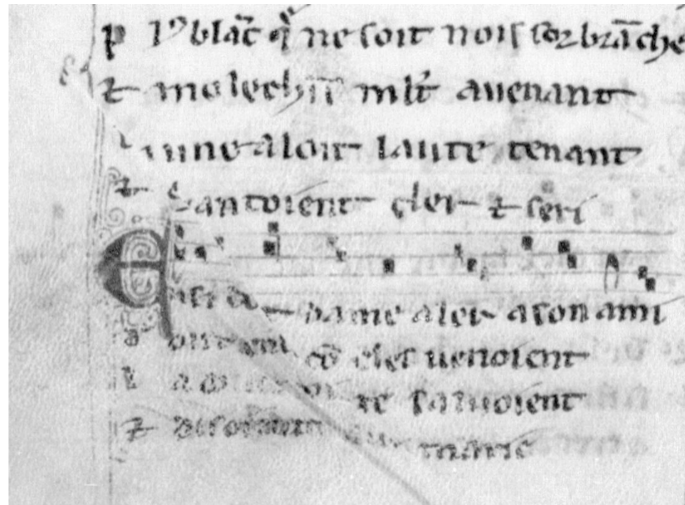
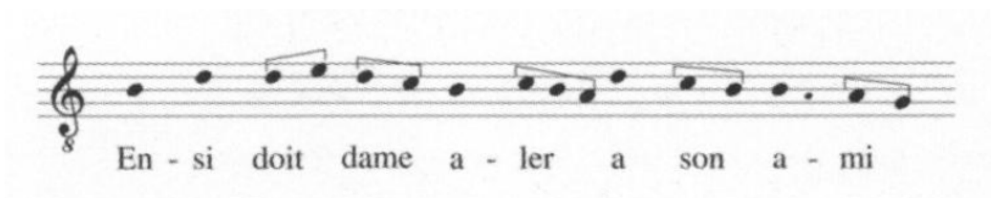


Figure 1. Detail of “Ensi doit dame aler a son ami”
in the *Court de Paradis*, Paris BN fr. 25532, fol. 333v



Music Example 1. *Ensi doit dame aler a son ami*, transcription by Anne Ibos-Augé

A case study of how this little refrain was integrated in each of the musical genres in which it is now found was undertaken by Ardis Butterfield.[75] Her comparative study suggests that refrains were selected by their singers in response to specific social situations. One song (a *chanson avec des refrains*) sings of a pastoral landscape in which

[74] Two of the manuscripts begin the melody on the same pitch, while the third begins one pitch lower; leaving inconclusive evidence as to whether the melody for *Ainsi doit on aler* was commonly known in an oral repertory or was transmitted through writing, or both. This refrain has been studied by Butterfield in *Poetry and Music*, Chapter 5.

[75] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music,* 87-102.

two courtly ladies await the arrival of a knight; when he comes riding towards them, his sweetheart extends both her arms towards him: *this is how you must approach your lover.*[76] A similar text appears in a *chanson de mal mariée,* in which an unhappily married woman confides in her sister that her husband blames her for being unfaithful; she laments to her sister that she does not even have a lover. At her sister's advice, she immediately accepts an admirer passing by on horseback, and sings *this is how a beautiful lady must approach her lover*.[77] In the rondeau, the refrain lacks the surrounding narrative, but expresses the same willing gesture of love.

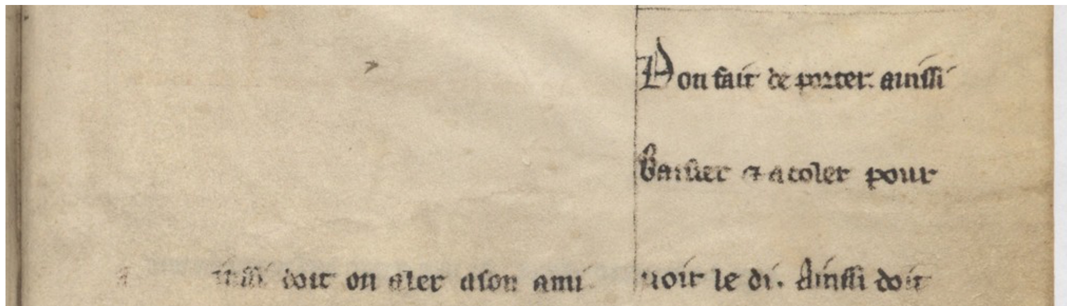


Figure 2. Detail of rondeau, *Ainsi doit on aler a son ami* in Paris, BN fr. 12786, fol. 77r. Space was allotted alongside the text for musical notation that was never completed.

In the *Court de Paradis*, the refrain is cited in the context of dancing.[78]

---

[76] "Et cele qui s'amie estoit
De tant loing come ele le voit,
Andos ses biaus braz li tendi.
Ensi doit en aler a son ami,
Et plus mignotement que je ne di."
R584 V, 56-60; Modena, Bibl. Estense MS R. 4.4. Cited in Butterfield, *Poetry and Music,* 96.

[77] "Tant tost com la dame aperçoit
Del cheval a pié dessendi
Envers eles lo cors aloit.
Et quant la tres bele lo voit
Andeus ses biaus braz li tendi:
Ainsi va bele dame
A son ami." R584 V, ll. 54-60; MSS Berne, Stadt- und Univ. Bibl. MS 389 and fr. 20050. Cited in Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 94.

[78] Its story tells of a ball held in the court of heaven to celebrate All Saints Day, presided over by the Virgin Mary and Christ. Saint Simeon is the herald who invites a guest list of apostles,

What the foregoing examples highlight is that the choice of refrain to be sung could be finely attuned to social context. At the tournament at Chauvency, Margot sings to her sister a refrain that is often sung between two women, sometimes between two sisters.[79] The song glorifies the love of a young knight on horseback, and celebrates the welcoming embrace of his sweetheart.

These examples also give a sense of the variety of creative linguistic expression and wit that flourished around refrains. Their flexibility as linguistic units has attracted growing interest in the last two decades, with several new monographs focusing attention exclusively on these lyric insertions. Scholars such as Saltzstein, and to some extent Butterfield, have approached refrains first and foremost as a literary phenomenon. Saltzstein, for example, has rightly drawn attention to the practice of refrain quotation among the music-writing clerics in Arras. With the scholastic culture of disputation as her backdrop, Saltzstein pushes against a longstanding association of the refrain with oral dance songs, an association that has obscured the "learned practices of quotation, particularly the concept of *auctoritas.*"[80] (Significantly, her sample focuses on refrains used by clerics, and she omits the evidence of courtly refrains found in *Tornoi de Chauvency*). A vernacular translation of Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, we learn, is interpreted in lengthy glosses that include refrains, and this is but one of many suggestive examples of scholarly practice combining with trouvère text.[81]

---

martyrs, virgins, widows, and married women, among others. While the first dance is set to a sacred text, *Te Deum Laudamus*, the celestial ball continues with eighteen vernacular dance refrains. The married women sing the refrain *This is how a lady must approach her lover. La Court de paradis*, ll. 358-60, cited by Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 100-101.

[79] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 94.

[80] Saltzstein, *The Refrain,* 13.

[81] Her case for the written transmission of refrain music, especially as it was incorporated into the motet repertory, is compelling: she shows that where multiple melodies exist for the same refrain,

Saltzstein frames herself as a challenger to a French scholarly tradition that, beginning with Bedier and Jeanroy, has often naïvely viewed refrains purely as vestiges of an oral culture. Objections can be raised to Saltzstein's revisionist narrative. The first is that a written musical tradition does not preclude an oral one. As Catherine Bradley asked, should "stability in the written transmission of refrains necessarily deny a previous or additional oral circulation? Consistency in a written tradition could equally be a later and/or independent phenomenon."[82] Likewise, the notion that scholastic culture had a uni-directional creep on vernacular practice is not a forgone conclusion. Contradictory examples abound. One thinks of the complaint of a Dominican who described the timeless problem of having a popular melody playing on repeat in one's head: "secular songs played almost continuously in [the friar's] ear and mind, nor did they bring him pleasure as they had previously, but only vexation."[83] Gerald of Wales recounted the story of a priest who, instead of saying the *Dominus vobiscum*, mistakenly began to sing the refrain of a *carole.*

Saltzstein's findings on Ovid glossed through medieval French refrains could equally be seen to demonstrate the profound influence of trouvère culture on that of the university. Indeed, a scholastic interest in translating Ovid's classical treatise on the arts of love suggests as much. Saltzstein's findings, in my view, are an ample demonstration

---

there is verbatim transmission a majority of the time, including melodies with the same pitch levels. Saltzstein, *The Refrain*, 8-34.

[82] Catherine Bradley, "Understanding the medieval refrain" review of Jennifer Saltzstien, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, *Early Music,* Vol. 42, (2014), 292.

[83] The *Vitae fratrum* of the Dominican Gerardus de Fracheto is cited by Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale,* 125 and 237. "Frater quidam de provincia Romana, qui in seculo multum in audiendis et cantandis secularibus cantilenis fuerat delectatus, nec adverterat quod confiteretur huiusmodi vanitatem, in infirmitate gravi positus, dictos cantus quasi continue in aure et cerebro habebat, et inde non delectacionem ut prius, sed vexacionem et penam non modicum sustenebat."

of the cross-fertilization between courtly and clerical culture that was so richly taking place in the thirteenth century, rather than the primacy of one over the other.

Most recently, Elizabeth Eva Leach examined the presence of refrains and song lyrics in the *Tournoi de Chauvency* and a codex in which appears, Bodleian Douce 308, a codex that contains the texts of over 500 song lyrics, none of them with musical notation. Leach objects to neglect of the *Tournoi de Chauvency* as a musical text. She observes that, since the manuscript contains neither blank musical staves nor spaces left on the page to fill in musical notation (unlike many of its contemporary musical codices; see Figure 2), the manuscript would not have appeared incomplete to a medieval eye. From this, Leach argues that the presence of lyrics constituted a "part-literate" practice of music-making; that the audience for which *Chauvency* was intended (along with its host codex, Bodleain Douce 308), would rely on the lyrics themselves as mnemonics for their melodies.

Leach decries the assumption of some modern scholars that songs lacking musical notation would have been intended for reading, but not singing. "Anyone who has ever sung hymns from a standard text-only hymn book, or sung along to popular music from words in a CD booklet, text under a YouTube video, or lyrics on a karaoke video will attest that even today, verbal notation (that is, the written words of a song) is a sufficient way to notate a sung performance when the song is familiar or can be heard from the singing of those to whom it is familiar."[84]

Sound and song during joust and tournament

As suggested by the example from *Chauvency* at the beginning of this chapter, Bretel's

[84] Leach, "A Courtly compilation: the Douce Chansonnier" in *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context,* (Cambridge: 2015), 245.

account of the tournament provides a great deal more than the clash of arms. Amid the soundscape of this competition, refrains are but one of many expressive noises. We know already that instruments were used: those mentioned at Chauvency were horns (*trompes*), drums (*tabors*), hornpipes (*cor)* and brass trumpets (*haraines),* as well as flutes (*flaiot*) and pan-flutes (*fretel*). Trumpets and drums are typically paired; the author tells us they made such a noise that he thought he wouldn't survive it. Johannes de Grocheio's *Ars musice* likewise cites "tympanum et tuba" as the instruments used at tournaments "to move men's spirits with their sound."[85] Robert of Artois' receipts reveal that several drummers (*nacaires)* likely fell into this category: Lyon le Margat des nokaires[86] and Jehan de Naquarre, menesterel.[87] Since the epithet *trompeur* can designate both a trumpet-player and a fool, we can only guess that minstrels such as Guillaume le trompeur, Jehannuche trompeur, and Ernaudon, "jadis trompeur," may have fulfilled both roles, as did minstrels who were paid specifically for accompanying Robert on military campaigns.[89]

More than instruments, however, it is the cacophony of heralds at Chauvency whose narration of joust and mêlée fills the air—"hyraus ne furent mie muit." (ll. 1162).[90] In their commentary to the female spectators, the heralds continually give voice to the

[85] "Licet enim aliqua instrumenta suo sono magis moveant animos hominum puta in festis, hastiludiis et torneamentis tympanum et tuba," Grocheio, *Ars Musice*, Mews et. al., eds., 72.
[86] AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 184; A 46. 27, cited by Jules-Marie Richard in his *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives Départementales, Pas-de-Calais, Série A*, vol 1.
[87] AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 139.52, in which he is paid for the delivery of a horse being sold a knight named Pierre de la Porte. Jehan de Naquarre may also have been one and the same as the minstrel Jehannuce, who fulfilled a variety of duties for Robert II. Lyon was rewarded for his services by an annuity that he sold for 20 livres after the count's death at Courtrai; A 46.27*,* cited by Richard, *Inventaire Sommaire*.
[89] For example the minstrel Paul, who was paid 4 s. a day for "dehaitiez hors de notre compaignie a St-Omer et ailleurs par l'espace de trente-deux jours," AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 2 fol. 31.
[90] On the functions fulfilled by the heralds at *Chauvency,* see Silvère Menegaldo, "Les hérauts, les ménestrels et Jacques Bretel," in *Lettres, Musique, et Société,* Chazan and Regalado, eds., 299-318.

undercurrents of erotic love. On the first day of the jousts, for example, before the spectator stands, they exhort the women to reward the knights:

> Hee! que n'en avéz vos pitié?
> Fames, pour la vostre amistié
> Metent lor cors a tel dolor
> Encor i metent plus do lor
> Qu'aprés lors cors metent la terre;
> Cis gius lo rest tornés a guerre
>
> Hey! Why won't you take pity on [the knights]? Ladies, it is for your friendship that they place their bodies in jeopardy; yet they go still further; since once they set foot on the field, this game turns into a war.

We are also privy to a "pre-game" speech of a father to his son. An Alsatian, Conrat Warnier, prepares his son Conradin for his turn at the joust in what Bretel tells us is a joking banter: "Listen my fine boy, advance toward your opponent, and by the body of my lord the king and by that of saint Peter of Cologne, if you don't fight well you won't return to my household, I'll chase you out with a club, so that you won't enter it again within the month!"[92] His father's stern words were less efficacious than a *carole* with the ladies might have been. When young Conradin rides towards his opponent, the force of their collision unhorses both men, and they momentarily disappear in a mess of horses and arms. Heralds shout for help (Ha, saint Jorge, aidiéz, aidiéz!), the crowd takes up a cry that they are dead (Mors sunt! Com grant mescheance!). Women weep; Conradin and opponent are brought round and seen to be alive. Again the heralds exhort the women to tend to the bruised warriors. "They are now in peril of death—all to

---

[92] "Va devant, biaus fix, vez le ci
Le chevalier qui jouste a toi.
Por le cors monsignor dou roi
Ne par saint Pierre de Coloigne,
Se tu ne fais bien la besoigne
Ne vindre vos mie en maison;
Je chascier fors a grant tison,
Que vos n'entrés dedens le mois." *Chauvency,* ll. 908-915.

conquer your love. Now you ought to descend to the field, and with your pretty, gentle hands, that are white and supple, you should wipe their foreheads and their temples with the fringe of your mantles."[93]

Heralds are no less vocal during the mêlée, when grandiose sermons on prowess are shouted at top pitch to excite the warriors and spectators. "This is how you find prowess and this is how you prove it! These are the men with the true calling, who are pardoned entirely, they are real saints and martyrs, they uphold the virtues of honor and loyalty!"[94] (ll. 3855-61). We know from the sermons of Evrard du Val-des-Ecoliers that minstrels and heralds who aroused knights to fight more valiantly in tournaments were rewarded accordingly.[95] The battlefield itself is filled with the cries of knights as each team calls out the name of its county or city as it makes its assault.[96]

It is during the days of jousting that songs and refrains are sung by men on horseback. *Chauvency* is the only tournament source I am aware of that documents songs

---

[93] "Dames, cis chevalier se metent
Terres et cors pour vos endetent,
Et or sont en peril de mort,
Si m'aït Diex, vos avéz tort!
Tout est por vos amors conquerre!
Or deüssiéz descendre a terre,
Et a vos belles mains polies
Qui sont blanches et delaïes
Santir les frons et les tampliaus
Et essuer de vos fressiaus," ll. 955-64.

[94] "Ainsi doit on les preus trover
Ainsi se peut on esprover.
Cist maintienent le droit mestier,
Cist ont le pardon tout entire,
Cist sont droit saint et droit martyrs,
Cist doivent bien a droit partir
As biens c'onors et loiautéz

[95] Cited in Page, *Owl and the Nightingale*, 43.

[96] Bretel, *Chauvency*, ll. 3934 and following. The *cris d'armes* in *Chauvency* are discussed by Jean-Christophe Blanchard, "*Pour ce qu'il suet parler à moi d'armes et de chevalerie.* Hérauts et héraldique dans le *Tournoi de Chauvency,*" in *Lettres, Musique et Société,* Chazan and Regalado, eds., 273-298.

interspersed amid martial display in this fashion. At Le Hem, the only comparable detailed eye-witness account of a tournament, it is theatrical vignettes that are staged between jousts; with dancing and music taking place afterwards. At Chauvency, both individual knights and groups intone well-attested songs, often when they pass close to the spectator stands (*loges, berfrois*) full of women.

On the second day of jousting, as heralds-in-arms pierce the morning air crying out the provenance of each arriving knight, Waleran de Fauquemont, a Limbourgeois lord, rides close to the spectator's stand, "chantant jolïement ainsi: *J'ai joie ramenee si.*/ Ainsi passoit devant les dames."[97] The refrain he chose to sing ("I've brought back joy here") appears in eight other contemporary sources, four with music. The musical concordances strongly suggest a melodic phrase that was in oral circulation, and did not rely on written transmission.[98]

Like the nightingale to whom medieval singers so often compared themselves, Waleran's choice of a popular song looks like an attempt at capturing female attention. Similar routines are replicated later in the day of jousting. Knights sing "in the shade of their banners."[99] Again, after the eighth joust, a group that included Pierre de Bauffremont and his companions passed before the stands, "in close formation with measured steps."[100] They sang another well-known refrain: *Vous n'alez pas jolïement – Si*

---

[97] *Chauvency,* ll. 1525-27. *J'ai joie ramenee chi* = van den Boogaard no. 936
[98] http://refrain.ac.uk/view/abstract_item/936.html. The concordances of the music reveal that the melody is largely stable across these manuscripts, although variations in starting pitch, rhythm, and the addition of several notes makes it look very much like a musical phrase that was in popular circulation. See also Ibos-Augé, *Chanter et Lire,* vol. 1, 320; *see the full fatrasie in which it appears repeatedly, printed in Auguste Scheler, *Dits de Watriquet de Couvin*, (Brussels: Victor Devaux, 1868), 295 and following.
[99] Bretel, *Chauvency,* ll. 1746-47.
[100] Bretel, *Chauvency,* "Et cil qui entor lui se tienent/ chantant devant lez logez vienent/ serreement le petit pas," ll. 2041-43.

com je fas! (You don't advance gracefully, as I do).[101]

Pierre de Bauffremont was a regular companion of Robert of Artois, and like him, a connoisseur of both war and tournament. He had jousted against the count at Le Hem in 1278. When he and his men sang this song at Chauvency, Pierre had only recently returned from the expedition spearheaded by Robert of Artois to crush the Sicilian rebellion. Later, he would be remembered for mortally wounding the duke of Brabant in a jousting match in 1294. In 1302 he fought again for Robert, defending St. Omer against the Flemish.[102]

Before the following joust, the companions of Jean de Rosiers sang while he readied himself at the head of the tilt ("Chantant au chief dou renc," ll. 2123). In unison, they cheerfully intoned *Vez ci le bruit de la vile – Et la plus mignote gent.* [105] ("Look here at the town's roughnecks—and the classy folk.") The refrains sung amid days of fighting, Anne Ibos-Augé observed, were sung only by men, "as if their physical investment must be duplicated by a musical investment."[106]

When the days of sport came to a close at Chauvency, as we saw in the previous chapter, men and women took each other by hand, returning to their lodgings. At the mêlée, they remained on the field until after sundown; it became hard to recognize opponents. They proceeded home by the light of torches, singing.

Post-combat entertainment

Days of jousting and mêlée were followed by nights of feasting, dancing, singing, and

---

[101] Bretel, *Chauvency*, ll. 2042-44. Van den Boogaard no. 1861.
[102] Delbouille, "Personnages Historique," *Tournoi de Chauvency*, lxxxix-xc.
[105] Bretel, *Chauvency,* ll. 2122-26; van den Boogaard no. 1831. This is the only known instance of this refrain.
[106] Ibos-Augé, *Chanter et Lire,* vol.1, 45.

courtly games. These are described in detail in the *Tournoi de Chauvency*, and much the same picture of courtly entertainment is familiar from romances such as *Guillaume de Dole*, *Escanor*, *Li Tornoiemenz Antecrit*, among others, as well as the details gleaned from archival records.[108] The nocturnal entertainments in *Chauvency* have been beautifully analyzed in studies by Joseph Bedier, Robert Mullaly, Samuel Rosenberg and Nancy Freeman Regalado among others, and do not demand extensive review here.[109] Worthy of note, in our context, is that the games themselves incorporated refrains and dance. At Chauvency, these were the *robardel* or *rombertet* (the little thief) and the *jeu du chapelet* (the garland). Meanwhile, the *Roi qui ne ment* did not include music but was rather a truth-telling game in which questions of love were addressed to a designated *roi*.[110]

Songs and games were enjoyed around midnight, when dining had concluded.

[108] Robert of Artois' accounts reveal abundant evidence both of tourneying and of lavish entertaining, and we know from his participation in the theatrics at the tournament at Le Hem that he enjoyed playing the role of the hero. Payments for other festivities about which we have fewer details are nevertheless suggestive. The importance of illuminating his nocturnal festivities with candlelight is indicated by a payment of 250 l. p., part of which was to go towards wax candles for a festival held in Saint-Omer in 1280; the other part was for fur garments: "desquels deniers nos gens acaterent cire por faire luminaire a notre feste que nous deviennes faire a Saint-Omer et robes et fourrures pour nous." AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 26.25, cited in J-M. Richard, *Inventaire-Sommaire*. Robert held the festival again the next year, when a similar debt, of 150 l.p., was owed to Pierrot Bonnin, bourgeois of Bruges, "pour chire que il nous fist avoir et delivrer pour nostre fieste de Saint Omer," August 1282. AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 1 fol. 7r.

[109] Bédier, "Les plus anciennes danses françaises" *Revue des Deux Mondes,* (1906): 398-424; Mullaly, "Balerie and Ballade," *Romania* 104 (1983): 533-38; Rosenberg, "Le *Tournoi de Chauvency*" in *Lettres, Musique et société*; Butterfield also offers a valuable discussion of courtly and pastoral register in *Poetry and Music*, 142-6.

[110] Several of these games are widely attested: versions of the *Roi qui ne ment* appear in sources as wide-ranging as Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, to, in the fourteenth century, Boccaccio's *Filocolo,* the *robardel* is also described as a post-tournament diversion in thirteenth-century fiction. See Richard Firth Green, "*Le Roi Qui Ne Ment* and Aristocratic Courtship," in *Courtly Literature: Culture and Context: Selected Papers,* vol. 25, ed. Keith Busby and Erik Kooper, (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 1990), 211-225; see also Mehl, *Les Jeux de Société Princiers*, in *Lettres Musique et Société,* Chazan and Regalado, eds., 345-355. Other games in *Chauvency* are mentioned in passing without explanation of their rules: *le beguignaige, l'ermite*, *le pelerignaige*, *le provencel*. *Chauvency*, ll. 4183-86.

The *robardel* was a pantomime of a *pastourelle*, in which a shepherdess, played by a noblewoman (Agnès, daughter-in-law of the Lady of Florenville), is courted by a shepherd who dances, leaps, and—enacting the *robardel* that gives the game it's title—steals caresses and kisses from her.[112] Agnès herself wears bells; another noblewoman plays the vielle.[113] The erotic appeal of this performance is given a twist when it is revealed that the shepherd is played by a cross-dressing noblewoman, Jeanette de Boineville. Suggestive choreography in the dance, Regalado noted, signals a departure from the courtly *carole*; rustics are characterized by more explicit gesture: "the dance movements of bodies in the *robardel* reflects the downwards shift in social class defined by the characters. Openly erotic and acrobatic, the game loosens decorum, gestures, and music"[114]

The second game described in detail in the *Tournoi de Chauvency* is the *jeu du chapelet,*[115] played on the final evening of festivities, following the mêlée. It is another elaboration on a pastoral theme, with the *chapelet*, or garland, incorporated into the dance, and references made to meeting one's lover in a meadow. In it, the highest-ranking

[112] Car quant il sant la pucelete
Les rains, le pis, la memelette,
Adonc il samble qu'I soit rois.
De fin orguel s'en va si rois
Qu'il ne touche n'a ciel n'a terre
[When he touches the maiden, her flanks, her chest, her little breast, then he thinks he's a king. He's so puffed up with pride that he doesn't touch heaven or earth.] Regalado treats this scene in detail; the translation is hers, "Picturing the Story of Chivalry," 348.
[113] Perrine d'Aix plays the vielle, *Chauvency*, ll. 2547-8.
[114] Regalado, "Picturing the Story of Chivalry," 348.
[115] Also referred to as the *tour dou chapelet* (l. 4192). Mullaly and Rosenberg have both studied the sequence of ten refrains that were sung in between the actions of the game, showing that from a metrical standpoint, when placed consecutively, they constitute a *balade,* a *forme fixe* comprised of three six-line stanzas. Unlike many of the other refrains that appear in *Chauvency*, none of the refrains from the *jeu du chapelet* are known outside of *Chauvency*; Rosenberg suggests that they may have been composed for the occasion; Rosenberg, "Le *Tournoi de Chauvency*," 428-9; Mullaly, "Balerie and Ballade."

noblewoman at the event, Beatrice d'Avesnes, Countess of Luxembourg, engages in a sung duet with a minstrel on the subject of marriage.

> "*Douce dame, voléz baron?*"
> — "*Naie! Se je ne l'ai tres bon, je i avroie damaige*
> *J'ain miex mon chapelet de flors que malvais mariage!*"[116]
>
> "Sweet lady, would you like a husband?" —"Naie! If I didn't have a very fine one, it would do me harm, I'd rather have my garland of flowers than an unhappy marriage!"

The minstrel makes a tour of the the room to find a man from the audience, while the countess sings; when presented with him, she sings another refrain in thanks to God.[117]

The evening entertainments reveal a provocative arena of play that is a feast for the five senses. The tournament at Chauvency was an extended ritual celebration of aristocratic culture, enacted through feats of martial prowess, voices that are refined through the habitual citation of musical refrains, bodies that are guided by the lines of battle or by the dance-steps of the *robardel*; hearts that quickened by the danger of combat or a flirtatious gaze. Music and dance are used explicitly by the nobility to define itself against lesser social classes; as Bretel at one point comments "no one must dance the *carole* except a knight or the like, in which case he does so by right; for a man of low birth it is base conduct (*vilonnie*)."[119]

The sexual charge behind the *jeu du chapelet* and the *dance robardel* is in no

---

[116] *Chauvency*, ll. 4248-4250.

[117] "*Diex, trop demoure! Quant venra? Sa demoree m'ocirra*." (God, what a wait! When will he come? This delay will kill me.) *Chauvency*, ll. 4282. At the time she danced the *jeu du chapelet*, Beatrice of Luxembourg was in her mid-thirties and a mother of two. Her husband, Henry VI of Luxembourg (1250-1288), who Bretel calls the "hardi lion," was active during the tournament at Chauvency; he attended the festivities in a family unit along with his brother Waleran and his two sisters, Jeanne and Marguerite of Bar. Three years later, both brothers were killed at the battle of Worringen.

[119] "Nus ne doit aler par karole/ S'i n'est chevalier ou tex hom/ qu'il le puist faire par raison; / Si le tient on a vilonnie/ A home de basse lignie." *Chauvency*, ll. 292-96.

small part derived from the pastourelle's mimicry of the rustic female whose sexual availability was supposedly so contrary to that of a countess. The glee with which the aristocratic class celebrated this particular form of power—of their predatory dominance over the lower strata of society—was constitutive to the French aristocratic ethos. It was the volatile ingredient in their conflicts in Sicily and later in Flanders, a subject to which we return in chapters Five and Six. Some of the guests present to enjoy the performance of pastourelles at Chauvency in 1285 had only recently returned from Sicily, where the French pastourelle had entered the Sicilians' own folklore, stoking the flames of their uprising in 1282.

The extravagant tournament at Chauvency also took place at a time when the nobility's economic power was under pressure. In Lorraine, where the tournament took place, as across Flanders and Artois, thirteenth-century aristocrats witnessed a burgeoning industrial economy and a growing population of local and international (especially Italian) merchants, who lent to nobles far and wide. While nobles remained dependent on a feudal economy, the industrialization of the Flemish cities and the economy built around the cloth trade was fattening many bourgeois pockets. Aristocratic ledgers are full of debts owed to urban bankers whose wealth greatly outstripped their own feudal revenues.[121] Lavish parties or tournament debts (as shown in the previous chapter) were often charged in this way. (To pay for the candles alone, illuminating his festival at Saint-Omer, Robert of Artois borrowed 150 l. p. from Pierrot Bonnin, bourgeois of Bruges. The year before he had borrowed 250 l. p. to pay for the candles as

---

[121] Loans from Arras banking families, the Crespins and Loucharts, appear across multiple archives: AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 27.14; A 122.4, A 139.54; AD: Nord, Archives Hospitalières de Lille, AH 1.157; Ghent Rijksarchief GW 1.113; GW 1.126. On this topic see J. Lestocquoy, *Patriciens du Moyen Age, Les dynasties bourgeoises d'Arras du XI au XVe siècle*, (Arras: Mémoires de la Commission des Monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1945).

well as fur garments made for a similar festival; likewise we find numerous gifts of fine cloth garments for members of his household.[122] The details conform with those that we find in contemporary romances. Aristocratic panegyrics to *largesce* found in songs and romances are an expression of a virtue the nobility feels to be "uniquely its own," as John Baldwin observed in an insightful discussion of "the economy of Romance."[124] "A fine gift is worth more when it has not been promised," wrote the thirteenth-century satirist, Jean Renart, commenting on the gift economy as opposed to that of bourgeois contracts.[125]

These were some of the realities that could be briefly forgotten amid flickering torchlight and games of flower garlands. Writing of the chivalric ethos represented in *Chauvency*, Regalado argued that knights and ladies "are not just imitating literary prototypes: they are enacting an ideal way of being in the world [...] Such refined performances present noble identities worthy of the story of chivalry."[126] The *joie* and humor of their aristocratic games derived in part from their exclusivity and mockery of the lesser classes. At the heart of this story of chivalry were the intertwined themes of *arma* and *amor*, of a predatory violence mixed with the sensuous.

---

[122] Robert of Artois' accounts reveal abundant evidence both of tourneying and of lavish entertaining. Payments for festivities about which we have fewer details than those from Le Hem, are nevertheless suggestive. The importance of illuminating his nocturnal festivities with candlelight is indicated by a payment of 250 l. p., part of which was to go towards wax candles for a festival held in Saint-Omer in 1280; the other part was for fur garments: "desquels deniers nos gens acaterent cire por faire luminaire a notre feste que nous deviennes faire a Saint-Omer et robes et fourrures pour nous." AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 26.25, cited in J-M. Richard, *Inventaire-Sommaire*. Robert held the festival again two years later, when a similar debt, of 150 l.p., was owed to Pierrot Bonnin, bourgeois of Bruges, "pour chire que il nous fist avoir et delivrer pour nostre fieste de Saint Omer," August 1282. A 1 fol. 7r.
[124] Baldwin, *Aristocratic Life in Medieval France,* 120-21.
[125] "Mout vaut uns biaus dons sanz promesse," from Renart, *Guillaume de Dole,* cited in Baldwin, *Aristocratic Life*, 121.
[126] Regalado, *Picturing the Story of Chivalry*, 342, 347

Serenading the Wounded: medieval practice and thought

A practical reality of the tournament, and of aristocratic life in general, was physical duress. So far, we have only briefly mentioned the wounded and the dying, yet they too had a relationship with courtly music. To recover a fuller picture we will broaden our spectrum of sources to examine music used for the afflicted both within and beyond the tournament. I would like to suggest that the way in which music is administered reveals something about a medieval way of listening, and that it can help us understand what courtly music meant to its patrons and composers in the High Middle Ages.

References to songs for those wounded specifically at tournaments appear in the *Tournoi de Chauvency,* and in the fictional romance of *Escanor*. These sources are bolstered by more prosaic records: from an infirmary, from payments made by ailing knights to doctors and musicians, from musical diversion during blood-lettings. To the existing incomplete picture I will add several new puzzle pieces. Medievalists interested in the therapeutic use of music have, for some time, been on the lookout for data to this effect, with mixed results. Even in a superb volume dedicated to the topic of *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity*, Peregrine Horden voiced the suspicion that music therapy may have been more widely theorized than practiced, "of greater interest to philosophers than to physicians."[128]

Meanwhile, an abundance of prescriptive medical, theological, and philosophical writing testifies to widespread interest in the salubrious effects of musical listening. That the medium of music bore curative powers was a notion that reached far into antiquity in both Biblical and classical sources, and was regularly incorporated into medieval texts of

[128] Horden, "Musical Solutions: Past and Present in Music Therapy," in *Music as Medicine,* 25.

Christians as well as those of Jews and Muslims.[130] Who did not know that King Saul's dark affliction by an evil spirit had been cured by the sound of David's harp? (1 Samuel 16: 14-16). The story, along with the corpus of David's psalms, informed the notion that liturgical singing (psalmody) could engender healing. "The psalm offers appropriate remedies" (*apta medicamenta*), wrote one fifth-century bishop.[132] While imagery such as this was often intended metaphorically, we should remember that physical and spiritual healing were understood to be symbiotic. Literal interpretations existed alongside allegorical ones: in the High Middle Ages, an influential commentary on 1 Samuel 16 emphasized a newly literal reading of the passage, using it to answer the *quaestio*, "whether demons can be expelled from a possessed body by the power of music."[133] The commentator, Nicholas of Lyra, answered in the affirmative.

The Pythagorean-Platonic view (transmitted primarily through Boethius' *De Institutione Musica*), also informed medieval ideas of how music influenced the human body and spirit. It held that each of the modal scales possessed its own ethical quality that it conferred to the listener. Music in the Phrygian mode was appropriate for warriors. As

---

[130] The eminent late ethnomusicologist Amnon Shiloah has shown how the translation movement of classical texts in ninth-century Baghdad made the writings of Galen and Hippocrates available to Muslim medical writings. He likewise traces their reverberations through Jewish medical writing. Maimonides, in his *Medical Responsa,* recommended that sleep, either for a nap or at night, should be induced by a singer playing a stringed instrument, and that following dinner a patient should enjoy two hours of musical entertainment, which "is enjoyable for the heart and helps in dissipating gloomy thoughts." Quoted in Shiloah, "Jewish and Muslim Traditions of Music Therapy," in Horden, ed., *Music as Medicine*, 69-83 at 72-3.

[132] Bishop Niceta of Remesiana (ca. 400), quoted by Horden, *Music as Medicine*, 104. A discussion of how some of these ideas informed discourse in the high Middle Ages appears in Naoë Kukita Yoshikowa, "Heavenly Vision and Psychosomatic Healing: Medical Discourse in Mechtild of Hackeborn's *The Booke of Gostlye Grace,*" in *Medicine, Religion and Gender in Medieval Culture,* Yoshikowa, ed., (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015), 67-84.

[133] "Utrum demones virtutem melodie possint expelli a corporibus obsessis." This is the astute observation of Peter Murray Jones, who offers a wider discussion of the David story as it was interpreted by fifteenth-century medical practitioners, "Music Therapy in the Late Middle Ages: The Case of Hugo van der Goes," in Horden, ed., *Music as Medicine*, 120-44 at 123.

Plato tells us,

> [Music in the Phrygian mode] would fittingly imitate the utterances of a brave man who is engaged in warfare or in any enforced business, and who, when he has failed, either meeting wounds or death or having fallen into some other mishap, in all these conditions confronts fortune with steadfast endurance and repels her strokes.[134]

If medieval writers did not know Plato's words directly (and they did not), a similar sentiment was captured in the enduring tale (cited at the beginning of this chapter) that was told of Alexander the Great; that he employed a musician to play in the Phrygian mode to rouse himself to battle, and was unable to calm his spirits until hearing music played in the Hypophrygian.[135]

Boethius, whose treatise on music was taught as a standard text of the quadrivium, conveyed these sentiments and others. *De Musica* presents the three types of music in the classical system, relating the individual soul, the *musica humana*, to the music of the spheres: the cosmic harmony or *musica mundana*. The means by which the individual and cosmic music are to be brought into harmony is by a third type of music, *musica instrumentalis*: the melodies produced by earthly voices or instruments, and the only type of music audible to the human ear.

Scholars and music theorists in the High Middle Ages were fascinated by such ideas, both classical and Biblical. Guillaume of Auvergne, bishop of Paris, wrote in the 1230's about the curative powers of music, in which he interrogated Plato's ideas and

---

[134] *Republic*, trans. Paul Shorey, in *Plato, The Collected Dialogues,* ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961) 3.399,

[135] The story was repeated by Anna Komnene; on the story as it was later celebrated by French and Italian nobility who extolled the powerful influence of music on their martial feats; see Kate van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*, 14-15. (In the twentieth century, the Phrygian mode was favored by jazz musicians, and it is also frequently heard in flamenco music.)

rejected the existence of the music of the spheres.[137] The canonist Huguccio looked to David in 1 Samuel as proof that musicians and the act of listening to them was not inherently wanton, despite the fact that worldy musicians were widely viewed by clerics with suspicion and worse. "It cannot be," he mused, "that it is sinful to hear or to strum a musical instrument, if the enjoyment derives from an instrument playing in praise of God or for the health of the body or the spirit, or in the service of the Church [...] For David acted thus in praise of God."[138] The attitude towards music of Louis IX and his chaplain, Robert of Sorbon, illustrates the conflicted response of the pious towards contemporary music, as discussed by William Jordan: "their mutual distaste for profane songs [ironically...] grew out of their love of songs, but those of Christian worship. Let us remind ourselves of the extraordinary emphasis laid in Christian worship on singing as a proper expression of love for God. This was rooted in scripture itself. "Sing unto the lord a new song" (Psalms 96:1 [Vulgate 95:1])"[139]

The psychic relief (*solatia*) that even secular music, *chansons de geste*, and saints lives could bring to those suffering from illness was felt, by Thomas of Chobham, to redeem their practitioners. Thomas, who studied in Paris in the late twelfth century, classifies types of actors with musical instruments (*genus histrionum qui habent intstrumenta musica*), arguing that,

---

[137] *De Universo,* discussed in Page, "Music and Medicine in the Thirteenth Century," *Music as Medicine,* 113-14.

[138] "Numquid eis dare peccatum est aut audire eos vel tangere musica instrumenta, et quidem si quis utitur tali instrumento ad laudem dei vel ad salutem corporis sive anime vel ob neccessitatem ecclesie honestam. Non peccat vel si peccat veniale est. Nam David sic faciebat talia scilicet at laudem dei et etiam causa ministerii et similiter audire talem ob eandem causam vel nullum peccatum est vel est veniale, et in tale casu licet dare talibus pro tali opere." The Latin is Baldwin's transcription of Huguccio's *Summa* to Gratian, in *Aristocratic Life*, 28 note 56.

[139] Jordan, *Men at the Center: redemptive governance under Louis IX,* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012), 22-23.

> There are also those who are called jongleurs who sing of the deeds of princes and the lives of saints and bring solace to men in sickness or affliction, and who refrain from the excessive indecencies of dancers and dancing girls and others who trade in shameful displays […] If they refrain from such things but sing with their instruments the songs of princes and others that are advantageous in bringing solace to men, as I said, then it is right to put up with them, as Pope Alexander says.[140]

Musical theorists agreed. Johannes de Grocheio, who described the uplifting influence of *chansons de geste* and saints' lives, suggested that "these songs ought to be provided for the aged and working citizens and ordinary people while they rest from their usual labor, so that, having heard about the miseries and disasters of others, they may more easily bear their own."[141] He concludes that these types of song are beneficial for the preservation of a city. Later, in the fifteenth century, the Brabantine music theorist Johannes Tinctoris enumerated twenty-seven positive outcomes that types of music can effect. As well as delighting God, attracting love, animating fighters, inducing peaceful sleep, Tinctoris tells us of music,

> It heals the sick. As Isidore said in his book of *Etymologies*, 'The doctor Asclepiades restored a madman to his former health by the arts of melody.[142]

---

[140] "Sunt autem alii qui dicunt ioculatores qui cantant gesta principum et vitas sanctorum et faciunt solatia hominibus vel in eritudinibus suis vel in angustiis suis et non faciunt nimias turpitudines sicut faciunt saltatores et saltatrices et alii qui ludint in imaginibus inhonestis et faciunt videri quasi quedam phantasmata per incantationes vel alio modo. Si autem non faciunt talia sed cantant instrumentis suis gesta principum et alia utilia ut faciant solatia hominibus sicut dictum est, bene possunt sustineri tales, sicut ait Alexander papa." Chobham, *Summa,* 291-2. John Baldwin discusses Peter the Chanter's influence on Chobham, and this passage in particular in *Aristocratic Life in Medieval France,* 27.

[141] "Cantum vero gestualem dicimus in quo gesta heroum et antiquorum patrum opera recitantur [...]Et hystoria regis karoli: Cantus autem iste debet antiquis et civibus laborantibus et mediocribus ministrari dum requiescunt ab opere consueto. Ut auditis miseriis et calamitatibus aliorum suas facilius sustineant." *Ars Musice*, Mews et. al. ed. and trans., 9.3; 66-67.

[142] "Egrotos sanat. Ut enim in libro *Etymologiarum* Isidorus asserit, "Asclepiades medicus quendam freneticum arte modulationis pristine sanitati restituit." Johannes Tinctoris, *De Inventione et usu musice* in *Opera theoretica*, ed., Albertus Seay (Corpus Scriptorum de Musica, 22: Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1975-8).

We have clues as to how such ideas were put into practice. Christopher Page offers up several pieces of evidence. One of these he collected from a thirteenth-century customary from St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, containing a section on the duties expected of the *infirmarius*. The text stipulates that there should be no tumult in the infirmary, nor should the sound of instruments be heard, except "in extreme necessity" (*pro maiore necessitate*), when music is recommended for use in ameliorating the condition of the critically ill. In this case, the brother should be led or carried from the infirmary into the chapel, where "a stringed instrument should be played sweetly before him".[144] The powerful somatic effect expected to result from listening to this sweet sound is implied by its prescription, "ad eius exhilarandum," and by the care taken not to administer such sounds except in extreme necessity, and even then, out of ear-shot of other invalids.

[144] "In infirmaria
nullus aliquo tempore
inconueniens fiet tumultus
sed neque ibidem in audiencia
manifeste alicuius instrumenti
fiet unquam melodia
set pro maiore necessitate
si ad alicuius melioracionem perutile censeatur
ut si contingat
quod aliquis frater ita sit debilis et egrotus
quod ad eius spiritum exhilarandum
musici instrumenti sono
et armonia
quamplurimum indigeat
poterit per infirmarium duci
aut etiam quoquomodo in capella portari
atque clauso hostio
psalterium musicum coram eo absque reprehensione
ab aliquot fratre
seu famulo honesto et priuato
dulciter resonari" in Page, "Music and Medicine in the Thirteenth Century," in Horden, *Music as Medicine,* 109-119 at 110.

Elsewhere, Page directs us to an instance of profane songs (*cantilenis inhonestis*) performed for the canons of Wigmore abbey while being bled in 1318.[145] The practice of musical diversion during a bleeding may have been more widespread than he realized; the wardrobe accounts of Edward I reveal that he too employed a harpist when he underwent blood-letting in 1297.[146]

Whether or not music was used widely as a method for alleviating, or distracting, from pain, that seems to have been its application for the wounded knights at Chauvency. Several injuries are mentioned or implied in the text. We witnessed, above, a moment of horror among spectators when young Conradin and his opponent were both unhorsed and briefly thought to have been killed in the joust. Pain is supposedly borne in silence. If the knights who sustained these and other injuries showed their suffering, the narrator had no intention of dishonoring them by reporting signs of weakness.

Instead, Bretel reports that when leaving the mêlée, the mounted knights are "detaillié et haligoté, blecié de cors et de visaiges, Si d'armes en est li usaiges, les enmaignent, joie faisant. Une chançon douce et plaisant chantoient tuit par grant deport."[147] (Slashed and torn, wounded in body and face, as it happens in combat, they are led [by the ladies], joyfully. A sweet and cheerful song is sung by all.) They depart the field *sanz tristesce*.

The wounded and unwounded alike arrive at their lodgings. Hauberks and helmets are removed; clean garments are donned. Minstrels appear, summoning the company to

---

[145] Page, "Music and Medicine," 118.
[146] Cited by Michael Prestwich, *Edward I*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 118.
[147] Bretel, *Chauvency*, ll. 4124-28.

dinner (l. 4152). After the meal, during which both wine and meat are abundant, servants clear tables away for dancing. Now we hear again of the wounded:

> En chanbre chantoit on de geste
> Devant lez chevalierz bleciez
> Et quant li dancierz fu laissiez
> Li plus haitiez en chanbre vont
> Pour veoir que li navre font
> Les dames mainent avec ex.[148]
>
> In the chamber, *chansons de geste* are sung before the wounded knights. And when the dancing winds down, those in good health go to the chamber, to check on the injured. The ladies remain with them.

This description sounds very much like the *chansons de geste* described by Johannes de Grocheio and Thomas of Chobham, the latter of whom tolerated jongleurs singing heroic songs because they "bring solace to those in sickness or affliction."

Chauvency is not the only source that reports *chansons de geste* being performed at times of requiescence. A similar scene of post-tournament music and solace, described by the contemporary writer Huon de Méry, corroborates many of *Chauvency*'s details, although it lacks reference to wounded knights. Huon was a Norman knight who, disaffected, later became a monk at Saint-Germain-des-Prés; his perspective on the tournament is both critical and informed by personal experience (he entitles his satire of an aristocratic tournament *Li Tornoiemenz Antecrit,* 'The Tournament of the Antichrist'). In it, he describes a banquet after which the *Jeu du Robardel* is played, while the hostess sips a peppered drink—an aphrodisiac.[149] Harps and vielles accompany chançons, lays, verses and refrains, followed by *chansons de geste*. The knights retire to bed, and "the

---

[148] Bretel, *Chauvency*, ll. 4171-75.
[149] "Mes de la goute pivernaus/ Fist nostre ostese cele nuit," ll. 490-91; in Huon de Méry, *Le Tournoi de l'Antéchrist (Li Tornoiemenz Antecrit),* ed., Georg Wimmer, 2nd edn., Medievalia, 13 (Orléans: Paradigme, 1994), 54 note 27.

jongleurs played them to sleep, fiddling Poitevin melodies on the vielle. Aided by strong wine, the knights fell into slumber."[150]

In another fictional source, *Escanor,* a romance composed around 1280 by Girart d'Amiens, we find wounded knights taking solace from the dances of women. A tournament has concluded, and the company retires to a palace, where an assembly of ladies commence with *caroles*. Bachelors crowd around; the dancing brings them solace (*soulas*). As they watch, so the author tells us, each one forgets his aches, pains and fatigue, his wounds, bruises and fractures; until his discomfort is replaced by delight.[151]

In the documentary world of aristocratic household accounts, dozens of payments from Robert of Artois to his minstrels, jongleurs, drummers, and *trompeurs* survive. We learn only sporadically for what occasions the men performed;[152] never is it specified exactly what songs or entertainments were rendered.[153] Finances for war were better

---

[150] "cil juglëor leur vïelerent por endormir: sons poitevins vieloent, et as fors vins endormirent li chevalier," ll. 494-98, Méry, *Le Tournoi de l'Antéchrist,* ed., Wimmer.
[151] "Oublier lor faisoit lor mauz
et lour paines et lor travauz
si c'aucun de lour bleceures,
des plaies et de quasseures
qu'il orent ne lor sovenoit.
chascunz adont plait ne tenoit
que d'estre liez et envoisiez
si que nus hom mesasisiez
fust a paines en tel deduit
se le cuer n'eust d'onor wit." ll. 6108-16, in Girard d'Amiens, *Der Roman von Escanor von Gerard von Amiens*, ed. H. Michelant, (Tübingen: Litterarischer verein in Stuttgart: 1886).
[152] The accounts of Artois under Mahaut, Robert's daughter, were often more specific: in May 1304, a minstrel was paid 16 s. to play the harp to her daughter for eight days, AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 199; in 1319, 4 l.t. were paid to "plusieurs trompeurs, naquareurs, corneurs et autres menesterez" on the occasion of a wedding; subsequently another 12 l.t. went to minstrels at the same wedding, A 374 and A 388; in 1320 payments were itemized to Perrot, minstrel, for playing the fretel (10 s.), and Jehane, who played the pipes (*qui geue des orgues*) (16 s.); A 386.
[153] The most famous trouvère in Robert's service, Adam de la Halle, never appears in his vast surviving *fiscal records*—French medievalists have looked for decades in vain—it is only from a

documented than for tournaments, although minstrels were surely present at both. The count's records show that when he conducted campaigns in southern Italy,[154] and later along the Flemish border, he brought entertainers with him. In 1298, his minstrel Paul was paid 4 s. daily for entertaining his company for a month: "Comme Paul notre menestrel ait este dehaitiez hors de notre compaignie a Saint Omer et ailleurs par lespace de trente et deus jours."[155] During the hot war before Robert's death in summer 1302, a register was drawn up of costs "pour harnechier a la guerre;" it includes payments to Jehannuce le trompeur, Jehan le fol, and Chevrete (another familiar minstrel), along with those to Jehan de Lisle, *artilleur*, and other war expenses.[156] The role of these minstrels in wartime was likely similar to the one they played during the tournament: to entertain knights in the evenings, to keep their spirits up with songs of love or deeds of Charlemagne and Roland, to incite them to fight passionately, and perhaps to soothe them with music when they were bruised and weary.[157]

A few records suggest treatments for Robert's own sickness, when his physicians and others were recompensed for their services. In a letter from April, 1296, he authorized disbursements to his regular physician, the Sicilian doctor Palmerio de Riso[159]

---

narrative source that we know Adam traveled to Sicily with Robert following the Vespers, where he composed the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*. Adam's own works dedicated to Charles of Anjou act as confirmation of this biographical information which appears only in an epitaph written after Adam's death.

[154] For example Pariset was paid for his "missions en Pouille" AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 153; Guillaume le Trompeur did homage to Count Robert and received a yearly rent in August 1282, probably in preparation for the Sicily campaign that year, A 1 fol. 8r.

[155] AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 2 fol. 31r

[156] AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 179.

[157] Carol Symes provides an informative discussion of the variety of roles played by minstrels during war; *Common Stage,* 247 and following.

[159] AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 140.34. Master Palmerio de Riso was one of several Italian physicians in Robert's service. He hailed from a pro-Angevin family that left Messina in 1282. Dunbabin suggested that he was likely to have trained at the prestigious medical schools at Salerno or Naples, and that Robert believed he could not find his equal in France. Palmerio entered Robert's

who was paid 13 l.p. "pro lectuariis et aliis necessitatibus," (for gurneys and other necessities) while his surgeon, Master Gratio, received 8 l.p., "pro curialitate sua facta per nos."[160] His minstrel, Chevrete, received 10 l.p. "pro curialitate sua facta per nos." Whatever ministrations his surgeon and his minstrel performed, they both fell under the category of "courtesies done on our behalf." The minstrel's "courtesies" were two *livres* more valuable.

Certainly one of the most candid and best-known accounts from the deathbed of any medieval knight is that of William Marshal. The writer commissioned to compose the biography shortly following the Marshal's death in 1219 drew on interviews with members of his family and *maisnie*— the fellow knights of his household who were his closest confidantes, and who had been present at his bedside.[161] The scene has been discussed from various scholarly perspectives, and was even re-narrated by Georges Duby, who used it as an exquisite reading of the exemplary way for a powerful man to die in the Middle Ages.[162] What particularly catches our attention as we eavesdrop on his intimate conversations is that the Marshal's mind is preoccupied by thoughts of tournaments and of music in his last days, themes that he may have feared would put his soul in jeopardy in the hereafter, and yet that he evidently felt to be defining features of

---

service in the 1280's and returned with him from Apulia to Artois, where he fulfilled both medical as well as ambassadorial duties for the count over the next two decades. Palmerio also traveled with Robert on the campaign to Gascony in the 1290's, where he treated wounded knights, A 2 fol 10v. Dunbabin discusses Palmerio's services in *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily*, 115.

[160] AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 140.34.

[161] Crouch, *William Marshal: court, career, and chivalry in the Angevin Empire, 1147-1219*, (London: Longman, 1990), 5-8.

[162] Duby, *William Marshal, Flower of Chivalry*, trans. Richard Howard, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985).

his life of chivalry.

Earlier in this chapter, we encountered him giving a bravado performance at a tournament at Joigny in 1178. Now we meet him again in 1219, an earl, regent of the kingdom, a man in his seventies only recently stricken by illness and preparing himself to depart the world. He has stopped accepting food other than mushrooms; he is too weak to leave his bed. He has given away his worldly goods, embraced his wife for the last time, and assumed the robes of the Templar order, in whose Church of the New Temple in London his body will be laid to rest. In his bedchamber he is attended by a rotating vigil of his six sons, five daughters, members of the clergy, and his *maisnie*. Now, in conversation with members of this last group, Henry Fitzgerald and John of Earley, he looks back on his days of tourneying without regret, despite clerical pressure to repent for the gains he had made and the ransoms from which he profited.

> Henri, soufrez mei un petit.
> Li clerc sunt vers nos trop engrès:
> Trop nos unt barbïant de près.
> Car j'ai pris .v. cenz chevaliers
> Don't j'ai et armes et destriers
> E tot lor herneis retenu:
> Se por ço m'est contretenu
> Li reignes Dé, n'i a que prendre,
> Car je nel porreie pas rendre.
> Je ne puis plus fère, ce cui
> A Deu, fors rendre mei a lui
> Repentant de toz mes mesfez,
> De toz les mals que j ai fez.[163]
>
> Henry, bear with me for a moment. The clergy are too overbearing towards us, they shave us too closely. For I've taken 500 knights, along with their weapons and their warhorses and all their tackle: if for these deeds the kingdom of God is withheld from me, there is nothing I can do, as I can't very well return them. I can do no more than to submit myself to God, repenting of my sins and all the wrongs that I've committed.

[163] *Maréchal,* Meyer, ed., ll. 18480-18492

William Marshall's concerns about the consequences of tourneying on his immortal soul had evidently been reinforced by clerics who, he complains, "shave us too closely" (nos barbient de prez). As we saw in the previous chapter, the dangerous sport was viewed with suspicion and increasing censure by the clergy throughout the thirteenth century. Tournaments had been periodically prohibited, especially during times of crusade; at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, Pope Innocent III suspended tournaments under pain of excommunication for a three year period, for this reason.[164] In the schools, it was hotly debated whether knights should be required to make restitution of their winnings in tournaments.[165]

The Marshal's deeds weighed on him. His claim to have captured 500 knights in his lifetime was not likely an exaggeration: in a single ten-month period in the 1170's, during which he allied himself with another knight to work the tournament circuit together (and share the booty accordingly), he took a total of one hundred and three knights prisoner, as tallied in the records of his kitchen clerk.[166] And yet the tournament

[164] "Licet autem torneamenta sint in diuersis conciliis sub certa pena generaliter interdicta, quia tamen hoc tempore crucis negotium per ea plurimum impeditur, nos illa sub pena excommunicationis firmiter prohibemus usque ad triennium exerceri." *Constitutiones Concilii Quarti Lateranensis una cum commentariis glossatorum,* ed. Antonius García y García, Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Corpus Glossatorum, 2 (Vatican City, 1981), 116, Canon 71.

[165] Robert of Courson, chancellor of Paris, argued that knights should be allowed to keep these profits, which he compared to those from the profession of prostitution: acquired in sin, but retained legally. This debate, as it was argued by Robert Courson and Peter the Chanter, is discussed in Baldwin, *Aristocratic Life*, 86-7, and in his *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, 1: 226; 2:161 note 3.

[166] During these years, William Marshal belonged to the household of Henry II's son, the Young King, to whom he was tutor-in-arms. It was the Young King's kitchen clerk, Wigain, who kept a tally of the Marshal's booty, along with his other household accounts, and it was this document that the author of the biography consulted:

Wigainz, li clers de la quisine
E autres, c'est verité fine,
Proverent par escrit, sanz esme,
Qu'entre Pentecoste e Quaresme
Pristrent chevalers cent e treis

had provided the platform for William to gain recognition from the highest circles of nobility in England, France and Flanders, and for his considerable rise in political life. The fourth son of an English baron, it was his brief military service and victories at the tournaments in Normandy that had won him a place at the court of Henry II.[167] His skills were put to use aiding the king's son, Henry the Young King, to reverse a losing streak at the tournaments in France, and the Marshal became his tutor-in-arms. He taught the Young King and his retinue the strategies with which to trick their opponents and maximize their captures,[168] and he was described as staying so close beside Henry during the mêlées that no opponent dared try and seize him or his horse's bridle.[169] Henry described him as his *amis enters*—his devoted friend.[170] In 1173, it was he who had knighted the eighteen-year-old king.

After his young master's death in 1188, William Marshal continued to advance politically, being rewarded by King Henry II, Richard I, and John, successively, before becoming regent of the kingdom to the young Henry III.[171] Only two years before being weakened by his illness, the Marshal had led an army of over 700 loyalists to the crown in crushing a rebellion; he had delivered a rousing pre-battle harangue, and the military

---

Estre chevals, estre herneis,
Dont unkes cil ne tindrent conte." ll. 3416-3424

[167] Crouch, *William Marshal,* 9-52.

[168] Tournament tactics and ransoms are discussed in Crouch, *Tournament*, 92-98.

[169] *Maréchal*, "Toz dis ert pres por lui secorre
e por defendre e por rescore,
nuls n'i osout tendre la main
por li haper ne prendre al frein
Por les granz cops al Mareschal,
Qui trop erent pesant e mal." (ll. 2613-18)

[170] *Maréchal*, Meyer, ed., ll. 2888.

[171] Crouch, *William Marshal*, 26-89.

column had marched forth in high spirits “as if towards a tournament,” the *Histoire* reports.[172]

Given the sport’s pivotal role in his rise on the wheel of fortune, how could he repudiate it at this stage? In his speech with Henry Fitzgerald, he appears to be turning over in his mind the defining experiences of a life of chivalry; gazing at them through the lens of a contemporary ethical code, resisting the alarmist warnings of clerics, off-setting his questionable acts with acts of piety and charity.

And even as he reflected with nostalgia—a hint of pride?—on his deeds at the tournaments, his thoughts, he confesses, were also on singing. When he continues his conversation, he addresses John of Earley, his former ward and now knight of his household:

> Dirrai vos grant merveille? […]
> Mes por veir vos os bien conter
> que je n’oi, treis anz a passez,
> Mien encient, ou plus d’assez,
> si trés grant talent de chanter,
> d’itant me puis je bien vanter,
> Cumme j’ai des treis jor[z] en ça.
> Je ne sai que Deu en plera.[173]

> Shall I tell you something astonishing? [...] I’m speaking the truth when I tell you that for the last three years, I’ve not had such a powerful wish to sing as that which I’m suddenly struck with these last three days. I do not know that it would please God.

The younger man encourages him,

> Sire, chantez,
> Por amor Deu, si vos poez,
> En ce metre peine ne cure;

---

[172] *Maréchal*, Meyer, ed., ll.16332; following his army’s victory, William Marshal is reported to have congratulated his men, and likening their victory over the French to that of a tournament; ll. 16388-91. The events surrounding the rebellion stirred up between English rebels and the French prince Louis in 1216-17 are discussed in Crouch, *William Marshal*, 120-25, and David Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (London: Methuen, 1990), *PP*

[173] *Maréchal,* Meyer, ed., ll. 18529-18538.

Si se confortereit nature
Dedenz vos, ce serreit bien fet,
Si vos en revendreit le hèt.
Se Deu pleist, se serreit mestier,
S'avriez talent de mangier.[174]

My lord, sing! for the love of God, if you are able to put yourself to the task. The spirit within you would be comforted; it would be a good thing if it restored your well-being. If it please God, it might aid in bringing back your will to eat.

But the earl thinks better of this impulse, worried that the room full of onlookers would consider him to have taken leave of his senses.[175]

Instead his daughters are summoned, asked to sing for him. The first, despite her sadness, produces one verse of a *chanson* "in a guileless, sweet voice" (the formula *o simple voiz et o doz son* is earlier used to describe the Marshal's own singing voice).[176] William then called on his second daughter: "Joane, chantez, come qu'il prenge." Joane sang a verse of a *retrouenge*, but her voice faltered, and her father corrected her, "Don't sing so timidly, for you will not perform well if you do, and the words will not come out right." The author of the account adds, "In this way he taught her how she should deliver [the song]."[177]

A *rotrouenge* (Occ. *retroncha*) was a genre of troubadour and trouvère song that, like others, was distinguished by its inclusion of refrains. Their subject matter, like that of so many other trouvère songs, is typically that of the fecund spring, the budding trees and gentle winds that compel the lover to voice the contents of his heart. A *rotrouenge*

[174] *Maréchal,* Meyer, ed., ll. 18539-18546.
[175] Of this exchange, Duby commented, "indeed, it is quite seemly to sing at weddings or after tournaments. But a near-dead man who sings, if he does not sing the psalms of penitence in company with the priests: scandal." *William Marshal,* 16.
[176] "E dist uns vers d'une chanson o simple voiz e o doz son," *Maréchal,* Meyer, ed., ll. 18569-70.
[177] Ne chantez pas huntusement, quant vos chanterez, car ja issi bien ne ferez, mes vos ne dirrez mes a dreit" […] Lores li enseigna li sire Issi comme ele deveit dire." *Maréchal,* Meyer, ed., ll. 18574-18580.

composed by one of the Marshal's contemporaries begins, "Chanter m'estuet de recomens/ Quant l'ore est doche et clers li tens/ Et nonpourquant si sui dolens/ *Oiés pour quoi:*/ Quant cele a qui sui atendens/ Ne velt avoir merchi de moi."[178] (I am compelled to sing again, since the time is sweet and the weather is clear, and even so I am sad. *I'll tell you why*; because she whom I wish for takes no mercy on me.")

In short, the *rotrouenge* was not a devotional song that we might expect to be performed for a dying man, as Duby noted, but one that evoked the entertainment of chivalry, and the cult of *fin amors*—the "refined love" celebrated by the aristocratic class. That his daughters (adults, but not yet all of them married), could acceptably perform at his bedside tells us for whom this music was considered appropriate.

The text also tells us that William corrected Joane in her delivery, and "taught" her how she should say the words. Did he teach her by example, as music teachers often do, singing a phrase for her to repeat? We cannot know. But if he did, the old knight had found a socially acceptable way to sing; by passing his voice on to the next generation, and perhaps in so doing "comfort[ing] the spirit within him."

Another point of interest is that singing is deemed beneficial on physiological as well as psychological grounds: with God's help, it might bring back the appetite. What seems a casual comment by John of Earley to his mentor is, nevertheless, consistent with the theoretical literature on the somatic effects of music: that it gives solace, or in this case*, confort*, by bringing about a state-change within the human, conjoining with God's will to cast out maladies.

---

[178] This *rotruenge* was composed by the Walloon trouvère Gontier de Soignies (fl. before 1220); text in *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouveres,* Rosenberg, Switten and Le Vot, eds., 269.

———

That melodic expression, manifested through *caroles* and an array of songs of love or heroism, could play a part in the courtly theater that was the tournament, seems clear. What I believe this evidence shows us is that singing and dancing in the tournament context were considered by medieval men and women as practical—and possibly necessary—activities, as well as being joyful ones. Teams of medieval warriors and individual knights knew, just as modern athletes do, that their "peak" performance was not achieved solely mechanically, but required the coordination of body and spirit.

Athletes and warriors today rely on coaches for rigorous physical training as well as guidance on the psychology of victory. I think it is not coincidental that William Marshal was known for coaching the Young King to victory at the tournament, and for his use of song and dance beforehand. He was a natural coach and a leader until the end; we see it in his actions at the tournament, on the battlefield, in political life, and even in his ability to cajole his daughter into singing a more spirited *rotrouenge*.

Dancing a *carole* before the mêlée could make the difference in loosening up and synchronizing a team of men who feared they would be outnumbered on the field. A knight's dancing, singing, and the erotic motivation to perform for his flirtatious audience all contributed to his success during a joust or in the mêlée. The sounds of heralds narrating the blows of lances and excoriating women for being hardhearted must have brought mirth and the promise of other kinds of physical encounter constantly to mind.

Did knights with gashes in their faces or bodies *really* leave the mêlée singing as they rode through the torchlight? Those veterans who had only recently returned from Sicily or a crusade to Egypt might have; the relief at enacting a battle at which one's sons and brothers did not lie slain on the ground might have been cause enough to sing.

At night, women were the active performers, controlling much of the music and dancing with the aid of minstrels. The expenses and even crushing debt accrued by aristocrats for such indulgent occasions alerts us to the exceptional value the nobility accorded them. It may even be a sign of aristocratic insecurity and financial stagnation during a crescendo of bourgeois economic power. Indeed, both of the failed French wars of expansion at this time, with armies led by Robert of Artois first in Sicily and then in Flanders, were motivated in part by the dream of enlarging the reach of French power and dominance.

The medieval conception of music's somatic or even medicinal power may have informed all of these acoustic activities. In some ways, the presence of minstrels paid to accompany real armies, as Robert of Artois' receipts show us they were, are even more suggestive of the importance of song at times of physical strife and mortal danger than is the evidence from the tournament. When music was applied in a medical capacity, the word that appears again and again is *solatia,* solace. In an age before modern analgesics, the ability to distract a patient from his or her pain and to bring solace, may have been considered a medical treatment in a sense of that term that we have now shed: listening to the harp during a blood-letting, or, for an injured knight, being lulled to sleep while hearing a minstrel sing of the wounds endured by Roland and Charlemagne, and dreaming of himself as a hero.

In the previous chapter devoted to the presence of veterans at the tournament, I suggested that the elaborate theater of chivalry and heroism enabled the most brutal warriors to envision themselves as gracious heroes, and to portray themselves as such to their home communities and their women. Memories of trauma, I suggested, could be reimagined in more gentle ways through the enactment of chivalric narratives, alleviating some of their emotional intensity. Singing was a part of this cognitive transfiguration; in real terms, it could change the tumult and discord within a single human being to resonate in unison with those around him. This back-and-forth between violent noise and voices joined together harmoniously is what the soundscape of the tournament was all about.

In another form of social song, the *jeu parti*, we find a passing commentary on the meaning of the tournament. Two men debate, through song, a question of which is better, to remember the solace (*soulas*) of love, or to experience it in the moment. One of the interlocutors argues that memory is better, by comparing it to the tournament. "The recollection of the tournament is worth more to those thinking on it, than for those [in the middle of it] who feel its blows." He concludes, "For in recollection there is a more pleasant melody [...] in it, joy is completed."[179] The music sung to the wounded, at tournaments or elsewhere, was a way of giving their recollections "a more pleasant melody," and of mending the wounds of the past through song.

---

[179] "Miex vault recort aprez tornoiement/ Au bien fesant qu'entreus que les cops sent." ll. 23-24; and "Jehan, je sai de fi par esprouver/ Qu'en recort a plus plesant melodie," ll. 31-32. The jeu parti sung between Grieviler and Bretel; Langfors, *Recueil Général,* no.83, 305.

Chapter Three

The Pragmatism of Love in the Social World of the *Jeux Partis*

In the previous chapters I examined how tournament festivals, and the singing with which they often resounded, functioned to bind together an aristocratic community; to gracefully reintegrate warriors returning from battle into the gentler rhythms of courtly life. With this chapter I turn to another type of amusement that flourished in Artois: the popular song-debate known as the *jeu parti*. Heartily embraced by aristocratic and bourgeois milieux who composed, performed and recorded hundreds of these musical contests, the *jeu parti* has nevertheless been the ugly duckling in studies of French medieval literature and trouvère song. In this chapter I seek to provide a broad overview of the genre, examining the poetic and stylistic themes of the one hundred eighty-four known *jeux partis* while situating them in the medieval culture of disputation. By analyzing how they functioned to meet the evolving thirteenth-century demands of social and sexual etiquette, we see that the *jeux partis* offered an alternative to the lofty ideal of courtly desire: what we might instead think of as a pragmatic approach to love and to weighing life's decisions.

The "pleasant science" of the trouvères

Sometime in the later thirteenth century, a lady, married, and well versed in music and poetry, engaged in a song-debate with a professional singer-songwriter—a *trouvère*. The location was likely a court in Artois or neighboring Flanders, where singers and entertainers often found employment among the northern French and Flemish nobility. *Trouvère,* from French *trouver* and Provençal *trobar*, is a profession that uses vernacular

lyrics and music to find, to invent.[1] The very fact that skilled singers were designated *trouvères*, which also may be translated "discoverers" reveals that their audience was seeking something — most often the answer to questions of the heart, of love, and of sensual or worldly desire — and that something was to be attained through words and song. "The laws of love," one treatise on the arts of troubadours proclaimed, are found through "the pleasant science of discovery" (*esta gaya sciensa de trobar)*."[2]

On this occasion, the mode of discovering the answers to such questions was a type of poetic parlor game in the form of a debate, sung in verses alternating between two individuals — in this case between a lady and a professional singer. While the trappings of this debate were thoroughly medieval, the question now seems timeless:

"Sweet lady," the singer Perrot began, "between two men, name which you would prefer: Either a knight of real skill when he has his armor on, but who, disarmed, has no other talents or charms; or, by contrast, a handsome, blond, well-mannered, delightful companion, who is both intelligent and amorous, but utterly without martial skill (*prouece*). Which do you choose?"[3]

---

[1] Disagreement over the etymology of O.Prov. *trobar, trobador* has long sparked interest: did it evolve from an unattested late Latin verb *tropare*, related to *tropus*, the musical ending in a liturgical chant? Or from the Arabic *tarab*, "song"? "The etymon for *trobar* is *introuvable*," Leo Spitzer once put it (cited by Menocal). For a spirited overview and argument for its Hispano-Arabic origins see Maria Rosa Menocal, "The Etymology of Old Provençal *trobar, trobador*: A Return to the 'Third Solution,'" *Romance Philology*, vol.36 (1984), 137-53.

[2] "Esta gaya sciensa de trobar" is the phrase regularly employed by Guilhem Molinier in *Las Leys Damors*, composed in the 1340's. "Donx li trobador noel ques han bona voluntat dapenre aquesta sciensa: venguan pozar en aquestas leys damors. Quar ayssi es la fons desta gaya sciensa de trobar." Guillem Molinier, *Las flors del gay saber: estier dichas Las leys d'amors*, ed. and trans. M. Gatien-Arnoult (Geneva: Slatkine, 1977), 4.

[3] "Douce dame, ce soit en vo nomer/ Quels volés vos que li vostre amis soit/ Buen chevalier, s'il li coveint armer/ Et desarmés n'i ait nul autre esploit/ Ne nule rien de courtoisie a droit/ Tel le vos fas, cen est l'une partie/ U biaus et blons, de douce compaignie/ Sage et courtois et d'amourous soulas/ Sans prouece, itel le vous refas." This *jeu parti* is recorded in five manuscripts (Trouvère Chansonniers *C, I, M, T, U*), its music is noted in *T*, fol.51. Text edited by Arthur Långfors,

The musical tempo was slow enough for the audience to catch all the words, and a viol may have continued the tune for a few moments as the audience waited to hear which part the lady would choose.[4]

"By God, Perrot, it is far better to love a man endowed with martial skill. A great knight who is valiant every day can't help but accumulate some bad qualities; a true lady shouldn't blame him for this. If it suited one of these two men to have me as his *amie*, I would give my pennant and my ribbon to the valiant one, and do him great courtesy between my arms."[5]

If a pause between verses left time for the audience's mirth, it was soon muted with Perrot's response, "It's not so simple, sweet and worthy lady […] even if his prowess puts him in the lead, the surplus of his qualities would become quite tiresome! As far as I'm concerned […] he's no *prudhomme* who is unworthy when his armor comes off."[6]

The debate invites its audience to ponder by what criteria women should judge men. Society may reward sportsmanship and martial prowess, but can a woman be fully

---

Recueil Général, CXLV. An alternate edition of this *jeu parti*, with music, appears in Eglal Doss-Quinby et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 96-98.

[4] No indication of instrumental accompaniment is provided in this, or other manuscripts containing *jeux partis*, but Johannes de Grocheio, writing from Paris in the later 1200's remarks in his *Ars Musice* that "the good artist generally introduces every *cantus* and *cantilena* and every musical form on the vielle," and that these "commonly take place at feasts and games in the presence of the rich." *Ars Musice,* Mews et al., ed. and trans., (Kalamazoo: TEAMS, 2011). The question of instrumental accompaniment in medieval and renaissance secular music has been a charged one; see the "heretical" but compelling argument for *a cappella* performance of Christopher Page, "The Performance of Songs in Late Medieval France: A New Source," *Early Music*, vol. 10 (1982), 441-450.

[5] "Par Dieu, Perrot, mout fait miex a amer/ Li uns des deus ki proëce reçoit/ Boens chevaliers ne puet tant amasser/ Males theches que tous jors preus ne soit/ En lui blasmer n'a bone dame droit/ En sa mauté ne en sa vilonie/ S'a l'un des deux me covient estre amie/ Au preu donrai mes guimples et mes las/ Tout le ferai cortois entre mes bras." Ibid., ll.10-18.

[6] "Ce n'en iert ja, douce dame vaillant/ Qu'envers celui puissiés riens adrecier/ Sa proëce le puet bien metre avant/ Mais li sorplus vos doit mout anoier […] N'est pas preudom ki desarmés ne vaut." ll.19-22, 27.

satisfied with a powerful yet one-dimensional warrior? Can a well-rounded male ever be equally possessed of courage?

The question was timely in thirteenth-century France. A cultural transformation had taken place over the previous hundred and fifty years in social expectations of aristocratic male conduct. No longer was the ideal knight portrayed as the epic hero of the *Chanson de Roland* (ca. 1080) or *Chanson de Guillaume* (ca.1140), surrounded and judged primarily by other male warriors, in whose eyes he sought to prove his honor and prowess. By the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the epic hero had a new image of masculinity to contend with: the hero of romance.[7] These brave yet sensitive knights rode forth alone, not as part of a corporate military body fighting for king and country, but as individuals spurred by secret devotion to potentially unattainable women. Men were expected not only to be unflinching in battle, but to be possessed of graceful manners and eloquent emotion that appealed to the women of the court. Such qualities were demonstrated through comportment, witty or amorous speech, and—perhaps the highest expression of courtly refinement—musical and poetic connoisseurship and talent. As the *trouvère* Perrot pointed out, the new *prudhomme* is also praiseworthy when his armor comes off.

The origin of the chivalric ideal, and its expression in literature and poetry has not

[7] The disjuncture between the worlds of epic and romance has often been chronicled; as it relates to music, see Page, "Music and Chivalric Fiction in France, 1150-1300" *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association,* 111 (1984-85), 1-27; a classic description of the shift is that of Sir Richard Southern, "From Epic to Romance" in *The Making of the Middle Ages*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953); Erich Auerbach, "Roland Against Ganelon" and "The Knight Sets Forth," in *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature,* trans. W. Trask, (Garden City: Doubleday, 1957). Sarah Kay provided a nuanced picture, taking into account political and psychological realities that coexisted with epic and romance, *The Chansons de Geste in an Age of Romance: Political Fictions*.

wanted for scholarly attention,[8] but the realities of how such skills were practiced and honed are more opaque. In the following pages I will examine how men—and women—practiced such skills and competed to prove them by means of musical debates like the one described above. Just as the tournament developed to prepare men for the trials of the battlefield, so this musical game helped prepare them for the social expectations of courtly life, of heterosexual mingling, or, and as they might think of it, "the pleasant science of discovery." This game was the *jeu parti*.

Seven centuries before the word "jeopardy" referred to a televised quiz show, the *jeu parti*, a "game of two parts" was a song-debate, in which two singers alternated verses, arguing two sides of a seemingly-paradoxical question, while judges and an audience listened and watched.[9] Having originated in the courts of Provence in the late twelfth century where it was called the *partimen* or *tenson* (from Lat. *contentio,* meaning competition, contention, contrast), this genre of the troubadours would later become a purely literary form among the Italian poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*.[10] But it was in

[8] See Reto Bezzola, *Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident*, 5 vols. (Paris: E. Champion, 1958-63); Erich Köhler, *L'Aventure chevaleresque: Idéal et réalité dans le roman courtois,* Éliane Kaufholz, trans. (Paris: Gallimard, 1974); Georges Duby, *Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1979); Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939-1210*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); Linda Paterson, *World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society 1100-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), among others.

[9] Latin *jocus partitus* refers to many games of two sides, and *jeu parti,* or sometimes *juparti*, often was used in the High Middle Ages to refer to chess. On the word's etymology, see Guillemette Bolens and Paul Beekman Taylor, "The Game of Chess in Chaucer's 'Book of the Duchess'", *The Chaucer Review*, xxxii (1998), 325-34; Paul Remy, "De l'expression 'partir un jeu' dans les textes épiques aux origines du jeu parti," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, no.68 (1974), 327-333; on the *jeu parti* in a wider context of medieval debate genres, M.-A. Bossy, *Medieval Debate Poetry: Vernacular Works* (New York, 1987); see also Emma Cayley, *Debate and Dialogue: Alain Chartier in His Cultural Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 12-51.

[10] Dante Alighieri's celebrated *tenzone* with Forese Donati is the best known example: as their exchange of sonnets suggests, in Italy that verse form would become the premier platform for

northern France where the trouvères embraced and adopted the musical *jeu parti* most emphatically, where the poetic tournaments provided entertainment in both court and guildhall.[11] Scholars have sometimes regarded *jeux partis* in an unflattering light—Alfred Jeanroy, one of their early editors, implored his reader not to judge him harshly for their subject matter; "these [*jeux partis*] may be considered mediocrities in a genre that itself was not prolific in great works of art," and this opinion continues to be echoed by more recent readers.[12] Others have been disdainful even of the sort of person who would compose such a song— "un poète frivole."[13] On the whole, the *jeux partis* are hardly known by historians, and only sporadically studied by scholars of literature and musicologists.[14] Yet these modern views were not shared by a thirteenth-century public comprised of men, women, kings and clerics, bourgeois, knights and professional singers, who produced hundreds of the musical debates and copied them again and again into lavish *chansonniers.* (For a deluxe example, see *Figure 1* below; the *jeu parti* appears

---

poetic rumination and debate. This transition is treated briefly by Pierre Bec in *La Joute Poétique: De la tenson médiévale aux débats chantés traditionnels,* in which Bec also provides a concise and erudite survey of the cultural diversity of poetic debate from the ancient to the modern world. (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2000), 11-28.

[11] On the bourgeois circle of poets and patrons centred in Arras, see Roger Berger, *Littérature et société Arrageoises au XIIIe siècle: les chansons et dits Artésiens*, 104-115; also Carol Symes, *A Common Stage,* 216-27; and Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 133-50**.** The genre in its manifestations across the romance languages is represented in a collection of conference papers, *Il Genere 'Tenzone' nelle Letterature Romanze delle Origini*. *Atti del convegno di Losanna, 13-15 Novembre, 1997*, eds. M. Pedroni and A. Stauble, (Ravenna, 1999).

[12] A. Jeanroy, "Jeux Partis Inédits du XIIIe Siècle," 350. This sentiment is echoed by various more recent scholars; Michèle Gally found *jeux partis* stylistically unappealing in comparison to the courtly chansons "Ces pièces, peu attractives pour des lecteurs contemporains, surpris par leurs lourdeurs à coté des trouvailes poétiques de la canso" in "Disputer d'Amour: Les Arrageois et le Jeu-Parti" *Romania* vol. 107 (1986), 55-76, 56.

[13] Pierre Marot, "Identifications de quelques partenaires et juges des « unica » des jeux partis du Chansonnier d'Oxford" *Bibliothèque de l'ecole des Chartes,* (1927), 266-274; 267.

[14] The work of Michèle Gally is the one real exception; her *Parler d'amour au puy d'Arras: Lyrique en jeu* is the only monograph devoted exclusively to the *jeux partis*. The author masterfully locates the genre within the social world of Arras, while offering nuanced readings of a number of their themes, (Orleans: Paradigme, 2004).

alongside a *chanson d'amour*, it is hardy presented as inferior; meanwhile a complete list of the 168 participants in *jeux partis* with brief biographical details is provided in Appendix B). Moreover, while their subject matter often touched on matters of love and sex, frequently with humor, I suggest that the questions posed and the people who posed them were anything but frivolous. The *jeux partis*, rather, provide us with a remarkably revealing body of sources addressing the practical and psychological concerns of love and of daily life that has been underutilized by historians and literary scholars because it is misunderstood.

One hundred and eighty-four distinct *jeux partis* survive, of which 146 appear in multiple manuscripts; 106 with musical notation.[15] The texts open with one contestant addressing the other by name, and posing a debate question such as the one above. The second stanza begins with the second contestant, who argues in favor of one side or the other. In its most common form, this repartee goes back and forth for a total of six stanzas. The final two stanzas are typically envoys, in which each singer names a member of the audience as a judge, and appeals him or her to rule in his or her favor.

The subject matter is often devoted to issues of love and sexual conquest. "Who should one pity more: the man who is constantly jealous of his wife, or him who knows for sure that his mistress fools him?"[16] Such questions can also be posed between women,

---

[15] Långfors' edited 182 *jeux partis*; an additional *jeu parti* with musical notation, sung between Jehan Tuin and Hues was found on a single fragment from an otherwise lost medieval chansonnier at The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek 131 D1, edited by Roberto Crespo, 'Un "jeu-parti" inedito," *Studi medievali,* ser.3, 23 (1982): 957-969. Additionally, I include the *jeu parti* "Adan amis, mout savés bien vo roi," sung between Adam de la Halle and Jehan Bretel which was excluded by Långfors due to its unusual length. Edited by E. de Coussemaker, *Adam de la Halle, Oeuvres Complètes: Poesie et musique* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1982), 174-81.
[16] Långfors, LXXVI.

as when a young *damoisele* seeks the advice of an experienced matron: "If a suitor seeks my love, do I gain greater honor if I allow him to pour his heart out to me, or by turning him away before listening?" (The older woman counsels her to hear his plea: "Women aren't lured into foolish romantic love conflicting with worldly accomplisments: "Would you prefer to take the prize in the tournaments, or, remaining obscure and unknown, to obtain the favors of your lady?"[17] Sometimes, *demandes d'amour* are mixed in with what what sounds like questions of career advice: "A king wishes you to accompany him on conquest to Rome, but the beautiful woman that you adore begs you to remain at home: whose wish do you obey?"[18]

---

[17] Långfors, CIX.
[18] Långfors, CLXXI.

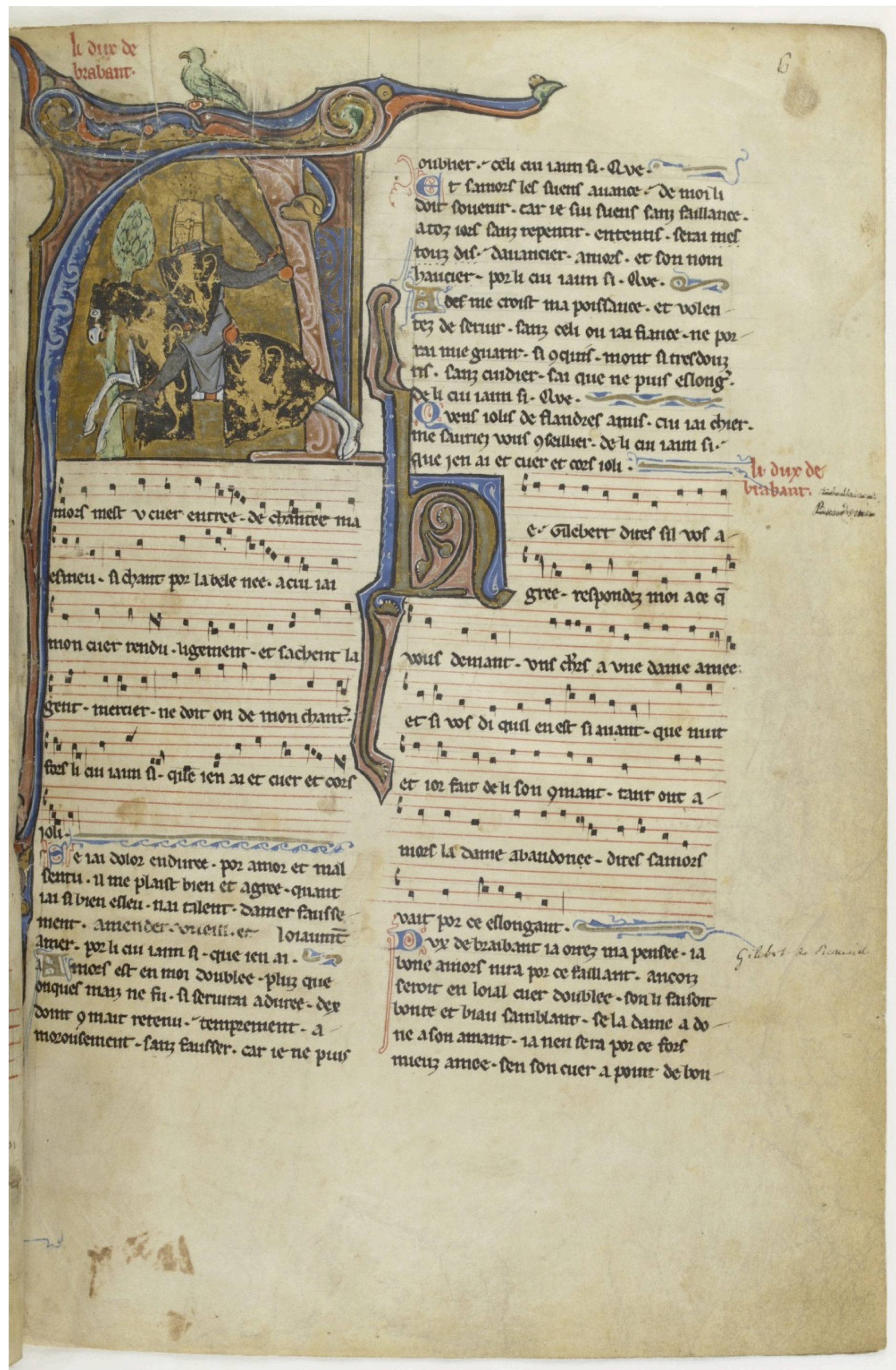


Figure 1. A page from the Chansonnier du Roi (Trouvère MS M), displaying two compositions by Henry III, Duke of Brabant (r. 1248-1261). In the left column is his *chanson d'amour*, "Amors m'est u cuer entrée;" in the right his *jeu parti* sung with Gillebert de Berneville, "Hé Gillebert, dites s'il vos agrée." The first verse is provided with notation underlaid by text, whie Gillebert's response, beginning "Dux de braibant" and the successive verses continue below and on the following page. Paris, BN fr. 844, fol.5r.

Judges, named in the envoys, often seem to be chosen in order to privilege the highest-ranking person in the room. Charles, Count of Anjou, for example, is the contestant in only one recorded *jeu parti*, but judge of four others: two professional trouvères (Gillebert de Berneville, Jehan Bretel), a knight (Robert de Caisnoi), and the Count of Brittany.[19] Prince Edward of England was present with Charles on one of these occasions, and though he did not compete himself, was also named as a judge. The trouvère Gillebert also named the countess of Flanders (Beatrice of Brabant), and competed with her brother, Henry III, Duke of Brabant. Cases such as these, that name high-status individuals to render their judgment on the singers pleading before them reinforce an impression the *jeu parti* genre often gives, of self-consciously mimicking the courtroom. "Raoul will act as my guarantor" (*garant)*; "She holds my heart in her jurisdiction" (*Ele a en baillie mon cuer*).[20] Envois appeal to a judge to "make peace between us" (*nous apaisier)*,[21] and singers should abide by "the law of true and loyal lovers" (*li droit de fin loial ami).*[22] Love is not merely reciprocated by a woman, it must be authorized (*octroiier*): in fact, one of the central dramas of the *jeux partis* sung by men is by what means to gain a woman's authorization and thus physical intimacy, and under what conditions he should pursue it by treachery (*traison*). The recasting of the world of romantic alliance onto that of the courtroom explains the recurrent presence of juridical

---

[19] In all these cases he is referred to by the title he held as a younger man: *Conte d'Anjou*, indicating that these *jeux partis* were recorded prior to his acquisition of the crown of Sicily in 1266. Since he is known to have been a guest at the Flemish courts in the early 1250's, ingratiating himself and conspiring with the countess Margaret while covetously eyeing the county of Hainaut, we may infer that it was there and then that he judged the trouvère Gillebert, who was employed by members of her family.
[20] Långfors LXXIII, ll.57-58; *estre en baillie* occurs in many places.
[21] Långfors, CXX, ll. 62.
[22] Långfors, CXXIX, ll. 18.

vocabulary.[23] It may also explain the high frequency of proverbs in the *jeux partis*, the presence of which remains a point of curiosity and disagreement among scholars. I will return to both of these questions below.

That such poetic discourse, mingled with legal vocabulary and peppered with proverbs was considered the language of discovery lies in stark contrast with received clerical attitudes towards rhymed verse as the language of artifice and mendacity. Only a few decades before the first *jeux partis* were performed, the aristocracy of the same northern region had employed clerics to compose Old French chronicles whose very historical authority, Gabrielle Spiegel demonstrated, was established through their use of prose rather than verse.[24] Prose was the straightforward language of truth and of history; poetry the language of artifice, considered by the Augustinian tradition to incite its readers to lust and seductive error.[25] Yet while the trouvères and singers of the *jeux partis* evidently delighted in its seductive properties, the use of rhymed verse, in this realm of emotion rather than of historical "truth," was not perceived as leading to error. Answers to questions of the heart, their practitioners seemed to say, cannot be fixed in straightforward prose. Rather, the *jeux partis* go back and forth, weighing opposing positions in elegantly balanced stanzas, using word-play and double entendres to highlight the ambiguous nature of emotion. These songs, in the words of a later bard, "by

---

[23] This was noticed years ago by Michèle Gally, one of the only scholars to attempt a systematic evaluation of the *jeux partis* (she limits her investigation to those of Arras, in particular between Bretel and Adam de la Halle). Intriguingly, Gally counted 66 pieces that included juridical vocabulary; infuriatingly, she provides no discussion or specifics of what that vocabulary consisted! "Disputer d'Amour, Les Arrageois et le *jeu-parti,*" 68. On the presence of legal vocabulary in other troubadour poetry, see Rita Lejeune, "Formules féodales et style amoureux chez Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine', dans *Atti del VIII congresso internazionale di studi romanzi* (Florence: 1959), 227-48.
[24] See her formulation in *Romancing the Past,* esp. Chapter 2.
[25] Spiege., *Romancing the Past*, 60 and following.

indirections find directions out."

Figure 2. Illustration of a *jeu parti* between Simon d'Authie and Gilles le Vinier (Långfors CXXXI), Arras: Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 657, fol. 136r.

The Origins of the Jeu Parti and the "Culture of Disputation"

When and where did this curious debate genre arise? Framing romantic, interpersonal, or psychological questions in terms of a verbal duel or debate is not, in the modern English speaking world an obvious format; the most familiar modern corrolary in North America would probably be a rap duel. Today, sung verbal duels, *décimas*, are practiced in Central and South America; in Corsica, older men still sing *chjama e rispondi*; in the Pays Basque, *bertsulari* are the singers of *bertsos*. The most ancient references to poetic disputes, on the other hand, are the Sumerian and Akadian *adamanduga*; disputes opposing seasons, professions, objects, animals or trees; judgment

following the debate was attributed to a king or divinity.[26] Pierre Bec, in his study of the medieval *Joute Poetique*, observed that poetry and song in dialogue, along with oratory jousts, in one form or another, have been nearly universal across cultures.[27]

The *jeu parti* was more formalized than the vast majority of such genres, as is attested by its very appearance in elite chansonniers and in text at all. Jean-Michel Bossy, like Bec, remarked on the universality of "playful battles of words and wits," but noted that specific conditions in the high Middle Ages converged to produce "teeming numbers of verse debates" in both Latin and vernacular literatures.[28] Seeking to explain the rise of written debate genres — his interest is not limited to the *jeu parti* — Bossy considers contributing factors to be the growth of literacy itself along with the use of polemics in education. Urban cathedral schools, such as the one at Notre Dame d'Arras, where many of our northern trouvères were likely educated, embraced debating exercises and public disputations to train new generations of literate interlocutors. At the new universities, dialectical reasoning and dueling was the mode of public examination. Young clerks were trained to master *quaestiones* and *disputationes*: forms of theological inquiry that had initially developed to harmonize contradictory passages of Scripture or Patristic interpretations.[29] Throughout the thirteenth century, formalized performances of questions on a wide range of topics were being held at the University of Paris, summaries of which were drawn up and circulated as quodlibets. The name reflected the range of

---

[26] Bec, *Joute Poetique,* 11.
[27] Bec, *Joute Poetique*, 11.
[28] Bossy, *Medieval Debate Poetry,* xi.
[29] On the development of disputation in Paris see John Baldwin's discussion of Peter the Chanter and his circle in *Masters Princes and Merchants* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), vol.1 96-107.

subject matter: quodlibet is Latin for "whatever," and in some cases, the nature of the question can sound similar to that of a *jeu parti*.[30]

It is tempting to draw a positive connection between this scholastic dialogue and the *jeu parti*, which equally juxtaposes contradictions in interpersonal affairs. Jennifer Saltzstein, in a 2012 article "Cleric-trouvères and the *jeux-partis* of Medieval Arras," provides one of the only modern studies devoted to the *jeu parti.* Saltzstein, who has rightly directed attention to the presence of clerics among the trouvères of Arras, holds a rather extreme view of the genre's debt to scholastic culture, stating that "the opening question of a *jeu-parti* is likely a parody of the academic *sententia*."[31] As evidence, she points to the presence of a cluster of prolific cleric-trouvères from Arras.[32] While these singers perform dozens of *jeux partis* between them, I count a total of eight clerics named in Saltztein's article, of the 168 individuals who can be found in the corpus as a whole. Although these eight were indeed prolific, it is in my view misleading to claim that, even in Arras, "the genre was dominated by trouvères who were also clerics."[33]

Saltzstein also draws on the evidence from a miniature in the chansonnier d'Arras (trouvère MS A), depicting two tonsured singers performing a *jeu parti.* (Figure 2) This seems straightforward enough, except that tonsures were themselves a subject of debate and abuse in mid-thirteenth century Arras. During the time this chansonnier was being

[30] See discussion in W.C. Jordan, *Uncesasing Strife, Unending Fear: Jacques de Thérines and the Freedom of the Church in the Age of the Last Capetians* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 11, also see Ian P. Wei, "Gender and Sexuality in Medieval Academic Discourse: Marriage Problems in Parisian Quodlibets," *Mediaevalia* 31 (2010), 5-34.
[31] Saltzstein, "Cleric-Trouvères and the *Jeux partis* of Medieval Arras," 151; but see the discussion of Michèle Gally, *Parler d'Amour*.
[32] Several of these are identified in manuscripts with the rubric *maistre*, indicating that they attained a university degree.
[33] Saltzstein, although she repeats this claim several times, elsewhere qualifies it: "within the learned city of Arras the *jeu parti* was dominated by clerics" Ibid., 162.

compiled and decorated (1278, according to a colophon in the manuscript), Arras was undergoing a tax-evasion crisis, by which many of the city's money-lenders and merchants sought to shirk their communal fiscal duties. This was commonly done by renouncing bourgeois status and taking minor orders, and thus tonsure.[34] As clerics, these men often continued to do business while being exempted from the *taille*, a periodic tax by which bourgeois were obliged to declare and pay a percentage of their net worth. This ingenious if unscrupulous circumvention was much protested by Arras' échevins, who in 1284 brought the case before the French king.[35] The most prolific of the cleric-trouvères cited by Saltzstein was one such pecunious cleric, Jehan de Grieviler. A singer in dozens of *jeux partis*, he was among sixteen unordained clerics alleged by the town's procurator of being married and/or involved in "shameful business dealings, namely usury, shop-keeping, dishonest commerce" in the 1250's.[36] The fraudulence that accompanied Arras' unpopular *taille* was no secret—songs excoriating the practice are recorded in the city's famous collection of *chansons et dits*.[37] To the readership of the chansonnier d'Arras, an illustration of tonsured interlocutors may have represented a "vernacular version of scholastic *disputatio*," as Saltzstein argues, but it also might have suggested crafty bourgeois money-lenders. References to wealth, profit, wages, coinage, and gambling, as

---

[34] On the unpopular *taille*, the periodic tax by which the bourgeois were asked to declare their assets and pay accordingly, and its representation in trouvère poetry, see Pierre-Yves Badel, "Introduction" in *Adam de la Halle: Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1995), 7-9; also J. Lestocquoy, "Deux familles de financiers d'Arras, Louchard et Wagon," *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 32 (1954), 51-76, 64.

[35] Badel, "Introduction," 8.

[36] "qui turpibus negotiationibus se immiscent, utpote usurariis, et tabernariis publicis et continuis, aut qui amplectuntur inhonesta commercia." The sixteen clerics appealed to the bishop of Arras and the cause was sent to Rome; the suit and response of Innocent IV in 1254 is edited in A. Guesnon*, Inventaire Chronologique Des Chartes De La Ville D'Arras*, (Arras: 1863), 31-33; and see discussion by A. Guesnon, "Nouvelles recherches biographiques sur les trouvères artésiens," *Moyen Age*, 15 (1902), 137-73, esp. 162-4.

[37] Ed. Roger Berger, *Littérature et Société arrageoise au XIIIe siècle.*

well as largesse[38] are perhaps more prevalent in the *jeux partis* than those to religious life, although the two often happily coexist.[39]

Figure 3. An illustration depicting *jeu parti* singers (untonsured). Oxford: Bodleian Douce 308, fol. 178r. Saltzstein interpreted the seated singer to be wearing clerical robes; Mary Atchison believed the seated singer depicts a woman.[40] The image accompanies a *jeu parti* sung between "une dame," and "Rolant;" the singers appeal to two noblewomen, the countess of Linaige and Mahaut de Commerci (her sister), to judge their debate. (Langfors, CLVI)

I do not wish to imply that clerical training was unimportant for many of the singers of *jeux partis*, but instead to emphasize that the genre was socially expansive—perhaps more than Saltzstein's definition allows for. Alex Novikoff, whose otherwise rich work exploring the scholastic techniques of the medieval university, repeats and amplifies Saltzstein's hypothesis. "A genre of poems [that] was produced by trouvères who were also clerics," he writes, "the *jeu-parti* belongs to the culture of disputation through its [engagement with scholastic commentary] and its educated, even clerical, yet nonnoble practitioners." And, "it is not written for an aristocratic and courtly class, nor

[38] Several *jeux partis* in which fiscal themes are debated include: Langfors I; XII; LX; XCIX; CVIII; CIX; CXX; CXXXVI; CXXXVIII; CLXII; CLXXIV.
[39] As in CXXXVI: a question of attaining wealth as a canon of Arras, or poverty along with romantic love; this debate is discussed below.
[40] Atchison, Mary, *The Chansonnier of Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 308: essays and complete edition of texts*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 92.

was it dependent on noble patrons."[41] One wonders how Novikoff could have failed to notice the presence of numerous noble competitors and judges, who lent the genre enormous prestige during the thirteenth century, as is evident both in their manuscript depictions (Figure 1) and in their deferential treatment by non-nobles (clerics included) within the texts themselves.[42] Novikoff's comment is even more perplexing since he elsewhere quotes a *jeu parti* performed by the most famous noble composer of the thirteenth century, the man who may have been responsible for the genre's popularizaiton in northern France: Thibaut, Count of Champagne and King of Navarre (1201-1253), whose propagation of musical texts enhanced his own cult of celebrity.

A descendant of the first crusading troubadour, William IX of Poitiers; of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Marie de Champagne—all influential patrons of poets—young Thibaut grew up listening to the songs of traveling musicians echoing through the halls at Reims, alongside recitations of *The Knight of the Cart*, *Eric and Enide*, and other romances for which Champagne had become famous. As an adult, his acclaimed musical compositions, supposedly inspired by unrequited love for Queen Blanche of Castille, were profoundly influenced by troubadour song. Succeeding his uncle, Sancho of Navarre, to that crown in 1234, he traveled to Pamplona and Navarre, accompanied by at least one bilingual trouvère, Chardon de Croisilles, with whom he would later sing a *jeu parti*.[43] It is possible that on this journey he first became acquainted with the Occitan *tensos* and *partimens*, and brought the poetic debates back north with him, introducing the *jeu parti* to northern French circles. Several of his compositions of *jeux partis* can be dated to the

---

[41] Alex J. Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation,* 152-3.
[42] Among many possible examples, see the *jeu parti* between Thibaut de Champagne and "un clerc," Långfors, VI.
[43] It would seem significant that Chardon composed songs in both French and Provençal. See H. Suchier, "Der Minnesänger Chardon," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, xxxi (1907), 129-56.

following decade, when he sang them with former crusading buddies who irreverently gibe him for his corpulence. The opinions he expressed in his *jeux partis* were known and cited, as past precedents, by the leading Arras trouvères, Jehan Bretel and his tonsured friend, Jehan Grieviler. Thibaut de Champagne's nineteen *jeux partis* and *debats* were sung with professional trouvères, crusaders, a cleric, a woman. His partners and judges are a microcosm of the social heterogenaety of the *jeux partis*.

The role of Arras and its vibrant Confrerie des jongleurs et des bourgois,[44] accounts for a majority (around 125) of the recorded *jeux partis*. But while this group is the most numerous, that city was hardly an island. While the Arras group is often assumed to be the driving force behind the whole genre, the songs of Thibaut de Champagne (d.1251) predated those of Arras' prolific singers, Jehan Bretel and Lambert Ferri.[45]

Scholastic disputation was not the only major corrolary to the *jeu parti*: another face of this culture was seen in the burgeoning legal education and profession. In the mid-twelfth century in Languedoc and Provence, law schools had begun to spring up, around the same time that the first *tensos* were being performed.[46] At the recently-founded law school in Montpellier, the Italian jurist Placentinus composed and delivered a humorous

---

[44] Most recently, see Symes, "The Confraternity of Jongleurs and the Cult of the Virgin: Vernacular Devotion and Documentation in Medieval Arras," in Dorothea Kullman (ed.), *The Church and Vernacular Literature in Medieval France,* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2009), 176-97.

[45] Work on the *jeu parti* tradition has been focused on the circle of trouvères in Arras, including Guillaume le Vinier, Jehan Bretel, and Adam de la Halle. Guillaume le Vinier (ca. 1190-1245) on possible dating of two distinct groups of *jeux partis*, see in particular Roberto Crespo, "Il raggruppamento dei 'Jeux Partis' nei canzonieri A, a, e, b," in M. Tyssens, ed., *Lyrique romane médiévale: la tradition des chansonniers*. *Acte du Colloque de Liège, 1989* (1991), 339-428.

[46] Bossy, *Medieval Debate Poetry*, xiii; Linda Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours*, 168-74; M. Boriès, "Origines de l'Université de Montpellier," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux,* 5 (1970), 92-107.

address to incoming students in the form of a prose debate; his *Sermo de legibus* pitted the Goddess *Jurisprudentia* against the faded *Stulta Scientia,* who represented an old style of legal practice.[47] We should not imagine that this sort of performance remained cloistered in a college auditorium: at an urban center such as Montpellier, jurists, students and notaries mingled with troubadours. The thirteenth-century troubadour Uc de Saint Circ gives us a glimpse of this; sent to study at Montpellier by his family, who surely had lofty hopes for his professional career, there he discovered songs, poems, sirventes and tensos. He became a jongleur rather than finishing his studies.[48] Of these urban legal centers, Michel-André Bossy noted "there the troubadours may have gleaned two impotant things: a nodding acquaintance with classical rhetoric and a taste for games of forensics and casuistry. It is plausible to think that these gleanings furnished the ingredients and leavening for the Occitan verse debates [...] It is a tempting hypothesis about origins."[49]

Bossy's hunch about the origins of the troubadour debates is given support by the sole description of the poetic debates by a (near) contemporary, the author of the *Leys d'Amor*, who attempted to categorize the types of troubadour and trouvère song in the fourteenth century. Guilhem Molinier, writing from Marseille in the 1340's, describes the structure of the *tenson* (shared by the *jeu parti*): it is a contrast or debate in which each party supports and discusses some word or action; it procedes in 'new rhymes' or in

---

[47] Herman Kantorowicz, "The Poetical Sermon of a Mediaeval Jurist: Placentinus and his 'Sermo de Legibus,'" *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 2 (1938), 22-41; Peter Goodrich, *Law in the Courts of Love: Literature and other Minor Jurisprudences* (London: Routledge, 1996) 129-31.
[48] See also the comments of Paul Ourliac, "La poésie emprunte d'emblée la langue du droit et elle y gagne assez en précision pour aider à comprendre la structure et l'esprit de la féodalité méridionale." "Troubadours et Juristes," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, no. 30 (1965): 159-77, 162.
[49] Bossy, *Medieval Debate Poetry,* xiv.

couplets; it has two *tornados* (the equivalent of the French *envoi*) "in which the two parts must elect a judge who ends their plea and tenson."[50] Molinier, as if anticipating the curiosity of future scholars, adds a description of part of the performance about which the texts of *tensos* and *jeux partis* are otherwise silent: "The judge can give his judgment in couplets of the same measure, or in new rhymes. Some wish to follow in the judgments the forms of law, in citing the evangelists or other texts that one has the custom to cite in the sentences."[51] He goes on to tell us that if the judge delivers his ruling melodically, he can sing in the "*vielh so*" meaning the same melody as that of the preceding tenso. In short, judges named at the end of a *tenso* sought to render judgment by citing authorities, as would be the practice either the scholastic tradition or in a court of law, and it is to the latter that he explicitly likens the style. That the performance of the southern *tenso* self-consciously mimicked the procudures of the courtroom rings true for the *jeu parti* also, where we have already noted that the vocabulary of intimate relations consistently borrows from the legal profession, and the appeal to judges of high rank also simulates the social structure of the court.

The *Jeux Partis* and their Proverbs

The practice of citing precedents and authorities, described in the *Leys d'Amors*, helps explain another curious feature of the *jeux partis*, which is that they abound with proverbs. "Miex vaut uns tien ke dex c'on va querant" (better to have one thing in hand,

---

[50] "Tensos es contrastz o debatz. en lo qual cascus mante e razona alcun dig o alcun fag. Et aquest dictatz alqunas vetz procezih per novas rimadas […] et aquest conte de. vi. coblas a. x. am doas tornadas en lasquals devo jutge eligir. lequals difinisca lor plag. e lor tenso." Molinier, *Las Leys Damors*, vol.1, 344.

[51] El jutges per aquel meteysh compas de coblas. o per novas rimadas pot donar son jutiamen […] En loqual jutiamen alqu volon seguir forma de dreg. fazen mensio davangelis. e dautras paraulas acostumadas de dire en sentencia." Molinier, *Las Leys Damors*, vol.1, 344.

than to go looking for two);[52] "Avoirs mal aquis apovrie" (ill-gotten riches impoverish);[53] "De grant gerre a la fois grans pais ist" (from great war comes great peace);[54] and many more. Langfors, in his 1926 edition of the *jeux partis*, found upwards of seventy proverbs; Claude Buridant, a half-century later, identified an additional twenty. Proverbial expressions show up all over medieval French literature and song; by the fourteenth century, they could be commonly found in motets.[55] In the context of the *jeu-parti*, where they were used to amplify or crystallize a singer's argument in a pithy and commonly-known statement.

Take a *jeu parti* between Jehan Bretel and Jehan Simon. They argue a (seemingly frivolous) question: 'Who serves Love better, he who loves from the age of sixteen until fifty, and then renounces love, or he who at the age of forty begins to love, and continues to do so as long as he lives?'[56] What is, on its face, an improbable hypothetical scenario turns out to be a meditation on what acts are appropriate for each stage of life: Jehan Simon maintains that "he who waits until he is old [to love] has paid Love badly, be certain of it! A man should use his time of youth for Love, and when he's old, beg God for mercy."[57] Bretel counters "Jehan, a linen worker with perseverance is worth more than a young buck who regrets having worked at all. Love is born of the heart, not the

[52] Långfors, LXXXVI, l.62; versions of this proverb appear in LXXV, l.46; CXLIX, ll.35-6; and CXXVIII, l.38; widely attested, see Le Roux de Lincy, *Le Livre des proverbes français* 2 vols. (Paris: Delahays, 1859), vol.2, 350.
[53] Långfors, CXVI, l.49, Le Roux de Lincy, *Le livre des proverbes,* vol. 2, 272.
[54] Langfors, LXXV, l. 40; Joseph Morowski, *Proverbes français antérieurs au XV Siecle* (Paris: Champion, 1925), no. 110.
[55] Elizabeth Schulze-Busacker, *Proverbes et expressions proverbiales dans la littérature narrative du Moyen Age français*, (Geneva: Slatkine, 1985).
[56] Langfors, LXXIV.
[57] Puis ke li ons atent tant k'il est vieus/ Ançois k'il aint, il a mauvaisement/ Paié Amours, de chou soiés chertains/ Kar en Amours doit li hom premerains/ Metre son tans et sa jouenece user/ Et, qant est vieus, a Dieu merchi krier." Ibid, ll.11-16.

spleen […] A good end makes the work worthwhile."[58] This last line, "Li bone fins fait l'ouvrage loer," adapts the proverb "la fin couronne l'oeuvre" (the outcome crowns the work).[59] (By re-stating it slightly, the composer is able to conform to the rhyme-scheme). Jehan Simon quips back with his own proverb, "Sire, the clever man knows to leave when his game is going well."[60] In other words, "Quit while you're ahead."

In this debate, one singer argues that true love can flourish at any age — it stems from the heart, not only from the youthful body, he says. He who loves as a youth and gives up on it at age forty is like a craftsman who gives up before his fine fabric is completed (the linen trade mentioned by Bretel was the bread and butter of many inhabitants of Artois, giving its name, for example, to the town of Lens). The other takes a more bodily, less sentimental approach: in a man's mature years he should atone for his sins; youth is for loving, and, presumably doing something to atone for. He likens love to a game of hazard, in which the savvy player knows to quit when he is flush.

This dichotomy between the elevated, ennobling approach to love, and its bodily, worldly constraints is carried out in the final verses, the envois: Bretel, addressing his envoi to the judge Ferri, accuses his opponent of giving "false and vain advice", "for never with the saints/ will he be able to enter into paradise/ if he doesn't finish a job well, its quite clear," (son loier pert con faus et vains/ Ki ne parsert, ne ja aveuc les sains / En

---

[58] I thank William Jordan for pointing out that the *rains* –kidneys, or spleen, are traditionally considered the seat of undisciplined passion; the word was used thus in the King James Bible, as, for example, in Proverbs 23:16, "yea, my reins shall rejoice, when they lips speak right things." Reins are often paired with the heart, as in Psalms 26:2, "Examine me, O Lord, and prove me; try my reins and my heart."
[59] M. Le Roux de Lincy, *Le livre des proverbes françaises,* 2 vols. (Paris: Delahays, 1859), vol. 2, 493.
[60] "Sire, sachiés k'entreus k'est biaus li geus/ Le doit laissier ki tant a d'ensient," ll. 41-42.

paradis ne pora nus entrer /Se bone fin ne l'i met, ch'est tout cler).[61] Jehan Simon, addressing his envoi to the judge Felippot, ends his verse with another proverbial expression:

Felippot, on doit mengier a deux mains	Felippot, he who is hungry should eat with both hands
Ki a bien fain et, qant ses cuers est plains,	and stop when he's had his fill,
Cesser; kar c'est anuis de tant limer.	It's tedious to go over the limits
Nus trop n'est preus; boin fait a point siecler.[62]	nor does it make a man noble. To each thing its time and place.

Both singers use proverbs to support their arguments, and this quipping may share some kinship with another oral tradition, of proverb-capping, in which the object is to outlast the opponent in reciting proverbs that bear some relation to the previous one.[63]

Several explanations have been suggested for the popularity of proverbs in the *jeux partis*. Michèle Gally observed that proverbs are found more often among the bourgeois poets Jehan Bretel and Adam de la Halle than in the early *jeux partis* of King Thibaut of Navarre — she suggested that proverbs were used by this urban milieux to make them feel more at home with high-brow poetic conventions. "Ces hommes et ces femmes cultivés […] se sentent plus à l'aise dans une poésie qui mêle des éléments divers (forme familière de la discussion, proverbes, images concrètes) et qui, ce faisant, instaure la poésie comme jeu dans un sens différent du grand chant."[64] Pfeffer goes even further in associating proverbial speech with social class, maintaining that proverbs

---

[61] Ibid., ll. 49-52.
[62] Ibid., ll. 53-56. The meaning of *siecler* and of this line is glossed by Langfors, "mener une vie mondaine; entendez: il faut le faire en temps et lieu, non au delà des limites convenables." *Recueil Générale,* p. 278.
[63] The most famous early modern example of proverb-capping, admittedly several centuries later, appears in Shakespeare's Henry V, 3.7, but also in earlier English Corpus Christi plays; meanwhile, in his study of Biblical poetry, Robert Alter suggested a form of proverb-capping may have been used in ancient Hebrew pedagogical practice between teacher and student. *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 163-4.
[64] Gally, "Disputer D'Amour: Les Arrageois et le Jeu-Parti" *Romania* v.107, (1986), 55-76, 75.

themselves are “an element of diction associated with the peasantry” and that “the use of an argument taken from the *vulgus* serves to undercut the serious tone that otherwise applies.”[65] Pfeffer’s points are controversial. Why should medieval proverbs, which she herself notes were attributed to classical and Biblical authorities as well as to the *vilain,* be assumed to signal only peasant speech? Likewise, the supposedly “serious tone” of the *jeux partis* is not necessarily undercut by proverbs, which are not inherently comical, and can just as easily be used in a serious manner, as seen above.[66]

The insights of proverb scholars (paremiologists) are germane. Barry Taylor defined the proverb as “a text which gives advice on conduct, expressed in brief sentences paratactically arranged.”[67] Roger Abrahams and Barbara Babcock made a similar point, “proverbs achieve their primary ontological status through their use in face-to-face situations where they carry the force of appearing to embody norms and and are therefore voiced by ones who appear to represent society.”[68] Elsewhere, they have been defined simply as “a saying in more or less fixed form marked by shortness, sense, and salt.”[69] Since the *jeux partis* are at their essence debates of social norms and appropriate action argued through verse, a pithy saying that distills popular wisdom would seem peerless in its applicability. Proverbs are the common law of the *jeu parti* courtroom.

---

[65] Wendy Pfeffer, “The Riddle of the Proverb,” in Glyn Burgess and Robert Taylor, eds., *The Spirit of the Court: Selected Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1985) 254-263, 256.
[66] Salzstein, meanwhile, asserts that proverbs “function as a vernacular version of the *auctoritates*, quotations of scripture and classical authorities used as evidence in disputations and academic commentaries.” “The Cleric-Trouvère,” 151.
[67] Taylor, “Medieval Proverb Collections: The West European Tradition” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 55 (1992), 19-35, 19.
[68] Abrahams and Babcock “The Literary Use of Proverbs,” *The Journal of American Folklore*, 90 (1977), 414-429, 415.
[69] Ruth Finnegan, “Proverbs in Africa,” in Wolfgang Mieder and Alan Dundes (eds.), *The Wisdom of Many: Essays on the Proverb*, 10-42, 14.

It may not be too far-fetched to look widely at how proverbs function, even today, in societies with thriving oral traditions. In some parts of the world, proverbs *are* used to establish precedents in oral legal ritual. “The impersonal power of proverbs is perhaps most apparent in the well-known African judicial processes in which the participants argue with proverbs intended to serve as past precedents for present actions,” Ojo Arewa and Alan Dundes wrote of the Yoruba tradition of West Africa. “It is not enough to know the proverbs; it is also necessary to be expert in applying them to new situations. The case usually will be won, not by the man who knows the most proverbs, but by the man who knows best how to apply [them] to the problem at hand.”[70] Hence the Yoruba saying, “it is the right proverb that settles complicated and difficult problems.”[71] Today, fluency in the Yoruba language itself is associated with a speaker’s mastery of proverbs.[72]

Were the competitors of *jeux partis* ever crowned victor because of their skilful and apt citation of proverbs? The example of West African proverb use is suggestive of the weight that these pithy, traditional sayings can carry in any social context, but especially in a society where memory and oral tradition continue to thrive alongside written record. R. Howard Bloch, writing not of the *jeu parti* specifically, but of the oral recitation of literature in medieval France, likened it to a feudal court procedure, in the sense that “both fulfilled a common purpose – the affirmation of an acknowledged set of shared beliefs and aspirations through the articulation of a collective history as

[70] Ojo Arewa and Alan Dundes, “Proverbs and the Ethnography of Speaking Folklore,” *American Anthropologist*, n.s, 66 (1964), 70-85, 70.
[71] “Amoran mo owe nii laja ora” discussed in Oladele Abiodun Balogun, “A Jurisprudential Analysis of Yoruba Proverbs,” *Cambrian Law Review*, 85 (2006) 85-94, 90.
[72] I thank Adedoyin Teriba for this insight.

prerequisite to the constitution of the legal and social community."[73] The use of the colloquial sayings in the *jeux partis* was, without a doubt, a strategy for consensus building, a ploy to persuade the audience and judges of one side or another with familiar truths.

There is a final point to be made about the proverb and why, at a structural level, it harmonized so well with the medieval debates. Years ago, the brilliant folklorist Alan Dundes demonstrated that across cultures, proverbs conform to two basic structures which he called equational and oppositional.[74] Both types consist of a pair of images: a topic/comment. Equational proverbs suggest equivalence between the two images they compare. To use examples from the *jeux partis*: "from great war, great peace" (de grant guerre a la fois grant pais est), or "the outcome crowns the work" (la fin couronne l'oeuvre). Oppositional proverbs, on the other hand, contrast the two images they present: "better to have one thing in hand, than to go looking for two" (Miex vaut uns tien ke dex c'on va querant); "you can't make a sparrowhawk from a buzzard," (de bruhier ne porroit nus faire esprevier),[75] or when a proverb reverses the usual chronological priority of actions: "don't lock the stable door after the horse has been lost" (On doint anchois l'estavel verillier que li chevaus soit perdus).[76] Dundes and others also noted the structural similarities between proverbs and riddles, "however, whereas the oppositions in riddles are resolved by the answer, the oppositional proverb is itself an answer to a

---

[73] Bloch, *Medieval French Literature and Law* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 3.
[74] Alan Dundes, "On the Structure of the Proverb" in W. Mieder and A. Dundes, eds., *The Wisdom of Many: Essays on the Proverb,* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981), 43-64.
[75] Långfors, CXXII, 38-40, and Morawski, no.965.
[76] Långfors, CXXII, 51-2; Morawski, no. 151.

proverb-evoking situation, and the opposition is posed, not resolved. In this sense, proverbs only state problems in contrast to riddles which solve them."[77]

What does the structure of the proverb tell us about the *jeu parti*? Wendy Pfeffer, who was equally provoked by Dundes's comparison of proverbs and riddles concluded that the question posed by the *jeu parti* is itself a riddle, and that it is resolved by the use of the proverb.[78] An intriguing comparison, yet unlike a riddle, the question of a *jeu parti* does *not* have a single, irrefutable answer. Rather, *jeux partis*, like oppositional proverbs, pose the unsolvable questions of life, life's "contrastive pairs:" at what age is it best to love, youth or maturity? Which type of man is better, a skilled warrior who lacks grace and courtesy, or a well-rounded one who lacks prowess? Does a girl set herself up for seduction by aquiescing to listen to an unknown suitor; does she miss the opportunity for a husband if she does not? Many *jeux partis* weigh questions of infidelity and forgiveness: "should I continue to love the girl who has betrayed me, or leave her?"[79]

While the game of the *jeu parti* is to name judges who render final opinions, the fun of the contest is that there can never really be a right or wrong answer; winners are victorious by their persuasive rhetoric or humor or poetic mastery or the beauty of their singing voice, not necessarily because of the answer they choose. The infatuation with the *jeu parti* and perhaps the culture of disputation itself may tell us something about the worldview of the thirteenth-century populace: a belief that life's great choices *always* entail compromise. The drama of the *jeu parti* is that it presents us a man or a woman

[77] Dundes, "On the Structure of the Proverb," 60.
[78] "If we take the question posed by the trouvères at the beginning of a *jeu-parti* as a riddle, which I believe it surely is, then it is even more appropriate that this "unsolvable" problem be resolved by recourse to the riddle's inverse, the proverb." Pfeffer, "The Riddle of the Proverb," 262.
[79] Långfors, II.

poised at a crossroads, knowing that neither path can be chosen without forfeiting something of the other.

This is not a universal attitude. Indeed, why *should* one be forced to choose whether to love in youth or maturity only? The *jeu parti*, even the medieval culture of disputation, would have been profoundly at odds with, for example, a worldview found in the modern United States, which aspires to unceasing love, youth, wealth, upward mobility, sexual equality; what we might dub a "culture of acquisition." Maybe I am being reductive: we still know that you can't have your cake and eat it too, and you win some, you lose some. The thirteenth-century audience of the *jeux partis* would have been acutely aware of these trade-offs.

This leads us to address a final assumption that has been made about the *jeux partis*: that as apparently abstract questions, mostly involving love, that they lack bearing on the realities of daily life. Their questions are "hypothetical to say the least," one scholar put it.[80] Perhaps it is because so many questions involve sex, either metaphorically or explicitly, that most scholars have been reluctant to discuss them in detail, and to unpack their rich array of themes and anxieties,[81] relying instead on Långfors' 1926 characterization of their subject matter as "assez homogene: se sont presque toujours des 'demandes d'amour.'" Långfors could not have known how often his definition would be repeated by future scholars to describe this extremely un-

---

[80] Pfeffer, "The Riddle of the Proverb," 261.
[81] Even Saltzstein, who one would expect to be unshackled by Långfors' century-old reticence, glosses over the more suggestive (and humorous) lines of her pious cleric, saying simply that he "offers an off-color vernacular reinterpretation of [Saint Anselm's] pedagogical metaphor." "Cleric-Trouvères," 157.

homogenous genre.[82] As seen above, topics that in one verse dance around issues of sexual performance in youth can in the next verge on existential questions of the heart—loving may be the activity of youth, but who, after all, would wish to spend the final days of life without love? *Jeux partis* do not need to resort to proverbs in order to make courtly values accessible to a bourgeois milieu. Their popular appeal, spanning straight across the literate classes of northern French society, stemmed from their effortless and elegant juxtapositions of the the carnal and the spiritual, the sacred and the profane, the ennobling and the self-serving impulses of human nature, all the while attempting the impossible: to delicately balance these incommensurate values on the scales of Lady Justice. But in this courtroom, answers are only arrived at through wit, humor, and music. The attempt to find answers to these unanswerable questions casts a new authority over the profession of the *trouvère*: he who finds, who discovers.

The Reality behind the Jeux Partis

The questions posed by these singers were not always frivolous, and they were not always hypothetical. *Jeu parti* lyrics are saturated with details from immediate reality. True, we rarely know enough about the personal lives of singers to recognize whether his or her debate precisely reflected their own personal crossroads or dilemmas, but we often

[82] His definition is almost ubiquitously reproduced verbatim. Yet in the 184 known *jeux partis*, a few of the recurrent and in my opinion diverse themes woven in with those of love are: status and social class; youth, age and the passage of time; memory and forgetfulness; trust v. trickery; beauty v. wit; virginity v. carnal knowledge; miserliness and gluttony; wealth and the wheel of fortune; tournaments; male prowess and male sensitivity; a man's capacity to bring a woman to orgasm; the sexual restraints posed by religion; the trouble caused by women in politics; *losengiers* (gossip-mongers); jealousy; crusade; empire; gambling; vengeance; ugliness; and so on. Michèle Gally, in her assessment of the *jeux partis* between Adam de la Halle and Jehan Bretel, listed the following salient themes: psychological vocabulary; juridical vocabulary, chivalry, commercial transactions and money values, religion; natural or bodily functions; the métiers; agriculture; games; beasts; nature. "Disputer d'Amour," 68.

have clues that *jeux partis* were personalized according to their singers and judges. For the most part, these clues are noted only in broad strokes or minor details. For example, wealth and largesse are themes that appear in many *jeux partis*, but are approached very differently by different classes. When Bernart, lord of La Ferté muses along with the Count of Brittany, the Count of Guelder, and Charles, Count of Anjou over which quality is more to be prized — prowess or largesse — the discussion almost has the air of political strategizing:

Cuens de Bretaigne, sanz fauser,	Count of Brittany, I won't stretch the truth,
Largesce vaut meuz, ce m'est vis,	largesse is better, in my view
Car largece fet homme amer	since largesse makes a man beloved
A trestoz ceus de son païs	by all those in his lands:
Meesmement ses anemis	even his enemies
Puet on conquerre par doner,	can be conquered by giving,
Et si en puet on acheter	and so, one can even buy
L'amor au roi de Paradis,	the love of the king of Paradise
Et qui l'a, mout li est bien pris.[83]	and who has that, has gained quite a nice prize.

Nonplussed by this rather blunt materialism, the Count of Brittany (probably Jean I "le Roux," 1217-1286)[84] responds, championing prowess. In his experience, one can burn through largesse like "a fire of straw: when it's burnt its worth nothing." (Qu'ele senble feu de paille/ Quant est ars, bien sé sanz faille/ Riens ne vaut; por ce m'est avis/ Proëce doit avoir le pris.)[85] The count later replies with what sounds like a proverb,

Bernart, j'ai toz jorz oï dire	Bernart, I've forever heard it said
Que le cor gaaigne l'avoir	that courage wins the riches
Et se il est à mauvès sire,	And if courage belongs to a bad lord
Quel chose li fera l'avoir?	what sort of a gift will he make?

[83] Långfors I, ll.10-18.
[84] A discussion of Jean I of Brittany and the other participants and judges of this *jeu parti* is found in Långfors, *Recueil Général*, "Partenaires et Juges," xi-xiv.
[85] Ibid., ll. 22-25.

Meanwhile, in the bourgeois poetry clubs of Arras, largesse is juxtaposed not with martial skill but with poetic speech. "Who is more deserving of the love of his *amie*: he who courts her with beautiful words, or he who gives her expensive gifts?" Jehan de Grieviler, who we know to have sheltered his financial assets from the *taille* as a (married) cleric, disdain's lucre: "A noble heart can't be bought for a denier, Love doesn't care for money! It wishes for and prizes and cherishes a courteous heart and beautiful speech." (Kar nus gentieus cuers ne tent/ A amer pour nul denier/ Amours n'aime pas argent, Ains veut et prise et tient chier/ Courtois cuer et bel parlier).[86]

His opponent, Jehan Cuvelier, perhaps the same *Johannes Cuvellarius, burgensis de Bapalmis* who was leasing lands near Arras in 1258, responds "Grieviler, Love teaches that one should both give and receive/ the more you give, the more you get," (Grieviler, Amours aprent/ K'on soit et large et entier/ Ki plus I met plus I prent.)[87] In his final verse, Grieviler responds with false humility, making what looks like an in-joke about his own finances, and then naming the Treasurer of Aire as his judge:

Cuvelier, le povre gent	Cuvelier, the poor man
Volés de joie eslongier.	wishes to enlarge his joy;
D'amours parlés nichement;	he speaks foolishly of love.
Si m'en met el Tresorier	Therefore I place myself in the hands of the Treasurer
D'Aire pour nous apaisier.[88]	of Aire to make peace between us.

The Treasurer of Aire was a functionary of the church of Saint-Pierre d'Aire-sur-la-Lys,[89] and it is not accidental that he is chosen as judge in this money-oriented *jeu parti*. Grieviler makes this explicit in the envoi, looking to this authority in fiscal matters to rule in his favor.

---

[86] Långfors, XCIX, 23-27.
[87] Ibid., ll.28-30. On Johannes Cuvelier, see Långfors, "Partenaires et Juges," xxxi.
[88] Ibid., ll. 55-59.
[89] Långfors, "Partenaires et Juges," xxxi.

Details such as these abound, fixing the *jeux partis* in an immediate reality rather than abstract fantasy. The wealthy town magistrate Robert de le Piere (échevin of Arras in 1255) poses the question to the trouvère Matthew of Ghent, "If you could choose between being a canon of Arras with great riches and prebends, but never have a lover your whole life, or to be beloved throughout your life, but without being a canon, which would you prefer?"[90] Matthew chooses love, and makes a dig at Robert's wealth.[91] A more comic example unfolds between the famous trouvère Gillebert de Berneville, and Thomas Herier. Gillebert, evidently familiar with Thomas's favorite food, asks him, "Tell me without lying [sans felonie], in exchange for the fortune of Audefroi Louchart would you give up eating peas with lard?"[92] The Loucharts were the wealthiest banking family of the city and Audefroi was maybe in the audience (he was named judge of another Arras *jeu parti*).[93] *Poix au lard*, now sometimes called *Petits pois à la française* is a popular dish in Arras still today. Thomas replied, "By faith, Gillebert my fine sire, I've given this matter some thought… I have a big enough house; by all accounts, I'm well lodged. A man who loses the thing he desires has no great riches. So I say to you, I take the peas of lard."[94] Gillebert scoffs, "Thomas, why do you lie? You've chosen badly […] Who would refuse such great joy, to be bloated with peas?" But Thomas sticks to his guns: "Gillebert de Berneville, you don't grasp my wit in the least. Notwithstanding, I tell you without guile [*sans gille* – a pun on Gillebert's name], If I were count or king, three

---

[90] Långfors, CXXXVI.
[91] "Avoir vos ait si sougit/ Ke jamaix bien n'amereis," ll.44-45.
[92] Langfors, CXXXVIII.
[93] Audefroi was also perhaps a patron of Gillebert, who elsewhere dedicated a song to him. For other references to Audefroi's wealth, see Gally, *Parler d'amour au puy d'Arras*, 44.
[94] Ibid., ll. 11-20.

times per day would I avail myself of peas; Such joy do I have when they're mashed that I sing in a high voice."

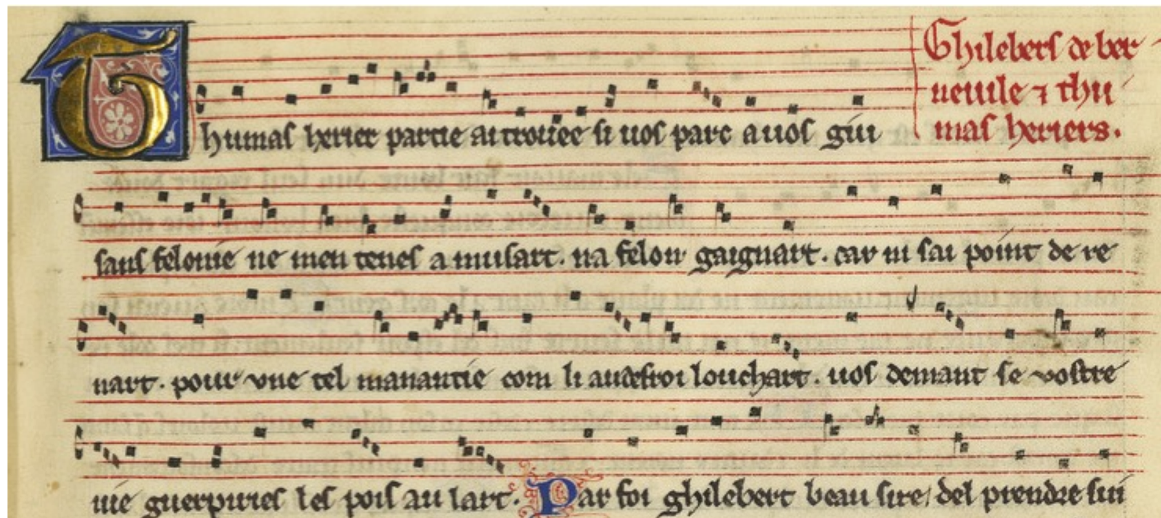


Figure 4. A jeu parti between Gillebert de Berneville and Thomas Herier (Långfors CXXXVIII) Chansonnier de Noailles. Paris, BN fr. 12615 fol. 34r.

Ghile - bert de Berne - vile, Mon sens ne pri - si - és deus nois;
3
Nep - pour - quant sa - ci - és sans gille, Se g'es - toie quens u rois,
5
Cas - cun jour trois fo - is Ser - oit de pois mes con - rois;
7
Tel joie ai quant on les pile Que j'en chant a haute vois.
9
S' - av - oie sou - hais trois mi - le, Je ne pren - droie fors po - is.

Music Example 1. *Thumas Herier partie ai trouvee*, (Langfors CXXXVIII) verse 2. Music with text of Thomas Herier's response to Gillebert de Berneville's question.

The melody of this *jeu parti*, recorded in Chansonnier *T,* does in fact reach its high point on "joie,"[95] and the lines "such joy do I have […] / that I sing in a high voice" (Example 1, measures 7-8), ascend to a high G before coming down again. Did Thomas Herier exploit this melodic crescendo to humorous effect, perhaps by singing in a falsetto? The in-jokes of this *jeu parti*—its references to local food and local people — may seem preposterous and comedic. But as per usual, the tone that is one moment slap-stick switches just as quickly to one of philosophical reflection, as when Thomas observes that true value stems not from money itself, but from the thing one loves most: "A man who loses the thing he desires has no great riches. I say to you, I take the peas with lard."

A handful of *jeu parti* questions reflect real decisions on the parts of their singers.[96] Put another way, we are lucky, in a handful of cases, to know enough of the lives of their singers that we can recognize the reality behind the mask of wit and music. One of these belongs to Thibaut de Bar, a younger son of Thibaut II, Count of Bar. Young Thibaut had become the prince-bishop of Liège in 1303; in 1309 or 1310 he joined the expedition to Rome of Henry VII of Luxembourg, recently elected *Rex Romanorum*.[97] Henry had narrowly beaten the French candidate, Charles of Valois, in this election; he had aspirations of reinstating imperial sovereignty and the *pax romanum*

---

[95] *Joie* is often used in the *jeux partis* to denote not only happiness, but also sexual pleasure or orgasm.
[96] See that between Charles of Anjou and his trouvère, Perrin d'Angicourt, discussed in the Conclusion, which spoke directly to Charles's political ambitions and was suggestive of his advantageous marriage. Långfors, CXLII.
[97] On the prince-bishopric of Liège, Walter Prevenier, "The Low Countries, 1290-1415" in Michael Jones, ed., *New Cambridge Medieval History* vol.6, (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2000), 580-582; on Thibaut in the service of Henry VII, and his subsequent death, William Bowsky, *Henry VII in Italy: The Conflict of Empire and City-State* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960), 101, 160, 229 n.24.

between the warring Guelphs and Ghibellines, and in preparation for his coronation with the Iron Crown of Lombardy and glorious entry to Rome he gathered a substantial army to accompany him on way his through the Italian peninsula.

The *jeu parti* addressed to Thibaut unfolds thus:

Thiebaus de Bair, li rois des Allemans	Thiebaus de Bar, the king of Germany
An vuelt aler a Rome por avoir	wishes to go to Rome to have
L'ampire et vuelt c'uns riches hons pouxans	the empire and wishes to bring a rich and powerful man
Voit avoc lui, et li ait fait savoir;	to go with him, and he makes it known to him.
Et cilz li ait promis par son valoir,	and this one has sworn to him, by his honor
Come ces hons, par foi et par linaige	as his man, by faith and by lineage,
C'o lui irait. Mais belle et bone et saige,	that he will go with him. But a beautiful, good and wise [woman]
Qui par amor aimme lou bacheler,	who for love adores the bachelor—
Et cilz li tant come on puet fame amer,	and he loves her as much as one can love a woman
Li prie et vuelt dou tot k'il n'i voit mie.	begs him and wishes that he would not take the journey.
Lou queil lairait, ou lou roi ou s'amie?[98]	who should he leave, either the king or his *amie*?

Thibaut replies, "Roland, this path is quite pleasing to the man who is ready to advance himself for honor. The king wishes him to go; he who undertakes this journey must have great joy. Indeed, the woman who would deter her beloved from this path should be considered flighty! I see no honor in remaining." (Rolan, moult est cille voie plaixans/ Qui por honor est anprinse a movoir./ Li rois, qui est a honor antandans/ Tant ke il puist an haut siege seoir/ La vuelt aler; moult doit grant joie avoir/ Cil qu'il prie d'aler en son voaige./ On tanroit bien bone dame a volaige/ Que son amin en vorroit destorner. Je n'I voi point d'onor au demorer).[99]

"How the times have changed, Thibaut de Bar!" retorts his friend. "I remember the day when love gave you pain. Now you speak no more in song or romance [. . .] I say

[98] Langfors, CLXXI, ll.1-11.
[99] Langfors, CLXXI, ll. 12-20.

that man owes his first homage to Love, who taught him how to love, and who made him worthy of embrace, and if she is beautiful and well chosen, neither emperors nor kings can deny me." (Thiebaus de Bair, bien est chaingiés li tans/ Je vix lou jor c'amor vos fist doloir. N'an parleis plus n'an chans ne an romans […] Je di k'il voit a son premier homaige: C'est a Amor, qui l'aprist a ameir/ Et qui l'ait fait a vallor ambrazer/ Et se li ait belle et bone chozie/ N'ampereires ne rois nou feroit mie.)[100] In another verse, Roland appeals to historical precedent,

Li grans Cesar, qui tant ot de pooir	The great Ceasar, who had such power
Amors lou fist venir a son servaige	love brought him into her service
Por la belle plaixant, au cler visaige,	for the ravishing, fair-faced
Cleopatras, ke tant fist a loeir.	Cleopatra, who was so often praised.
Por ceu di je c'amors n'ait point de peir.	for this I say that Love has no peer.
Je ferai ceu ke ma dame me prie:	I'll act according to what my lady begs of me:
Amors lou vuelt et volanteit l'otrie.[101]	Love wishes it, and authorizes it gladly.

"Make Love, not War," Roland seems to say. Following his appeal, the two friends go silent. No music is recorded, and they leave us no envoys addressed to judges. Perhaps Thibaut de Bar's mind was already made up. Two years later, he died in Rome, defending his king from an attack by Robert, King of Naples, grandson of Charles of Anjou. Henry VII himself died, unexpectedly, a year later in 1213, and with him immediate hopes of restoring the empire.

The Jeux Partis and the Pragmatism of Love

Around the first decade of the fourteenth century, people ceased composing new *jeux partis*, or if they did, they were not writing them down. (The group of *jeux partis* from Lorraine and Bar, of which Thibaut de Bar's belongs are the latest known

[100] Langfors, CLXXI, ll. 23-26, 29-33.
[101] Langfors, CLXXI, ll. 45-55.

compositions.)[102] While the proverb “de grant guerre en fois grant pais est” may aptly characterize the Capetian thirteenth century, by the fourteenth, the great peace had again given way to great war, especially in Artois. Simmering tensions between the Count of Flanders and the king of France in 1297 escalated into open warfare that would continue on and off for the next decade, soberingly reflected in Artois’ tax registers with entries describing the landscape as wasted (“tenances wastees”) and others recording comments such as “nothing received for the rent of the toll-road, no one could be found to lease it to because of the war.”[103] In the column where payments should be listed, a repetitious phrase appears instead: “riens rechut pour le were” (nothing collected, due to the war). The wars which ravaged the northern borderlands interrupted everything, not least the commerce between France, Flanders and England that had formerly made the region so wealthy and the bourgeoisie so free with their largesse. Ambitious trouvères retreated from Arras, seeking noble patrons, whom they often followed even into war.[104] (In the later thirteenth century, this had been the fate of Adam de la Halle, sometimes called “the last trouvère,” who followed Robert II of Artois on campaign to Italy. There the celebrated Artesian composer wrote his last, brilliant, musical comedy to entertain the French troops, along with an unfinished encomium to Charles of Anjou, before he himself died, never to see Arras again.) The fourteenth century sees the northern courts, rather than the urban centers, becoming the real power-houses of musical production, and

---

[102] See comments of Pierre Marot, “Identifications de quelques partenaires et juges des ‘unica’ des jeux-partis du Chansonnier d’Oxford,” 266-274.

[103] “Dou travers de le cauchie de Lens qui soloit estre a cense pour 67 l., demouré en le main ma dame pour ce que on ne troeve qui le voelle acensir pour le were ….nient rechut pour le were.” From the account of the bailli of Lens at Allsaints, 1303. The tax farm remained unfilled throughout that year. Edited by Bernard Delmaire, *Le comte général du receveur d’Artois pour 1303-1304* (Brussels, Palais des Académies, 1977), 65 and following.

[104] See discussion in Symes, *A Common Stage,* 248-9.

figures like Guillaume de Machaut turning the vocation of the trouvère into a more elite profession.

The episode presented by Thibaut de Bar gives us a glimmer of the realities lurking behind the questions and preoccupations of the *jeux partis*. Thibaut's dilemma, upon reflection, is not such a far cry from the first *jeu parti* we encountered, of which qualities a woman should value most in a man, prowess or "le surplus." Of course, we know from his friend's speech that Thibaut de Bar was hardly a one-dimensional warrior — in yesteryear he had given himself over to love, to singing and romance — those were the days! The friendly duo of Thibaut, determined to risk everything for his king, and Roland, urging him to remain in the embrace of love and safety, recalls the most illustrious friendship preserved in French literary memory, that between Roland and Olivier. "Roland est proz e Oliver est sage;" the heroes of the *Chanson de Roland* constituted their own "contrastive pair," and the dramatic and philosophical tension that stemmed from Olivier's urging Roland to sound the oliphant and summon aid to Charlemagne's ambushed rearguard, and Roland's repeated refusal to do so out of his unswerving sense of honor, was probably the most famous unresolvable question of medieval French literature. Roland set a standard of glory amid tragedy to which future generations of warriors aspired, Thibaut de Bar included. "Now you speak no more in song or romance;" his friend's reproach was more prescient than either knew. Thibaut's songs of love would indeed be silenced by war and honor; the fate of his devoted and wise lady, and even her name, remain unrecorded.

A great pleasure of the *jeux partis* is that their tempo does not leave time to dwell on potential tragedy — their effervescence is such that sentimentality is balanced by humor and pragmatism. If Thibaut's nameless and deserted *amie*, and his best friend Roland were desolate after his departure and death, they might have taken some comfort from another *jeu parti* which posed a similar dilemma:

Sire Jehan Bretel, conseill vous prie,	Sire Jehan Bretel, I seek your counsel,
Se il vous plest, et quar le me donnez.	if you please, would you give it to me?
J'aim une dame de cuer, sans vilonnie,	I love a lady with my heart, without baseness
Sage et plesant, plaine de grans bontez.	wise and lovely, she's full of virtues.
Uns miens compains, qui pieç'a est alez	a friend of mine, who for a long time has been traveling
Hors du païs, l'amoit bien sans boisdie	outside the country, loved her well without deceit
Et dist a moi que gardasse s'amie	and he asked me if I would keep guard of his lady
En couvent l'ai. Le quel me loerez:	I swore to this. What would you advise,
S'amour proier ou souffrir les grietez?[105]	to ask for her love, or suffer in this misery?

The *jeu parti* mixes the tragedy of loss with the potential of new love: life moves on, and flirtation and song spring anew. Thibaut de Bar's berieved lover and friend may have mourned him through song — numerous commemorative pieces written by our thirteenth-century trouvères marked the loss of friends — they may also have taken comfort in one another, as the author of the above *jeu parti* wished to do. To me, the pragmatism of love in the *jeu parti* suggests not frivolity, but an understated and often unspoken background of loss and attrition. Their pragmatic love suggests a society that could not always afford to stick to the lofty ideals of courtly desire. Instead, their performers sing out life's most charged decisions in the company of friends. They adjudicate over such questions—if only, as in a court of law, there were a wise judge with the answers! They grapple with dangers and tragedies on the one hand, and balance them

[105] Långfors, XCV, ll. 1-9.

with irrepressible eros and tenderness on the other. The *jeux partis* are not “mediocrities,” a genre that was “not prolific in great works of art,” rather, they bring Roland and Olivier into the age of Romance, promoting a capacious worldview that celebrates both warriors and musicians. They may just be thirteenth-century France’s best kept secret.

Chapter Four

Singers without Borders: a performer's *rotulus* and the transmission of *jeux partis*[*]

> Letters are shapes indicating voices. Hence they represent things which they bring to mind through the windows of the eyes. Frequently they speak voicelessly the utterances of the absent.
>
> John of Salisbury*, Metalogicon*[1]

> [My father] was a wonderful singer and story-teller. And I heard from him how Henry, king of England, used to give horses and mules, and how much he used to make the rounds towards Lombardy, to the worthy marquis, and to two or three other lands where he found enough barons who were just and of good manners and generous to everyone. And I heard many Catalans and Provençals named, and Gascons, gentle and loving toward ladies; and they used to make war and quarrel. Because father described things to me thus, I became a jongleur [with] your verses. And I have gone over land and sea, many towns and castles in all directions, and visited lands and barons, twice as many as I can tell.
>
> Raymond Vidal*, Abril Issa*[2]

How was vernacular verse, song and popular culture transmitted from one locale to the next in high medieval Europe? How was it transmitted temporally, between generations? "Unless sounds are held in the memory of man, they perish, for they cannot be written down" was the bleak determination of Isidore of Seville, writing in the seventh century.[3] As pre-modern historians are acutely aware, a vast sound-world of sung and spoken utterances, of folk and popular traditions is lost to the modern ear

---

[*] In addition to the characteristically astute critiques of members of my committee, this chapter has benefited from a generous reading by Professor Michael Curschmann, to whom I am indebted for his extensive knowledge of singers' rolls. A version of the chapter was presented in October, 2014 at Yale University's *Medieval Song Lab*, whose organizers and participants not only supplied invaluable feedback but joined in singing the *jeu parti*, *Grieviler, vostre ensient* from a manuscript facsimile, possibly its first impromptu performance after seven centuries.

[1] *Metalogicon*, Bk. I, ch. 13, the citation and translation is Michael Clanchy's, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307,* 2nd ed. (London: Blackwell, 1993), 253.

[2] *Raimon Vidal: Poetry and Prose*, trans. and ed. W.H.W. Field, 2 vols., (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), 2: 63-4, ll. 186-205.

[3] *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville,* trans. and ed. Stephen Barney and others (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006), 95.

because it existed exclusively in performance and in memory. Yet by the mid-twelfth century, the episcopal secretary and diplomat John of Salisbury would muse that letters "speak voicelessly the utterances of the absent," and in the course of the next hundred years a greater familiarity with the written word was facilitated by the expansion of Cathedral schools and the energetic growth of commerce, fueling what Malcolm Parkes described as the "literacy of the laity."

Writing, in thirteenth-century Europe, was fast becoming a commonplace medium for conveying not only the Latin of the clergy, but the twang and cadence of so many local tongues: the native Champenois of Chrétien de Troyes, the prose chronicles of Franco-Flemish aristocrats, the songs of crusaders in Occitan, not to mention new poetic schools that sprang up beyond the lands of *Oc* and *Oïl*, in Sicily, Tuscany, Aragon, among others. Aristocratic pride in local traditions and speech-arts was manifested in a new, thirteenth-century taste for elegant codices filled with vernacular texts and idealized portraits of their authors and singers. Their graceful folios did not record word and image alone: the eleventh century monastic innovation of transcribing musical notes onto a four-line staff (replacing the neumes hovering above lines of text) was appropriated into these secular anthologies of verse and song, allowing a relatively untrained singer to sight-read music.[4] In this way the troubadour and trouvère chansonniers emerged, the great musical anthologies that, with the aid of this new recording technology, for the first time in western European history began preserving the melodies of secular music and their lyrics on a large scale.

Northern France was Europe's leading center of chansonnier production, and the lyrics of approximately 2,100 trouvère songs are extant, at least two thirds of them

---

[4] A recent, lively account of these developments is that by Thomas Forrest Kelly, *Capturing Music: the Story of Notation* (New York: Norton, 2015).

with melodies, compiled in codices dating from the mid-thirteenth to mid-fourteenth centuries.[5] Courtly songs (*chansons courtoises*) appear side-by-side with songs of Marian devotion (*chansons pieuses*) as well as songs of erotic, chivalric conquest *(pastourelles*), women's songs (*chansons de toile*), and the battles of wits, the song-debates known as the *jeux partis*. Scholars since the nineteenth century have assigned a hierarchy to these genres of medieval vernacular song, the *chansons courtoises* receiving the greatest praise, and the *jeux partis* ranking among the lowest, a status which is unjustified, I argued in the preceding chapter.

But these *jeux* offer a unique vantage point from which to address the central questions of song composition and performance. The magic of the *jeu parti*'s enactment is that it appears to be extemporized, specific to a particular time and place. Contestants address one another by name, posing a dilemma in the first verse, and in successive verses the two singers alternate, rebutting one another in rhymed meter. The debate closes as each chooses a member of the audience to adjudicate in his favor. Unlike any other genre of trouvère song, the *jeu parti* appears to be fixed in time and place, an improvised one-off performance between specific contestants and judges. Yet their hundreds of texts, copied and recopied across dozens of chansonniers, suggest another story, one of repeat performances. Were these *jeux* memorized and reenacted before a variety of audiences in various locales?

The rediscovery of a unique roll containing several *jeux partis* and chansons, likely originating in northern France in the late thirteenth century, and apparently transported to England by the mid-fourteenth century (Lambeth Palace Library, MS

---

[5] Samuel Rosenberg, introduction to *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: An Anthology of Poems and Melodies,* eds. Samuel Rosenberg, Margaret Switten and Gérard Le Vot (New York, 1998), 4.

1681), offers a seminal piece of evidence regarding the transmission of trouvère music and of *jeux partis* along the performance circuits of medieval Europe. Its contents were edited in 1917, but it then disappeared from scholarly mention for nearly a century, when in 2004 the musicologist John Haines briefly discussed its significance as a repository of trouvère lyrics. [6] Haines drew attention to the unusual manuscript without delving into its contents. That fact that *jeux partis* could be transmitted in a portable *rotulus* may provide a clue into the performance and transmission of this little-understood musical genre. The following pages will examine the physical features and idiosyncracies of this particular manuscript and its contents, situating it within thirteenth-century practices of lyric composition and performance. Drawing on contemporary evidence, I argue that the Lambeth Palace *rotulus* was likely used to re-enact *jeux partis* by one or more traveling performers, and as such supplies a missing link in the literate yet performative diffusion of trouvère music. Taking my cue from Brian Stock's notion of "textual communities," I will suggest that a shared culture of irreverent and humorous dialogue, demarcated by *jeu parti* performance, extended far beyond Arras, and was facilitated not only by the performers" arts of memory, but by performance rolls which now exist almost exclusively in fragments, with the exception of the Lambeth Palace roll.

The interplay of the oral and written has, of course, ignited the interest of scholars beyond the fields of musicology or literature, forming an important cross-disciplinary focal point for medievalists in the past four decades. Jacques Le Goff, writing in 1972, identified oral tradition as the great unknown: a crucial area

---

[6] John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadour and Trouvères: the Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 24, and more recently in "The Songbook for William of Villehardouin, Prince of Morea (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de france, fonds français 844)" in *Viewing the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*, ed. Sharon Gerstel (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2013), 57-110. I am indebted to John Haines for sharing his thoughts with me on this topic.

demanding historical investigation, yet by its nature, elusive. “Se heurte enfin à la tradition orale. Les problèmes y sont redoutables. Comment appréhender l’oral dans le passé? Peut-on identifier oral et populaire? Quels ont été les rapports entre culture savante et culture populaire?”[7] While Le Goff was pointing to oral tradition as constituting a critical junction between learned and popular culture, a flurry of creative new scholarship was already beginning to re-examine that relationship through studies of popular literacy.[8] Developing alongside this was the related field of inquiry into the medieval art of memory, and the mnemonic culture that was the domain of the *litterati*.[9]

Meanwhile, the gap between the silent artifact of the manuscript page and the vibrancy of sound that it represents was nowhere more relevant than to the field of musicology, whose sources are necessarily textual figurations of an auditory experience, and sometimes very cryptic ones.[10] The radical approach used with popular success by scholars of early music in these same decades was to experiment

---

[7] Le Goff, “L’historien et l’homme quotidien’ in *Mélanges en l’honneur de Fernand Braudel* II. Méthodologie de l’histoire et des Sciences Humaines, Toulouse, 1972 reprinted in *Pour un autre Moyen Age: temps, travail et culture en Occident* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977), 345.
[8] Innovative approaches to the elusive, popular and folkloric culture alluded to above are exemplified in the many works of scholars such as Carlo Ginzburg, Natalie Zemon Davis, Jean-Claude Schmitt, whereas Michael Clanchy’s seminal *From Memory to Written Record* accomplished the feat of holding the rituals of a pre-documentary legal tradition alongside the emergent forms of written authority, while evaluating their cultural impact. Our understanding of popular literacy in England has been furthered by Anne Hudson, *Lollards and their Books* (London: Hambleton Press, 1985), Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), Steven Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
[9] Scholarship on memory has by now become vast, but key works remain Francis Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). For a sensitive investigation of how the *ars memoria* were utilized in the service of musical performance, see Anna Maria Busse, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
[10] See Leo Treitler, ‘Oral, Written and Literate Process in the Transmisison of Medieval Music,” *Speculum* 56 (1981): 471-91, but also see the comments of Taruskin, *Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 103-6.

with performance, and to test the boundaries of what it was possible to hear and to achieve musically, by recreating and recording music with ever-greater striving towards historical accuracy. For the repertoire of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-centuries, this initiative was spearheaded by Christopher Page. In 1981 Page founded the early music ensemble *Gothic Voices*, whose performances, along with those of similar groups, has helped to fuel a growing interest in what is known as "performance practice." This approach was not uncontroversial: Richard Taruskin in particular chafed at the notion of recovering a "fully authentic" experience of sound (even while directing his own choral group, *Cappella Nova* in performances of Renaissance sacred music).[11] Musicologists, and increasingly, historians, wish to better understand not only the internal logic of a piece of music or a vernacular text, but how it might have sounded, and been understood by its medieval practitioners and audience.[12]

With respect to troubadour and trouvère music, the relationship between oral and written is especially problematic, and the troubadour corpus exists almost exclusively in texts that post-date their authors by several generations. Therefore, one school of thought holds that these songs were entirely products of oral transmission, committed to writing only as the living tradition ceased to thrive in Occitania. Proponents of written transmission, by contrast, have suggested that text and sometimes music was composed using the medium of writing, on wax tablets, "then

---

[11] Taruskin's controversial critique of performance practice, first delivered to the American Musicological Society in 1981, is now reprinted as "On Letting the Music Speak for Itself," *Text and Act: Essays on Music Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 53-66; see also the skepticism voiced by Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2002), 4-6.
[12] Several important recent works works opening up this arena of inquiry include Carol Symes, *A Common Stage*; Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France,* Emma Dillon, *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260-1330*; Gretchen Peters, *The Musical Sounds of Medieval French Cities*.

committed to more permanent written record, on so-called songsheets or in individual poets' personal songbooks, finally in chansonniers," as Simon Gaunt summarized the process.[13] Summing up the vexing lack of documentary evidence, he continued, "no songsheets survive (naturally enough since they would have been loose bits of parchment or paper) but there are later medieval references to such sheets."[14] A plethora of surviving illustrations depicting music being copied onto rolls or wax tablets — just the documents that are now missing— go a long way towards substantiating these claims. Sometimes both rolls and wax tablets appear in the same portrait. In a miniature from the Manesse Codex (ca. 1304), a *minnesinger* is depicted dictating one of his songs to a female scribe, writing on a long unwound roll, while another scribe simultaneously copies onto a diptych filled with wax.[15]

Lambeth Palace Library MS 1681

Lambeth Palace Library MS 1681 is a parchment roll, five feet in length (154 cm), and 11.5 cm. wide, written in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, in Picard and Anglo-Norman dialects.[16] [*Figures 1-3*] Sewn from three membranes, it is

---

[13] Simon Gaunt, "Orality and writing: the text of the troubadour poem" in *The Troubadours: An Introduction,* ed. S. Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 228-45, 233. Arguing for a predominantly oral tradition, however, is Amelia Van Vleck, who nonetheless collects an impressive array of troubadour references to the act of writing in *Memory and Re-Creation in Troubadour Lyric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) esp. chapters 2-3.
[14] Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation*, 233. An overview of the state of the field was also provided by Elizabeth Aubrey, "Literacy, Orality, and the Preservation of French and Occitan Medieval Courtly Songs," *Revista de Musicologia* 16 (1993), 2355-66.
[15] Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg Cod. Pal. germ. 848, fol. 323 r. The minnesinger in question is Reinmar von Zweter, who flourished in the 1230s, perhaps seventy years prior to the compilaiton of the Manesse Codex. To complicate matters, he is depicted with eyes closed, a feature often interpreted to mean that Reinmar von Zweter was himself blind, adding yet another dimension to the interplay between oral and textual composition. The image is discussed by Marisa Galvez, *Songbook: How Lyrics became Poetry in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 136.
[16] For a description of Lambeth Palace Library MS 1681, see N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 1:114; previously

damaged at the top; therefore the beginning is missing.[17] On its face, in neat but unruled lines written in an upright book-hand, the roll contains the text of seven Old French songs. The first two are *chansons* by the well-known Champenois trouvères, Gace Brulé and the Châtelain de Coucy.[18] Following these are five *jeux partis* from the repertoire of the prolific Arras poets of the mid-thirteenth century: Jehan Bretel, Jehan Grieviler, and the brothers Guillaume and Gilon le Vinier. There is no musical notation; the rhyming couplets are written in long lines for economy of space, and judging from the worn edges and a patina of handling, the roll passed often between its owner's thumb and index fingers as he (or she) scrolled between songs. On the dorse, in a second hand, are memoranda in Latin and French dating to the later fourteenth century, regarding the geneaologies of the Esse and Knyghton families, the descent of the lands of the manor of Ashe in Dorset, and the theft of certain writings from that manor.[19] We may speculate that it was for the sake of these memoranda that the roll was preserved at all, since all other known rolls of trouvère music have survived in fragmentary form only, typically re-used as fly-leaves in later books.[20]

Looped through a slit in the parchment at its center right is a sturdy string, perhaps original. [*Figures 2-3*] The roll, when wound up, forms a neat and compact

---

described by Alfred Horwood, *Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1877), 522-523.

[17] Based on the lengths of the other membranes, the first piece is lacking around eight inches, which likely another song. Wallensköld, "Le Ms. Londres, Bibliothèque de Lambeth Palace, Misc. Rolls 1435" *Mémoires de la Société Néo-Philologique de Helsingfors,* 6 (1917),3-40 at 5.

[18] While there are no author attributions in this roll, the two songs are known from other chansonniers. They are *Par quel forfet et par quel achaison* (Raynaud, no. 1872), and *Cil qui d'Amors me conseille* (Raynaud, no. 565).

[19] The latest date mentioned on the dorse is 38 Edward III, when Nicholas de Knighton and others broke into a coffer in the manor of Ashe and took writings "in exheridacione Roberti Traylyur et Alianore vxoris sue." N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 1:114.

[20] See in particular the comments of Richard Rouse in "Roll and Codex: the Transmission of the Works of Reinmar von Zweter," in Mary Rouse and Richard Rouse*, Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 13-29.

cylinder that might, as John Haines suggested, have been slung by the string from a belt.[21] This convenient attachment and the parchment's worn edges immediately suggest the document's portability (the string brings to mind the cloth bindings of girdle-books, that allowed them to be hung from a belt). The roll is utterly lacking in the elegance of construction witnessed in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century chansonniers, which (with the exception of the trouvère manuscript known as Saint-Germain-des-Près, likely owned by a jongleur and designed for use rather than for status), were commodious luxury objects, what we might think of as aristocratic forerunners of coffee-table books.

Twenty or so major French trouvère chansonniers survive, typically containing several hundred vellum sheets, often exquisitely decorated with gold leaf and ornate miniatures, historiated initials, song lyrics, and visually arresting red musical staves and black square notation: the production of a single book required multiple scribes and notators of varying specialties.[22] (See Table 1). They were designed to convey the status, refinement and sophistication, the *urbanitas* and even the *magnanimitas* of their owners.[23]

These songbooks met the requirements of their wealthy patrons, and with their invaluable inclusion of musical notation, it is hard to believe they were not sometimes used for singing. They were not, for the most part, designed for casual transportation. By contrast, the Lambeth Palace roll, at 4.5 inches wide, fits easily in the palm of the hand. Its strips of parchment are stitched together inelegantly but sturdily. [*Figure 3*] It does not appear to be an autograph of any of the composers contained therein: that

---

[21] Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 24.
[22] Discussions of the trouvère chansonnier traditions are found in Mary O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), esp. 13-52; and Huot, *From Song to Book.*
[23] On the representations of the troubadour-king, see the germane comments of Galvez, *Songbook,* 125-37.

it was copied from exemplars is suggested by the spaces left for larger or rubricated initials at the beginning of each verse (the letters are indicated in the narrow margin). These rubrications would have aided a performer, or performers (for two people could easily sing from one roll), in navigating the text. The ergonomic design of the Lambeth Palace roll suggests that it was created and optimized (to use the modern parlance for hand-held devices), for use by a traveling singer, who wished to call on it for reference and performance, who already knew the melodies of the songs in it, or was prepared to improvise them, or who was literate but unskilled in reading the new musical notation.

Brief notice of this roll first appeared in the *Report of the Royal Commission of Historical Manuscripts* in 1877. "At Lambeth Palace are about 50 bags containing ancient documents," wrote the antiquarian and barrister Alfred Horwood, who had been commissioned to examine them, "they contain nothing but several hundred parchment and paper rolls, ranging from the time of King Edward I to the time of King Charles I." As the manuscript gives no indication of musical notation, Horwood (followed by Neil Ker in his *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*), described its contents as "French poetry," rather than song lyrics. It did not escape the attention of early twentieth-century musicologists however; in 1917, the Finnish linguist Axel Wallensköld, in the course of researching his study of Thibaut of Champagne, transcribed and published an edition of its contents, identifying them with the trouvère songs found in several chansonniers.[24] More recently, in a discussion of the composition of trouvère music, John Haines mentioned the existence of the roll, which despite having been classified with the siglum *G* in Gaston Raynaud's 1884

---

[24] Wallensköld, "Le Ms. Londres," also Gaston Raynaud, Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIII et XIVe siècles 1 (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1884); Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts,* 1:114.

Bibliographie des chansonniers Français, has otherwise gone unremarked on.[25] As stated above, no scholar of the *jeux partis* has acknowledged their existence or transmission outside of chansonnier*s*.[26] Consequently, current debates surrounding the performance of *jeux partis* have been ignorant of the implications of their presence in a portable roll transported from northern France to England, possibly hung from the belt of a peripatetic and literate jongleur, or a traveling trouvère.

The portable roll in a textual-performative community

That the lyrics and music of the trouvères, and even the *fama* of individual composers, were proliferating and spreading across Europe throughout the thirteenth century is well established. Exactly how these songs were transmitted from place to place is more difficult to determine. The Occitan jongleur's first-person account, quoted at the opening of this chapter is wonderfully descriptive: inspired by his own father's tales of travel and of the largesse bestowed by foreign lords, from England to Lombardy, the young man set his heart on becoming a jongleur, "and I have gone over land and sea, many towns and castles in all directions, and visited lands and barons, twice as many as I can tell."[27] Penned by the troubadour Raymond Vidal in the first half of the thirteenth century, this account presents the vocation of the jongleur as bound up with wanderlust. Meanwhile, the perambulant, wafting nature of trouvère music itself is often alluded to in the final verse of a *chanson*, the envoy*,* by

---

[25] In her recent, erudite discussion of musical rolls and codices in the *Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, (2011) Emma Dillon makes no mention of the Lambeth Palace roll, nor does Mary O'Neill in her often-cited discussion of trouvère manuscript circulation and transmission, *Courtly Love Songs,* but see Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 24.

[26] Långfors appears to be the only scholar of *jeux partis* to have used Wallensköld's edition of the source; he included the *jeux partis* from the Lambeth Roll (*G*) in his *Recueil général,* although he makes no mention of it being a roll rather than codex.

[27] "E ai sercat terras e mars/ e vilas e castels assatz/ vas totas partz, e poestatz/ e baros que no us dic .ll. tans." ll. 203-05, *Abril Issa,* W.H.W. Field, ed. and trans., *Raimon Vidal*,16.

which the singer bids his song to travel to the ears of his beloved. “Chançon, va t’en pour fere mon message/ la ou je n’os trestorner ne guenchir” (Song, go, bear my message/ to the place where I dare not make my way or return).[28]

Where does the trouvère roll containing *jeux partis* at Lambeth Palace fit on this seemingly oral, moveable stage? And, given that it is the only complete known roll to do so, should it be considered an anomaly, or the tip of the iceberg of now-discarded minstrels’ rolls that were the *aides-mémoires* to traveling performers?

Manuscripts in the forms of rolls offered economy and portability to a performer, and indeed to any messenger, yet the fate of such documents containing poetry and music has been precarious. Richard Rouse counted a total of nine existing fragmentary examples, including his own discovery of two fragments from a thirteenth-century singer’s roll. While examining early printed books in the Library of the University of California, Los Angeles, Rouse found two parchment membranes containing the songs, or *Sprüche* of the Minnesinger Reinmar von Zweter, cut up and used as flyleaves in a fifteenth-century edition of St. Thomas’ *Summa theologiae*. These fragments began life in the form of a roll. Many of their characteristics resemble the trouvère roll at Lambeth Palace: the width of the fragments are 11.9 and 12 cm respectively (Lambeth Palace is 11.5 cm). The hand is an upright vernacular book-hand, the lyrics are written in unruled long lines, with verses being signaled by an enlarged initial in the left margin (in the Lambeth Palace MS the initials were not completed). Neither roll contains musical notation. Reinmar von Zweter flourished in the 1240s (a decade or two before Jehan Bretel and Grieviler sang their *jeux partis* in

---

[28] From “La douce voiz du rosignol sauvage,” attributed to Guy de Thourotte, the Châtelain de Coucy (d. 1203), in *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères,* eds. Rosenberg, Switten, and Le Vot, 255; numerous variations of the envoy are found across trouvère and troubadour lyric.

Arras), and based on paleographic and linguistic grounds, the roll has been dated to the 1270s or 80s.[29] "The discovery is intriguing," Rouse observed, "because Middle High German vernacular lyric is reconstructed primarily from later copybooks or court collections. The actual rolls on which the poet or singer may have kept his songs, being ordinary, unbindable, and generally ephemeral, had no reason for being preserved and were discarded when they were worn out or otherwise superseded."[30]

The fate of Reinmar von Zweter's *Sprüche*, cut up as flyleaves for later printed books, is suggestive of just how ephemeral such texts were. The chance discovery, and then disappearance of another minstrel's roll, originating in England and containing the Anglo-Norman poem, *The Song of the Barons*, is equally instructive. Written on the face is the *Song of the Barons*, dating to the 1260s; on the dorse is the script of a fourteenth-century English play, the *Interludium de Clerico et Puella*. At only 8 cm wide and 56 cm long, it was apparently constructed to fit in the hand of a performer, and ironically it may have been that ease of transportation which facilitated its disappearance from the British Library in 1971.[31]

Yet if trouvère rolls are now scarce, pictorial representations abound. Iconographically, by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the unfurled roll was not merely an incidental accoutrement of the poet or trouvère, it was his defining mark, a ubiquitous symbol communicating his presence.[32] The opening portrait of the richly

---

[29] Karin Schneider, *Gotische Schriften in deutscher Sprache,* 2 vols., (Weisbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1987), 1:223.
[30] Rouse, Authentic Witnesses, 17.
[31] See the description of British Library MS Additional 23986 in the *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1854-1860* (London: Trustees of the Museum, 1875) 926-27, and discussion in Andrew Taylor, "The Myth of the Minstrel Manuscript," *Speculum* 66 (1991): 43-73, at 68 and following.
[32] In high-medieval German *liederhandschriften*, Michael Curschmann writes, "ist die leere Schriftrolle als Attribut des Dichters das absolut dominierende ikonographische Leitmotiv," and his insightful discussion of the roll's iconography, its relation to preacher's rolls, and disambiguation from depictions of speech-banners is germane. "Pictura laicorum litteratura?

illustrated Manesse codex, an anthology containing the Middle High German lyrics of one hundred and forty poets, depicts the highest-ranking author, Emperor Henry VI. His identity is signalled by what he holds in each hand: a sceptre in his right, the icon of his imperium, and a long parchment roll in his left, signifying his status as a poet. This is only the most regal example; the motif appears in various composer-portraits, including one from Arras, depicting the city's famous minstrel Jehan Bodel publicly reading from a roll.[33] Verbal communication itself came to be depicted in illustrations using horizontal scrolls, or banners—the medieval precursor of the cartoon text-bubble—described by modern scholars as banderoles. Michael Curschmann's work on the iconography of speech-acts is instructive, "historically, this class of signifiers [the banderole] is descended from the classical roll, the *rotulus*. Over time it had come to stand for oral or preliminary or ephemeral communication in contrast to the relatively new book form of the codex."[34]

A striking portrait of a composer and his works is discerned through a visual pun of the roll being transformed into a florilegium. This appears in the earliest surviving manuscript of the the *oeuvre* of Guillaume Machaut (Paris, B.N. fr. 1586). It is unusual for a medieval book: a single-author anthology that combines three different genres of Machaut's work: narrative texts, lyric texts without music, and lyric texts with musical notation. The author himself likely oversaw the making of the codex in the 1340s as a presentation copy for the presumptive queen of France, Bonne

---

Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Bild und volkssprachlicher Schriftlichkeit im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter bis zum Codex Manesse," in *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter: Erscheinungsformen und Entwicklungsstufen*, ed. Hagen Keller et. al, (Munich: Wilhelm Vink, 1992), 211-29 at 222.

[33] Jehan Bodel performs his *congé* before an audience, reading from a roll, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3142, fol. 227r.

[34] Michael Curschmann, "Levels of Meaning and Degrees of Viewer Participation: Inscribed Imagery in Twelfth-Century Manuscripts," in Christian Heck, *Qu'est-ce que nommer? L'image légendée entre monde monastique et pensée scolastique* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 89-99, 91.

of Luxembourg (she died before it was completed).[35] One miniature shows Machaut seated under a tree in a pastoral landscape, writing on a roll, while four other rolls are strewn about him in the meadow. In Sylvia Huot's formulation, the "plethora of scrolls" in this image represents not only Machaut's prolific corpus of lyric works, but also their oral performance: they are "a series of utterances."[36] The roll fits neatly into the author's hand; its dimensions are in keeping with those physical artifacts described above. Tiny leaves and flowers blooms alongside the rolls in the meadow. The image is not only "a figuration of oral utterances," it is a visual florilegium (literally a "collection of flowers"), and a pun on the type of codex that assembled a variety of works, or in this case, Machaut's poetic *oeuvre.*

A less symbolic example may serve to bring us back to how rolls could be used in performance. This appears in the celebrated *Vie de Saint Denis* (Paris, B.N. ms. fr. 2090-2). Produced in the scriptorium of the abbey of Saint Denis in the 1310s, it was first intended to solicit Philip IV's continued devotion to the saint, but was eventually presented at the accession of his son Philip V.[37] Its story may unfold in the legendary past, but the stupendous views of the bridges of Paris, bustling with tradesmen and urban life, are naturalistic representations of the medieval metropolis. On a folio showing a scene of the Saint preaching to a congregation of kneeling Parisians, the eye comes to rest below on the river Seine, and a boat floating aside the *Grand Pont*, in which are two oarsmen and three clerics, clustered around a roll held aloft. The clerics are singing. Their voices, presumably, waft up from amidst the

---

[35] Bonne of Luxembourg (1315-1349), wife of the future French monarch, John II, died shortly after the manuscript began to be compiled; it would have been completed therefore for another wealthy patron. See Huot, *From Song to Book,* 242-7.
[36] Huot, *From Song to Book*, 245-6.
[37] On the imagery in this manuscript, Camille Serchuk, "Paris and the Rhetoric of Town Praise in the 'Vie de St. Denis' Manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. fr. 2090-2)," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999): 35-47.

lapping waters, and the city, from the speech-banners of the preaching saint above, to the boatful of singing clerics below, seems a joyfully sonorous place.[38] [Figure 4]

The relevance of this particular illustration is straightforward: it was common enough for several people to sing from a single roll at the same time.[39] This may now seem obvious (although it has not always been acknowledged), but such a basic revelation is of clear import to the Lambeth Palace roll with its two-part *jeux partis*. It could have been used by two performers in rehearsal, or in performance, to re-create the Arras *jeux partis* wherever their travels took them.

How to Stage a Jeu Parti

The first question we wish to answer is whether the *jeu parti*'s appearance of spontaneity can be taken at face value. Did contestants display their verbal and musical agility by composing their rhyming lyrics on the spot, drawing on oral formulas (such as proverbs) to fill out their verses, or were they conceived and even rehearsed beforehand? And were these merely one-time performances, or did they have a second life as texts used for traveling shows, or as part of the standard repertory of a good performer, as the Lambeth Palace roll suggests?[40] In an attempt to envision this scenario of performance, let us take an example from Arras, the *jeu parti* "Grieviler vostre ensient," probably first performed in the late 1250s or 1260s. It

---

[38] Emma Dillon, in her discussion of this manuscript has even described the depiction of this soundscape an "urban magnificat." *Sense of Sound,* 52-56. This image of singing clerics was also a focal point for Christopher Page in his *Owl and the Nightingale*, 77-80.

[39] Ample evidence can be found to confirm this: the English Howard psalter, for example, is replete with depictions of clerics singing motets from rolls, on which even the musical notation is visible from the miniatures; one singer grasps a second roll, and they cup their ears as they sing, so as to hear their own voices amid the harmony. British Library, Arundel MS 83, fol. 63v.

[40] Jennifer Saltzstein has objected that it is "hard to imagine" a *jeu parti* being performed more than once; instead she suggests that *jeux partis* preserved in text were used by future trouvères who wished to study the genre. "Cleric-trouvères and the *Jeux-Partis* of Medieval Arras," 160.

appears in multiple chansonnier*s*, as well as in the Lambeth Palace roll. Around the text and music of this song, we may add in evidence regarding the performative culture of Arras, a culture Carol Symes described as "a creative maelstrom of conflicting politics, unprecedented economic opportunities, and unfamiliar types of social mobility."[41]

In the 1260s, the journey of three or four days from Paris north to Arras could be marked not only by geography but by changes in dialect, styles of entertainment and cultural mores. The Treaty of Paris concluded in 1259 between the French and English kings may have had the practical effect of bolstering international trade over the next three decades. The route from Paris was well-trodden by merchants and bankers destined for the fairs and cloth cities of Artois, Flanders and England,[42] and by aristocrats moving between their northern courts and Parisian hôtels.[43] Jongleurs and poets too traveled these busy roads, hoping to profit from an affluent audience.[44] Brunetto Latini, author and notary (and later, teacher to Dante Alighieri), employed by a Florentine firm with an office in Arras, would make the journey in 1263. So taken was he by the dialect of this northern appanage of Artois (and likely by the patronage he found there) that he wrote his next work, *Li livres dou Tresor* in Picard. "If anyone should ask why this book is in Romance, in the French usage, since we are

---

[41] Symes, A Common Stage, 4.
[42] Evidence of the growth of trade in Artois can be seen in the establishment of new fairs such as that at Saint-Omer, approved by Robert II in 1270, Archives Départementales du Pas-de-Calais Série A.18.18. On cloth merchants and trade routes between England and France, see Anne F. Sutton, "Some Aspects of the Linen Trade *c.* 1130s to 1500, and the Part Played by the Mercers of London" *Textile History* 30 (1991): 155-175.
[43] Robert II of Artois and his wife, Amicie, for example, would purchase a residence in Paris in 1270 for 2100 l.p.; Archives Départementales du Pas-de-Calais Série A.18.21. Guy Dampierre, the Count of Flanders, also maintained a Parisian hôtel where he entertained in opulent style; on Guy and on the itinerant courts more generally, see Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court,* 84 and following.
[44] On the itineraries of jongleurs, see Christopher Page, "Court and City in France, 1100-1300."

Italian," Latini mused, "I would answer that there are two reasons, the first being that we are in France, the second that this speech is more pleasant and has more in common with all other languages."[45]

The literary and performative culture of the northern French appanage, witnessed in its production of France's first scripted vernacular plays, was enhanced too by its flourishing patronage of secular music—music enjoyed with more license in a city like Arras than in Paris. In Louis IX's capital, the king's moral gravitas extended even to his disapproval of profane songs.[46] Of course, the impact of his opprobrium beyond the immediate royal circle is difficult to measure. But a healthy concern not to violate the king's standards of moral etiquette would provide a possible explanation for why *jeu parti* contests, so popular among noble and bourgeois circles in Artois or Lorraine, seem not to have been performed in Paris.[47] In Arras by contrast, a city where jongleurs were beginning to enjoy the patronage of the king's decadent nephew, Count Robert II, the profane arts flourished. And despite the presence of numerous clerics associated with the school and Abbey of Saint Vaast, the subject matter of their songs suggests that the thoughts of performers and audience turned very often to matters of this world.[48]

---

[45] "Et se aucuns demandoit pour quoi cis livres est escris en roumanç, selonc le raison de France, puis ke nous somes italien, je diroie que c'est pour .ii. raisons, l'une ke nous somes en France, l'autre por çou que la parleure est plus delitable et plus commune a tous langages" *Li Livres dou Tresor*, ed. Francis J. Carmody, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 18; on Latini's itinerary, see Carmody's introduction, xv-xix.

[46] For a portrait of this "moral gravitas" exerted during the later reign of Louis IX, see W. C. Jordan, *Men at the Center: redemptive governance under Louis IX* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012), 23-28 and 93-94. For evidence of the musical life against which the king chafed, see Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, 61-80.

[47] At least, none of the 187 named participants who sang in or judged the *jeux partis* are known to me to be associated with the Parisian metropolis; most can be localized within Artois, Brabant, Lorraine. A good deal of biographical information is found in Långfors, *Recueil général*.

[48] Numerous examples might be furnished: in *jeu parti* no. 136 of Långfors' *Recueil Général*, interlocutors debate which is more desirable: to be a canon with riches and prebends, or to

In Arras, contests of musical-poetic skill were held at the hall of the *confrerie des jongleurs et des bourgeois* (also called the *carité de nostre Dame des ardents* in honor of their sainted patron). A few steps from the *petit marché* (one of the city's two bustling market squares), townspeople would converge in this hall: wealthy bankers, clerics, *sergeants* of the Abbey of Saint Vaast who were employed as scribes, secretaries and heralds — literate folk.[49] Many of the men and women in attendance at the *jeu parti* contests (these were not exclusively male gatherings) had pretentions to poetic skill, and some practiced the arts of *trouver* professionally, moving between urban contexts such as this one, and far more exalted affairs. A *trouvère* like Gillebert de Berneville (fl. 1255-1280), who performed *jeux partis* in Arras as well as before the Duke and Duchess of Brabant, was apparently celebrated by the locals; at least, he composed songs not only for noble patrons, but also for the powerful Arras financier, Audefroi Louchart (d.1273). (Louchart, incidentally, also participated in *jeu parti* competitions.) This audience would have considered themselves to be connoisseurs and would have felt pride for their Picard language and the local entertainments for which they were known, such as the *jeu parti,* a form that mingled the old arts of the troubadours with the salt of their region, and music that at times drew on familiar melodies, even perhaps on their own folksongs.[50]

Based on the lyric dialogue and illustrations in the chansonniers, and from

---

find true love? In no. 7, an anonymous cleric seeks advice on how to woo his beloved; his interlocutor berates him "Et bien est droiz, qu'en clerc n'a abstinence," ll.29. Spiritual matters are remarkably absent from the *jeu parti* corpus.

[49] Långfors, *Recueil Général*, xi-lii, augmented in my unpublished dissertation research.

[50] Samuel Rosenberg has emphasized the folkloric aspect of trouvère music, in contrast with that of the troubadours, in particular see his introduction to *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 3-4. An example of a *jeu parti* whose melody was appropriated from another song is that between a certain "Baudouin" and Thibaut de Navarre; the melody is the same as that of *Merci Clamant*, which appears in the earlier repertoire of the Châtelain de Coucy. See brief comments by Michelle Stewart, "The Melodic Structure of the Thirteenth-Century "Jeux-Partis"," *Acta Musicologica* 51 (1979), 86-107, 89.

testimony discussed below, we glean that the performance of a *jeu parti* commences with two contestants stepping onto a podium, or *puy*, erected before a gathering. The first, in this case, is Jehan Bretel, a bourgeois known in Arras as *le Prince du Puy* (the Prince of the Podium). From a contemporary illustration in the chansonnier d'Arras, we can picture him standing, facing his opponent, Jehan Grieviler. If there was instrumental accompaniment for the *jeux partis*, we have no indication of it. [*Music example 1*] Bretel begins:

> Grieviler, vostre ensient
> me dites d'un ju parti
> se vous amés loiaument
> et on vous aime autresi
> li qeus sera mieus vos gres
> u chele qui vous amés
> sera bele par raison
> et sage a tres grant fuison
> u sage raisavlement
> et tres bele outreement?[51] (ll. 1-10)
>
> Grieviler, with your wisdom, tell me about a jeu parti. If you love loyally, and are loved in return, which would be more to your pleasing: either that she who you love should be reasonably beautiful, and endowed with great wisdom, or that she be reasonably wise, and exceptionally beautiful?

Beauty or wisdom? A classic theme, and which side does each man choose? Melodically, the tune opens with a bright upward fourth, then descends. The musical phrasing corresponds with Bretel's verse structure: the first couplet, starting on C and ending on A, is repeated in the second; the next musical phrase is also repeated with little variation, creating a simple pattern that both singers can easily match to their verses. When Bretel sings "sage a tres grant fuison" and "tres bele outrement," according to the notation in the chansonnier d'Arras, he adds a flourish of extra notes, lending emphasis to that jusxtaposition between wisdom and beauty.

---

[51] French text edited by Långfors, *Recueil Général,* 1: 98-101 (*jeu parti* no. 27).

Now Jehan Grieviler steps forward; his skill in *parture* (the act of singing *jeux partis*) is attested by his participation in thirty-five other jeux partis with members of the Arras circle (and judge of thirteen others). He sports a tonsure, but it is an open secret that he took minor orders only for the sake of preserving his wealth.[52] He responds in the same meter and melody:

> Sire Jehan, bel present
> m'offrés et j'ai bien coisi. (ll. 11-12)
>
> Sire Jehan, a pretty proposal you offer me, and I've chosen well.

(It is common for the partners to make shows of courtesy and deference to one another in the opening two stanzas, before attacking one another in the following four.)

> Pour plus vivre longuement
> sans estre jalous de li,
> veil que ses cuers soit fondés
> en sens, puis que belle assés
> est; sens est sans soupechon
> biautés a plus cuer felon
> orgeus i maint, qui souvent
> met grant joie en grant tourment (ll. 13-20)
>
> In order to live longer without becoming jealous of her, I wish her affections to be founded on good sense, so long as she's lovely enough. Sense is without suspicion, Beauty has a more perfidious heart; It contains pride, which often turns great joy into great torment.

His words are euphonic – *sens est sans soupechon* rolls nicely off the tongue. Bretel springs to beauty's defense: "Beauty does not listen, nor hear nor see. It has no thought of bringing pain to a lover! It is great cleverness that is founded in felony, and

---

[52] Grieviler was in the 1250's among the sixteen unordained clerics alleged by the town's procurator of being married and/or involved in "shameful business dealings, namely usury, shopkeeping, dishonest commerce" The sixteen clerics appealed to the bishop of Arras and the cause was sent to Rome; the suit and response of Innocent IV in 1254 is edited in A. Guesnon*, Inventaire chronologique des chartes de la ville d'Arras* (Arras, 1863), 31-33.

is accused of pride and treachery."[53]

"But it was his great beauty that felled Lucifer," responds Grieviler, "and filled him with pride."[54]

Courtesy is dispensed with; now Bretel answers, "Grieviler, how badly you respond, I promise you! The King of Navarre knows it."[55] Here is an in-joke: he is referring to an earlier *jeu parti* in which Thibaut, King of Navarre debated which of two lovers courting a girl is more deserving of her: he who loves her for her personality, or he who loves her for her beauty. The King of Navarre argued that beauty trumps all.[56]

Let us step back from this scene. The King of Navarre's opinion on "personality v. beauty" must have been familiar to the audience in order for him to be cited as an authority, but how did this audience come to know it? They hardly could have heard it first-hand; evidence points against Thibaut of Navarre (1201-1253) ever having performed in Arras, alongside a pair as unaristocratic as Bretel and Grieviler.[57]

Why should not *jeux partis*, like other songs, have been performed in different contexts by different singers? Back in the poetic hotbed of Arras, the songs of this

---

[53] "Grieviler, biautés n'entent/ ne n'ot ne voit, jel vous di/ ne n'a nul apensement/ de griété faire a ami" (ll. 21-24)

[54] "Grant biautés enorgeilli/ Lucifer, ki trop vilment/ Dedens infer en kaï," (ll. 32-34).

[55] "Grieviler, mauvaisement/ respondés, jel vous afi. Li rois u Navare apent" (ll. 41-43).

[56] Långfors, *Recueil Général*, no. 9. Thibaut, who begins the *jeu parti* praising the transcendent power of beauty, in his last verse displays less than his characteristic courtesy when he asserts that a smile or a glance from a woman of great beauty is worth more than even the wisest words from the homely one. "soul d'un resgarder/ Ou d'un ris, quant le me fera/ La bele, que je n'os nonmer/ Vaut quanque la laide dire." (ll. 49-52).

[57] While nine of Thibaut's *jeux partis* are extant, they predate the majority of the known *jeux partis,* and his partners are political allies, veteran crusaders, a clerk, a knight-trouvère (none apparently bourgeois). Given his accession to the throne of Navarre in 1234 and the bilingual trouvère he employed, it is possible that Thibaut was himself instrumental in importing the Provençal tradition of the *partimen* to northern France; See also H. Suchier, "Der Minnesänger Chardon,"129-56.

illustrious trouvère must have commanded especial interest, and repeat performances. When Jehan Bretel cited Thibaut's opinion on the triumph of beauty, one wonders if it was fresh in the audience's mind because it had already been re-enacted in the same performance session? And if the trouvères enacting it did not recall all the lyrics from memory, might they have resorted to a roll to sing from?

Returning to the close of Bretel and Grieviler's contest, it is clear that the King of Navarre's supposed authority is not above question; even he becomes an object of derision. Grieviler escalates the debate:

> Sire, si sauvagement
> Ains mais parler ne vous vi.
> S'uns rois parla folement
> Volés vous faire autresi?
>
> Sire, I've never seen you speak with such barbarity. If a king spoke words of folly, would you wish to do the same?

Poking fun at that famous *trouvère*-king of Navarre, whose reputation and vaunted chansons are known to all, is the kind of irreverence expected of *jeux partis*. Perhaps like the audience at a stand-up comedy show in the modern world, the citizens in Arras came wanting to be shocked. He continues his defense of wisdom, arguing that when we fall for someone, "Love gives us the gift of recognizing beauty in whomever we love […] That's why I choose wisdom."

The last two stanzas are envoys in which each singer appeals to a judge chosen from the audience to rule in his favor. Bretel names a fellow citizen or Arras, Dragon, and in a comic finale, invokes the stock figure of the *pastourelle*, "Marion," the bawdy shepherdess who attracts attention and sexual advances of passing knights.

> Dragon, vous nous jugerés.
> Je di, et s'est verités
> Que pour le sens Salemon
> N'aime on pas tant Marion (ll. 61-65)

Dragon, you judge us. I'll say it, and it is the truth, it's not for the wisdom of Solomon that one falls in love with Marion.

Grieviler has the last verse, and with it a trump card: he names a woman as his judge. He appeals to Demisele Oede, also known to the Arras milieu (five other *jeux partis* from Arras name her as judge, although unfortunately nothing else about her is known.)

Demisele Oede, entendés.
Je di kil est faus prouves.
ki a tele entension
bons sens dure dusq'en son
mais n'est a droit jugement
biautés c'un trespas de vent (ll. 67-72)

Demisele Oede, hear me, I say that he is shown false who holds this opinion. Good sense endures until the end, but beauty, in right judgment, is but a fleeting wind.

Grieviler's choice of arbiter for his *jeu parti* would seem to underscore his point: when a woman plays the role of judge, her wisdom and intelligence are indisputably more valuable than her beauty. Yet this is the point where *jeu parti* texts stop, concealing the answers to all the questions we suddenly wish to ask. What was Demisele Oede's response? What was Dragon, the other judge's ruling? How did they come to agreement? Certainly to debate a woman's worth (and as Bretel did, to compare her provocatively with the bawdy Marion) before a female judge would only have heightened the experience of drama. Was the audience won over, or did they vote for the un-intellectual Marion after all?

Text and *mouvance* in the performance of *jeux partis*

The "performance practice" of *jeux partis*, and the question of whether they were improvised or composed beforehand, has been a focal point for the handful of

scholars who have examined them.[58] A persuasive scenario was proposed by Carol Symes, who imagined the performance of *jeux partis* as an impromptu feat that nevertheless allowed for some advance preparation:

> it may have been the case that competitors were allowed a set amount of time to compose their successive replies, since the length of the stanza, its meter, and its rhyme scheme would vary significantly from game to game. In the intervals, the audience would be happily employed in drinking and discussing the merits of the verses and their tunes. And on occasion it seems that either the composers or someone in the audience would record the results of the performance for posterity.[59]

This plausible scene offers an elegant symbiosis of preparation and spontaneity.[60] Building on Symes' schema, we may add that it allows for written and memorial forms of composition to exist side by side: singers might have jotted down an outline of their lyrics and arguments beforehand, even in tandem with one another, before ascending the podium.

There has been resistance to seeing the *jeux partis* as entirely premeditated, but it should be noted that in Arras of all cities, birthplace of scripted vernacular plays, there was precedent for pre-texted performances. Without discounting the role of the arts of memory, and the degree to which texts were flexible and capable of *mouvance*, as Paul Zumthor would have it, it is equally possible that *jeux partis* were prepared and written well in advance, and rehearsed by the two singers together, as,

---

[58] Michele Gally, whose work focuses on the *jeux partis* tied to Arras, attempted to detect traces of the oral formulae that would have been indespensible to any spontaneous composition. Yet her results are inconclusive: while she identifies several constructions that appear repeatedly (beginning with the name of the interlocutor and following with an expression to fill in the required number of syllables; what she defines as "formules d'insistance") it is hard to know whether they are marks of oral formulae or merely of written rhetorical convention and Gally is the first to admit the difficulty of discerning this orality; see especially her helpful discussion in *Parler d'Amour au Puy d'Arras*: *Lyrique en jeu*, 69-79.

[59] Symes, *A Common Stage,* 225-26.

[60] Symes is not alone in arguing for a combination of script and improvisation, see Pierre Bec's nuanced discussion in *La joute poétique,* 29-34.

presumably, a play or another musical ensemble would have been. This was the conclusion reached by Alfred Långfors, the formidable compiler of the *jeux partis* in their 1926 edition.[61]

Incidentally, this process of composition could also account for the lack of judgments recorded in chansonnier*s*; if the *jeu parti* texts were scripted prior to performance, they would naturally end with each singer's appeal. No manuscripts record judgments of any kind. Skeptics have interpreted this to reflect a lack of actual judgments rendered; judges might have been named simply to honor those individuals, not because they were really expected to speak.[62] Symes asserts that the *jeux partis* "usually ended in a draw." But the fact that judgments were not recorded may equally indicate that they were the *only* element of the game that was *not* scripted, the only part that was extemporized in the entire performance. Several pieces of evidence support this hypothesis.

First is the *Leys d'Amors*, a handbook to the arts of the troubadours, written in the early fourteenth century for the *Consistori del Gai Saber* (the Consistory of Joyous Knowledge). This society of bourgeois men had convened in Toulouse in the 1320's with the mission of revitalizing the storied arts of the troubadours, and a manual was compiled by an officer of the organization, Guilhem Molinier, so the old traditions could be preserved and continued. Molinier's is the only detailed description of how the musical debate genre was practiced as a living tradition, and it provides a valuable reflection of the poetic duels as seen by a practitioner. The *partimen* (as the *jeu parti* was known in the *langue d'oc*), is paired with the *tenson*, a

---

[61] Långfors reasoned that the works could neither have been purely improvised, nor the work of a single poet who might have written both parts in advance, but rather "l'explication la plus plausible est que deux poètes se mettaient d'accord sur le sujet à traiter, préparaient la pièce ensemble et, la pièce terminée, la chantaient dans une réunion littéraire." *Recueil Général*, vii.
[62] Långfors, *Recueil Général*, vii.

debating genre with only subtle differences, and as Molinier concedes, “the partimen is often taken for a tenson, and a tenson for a partimen.”[63]

No ambiguity surrounds the existence of judges and their delivery of judgments. Molinier describes the process thus:

> This work procedes sometimes in new rhymes, thus it can have twenty or thirty couplets and more: at other times it procedes by couplets, and in this case it has from six to ten couplets, with two *tornadas*, in which the two parts must elect a judge who ends their plea and their *tenson* (or *contension*). The judge must give his judgment in couplets of the same measure, or in new rhymes; but it is more often the case today that it is given in new rhymes. Some wish to follow in the judgements the forms of law, in citing the Gospels or other parables that are customarily cited in the sentences.
>
> We do not condemn this manner of doing things: but we say that it is not necessary, because *it suffices that a judgment is given: and it can be pronounced in the manner that is most convenient to him who was chosen as judge*.
>
> We say also that it is not necessary that this work be delivered in song; but in the case when one does so in the measure of the verse and of the song in which all the other work which is song, it can be sung in this ancient air.[64] [emphasis added]

As Molinier makes clear, the manner in which the judgment is delivered is highly flexible—it can be sung to the same tune, rhymed in the same meter as the *tenson,* or in “new rhymes,” its style can mimic that of the courtroom or a scholastic sentence.

---

[63] The essential difference between the genres is that in the *partimen* and *jeu parti*, two clear alternatives to a problem are outlined in the first stanza, while the *tenson* and *debat* (as the *tenson* was known in the north) allows for more grey area and a less polarized discussion.

[64] “Et aquest dictatz alqunas vetz procezih per novas rimadas et adonx pot haver. xx. o trenta cobblas o may. et alcunas vetz per coblas. et aquest conte de vi. coblas a. x. am doas tornadas en lasquals devo jutge eligir. lequals difinisca lor plag. e lor tenso. El jutges per aquel meteysh compas de coblas. o per novas rimadas pot donar son jutiamen. Enpero per novas rimadas es huey mays acostumat. En loqual jutiamen alqu volon seguir forma de dreg. fazen mensio davangelis e dautras paraulas acostumadas de dire en sentencia. laqual cauza nos no reproam pero be dizem que aysso no es de necessitat. quar abasta solamen quom done son jutiamen. et aquel declare. per aquela maniera que mays plazera a cel ques elegitz per jutge. Encaras dizem que non es de necessitat ques haia so. enpero en aquel cas. ques faria als compas de vers. o de chanso. o dautre dictat quaver deia so. se pot cantar. en aquel vielh so.” Guillem Molinier, *Las flors del gay saber: estier dichas Las leys d’amors*, in *Monumens de la Littérature Romane* ed. and trans. M. Gatien-Arnoult, 2 vols., (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1977), 1:344.

Judges not only existed, but were apparently also virtuosi in their manner of delivering judgments, at least as Molinier outlined the practice in Toulouse.

The obvious query left unaddressed is how the two judges reached consensus, or if they were able to. If the ultimate goal was unanimity, could this always be achieved? This very problem was taken up in another unexpected source, from roughly the same date. The monumental romance *Perceforest*, composed in the 1330's in the Low Countries (and therefore overlapping geographically with at least some of the *jeux partis*) contains the highly ludic unfolding of a *parture* — in this case a *jeu parti* exchanged through letters between two competing knights, and then by their judges.[65] In this attenuated poetic duel, two knights returning from a tournament begin to discuss which one of them made a better impression upon the woman he desires. The first asserts that he is closer to having his love reciprocated, because he has asked, in a roundabout way, for permission to love. The second knight belittles this meager accomplishment, and reports that he sat next to his beloved at dinner, and was told by her that she loved his name. Which of the two has furthered himself more towards his goal of attaining love? The theme of this debate sits easily with the sorts of questions posed in the *jeux partis*, although in this context its intentional frivolity only adds to its humor. The knights begin their debate, but it must be truncated as both men are suffering from wounds incurred at the tourney.

Because they are unable to resolve the matter face-to-face, they carry on their *parture* by messenger, from their respective sick-beds. When one receives the other's verses, he asks the messenger for time to think of his response, sleeps on it, and pens

---

[65] Described in *Perceforest* thus: "vous envoye il de par moy une parture qu'il a faict tandis qu'il a geu sur son lict: car chevalier amoureux n'en doibt estre joyeulx qu'il ne soit en faict ou en pensee. Atant elle print la lettre ou la parture estoit escripte et la bailla au chevalier qui print grant plaisir a la lyre, et estoit le contenu tel …" vol. VI, ch. 39, ed., 1528, reprinted by Frédéric Godefroy, "Parteure," *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* 10 vols., (Paris, 1889), 6:6.

a pithy response in the morning. Two judges—both women—are chosen to decide who has the better case, and the messenger is now sent with all the verse letters to each judge. Each woman reads over the two sides, and writes her own verse response.

But the female judges do not concur. The *parture* is far from closure—the author of *Perceforest* has just started to have fun. With the dispute still unresolved, two further judges are named, both men. All the verses are sent to them, along with the preceding judgments. The new male judges cannot agree. One of them, flushed with his conviction, exclaims, "since we can not reach agreement through words or a verdict by debate we'll have to let the blades of our swords decide."[66] Thus begins a trial by combat. Only the intervention of a wise woman prevents a violent outcome; at last a decisive judgment is delivered by this stranger, to which both sides acquiesce. On account of this feat of settling the case, she is declared "the goddess of judgments in matters of the heart […] and she came thereafter to be called the Goddess of Judgments throughout all Britain, and no judgment but hers was valued or approved."[67]

This attenuated debate extends over seven chapters, and is nothing if not a parody of an aristocratic textual community, for whom verbal dueling over honor is clearly continuous with dueling by the sword. As in the *jeu parti*, with each successive verse its contestants escalate the stakes of their argument, but in this case, the lack of resolution becomes increasingly dramatic, and comic—even judges become embroiled in the argument. Music is absent, and the written process described closely resembles the Italian *tenzone,* a genre associated with the invention of the

---

[66] *Perceforest, the Prehistory of King Arthur's Britain*, trans. Nigel Bryant (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011), 730.
[67] *Perceforest*, 732.

sonnet.[68] The best remembered *tenzoni* were penned by Dante Alighieri and Forese Donati, who in a series of six sonnets, level increasingly virulent attacks at each other. Judges are dispensed with.

These contemporary accounts reveal different facets of popular practice like an image reflected in multiple mirrors, appearing from one angle spontaneous, from another textual. What we are observing is a living tradition that was capacious and flexible enough to accommodate oral improvisation as well as textuality as it passed across the linguistic borderlines of Europe, where poets and singers of different regions made it their own.

There is a final clue about performance that the Lambeth Palace roll has to tell us, and this is revealed by how it differs from the other manuscript sources. Lambeth Palace MS 1681 contains seven songs: the first three must have been quite popular, classics even, written by famous authors, they can still each be found in ten other chansonniers. The *jeux partis* also exist in four to five chansonniers each. Minor lexical variations between all these manuscripts occur (*geu parti* in the Lambeth Palace roll, for example, replaces the *iu parti* of the chansonnier d'Arras). For the most part they do not represent substantive alterations.[69]

There is one significant change, however, and this is in the naming of judges. In the *jeu parti* presented above, a striking figure is the female judge, "Demiselle Oede," who appears in six other *jeux partis.* Yet in the Lambeth Palace text, she is replaced with a male judge, one "Sire Audefroi." Who came first? Is there any way of establishing authenticity, an "Ur-text," an "Ur-*jeu parti"*? The chansonniers are

---

[68] Just as the Occitan form had been adapted in northern France to become the *jeu parti*, so the poets of Sicily and the Italian peninsula had molded it to their purposes, not to be sung, but to be put into a new poetic and metric form of the fourteen line sonnet (*sonetto* comes from Old Provençal *sonet* "little song," from the Latin *sonus*, "sound").
[69] Wallensköld provided a thorough comparison, "Le Ms. Londres," 9-15.

divided: two agree with the performance roll in naming a man, two others name Demiselle Oede. A past generation of scholars voiced skepticism that the women named as judges and contestants were real entities, although this view has been overturned in recent decades.[70] The change of gender, and the similarity between "Oede" and "Audefroi" suggests that one could be substituted for another; that new judges were appointed according to context, and that they could be male or female.

This instability of performative texts was evocatively described by Paul Zumthor, who noted the lack of fixity and of authorship as a product of poetic texts' "essential mobility," their *mouvance* within a predominantly oral culture.[71] But a text's flexibility—the *jeu parti*'s ability to incorporate new audiences into its performative sphere by naming new judges, who would undoubtedly follow the performance with their own new and contentious opinions—tells us something too about the social contexts in which it was performed, and the appetite for such an entertainment medium. Outside of Arras, perhaps far outside, perhaps across the Channel, in an Anglo-Norman-speaking court or the newly-founded London *Puy*, audience members could imagine themselves as the continental experts of courtly love, speaking as if on a first-name basis with the King of Navarre.[72] Judges picked

---

[70] Bec and Huchet were among the most vocal dissenters against the idea of historical women as trouvères; Bec, "Trobairitz" et Chansons de Femme, contribution à la connaissance du lyrisme féminin au Moyen Âge" *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 87 (1979): 235–262; J.-C. Huchet, "Les femmes troubadours ou la voix critique," *Littérature* 51 (1983): 59–90; although their stance had the unintended consequence of spurring on new scholarship devoted to the women trouvères. Alfred Långfors took the naming of judges more seriously: in his opinion, the scribe of the Arras manuscripts that name Demisele Oede "doubtless […] had a particular reason to replace the judge's name with that of demoisele Oede." *Recueil Général*, 1:98.

[71] Zumthor, *Essai de poetique médiévale* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1972), 71.

[72] The statutes of the London *Puy* suggest it was founded in the late thirteenth century, perhaps, as Anne Sutton argues, based on the template of the prestigious *puy* of Arras; on the social and mercantile links fostered by the wool trade between London and Arras as they pertain to these confraternities, see Sutton's "Merchants, Music and Social Harmony: the London Puy and its French and London Contexts, circa 1300," *London Journal* 17 (1992): 1-

from the audience could assume the identity of an Oede or an Audefroi. The lack of judgments in these texts is no lacuna, it is an invitation for new judges, new performance contexts. The Lambeth Palace roll makes no indication of music. If performed in England, was a local melody appropriated to fit the verses, to appeal to a new crowd? The Lambeth Palace roll avails its owner of enormous performative flexibility. Portable, adaptable, it is designed to cross geographic and perhaps cultural borderlines, to engage and entrance its audience in a particular discursive mode, by which they too must take part in the seductive yet irreverent world of the *jeux partis* and of trouvère song.

A twelfth-century trouvère and author of romance described the ideal mode of audience listening in the following way, entreating his listeners to open both ears and heart:

> Des qu'il vos plest, ore antandez!
> cuer et oroilles me randez!
> car parole oïe est perdue
> s'ele n'est de cuer antandue.
> De tes i a, que ce, qu'il öent,
> n'antandent pas et si le loent;
> et cil n'an ont mes que l'oïe,
> des que li cuers n'i antant mie.
> As oroilles vient la parole
> Aussi come li vanz, qui vole;
> Mes n'i areste de demore […]
> Que cil la puet an son venir
> Prandre et anclorre et retenir.
> Les oroilles sont voie et doiz,
> Par ou s'an vient au cuer la voiz;
> Et li cuers prant dedanz le vantre
> La voiz, qui par l'oroille i antre.[73]

17; on the taste of the London members for "lyric accomplishment in the full courtly French fashion," see Helen Cooper, "London and Southwark Poetic Companies: " 'Si tost c'amis" and the *Canterbury Tales*," in *Chaucer and the City*, ed. Ardis Butterfield (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006).

[73] Chrétien de Troyes, *Yvain, Le Chevalier au Lion*, ed. Wendelin Foerster, Romanische Bibliothek, 5 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1912), ll. 149-66.

> Since it pleases you, now listen! Lend me your heart and ears, for the spoken word is lost without a comprehending heart. There are those who hear but without understanding, yet they praise it; they have nothing but the ability to hear, since the heart pays no heed. A word comes to the ears like the wind that blows, but it neither stops there nor remains […] Only the heart can grasp and enclose and preserve the sound when it approaches. The ears are the way and the means by which the voice reaches the heart. The heart encloses in the breast the voice, who entered through the ear.

This appeal not only to listen but to remember is surely the outcome wished for by every performer, in the Middle Ages as today: that an audience should internalize the emotion behind the script. The author of these words, Chrétien de Troyes, drew on the medieval rhetoric of memory, by which words are fixed and preserved in the book of the heart. Performers of the *jeux partis* hoped to accomplish this affective engagement directly, by asking an audience to judge their case, and in so doing to become participants in the drama. No "fourth wall" divided the *puy* from the public. In asking each new audience to judge a performance for itself, singers appeal not only to the audience members' sense of sound, but challenge them to engage the organ of emotion and of memory, and to inscribe the fleeting moment of performance into the books of their hearts.

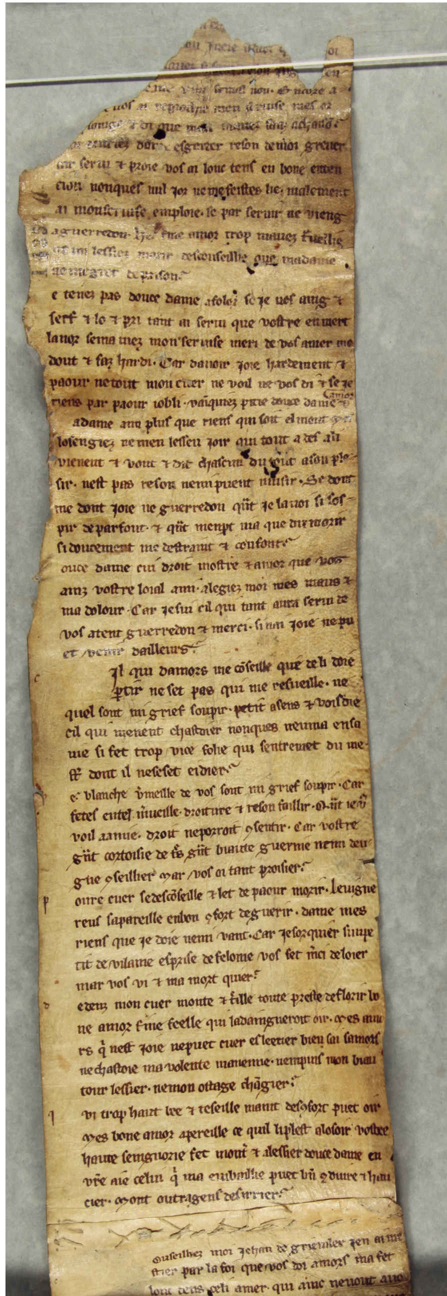
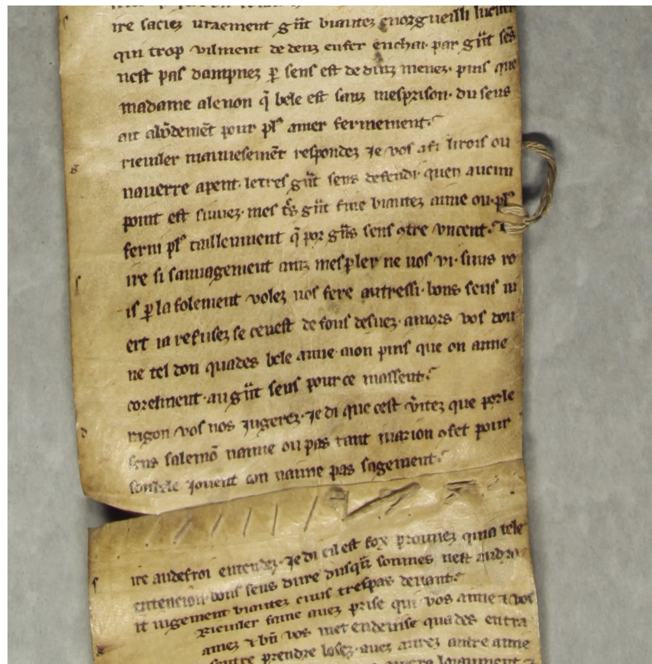


Figure 1. Roll containing *jeux partis*. London: Lambeth Palace Library MS 1681, dorse showing first membrane.



Figures 2-3. Lambeth Palace Library MS 1681. String visible at right.

Figure 4. Author portrait of Guillaume Machaut, Paris, B.N. fr. 1586, fol. 121

Figure 6. Three clerics singing a motet from a roll. London, B.L. Arundel, MS 83, fol. 63v.

Figure 5. Scene of the Grand Pont, with St. Denis preaching, and clerics, afloat on the Seine, singing from a roll. *Vie de St. Denis*, Paris, B.N. fr. 2021, fol. 99r.

Chapter Five

Oral and Written Traditions in the Legends of the Sicilian Vespers

A half-century after the Angevin conquest of Sicily under Charles of Anjou, and the kingdom's subsequent defense, led by Robert II of Artois, a reflection on the merits and dangers of imperial conquest was composed by the Tuscan poet, Dante Alighieri, in his *Commedia*. The following verses appear in the third of what are known as his "political cantos:"

Poscia che Constantin l'aquila volse contr' al corso del ciel, ch'ella seguio dietro a l'antico che Lavina tolse	Once Constantine reversed the eagle's flight, counter to the course of heaven it had followed behind that ancient who took Lavinia to wife
cento e cent'anni e più l'uccel di Dio ne lo stremo d'Europa siritenne, vicino a' monti de' quai prima uscio [1]	for two hundred years and more the bird of God remained at Europe's borders, near the mountains from which it first came forth

Canto VI of *Paradiso* begins with a critique of Constantine's eastward transfer of imperial power from Rome. This act is considered by the poet to be a violation of the correct course of history, according to the theory of *translatio imperii*, by which the locus of imperial power should follow the movement of the sun, traveling only from east to west. Paired with the donation of Constantine, by which the Pope was endowed with temporal powers, these actions were considered by the poet to have had heinous ramifications, in the view of Giuseppe Mazzotta, to have violated "the correct economy

---

[1] Dante Alighieri, *Paradiso*, trans. by Robert and Jean Hollander, (New York: Anchor Books, 2007) Canto VI: 1-6

of history."[2] As one of the political cantos, *Paradiso* VI tells a concise history of the Roman Empire from the perspective of the flight of the eagle—the emblem of Rome, and the image borne on her standard. The canto is narrated by Justinian, the law-giving emperor, and the symbolism of his name, as well as his emphasis on the legal code orients the reader to justice as the ideal organizing feature of empire.[3]

But what begins as a celebration of its virtues soon darkens into a critique of the violence and lust for power that accompany this ideology. "Behold what valor [*virtù*] consecrated it/ the valor which began with that first hour,"[4] Justinian begins, but a stanza later the tone has changed, as he recalls the violence that accompanied the origins of Rome: "you know what [the eagle] accomplished under seven kings/ from Sabine rape up to Lucretia's woe/ as it grew, conquering its neighbor's lands,"[5] (*vincendo intorno le genti vicine*). Earlier in the *Commedia*, the realm of politics is associated with the circle of gluttony, and here again Dante's language of conquest evokes the insatiable quality of power.

As Mazzotta observed, in *Paradiso* VI Dante contends with two contradictory authorities of empire: the first, celebratory voice is that of Virgil, author of Rome's epic, and Dante's own guide through the underworld. But by invoking the rapes of the Sabine women and of Lucretia, and by framing the growth of empire in terms of gluttony and lust, he also appeared to be in dialogue with Saint Augustine, notably Books I-IV of his

---

[2] Giuseppe Mazzotta, *Dante, Poet of the Desert*: *History and Allegory in the Divine Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 181; according to Renucci, the Donation of Constantine was considered by Dante to be almost a second fall of man; discussed in Charles Davis, *Dante and the Idea of Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 29.
[3] Mazzotta, *Dante, Poet of the Desert*, 178-83; more generally see Davis, *Dante and the Idea of Rome*.
[4] Dante, *Paradiso* VI: 34-35
[5] Dante, *Paradiso* VI: 40-42

City of God. In those books, Augustine focused on episodes of sexual violence, in particular that of Lucretia's rape and suicide (Book I, 19-20), as his controversial "set pieces," as Peter Brown called them.[6] In so doing, he invited his reader to reflect on the moral peril of empire, which he implied is its dangerous carnality. The stories of the Sabine women and Lucretia are the foundation legends of Rome, but they are also stories of erotic violence.

Dante's vision of history is one which telescopes from the *longue durée*—the mythic foundations of Rome—to the contemporary thirteenth and fourteenth century political strife to which he himself had been subjected. Exiled from Florence in 1302, he lived in an Italy divided by the struggle between the Papal Guelf party, and the Ghibelline supporters of the Holy Roman Empire.[7] Following the death of Emperor Frederick II in 1250, the popes sought to take advantage of factionalism and a power vacuum south of the Papal States, and install an ally of the Church in their stead. This ally, it was ultimately decided, would be Charles of Anjou, youngest brother of King Louis IX. Therefore, although the motives for the campaign, (directed at the southern Italian peninsula and the island of Sicily) were purely political, troops and financial support were collected by calling a crusade. In 1266 and 1268, Charles won two decisive victories at Benevento and Tagliacozzo, and was crowned king of the Kingdom of Sicily, more commonly known as *il Regno.* Prior to the revolt in 1282, the Regno stretched from the island of Sicily itself (*Trinacria*) through what today are the regions of Calabria,

---

[6] Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000 [1967]), 308-9.

[7] Although it should be noted that the turmoil in Florence which culminated in Dante's exile was between the Black and White Guelfs. By the end of his life, however, his political views seemed more allied with Ghibelline sentiment; on Dante's political views in relation to monarchy and empire, see especially Charles Davis, *Dante and the Idea of Rome*.

Basilicata, Apulia and Campania. The French standard flown by Charles and his descendants in Italy was also described by Dante who envisioned the whole land divided between those who followed the yellow fleur-de-lis, and those who followed the eagle, and, he commented ruefully, “it is hard to see who is worse.”[8]

The warring standards bearing the fleur-de-lis and the imperial eagle succinctly captured the superpowers tugging the fabric of Italian political life in one direction and the other. His evocation of the Roman foundation myths—the rape of the Sabine women and that of Lucretia—were part of the common koine for thinking about the origins of political power in the Italian peninsula and the island of Sicily.

The following chapter investigates how the undercurrents of erotic violence that had so long been acknowledged as the sinister underbelly of conquest, became the explicit symbols and rallying cry of the Sicilians against their French conquerors. Until now, this dissertation has focused largely on the self-representation of the French aristocracy through their opulent chansonniers, their witty songs of love or desire, their ritualized enactments of heroism at the tournament. In Sicily, we have the opportunity to view them through the eyes of outsiders, people who elite nobles such as Charles of Anjou and Robert of Artois saw as pawns in a game of conquest. Immediately upon being crowned king, Charles began what has been characterized as a program of cultural imperialism.[9] While he surely enjoyed his new status and power, little, if anything, of the existing southern Italian culture pleased him. To commemorate his victories over Manfred and Conradin, the sons of Frederick II, he had two abbeys constructed, not in the

---

[8] Dante, *Paradiso* VI: 100-102

[9] Caroline Bruzelius, "ad modum Franciae: Charles of Anjou and Gothic Architecture in the Kingdom of Sicily," *Journal for the society of architectural historians,* 50 (1991), 402-20 at 406.

artistic traditions of the region as the Norman conquerors of Sicily two centuries before had done (to spectacular effect), but in the French Gothic style. Not only master builders, but stone masons, masonry, and even monks were transported from the north of France to the Regno.[10] The Angevin registers recording this program, Caroline Bruzelius writes, "document the king's emphasis on Frenchness in all details. [The Gothic style] from the Île-de-France was utilized in the Kingdom of Sicily to connote the authority and prestige of the new regime."[11] When Charles arrived in Naples, he likewise constructed a monumental fortress at the mouth of the bay of Naples, known as the *Maschio Angioina* (the "Angevin Male", figure 1). For its inauguration, he demolished a nearby church so as to be able to host tournaments in a newly created piazza. French musicians and trouvères of course were imported too.[12]

The Sicilian chroniclers bear witness to how this "cultural imperialism" was experienced by non-French speakers. Their accounts, alongside evidence from the Angevin chancery, relate the deeds that characterized the administration of Charles of Anjou, Robert of Artois, and their compatriots, to their subjects. While the inhabitants of the southern Italian peninsula were often aggrieved by actions of the French officials and soldiers, it was those on the island of Sicily who suffered most at the hands of Angevin tax collectors, and to whom Angevin rule was most repugnant. The irony of the rapacious

---

[10] The monks were brought from the abbeys of Royaumont and Loroux, Bruzelius, "ad modum Franciae," 411.

[11] Bruzelius, "ad modum Franciae," 402.

[12] In addition to the best-known trouvères such as Adam de la Halle, other minstrels and performers made the journey to the Sicilian kingdom. To take but one example, two of Robert's minstrels were compensated 64 *l. p.* for accompanying Robert of Artois to the Regno for a year, leaving their wives at home in Artois, "a januce et a pariset notres trompeurs pour leur despens daler en puille et revenir et pour lassier a leur fenmes pour un an. sissante quatre lb. par." They were paid after their return to France, in 1295. AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 140.8.

French monarch and his countrymen (*li Francisci,* in Sicilian) having been installed by the Holy See, under the pretense of crusade, was seen in apocalyptic terms by the time the Sicilians revolted in March, 1282.[13] "We believed we had accepted a king from the Father of Fathers; we received instead the Antichrist of Sicily," one chronicler lamented.[14] The sentiment was echoed by others: "he whom we believed to be a shepherd, was truly a rapacious wolf."[15] The Sicilian testimony serves as a counterpoint to the visions of chivalry promoted by the tournament festivals. It provides a glimpse into what was masked by the curated portrayals of French nobility found in trouvère lyrics and romance. Describing the lighthearted spirit in which French officials antagonized the inhabitants of Palermo prior to the outbreak of revolt, still another chronicler would comment that "Game indeed brings forth a perilous struggle."[16]

---

[13] On the legacy of the crusades against Sicily and Aragon in popular opinion outside of Sicily, see Joseph Strayer, "The Political Crusades of the Thirteenth Century," *A History of the Crusades,* vol. 2 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962) 343-75.

[14] Bartolomeo da Neocastro, *Historia Sicula,* ed. Giuseppe Paladino, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores (RIS),* new series, L. A. Muratori, gen. ed., vol. 13:3 (Bologna: Nicola Zanicheli, 1921), ch. 12, 10.

[15] *Anonymi Chronicon Siculum*, in *Bibliotheca Scriptorum qui Res in Sicilia Gestas sub Aragonum Imperio Retulere,* Rosarius Gregorio, ed., 2 vols. (Palermo: 1791-2) vol. 2: 107-272, 145.

[16] Saba Malaspina, *Die Chronik des Saba Malaspina*, Walter Koller and August Nitschke, eds. *MGH*, 35. (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1999), Lib. 8, 287; paraphrasing Horace, discussed below.

Figure 1. *Il Castel Nuovo* or *Maschio Angioino,* erected by Charles of Anjou, Naples, 1279. (Between the western Angevin towers now stands a triumphal arch in white marble, added in the fifteenth century by Alfonso of Aragon).

Angevin rule prior to the Sicilian Vespers (1266-1282)

What incited the Sicilian revolt that broke out at Easter, 1282? Since the nineteenth century, scholarship has been polarized over its causes: in the 1840's the brilliant Sicilian scholar and statesman Michele Amari painted it in nationalistic terms as a spontaneous popular uprising of the oppressed Sicilian people. Others have stressed the extent to which a conspiracy between Charles of Anjou's enemies, in Byzantium and Aragon, had organized a swiftly effectual revolution.[17] Tracing the oppressive fiscal policies imposed by the Angevin administration, William Percy saw the revolt, above all, as a response to unbridled taxation.[18] Mediterranean historian Henri Bresc and his circle

---

[17] Michele Amari, *La guerra del vespro siciliano*, 3 vols (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1886); the conspiracy was the focal point of Stephen Runciman's *Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1958), esp. 201-214; for an examination of the documentary evidence see Antonino Franchi, *I Vespri Siciliani e le Relazioni Tra Roma e Bisanzio* (Assisi: Porziuncola, 1997).
[18] William A. Percy, "The earliest revolution against the modern state: Direct taxation in Medieval Sicily and the vespers," *Italian Quarterly,* 22, (1981): 69-84; "The Indirect Taxes of the

have shed light on the complex ethnic makeup of the thirteenth-century Sicilian population and its role in the political turmoil.[19] Meanwhile, the Sicilians' own chronicles tell a story of a revolt set into motion by specific cultural frictions between the Papally sanctioned French and Provençals, and the ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous Sicilian population they came to rule.

The earliest datable chronicle following the revolt is that of Saba Malaspina, a native of Rome who wrote his *Liber gestorum regum Sicilie* in 1283-85, finishing it shortly after the death of Charles of Anjou.[20] During the 1270's Malaspina was a deacon of the church of Mileto in Calabria (part of the Regno); he therefore witnessed many of the changes wrought under Angevin rule. By the time of the Vespers in 1282 he was employed as a papal scribe and he professes to have decided to write a history of recent events during a slow time in the curia, a period of leisure and vacation.[21] His knowledge of Papal and Angevin documents has led some to consider his chronicle an "authorized"

Medieval Kingdom of Sicily," *Italian Quarterly,* 22 (1981): 73-85; and *The Revenues of Charles I of Anjou 1266-1285 and Their relationship to the Vespers* (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Princeton, 1964).

[19] An important collection of articles by Bresc, who was influenced by scholars such as Amari and Goitein, is *Politique et société en Sicile XIIe-XVe siècles* (Ashgate: Variorum, 1990); the works of his former student, Sylvie Pollastri, in regard to the mezzogiorno, are of value, most recently *Le lignage et le fief: l'affirmation du milieu comtal et la construction des Etats Féodaux sous les Angevins de Naples, 1265-1435* (Paris: Publibook, 2011); David Abulafia's many publications shape our understanding of the diverse Sicilian populations (though not specifically in relation to the Vespers), however see his review of the field in "Charles of Anjou reassessed," *Journal of Medieval History,* 26 (2000), 93-114.

[20] An overview of Saba Malaspina's biography is that by Berardo Pio, "Saba Malaspina" in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani,* 67 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2006), 803-06; more detailed information is found in Walter Koller and August Nitschke's learned introduction to their critical edition, *Die Chronik,* 1-66. See too Michele Fuiano, *Studi di storiografia medioevale,* (Naples: Giannini, 1975), 231-280.

[21] *Die Chronik*, Lib. 1, 89.

history of a Guelf partisan, but his frank criticisms of Charles of Anjou and the deeds of certain popes hardly support this view.[22]

The author provides his reader with at least one explicit aim of his work: "even if […] it may not delight or entice the minds of modern men […] namely of those who retain the memory of recent things perhaps up to this point, nevertheless the future and successive generations will discover, in reading it, something which may bring delight."[23] Malaspina's chronicle displays a familiarity with Papal and Angevin documents, but by the author's own admission, the events of which he writes may hold little interest for the modern reader because they were already common knowledge.[24] "It is pleasing to disclose without copious digressions and circumlocutions […] what has been carried out, neither inserting extraneous anecdotes nor mixing in incredible tales, but narrating in a prosaic style and in coherent order, the truth, or what seems to be true, which I saw or was able to see, or which I heard disseminated in public discussions."[25]

Malaspina records witnessing the mounting infractions and injustices perpetrated

---

[22] The possible motivations and causes for Malaspina to write his chronicle have led some to theorize that he sought to curry favor and advancement with the papal curia, or with the new legate, Gerard of Parma, who was appointed at the time he began writing. It is true that he was later promoted from deacon to Bishop of Mileto, but Koller and Nitschke point out that he had no specific patron for his work. *Die Chronik*, 7-9; on Malaspina and other Guelf writers critical of Charles of Anjou, the essential work is that of Alessandro Barbero, *Il Mito Angioino Nella Cultura Italiana e Provenzale fra Duecenot e Trecento* (Torino: Deputazione subalpina di storia patria, 1983), 92-93, 104-105.

[23] *Die Chronik,* Lib. 1, 89-90.

[24] Koller and Nitschke discuss Malaspina's contemporary, as well as his classical sources (Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Saint Augustine) in *Die Chronik*, 14.

[25] *Die Chronik*, Lib. 1; Malaspina's inspiration to write would seem to have been less the supposed period of *otium* in the curia in 1283 than the momentous revolution that broke out the year before. As Michele Fuiano, in his study of Malaspina and his influences remarks, "non tutti le altre vivaci descrizioni di battaglie o d'imboscate assorbono tanto l'attenzione del lettore, quanto la narrazione degli eventi che si svolsero in Sicilia," a view echoed by Edoardo D'Angelo. Fuiano, *Studi di storiografia,* 241; Edoardo D'Angelo, *Storiografi e cronologoi latini del Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo* (Naples: Liguori Editore, 2003), 55.

under Charles and stemming from the “flagrant and inexplicable concupiscence” of his treasury. These included the mistreatment of prisoners; unjust practices in collecting taxes, and the bribery of officials by criminals to pay for their release.[26] The feudal due of hospitality to the king’s itinerant court was seen to be abused. Malaspina describes the grievances caused when even bedding materials were required by French officials: “I saw, when either the king, or his captain master justiciar, or another justiciar, or anyone else in the military retinue was passing through the land, that mattresses, stuffed or with a bedframe, down cushions, and finally even the most worthless cot of a pauper were violently dragged away. Even the covers and linen sheets from the houses of men—no matter what their condition and rank—were taken.”[27] Perhaps worst of all, in his view, were the challenges endured by a populous whose countryside was supporting a foreign occupying army:

> [I witnessed that which] pierced the pupil of the eyes and which the tongue fears to spread in telling, and the mind fears to shrivel up by describing it. I saw travelers frequently thrown off their old nags [*ronzini*] by the French, and those French foot-soldiers, ascending, and other poor peasants with miserable voices bemoaning the bundles of chaff or wood or of other things that were taken and stolen by the French, who gave no payment in return.[28]

Malaspina’s narration of this pitiful encounter underscores the mounting tensions in the Regno during the last years of Charles’s rule. Bribery and high taxes may have been indicative of a misuse of power, in his view, but it was the vulnerability of travelers and peasants to the caprices of a French occupying army that made him recoil, “piercing” his

---

[26] *Die Chronik.*, Lib. 6, 255-57.
[27] *Die Chronik.*, Lib. 6, 255. In France, and specifically in the appanage of Anjou and Maine (from where a number of Charles’s men hailed), similar acts appeared in the testimony of inquests that revealed tax officials seizing mattresses and bolsters, and other property, including sheep and clothing. “Querimoniae Cenomannorum et Andegavorum, anno 1247,” *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Léopold Delisle, v. 24 pt. 1 (Paris: 1904), 73-93, 74.
[28] *Die Chronik.*, Lib. 6, 257.

eyes. Verification of his testimony is provided by reform legislation recorded by Charles' chancery. Statutes dating as early as 1267 and 1268 document Charles's attempts to curtail the offences of his officials and mercenary troops (*stipendarii*), guilty of abusing the hospitality of the citizens, and of stealing chickens and other foodstuffs.[29] The images of life lived by the *regnicoli* as painted by Malaspina, familiar with the challenges facing his parishioners in rural Calabria during the 1270's, gives us a snapshot of Angevin rule in the southern Italian peninsula.

Across the Strait of Messina, news from the island of Sicily reflected a different scale of oppression. The unlawful appropriation of citizens' property was the slightest in a list of grievances, at least as seen through the eyes of one Sicilian chronicler, Bartolomeo da Neocastro, who characterizes them as *inventi sceleris novum genus*, "a new genus of wicked innovation."[30] In the rhetoric of the Sicilian chroniclers, the real force of the allegations centered on policies that were injurious to the economy as a whole. Inflation caused by Charles's frequent re-minting and forcible distribution of overvalued coinage was among the worst of these, described by Bartolomeo as a mandate for new money to be minted *ex aere purissimo.*[31] Salient too is the complaint against

[29] Romualdo Trifone, ed., *La Legislazione Angioina*, (Naples: Luigi Lubrano, 1921), xii, xiii. The reform acts of San Martino (1283), and those of Pope Honorius IV (1285), intended to respond to the grievances that had triggered the Sicilian revolt, and were thus enacted as pre-emptive measures to deter residents of the *mezzogiorno* from following suit. As for the problem of stolen beasts, it was decreed that the beasts could only be purchased with special permission of the court, and even then could not come from an administrator's own justiciarate, but had to be sent from a neighboring province—thus presumably enforcing a paper trail proving payment; "Capitoli di San Martino," also in Trifone, 93-105, at 103.

[30] Taxes appear at the forefront of Bartolomeo's list of wicked innovations: "What properties are exacted in an unheard of manner?" he laments. *Historia Sicula,* ch. 12, 10.

[31] "Denariorum quidem novam monetam incudi mandabat ex aere purissimo quolibet anno," *Historia Sicula,* ch. 12, 10. The forcible distribution, annually, of around 7,000,000 coins, the *billon*, which Charles overvalued as much as 1.6%, brought an average profit to the crown of oz. 21,000/year. Percy, *The Revenues of Charles I,* 2 and 88-136.

Mutua et non consueta lignaminum et marenariarum jura, referring to the requirements to provide wood for galleys, and for manning them too.[32]

The network of professions tied up with the coastal economies were active not only at the biggest ports such as Messina, Trapani, and Palermo, but by a large proportion of the population.[33] Over fifty percent of Sicilians in the later thirteenth century lived within 10km of the coastline, as estimated by Stephan Epstein, who counted the twenty-three largest settlements in 1277.[34] Beyond the latifundia, the great agricultural estates that lay inland (many of which were in the royal demesne), Sicily's coastline was a brisk and fluid economy of grains, fabrics, fish and fruits, sweet almond wine, cheese, spices. At times, there was also a slave trade. Local markets were connected by sea both to one

---

[32] Messina, from where Bartolomeo composed his chronicle, was the location of the island's largest and busiest arsenal, and for its shipbuilding, it brought in wood from the nearby forests on the Peloritani mountains. The requirement to provide wood for galleys fell only on Sicily and Calabria, and accompanied other forms of "ship money," required for extensive coast-guard efforts. A good overview of the 'ship money' appears in Percy, *The Revenues of Charles I*, 205-207.

[33] An interesting snapshot of the coastal economy at Messina—from tuna fisheries to salt pans—is provided by the series of legal allegations of Agatha, abbess of the convent of S. Maria di Messina, that give voice to ongoing problems with Angevin officials in "Tabulario di S. Maria di Messina," doc. 26: May 22, 1277, ed. Hadrien Penet, *Le Chartrier* (Messina: Società Messinese di storia patria, 1998), vol. 1, 145 and following; vol. 2, 107-119.

[34] Epstein arrived at his thirteenth-century population figures based on an examination of the surviving tax records of 1277 and 1283 (in comparison too with those from the fourteenth – sixteenth centuries), assessed at three *tarì* per hearth, which gave him 180,000 taxable hearths on insular Sicily. Estimating the mean hearth size of 4-5 people, and adding in a further ten to fifteen per cent for tax exempt individuals (ecclesiastics, feudal aristocracy, the poor), he put the later thirteenth-century population at approximately 850,000, and the populations Palermo and Messina to be around 50,000 and 30,000 respectively. These figures were then compared against those of agricultural output, which after exports and grain needed for fodder, Epstein found were enough to feed a population somewhere close to 1 million. Between the disease and famines of the fourteenth century, he estimated that one hundred years later, the population declined as much as 40%. Stephan Epstein, *An Island for itself: Economic development and social change in late medieval Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 33-72. On the other hand, Sicily did not reach thirteenth century population levels again until the seventeenth century.

another and to the broader Mediterranean trade routes.[35] Increased export duties, overseen by the *magistri procurators et portulani*, had a ripple effect that would have been felt throughout the coastal economies.

The innovation most felt and resented, however, was the escalation of the *subventio generalis*, a hearth tax that weighed heavily on the two justiciarates comprising the island: *Sicilia Citra* and *Sicilia Ultra Salsum*. (The river Salso divides the island more or less evenly between the eastern and western regions.) In its origins under Frederick II, the assessment corresponded with an actual counting of homesteads, but over the years, as concentrations of wealth shifted, the administrators in the *camera* seem to have adjusted the number of hearths not to reflect population density but in order to tax wealthy regions at a higher rate.[36]

These taxes were borne to a greater extent by the lay populace under Charles than during the reigns of Frederick and Manfred, in part due to the greater efficiency of his collectors, in part because of his arrangement with the Papacy to honor clerical immunity from taxation. But Charles was planning yet another campaign—to Constantinople—and because of his vast military expenditures and debts, he could not afford to reduce the overall sums collected from his eleven justiciarates. Instead, he raised them. When the clergy in one region was exempted, responsibility fell on the lay populace to make up the difference.[37] The thoroughness with which the Sicilians rooted out French-speaking clergy in 1282 may have particularly reflected this resentment.

---

[35] A sense of this fluidity comes across in a variety of sources; at an international scale it is strongly reflected in the Cairo Geniza documents, which led Shelomo Goitein to describe Sicily as “the hub” of the Mediterranean, in “Sicily and Southern Italy in the Cairo Geniza Documents,” *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale* 67 (1971): 9-33.
[36] Percy, “Earliest Revolution,” 73.
[37] Percy, “Earliest Revolution,” 73.

Levied annually, the revenues for all eleven justiciarates ranged from 60,000 – 80,000 gold ounces per year between 1266 and 1282. They jumped up to Oz. 100,000 and 120,000 in 1270, 1272, and 1275, when feudal dues were imposed for the marriages of Charles's daughters Elisabeth and Beatrice, and the knighting of his son, Charles of Salerno.[38] In December 1281, Charles decreed an "extraordinary *collecta,*" intended not for the marriage or knighting of his children, or defense of the realm, all legitimate grounds for taxation, but for his war of aggression towards Constantinople. The *collecta* was set at 107,891 gold ounces.[39]

The fiscal year began in March, and with it, collection began by the *taxatores* of each region. Charles' campaign to retake Constantinople was scheduled to embark in April, 1282, from Messina. Although extant documents do not record how much had already been procured at the time of the revolt on March 30, it is inconceivable that the *collecta* and the Easter uprising were unconnected.

While fiscal pressures were bemoaned elsewhere in the chronicles, such as that of Bartolomeo da Neocastro, it is striking that in the outbreak of the revolt itself, grievances about Angevin taxation were not explicitly voiced. They could have been: numerous other popular medieval uprisings sparked by taxes *did* voice financial complaints, through chants, prayers to holy patrons, even rhyming songs. "Death to the taxes [dacia] and gabelles" was one rallying cry repeated by the people of Parma who gathered in public squares to protest high taxes in March, 1331, and other protests were equally

---

[38] Elisabeth, his youngest daughter, was married to Ladislaus of Hungary in 1270; Beatrice to the son of the titular Latin Emperor of Constantinople in 1275, and Prince Charles was knighted in 1272. Paul Durrieu, *Les Angevines de Naples, Etude sur les Registres du Roi Charles Ier*, 2 vols. (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1886)*,* vol. 1, 88.
[39] Durrieu, *Archives Angevines,* vol. 1, 88. See also Maurice Prou, "Introduction," *Les Registres d'Honorius IV,* (Paris: E. Thorin, 1888), xxx–lv.

specific.[40] The cry of the Sicilians, however, was *Moranu li Francisci*, "death to the French." Though the desperation behind the revolt was undoubtedly fueled by Charles of Anjou's administrators and tax collectors, the hue and cry that was raised, the call to arms that is repeated in nearly all the chronicle accounts, alerts us to the fact that this was neither the whole story, nor was it the one that resonated the most deeply with the Sicilian populace.[41]

That Sicilian outrage at the "new genus of wicked innovation" that was Angevin governance went beyond a resentment of tax collection alone is revealed by the repeated appearance of apocalyptic imagery in chronicles and letters, portraying above all the sense of betrayal at the hands of the Church, who had after all legitimized the Angevin conquest as a "crusade" in 1266.

> It must be related that when we believed we had accepted a king from the Father of Fathers, we received instead the Antichrist of Sicily; when we trusted in an augmenter of our people and our property, voracious wolves are allowed into our sheepfold; they devoured everything with not a sparing bite, whatever he ordered and wished; and having become most evil like a dragon, circling the lands, he lays waste to all, and will destroy everything piece by piece.
>
> Indeed, these things were noted by all, much more so in the east than the west, and to the people whom the rays of the sun illuminate, truly the astonishing report of such great crimes reached those who inhabit the furthest ends of the land.[42]

---

[40] "Moriantur dacia et gabellae et moriatur dominus Ricardus" (Ricardus being the king's notary), in the *Chronica Parmensia a sec. XI ad exitum sec. XIV*. ed. L. Barbier, (Parma: Fiaccadorius, 1858), 270-275; cited by Samuel Cohn, *Lust for Liberty, The Politics of Social Revolt in Medieval Europe, 1200-1425* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 94. The citizens of Le Puy en Velay, by contrast, rose up against increases of the hearth tax and the tax on wine and commodities in 1378, leading their public outpouring where they pleaded, "Blessed Virgin Mary, help us! How can we live and feed our children, since we cannot bear these heavy taxes imposed on us to our harm, which strip and siphon off our property?" ed. and trans. by Samuel Cohn in his sourcebook, *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe, Italy, France, and Flanders* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004) 325-27.

[41] On the anti-Angevin tradition, especially in the Tuscan sources, see Allesandro Barbero, *Il Mito Angioino nella Cultura Italiana*; and Carlo Merkel, "L'opinione dei contemporanei sull'impresa italiana di Carlo I d'Angio," *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, series 4 (Rome: *Classe di scienze morali storiche e filologiche,* 1888), 277-435 at 285.

[42] Bartolomeo da Neocastro, *Historia Sicula,* ch. 12, 10. Bartolomeo's chronicle, composed a

The loaded imagery of wolves, sent into the sheepfold of Sicily, tells us something of the sentiment of betrayal the islanders felt towards the Holy See, which had installed and sustained the alliance with Charles of Anjou since the tenure of pope Clement IV (the Languedocian Gui Foucois). The apocalyptic rhetoric may also have been employed retroactively, to legitimize the violent insurrection.

More apocalyptic imagery appeared in a letter, apparently sent immediately following the Palermo uprising to the city of Messina, urging her to join the rest of the island in revolt.[43] "Rise up, rise up daughter of Zion" it began, urging the Messinesi to throw off the rule of "the Pharaoh Prince," a pun on Messina's traditional toponym, *il Faro*, "the lighthouse." After remonstrating the Messinesi for not yet joining their neighbors, the letter asked "Was the misery borne by the Israelite commoners in the time of the Pharaoh harsher than that brought forth in these days, by such a great dragon who seduces the whole world, himself in the garden of Blessed Peter, and chosen by the Church?"[44] As does the chronicle, the letter prophesizes a series of angels who will

---

decade after the revolt, under the Aragonese reign of James I (1285-1296), shows no restraint in its castigation of the French. Assuredly this was in the best interest of its politically astute author, who, employed in Messina since the 1270's under Angevin rule, was among the four legal councilors elected to assist the revolutionary leadership that took charge in April-September of 1282, and remained employed in the new administration of Peter of Aragon in late 1282 and afterwards.

[43] Quoted by the "Anonymous of Palermo," a chronicler writing in the mid-1300's, he is believed by Fasoli to be an archivist in Palermo, due to his access to a variety of thirteenth-century sources, *Anonymi Chronicon Siculum*, ed. R. Gregorio, vol. 2, 145-147. The letter is dated April 13, 1282. See Gina Fasoli, *Cronache Medievali di Sicilia: note d'orientamento* (Catania: Università di Catania, 1950), 44-46.

[44] *Anonymi Chronicon Siculum*, 145. The clearest echo between the two texts is the pastoral metaphor, couched in the same rhetorical construction, "he whom we believed to be a shepherd, was truly a rapacious wolf, and whom we believed a gentle sheep, we found out to be a ferocious lion." The pun on Pharaoh/Faro in particular is repeated in multiple sources. In many ways the letter reads as a sermon, replete with exclamations and exhortations; *Heu miseri!... Proh dolor!... Noli timere, filia Sion*.

appear to heal the people's sorrows and cast out wickedness. For the populace who heard the letter or oration read aloud in Messina, such imagery of the avenging, protective force of the archangels might have recalled the iconography in the city's churches and cathedrals, where gleaming apsidal mosaics in the Byzantine style showed tiers of angels flanking the Virgin.[45]

The texts also reflect critically on what, with the exception of the 1282 revolt, had often been seen seen as Sicilian traits of passivity as well as factionalism. "We were indeed wandering sheep, and our souls were without faith."[46] Several decades later, the Sicilian chronicler Nicolo Speciale would characterize his compatriots as "quick to quarrel" amongst themselves, "and whom they cannot quash, they compete to slander, [yet] they elevate foreigners and men from remote parts with offices and honors."[47] Indeed, the Sicilians had clung to their faith in Papal protection to the last: the first actions taken by the newly proclaimed communes of Palermo and Messina was of submission to the authority of the Church in Rome, where emissaries sought the protection of Martin IV, unsuccessfully. A new flag, quickly fabricated in Palermo and flown everywhere that the revolt spread, showed the imperial eagle that had represented the Hohenstaufen dynasty, along with the keys of Saint Peter.[48]

Sicily's natural resources, the foremost of which was always its grain production, and its proximity both to Rome and to Africa, were as enticing in the thirteenth century,

---

[45] For example, in Messina, at the former Church of San Gregorio, where only fragments now remain of thirteenth century mosaics of the Archangels.
[46] *Anonymi Chronicon Siculum*, 146.
[47] Nicolai Specialis, *Historia Sicula*, in *Bibliotheca Scriptorum qui Res in Sicilia Gestas sub Aragonum Imperio Retulere,* Rosarius Gregorio, ed., 2 vols. (Palermo: 1791-2), vol. 1: 293-528, 299.
[48] Malaspina, *Die Chronik,* Lib. 8, 292-93. Bartolomeo, *Historia Sicula,* ch.14

when it served as an embarkation point for crusades to North Africa, as they had been in the third century B.C., when control of Sicily by Rome instigated the Punic Wars. "[A] land copious not only in grain and fruits, but that indeed pours forth with milk, honey, and wine; in oil and acorns [she is] not lacking, in mules and sheep, abundant," Nicolo Speciale wrote.

It is not unforseeable that she would be sought eagerly by foreign Kings and Princes. Not without cause is she assailed by an ever-changing din of warfare, not undeserving is she of being frequented by remote peoples of diverse provinces; and for that reason, having been starved by the damages of wars and hardships, long she has been ignorant of peace and quiet.[49]

The island, he concluded (paraphrasing Isidore of Seville), was a *nutrix tirannorum*, a nurse of tyrants.

As Speciale and his contemporaries were aware, the Mediterranean island had been conquered many times—by Phoenecians, Greeks, Romans and their Byzantine successors, Muslims and Normans, whose dynasty, established in 1194, merged with that of Germany. The last drew the island and Italy in general into a power struggle between the Empire and the Papacy. Guelf Italy hoped that this would be resolved with the installation of their French ally, Charles of Anjou, and the establishment of an Angevin dynasty in 1266. But this solution was undermined in part due to the untempered ambitions of the new king, whose gaze stretched towards Tunis,[50] Jerusalem,[51] Albania,[52]

---

[49] Speciale, *Historia Sicula*, 297.

[50] On Charles' relationship with North Africa, and the tributes he leveraged from the ruler of Tunis following 1270, a continuation of that established by the Normans and then Frederick II, see David Abulafia, "The Norman Kingdom of Africa and the Norman expeditions to Majorca and the Muslim Mediterranean" *Anglo-Norman Studies,* 7 (1985), 26-49 (repr. In Abulafia, *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean,* essay XII). Sicily and the assistance of Charles of Anjou were instrumental as a way-station for men and supplies in the eleventh crusade of 1270.

[51] He acquired the title King of Jerusalem in 1277.

[52] On Charles of Anjou's offensives in Albania, culminating in his expensive and unsuccessful siege of Berat (1280-81), see Deno John Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the*

Hungary,[53] and finally Constantinople, for whose conquest Sicily was to be a stepping-stone.[54] The "gluttonous" lust for power that Dante associated with the realm of politics was a defining feature of Sicilian political history.

The revolution that occurred in 1282 was an attempt, driven by the municipalities, to break with this pattern and to establish a communal government that might have more closely resembled those of the northern Italian city-states.[55] Although short-lived, it was a move by which the leaders of the revolt sought to reverse a history of foreign political domination in which they felt themselves to have been as sheep, and to author their own narrative in which the wolves who had slunk into their sheepfold were themselves slaughtered.

The Sicilian Vespers revolt, and the legend, according to Bartolomeo da Neocastro

---

West, 1258-1282, a study in Byzantine-latin relations, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 325-334.

[53] His interest in Hungary stretched back to the 1260's when he (unsuccessfully) sought as a second wife Margaret, daughter of Bela IV of Hungary; in 1270 his daughter married Ladislaus IV and his son Charles II married Mary of Hungary.

[54] Dunbabin and Abulafia are in agreement that Charles never sought Constantinople for himself, but either, as Dunbabin believes, as an homage to the papacy or, as stressed by Abulafia, as a gift for his son-in-law and future grandchild. In support of this view, Abulafia cites the treaty of Viterbo (1267), which stipulated that Charles should only receive the Latin Empire of Constantinople in the absence of a male heir from his daughter. This view of his ambitions is in stark contrast with that of Runciman. It should perhaps be noted that throughout his career, Charles showed little inclination to honor all the terms of his treaties and contracts, as demonstrated in 1264-1268, when numerous clauses to limit his power in Italy were immediately broken. In 1265, he had agreed for example never to hold a Senatorial seat in Rome; yet he was senator from 1266 until his death in 1285); he had also agreed never to impose the *subventio generalis* on Sicily. David Abulafia, "Charles of Anjou Reassessed," 111.

[55] On this movement in general see Giacomo Egidi, *La Communitas Siciliae del 1282* (Messina: Tipografia d'Angelo, 1915), 10; on the relationship between the Sicilian *Universitas* and the monarchy, see "Sulle Autonomie Cittadine" in Ernesto Pontieri, *Ricerche Sulla Crisi della Monarchia Siciliana nel Secolo XIII* (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1958 [1942]), 315-330.

Along with Saba Malaspina, one of the earliest chroniclers to document the sequence of events of the Sicilian uprising was Bartolomeo da Neocastro, a native of Messina and a judge in that city's government. His Latin chronicle records one of the most complete versions we have of the outbreak of revolt that began in Palermo on March 30, 1282. The scene was a picnic festival held annually on the Monday after Easter, a day on which the people of Palermo were accustomed to gather at the Church of Santo Spirito, located in a meadow outside the south gate of the city.[56] [Figure 2] Today, the festival is still celebrated as *il lunedi dell'Angelo*, or *Pasquetta.* Jean de Saint Remi, the Justiciar and one of King Charles' officials, had stationed his men near the celebrations to keep watch, inspect the revelers for weapons, and to punish any offenders. According to Bartolomeo, it was the citizens' custom to carry swords and lances to the festival as a mark of ceremonial honor, but on this occasion, he claims, they had refrained from doing so for apprehension of the French officials. Jean de Saint Remi's men, finding no arms, sought to provoke the Sicilians in other ways, calling insults at some, "undertaking to incite unrest from which a scandal would arise, and bring them to civil prosecution. But [the citizens], however unwilling, endured these individual insults serenely."[57]

---

[56] The church of Santo Spirito, situated a mile outside the old city walls, now stands amidst the eighteenth-century cemetery of Sant'Ursula. The festival commemorates the visit of Mary Magdalane, Mary mother of James and other women to the empty tomb of Christ and their encounter with the Angel who relayed to them news of the resurrection. Still celebrated throughout most of Italy, the holiday is typically accompanied by picnic outings beyond the city with family members. For an overview of the liturgical rituals of Easter Week, see Mario Righetti, *Manuale di Storia Liturgica,* 2 vols. (Milan: Editrice Ancora, 1969) 3rd edition, vol. 2: 252-285, and regarding the hours of first and second vespers, 668-669. The first written reference to the revolt as the "Sicilian Vespers" appears to be that of Boniface VIII, who in 1295 called it the "turbini vespertini." Franchi, *I Vespri Siciliani,* 89 note 219.
[57] Bartolomeo da Neocastro, *Historia Sicula,* ch.14, 11.

Figure 2. *Chiesa Santo Spirito*, Palermo, twelfth century.

The author's sympathy is with his Sicilian protagonists, yet his bias does not negate the value of the detailed account, translated below, written in 1293-94.[58] If not perhaps an entirely factual rendering of the events of 30 March, 1282, it is nevertheless one of the most vivid pieces of evidence we have of the Sicilian explanation and history of their revolt, indeed of any Sicilian voice in the latter half of the thirteenth century. From the perspective of literary and historical writing the period of the Angevin conquest

[58] Bartolomeo first composed his history not as a chronicle but as an epic poem, in thousands of lines of rhyming Latin hexameter, probably written in the 1280's. According to his own introduction to the chronicle, he undertook to set the history in prose at the request of his son, who complained that his father's Latin poetry was unintelligible. The prose chronicle ends abruptly in 1293; it is believed that the author composed from 1292 to 1294. The hexameter is now lost, although two codices of the manuscript still existed in the seventeenth century, when it was described in the inventory of the Aragonese Geronimo Zurita as "unhappy from a literary standpoint, but of inestimable value as a historical source." The manuscript history and some biographical details of Bartolomeo and his works are provided by Guiseppe Paladino in his introduction to *Historia Sicula*, iii-xiii, and in Fasoli, *Cronache Medievali*, 26-29.

and control of Sicily from 1266 -1282 is marked by silence.[59] The poetic culture around the court of Frederick II dispersed following the emperor's death in 1250.[60] From this silence burst forth a cluster of chronicles, composed within the first decades of the revolt, full of sensory detail, spirited commentary, and direct quotation. In addition to the Latin accounts from the island and beyond, the earliest known chronicle in the Sicilian dialect appeared, *Lu Rebellamentu di Sichilia*.[61]

Bartolomeo's account continues:

> And so, while some are seated on the grass, others pluck flowers that blooming March brings forth, and the whole meadow resounded with the merry-making of the citizens. There, a young bride of nobility [*nobilis nympha*], who was demure in appearance and beautiful in every respect (truly it sufficed to look upon her, it was unnecessary to touch her) accompanied by her parents, bridegroom and brothers, and with other companions roundabout, was led to the church, visibly reverent and distinguished by worship.

---

[59] Three known chronicles were composed or completed in Sicily between 1250-1282: the *Breve chronicon de rebus Siculis*, written by an anonymous member of Frederick II's court originally ended in 1250, and was later extended until 1266. The *Annales Siculi,* perhaps composed in a Sicilian monastery, records events in Sicily until 1265. The *Cronaca di Jamsilla* was composed by a secretary and confidante of King Manfred, and ended in 1258, but it is unlikely that the author was Sicilian. For an overview, see Barbero, *Il Mito Angioino,* 99-108; information on individual chronicles are found in Graeme Dunphy, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle,* 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

[60] David Abulafia has questioned the vibrancy of this poetic culture; alternative views are offered by Frede Jensen, ed. and trans., *The Poetry of the Sicilian School* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1986**),** and Karla Mallette, *The Kingdom of Sicily, 1100-1250: A Literary History* (Philadelphia: 2005).

[61] The dating of this chronicle has long been a matter of controversy, because it is preserved only in manuscripts of the fifteenth century and later. Nevertheless, the *Rebellamentu* or its lost archetype is believed to be the source for Giovanni Villani's Tuscan rendering of the same story, dating it prior to the 1320's. This is the conclusion reached by Marcello Barbato, *Cronache Volgari del Vespro*, *RIS*, *ser. 3* (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2012) 49-50. Enrico Sicardi, the 1917 editor of the *Rebellamentu*, considered author a contemporary living in Messina and writing before 1285 (supported by a lone instance in which the anonymous author states that he was an eye-witness), *Due Cronache del Vespro in volgare siciliano del sec. XIII, RIS new series v.*34:1 (Bologna, 1917), xlv-xlix. His view is followed by Giulio Bertoni in his *Storia letteraria d'Italia. Il Duecento* (Milan, 1939), 395; and by others. Giacomo Ferraù challenged this position, placing the text instead in the later fourteenth century, see "La storiografia del '300 e '400" in *Storia della Sicilia*, R. Romeo, ed., 4 vols (Naples: Società Editrice Storia di Napoli e della Sicilia, 1977-1981), vol.4: 4649-76, an opinion shared by Fasoli, *Cronache Medievali di Sicilia*, and Rosanna Lamboglia, "Lu Rebellamentu di Sichilia," *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle,* vol. 2.

A certain presumptuous Frenchman by the name of Drouet comes rushing at these nobles. On the pretext of investigating whether the maiden was carrying, concealed, the weapons of her bridegroom or of the other men with her, his brazen hand, under her garments, touches her forbidden breasts, pretending to examine whether she carried [arms]. He had done this act to the obvious horror of the citizens themselves, and it was a manifest insult to them. Indeed, the sin of this Drouet, and the guilt of such a reckless deed was fortunate because the providence of the Highest Creator undertook, through the hands of the Sicilians, amazing and unspeakable retribution from the blood of the French, for their guilt.

> At once, the noble lady fainted, and while her blood, turned to ice, left her limbs, fleeting, her form and appearance were colored by the wrenching pain and the sorrow in her heart, which showed. Her arms, half broken, fell to her lap, and sinking her head onto the chest of her bridegroom, although she still lived, she was now emptied of spirit.

> Immediately a turbulent protest rises up, it is unknown from where it emerges; an angry frenzy is set loose and a certain young man, having seized the sword that Drouet had girded at his waist, struck him in the groin. Now his vital organs flow away. It is not known, as I confess truly, who was the author of his death, who the murderer. Now, with him dead, the plain was filled with commotion, here and there the crowd, drunk with rage, made the rounds; young people, though lacking weapons, rushed to stones; the people surged in a tumult; it was shouted by some, after the slaughter was begun, to such a degree that the air seemed to thunder with their terrible sounding voices, "Death to the French," [*Moriantur Gallici*] and, while these people were shouting, in the blink of an eye nearly two hundred French, whom fortune had conveyed to those fields, die in one blood-bath.

> Now, therefore, when the celebration of Bacchus was pouring forth solace, where still, festive feasts were being prepared, the field, colored with the blood of the French, now swelled with it, and the scattered bodies discharged mournful groans. But not yet did the furor die down: the people enter the city, they trample the gates of the walls, approaching the lodging of the French with furious attacks, they kill everyone of both sexes, men and women.[62]

Here the text rejoins a chronology of the uprising that can be broadly verified.[63] Jean of Saint Remi and two of his men rode to the small town of Vicari. Followed by the rebels two days later, a siege was undertaken, resulting in a swift death to all French speakers.

---

[62] Bartolomeo da Neocastro, *Historia Sicula,* ch. XIV, 11-12.

[63] Thorough accounts relaying the minutiae of the revolt as it unfolded across the island remain Amari, *La Guerra del Vespro Siciliano* and Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers*. Both are problematic in their own ways; for a critique of Runciman and a rendition of events from the Aragonese perspective, see Helène Wieruszowski, *Politics and Culture in Medieval Spain and Italy* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1971). Other useful works are Egidi, *La Communitas Siciliae*, and more recently Franchi, *I Vespri Siciliani*.

Meanwhile in Palermo, representatives of the districts and trades had gathered and proclaimed themselves a Commune. Messengers were sent to the other cities: Corleone, Trapani, Piazza, Cefalù and others across the triangular island signed pacts of solidarity with the Palermitani, as the populace rose up in what all the chroniclers record as fierce violence. [64] Calatafimi was an exception: the Provençal vice-justiciar Guillaume Porcelet had established good relations with his subjects: he was sent off with his family by boat, instructed to leave for the port of Aigues Mortes in Languedoc and never return.[65] In the southwest, the Provençal knight Ugo Talac even joined the rebels in renouncing Angevin rule.[66] The town of Sperlinga, in the central province of Enna, did not join the rising, and the French there were given safe passage east to Messina. For the most part, however, no mercy was shown, and chroniclers such as Bartolomeo and Saba Malaspina report the slaughter with gruesome specificity: neither the elderly nor women were spared, even native women who had married Frenchmen, and were carrying their unborn children

---

[64] Malaspina, *Die Chronik*, Lib. 8, esp. 288-292; Bartolomeo, *Historia Sicula,* chs. 14-18, 13-15; Bernat Desclot, *Crònica*, in Ferran Soldevila, ed., *Les quatre grans Cròniques*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2008) vol. 2: ch. 81, 173-7; the Sicilian author of the *Rebellamentu* adds, "Di ki si trovaru morti Franchiski, in Palermu, tri milia," ch. 13, 20.

[65] Porcelet had established good relations with his subjects in 1268-70 when, during the continuing strife between the Ghibelline faction and Charles of Anjou's forces, wheat had been pillaged by the peasants of Calatamauro and Calatafimi from the granary of their lord, himself a Ghibelline supporter of Conradin. Guillaume Porcelet argued, successfully, that the peasants should not have to pay the required feudal tax on this wheat, since it had been seized from a traitor. The episode and a brief portrait of Guillaume Porcelet is given by Martin Aurell, *Une famille de la noblesse provençale au Moyen Age, les Porcelet*, (Avignon: Aubanel, 1996), 116-119. According to Bartolomeo he was "loosed with his men to his country of Provence, on account of his great accumulation of honest deeds," *Historia Sicula*, ch.15, 13.

[66] See the discussion of the Sicilian fief-holders in Henri Bresc, "1282: classes sociales et révolution nationale," in *XI Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona: La Società mediterranea all'epoca del Vespro* vol. 2 (Palermo: Accademia di scienze, lettere e arti, 1983) 241-58, 246; Ugo Talac remained as the justiciar of the Val di Mazara, in western Sicily, under Peter of Aragon, where he was charged with coordinating an effort with the new king against piracy, the election of new judges, and the capture of supporters of Charles of Anjou. G. Silvestri, ed., *De rebus regni Siciliae (9 settembre 1282 - 26 agosto 1283): Documenti inediti, estratti dall'Archivio della Corona di Aragona* (Palermo, 1882), 222.

were targeted and brutally murdered. French-speaking friars were sought out.[67] The inability to articulate the Sicilian dialect could prove fatal: one tradition (perhaps from a later era), reports that a shibboleth was used, and brothers of the Dominican and Franciscan orders were asked to enunciate the word *ciciru*, "chickpea" (a staple of the Sicilian diet), unpronounceable to the French tongue.[68]

Messina was the only major city that did not immediately join her sister communes in rising up. With the nearest proximity to the Italian mainland, Messina rather than Palermo had become the central administrative unit on the island in the later thirteenth century, a change that fed the metropolis' economy as well as its pride, and contributed to the long-time rivalry between the two cities.[69] It was the best-equipped port and arsenal, and in March 1282, Charles's fleet was docked there, poised for the impending expedition to Constantinople. The city was controlled by the pro-Angevin Riso family (at least one of whom later found employment with Robert of Artois), and Charles's vicar, Herbert of Orléans.[70] Within two weeks of the revolt, however, the tide of popular opinion at Messina was turning; and those still loyal to the French sped across

---

[67] The account of both Dominican and Franciscans being sought out and killed even in churches appears in the *Rebellamentu,* ch.24, 20. The truly gruesome details of the slaughter of pregnant women appears only in Malaspina's account, and may have been influenced by the allegations made by Martin IV against the Sicilians; Koller and Nitschke, 288 note 26.

[68] The tradition of the shibboleth is cited by Amari but is not specifically described in any of the chronicles, which only specify that "quanti chi ndi trovaru chi parlassiru la lingua franchisca, li auchisiru." *Rebellamentu,* ch.24, 20. It is nevertheless repeated by scholars, such as Runciman and Bresc.

[69] Pontieri, *Ricerche Sulla Crisi della Monarchia Siciliana,* 255.

[70] Parmenio Riso, a doctor, later emigrated to France in the entourage of Robert II of Artois. AD: Pas-de-Calais, A, reg. 2, fol. 10r, 12r. On Sicilians who likewise made their way north, see Jean Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily,* 115.

the strait to Calabria.[71] In May, much of the Angevin fleet was set on fire in the harbor.[72]

Upon hearing of the uprising in Palermo from his court in Naples, Charles was slow to respond. At first, he underestimated the gravity of the uprising. So long as Messina remained loyal to him, and available as his base of military operations, he may have felt secure. Once news of the destruction of his fleet reached him, letters were urgently sent to France, requesting that Philip III authorize and finance Robert of Artois in leading 500 men-at-arms to Sicily (Robert immediately began assembling the required forces, and departed for Naples in August, 1282).[73] Charles then waited for the papal legate to visit Messina, hoping his intercession would swing popular opinion back in support of his administration. When the legate arrived, the keys of the city were handed to him along with the request, as from the other communes, for their privileges and charters to be confirmed by the Supreme Pontiff as their sole overlord. Here was the direct sovereignty over Sicily for which many thirteenth-century popes had wished, but by 1282, the Papacy under Martin IV, *né* Simon de Brie, was allied ideologically and financially with the Angevins. The appeals of all the insurgent communes were rejected, with an insistence that they adhere to Charles.[74]

By August, 1282, the northern walls of Messina came under siege by the French army, under the command of Charles of Anjou. Stories were told of its heroic resistance

---

[71] Parmenio Riso, a doctor, later emigrated to France in the entourage of Robert II of Artois. AD: Pas-de-Calais, A, reg. 2, fol. 10r, 12r. On Sicilians who likewise made their way north, see Jean Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily,* 115.

[72] Saba Malaspina tells us there were seventy galleys, Lib. 9, 309. Records of the parliament convened by Charles in 1277 to corral his barons into constructing a fleet for him, show plans for a total of 56 armed teride. Camillo Minieri-Riccio, *Il regno di Carlo I d'Angiò dal 2 gennaio 1273 al 31 dicembre 1283* (Florence: 1875), 23-24 and 24, note 1.

[73] Paris: Archives Nationales, J 513, 49; AD: Pas-de-Calais, Loisne, "Itinéraire de Robert II, Comte d'Artois," 364.

[74] Bartolomeo, *Historia Sicula,* ch. 41, 27; Egidi, *Communitas Siciliae*, 19-20.

against the French attackers. All the citizens were said to participate; the role of women in the defense of their city is highlighted repeatedly in the chronicles. The Virgin Mary herself was said to have appeared on the walls, protecting the city. By the beginning of September, word of the arrival of Peter III of Aragon and his fleet reached Messina: following the rejection of the Sicilians' appeals to the Pope, his arrival and patronage had been urgently hoped for. Arriving at Trapani he marched east with his army as his fleet made the parallel journey along the northern coast, as the French troops retreated across the straight to Calabria. On September fourth, Peter was proclaimed the king of Sicily at Palermo, issuing in a new era of Aragonese control. The war between the two kingdoms ran hot and cold for the following two decades until the treaty of Caltabalotta in 1302; even then it did not die out; intermittent warfare continued until the mid-fifteenth century, ending only with the extinction of the Angevin line in Naples.[75] While Charles of Anjou's ambitions of a Mediterranean empire were being dismantled, the proclamation of Peter of Aragon as the Sicilian monarch heralded "the rise of a real empire, that of

---

[75] The best English work untangling the complicated political history of the Mezzogiorno and Sicily in the later Middle Ages is that of David Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms, 1200-1500: The Struggle for Dominion* (Longman: London and New York, 1997). The economic consequences of these struggles for the Italian South, the "questione meridionale," or causes for the underdevelopment that has persisted until the present day, has its own extensive bibliography. Benedetto Croce, who dubbed the war of the Vespers to be "the beginning of much trouble and little greatness," traced this underdevelopment back to the separation of the insular economy from that of continental Italy, inaugurating a long debate on the subject, in *Storia del Regno di Napoli* (Bari: Laterza, 1925). Since then, major contributions to the medieval economic picture have been made by Giuseppe Galasso, *Il Regno di Napoli. Il Mezzogiorno angioino e aragonese, 1266-1494*, in *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 15:1, (Turin: UTET, 1992); Henri Bresc, *Un Monde Méditerranéen: économie et société en Sicile, 1300-1450,* 2 vols. (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1986); Abulafia, *The Two Italies: economic relations between the Norman kingdom of Sicily and the northern communes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); a critical overview is provided by Stephan Epstein in *An Island for Itself*, 1-24, countering Croce's narrative. See also Clifford Backman, *The Decline and Fall of Medieval Sicily: Politics, religion and economy in the reign of Frederick III, 1296-1337* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Catalonia-Aragon," as Helène Wieruszowski emphasized. [76]

In January 1283, a list of names was compiled of the Sicilians with horses and those on foot who pledged to fight in Peter of Aragon's army, providing some data on the demography of the uprising.[77] Forty-five of the 1200 who enrolled were knights, while sixty-four were merchants and money-lenders. Bartolomeo da Neocastro was not the only Sicilian judge sympathetic to the rebellion: there were eighteen who joined the army, accompanied by seventy notaries. The artisanal and service professions constituted about a third of the total: wool-, leather-, and cloth-workers, smiths; a few bankers.[78] This demography was examined by Henri Bresc, in an influential essay in which he argued that the Vespers marked a "revolutionary crystallization" of the diverse ethnicities comprising the island's population, nothing less than the birth of "la Sicilitude."[79] Bresc's wide-ranging scholarship examined in particular the Arab-speaking and Jewish populations, and he noticed a fascinating vestige of the island's multilingualism in a document signed by one of the insurgent captains from Messina, who after writing his name, Baldoynus Mussonus, in a fine Latin hand, added an Arab superscript, "I testify that what is contained here is true." Seemingly descended from a line of Arabic-speaking notaries, the signature and its author pointed to a novel cultural unity among the formerly

---

[76] Wieruszowski, *Politics and Culture*, 311.
[77] Although these lists post-date the 1282 rebellion, I follow the reasoning of Henri Bresc that many of the same individuals who pledged to serve against the Angevins under Peter of Aragon would have participated in the uprising in March-September of the previous year. Silvestri, *Documenti inediti,* 331-415.
[78] Numerous names suggest other professions and identities: Magistro Frederico de Albergaria of Palermo: an innkeeper? Master Johannes the Falkoner, Richard the Little Shoemaker, Bartolomeo the Shepherd, Saladino the Slave. There are numerous Florentines, Tuscans, Lombards, Pisans, as well as some men from Abruzzi and Sardinia.
[79] Bresc, "1282: Classes sociales," 251-53.

disparate Sicilian populations.[80] The tradition of the shibboleth, "ciciru," is likewise cited by Bresc, who viewed it as a vivid example of the Sicilian language being used to define a shared identity. This population, jostling with diverse ethnic and religious groups, dialects, and cultural practices, Bresc argued, were united by a common enemy.

In the period following the revolt, multiple contemporary versions of the story of the young woman of Palermo were being recorded independently of each another: at least four chroniclers are known to us who reported the story without knowledge of one another, and a handful of other manuscripts, now lost but described in inventories, may have supplied more.[81] While some later chroniclers clearly had previous written sources in front of them as they wrote (as was probably the case of Giovanni Villani and the compilation of Ricordano Malispini),[82] others did not base their work on any known documents: Bartolomeo da Neocastro, writing in the 1280's to mid-1290's in Messina, almost certainly had no knowledge of the *Liber gestorum regum Siciliae*, written in 1284-85 by Saba Malaspina, at Rome, and neither of these is textually connected to the two Sicilian vernacular chronicles that also record versions of the story. In other words, chroniclers were setting down versions of the same story that were apparently transmitted orally; they do not trace back to a single written source. The genealogy of the manuscripts supports the intuitive conclusion that following the revolt, oral stories,

---

[80] Prominent in the revolution were the northern Italians, the Lombards, who rose up at Corleone. This group was traditionally Ghibelline in its affinities, had been a force of Latinization and Christianization on the island, and brought the northern Italian dialect as well as political models of the northern Italian city states.
[81] The 1675 inventory of manuscripts belonging to Gerolamo Zurita notably contained descriptions of at least six Sicilian chronicles now lost. See "Le cronache inedite e le cronache perdute" in Fasoli, *Cronache Medievali di Sicilia*, 19-23.
[82] Charles T. Davis, "The Malispini Question" in *Dante's Italy and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 94-136.

gossip, and news about its outbreak were rapidly circulating, and that two in particular gained the most traction, either because of their veracity, or because they struck an inner chord in their storytellers and the community of listeners.[83]

The narrative that began with the offense towards the woman of Palermo has been problematic for historians: simultaneously, it presents the vivid and realistic scene of a Sicilian spring festival along with its folk customs and traditions, and an idealized bucolic landscape into which the intrusion of grasping foreign soldiers seems to be a trope — indeed it strikingly resembles the very genre of *pastourelle* music that was such a popular form of entertainment amongst the northern French chivalry, which we know them to have enjoyed during their Italian campaigns.

Bartolomeo's account, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, is the most vivid, but it shares many of the details with that of Saba Malaspina, who had heard the news of the uprising when it reached Rome, and set down the account sometime the following year. Malaspina, a far more circumspect chronicler, equally begins his narration of the Easter Monday festival on the outskirts of Palermo, where "the citizens of both sexes went for a yearly celebration of great jubilation and joyous dancing." Among this crowd, there were a number of "insolent young men." The familiars of the regional justiciar assemble at the dances, "not to celebrate together the solace of such a festival, but rather for disturbing – if only they had not been born, or at least had not come to that

[83] While this chapter is about the woman, the second concerned Giovanni of Procida; versions and stories about both episodes have accrued from the fourteenth through the twentieth centuries. The legends were revived in the revolutionary nineteenth century, inspiring works of theater and opera, including Verdi's *Les Vêpres Siciliennes*. Following the overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy and Sicilian reunification, folklorist Giuseppe Pitré collected from rural Sicilians dozens of popular songs still retelling the events of the revolt, *Il vespro siciliano nelle tradizioni popolari della Sicilia*, (Palermo: Lauriel, 1882); and *Canti Popolari Siciliani* (Palermo: L. Pedone-Lauriel, 1871)

kingdom!"[84] As the local men and women enter into the dance, the French begin to enter too, their hands join,

> and the women's hands and arms are grabbed by the French, perhaps beyond the propriety that is befitting an honest ceremonial dance, they turned their gaze to the pretty ones, and those that they were unable to touch with hand or foot, they proposition, signaling to them with words and winks. Now, with these inappropriate looks, that rather can be called a game, since it was done only in a jovial spirit, certain insolent Palermitani, young men with some exiled men of Gaeta,[85] are provoked; with their minds agitated they break out into inflammatory verbal exchanges against the French.
>
> The French did not endure these offensive words with equanimity, but said, "It cannot be, that such bad Paterini[86] aren't packing weapons, when they give us such insolent remarks so recklessly. Let us search, if any armed man is among them, or he who is in possession of the knife of a murderer, or a sword."
>
> Thus the French searched some men for knives and after a while, on that pretext, the bosom and breasts of the women, saying that the Palermitani had delivered their knives to be looked after with their women. All who were watching this murmured against the French, and shook their heads and at the same time they muttered with stirred up tempers. Therefore, after the furor in their hearts was kindled, with arms and stones the youth of Palermo rushed towards the French, and there was a charge of many armed men against the French. And at last the majority of those attendants of theirs, overwhelmed with stones, and mangled with bloodied swords, collapsed.
>
> "Game indeed brings forth a perilous struggle and anger, anger [brings forth] enmity and deadly war"[87] Therefore, against the French, this sad uprising broke out beyond the city, the people's shouts of sedition and uproar enter the land with the foreigners. The tumultuous multitude is united crying "let the French die, let them die!"

The significant difference between Malaspina's account and that of Bartolomeo da Neocastro is the former's transition from game to violence. He does not name French

---

[84] Malaspina, *Die Chronik,* Lib. 8, 287.

[85] Gaeta, a commune north of Naples, was evidently known by Malaspina to have ejected its Ghibelline faction, though this is not clearly documented elsewhere; see *Die Chronik,* 287 note 20. However, a letter written by from Peter of Aragon in October 1282, to one Gregorio di Perona, from Gaeta, encourages him and his friends and family to go to Gaeta and unite with their allies against Charles (who Peter refers to not as the king of Naples, or Jerusalem, but only as the count of Provence). Silvestri, *Documenti Inediti,* 84-85.

[86] A slang word signifying a heretic, it was commonly used by the French to designate the anti-Angevin faction in Sicily.

[87] Horace, epistle 1, 19, noted by Koller and Nitschke, 288.

officials explicitly, and emphasizes instead that it was their familiars or attendants who acted inappropriately towards the women; giving them provocative looks and comments during the dance, grabbing at their hands too eagerly, "perhaps beyond what was fitting" for a religious celebration. Although Malaspina emphasizes that the intent of the Frenchmen was probably play (*qui potius poterant dici ludi)* and not real harm, their discourteous tone is summed up by the detail of propositioning those they failed "to touch with hand *or foot*."[88] The key moment of transition is that in which the French, who until then have been acting in flirtatious playfulness towards the dancing women, are interrupted by angry Sicilian men. The French in turn begin to suspect and search them for weapons, calling them *Paterini,* a derogatory name used in thirteenth-century Italy and France to indicate a form of heresy, and which in Angevin Sicily had come to be synonymous with an anti-Angevin faction.[89]

Although they are records of more or less the same story, the version that Malaspina reported from Rome portrayed the revolt as an escalation of events set off by a spring dance and two opposing groups of young men. The French are portrayed as unsupervised, and of treating a ceremonial occasion in the wrong register. His narrative arc from game to violence is emphasized by a quotation of Horace's epistle, "Game indeed brings forth a perilous struggle."[90]

---

[88] Et quas manu pedeque nequeunt tangere, verborum significatione solicitant et nutibus oculorum." Ibid., 287.
[89] *Paterini* were included in a list of heretical sects listed in a law of Frederick II; the name was also familiar in France, appearing in numerous sermons against heresy dating from the Albigensian Crusade. On its uses in Italy, see the entry "Paterino," by Raoul Manselli, *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, Umberto Bosco, ed., 6 vols. (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996) vol. 4, 348.
[90] Though the sudden appearance of this literary reference arouses the reader's own suspicions: to what extent was Horace the inspiration for, and not just the garnish on Malaspina's version of events? The playful misunderstanding appears in no other contemporary accounts.

We cannot know how "playful" or aggressive were the French officials' actions at festival outside Santo Spirito. To those familiar with the "Lower Styles" of trouvère song, the Sicilian story bears similarity with the *pastourelle,* a genre that describes the interactions between knights who ride through the countryside and proposition women of lower social standing: shepherdesses.[91] To put it more strongly, as Kathryn Gravdal has, "the Old French *pastourelle* [...] presents rape as the inevitable encounter between the representatives of two different social classes."[92] That the genre was popular among the French in the Regno is attested by the fact that it constitutes the main narrative of the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, a musical comedy composed to entertain Robert of Artois and his men once they arrived in Apulia in early 1283.[93] To take but one example of a pastourelle, I quote briefly from *La douçours del tens novel*, an anonymous song that narrates, in the voice of a knight, the pleasures of coming upon a May festival while riding through the countryside. "Dancing on the meadow grass [were] shepherds and shepherdesses […] and each youth wore a green cap, white gloves and a knife at his belt." The girls dance with them, and sing a *dorenlot*, a spring refrain, or melody.

Senz semonse et senz apel	Uninvited and unaddressed
De mon palefroit morel	From my fine dark horse
Dessent lez l'arbroie	I dismounted, by the clearing
En la dance molt isnel	Among the dancers, swiftly
Me mis lez un sotterel	I inserted myself aside one of the little fools
Cui forment ennoie,	Who became agitated
Car de celi l'esloignoie	Since I came between him
Qui l'amoit, si, s'en gramoie	and the girl whom he loved; so he was angered
Si a dit: "Seignor tousel,	and so he said, 'That young Lord,

[91] On the "High" and "Lower Styles" of trouvère song, see Page, "Listening to the Trouvères," and for an insightful discussion of the pastoral register as performed for Robert of Artois' retinue, Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, Chapter 9.
[92] Cited by Butterfield, *Poetry and Music,* 160.
[93] Discussions of this fascinating piece of musical theater can be found in Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, Chapter 9, and in Symes, *Common Stage*, Chapter 5.

Cil qui fait lo damoisel	He who acts the part of the country squire
Nos tout nostre dorenlot[94]	Steals from us our *donrenlot* [spring refrain]

Another shepherd pipes up, "Lord squire, seek elsewhere for what you wish/ Leave others to their pleasure," and taking up a cobblestone, he throws it at the intruding knight. Though the knight manages to give the shepherd a good punch or two, he is soon chased away by stones and yells, and he ends the song on a bittersweet note, admitting he had to leave without attaining the "melody" that he had come looking for (*puis guerpi lo dorenlot*).

The playfulness masking the predatory undertone of the episode is summed up by innuendo in the word *dorenlot*; for the knight, the pursuit of a shepherdess is as lighthearted as a song's refrain. This mentality of sexual conquest is very like that which Saba Malaspina saw in the actions of the French officials on March 30, 1282.

The version presented by Bartolomeo narrates a top-down chain of events, the predatory aspect of which is never in question. It begins by naming the officials of the island,[95] and specifies that the justiciar "stationed his ministers to commit outrageous depredations and violent deeds against the people of Palermo."[96] His version is very close to that written around the same time in the vernacular Catalan chronicle by Bernat Desclot,[97] which would later be repeated by Nicolo Speciale in the 1330's.[98]

---

[94] Edited by Rosenberg et. al, *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 202-3.
[95] "there were in Sicily three of his [King Charles'] officials, Herbert of Orléans the vicar, Jean of Saint Remi, justiciar of Palermo and the Val di Mazara, and Thomas of Busant, justiciar of the Val di Noto, Frenchmen, [*Gallicis*]." Bartolomeo da Neocastro, *Historia Sicula,* ch. 14, 11.
[96] Bartolomeo da Neocastro, *Historia Sicula*, ch. 14, 11.
[97] Desclot, *Crònica*, ch. 81, 173-176.
[98] Little is known about this Sicilian chronicler; sometimes referred to as "an early humanist," he was probably a child at the time of the Vespers; he may have been from Noto or Messina. See Ferraù, *Nicolò Speciale, Storico del Regnum Siciliae* (Palermo: Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani Bollettino, 1974), 17-32, and Speciale, *Historia Sicula*, 301.

There is no conclusive evidence for or against the French actions that included a provocative searching of women's garments. Yet this account became the founding legend that was repeated in Sicily and beyond, in the following century to be repeated by Catalan chroniclers Desclot and Muntaner. From the beginning it lent itself to an allegorical as well as a literal interpretation: the young bride was a reverent noblelady of Palermo, and a symbol of Sicily herself, misused by foreigners, defended by her kinsmen. The calls resounding through the streets of Palermo were the Hue and Cry, alerting the community of an individual crime, and a battle-call to arms, arousing and uniting a formerly patient, or passive populus to destroy the wolves in their midst.

In summer of 1282, with the Papal legate in Messina failing to win support for the Angevin cause, an epistle was written, purporting to be the people's response to Pope Martin IV. The letter is filled with familiar rhetoric about the ravages of the French, and dominated by an analogy of Siciliy's rebellion to the exodus of the Israelites from Pharoah's tyranny. As a symbol of Italian fortitude, the author introduces the legendary Roman matron, Lucretia: "Paragon of Roman modesty, the honor of our region, manly in her courage [...] who thrust a sword into her heart even though it was her body that was defiled, not her soul. [By separating] that most chaste soul from its body, polluted by the corruptions of Tarquin […] she replaced royal tyranny with compassion; she forged the foundation of the illustrious consuls"[99] While the details of Palermo's bloody revolt are omitted from this tract, the memory of Lucretia and her self-sacrifice are cast in a heroic

[99] The letter, transcribed and quoted by Amari from the same collection in which appeared the earlier letter, was seemingly composed before the arrival of Peter of Aragon, who is unmentioned by the polemic. Amari is cautious as to whether it was in fact ever delivered to the Court of Rome, "The plainness and audacity of the language, such as is not often used in official communications, might make it doubtful," he remarked. Paris: BN fr. 4042, Amari, *History of the War of the Sicilian Vespers,* vol 3, 351-363.

light. She, not Brutus, is attributed with the foundation of the republic.

The story of Lucretia was a story of the expulsion of a foreign (Etruscan) dynasty from Rome. Its principal characters are the young woman, her kinsmen, and her assailant, Tarquin, son of the king, who in Lucan's rendition, desires her not only for her beauty, but for her proven virtue and the challenge that it implies. Following her rape by Tarquin, she reveals to her father and husband what has occurred. Then, so as to prove her innocence and escape a life of shame, she draws a concealed dagger from within her garments, and plunges it into her breast.

The narrative then traditionally turns to an associate, Brutus. Drawing the knife from her body, he swears by her blood to avenge her death on Tarquin and the royal family, "and that I will suffer neither them nor any other to be king in Rome."[100] Lucretia's body is brought to the public square, where the citizens gather and take up their weapons as Tarquin is driven from the city. The Roman Republic is inaugurated with Brutus and Collatinus as the first two recorded consuls.

As the epistle from Messina suggests, the Roman foundation legend was alive in the minds of at least some of Sicily's revolutionaries.[101] Whether intentional or not, the stories share a number of motifs: the heroine's virtue, the unwanted advances of a foreign guest, her avenging kinsmen, even the detail of the dagger hidden within Lucretia's garments is dramatically recalled by the search for concealed weapons on which the action pivots in all the Sicilian narratives.

---

[100] Livy, *History of Rome.* Translation by B.O. Foster. Loeb Classical Library, 114. (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1919), Book 1, 204-5.

[101] The story enjoyed many retellings in the High Middle Ages; Lucretia appeared in *The Romance of the Rose*, Boccaccio later counted her among his *Donne Illustri*, inspiring Chaucer's version of the tale, and so on. See Ian Donaldson, *The Rapes of Lucretia: A Myth and its Transformations,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

By contrasting what I believe is a Sicilian variant of the *Rape of Lucretia* with the older Roman story, we are able to observe not only a mythic ideal on which their foundation legend was modeled, but the places at which it diverged, what aspects made the Sicilian story unique. The major narrative element introduced in the Sicilian narratives is the strong presence of Christian piety. The time and place, the Easter celebration beside Santo Spirito, was hardly a fictional element, but it nevertheless is used by the accounts to accentuate the drama as families celebrate in the meadow beside the Church. The recurring word describing the paschal festival is *solatio*, 'comfort,' or 'solace', but the solace is disturbed by grasping officials, eager to flirt with the women. Like Tarquin, they are especially eager to proposition the chaste and the beautiful. In numerous accounts, the French officials provoke the Sicilian men by calling them *Paterini*, "heretics." The slur, especially inappropriate during a celebration of the resurrection of Christ, brings to the fore the cultural and devotional frictions of the Sicilian Vespers revolt, that differentiate it from the Roman foundation legend.

The slanders of heresy directed at the Sicilians would be rebutted in multiple ways, the most obvious of which were the miraculous occurrences that took place during the siege of Messina. As was mentioned above, the time of trial for Messina took place in August, when Charles had summoned an army ad crossed the straits of Messina, where "Charybdis clung to the coastline to hinder his men from disembarking," Bartolomeo tells us (even mythological monsters now conspired against Charles).[102] But by late July, his army was camped beyond Messina's walls. The city was under a blockade of questionable efficacy. Charles, having been unsuccessful in his first attempt to take the

[102] The Strait of Messina was the mythic home of Scylla and Charybdis. Bartolomeo, *Historia Sicula,* ch. 38, 25.

peninsular quarter of the city, regrouped his men to the north-west, aiming at the fortifications atop a summit, the *Capperina*, not far from San Salvatore, the large Greek monastery outside the city. (Again the location of the narrative is established *vis-a-vis* a Sicilian holy place, this one suggesting the Eastern Christianity to which a significant proportion of Messina's population still adhered). Charles's forces made an attempt at ascending and invading the imposing walls, "But happy were those days," Bartolomeo tells us, since a downpour of rain and hail aided the Sicilian forces, led by Alaimo Lentini, to drive them back down the slope. That night under the cover of darkness, while the Messinesi were busy repairing the walls, "the enemy in a multitude of men again ascended Capperina." But at that moment "a certain woman by the name of Dina, hurling a great stone, struck out at them, from herself, knocking them to the ground." Another woman, Clarentia, then hurried to warn Alaimo of the attempted attack, and again the Messinesi were successful at repelling the French. "Listen son," Bartolomeo interjects, "in all the siege there were scarcely ten men killed of the people of Messina, and indeed, what is miraculous, it was not necessary for the women of Messina to minister to the fighters in the time of the battle, even though the blows came from the arrows launched by the ballista of the enemy."[103]

Soon thereafter, an even greater miracle was reported. The informer is interesting in himself: a Saracen of Lucera, fighting in Charles's army, allegedly came to Alaimo of Lentini telling of the strange thing that he and his men had witnessed: an ethereal woman "whom all the creatures of the universe hold in their minds and adore," was seen atop the walls, clothed in white, holding veils in her hands. At that moment a volley of swift

[103] Bartolomeo, *Historia Sicula*, chs. 39, 26.

arrows "as if descending from heaven" lethally rained down on the army, killing many, and following that, a pestilence was visited on those remaining. Bartolomeo, relating this story, again excitedly interrupts his chronicle, directly addressing his son (to whom his *Historia Sicula* was dedicated), "I know, son, who that woman was that they spoke of: the glorious Holy Virgin who is the mother of God, to whom the people of Messina were always devoted, and by her powers governs and protects us under her cloak [*pallio*]. And those arrows, that seemed to us from God, as we observe, were sent against our enemies from the quiver of divine judgment."[104]

These anecdotes are full of wonderful details. The Messinesi, led by Alaimo of Lentini, are portrayed as brave and their efforts unflagging, but there is no question that their success is due to divine will, starting first of all with the elements themselves, the rain and hails of August, which instead of harming the people (as summer downpours can easily do to harvest crops) conspire to protect them. This is followed by the well-timed appearances of Dina and Clarentia. Dina delivers what might be thought of as a female version of "the heroic blow," her stone-throw that causes the whole of Charles' army, *hostes in multitudine gentium,* to topple like dominoes. The lack of casualties, despite the superior weaponry of Charles's forces is emphasized by Bartolomeo as miraculous, and again, the awareness that the women of the city are everywhere – on the night watch, throwing stones, and standing by to care for the injured, gives them a remarkable privilege of place in this scene of armed conflict. Far from the silent and wilting noblewoman of Palermo, they are courageous, competent, and fierce.

[104] Bartolomeo, *Historia Sicula*, ch. 40, 26-27.

The following episode immediately catches our attention: not only does it tell us that Charles had mobilized the Saracens of Lucera in this assault, but, in Bartolomeo's rendering, one of these is the bearer of miraculous news of the Virgin. One thinks of Henri Bresc's discovery of the Arabic inscription beside the name of one of Messina's insurgents, the bilingual notary Baldoynus Mussonus. Within the narrative, the Saracen witness is portrayed as being on the point of conversion. The Virgin's appearance (along with a deadly shower of arrows), has the power to transcend differences of military allegiance and of faith. If the threat of sexual violence loomed in the consciousness of the Sicilian population throughout the uprising, her intervention may have been especially meaningful, and the protection of her cloak, shielding the city and its people, especially consoling.

For Sicily to have fought off, even temporarily, an opponent such as Charles of Anjou was, in fact, miraculous. The miracle stories that frame this victory work concurrently to prove the faith of the Messinesi, their divine protection, and the condemnation of Charles's army, shot from "the quiver of divine judgement." They unequivocally highlight the bravery and individuality of the named women. The ingénue of Palermo, in contrast, is typically described simply as *una fimmina*.[105] In Bartolomeo's account, the unusual word-choice is *nympha*; he means it in the sense of "bride," (the man accompanying her is described as *sponsus,* 'bridegroom'), though it more commonly denoted a young maiden. But Nympha was also the name of one of the four

[105] *Rebellamentu,* ch. 24, 20*;* Malaspina uses *mulier*, *Die Chronik,* Lib. 8, 288; the Tuscan and Catalan sources, *donna*/ *gentils dones*; Ricordano Malispini, *Cronica Fiorentina* in Appendix II to *Due Cronache*, ch. 123, 84; Desclot, *Crònica,* ch. 81, 173.

female patron saints of Palermo, whose cult had been venerated since the ninth century. She was a patron of noble virgins.[106]

In two chronicles relaying the events of the Sicilian Vespers the vernacular verse of a song is recorded, singing of the bravery of the women of Messina:

Deh com'egli è gran pietade	Alas it is a great pity
Delle donne di Messina	seeing the women of Messina
Veggendole scapigliate	their hair dissheveled
Portando pietre e calcina	bringing stones and cement.
Idio li dea brighe e travaglia	Good God, give troubles and travails
A chi Messina vuol guastare[107]	to he who would lay waste to Messina

The verse, which appears to be part of a longer song appears in two Tuscan chronicles, both apparently based on Sicilian prototypes. It evokes the visceral physicality of the siege of Messina—of its dusty and sweaty reality. It is hard not to read it without picturing the women of the city with their sleeves rolled up as they bore stones and mortar to the walls high on the Capperina, in the Sicilian August, with the fear of the depredations of the army driving them. The walls were the city's only real strength—when it came to manpower and war-machines, Messina was far outmatched. Did the threat of sexual violence, as well the capture of their city motivate the women in their labor to keep the protective walls standing between themselves and Charles' army?

The Messinese women commemorated in the verse provide a vision of Sicilian femininity that is unlike that of the vulnerable bride of the Palermo picnic. They are

[106] Her cult was revered until the seventeenth century, when she and the others were supplanted by Santa Rosalia. See Vladimiro Agnesi, "Le Sante Dimenticate," in *Cronache Siciliane dal XII al XX secolo*, (Palermo: Renzo e Rean Mazzone, 1989), 77-88. Nympha's life appears in Delehaye and Peeters, *Acta Sanctorum Novembris* vol. 4 (Brussels: Socii Bollandiani, 1925); and Acta Sanctorum full-text database. (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 2002).
[107] Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, in *Due Cronache*, Appendix 5, ch. 68, 137; and a slightly shorter version in Ricordano Malispini, *Cronica Fiorentina*, also in *Due Chronache,* Appendix 3, ch. 227, 88. Malispini adds "E questa canzone si fece per la detta cagione."

scapagliata – women with dissheveled hair, but they are out of reach of their opponents. The verse might have been sung about Dina and Clementia. The women of Messina, like other narrative motifs reviewed in this chapter, succeed in reversing the imagery of passive victimization that had contributed, at some level, to the Sicilian identity during Angevin rule and beyond. Perhaps the most important contrast with the *Rape of Lucretia* is that in the Sicilian origin legend, the heroine of the story is not subjected to sexual violence, but only threatened by it — she is saved by the intervention of her kinsmen and countrymen.

While the Sicilian Rupublic was itself short-lived (being replaced in the Autumn of 1282 by the new monarchy under Peter of Aragon) the association of its foundation legend with that of the foundation of Rome may have lent a sense of legitimacy to the violent revolt, and established a sense of pride in their Sicilian identity. In the passage from *Paradiso* VI quoted above, Dante makes explicit that the "reversal of the Eagle's flight" was a violation of the correct economy of history. The French descent into Italy, headed by Charles of Anjou and his descendants, was likewise implicated in this violation. While the extant Sicilian sermons and chronicles were constructed with less subtlety and less lofty poetry, their goal was nevertheless in concert with that of the famous Tuscan: to correct a historical disjunction, and to set the narrative trajectory of history aright.

Conclusion

In the early 1250's, when Charles of Anjou's conquest of Sicily was still distant on the horizon, he was drawn instead to the courts of Flanders and Brabant, where he hoped for enrichment through an intervention in a Flemish succession struggle.[1] It was sometime during this era that he judged and sang in several *jeux partis*, performing with his friend, Henry III, Duke of Brabant, and the trouvères from Artois, Perrin d'Angicourt and Gillebert de Berneville.[2]

"Count of Anjou, take up this *jeu parti,"* sang Perrin. "You love passionately, but I can't say if your *amie* has yet given you all that you wish for. Say what you choose, either to have the sweet affections of the one you love, or to be king of Persia, along with the lands you already possess?" Responding in a register appropriate to the high courtly style, the count of Anjou answered, "Perrin, I have enough property and possessions [...] these kinds of riches are worthless next to the affections I desire."[3]

In his response, Charles of Anjou exalted love over temporal power and riches, a position in keeping with a chivalric ethos of service to *fin'amor*, ennobling love, above all else. Given what we know of his ambitious career, his professed rejection of worldly imperium strikes the reader as discrepant. Even his interlocutor, Perrin, objected: "Count, your words are filled with folly," and went on to tell him that the man who conquers "tel seignourie," (meaning Persia), would have his wishes from all the ladies of his choosing.[4]

---

[1] On this episode, see, for example, Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, 36-38.

[2] My approximate dating of these *jeux partis* between 1245-1255 is based on one of Charles' interlocutors, Henry III of Brabant, (b. ca. 1230, d.1261) and Charles' own itineraries.

[3] "Perrin, j'ai assez/ Terre et manantie;/ Tu vois bien et sés/ Que ceste partie/ Est trop mal partie/ Car tiex richetez/ Ne tout le mont rez a rez/ Ne valent pas une aillie/ Envers deduiz desirrez." Langfors, *Récueil Général,* CXLII, ll. 12-20.

[4] Quens, vous respondez/ Mos plainz de folie/ Qui seroit chasez/ De tel seignourie/ Nus n'avroit tel vie;/ Que bien le savez/ Qu'il feroit ses volontez/ De dames par sa mestrie." ll. 23-30.

The *jeu parti* ended peculiarly: rather than naming judges, Perrin conceded defeat in the fifth verse, "Quens, je sui matez." (I've been checkmated), and agreed that he who does not humble himself "forgets *fin'amor.*"[5] Such an ending is extremely rare among *jeu parti* texts, and as Langfors proposed, Perrin's concession to the Count was surely motivated by deference to his noble opponent.[6]

Fin'amor was perceived to be ennobling to the heart of the lover; this notion was central to the courtly ideal.[7] The most elevated form of trouvère song extolling this love, and often appearing in chansonniers next to the author-portraits of aristocratic trouvères, was called *cantus coronatus* (now referred to as *grand chant*), and it was also perceived to ennoble its singers and listeners.[8] As explained by Johannes de Grocheio, writing at the end of the thirteenth century:

> [*Cantus coronatus*] is normally composed by kings and nobles, and also sung before kings and princes of the earth, so that it may move their spirits to boldness and bravery, magnanimity, and liberality, which all make for good government. For this *cantus* is about delightful and lofty material, such as friendship and love. And it is made entirely from longs and perfects.[9]

The conception that music or that poetic language could influence the moral character of

---

[5] "Quens, je sui matez/ Je quit l'aatie,/ car, c'est veritez/ qui ne s'umelie/ fine amour oublie" ll. 45-49.

[6] Langfors, *Recueil Général,* vol. 2:168. Perrin's social acuity seems to have served him well; he dedicated several songs to Charles, and later appears to have found a position at the court in Naples, if he is the same *Petrus de Angicuria* who was *rector capellae* there in 1269. Giulio Bertoni, "Di un poeta francese in Italia alla corte di Carlo d'Angoi (Perrin d'angicourt)," *Studi Di Filologia Moderna*, (1912), 233-240, and Theodore Karp, "Perrin d'Angicourt," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online,* Oxford University Press, 12 March, 2016.

[7] Erich Köhler, among many others, addressed this subject, see *Sociologia della Fin'Amor: Saggi Trobadorici* trans. Mario Mancini, (Padova; Liviana Editrice, 1976), and "Observations historiques et sociologiques sur la poésie des troubadours" *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale.* vol. 7, 1964: 27-51.

[8] Page, "Listening to the Trouvères," 639-41.

[9] Johannes de Grocheio, *Ars Musice*, trans. Mews et. al., 9.4.

the person voicing or hearing it was in common currency. It was at this time that our earliest treatise on the vernacular tongues was composed. In *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (ca.1302-1305), Dante praised vernacular speech as more noble that Latin (although the treatise itself was paradoxically composed in the latter, interspersed with numerous quotations from Italy's many dialects.) Left unfinished, he appeared to break it off to reformulate some of the same ideas in his vernacular *Commedia*. His shift to Italian, midway though the Latin treatise, has been interpreted as a statement in itself, evidence of a "growing realization that his views on poetic language were best expounded not in theory but in practice."[10]

Given the centrality of language in his estimation, it soon becomes clear why Dante considers dialects and eloquence to be markers of nobility and integrity. Among the worthy vernaculars under consideration, he began by addressing the poetry of the Sicilian school— the first circle of poets to adopt Italian as a literary language, who flourished during the later reign of the emperor Frederick II (1198-1250). Dante explicitly associated the dignity and value of their poetry with the integrity and legitimacy of the imperial court. Writing in exile from Florence, observing the state of civic disjunction in his homeland, he found that current princes compared unfavorably with those of the past. Prominent in his disapproval is the eldest son of Charles of Anjou, "that second Charles," who (having been released from prison) remained embroiled in the struggle for control of the island of Sicily, a contest that continued for decades after the

---

[10] Steven Botterill, introduction to *De vulgari eloquentia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), xv; and on the significance of Dante's shift to Italian, see Cecil Grayson's influential essay, "*Nobilior est vulgaris*: Latin and Vernacular in Dante's Thought," in *Centenary Essays on Dante by Members of the Oxford Dante Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 54-76, esp.74-76.

Sicilian Vespers revolt.

A salient feature of Dante's criticism of bad princes is that they are evaluated by the sounds they produce. They contrast sharply with the harmonious *canzoni*- the songs and poems from around the Italian peninsula that he upholds as exemplars of the *lingua aulica* (refined, or imperial language). Instead, the current princes are characterized by sounds of war. "*Racha, racha!"* Noises of trumpets, clanging bells, pipes belonging to warlords accompanied the lyrics he attributed to them:

> Venite carnifices, venite altriplices, venite avaritie sectatores.[11]
> Come, you butchers! Come, you traitors! Come, you devotees of greed!

In Italy, as elsewhere in Europe, conflict and unrest were regularly dramatized through their sounds.[12] The most common word in the Italian sources for riots or revolts is *rumori*, or *romóre* (*rimuri* in Sicilian), literally: rumbling, murmuring, clatter, rumors. *Rumori* are sounds that are specifically un- acoustic, discordant; in particular they connote a sudden noise that breaks a tranquil quiet. In penal legislation, *rumori molesti* were disturbances that upset the public peace.[13] Such words and sounds are everywhere in the Sicilian chronicles discussed in the previous chapter; in Sicilian we hear the men of Palermo *gridandu* (yelling) *cum grandi rimuri* (in a great tumult).[14] The evocative word in Bartolomeo's Latin chronicle is *horrisonis*.[15]

---

[11] Dante, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, I.12:5, trans. Botterill.
[12] The linguistic representation of revolt is discussed by Cohn, *Lust for Liberty*, 4.
[13] *Vocabulario della Lingua Italiana* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991), vol. 3:2.
[14] Et li homini [di Palermu], a rimuri di petri e di armi, andavanu, gridandu: "Moranu li Franchiski!" Et intraru intra la chitati cum grandi rimuri," *Due Chronache del Vespro,* 19.
[15] "clamantem non sentiunt [...] jam totus fremit Siciliae populus; arma induit [...] surgit populus in tumultum; clamantur [...] adeo quod vocibus intonare aër videbatur horrisonis,*"* Bartolomaei de Neocastro, *Historia Sicula.,* Cap. 14.

The efficacy of the *chanson coronatus* in bringing about "magnanimity, liberality, and good government" in those who sang or listened to it was dubious, to say the least, as Charles of Anjou's career illustrates. Robert of Artois, like Charles, surrounded himself with minstrels and music, although he did not, apparently, sing. His career, more than that of Charles, was defined by brutal conflicts between the Capetian and Angevin kingdoms, and their neighbors. Even as these two leaders were waging their wars, writers like Johannes de Grocheio and Dante Alighieri were reflecting on a world that hummed with sounds of vernacular music and poetry, and attributing to the sweetest harmonies a positive force on human affairs. This was the ideal to which the music of the trouvères, in its most high-minded form, aspired. To begin to understand a thirteenth-century "period ear," both the social harmony brought about by voices joined in song, and the social discord, characterized by clamor and *rumuri*, must be accounted for.

Away from the lofty *chanson coronatus*, and, happily, from the anguished cries of revolt, we find song forms such as the *jeu parti*. Its lyrics often invoked lofty ideals, but such ideals were checked with humor, pragmatism, and references to everyday realities. In the *jeu parti* between Charles of Anjou and Perrin d'Angicourt, we witness the count's self-representation as a devotee of *fin'amors*, content with his current station, whose highest purpose is the euphoric attainment of his beloved. The control on his chivalric self-fashioning is the trouvère's skepticism, "your words are filled with folly, Count." The question posed to Charles of Anjou about becoming king of Persia was a loaded one; even in the 1250's, before his conquest of Sicily, it had obvious resonances with his known political ambitions. Perhaps his sensitivity to the topic was a reason for Perrin to

end the game prematurely and defer to Charles' argument. Or maybe the count of Anjou spoke truly: his marriage alliance with Beatrice of Provence, heiress to her father's county, had made him a great magnate, and his devotion to her was widely recognized.[16] Had she not died in 1267, shortly after she and Charles were crowned queen and king of Sicily, it is conceivable that his rule in that country might have been tempered by a gentler touch.

That we know a great deal about the biography and machinations of Charles of Anjou enables us to recognize, in his *jeu parti*, the applicability of the question to his own life. Having this extent of biographical information about a *jeu parti* performer is rare, the other best other example I know of being the *jeu parti* sung by Thibaut of Bar, who sang with his friend Roland about whether or not to fight, alongside the German king in Italy, before perishing there several years later (discussed in Chapter Three). Future research into the *jeu parti* singers will undoubtedly uncover other examples. What these cases suggest, however, is that while a *jeu parti's* question, devoid of context, may seem hypothetical, absurd, or "frivole," it may in reality have captured a dilemma that was central to the singer's life, that would have been recognized by an audience of friends or acquaintances.

Throughout, I have aimed to listen for voices and candid dialogues such as the one above, that speak of emotional vulnerabilities and the hunger for human connection that was so often brought about by singing and dancing together. Among the communities in which veterans mingled with young knights, we find men who jousted

---

[16] Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, Ch. 14.

and charged into battle—perennially it seemed—knowing that each time might be the last, but taking strength from fighting beside their friends and *maisnie*. Intimate scenes from the bedsides of the wounded or dying reveal the solace that could be brought about through songs of love, of epic deeds, or by teaching one's own child how to sing a *rotrouenge*, as William Marshal did before his death. Humans have always known that melody has the capacity to arouse or soothe our spirit more swiftly than words alone, and solace, *solatia*, is the word we find used over and over, in sources from northern France as well as Sicily.

While none of the music or vernacular culture I have examined was explicitly religious (and some of it was censured by the church), it was nevertheless believed by its practitioners to please the Virgin and the Lord, who tilted their ears towards Arras in order to listen to the city's fiddles and singers. As I suggested in my Introduction, the cure for illness and the cessation of violence were the miracles with which Arras' jongleurs had been rewarded.

Charles of Anjou (d.1285) and Robert of Artois (d.1302) both witnessed the spectacular downfall of their political ambitions and ideals at the end of their lives. Each man watched his own defeat at the hands of opponents whom he considered inferior, socially and militarily. Charles, whose love for singing was remembered by successive generations, was commemorated by Dante Alighieri in his *Commedia.* Outside the gates of Purgatory, Charles of Anjou was found, singing in time with his greatest enemy and former political rival, Peter III of Aragon.[17] According to Dante's imaginative vision, musical harmony was a form of atonement, a way for the soul to make amends in the

[17] "che s'accorda/ cantando," Dante Alighieri, *Purgatorio*, VII, ll. 112-13.

afterlife for the disruptive acts committed on earth.

Robert, who died in action, would never be remembered in such a graceful manner; rather, it was the legends of his wolf and his horse turning against him that were retold by victorious Flemish opponents. Riding at the head of an army of allies and friends, his confidence in his army's superiority led his men to their slaughter at Courtrai in 1302.

The fourteenth century would continue to bring its unceasing waves of miseries, and while music in the courts of northern France and Flanders continued to flourish, being cultivated into the extraordinary harmonies and intricacies of sound that we hear in the later Middle Ages, other, simpler forms, such as the *jeu parti* ceased to be composed.

In the thirteenth century, the "period ear" meant that melismatic lyrics were heard not only in the great hall of a castle, but amid the braying of horses and dust at a joust as on the road to battle. Pastourelles that scarcely veiled erotic violence were performed for occupying armies. Gentler songs of courtly grace were sung among the warriors who returned home, where, in joyous reunions of veterans with friends, lovers, families and wives, they celebrated heroism and survival. Memories of battlefields, or of deeds that men did not wish to recall having done, were unraveled and re-woven into a subtle tapestry commemorating fallen friends and heroism. The triumph of the vernacular narration of everyday life enabled men and women to find solace and cognitive harmony amid life's most dissonant experiences.

Appendix A

Knights present at the tournament of Le Hem, Artois, 1278, as recorded by Sarrasin in his 'Roman du Hem'
(List augmented from Albert Henry, "Personnages Historiques" in Henry, ed., *Roman du Hem*)

Name	**known military campaigns**	**biographical information**
Adam de Blemus	Campaign against Count of Foix (?), Aragonese Campaign	Took part in the expedition of Aragon in 1285, he is probably the same Adam de Blemus who did military service for the bishop of Paris in 1272.
Adam de Cardonnoi	Campaign against Count of Foix; Aragonese Campaign, Franco-Flemish War	Lord of Cardonnoy, he took part in the expedition against the count of Foix (1272) and the war of Aragon; he commanded the garrison of Bruges in 1299 and defended Lille.
Adam Gourlé		
Aigre		
Aimer de Neuville	Franco-Flemish War	A knight of Artois, he took part in the Franco-Flemish war, fighting at Mons-en-Pévèle.
Alenart de Selinghehem	Gascony campaign	Son of Jean II lord of Seninghem (Pas-de-Calais), he accompanied Robert II of Artois on the Gascony campaign.
Amaury de Saint-Cler	Eighth Crusade ?	French knight, is he the same "Messire Amory de Sainct Cler" who accompanied Louis IX to Tunis?
Anseau de Chevreuse	Sicily Crusade, Franco-Flemish War (d. Mons-en-Pévèle)	French knight, Lord of Maincourt since 1262; later marshal of Sicily, where he had accompanied Charles of Anjou. He died at the battle of Mons-en-Pévèle, where he carried the oriflamme of the king of France (18 August, 1304).
Seigneur d'Aveluis	Franco-Flemish War (d. Mons-en-Pévèle)	Lord of Aveluy (Somme), this is probably Baldwin of Beauvoir or Beauvois; he served at Bruges in 1289 and was killed at Mons-en-Pévèle
Avergnas		A knight from the Auvergne
Bauduin d'Arras		Châtelain of Arras
Bauduin de Saint-Nicolas		Probably échevin de Bourbourg in 1296, and cited as a knight in 1301
Bernard de Moreuil, Signeur de Morel		Bernard V, lord of Moreuil (Somme) since 1259, he was still alive in 1302; in 1265 he appears in another document with Raoul de Priaus, lord of Raineval (another jouster at Le Hem). Jean de Moreuil (below) is apparently his son.
Bernard du Plaissier	Campaign against Count of Foix, Aragonese Campaign	A squire in 1270, he was among Philip III's *armigieri* during the expedition against the ocount of Foix in 1272; he also participated in the expedition to Aragon. He became Lord of Conchy.
Biamé, li bons castelains de	diplomatic role during Gascon conflict	Robert of Beaumetz (Beaumetz-les-Loges, arr. Arras), son of Gilles II, lord of Beaumetz and châtelain of Bapaume. Either he or his father Gilles was the châtelain of Beaumetz who judged a jeu-parti along with "La comtesse," probably Beatrice of Brabant, sung by Gillebert de Berneville, (Langfors, CXL). Robert of Beaumetz appears in many documents, including one from August, 1291,

Name	known military campaigns	biographical information
		AD:Pas-de-Calais A, 131.5, in which he was sent by Philippe of Artois on a diplomatic mission to meet with the king of England.
Boissart de Relengues	diplomatic role in Franco-Flemish relations	A knight from Flanders, (Reninghe, near Ypres), "Boissars de Renenghe" is found in various documents in 1275, 1279 and 1283. He served a diplomatic role in the relations btetween the king of France and the count of Flanders. In 1292 he also assisted in a plea, presided by *Pierre li Oribles*, knight and bailli of Saint Omer (also present at Le Hem); AD: Pas-de-Calais A, 37:17.
Boisset		
Boursaut de Mequelines		
Bretoul de Houdencourt		
Bridous de Baillet		
Buridan de Waulaincourt	Aragonese campaign	Eldest son of Jean II of Dours, who was lord of Walincourt (Nord), and Marguerite of Hangest, sister of Aubert III of Hangest, lord of Genlis. He took part in the Aragonese Crusade.
Caieu		Probably Guillaume de Caieu, married to Marguerite de Longueval; their epitaphs appear at the abbey of Séry, showing that he died in 1302 and Marguerite in 1303.
Carbonel, Pierre carbonel?	Aragonese campaign (?)	During the expedition of Aragon, one Pierre Carbonnel was one of the men in the retinue of Aubert of Longueval; likely the same Carbonnel?
li quens de Clermont		Robert of Clermont, (1256-1317), 6th son of Saint Louis, brother of Philip III. He received the county of Clermont in 1269. In 1272 he took part in the expedition against the count of Foix. Knighted at Paris in 1279; in that same year, he received a head wound at another tournament.
Cramailles, le signeur de		
Dagras de Bourc, "Dagart"		
Daulés de Wavegnies		Lord of Eustache
Dreux de Morlaines		
Dreux du Plaissié	Aragonese campaign	He took part in the expedition to Aragon; his name appears in the account of Jehan d'Ays in 1286-87
Dreux de Préaux		Perhaps the Dreux de Pariiaus married to Marguerite, lady of Bussy (Oise) he appears in documents in Arras in 1283 and 1286, appertaining to the abbey of Saint-Vaast
Dreux de Roye		Sarrasin tells us he is a young jouster, he was perhaps 6th son of Mathieu de Roye, lord of Guerbigny, (also present) and Marguerite de Ville. In 1315, he played a diplomatic role in the affairs with Flanders. d. 1328
Dreux de Salives		Knight of Burgundy
Edouart, roi d'angleterre		
Enguerran de Bailleul	Eighth Crusade, Aragonese Campaign	A well-known figure, Enguerran de Bailleul was on the crusade to Tunis with Louis IX; in 1285 he was "admiral of the galley" in the conflict against Aragon, during which expedition he was taken

Name	known military campaigns	biographical information
		prisoner but ransomed by the king. He was uncle of Jean de Bailleul, future king of Scotland, who also jousted at Le Hem.
Enguerran de Boves		Lord of Fouencamps
Enguerran de Gheulesin		Lord of Goeulzin (arr. of Douai), in 1284 described as "homme du comte d'Artois" in 1284; in 1298 he was referred to by the count of Artois as "Enguerrin de Geulesin notre sausier" for which he and his wife Aeudeline Seguine were rewarded with a manor and lands (AD: Pas-de-Calais register A 2, fols. 7v-8r)
Enguerran de Maumes, Engherran de Mainnes		Enguerran was lord of Maumez or Mametz, a small village close to Bazentin, Longueval, Hardecourt and Hem.
Enguerran Sire de Rugi, de Rougi		
Erart de Braine		Perhaps Erart de Brienne, knight, lord de Venisy (Yonne); otherwise from the seigneury of Braine in Picardy. (An earlier *Erart de Brienne* was the dedicatee of a song by Chardon de Croisilles)
Fauvel de Suzanne, Fauviaus de Susane		Fauvel de Suzanne, a knight who died ca. 1260, and whose tomb sculpture is still preserved at the Abbey of Mont St. Quentin, Péronne (Somme), was "roi d'armes" in the mid-thirteenth century. A local knight, the castle of Suzanne-en-Santerre neighbored Hem. His memory was celebrated at the tournament at le Hem and in Sarrasin's retelling of it as a paragon of courtesy and prowess.
Flamenc de Mons, flamens de mons, monsiegneur flamenc		
Foisseu de Moyencourt		Raoul, called "le Foisseux" was lord of Moyencourt (Somme)
Frieucourt, l'oncle de		
Garin de Montaigu		Likely Garin, lord of Montaigu in Auvergne; married before 1244, father to Pierre de Montagu (also present). In 1279 he was present at the wedding of Robert III, count of Clermont to Alixent de Mercueur.
Gauchier d'Autreche, gauchiers d'Autreche	Franco-Flemish War	Gaucher II belonged to a branch of the Chatillon family; he played a significant role in the Franco-Flemish war as guard of Bruges in 1295-96, bailli of Vermandois in 1297-98, captain of the castle at Lille in 1302. He was still alive in 1308.
Gaucher de Chatillon, gauchiers de castillon	Aragonese campaign, Gascony campaign, Franco-Flemish war	Gaucher V of Chatillon, (ca. 1249-1329) constable of Champagne (1284), constable of France (1302-29); he participated in the campaign in Aragon where he would help to free the imprisoned son of Charles of Anjou; in the 1290's he fought against the English in Gascony and later in the Franco-Flemish war in Bruges, Lille, and at Courtrai.
Gerarde de Bougourc, Mesire gerars de bouberc	Franco-Flemish War	Gérard d'Abbeville, lord of Boubers (Vimeu), son of Gerard. Died at the battle of Courtrai.
Gerard de Chanle, Gerart de Canle		
Gerars d'Escallion		Lord of Escallion (Nord, c. of Douai)
Gerard de Moilains		
Gerard de Sorel	Campaign against Count of Foix, Aragonese Campaign,	Lord of Sorel (Somme, arr. Of Peronne) was in the service of prince Philip in 1267; in 1272 participated in the expedition against the count of Foix and the next decade against Aragon. A Gérard

Name	known military campaigns	biographical information
	Franco-Flemish war (died at Courtrai)	de Sorel was killed at the battle of Courtrai. Another member of his family also took part of the tournament, Wautier de Sorel.
de Ghines (Mesire de Ghines li quens = Arnoul III count of Guines)		A colorful figure known in many sources for his financial troubles and tournament debts; he appears often in the AD:Pas-de-Calais. Count of Guines from 1245-1283, lord of Ardres and châtelain of Bourbourg. The eldest of his three sons seems to have accompanied him to this tournament. Arnoul was fond of feasts and tournaments (*mout a amé le mestier, l. 2301)*; in 1283, crippled by debts, he sold his county to king Philip III.
Gieffroy de Clere		Norman knight
Gieffroy de Milly		
Giles de Chenevieres		
Gilles de Neuville castelains de Noevile en artois		Gilles, châtelain of Neuville, attended the tournament at le Hem with 3-4 other family members: Aimer, Gui, Jean. A fourth, Ridel de Noeville, also in attendance at Le Hem was probably his son (see *Ridel).* Jean was either his son or brother. Aimer was his nephew. Sarrasin calls them "*ciaus de Noevile"* (l. 4119); Neuville lies near Arras, on the Saint-Quentin road. Gilles de Neuville appears in a letter of 1273 from the count of Artois, who addressses Giles as one among his "amis et feaux," 1273; AD: Pas-de-Calais A 31.27
Gilles de Roisy		Roisi = Roizy (Ardennes); in a document from 1252, we find Gilles de Roisi linked to Thibaut, King of Navarre. (*Inventaire des Archives Depart. Ardennes*, t. III, I)
Gilles d'Oisy		Knight of Artois, in 1277 was made procurer by Enguerran de Guines, 2nd son of Arnoul III (see "de Ghines," above), lord of Coucy, d'Oisy, and de Montmirail
Goussuin de Saint Aubin	Franco-Flemish War (betrayed Robert II in defecting to the Flemish)	Gossuin IV of Saint-Aubin (a fief of the châtelany of Douai), the presumed son of Gossuin III, is cited in an account of the bailli of Artois, 1283. Although he had done liege homage to Robert II of Artois, he would, in the 1290's, ally himself with the count of Flanders. At Douai, he insulted men of the French king then took refuge with Gui de Dampierre who aided him. Nevertheless he may have been reconciled with Philip IV in 1302 based on a quittance for his wages. (Funck-Brentano, *Philippe le Bel en Flandre,* 194)
Gui du Plaissier	Franco-Flemish War	A knight, lord of Plessier-Brion; he fought at Mons-en-Pévèle.
Gui de Neuville, mesire Guis		Attends Le Hem with his family members, see Gilles de Neuville, above. A Gui de Neuville, *miles,* assisted the bailli of Amiens in carrying out a royal enquête In 1259 and 1264. (Olim, I, 83, 190)
Gui de Saint-Pol (either Gui III or IV)	Eighth Crusade, Aragonese Campaign/ or/ Franco-Flemish war (Courtrai)	This is either Gui III, count of Saint-Pol, who married Robert II's widowed mother Mahaut, or Gui IV, his son. If the former, he took part in the crusade of 1270 to Tunis, the Aragonese campaign, and died in 1289. If Gui IV, he was Robert II's half-brother, who fought at Courtrai, and was among the lucky few Frenchmen to survive it, although his brother Jacques died there.
Gui de Saleri		
Gui de Tordemence		Described by Sarrasin as "chevalier *du dedans*" indicating he is of the local region; Henry notes that "Tordemence" is likely a scribal error in writing "Courtemenche," or Courte-Manche (Somme).
Guillaume d'Annoi	Sicily Crusade, Gascony Campaign ?	Is this the same Guillaume d'Aunoy who was often reimbursed for his service to Robert of Artois? In 1284, Guillaume d'Aunoy "seigneur de Coulemont, chevalier," was paid 883 l.t. for his "bons services en Sicile" (AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 30.20), and in 1293 Robert supplied him with 30 saddles and arms

Name	known military campaigns	biographical information
		during the conflict in Gascony (AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 38. 78). In 1280, a Guillaume d'Annoi was imprisoned for criminal activities along with two other participants from Le Hem; Adam de Cardoneto and Petrus de Canaberiis: *Olim*, II, 159, 190.
Guillaume de Glosseville		
Guillaume donsele, guillaumes donsele		
Sire de Hamalaincourt (Hamelaincourt)		
Hangest, "fiex le droit signeur de Hangest"	Gascony Campaign, Franco-Flemish War (Mons-en-Pévèle)	The lord of Hangest in 1278 was Jean II; his son, at le Hem, was Jean III. He was present on the campaign to Gascony in 1297, 1298 and 1299; and at the battle of Mons-en-Pévèle.
Haubert de Hangest	Aragonese campaign, Franco-Flemish war (Mons-en-Pévèle)	Aubert IV de Hangest, lord of Genlis and Pont-Saint-Pierre. 1285- took part in the war in Aragon; 1296-7, was charged by the king with missions in Flanders and Hainaut. Fought at Mons-en-Pévèle.
Henri li Bascle, henri de bascle, bascles	Eighth Crusade, Aragonese Campaign	Henri le Bascle or Baacle de Meudon. A knight who in 1270 took part in the crusade to Tunis, in 1285, the expedition to Aragon.
Henri de Soiri (monsigneur henri de soiri)		
Hernoul de Fosseux		One Ernoul des Fosses was châtelain of Beaumetz; in 1282 Ernoul was lord of Fosseux (c. Beaumetz-les-Loges, Pas-de-Calais).
Hoteri		
Hue de Conflans, Huon de Coufflans, Couflans	Aragonese campaign, Franco-Flemish war	Hugues III de Conflans, from Champagne was still a squire in 1278 but later became marshal of Champagne, like his father. He took part in Aragonese campaign, then in the campaigns against Flanders.
Huet de Haluin		Described as a "baceler," he is Lord of Hallwin and Harlebeke (East Flanders) brother of Wautier de Halluin; present also at Le Hem.
Jake du Bos		
Jehan au Bois Giriaume		A Norman knight.
Jehan de Bailleul		Henry notes that many "Jean de Bailleuls" lived in 1278, but the presence of Enguerran de Bailleul led him to believe that this was Enguerran's nephew John Balliol (c. 1249-1314), future king of Scotland.
Jehan de Barres	Gascony campaign (?) / [Battle of Taillebourg ??]	He was probably the same *Johannes de Barris* who, along with two other jousters from Le Hem (Robert de Wavrin and Enlardus de Selinghem), took part in the Gascony Campaign in 1296. There was also a Jean de Barres, Lord of Oissery (d.1288) who fought at the battle of Taillebourg in 1242; the former personnage is more likely.
Jehan de Boscais		
Jehan de Brimeu		Knight of Ponthieu, lord of Brimeux (c. Campagne-lez-Hesdin, Pas-de-Calais).
Jehan de Carrois		
Jehan de Castenai		

Name	known military campaigns	biographical information
Jehan de Chanle, Canle	Campaign against Count of Foix	Jean, lord of Chanle (d.1298), took part in the expedition against the count of Foix. He is attested in a list of Robert II's tournament debts from 1282, (AD: Pas-de-Calais A 1, fol 5v), owed 40 l.t.. Following his death in 1298, his wife Yde, lady of Estraelles sold her property to Jean Paielle, bourgeois of Arras (AD: Pas-de-Calais A 2, fol. 16r).
Jehan de Clere	Franco-Flemish War	Jean II, lord of Cleres (arr. Rouen). A Norman knight, he was married to Helouis d'Esneval, then Marie de Harcourt, daughter of Jean III d'Harcourt. Fought in the service of the king in the late-13th-early-14th c.
Jehan de Cautens		
Jehan de Coing		
Jehan de Coulogne (*mesire Jehans de Couloigne*)		Knight in the service of the count of Artois, in 1276 owed 54 l.t. by the count for his wages (AD: Pas-de-Calais A 23.22).
Jehan de Dompierre		
Jehan de Douai (*mesire Jehans*)		
Jehan d'Espagny		
Jehan de Faï		
Jehan de Fenieres		
Jehan de Fransieres		
Jehan de Gannes	Aragonese campaign	Jean de Gannes, (Oise), son of Pierre de Gannes, took part in the Aragonese expedition.
Jehan de Harcourt	Eighth Crusade, Aragonese Campaign	Jean II "le preux," lord of Harcourt (b. ca. 1240, d. 1302), son of Jean I (d.1288), took the cross with Saint Louis to Tunis, in 1283 was made marshal of France and fought in Aragon, during the conflict against England in the 1290's, he was made commander of the royal fleet with Mathieu de Montmorency, in 1302 he accompanied Charles of Valois in attempt to reconquer Sicily; he became sick and died upon his return in December of that year. In 1282, he was described as "notre ame mon signeur Jehan de Harecourt chevalier" by Robert of Artois, who owed him 200 l.t. "pour cevaus et pour autres choses," (AD: Pas-de-Calais, register A 1 fol. 9v).
Jehan de Hargicourt		Jean, lord of Hargicourt (Somme), was dead by Aug 1282 when he was described as "mon signeur Jehan de Hargiecourt jadis notre chevalier." At his death, the count of Artois owed him 100 l.t. for losses of a horse at a tournament at Compiegne "et pour restor des damages," which was collected by his son Pierrot in Arras in 1282 (AD: Pas-de-Calais A 1 fol.7r).
Jehan d'Icre		
Jehan des Jestes		
Jehan de Jumeles	Franco-Flemish War ?	Jumelles = Jumel (c. Ailly-sur-Noye, Somme). A father and son, both named Jean, were lords of Jumelles in the later thirteenth century; the younger took part in the Franco-Flemish war in 1304.
Jehan de la Couture		
Jehan de la Tournelle, jehans de tournele,	Aragonese campaign, Franco-Flemish war	Jean de la Tournelle (Somme), son of Robert de la Tournelle, took part in the Aragonese campaign and in 1299 fought in Flanders.
Jehan de Lindebeuf		A Norman knight

Name	known military campaigns	biographical information
Jehan de Lunes		
Jehan de Lonc	Aragonese campaign	A knight , 2nd son of Wistasse de Fontaines, lord of Long and Longpre. In 1285 he took part in the expedition to Aragon.
Jehan de Meles		
Jehan de Moroel		By 1286, he was lord of Plessis. Still young at the tournament of Le Hem, he is described as a *"baceler"* by Sarrasin. His father Bernard de Moreuil was also present at Le Hem, and he would eventually marry Marie de Maumez, the daughter of another jouster at Le Hem, Enguerran de Maumez (see Enguerran above).
Jehan de Neuville		This knight is showered with praise by Sarrasin for his prowess, largesse, and loyalty. He is part of the Neuville family (see Gilles de Neuville above). There was a thirteenth-century trouvère of the same name, cited by Gaston Raynaud (*Bibliographie des chansonniers français).*
Jehan de Pereumont	Aragonese campaign	Pereumont probably = Pierremont (c. Saint-Pol-sur-Ternoise, Pas-de-Calais); he took part in the Aragonese expedition
Jehan de Piere		pas de calais; a knight "du dedens"
Jehan de Saint Martin	Aragonese campaign, Gascony Campaign, Franco-Flemish war (d. Courtrai)	He fought in Aragon in 1285; in 1295 he served under Jean of Harecourt, also present at Le Hem (see above), and in 1302 died at Courtrai.
Jehan de Soiri, soisi		
Jehan de Vilers		Picard knight *friends with Jean d'Icre
Landegrave		Is this le landgrave de Thuringe? No other German princes are named.
Lorraine (*li dus de Loeraine*)		Ferry III, Duke of Lorraine (1240-1303); he holds a privileged place during the jousts and feast. He married Margarite, daughter of Thibaut de Navarre, Count of Champagne.
Lois de Biaugieu	Eighth Crusade (?)	Either Louis de Beaujeu, lord of Montferrand, who ook the cross with Saint Louis, or he was Louis II, son of the former, who sold Montferrand in 1292, d.1296.
Mahieu d'Espegni		
Mahieu de Hiencourt,		
Mahieu de Montmorency		Lord of Montmorency, he is described as "baceler" along with Bernard, lord of Moreuil, with whom he jousts.
Mahieu de Roie	Seventh Crusade, Eighth Crusade	Matthew I, lord of Roye and Garmegni (Somme), he accompanied saint Louis on crusade both in 1248 and 1270.
Mahieu de Trie	Aragonese campaign	Described as a "jone homme" at Le Hem, he was Matthew II de Trie, son of Renaud de Trie. He took part in the campaign to Aragon, and by the end of the century was appointed "pannetier de France," and "grand chambellan du roi." His son fought at Courtrai and was captured, according to the *Chronique Artésienne*
Mahieu de Ver	Aragonese campaign	Matthew de Ver, cited in an account of the bailli of Arras in 1283, participated in the Aragonese expedition in 1285.
Mahieu de Vi		

Name	known military campaigns	biographical information
Mahieu de Wallaincourt		Wallaincourt = Warlincourt-les-Pres (Pas-de-Calais)
Mahieu de Waudricourt		
Le Maisnant de Manicourt		
de Maruel		
Mikel Coupliau	Franco-Flemish War (?)	Mikiel Coupliau was lord of Hulluch (Pas-de-Calais), was summoned by the count of Artois in 1301 along with other knights and squires (AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 163.5), and received wages in the service of the count of Artois and Philip IV in 1301 at Lens.
Monart de Laleng, Monars		Likely a shortened version of Simonart, lord of Lalaing (Netherlands), or Simon de Lalaing (arr. Douai, Pas-de-Calais). Simon III de Lalaing was present at the 1285 tournament at Chauvency.
de Montmorency, li sires	Sicily Crusade, Gascony Campaign	Mathieu IV "le Grand" de Montmorency succeeded Mathieu III around 1270; he participated in expeditions to Sicily in 1282, Aragon in 1285, was appointed "grand chambellan," and then admiral of the fleet, along with Jean de Harcourt (see Jean de Harecourt, above) in 1295 during the conflict with the English over Gascony and Aquitaine.
Mui d'Avaine		
Nevelon de Molains		knight of the country
Nicoles des Amoises		
Nicoles de Barbencon		Lord of Villers, son of Nicolas, lord of Barbençon, and Marie, daughter of the count of montfort.
Nicoles Donchart		
d'Olehain		
Pierard de Fonconcourt		
Pierart de Cenevieres, de Chennevieres		Is this the "Pierre de Chanevieres, knight" to whom Robert II owed 135 l.t. "pour la perte de tournaiemans," in 1282? (AD: Pas-de-Calais A 28.1)
Piere de Houdenc		Knight of Beauvaisis
Piere de la Malemaison		Knight "du dehors"
Piere de Montagu		
Piere de Morlaine	Aragonese campaign	He took part in the Aragonese campaign. His father, also Pierre de Morlaines, lord of Remaugis, accompanied saint Louis on the crusade to Tunis.
Piere l'Orible	Franco-Flemish War	Pierre de Fampoux, called *Li Orribles and Lorible*, was a knight, lord of Boves, and in 1286, a judge in Arras. In 1292, he was bailli of Saint Omer, presiding over a plea of another jouster at Le Hem, Boisar de Renenghes (AD: Pas-de-Calais, A 37.17; du Nord, I, 38; dictionnaire de Pas -de-C; I. 147). He remained in the employ of the count of Artois throughout the 1290's, and was involved in the preparations for the battle of Courtrai (Funck-Brentano, *Memoire sur la bataille de Courtrai, 1302*, *"Pieces Justificatives I," 80)*.

Name	known military campaigns	biographical information
Pieron de Bailleul		In 1283, he received wages from the count of Artois, but according to an account of Toussaint, 1283, "Mesire Pierre de Bailloel fust banni d'Artois." *but* in 1299 a Pierre de Bailloel was present with Ridiaus de Noeville (also present at Le Hem, see Ridel, below), at a judicial session about a contest between the bishop of Cambrai and the count of Artois (AD:Pas-de-Calais A 44.46).
Pieron de Bueffremont, Beffrement	Sicilian Campaign, Franco-Flemish War (Courtrai)	Pierre de Bauffremont (Vosges), knight, was lord of Removille. He took part in the expedition to Sicily; in 1294 he mortally wounded Duke Jean I of Brabant in a joust.He is present in 1285 at the Tournament at Chauvency. IN 1302, he fought at Courtrai.
Pieron de Wailli	Eighth Crusade, Sicilian Campaign	In 1269, "Pierot de Wailli escuier en nostre compagnie," was engaged by Robert of Artois to undertake the "voiage dieu" --the crusade to Tunis, accompanying the count in his boat (AD: Nord, Cartulary of Artois: B 1593 fol. 57r). In 1274, Wailly was a creditor of the count of Artois "pour frais de tournoi." In 1284, Robert of Artois mandated his bailli to pay 240 l.t. to Pierre de Wailly, knight, "that he owes since he left France to go to Sicily," (AD: Pas-de-Calais A 30.2)
Pikigni, li vidame de	Campaign against Count of Foix, Aragonese campaign	Jean, vidame d'Amiens, lord of Pickigny (Somme); was a minor in 1253; he took part in the expedition against the count of Foix; then at Aragon; by 1298 he held a seat at Parliament , then was sent to England, in 1302 he completed a mission to Albi; seneschal of Gascony in 1303, d. in Italy 1304
Raineval, li sires de	Aragonese campaign	Raoul de Préaux, lord of Raineval, son of Jean de Preaux; an epitaph says of him "cy gist messire Raoul de praiaus, chevalier et sire de Rayneval, qui trespassa au revenir d'Arragone en l'an de grace nostre seigneur 1285 ou mois de decembre" (M. l'abbé Deladreue,"Histoire de l'Abbaye de Lannoy" in *Mémoires de la Société Académique d'Archólogie, Sciences et Arts,* vol. 10:3 (1879) 609)
Raous d'Estrees, "fix le marissal de France"		His father was marshal of France since 1269
Raous de Maignelers, Cil de Maignelers, qui a non mesire Raous	Gascony campaign	A knight of the Maignelay family (Oise), he took part in the expedition to Gascony in 1297. A man of the same name was part of the colalition of northern lords against the king in 1314.
Renaut de Montalban		Sarrasin writes admiringly of Renaut and tells us he had jousted "at the Saint Sepurcre en Alemaigne" against Gilles de Roisi who was also present at Hem. His cry is "Montauban."
Renaut de Saint Maat	Eighth Crusade (probable, cited by Joinville); Aragon, *check Sicily* in AD:Pas-de-Calais	Saint-Mard, (Somme?) Joinville cites *Messire Renault de Sainct Meart* among the king's knights in 1269. "Monseigneur Renaut de Saint Maart" figures in the account of Jehan d'Ays on the expedition of Aragon in 1285; in Aug. 1282, count Robert promises to pay Renaud de Saint Marc, knight, 30 l. for a horse lost in tournament (AD: Pas-de-Calais A 1, fol. 12r).
Ridel		Ridel is lapparently the son of *mesire Gilles de Neuville* (see above), present at the tournoi.
Robert		
Robert II d'Artois	Eighth Crusade, Count of Foix; Sicilian Campaign; Gascony Campaign; Franco-Flemish war, (d. Courtrai)	Robert II, count of Artois (1248-1302)
Robert Burnel	Aragonese campaign, Franco-Flemish war	
Robert d'Englos		
Robert de Fouconcourt		

Name	known military campaigns	biographical information
Robert de Montigny		Probably a son of Gui, lord of Montigny in Ostrevant, close to Lallaing (Douai), active in Flemish affairs at the end of the thirteenth century. Delbouille, editor of the *Tournoi de Chauvency* noted that one of the jousters was "Le Blont de Montigny," and Henry suggests this could be the same man as Sarrasin's "Li bons Robert de Montigni."
Robert de Moroel		
Robert d'Oineval		
Robert de Ronsoi		Son of Gerard de Ronsoy, Sarrasin cites him as a model of bravery and courtesy.
Robert de Wavrin	Aragonese campaign, Gascony campaign; Franco-Flemish war; (Mons-en-Pévèle)	Robert de Wavrin, called "Brunel," lord of Saint-Venant (Pas-de-Calais) was son of Robert II, lord of Wavrin. Knighted in 1279, he took part in Aragonese expedition; he was Chamberlain of Flanders, governer of Guyenne and garde of the senchaussee of Gascony in 1298-1299, and a leader in the French contingent against Flanders.
Robillart de Coupigny		
Rogier d'Englume		
Sollars ou Soillars (see Piere de Morlaines)		
Le Sourt de Seuni, sours de seuni, le sourt		
Symon de Beronne, symons	Campaign against count of Foix	Simon de Béronne, who held the fief of Fitz-James close to Clermont, perhaps took part in the campaign against the count of Foix in 1272.
Tolart du Haitiel		
Turiaus		
Walerna de Lussebourg	Battle of Worringen, 1288	The first lord of Ligny of the house of Luxembourg; he was the cadet brother and vassal of Henri III de Luxembourg; he married Jeanne de Beaurevoir and was killed at Woringen in 1288. Three years earlier, he was present at the Tournament of Chauvency in 1285.
Wautier d'Antoing, Wautiers		Son of Hugues, lord of Antoing, lord of Bois and Bellonne, he was cited in acts of 1276, 1281 and in an account of the bailli of Arras in 1283; his brothers were present at the tournament of Mons in 1310.
Wautier de Foulloi	Aragonese campaign	Gautier, lord of Fouilloi, (c. Corbie, arr. Amiens), in 1285 he took part in the expedition to Aragon.
Wautier de Habuin, de Halin	Franco-Flemish War (fought for Flanders)	Wautier III, lord of Halluin and Harlebeke. A knight of Gui de Dampierre, count of Flanders. He was with Willaume de Ghistelles, (see that name) among the Flemish knights who in 1303 submitted to the treaty between Philip IV and the count of Flanders.
Wautier de Hardecourt, mesire Wautiers		
Wautier du Heurle		
Willaume de Beauvais, mesire Willaumes de Biauvais		This was either Guillaume II, châtelain de Beauvais, lord of Vacueil, cited in an act of 1252, or his son Guillaume III, who took part in the tournament at Mons in 1310.
Willaume de Careu		
Willaume de Gistele	Franco-Flemish War (fought for Flanders)	A cadet son of Jean, lord of Ghistelle, a Flemish knight in service of the Gui de Dampierre, count of Flanders. He was lord of Scades (Wytschate).
Willaue de Granges		

Name	known military campaigns	biographical information
Willaume de Huerle	Franco-Flemish War (fought for Flanders)	Heule was a commune in West Flanders close to Courtrai. Guillaume, lord of Heule and Heestert was a kngiht of Gui de Dampierre, count of Flanders; fought for Flanders.
Willaume de Liere		Guillaume de Lières (c. Norrent-Fontes, Pas-de-Calais) received wages as knight banneret in the service of the count of Artois in 1299.
Willaume de Loques		Likely this is Guillaume V de Bethune, lord of Locres, who married Jeanne de Nesle (du Chesne, "Historiographe du Roy," *Histoire Généalogique de la Maison de Béthune* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1639)
Wistasse de Sisi		
Wistasse de Tours		

Appendix B. Participants and Judges of Jeux Partis

The following 168 names are collected from the 184 known *jeux partis.* Biographical information, when available, is drawn primarily from Arthur Låangfors' extensively researched "Juges et Partenaires" in his *Recueil Générale des Jeux Partis*, augmented by the entries of Theodore Karp in the *New Grove History of Music and Musicians*.

'Trouvère' is listed as an occupation when additional *chansons* outside of the *jeux partis* can be attributed to an individual.
* indicates individuals who may be repeated in the list, for example, when a *jeu parti* addresses 'Adam,' who may be identified with Adam de la Halle, or may simply be a different Adam.

Name	**Status/ Appelation**	**Biographical Details**	**Judge/ Partner**
Adam de Givenci	cleric, trouvère	(fl. 1230-68) Likely from Givenchy, he is named in two charters of 1230 as clerk of the bishop of Arras; in 1243 as priest and chaplain to the bishop. Six *chansons* are attributed to him outside his *jeux partis.*	Partner of Jehan Bretel, Guillaume le Vinier
Adam de la Halle	cleric, trouvère	(c.1245-1285) Known also as Adam d'Arras or Adam le Bossu (the hunchback), he studied in Paris, apparently performing *jeux partis* after his return, in the early 1270's, before the death ofJehan Bretel (1272). In the 1270's he entered the service of Count Robert II d'Artois, traveling in his entourage to Italy; at Naples he entered the service of Charles of Anjou. He is the author and composer of numerous *chansons*, rondeaux, three plays with musical inserts, a *congé*, and an incomplete epic devoted to Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily; he is considered the most important musical innovator of the French thirteenth century.	partner of Jehan Bretel, Rogier, Jehan de Grieviler; judge of Chopart
Adam*		Perhaps the same person as either Adam de Givenci or Adam de la Halle	judge of Lambert Ferri
Adam*		Perhaps the same person as either Adam de Givenci or Adam de la Halle	judge of Simon d'Authie
Aimeri	"sire"		Judge of Jehan
Amours	"dame"	A sobriquet, likely belonging to Béatrice de Dampierre, who elsewhere appears as partner of Gillebert de Berneville.	partner of Gillebert de Berneville
Andreu			partner of the King of Aragon
Andrieu Contredit d'Arras	knight, trouvère	(d.1248) French royal accounts for 1239 mention Andreas Contredit, knight and minstrel, who vowed to join the crusade led by Thibaut IV de Champagne. 'Contredit' is likely a sobriquet. He dedicated one song to 'le roi' possibly Louis	partner of Guillaue le Vinier

Name	Status/Appelation	Biographical Details	Judge/ Partner
		IX or Thibaut IV. Composed 20 works, including a *pastourelle*, a *lai*, and a *jeu parti*, in addition to *chansons courtoises*.	
Andrieu Douche		Appears among the *unica* of chansonnier *R*, he and his group were likely residents not of Arras but of another northern town.	partner of Renier de Quareignon etc.
Auberon			judge of Thibaut de Champagne
Aubert			Partner of Rolant
Audefroi Loucart	échevin, banker	(d. 1273) Belonged to the powerful Louchart family of Arrageois financiers. Attested as a banker before 1244, as *échevin* in 1253. His riches were proverbial; he was violently attached in satirical works; the trouvère Gillebert de Berneville dedicated a *chanson* to him.	judge of Jehan Bretel
Audefroi*	"sire"	Likely the same person as Audefroi Louchart	partner of Jehan Bretel, judge of Adam de la Halle, Jehan Bretel, Grieviler, Oede, Perrin d'Angicourt, Perrot de Neele
Baudescot			judge of Cuvelier
Baudouin d'Aire			judge of Chardon
Baudouin*		Likely the same person as Baudouin d'Aire	partner of Thibaut de Champagne
Bernart de la Ferté		Ferté-Bernard, today capital of the canton of the arrondissement of Mamers (Sarthe), was formerly a seigneury. One of the lords of the Ferté was Huon, author of three violent serventois' against Blanche of Castille. He died in 1233. His son, Bernard, our author, was still a minor in 1237, though we don't know the date of his birth. In 1250, queen Blanche of Castille gave him the guard of the castles of Sablé, Roche-aux-Moines, etc. he was the cadet of Jean I de Bretagne.	partner of the count of Bretagne
Bertran			partner of Sire Guichart
Bertran			judge of Jehan de Vergelai, of Lambert Ferri, of Perrin d'Angicourt
Berselain, Bertelain			judge of Jehan de Grieviler
Bestorné	trouvère	Composer of five known *chansons*.	partner of Gautier
Bouchart			partner of Jehan

Name	Status/Appelation	Biographical Details	Judge/ Partner
Boutillier*		Likely the same person as either Colart le Bouteillier, or Robert le Bouteillier. (below)	judge of Robert de le Piere
Bronekin, Burnekin			partner of Rolant and Jehan de Baion
Chardon	trouvère	(fl. 1220-45) Likely the trouvère Chardon de Croisilles, who composed songs both in French and Occitan, wrote one song dedicated to the wife of Thibaut de Champagne (Marguerite de Bourbon), and likely was in the entourage of Thibaut when he traveled to Navarre and Pamplona in 1237, and on crusade in 1239.	partner of Gautier de Formeseles, Jehan d'Archis
Cuens d'Anjo, [Charles, Count of Anjou]	count, king, trouvère	(1226-1285) Count of Anjou from 1246, King of Naples and Sicily from 1265. Addressed as a count, we can presume he participated in jeux partis between 1246-65. A patron of trouvères, including Perrin d'Angicourt and Gillebert de Berneville (see below) he was also a trouvère himself.	partner of Perrin d'Angicourt, judge of the count of Bretagne, of Gillebert de Berneville, of Jehan Bretel, of Robert du Caisnoi.
Chastelains de Biaumé	châtelain of Beaumetz	likely Gilles II, seigneur de Beaumetz and castelain dof Bapaume, still alive in 1267, or his son, Robert, mentioned in that function in a document of 1273.	judge of Amour
Chaucie, dame de la	"dame"		partner of Sainte des Prez
Chopart			partner of Robert
Clerc	cleric		partner of Thibaut de Champagne
Colart le Boutillier	trouvère	(fl. 1240-60) Composer of thirteen chansons, possibly from the Boutillier family belonging to the lesser nobility of Arras, or an Arras bourgeois family of the same name.	partner of Guillauem le Vinier
Colart le Changeur	Money-changer		partner of Jehan d'Estruen
Colart*		Likely the same person as Colart le Changeur	partner of Mahieu, of Jehan de Tournai, of Sandrart Certain
Comte de Gueldre [Otto III]	count	(1229-1271) Otto III married Philipote de Dammartin in 1251, daughter of Simon de Dammartin count of Ponthieu and widow of Raoul de Coucy. It was perhaps due to this marriage that he became involved with French poets, one of whom dedicated a song to him. He himself was a partner in a *tenson* (Raynaud 907).	judge of Bernart de la Ferté

Name	Status/Appelation	Biographical Details	Judge/ Partner
Contesse [likely Béatrice de Brabant]	countess	(1225-1288) Wife of William II, count of Flanders, sister of Duke Henry III of Brabant, maternal aunt to Robert II of Artois. Both she and her brother were likely patrons of the trouvère Gillebert de Berneville.	judge de Gillebert de Berneville
Copart			judge of Jehan Bretel
Coppin			judge of Mahieu de Gand
Cuens de Bretaigne [likely Jean I]	count	(c.1217-1286) Jean I de Bretagne, "le roux", in 1236 he married Blanche, daughter of Thibaut IV de Champagne.	partner of Gace, of Bernart de la Ferté
Dame	"dame"		partner of Perrot de Beaumarchais, of Rolant de Reims, of an "ami," of a "sire"
Dame de Fouencamp	"dame"		judge of Gamart de Vilers
Damisele Oede	"demisele"		judge of Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler, Jehan de Marli
Dragon		Dragon is likely a pseudonym for this man who was evidently popular, being often chosen as judge.	judge of Adam de la Halle, Cuvelier, Gadifer, Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler, Lambert Ferri, Robert de le Piere
Dux de Brabant [Henri III]	duke	(ca. 1230-1261), Became Duke of Brabant in 1248, giving a terminus ante quem to his *jeu parti*	partner of Gillebert de Berneville
Edouard, chief des Englois	prince	(1239-1307) Crowned in 1272 Edward I of England, he visited Artois in 1263 and may have had occasion at that time, or on another visit in the 1250's to judge this jeu parti alongside Charles of Anjou.	judge of Lambert Ferri
Ermenfroi	"sire"	(d. 1277) Likely Ermenfroi Crespin, the powerful Arrageois banker, to whom Count Robert II d'Artois owed money in 1274. Involved with the tax evasion scandal, he was sarirized by the chansons et dits.	judge of Robert de le Piere, Mahieu de Gand
Evrart			judge of Jehan Bretel

Name	Status/Appelation	Biographical Details	Judge/ Partner
Gace [possibly Gace Brulé]		Manuscript *C* carries the rubric 'Messires Gaises Bruleis,' in other mss. he is simply 'Garset' or 'Garcet'. Gace Brulé was a prolific and highly regarded trouvère (b. c.1160, d. after 1213). If his *jeu parti* (Långfors II) with the Count of Bretagne is, as some have believed, a song between Gace Brulé and Count Geoffrey II of Brittany (1158-86), it would predate all other *jeux partis* by at least a half century; it is more probable that this Gace was singing with Count Jean I "le Roux" of Brittany (1218-1286) who appears in a *jeu-parti* with Charles of Anjou.	partner of the Count of Bretagne
Gadifer	cleric, trouvère	Identified in a rubric in ms. *C* as Gaidifer d'Avions, Avions being a town 14 km. from Arras, he composed seven *chansons*.	partner of Jehan Bretel, Judge of Jehan de Grieviler, of Robert de Chastel
Gamart de Vilers			partner of Cuvelier
Gautier			partner of Bestorné
Gautier de Formeseles		Maybe the same person as 'Waltherus miles, dominus de Formeseles' who appears in documents between 1207-1236 and who took his name from a locality near Ypres, now Voormezeele, Belgium.	partner of Chardon, judge of Chardon
Gautier de Pontis			judge of an anonymous “dame”
Gillart			judge of Cuvelier, Lambert Ferri
Gillebert de Berneville	trouvère	(fl. c.1250-80) A trouvère greatly appreciated by his contemporaries; one of his chansons was designated a *chanson couronnée* by the Arras *puy*, others were models for later poetry. He dedicated chansons to Charles of Anjou, Huitace de Fontaines, Béatrice d'Audenarde, Colart le Boutellier, and Audefroi Louchart (see above).	partner of the Duke of Brabant, of 'Amour' (likely a pseudonym for the countess of Brabant); Thomas Herier, of dame de Gosnai; judged by Charles d'Anjou, Raoul de Soissons, the Châtelain de Beaumetz, Hue d'Arras, and a countess, likely Béatrice de Brabant.
Gilles le Vinier	cleric, trouvère	(fl. 1225-52) From a bourgeois family of Arras, younger brother of Guillaume le Vinier (see below), he was a canon of the churches of Lille and Arras, representing them in legal proceedings between 1225 and 1234. In a song he mentions a trip to the Holy Land.	partner of Guillaume le Vinier, Simon d'Authie
Gillet d'Avocourt			judge of a "sire" and Rolant

Name	Status/Appelation	Biographical Details	Judge/ Partner
Gilon			judge of messire Gui, Guillaume
Gillot le Petit		Mentioned in the *Jeu de la Feuillée* of Adam de la Halle, he may be the same Gillot le Petit, hereditary sergeant named in various documents after 1277.	judge of Jehan Bretel
Girart d'Amiens			partner of Thibaut de Champagne
Girart de Boulogne			partner of Jean Bretel
Girart de Valenciennes		perhaps the same person to whom a song of Gillebert de Berneville was dedicated.	partner of sire Michel
Gosnai, Dame de	“dame”		partner of Gillebert de Berneville
Gui	“messire”		partner of Thibaut de Champagne
Guichart	“sire”		partner of Bertran
Guillaume			partner of Thibaut de Champagne
Guillaume le Vinier	married cleric, trouvère	(ca. 1190, d.1245) Older brother of Gilles le Vinier, he was from a well-to-do bourgeois family in Arras. A married cleric, a prolific trouvère, poems were dedicated to him by several contemporaries.	partner of Adam de Givenci, of Andrieu Contredit, of Colart le Boutellier, of Giles le Vinier, of the Monk of Arras, of Thomas [Herier?], likely Thibaut IV de Champagne
Hacecourt			judge of Lambert Ferri
Haibrant de Broies			judge of a "sire", partner of Rolant de Reims
Henri [Amion?]	cleric	Likely the same Henri Amion who dedicated a song to Colart le Bouteillier and is mentioned by Baude Fastoul in his *Congés.*	partner of Maheiu de Gand
Henri [II] de Bar	count	(1190-1239) Henry II de Bar, took the cross in 1237 with Thibaut IV de Champagne, killed at Gaza.	judge of Jehan d'Achis
Hue			partner of Robert le Duc
Hue d'Arras		(fl. 1257-1268) Likely the younger son or grandson of Hue, châtelain of Arras who was himself the author of a *chanson de* croisade and a participant in the fourth crusade	judge of Gillebert de Berneville, of Jehan Bretel
Hue le Maronnier			partner of Simon d'Authie

Name	**Status/Appelation**	**Biographical Details**	**Judge/ Partner**
Hues*			Partner of Jehan Tuin
Unnamed			partner of Gautier
Jacques de Billi			partner of Rolant de Reims
Jaket			judge of Jehan de Grieviler [probably Jaquemon Pouchin]
Jaquet de Longuion			judge of Jehan de Chison
Jehan			partner of Bouchart
Jehan			judge of Thibaut de Champagne
Jehan [d'Estruen, Legier, or de Tournai?]*			partner of Robert [Robert le Duc?], of Renier [Renier de Quareignon?] of Andrieu Douche
Jehan d'Archis			partner of Cardon
Jehan de Baion			partner of Bronekin, of Rolant
Jehan de Bar		son of Thibaut II, count of Bar; brother of Thibaut, bishop of Liege who also sings *jeux-partis*	Partner of Rolant, judge of Rolant de Reims, of Bronekin
Jehan Bretel	"sire," trouvère	(b. c.1210; d. 1272) His grandfather was "sargent héréditaire" of the abbey of St. Vaast in Arras, one of the officials supervising water rights to the river Scarpe in the abbey's domain; his father held this position in the 1240's. The poet is cited as "sergens iretavles de la riviere Saint-Vaast" in 1256. He and his brother were property owners. Jehan Bretel composed 8 *chansons courtoises,* one of which was dedicated to the Countess Béatrice de Brabant, and participated in 89 jeux-partis. He reigned as 'Prince' of the Arras *puy*.	parter in 20 *jeux partis*, judge of 35
Jehan de Chison			partner of Rolant de Reims
Jehan le Cuvelier	"sire," trouvère	(fl. c.1240-70) Likely the same person as Johannes Cuvellarius of Bapaume cited in documents in 1258. He dedicated songs to Wagon Wion, échevin of Arras in 1265, and was the author of several *chansons courtoises*. (A *cuvelier*, literally, is a tub-maker.)	partner of Gamart de Vilers, Jehan Bretel, Jehan Grieviler, Lamber Ferri, the Treasurer of Aire, judge of Adam de la Halle, sire Audefroi, Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri

Name	Status/Appelation	Biographical Details	Judge/ Partner
Jehan d'Estruen	échevin?	Member of the powerful Esturion family of Arras; many échevins of that name.	partner of Colart le Changeur
Jehan de Grieviler	married cleric, trouvère	(fl. mid-to late 13th century) Among a group of 16 married clerics in Arras engaged in commercial dealings, who in 1254 petitioned the Bishop of Arras to exempt them from civic taxation. Composed *chansons* and a *retrouenge*.	partner of Adam de la Halle, Jehan Bretel, Cuvelier, Jehan de Marli, Lambert Ferri, judge of Adam de la Halle, Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri
Jehan Legier			partner of Sandrart Certain
Jehan de Marli	master		partner of Jehan Bretle, Jehan de Grieviler, Lambert Ferri
Jehan de Renti	trouvère	(fl. 1260's) Composed songs dedicated to André de Renti and the Castelain of Beaumetz (see above)	partner of Jehan Bretel
Jehan Simon			partner of Jehan Bretel
Jehan de Tournai			partner of Colart (le Changeur?)
Jehan Tuin			Partner of Hues
Jehan de Vergelai	"sire"	Likely the same sire Jehan de Vregelai who is mentioned in the *Congés* of Baude Fastoul (1272).	partner of Jehan Bretel
Joffroi Baré	"messire"		partner of sire Aimeri
La Chaucie, dame de	"dame"		partner of Sainte des Prez
Lambert Ferri	cleric, trouvère	(fl. c.1250-1300) A clerk of the Benedictine monastery of St. Léonard (Pas-de-Calais) in 1268, mentioned in 1282 as a canon and deacon. Composer of several *chansons*, one dedicated to the Countess Mahaut d'Artois, (mother of Count Robert II).	partner of Jehan Bretel, Cuvelier, Jehan de Grieviler, Jehan de Marli, Philippot Verdiere, Robert de Caisnoi, Robert de le Piere, Treasurer of Aire, Judge of Adam de la Halle, Jehan Bretel, Perrot de Neele, Jehan de Grieviler
Linaige, comtesse de	"dame," countess		judge of Rolant, of an anonymous "dame," partner of Lorete (167)
Lorete	"dame"		partner of an anonymous "dame"
Mahaut de Commercy	"dame"		judge of an anonymous "dame," partner of Rolant, of

Name	Status/Appelation	Biographical Details	Judge/ Partner
			Lorete
Mahieu			partner of Colart
Mahieu de Gand	trouvère	Composer of four *chansons*, three dedicated to Jehan Bretel, one to sire Audefroi Louchart, and to Henri Amion.	partner of Henri, of Robert de le Piere
Mahieu le Tailleur		Perhaps the same Mahius li Taillieres who in 1254, along with his wife Marie de Simencourt, contributed to a tithe of the Abbey of Saint-Vaaste.	partner of Jehan Bretel
Maielin			judge of Gautier de Formeseles
Margot*	"dame"	Possibly the same Maroie below	partner of Maroie or Marote, judge of Cuvelier
Maroie, Marote	"dame," trouvère	Possibly Maroie de Diergnau, of Lille, composer of one remaining *chanson* fragment (with music); she is also the addressee of a *chanson* by Andrieu Contredit (see above).	partner of dame Margot
Merci [read Ferri?]			judge of Jehan Bretel
Michel			partner of Robert [probably le Duc]
Michel	"sire"		partner of Girart de Valenciennes
Mikiel le Waisdier	échevin of Arras	mentioned in one of the artesian satires (n.24, in Jeanroy and Guy, eds), was échevin in charge during the affaire of the levy, prior to 1260. M. Guy (p.151) wrote that the brother of Mikiel le Waidier is cited in the Necrologe in the year 1275. A 'waisdier' is a cloth-dyer.	judge of Thomas Herier
Moine d'Arras	monk	Possibly the same person as the trouvère Moniot d'Arras, a prolific trouvère who flourished from 1213-39.	partner of Guillaume le Vinier
Perrin d'Angicourt	trouvère	(fl.1245-70) A prolific trouvère likely from Achicourt, 3km from Arras; he was closely associated with the music scene in that town, but also was likely under the protection of Henri III, Duke of Brabant, Gui de Dampierre, and later Charles of Anjou, to whom he dedicated songs. He likely accompanied Charles to Naples in 1269. Author of at least 35 songs.	partner of Jehan Bretel
Perrin*		Likely Perrin d'Angicourt	partner of Charles d'Anjou, judge of Audefroi, of Gadifer, of Jehan Bretel, of Jehan de Grieviler, of Lambert Ferri
Perrin			partner of Rolant de Reims

Name	Status/Appelation	Biographical Details	Judge/ Partner
Perron, dan			judge of Thibaut de Champagne
Perrot de Beaumarchais			partner of an anonymous “dame”
Perrot de Neele	trouvère	(fl. mid-to late 13th century) Composed a Marian song and was the author of a collection of poems, 'Sommaires en vers de poèmes.'	partner of Jehan Bretel
Philippe [de Nanteuil?]	knight, trouvère	(d.1258) A friend of Thibaut IV de Champagne to whom he dedicated several songs, he accompanied him on the Baron's Crusade of 1239, was captured, writing more songs from prison. His *jeux partis* with Thibaut likely date from the 1240's.	partner of Thibaut de Champagne
Philippot Verdiere			partner fo Lambert Ferri
Phelippot [Verdiere?]*		Likely the same person as above.	judge of Jehan Simon, Lambert Ferri
Rois d'Aragon	king	Either Peter III (1276-1285), a known poet, or James I (1213-1276), a patron of troubadours. Långfors also suggests Peter II (1196-1213), who spent time at Montpellier in 1205; which would place this as the earliest known *jeu parti*.	partner of Andreu
Pierre de Corbie		Possibly identifiable with a certain *Petrus de Corbeia* who collaborated with the architect Villard de Honnecort on the choir of a church for the cathedral of Cambrai around 1230.	Judge of Adam de Givenci
Pierre Wion	échevin, banker	(d.1268) Belonged to the powerful Arras family of financiers, the Wions; he is mentioned in this capacity in 1243, and one of the 12 échevins accused of a tax scandal. He was échevin before 1260 and again in 1263. Probably brother to Wagon Wion, also an échevin, to whom Jehan Cuvelier addressed songs.	judge of the Treasurer of Aire and of Cuvelier, of Jehan Bretel
Prieur de Boulogne	prior		partner of Jehan Bretel
Prieus [de Boulogne?]*	prior	Likely the same person as above.	judge of Lambert Ferri
Quaré			partner of Rolant
Raoul			partner of Tierri
Raoul de Mercis			judge of Rolant de Reims
Raoul de Soissons	knight, trouvère	(c.1210-1270) Second son of Count Raoul of Soissons, he became Sire de Coeuvres in 1232. Took part in three crusades, including the Baron's Crusade led by Thibaut IV, to whom he dedicated one song, in addition to his *jeu parti* with him. Married Queen Alix of Jerusalem, participated in both the 1248 and 1270 crusades of Louis IX. Composed seven *chansons;* performed his *jeu parti* with Thibaut either between 1243-48, or 1252-53; probably the latter date, based on references to Thibaut's corpulence.	partner of Thibaut de Champagne, judge of the duke of Brabant

Name	Status/Appelation	Biographical Details	Judge/ Partner
Rasse le Waidier			judge of Robert [de le Piere?]
Renier de Quareignon			parner of Andrieu Douche
Renier [de Quareignon?]*			parner of Jehan (Jehan d'Estruen, Jehan Legier or Jehan de Tournai)
Robert [le Duc?]*			partner of Michel, of Jehan…
Robert [de le Piere?]*			partner of Chopart
Robert [de le Piere?]*			judge of Jehan Bretel
Robert Bosquet		Bosquet was a family name in Arras.	judge of the dame de Gosnai
Robert le Bouteillier			judge of Gillebert de Berneville
Robert del Caisnoi			partner of Lambert Ferri, Robillart de Kainsnoi, judge fo Jehan Bretel
Robert de Chastel	trouvère	(fl. late 13th century) Composer of six known songs, one of which, *Se j'ai chanté* was top of the charts; designated "coronée" and surviving in a large number of manuscripts; it also subsequently inspired a religious contrafactum.	partner of Jehan Bretel, judge of Jehan de Grieviler
Robert le Clerc		(fl. 1260's) Native of Arras and author of a long poem, *Les Vers de la Mort*, usually overshadowed by that of Helinand de Froidment.	judge of Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri
Robert le Duc			partner of Hue, Robert
Robert de le Piere	échevin of Arras	(d.1258) A member of a prominent bourgeois family, he was échevin in 1255, and composed nine *chansons,* one of which was *coronée;* sometimes his works are attributed to Gillebert de Berneville.	partner of Jean Bretel, Lambert Ferri, Mahieu de Gand
Robin			judge of Perrot [de Neele],
Robin de Compiegne			partner of Jehan Bretel
Rodrigue le Noir			judge of Philippe [de Nanteuil]
Rogier			partner of Adam de la Halle
Rolant de Reims			partner of Thibaut de Bar
Sainte des Prez	dame		partner of la dame de la Chaucie
Sandrart Certain			partner of Colart, of a certain

Name	Status/Appelation	Biographical Details	Judge/ Partner
			sire, of Jehan Legier
Simon			mentioned perhaps wrongly as judge of Hue le Maronnier
Simon d'Authie	canon, lawyer, trouvère	(d. after 1235) Canon of Amiens Cathedral in 1223, dean of the chapter in 1228; he acted as lawyer for the abbey of St Vaast in the 1220s and 30's. Composer of 11 *chansons*.	partner of Gilles le Vinier, Hue le Maronnier
Simon Pouchin			judge of Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri
Sire	"sire"		partner of Rolant de Reims
Sire	"sire"		partner of Sandrart Certain
Sire de la Tieuloie	"sire"	Likely from la Thieuloye, in the district of Aubigny, he is mentioned favorably by the poet Baude Fastoul as a patron of trouvères.	judge fo Rogier
Tassart de Reims			judge of Jehan Bretel
Thibaut de Bar	bishop	(d. 1312) Younger son of Thibaut II Count of Bar, he became bishop of Liège in 1302; followed king Henri of Luxembourg to Rome in 1310, and died in Italy. He was the patron of the poet Jacques de Longuyon, author of the *Voeux du Paon*, which mentions him.	partner of Rolant de Reims
Thibaut de Champagne	count, king, trouvère	(1201-1253) Thibaut IV, count of Champagne since 1214 and king of Navarre since 1234, was author of 9 *jeux partis*. His partners call him both "Count" and "king" and sometimes "sire". This would place composition to be after 1234; internal evidence suggests he is singing *jeux partis* late in life. The largest surviving output of any trouvère; as controversial in politics as he was influential in music. He was remembered admiringly by Dante and many other of his near-contemporaries.	partner of Baudouin, Girart d'Amiens, messire Gui, Guillaume, Philippe [de Nanteuil], Raoul de Soissons, of un clerc
Thomas Herier	trouvère	Dedicated songs to another trouvère, Jacques de Cysoing, and to a certain Trésorier, probably the Trésorier d'Aire (see below). In his songs he also named the Arras banker Audefroi Louchart (above), Jeanne, Countess of Ponthieu, and the Arras *échevin* Mikiel le Waisdier.	partner of Guillaume le Vinier, Gillebert de Berneville
Tierri			partner of Raoul
Tresorier d'Aire	treasurer	The Treasurer of Aire was a functionary fo the abbatial church of Saint-Pierre d'Aire-sur-la-Lys (diocese of Therouanne) which is not otherwise known.	partner of Jehan Bretel, Cuvelier, Lambert Ferri, judge of Jehan de Grieviler, Lambert Ferri
Varlet			judge of Cuvelier, Lambert

Name	Status/Appelation	Biographical Details	Judge/ Partner
			Ferri, Jehan de Grieviler
Viet			judge of Jehan Bretel
Vilain d'Arras		Likely a pseudonym, he also dedicated *chansons* to a Prince du Pui, probably Bretel, as well as to Hue d'Arras and Henri de Vaudemont (1246-1279)	judge of Henri [Amion]
Vaghes Wion			judge of Lambert Ferri
Vuillart			judge of Jehan Bretel

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Materials

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Arras: Archives Départementales du Pas-de-Calais

A Series, 1-529	“Trésor des chartes d’Artois, 1237-early 14th c.

Arras: Bibliothèque Municipale

MS 483	Chirurgia equorum, 13th c.
MS 657	“Chansonnier d’Arras,” 13th-early 14th c.

Hildescheim: St. Godehard’s Church

St. Albans Psalter	12th c. https://www.abdn.ac.uk/stalbanspsalter/english/index.shtml

Ghent: Rijksarchief

GW1 Series	Graven van Vlaanderen. Charters. Saint-Genois, 1086-1380.

Lille: Archives Départementales du Nord

[1] B Series, 222-4239	Chambre des comptes de Lille et du Trésor des chartes des comtes de Flandre, 8th-16th c.

London: Lambeth Palace Library

MS 1681	Rotulus containing Old French songs and *jeux partis*, late 13th-early 14th c.

London: British Library

Arundel MS 83	“The Howard Psalter,” ca. 1308-ca.1340 http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Arundel_MS_83

Oxford: Bodleian Library

Douce 308	Collection of trouvère song, *jeux parts,* and Old French literature including the “Tournoi de Chauvency,” (Trouvère MS I), early 14th c.

Paris: Archives Nationales

J Series	Trésor des Chartes

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France

fr. 844	“Chansonnier du Roi” (Trouvère MS M)
fr. 1109	Collection of Old French literature including *jeux partis* (Trouvère MS Q), 14th c. after 1310.
fr. 1588 (anc.7609)	“Roman du Hem,” late 13th c.
fr. 2021	“Vie de St. Denis,” late 13th c.

fr. 12615	"Chansonnier de Noailles" (Trouvère MS T), including *chansons et dits* of Arras, late 13th c.
fr. 12786	Collection of Old French literature containing trouvère song
fr. 24406	Collection of Old French literature including *jeux partis* (Trouvère MS V)
fr. 25532	"Court de Paradis," 13th c.

Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal

3142	Collection of Old French poems and trouvère song, ca.1275-1300
5198	"Chansonnier de l'Arsenal" (Trouvère MS K), 1270's.

Pavia: Biblioteca Universitaria

MS Aldini 219	"La complainte du comte de flandres," early 14th c.

Primary Materials

SOURCES IN PRINT

Adam de la Halle, *Adam de la Halle, Oeuvres Complètes: Poesie et musique*, ed. E. de Coussemaker, (Geneva: Slatkine, 1982), 174-81.
— *Oeuvres Complètes,* Pierre-Yves Badel, ed., (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1995)

Alighieri, Dante, *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata*, Georgio Petrocchi, ed., 4 vols. (Florence: Le Lettere, 1994 [1966])
— *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, Steven Botterill, ed. and trans., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)
— *Paradiso*, trans. by Robert and Jean Hollander, (New York: Anchor Books, 2007)

Anonymi Chronicon Siculum, in *Bibliotheca Scriptorum qui Res in Sicilia Gestas sub Aragonum Imperio Retulere,* ed. Rosarius Gregorio, 2 vols. (Palermo: 1791-2) vol. 2: 107-272.

Atchison, Mary, *The Chansonnier of Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 308: essays and complete edition of texts*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005)

Bartolomeo da Neocastro, *Historia Sicula,* ed. Giuseppe Paladino, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores (RIS),* new series, L. A. Muratori, gen. ed., vol. 13:3 (Bologna: Nicola Zanicheli, 1921)

Bernard of Clairvaux, *Life and Works of Saint Bernard,* Dom. John Mabillon, ed. and trans., 4 vols. (London: John Hodges, 1889)

Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music,* Calvin Bower, trans., Claude Palisca, ed., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989)
— *Traité de la Musique*, Christian Meyer, ed. and trans., (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004)

Bretel, Jacques, *Le tournoi de Chauvency*, Maurice Delbouille, ed. (Paris: Droz, 1932)

Chrétien de Troyes, *Yvain, Le Chevalier au Lion*, ed. Wendelin Foerster, Romanische Bibliothek, 5 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1912)

Delisle, Léopold, ed., *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols. (Paris: 1904)

Delmaire, Bernard, ed., *Le Compte Général du Receveur d'Artois pour 1303,* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1977)

Desclot, Bernat, *Crònica*, in *Les quatre grans Cròniques*, Ferran Soldevila, ed., 3 vols. (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2008) vol. 2.

Doss-Quinby, John Tasker Grimbert, Wendy Pfeffer and Elizabeth Aubrey, *Songs of the Women Trouvères,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001)

Dinaux, Arthur, *Trouvères, jongleurs, et ménéstrels du nord de la France et du midi de la Belgique*, 4 vols. (Paris: Techener, 1837-1863)
— *Les trouvères: brabançons, hainuyers, liégois et* namurois, (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969)

Dit des Taboureurs, ed. W. Noomen, *Le jongleur par lui-même*, (Louvain: Peeters, 2003), p. 142-151.

Durrieu, Paul, *Les Angevines de Naples, Etude sur les Registres du Roi Charles Ier*, 2 vols. (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1886)

Giles le Muisit, *Chronique et annals,* ed. H. Lemaître, Société de l'histoire de France (Paris: 1905)

Girard d'Amiens, *Der Roman von Escanor von Gerard von Amiens*, ed. H. Michelant, (Tübingen: Litterarischer verein in Stuttgart: 1886)

Guesnon, A., ed., *Inventaire Chronologique Des Chartes De La Ville D'Arras*, (Arras: 1863)

L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, Paul Meyer, ed., 2 vols., (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1891)
— *History of William Marshal,* A.J. Holden, ed., D. S. Gregory, trans., D. Crouch, notes, 2 vols, (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2002)

Huon de Méry, *Le Tournoi de l'Antéchrist (Li Tornoiemenz Antecrit),* ed., Georg Wimmer, 2nd edn., Medievalia, 13 (Orléans: Paradigme, 1994)

Huon d'Oisy, *Le tournoiement des dames*, ed. A. Jeanroy, "Note sur le tournoiement des dames," *Romania*, 28 (1899), 240-44.

Les Grandes Chroniques de France, Jules Marie Edouard Viard, ed., 10 vols. (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1920)

Isidore of Seville, Etymologies, ed. and trans.., Stephen Barney, W.J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, Oliver Berghof, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Jean de Beuil, *Le Jouvencel Par Jean de Bueil, Suivi Du Commentaire de Guillaume Tringant*. 2 Vols. (Paris: Renouard, H. Laurens, 1887)

Jean de Marmoutier, *Historia Gaufredi ducis Normannorum et Comitis Andegavorum*, in *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, René Poupardin and Louis Halphen, eds., (Paris: Picard, 1913)

Jeanroy, Alfred, "*Jeux Partis* Inédits du XIIIe Siècle," *Revue des langues romanes*, 10 (1897): 350-367.

Jensen, Frede, ed. and trans., *The Poetry of the Sicilian School,* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1986**)**

Johannes de Grocheio, *Ars Musice,* Constant Mews, John Crossley, Catherine Jeffreys, Leigh McKinnon and Carol Williams, ed. and trans., (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2011)

Komnene, Anna, *Alexiad*, trans. Elizabeth Dawes, (London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1928)

Långfors, Arthur, Alfred Jeanroy and L. Brandin, eds., *Recueil Général des Jeux partis Français* vols.1-2 (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Edouard Champion, 1926)

Latini, Brunetto, *Li Livres Dou Tresor de Brunetto Latini: Edition Critique*, Francis Carmody, ed., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948)

Livy, *History of Rome.* B.O. Foster, trans., Loeb Classical Library, 114 (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1919)

Lodewijk Van Velthem, *Voortzetting van den Spiegel Historiael (1248–1316)*, 3 vols. (Brussels: F. Hayez; Maurice Lamertin; and Paleis der Academien, 1906–38)

de Loisne, Auguste Charles Henri Menche le Comte, "Itinéraire de Robert II, Comte d'Artois, 1267-1302)" *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques (BPH)*, (1913), 362-383

— "Une Cour Féodale vers la fin du xiii e siècle. 'L'hôtel' de Robert II, comte d'Artois" *BPH* (1918):84-143

Malaspina, Saba, *Die Chronik des Saba Malaspina*, eds. Walter Koller and August Nitschke, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH)*, 35 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1999)

Malispini, Ricordano, *Cronica Fiorentina*, in *Due Cronache del Vespro in Volgare Siciliano del Secolo XIII*, Enrico Sicardi, ed. *RIS,* fasc. 157-158 (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1917)

Molinier, Guillem, *Las flors del gay saber: estier dichas Las leys d'amors*, ed. M. Gatien-Arnoult (Geneva: Slatkine, 1977)

Morowski, Paul, *Proverbes français antérieurs au XV Siecle* (Paris: Champion, 1925)

Penet, Hadrien, ed., *Le Chartrier de S. Maria di Messina: Il tabulario di S. Maria di Messina (1250-1500),* (Messina: Società Messinese di storia patria, 1998)

Perceforest, the Prehistory of King Arthur's Britain, trans. Nigel Bryant (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011)

Plato, *Republic*, trans. Paul Shorey, in *Plato, The Collected Dialogues,* ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961)

Prou, Maurice, *Les Registres d'Honorius IV,* (Paris: E. Thorin, 1888)

Raoul de Cambrai: chanson de geste du XIIe siècle, William Kibler, trans., Sarah Kay, ed., (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1996)

Lu Rebellamentu di Sichilia, in *Due Cronache del Vespro in Volgare Siciliano del Secolo XIII*, Enrico Sicardi, ed. in Rerum Italicarum Scriptores: fasc. 157-158 (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1917)

— *Cronache Volgari del Vespro*, ed. Marcello Barbato, *RIS:* 3rd series, 10 (Rome: Istituto storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2012)

Jean Renart, *The Romance of the Rose or Guillaume de Dole*, trans. Patricia Terry and Nancy Vine Durling (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993)

Rosenberg Samuel, and Samuel Danon, ed. and trans., Hendrik van der Werf, music ed., *The Lyrics and melodies of Gace Brulé,* (New York: Garland, 1985)

Rosenberg, Samuel, Margaret Switten and Gérard le Vot, eds., *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: An Anthology of Poems and Melodies* (New York : Garland Publishing, 1998)

Rosenberg, Samuel, and Hans Tishler, eds., *Chanter M'Estuet, Songs of the Trouvères,* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980)

Le Roux de Lincy, *Le livre des proverbes françaises,* 2 vols. (Paris: Delahays, 1859)

Sarrasin, *Le Roman du Hem,* Albert Henry, ed., (Brussels: Éditions de la Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1939)

Scheler, A., *Dits et contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Condé,* 3 Vols. (Brussels: V. Deveaux, 1866-67)

Silvestri, R., ed*., De rebus regni Siciliae (9 settembre 1282 - 26 agosto 1283): Documenti inediti, estratti dall'Archivio della Corona di Aragona* (Palermo, 1882)

Sone de Nausay, Moritz Goldschmidt, ed. (Tübingen: Litteraarischer Verein in Stuttgart, 1899)

Specialis, Nicolai, *Historia Sicula*, in *Bibliotheca Scriptorum qui Res in Sicilia Gestas sub Aragonum Imperio Retulere,* Rosarius Gregorio, ed., 2 vols. (Palermo: 1791-2), vol. 1: 293-528.

Tinctoris, Johannes, *De Inventione et usu musice* in *Opera theoretica*, ed., Albertus Seay (Corpus Scriptorum de Musica, 22: Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1975-8)

Trifone, Romualdo, ed., *La Legislazione Angioina*, (Naples: Luigi Lubrano, 1921)

Villani, Giovanni, *Nuova Cronica,* in *Due Cronache del Vespro in Volgare Siciliano del Secolo XIII*, Enrico Sicardi, ed. *RIS,* fasc. 157-158 (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1917)

The Vidas of the Troubadours, trans. Margarita Egan, (New York: Garland, 1984)

Vidal, Raimon, *Poetry and Prose*, trans. and ed. W.H.W. Field, 2 vols., (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971)

Wallensköld, A., "Le Ms. Londres, Bibliothèque de Lambeth Palace, Misc. Rolls 1435" *Mémoires de la Société Néo-Philologique de Helsingfors* 6 (1917): 3-40

Watriquet de Couvin, *Dits de Watriquet de Couvin*, Auguste Scheler, ed., (Brussels: Victor Devaux, 1868)

Secondary Works

Abrahams, Roger, and Barbara Babcock "The Literary Use of Proverbs," *The Journal of American Folklore*, 90 (1977), 414-429.

Abulafia, *The Two Italies: economic relations between the Norman kingdom of Sicily and the northern communes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977)
— *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean, 1100-1400* (London: Variorum 1987)
— *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms, 1200-1500: The Struggle for Dominion* (Longman: London and New York, 1997)
— "Charles of Anjou reassessed," *Journal of Medieval History,* 26 (2000): 93-114.

Agnesi, Vladimiro, "Le Sante Dimenticate," in *Cronache Siciliane dal XII al XX secolo*, (Palermo: Renzo e Rean Mazzone, 1989), 77-88.

Amari, *La guerra del vespro siciliano*, 3 vols (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1886)

Arewa, Ojo, and Alan Dundes, "Proverbs and the Ethnography of Speaking Folklore," *American Anthropologist*, n.s, 66 (1964): 70-85.

Aubrey, "Literacy, Orality, and the Preservation of French and Occitan Medieval Courtly Songs," *Revista de Musicologia* 16 (1993): 2355-66.

Auerbach, Erich, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature,* trans. W. Trask, (Garden City: Doubleday, 1957 [1946])
— *Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993[1958])

Aurell, Martin, "Chanson et propagande politique: les troubadours gibelins (1255-1285)" in *Le forme della propaganda politica nel Due e nel Trecento. Relazioni tenute al convegno internazionale di Trieste, 2-5 marzo 1993*, (Rome : École Française de Rome, 1994), 183-202.
— Aurell, *Une famille de la noblesse provençale au Moyen Age, les Porcelet*, (Avignon: Aubanel, 1996), 116-119.

Backman, *The Decline and Fall of Medieval Sicily: Politics, religion and economy in the reign of Frederick III, 1296-1337* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Baldwin, John, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants; the social views of Peter the Chanter and his circle*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970)
— "Jean Renart et le tournoi de Saint-Trond: Une Conjonction de l'histoire et de la Littérature," *Annales,* 45 (1990), 565-88
— "The Image of the Jongleur in Northern France around 1200," *Speculum*, 72, (1997), 635-663.

— *Aristocratic Life in Medieval France: The Romances of Jean Renart and Gerbert de Montreuil, 1190-1230* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000)
— "Préface," *Lettres, musique et société en Lorraine médiévale,* Chazan and Regalado, eds. (Genève: Droz, 2012), 7-24.

Balogun, Oladele Abiodun, "A Jurisprudential Analysis of Yoruba Proverbs," *Cambrian Law Review*, 85 (2006): 85-94.

Barbero, *Il Mito Angioino Nella Cultura Italiana e Provenzale fra Duecenot e Trecento* (Torino: Deputazione subalpina di storia patria, 1983)

Barbieri, Luca, "*Deteriores non inanes*. Il canzoniere S della lirica in lingua d'oïl," *Convivio: Estudios sobre la poesía de cancionero*, Vicenç Beltrán and Juan Paredes, eds., (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2006), 145-74.

Barker, Juliet, *The Tournament in England 1100*-1400, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986

Barthélemy, Dominique, "The Chivalric Transformation and the Origins of Tournament as seen through Norman Chroniclers" trans. Graham Robert Edwards, *Haskins Society Journal* 20 (2008):141-160.

Baxandall, Michael, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972)

Bec, Pierre, "Trobairitz" et Chansons de Femme, contribution à la connaissance du lyrisme féminin au Moyen Âge" *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 87 (1979): 235–262
— *La Joute Poétique: De la tenson médiévale aux débats chantés traditionnels,* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2000)

Bedos-Rézak, Brigitte, "The Arthurian Legend in the Arts: The Knight and Lion Motif on some Medieval Seals," *Avalon to Camelot*, 3 (1987), 30-34
— "Signes et insignes du pouvoir royal et seigneurial au Moyen Age: le témoignage des sceaux," in *Form and Order in Medieval France. Studies in Social and Quantitative Sigillography,* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993 [1984]), 47-62

Bédier, Joseph, "Les plus anciennes danses françaises" *Revue des Deux Mondes,* (1906): 398-424.

Benton, John, "Nicholas de Clairvaux à la recherché du vin d'Auxerre d'après une letter inedité du XIIe siècle," *Annales de Bourgogne* 34 (1962): 252-5

Berger, Elie, "Adressée au Roi de France par un vétéran des armées de Saint Louis et de Charles d'Anjou," in *Études d'Histoire du Moyen Age dediées a Gabriel Monod,* (Paris: Leopold Cerf, 1896), 343-349.

Berger, Roger, *Le Nécrologe de la Confrérie des Jongleurs et des Bourgeois d'Arras, (1194-1361)*, 2 vols. (Arras: Mémoires de la Commission Départementale des Monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1970)

— *Littérature et Société Arrageoises au XIIIe siècle: Les chansons et dits artésiens,* (Arras: Mémoires de la Commission Départementale des Monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1981),

Bertoni, Giulio, *Storia letteraria d'Italia. Il Duecento* (Milan: Casa editrice dottor Francesco Vallardi, 1939)

— "Di un poeta francese in Italia alla corte di Carlo d'Angoi (Perrin d'angicourt)," *Studi Di Filologia Moderna*, (1912), 233-240

Bezzola, Reto, *Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident*, 5 vols. (Paris: E. Champion, 1958-63)

Blanchard, Jean-Christophe, "*Pour ce qu'il suet parler à moi d'armes et de chevalerie.* Hérauts et héraldique dans le *Tournoi de Chauvency,*" *Lettres, musique et société en Lorraine médiévale,* Chazan and Regalado, eds. (Genève: Droz, 2012), 273-298.

Bloch, R. Howard, *Medieval French Literature and Law* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977)

Bolens, Guillemette and Paul Beekman Taylor, "The Game of Chess in Chaucer's 'Book of the Duchess'", *The Chaucer Review*, xxxii (1998), 325-34

Boone, Marc, "Une société urbanisée sous tension: Le comté de Flandre vers 1302," in Raoul C. van Caenegem, ed., *1302: Le Desastre de Courtrai, Mythe et réalité de la bataille des Eperons d'or*, (Anvers: Fonds Mercator, 2002)

Boriès, "Origines de l'Université de Montpellier," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux,* 5 (1970), 92-107

Bosco, Umberto, ed., *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, 6 vols. (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996)

Bossy, M.-A., *Medieval Debate Poetry: Vernacular Works* (New York, 1987)

Bowsky, William, *Henry VII in Italy: The Conflict of Empire and City-State* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960)

Bradley, Catherine, "Understanding the medieval refrain" review of Jennifer Saltzstien, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, *Early Music,* Vol. 42, (2014), 292

Bresc, Henri, Bresc, "1282: classes sociales et révolution nationale," in *XI Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona: La Società mediterranea all'epoca del Vespro* vol. 2 (Palermo: Accademia di scienze, lettere e arti, 1983) 241-58

— *Un Monde Méditerranéen: économie et société en Sicile, 1300-1450,* 2 vols. (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1986)
— *Politique et société en Sicile XIIe-XVe siècles* (Ashgate: Variorum, 1990)

Bruzelius, Caroline, "ad modum Franciae: Charles of Anjou and Gothic Architecture in the Kingdom of Sicily," *Journal for the society of architectural historians,* 50 (1991)

Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000 [1967])

Burstyn, Shai, "In Quest of the Period Ear," *Early Music*, 25, (1997), 692-701

Butterfield, Ardis, "Repetition and Variation in the Thirteenth-Century Refrain," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. 116 (1991), 1-23
— *Poetry and Music in Medieval France from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
— "The Musical Contexts of *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* in Oxford, Bodleian MS Douce 308," *Lettres, musique et société en Lorraine médiévale,* Chazan and Regalado, eds. (Genève: Droz, 2012), 399-423

Busse, Anna Maria, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

Carruthers, Mary, *The Book of Memory: a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1854-1860 (London: Trustees of the Museum, 1875)

Cayley, Emma, *Debate and Dialogue: Alain Chartier in His Cultural Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006)

Chazan, Mireille, and Nancy Regalado, eds., *Lettres, musique et société en Lorraine médiévale : autour du Tournoi de Chauvency: Ms. Oxford Bodleian Douce 308*, (Genève: Librairie Drox, 2012)

Cerquiglini, Bernard, "Roland à Roncevaux, ou la trahison des clercs," *Litterature,* 42 (May 1981)

Clanchy, Michael, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307,* 2nd ed. (London: Blackwell, 1993)

Cohn, Samuel, *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe, Italy, France, and Flanders* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004)
— *Lust for Liberty, The Politics of Social Revolt in Medieval Europe, 1200-1425* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006)

Contamine, *La Guerre au Moyen Age*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1980)

Cooper, "London and Southwark Poetic Companies: "'Si tost c'amis" and the *Canterbury Tales*," in *Chaucer and the City*, Ardis Butterfield, ed., (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006)

Crespo, Roberto, 'Un "jeu-parti" inedito," *Studi medievali,* ser.3, 23 (1982): 957-969
— "Il raggruppamento dei 'Jeux Partis' nei canzonieri A, a, e, b," in M. Tyssens, ed., *Lyrique romane médiévale: la tradition des chansonniers*. *Acte du Colloque de Liège, 1989* (1991), 339-428.

Croce, Benedetto, *Storia del Regno di Napoli*, (Bari: Laterza, 1925)

Crouch, David, *William Marshal: court, career, and chivalry in the Angevin Empire, 1147-1219*, (London: Longman, 1990
— *Tournament*, (London: Hambledon and London, 2005)
— *Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France: 900-1300*. (New York: Pearson/Longman, 2005)

Curschmann, Michael, "Pictura laicorum litteratura? Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Bild und volkssprachlicher Schriftlichkeit im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter bis zum Codex Manesse," in *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter: Erscheinungsformen und Entwicklungsstufen*, ed. Hagen Keller et. al, (Munich: Wilhelm Vink, 1992), 211-29
— "Levels of Meaning and Degrees of Viewer Participation: Inscribed Imagery in Twelfth-Century Manuscripts," in Christian Heck, *Qu'est-ce que nommer? L'image légendée entre monde monastique et pensée scolastique* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 89-99.

Curtius, Ernst, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* trans. Willard Trask, (New York: Pantheon, 1953)

D'Angelo, Edoardo, *Storiografi e cronologoi latini del Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo* (Naples: Liguori Editore, 2003)

Davis, Charles, *Dante and the Idea of Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957)

Davis, Christopher, "'Chascus en lor lati': Guilhem IX, Birdsong, and the Language of Poetry," *Tenso*, 30 (2015), 2-24.

Deeming, Helen, and Elizabeth Eva Leach, eds., *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

Deladreue, M. l'Abbé, "Histoire de l'Abbaye de Lannoy" in Mémoires de la Société Académique d'Archólogie, Sciences et Arts, vol. 10:3 (1879), 569-696.

Delbouille, Maurice, “A propos des jeux-partis lorrains du chansonnier Douce 308,” *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’histoire*, 12 (1933), 132-40.

Delobette, Laurence, “La Noblesse Comtoise au Tournoi de Chauvency” in *Lettres, musique et société en Lorraine médiévale,* Chazan and Regalado, eds. (Genève: Droz, 2012), 246-272.

Denholm-Young, N., “The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century,” in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin, R.W. Southern, eds. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), 240-268.

Dijkstra, C. Th., *La Chanson de Croisade, Etude thématique d’un genre hybride,* (Amsterdam: Schiphouwer en Brinkman, 1995)

Dillon, Emma, *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260-1330* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Dillange, Michel, *Guillaume IX d’Aquitaine: le duc troubadour* (La Crèche: Geste, 2002)

Donaldson, *The Rapes of Lucretia: A Myth and its Transformations,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982)

Douët-d’Arcq, Louis, *Collection de Sceaux*, 3 vols. (Paris: H. Plon, 1863)

Duby, Georges, *Les trois ordres ou l’imaginaire du féodalisme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1979)
— *The Chivalrous Society* trans. Cynthia Postan (London: Edward Arnold, 1977)
— *William Marshal, Flower of Chivalry*, trans. Richard Howard, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985)

Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thriteenth-Century Europe* (London: Longman, 1998)
— *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1266-1305* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Dundes, “On the Structure of the Proverb” in W. Mieder and A. Dundes, eds., *The Wisdom of Many: Essays on the Proverb,* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981)

Dunphy, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle,* 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2010)

Holger Petersen Dyggve, *Onomastique des trouveres* (Helsinki: Annales academiae Scientarum Fennicae, 1934)

Egidi, Giacomo, *La Communitas Siciliae del 1282* (Messina: Tipografia d'Angelo, 1915)

Epstein, Stephan, *An Island for itself: Economic development and social change in late medieval Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

Everist, Mark, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry, and Genre*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

— "The Polyphonic Rondeau c. 1300: Repertory and Context" in *Early Music History,* vol.15 (1996), 59-96

Faral, Edmond, *Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Champion, 1910)

Fasoli, Gina, *Cronache Medievali di Sicilia: note d'orientamento* (Catania: Universita di Catania, 1950)

Ferrau, Giacomo, *Nicolò Speciale, Storico del Regnum Siciliae* (Palermo: Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani Bollettino, 1974)

— "La storiografia del '300 e '400" in *Storia della Sicilia*, R. Romeo, ed., 4 vols (Naples: Società Editrice Storia di Napoli e della Sicilia, 1977-1981), vol.4: 4649-76

Fiebrink, Rebecca, and Anna Zayaruznaya, "Reimagining the facsimile: project report on *The Digital Fauvel,*" *Early Music*, (2014), 599-604

Finnegan, Ruth, "Proverbs in Africa," in Wolfgang Mieder and Alan Dundes (eds.), *The Wisdom of Many: Essays on the Proverb*, 10-42

Franchi, Antonino, *I Vespri Siciliani e le Relazioni Tra Roma e Bisanzio* (Assisi: Porziuncola, 1997)

Fuiano, Michele, *Studi di storiografia medioevale,* (Naples: Giannini, 1975)

Funck-Brentano, Frantz, *Mémoire sur la bataille de Courtrai, 1302, 11 Juillet et les chroniqueurs qui en ont traité pour servir à l'historiographie du règne de Philippe le Bel*, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1891)

— *Les origines de la guerre de cent ans, Philippe le Bel en Flandre,* (Paris: H. Champion, 1897)

Galasso, *Il Regno di Napoli. Il Mezzogiorno angioino e aragonese, 1266-1494*, in *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 15:1, (Turin: UTET, 1992)

Gally, Michèle, "Disputer d'Amour: Les Arrageois et le Jeu-Parti" *Romania* vol. 107 (1986): 55-76.

— *Parler d'amour au puy d'Arras: Lyrique en jeu* is the only monograph devoted exclusively to the *jeux partis*. (Orleans: Paradigme, 2004)

Galvez, Marisa, *Songbook: How Lyrics became Poetry in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012)

Gastout, Marguerite, "Béatrix de Brabant, landgravine de Thuringe, reine des Romains, comtesse de Flandre, dame de Courtrai (1225?-1288)," *Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie*. 3rd series: 13, (1943)

Gaunt, "Orality and writing: the text of the troubadour poem" in *The Troubadours: An Introduction,* ed. S. Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 228-45.

Geanakoplos, Deno John, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258-1282, a study in Byzantine-latin relations,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959)

Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," *Daedalus*, 101 (1972), 1-37

Gennrich, Friedrich, "Bibliographisches Verzeichnis der französischen Refrains des 12 und 13 Jahrhunderts*,"* in *Summa musicae medii aevi* 14 (1964)

Frédéric Godefroy, "Parteure," *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* 10 vols., (Paris, 1889)

Goitein, Shelomo, "Sicily and Southern Italy in the Cairo Geniza Documents," *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale* 67 (1971), 9-33.

Goodrich, Peter, *Law in the Courts of Love: Literature and other Minor Jurisprudences* (London: Routledge, 1996)

Grancsay, Stephen V., "A Pair of Spurs Bearing the Bourbon Motto" in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 36:8 (August, 1941), 170-72.

Green, Richard Firth, "*Le Roi Qui Ne Ment* and Aristocratic Courtship," in *Courtly Literature: Culture and Context: Selected Papers,* vol. 25, ed. Keith Busby and Erik Kooper, (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 1990), 211-225.

Guy, *Essai sur la Vie et les oeuvres Littéraires de Trouvère Adan de le Hale* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1969 [Paris:1898])

Guesnon, A., "Nouvelles recherches biographiques sur les trouvères artésiens," *Moyen Age*, 15 (1902), 137-73.

Haines, John, "The Transformations of the 'Manuscrit Du Roi'." *Musica Disciplina* 52 (1998), 5–43.

— "The Songbook for William of Villehardouin, Prince of the Morea (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 844): A Crucial Case in the

History of Vernacular Song Collections," in *Viewing the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*, ed. Sharon Gerstel, (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2013), 57-110.

— *Eight Centuries of Troubadour and Trouvères: the Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

— *Satire in the Songs of Renart le Nouvel,* (Geneva: Droz, 2010)

Haldon, John, and Hugh Kennedy, "Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organization of Society in the Borderlands" in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, Hugh Kennedy, ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)

Harvey, Ruth, *Moriz von Craûn and the Chivalric World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961)

Hélary, *L'armée du roi de France: La guerre de Saint Louis à Philippe le Bel* (Paris: Perrin, 2012);

— *Courtrai 11 Juillet 1302,* (Paris: Tallander, 2012);

— "Qu'est-ce qu'un chef de guerre de la fin du XIIIe siècle? L'exemple de Robert II, Comte d'Artois (1248-1302)," *Rivista di Studi Militari*, (2012): 69-81.

— "French nobility and the military requirements of the king (ca. 1260 – ca. 1314)" in *The Capetian Century: 1213-1314.* William Chester Jordan and Jenna Phillips, eds., (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming)

Henry, Albert, *L'Oeuvre lyrique d'Henri III, duc de Brabant*, (Bruges: De Tempel, 1948)

Horden, Peregrine, ed., *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity,* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000)

Horwood, Alfred *Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1877)

Huchet, J.-C., "Les femmes troubadours ou la voix critique," *Littérature* 51 (1983): 59–90.

Hudson, Anne, *Lollards and their Books* (London: Hambleton Press, 1985)

Huizinga, Johan, *Homo Ludens*: *a Study of the Play-element in Culture* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1949)

Huot, Sylvie, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987)

Ibos-Augé, Anne, *Chanter et lire dans le récit médiéval*, *La function des insertions lyriques dans les oeuvres narratives et didactiques d'oïl aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles,* 2 vols. (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010)

Jaeger, Stephen, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939-1210*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985)

Janet, Pierre, *L'automatisme psychologique: essai de psychologie expérimentale sur les formes inférieures de l'activité humaine*, 5th edition (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1907)

Jones, Peter Murray, *"Music Therapy in the Later Middle Ages: The Case of Hugo van der Goes," Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity,* Peregrine Horden, ed., (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 120-46.

Jordan, William Chester, "The representation of the crusades in the songs attributed to Thibaut, Count Palatine of Champagne," *Journal of Medieval History,* 25 (1999), 27-35.

— *Uncesasing Strife, Unending Fear: Jacques de Thérines and the Freedom of the Church in the Age of the Last Capetians* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005)

— "Count Robert's 'Pet' Wolf," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 155 (2011), 404-417.

— Jordan, *Men at the Center: redemptive governance under Louis IX,* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012),

Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994)

Kadens, Emily, *The Vernacular in a Latin world: Changing the language of record in thirteenth-century Flanders* (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Princeton, 2001)

Kantorowicz, "The Poetical Sermon of a Mediaeval Jurist: Placentinus and his 'Sermo de Legibus,'" *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 2 (1938), 22-41.

Kardiner, Abraham, *The Traumatic Neuroses of War,* (New York: Hoebner, 1941)

Kay, Sarah, *The Chansons de geste in the Age of Romance: Political Fictions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995)

Keegan, John, *Soldiers: a History of Men in Battle* (London: H. Hamilton, 1985)

Keen, Maurice, *Chivalry*, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1984)

Kelly, *Capturing Music: the Story of Notation* (New York: Norton, 2015)

Kendrick, "1123? A Richly Illustrated Latin Psalter Prefaced by a Vernacular Chanson de saint Alexis is Produced at the English Monastery of St. Albans for Christina of Markyate," in Dennis Hollier and R. Howard Bloch, *A New History of French Literature*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 23-30.

Keisewetter, J. Andreas, "La Cancelleria Angioina" in *L'Etat Angevin: Pouvoir, Culture et Société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle*. (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1998), 361-415

Ker, Niel R., *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969)

Köhler, Erich, *L'Aventure chevaleresque: Idéal et réalité dans le roman courtois,* Éliane Kaufholz, trans. (Paris: Gallimard, 1974)

Koziol, Geoffrey, "Monks, Feuds, and the Making of Peace in Eleventh-Century Flanders," *Historical Reflections/ Réflexions Historiques*, 14 (1987), 531-549.

Långfors, Arthur "Notice du manuscrit français 12483 de la Bibliothèque nationale," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, 39 (1916), 503-665.

Le Goff, Jacques, *Pour un autre Moyen Age: temps, travail et culture en Occident* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977)

— *Saint Louis,* Gareth Evan Gollrad, trans., (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009)

Leach, Elizabeth Eva, "A Courtly Compilation: The Douce Chansonnier," *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context,* Leach and Deeming, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 221-46.

Leech-Wilkinson, Daniel, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2002)

Lejeune, Rita, "Formules féodales et style amoureux chez Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine', dans *Atti del VIII congresso internazionale di studi romanzi* (Florence: 1959), 227-48.

Lestocquoy, J., *Patriciens du Moyen Age, Les dynasties bourgeoises d'Arras du XI au XVe siècle*, (Arras: Mémoires de la Commission des Monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1945)

— "Deux familles de financiers d'Arras, Louchard et Wagon," *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 32 (1954), 51-76.

Maillard, *Charles d'Anjou: Roi Trouvère du XIIIème Siècle* (American Institute of Musicology: Musicological Studies and Documents, 18, 1956)

Mallette, Karla, *The Kingdom of Sicily, 1100-1250: A Literary History* (Philadelphia: 2005)

Marot, Pierre, "Identifications de quelques partenaires et juges des « unica » des jeux partis du Chansonnier d'Oxford" *Bibliothèque de l'ecole des Chartes,* (1927), 266-274.

Mazzotta, *Dante, Poet of the Desert*: *History and Allegory in the Divine Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979)

Menocal, "The Etymology of Old Provençal *trobar, trobador*: A Return to the 'Third Solution,'" *Romance Philology*, vol.36 (1984), 137-53.

Merkel, Carlo, "L'opinione dei contemporanei sull'impresa italiana di Carlo I d'Angio," *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, series 4 (Rome: *Classe di scienze morali storiche e filologiche,* 1888)

McFarlane, Alexander, "Resilience, Vulnerability, and the Course of Posttraumatic Reactions" in *Traumatic Stress: The Effects of Overwhelming Experience on Mind, Body, and Society*, van der Kolk, McFarlane and Weisath, eds. (New York: Guilford Press, 1996), 155-181.

Mehl, Jean *Les Jeux de Société Princiers*, in *Lettres, musique et société en Lorraine médiévale,* Chazan and Regalado, eds. (Genève: Droz, 2012), 345-355.

Menegaldo, Silvère, "Les hérauts, les ménestrels et Jacques Bretel," in *Lettres, musique et société en Lorraine médiévale,* Chazan and Regalado, eds. (Genève: Droz, 2012), 299-318.

Minieri-Riccio, Camillo, *Il regno di Carlo I d'Angiò dal 2 gennaio 1273 al 31 dicembre 1283* (Florence: 1875)

Morrow, M., "Musical performance and authenticity," *Early Music,* 6 (1978), 233-46.

Mullaly, Robert, "Balerie and Ballade," *Romania* 104 (1983), 533-38.

Murray, H.J.R., *A History of Chess* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913)

Nicholas, David, *Medieval Flanders* (London: Longman Group, 1992)

Novikoff, Alex J., *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice and Performance,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013)

Oksanen, Elias, *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World, 1066-1216*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 117.

O'Neill, Mary, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Ourliac, Paul “La poésie emprunte d’emblée la langue du droit et elle y gagne assez en précision pour aider à comprendre la structure et l’esprit de la féodalité méridionale.” “Troubadours et Juristes,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, no. 30 (1965): 159-77.

Page, Christopher, “The Performance of Songs in Late Medieval France: A New Source,” *Early Music*, 10 (1982), 441-450.

— “Music and Chivalric Fiction in France, 1150-1300” *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association,* 111 (1984-85), 1-27.

— *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and songs in France 1100-1300*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986)

— *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100-1300*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989)

— “Court and City in France, 1100-1300” in *Antiquity and the Middle Ages: From Ancient Greece to the 15th century,* James McKinnon, ed., (London: Macmillan, 1990), 197-217

— *Discarding Images: reflections on music and culture in medieval France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993)

— “Music and Medicine in the Thirteenth Century,” in *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity,* Horden, ed., (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 109-118

— *The Christian West and its Singers: The First Thousand Years,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010)

Parisse, Michel, “Le tournoi en France, des origins à la fin du xiiie siècle,” in *Das Ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter: Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formenund Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums,* ed. Josef Fleckenstein, (Göttingen: Veröffentlichungen des Max-Plank-Instituts für Geschichte, *80*, 1985): 175-211

Paterson, Linda, *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society 1100-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

Pedroni, M., and A. Stauble, eds., *Il Genere ‘Tenzone’ nelle Letterature Romanze delle Origini*. *Atti del convegno di Losanna, 13-15 Novembre, 1997*, (Ravenna, 1999)

Peraino, *Giving voice to love: song and self-expression from the troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011)

Percy, William A., *The Revenues of Charles I of Anjou 1266-1285 and Their relationship to the Vespers* (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Princeton, 1964)

— "The earliest revolution against the modern state: Direct taxation in Medieval Sicily and the vespers," *Italian Quarterly,* 22, (1981): 69-84.

— "The Indirect Taxes of the Medieval Kingdom of Sicily," *Italian Quarterly,* 22 (1981): 73-85.

Pfeffer, Wendy, “The Riddle of the Proverb,” in Glyn Burgess and Robert Taylor, eds., *The Spirit of the Court: Selected Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the*

International Courtly Literature Society (Cambridge: Brewer, 1985), 254-263.

Pio, Bernardo, "Saba Malaspina" in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani,* 67 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2006), 803-06.

Pirenne, Henri, "La Version Flamande et la Version Française de la Bataille de Courtrai," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire,* 4th ser., 17 (1890): 11-50.

Pitré, Giuseppe, *Canti Popolari Siciliani* (Palermo: L. Pedone-Lauriel, 1871)
— *Il vespro siciliano nelle tradizioni popolari della Sicilia*, (Palermo: Lauriel, 1882)

Platelle, Henri, "La violence et ses remèdes en Flandre au XIe siècle," *Sacris erudiri,* 23 (1971), 101-173.

Pollastri, Sylvie, *Le lignage et le fief: l'affirmation du milieu comtal et la construction des Etats Féodaux sous les Angevins de Naples, 1265-1435* (Paris: Publibook, 2011)

Pontieri, Ernesto, *Ricerche Sulla Crisi della Monarchia Siciliana nel Secolo XIII* (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1958 [1942]),

Poulle-Drieux, Y., "La pratique de l'hippiatrie à a fin du Moyen Âge," dans *Comprendre et maîtriser la nature au Moyen Âge, Mélanges d'histoire des sciences offert à G. Geaujouan,* (Geneva: Droz, 1994)

Prestwich, Michael, *Edward I*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988)

Prevenier, Walter, "The Low Countries, 1290-1415" in Michael Jones, ed., *New Cambridge Medieval History* vol.6, (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2000)

Remy, Paul, "De l'expression 'partir un jeu' dans les textes épiques aux origines du jeu parti," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, no.68 (1974), 327-333.

Regalado, Nancy Freeman, "Picturing the Story of Chivalry in Jacques Bretel's Tournoi de Chauvency (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308)," *Tributes to Jonathan Alexander*, S. L. Engle and G. B. Guest, eds. (London: Harvery Miller, 2006), 341-52
— "A Contract for an Early Festival Book: Sarrasin's *Le Roman du Hem* (1278)" in *Acts and Texts: Performance and Ritual in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Evelyn Birge Vitz, Regalado, Marilyn Lawrence, eds., Ludus 8, (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2007), 250-267.

Raynaud, Gaston, *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIIIe et XIVe siècles,* (Paris, 1884)

Righetti, *Manuale di Storia Liturgica,* 2 vols. (Milan: Editrice Ancora, 1969)

Rosenberg, Samuel, “Le *Tournoi de Chauvency* et le Chansonnier du Ms. Douce 308 reliés par le chant,” in *Lettres, musique et société en Lorraine médiévale,* Chazan and Regalado, eds. (Genève: Droz, 2012), 423-434.

Rouse, Mary and Richard, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991)

Runciman, Stephen, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1958)

Saenger, Paul, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997)

Saltzstein, Jennifer, “Cleric-Trouvères and the *Jeux-partis* of Medieval Arras,” *Viator,* 43 (2012), 147-64.

— *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry,* Gallica, 30 (D.S. Brewer, 2013)

Schneider, *Gotische Schriften in deutscher Sprache,* 2 vols., (Weisbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1987)

Schulze-Busacker, Elizabeth, *Proverbes et expressions proverbiales dans la littérature narrative du Moyen Age français*, (Geneva: Slatkine, 1985)

Serchuk, “Paris and the Rhetoric of Town Praise in the ‘Vie de St. Denis’ Manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. fr. 2090-2),” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999): 35-47.

Short, Ian, “Patrons and Polyglots: French Literature in Twelfth-Century England,” *Anglo-Norman Studies* 14 (1992)

Shiloah, Amnon, “Jewish and Muslim Traditions of Music Therapy,” *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity,* Peregrine Horden, ed., (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) 69-83

Southern, Richard, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953)

Spanke, Hans, ed., *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes* (Leiden, 1955, rev., enlarged 1980 by A. Bahat)

Spetia, Lucilla, “Le recueil MR 92 de Zagreb et son histoire,” *Cultura Neolatina,* 53 (1993), 151-95.

Spiegel, Gabrielle, “‘Defense of the realm’: evolution of a Capetian propaganda slogan,” *Journal of Medieval History,* 3 (1977): 115-133

— *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: a survey*, (Brookline: Classical Folio Editions, 1978)
— *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993)

Stewart, Michelle, "The Melodic Structure of the Thirteenth-Century "Jeux-Partis"," *Acta Musicologica* 51 (1979), 86-107

Stock, Brian, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983)

Strayer, Joseph, "The Political Crusades of the Thirteenth Century," *A History of the Crusades,* vol. 2 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962), 343-75.
— *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980)

Strickland, Matthew, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066-1217* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 98-153.

Suchier, H., "Der Minnesänger Chardon," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, xxxi (1907), 129-56.

Sutton, Anne, "Some Aspects of the Linen Trade *c.* 1130s to 1500, and the Part Played by the Mercers of London" *Textile History* 30 (1991): 155-175.
— "Merchants, Music and Social Harmony: the London Puy and its French and London Contexts, circa 1300," *London Journal* 17 (1992): 1-17

Symes, Carol, *A Common Stage, Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007)
— "The Confraternity of Jongleurs and the Cult of the Virgin: Vernacular Devotion and Documentation in Medieval Arras," in Dorothea Kullman (ed.), *The Church and Vernacular Literature in Medieval France,* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2009), 176-97.

Taruskin, Richard, "The Authenticity Movement Can Become a Positivistic Purgatory, Literalistic and Dehumanizing," *Early Music,* 12 (1984), 3-12.
— *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995)
— *Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Taylor, Andrew, "The Myth of the Minstrel Manuscript," *Speculum* 66 (1991): 43-73

Taylor, Barry, "Medieval Proverb Collections: The West European Tradition" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 55 (1992), 19-35.

Treitler, “Oral, Written and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music,” *Speculum* 56 (1981): 471-91

Vale, Juliet, *Edward III and Chivalry, Chivalric Society and its Context 1270-1350* (Boydell Press, 1982)
— “Violence and the Tournament,” in *Violence in Medieval Society,* R.W. Kaeuper, ed. (Woodbridge, 2000), 143-58.

Vale, Malcolm, *Origins of the Hundred Years War,* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996)
— *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270-1380* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

van Bellen, E.C., “Comtes Rendus de Henry, Albert, ‘L’Oeuvre lyrique d’Henri III, duc de Brabant’,” *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire,* 28, (1950): 561-53

van Buren, Anne Hagopian, “Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin,” in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. Elisabeth MacDougall, (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1986), 115–34.

van Caenegem, Raoul C., ed., *1302: Le Desastre de Courtrai, Mythe et réalité de la bataille des Eperons d’or*, (Anvers: Fonds Mercator, 2002)

van den Boogaard, Nico, *Rondeaux et Refrains du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe.* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969)

van der Kolk, M.D., Bessel, “The Psychological Consequences of Overwhelming Life Experiences,” in *Psychological Trauma*, van der Kolk, ed., (Washington: American Psychiatric Press, 1987)
— “The Role of the Group in Trauma Response” in *Psychological Trauma*, 153-171
— “The Body Keeps the Score: Memory and the Evolving Psychobiology of Post Traumatic Stress,” *Harvard Review of Psychiatry* (1994): 253-65

Van Houts, Elizabeth, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900-1200* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1999)
— ed., *Medieval Memories: Men, Women, and the Past, 700-1300*, (New York: Longman, 2001)

Van Orden, Kate, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005)

Van Vleck, Amelia, *Memory and Re-Creation in Troubadour Lyric,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990)

Verbruggen, J.F., *The Battle of the Golden Spurs (Courtrai, 11 July 1302)* Kelly DeVries, ed., David Richard Ferguson, trans., (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002)

Wei, Ian P. “Gender and Sexuality in Medieval Academic Discourse: Marriage Problems in Parisian Quodlibets,” *Mediaevalia* 31 (2010), 5-34.

Wegman, Rob, “Sense and Sensibility in Late-Medieval Music,” *Early Music,* 23, (1995), 298-312

West, “Music Therapy in Antiquity,” *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity,* Peregrine Horden, ed., (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) 51-68

Wieruszowski, *Politics and Culture in Medieval Spain and Italy* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1971)

Wright, Craig, *Music at the Court of Burgundy, 1364-1419: a documentary history,* (Henryville: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979)

Yates, Frances, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1947)
— *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966)

Yoshikowa, Naoë Kukita, “Heavenly Vision and Psychosomatic Healing: Medical Discourse in Mechtild of Hackeborn’s *The Booke of Gostlye Grace,*” in *Medicine, Religion and Gender in Medieval Culture,* Yoshikowa, ed., (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015), 67-84.

Zayaruznaya, *The Monstrous New Art: Divided Forms in the Late Medieval Motet*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

Zinc, Michel, “‘On connaît la Chanson’ Des échos familiers: chansons insérées et accent alsacien dans *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*,” *Lettres, musique et société en Lorraine médiévale,* Chazan and Regalado, eds. (Genève: Droz, 2012), 37-45.

Zumthor, Paul, *Essai de Poétique Médiévale*, (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1972)