ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: WOMEN'S VOICES IN A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY CHANSONNIER: REPRESENTATION AND PERFORMANCE IN OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS DOUCE 308

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The chansonnier, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308, contains over 500 Old French lyrics, many *unica*, and numerous *chansons de femme*. Scholars of medieval lyric have associated the female voice with repetition and simplicity, but I demonstrate that representations of women in the Douce 308 lyrics instead bend formal conventions and subvert genres. Using case studies from the chansonnier's *pastourelles*, *ballettes*, *motets*, *rondeaux*, *jeux-partis*, and *grands chants*, I examine the representations of women as shepherdesses, nuns, beguines, *malmariées*, maidens, and debate participants, and demonstrate how their voices resist genre norms while reinforcing courtly behaviors and female stereotypes.

In the *pastourelles*, shepherdesses' refrains express resistance within male-framed narratives; when refrains are absent, the shepherdess is subject to violence. The contrast of registers and social relationships in the *pastourelles* is mirrored by the poem preceding them, Jacques Bretel's *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, where women act as arbiters of chivalry during the day, and at night act in scenes that juxtapose courtly and popular culture through characters and intertextual references. *Chansons de malmariée* and

chansons de nonne show religious women desiring love in higher and lower registers and borrowing refrains from the *fabliau*, *grand chant*, *pastourelle*, *chanson d'ami*, romance narrative, and Biblical texts. Unmarried women's voices in the *ballettes* resist stereotypes of the female voice by manipulating narrative expectations and citing ambiguous refrains. In *jeux-partis*, women rewrite discourses of chivalry by expressing desire.

My case studies, here within the courtly contexts of Bretel's *Tournoi*, contribute to our understanding of the woman's voice in Old French lyric and demonstrate that female-voiced lyrics participated in the late-thirteenth-century shift from courtly to popular genres in French song through the manipulation of refrains and juxtapositions of register, genre, and gender by their poets. I show how the texts of Douce 308 also contribute feminine fantasies of pleasure and power in love within a lyric tradition that privileged male pleasure and perspectives.

WOMEN'S VOICES IN A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY CHANSONNIER: REPRESENTATION AND PERFORMANCE IN OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS DOUCE 308

by

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LIST OF MANUSCRIPT SIGLA AND ABBREVIATIONS

Trouvère Manuscripts

C	Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 389
I	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308
K	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 5198
M	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, français 844 ("du Roi," also Troubadour *W*)
N	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, français 845
O	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, français 846 ("Cangé")
P	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, français 847
S	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, français 12581
T	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, français 12615 ("Noailles")
U	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, français 20050 ("Saint-Germain-des-Prés," also Troubadour *X*)
X	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1050 ("Clairambault")
a	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginense latino 1490
b	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginense latino 1522

Troubadour Manuscripts

G	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana S.P. 4 (Olim R 71 superiore)
R	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, français 22543
W	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, français 844 (also Trouvère *M*)

Motet Manuscripts

Ba	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115 (Olim Ed. IV. 6)
Bes	Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 716
Mo	Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H 196
Tu	Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Vari 42

Additional Manuscripts cited with RISM sigla (see Works Cited, p. 349)

Secondary Literature (full citations in Works Cited)

Mot	Friedrich Gennrich. *Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten*
PC	Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens. *Bibliographie der Troubadours*
RS	Hans Spanke, ed. *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes*.
vdB	Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, ed. *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe siècle au debut du XIVe*

INTRODUCTION

Medieval women's lives and roles in society have received considerable scholarly attention since the 1970s, and many compensatory studies have emphasized the importance of women's contributions to medieval culture.[1] These general studies of medieval women have been complemented by more specific studies of certain female saints, composers, writers, performers, and political figures.[2] More recently, scholarship examining the medieval concepts of gender and sexuality has emerged, with women in religious orders proving to be particularly fruitful subjects for such analyses.[3] Other

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[1] These are the most general and widely-read contributions: Georges Duby, *Women of the Twelfth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Jennifer C. Ward, *Women in Medieval Europe, 1200–1500* (London: Longman, 2002); Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, Oxford Handbooks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). There have been numerous attempts to create a canon of medieval women writers and composers; the most prominent are Carolyn Dinshaw and David Wallace, *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Women's Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Katharina M. Wilson, *Medieval Women Writers* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984); Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, Laurie Shepard, and Sarah White, *Songs of the Women Troubadours* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000); Eglal Doss-Quinby, Joan Tasker Grimbert, Wendy Pfeffer, and Elizabeth Aubrey (eds.), *Songs of the Women Trouvères* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

[2] Notable monographs include: Kathleen Nolan, *Capetian Women*, The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Helen Birkett, *The Saints' Lives of Jocelin of Furness: Hagiography, Patronage and Ecclesiastical Politics* (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2010); Lindy Grant, *Blanche of Castile, Queen of France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); André Vauchez, *Catherine of Siena: A Life of Passion and Purpose* (New York: Paulist Press, 2018); Honey Meconi, *Hildegard of Bingen*, Women Composers (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018); Susannah Crowder, *Performing Women: Gender, Self, and Representation in Late Medieval Metz* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018); Jitske Jasperse, *Medieval Women, Material Culture, and Power: Matilda Plantagenet and Her Sisters*. Gender and Power in the Premodern World (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2020).

[3] For some of the most influential works, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: the Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990); Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); Constance H. Berman, *The White Nuns: Cistercian Abbeys for Women in Medieval France*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

scholars have questioned assumptions about medieval gender and sexuality in queer studies and in the field of psychoanalysis.[4]

Since the 1980s, musicologists have shown an increasing interest in women's participation in pre-modern music traditions. Scholarship has focused on music in convents, women as patrons and performers, and on the few female composers whose names have come down to us, particularly Hildegard of Bingen, the twelfth-century abbess, composer, writer, and mystic; and the named *trobairitz*, the female composers of the troubadour tradition.[5] Recent musicological studies have recovered even more female trouvères, adding more names to a new canon of music by women.[6]

Gender in Old French song has not received significant musicological attention, however, being addressed primarily in brief studies mainly by philologists emphasizing female lyric subjects.[7] For example, Eglal Doss-Quinby demonstrates how paradigms of

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[4] Karma Lochrie, *Heterosyncrasies: Female Sexuality When Normal Wasn't* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Kathleen Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998); Glenn Burger and Steven F. Kruger (eds.), *Queering the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); Carolyn Dinshaw, *Getting Medieval* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).

[5] For example, see Craig A. Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Anne Bagnall Yardley, *Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Maria V. Coldwell, "Jougleresses and Trobairitz: Secular Musicians in Medieval France," in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 39–61; Bruce W. Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

[6] Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*; Anne L. Klinck, "Poetic Markers of Gender in Medieval 'Woman's Song': Was Anonymous a Woman?," *Neophilologus* 87.3 (2003): 339–59; Joan Tasker Grimbert, "Songs by Women and Women's Song: How Useful is the Concept of Register?," and Wendy Pfeffer, "Complaints of Women, Complaints by Women: Can One Tell Them Apart?" in *The Court Reconvenes: Courtly Literature Across the Disciplines*, ed. Barbara K. Altman and Carleton W. Carroll (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2003), 117–24 and 125–32; Grimbert, "Diminishing the Trobairitz, Excluding the Women Trouvères," TENSO: Bulletin of the Societe Guilhem IX 14.1 (1999): 23–38.

[7] See Simon Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature*, Cambridge Studies in French, 53 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Anne Klinck, "Poetic Markers of Gender" (2003); Beverly J. Evans, "Women Trouvères: Just the Same Old Refrains?" *Neophilologus* 90.1 (2006): 1–11; Helen Dell, *Desire by Gender and Genre in Trouvère Song* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 2008).

social interactions in Old French *jeux-partis* (debate songs) differ markedly from the inherited patterns typically displayed in songs of the trouvères (Old French poet-composers); she emphasizes that feminine voices confidently assert their rights when they discuss romantic relationships.[8] Wendy Pfeffer explores the notion that female trouvères expressed pain through their lyrics by the way they used register.[9] She argues that women had a very different view of women's emotions from their male counterparts. Beverly J. Evans comments on the ingenuity of female trouvères in the integration of refrains into poetry involving a dialogue, and Anne Klinck argues that gender markers in women's songs are not merely lexical or grammatical but can also be culture- or genre-specific, proposing the concepts of detention and enclosure as possible female markers.[10] There have also been studies of women's song across different traditions, which have included Old French lyric but do not make them the sole focus.[11] Such studies distinguish female-voiced songs from their male-voiced counterparts in various ways but tend to use only small representative samples of female-voiced trouvère songs or examine only one genre.[12]

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[8] Doss-Quinby, "Rolan, de ceu ke m'avez/ Parti dirai mon samblant: The Feminine Voice in the Old French Jeu-Parti," *Neophilologus* 83.4 (1999): 497–516.

[9] Pfeffer, "Constant Sorrow: Emotions and the Women Trouvères," in *The Representation of Women's Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Lisa Perfetti (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2005), 119–32.

[10] Evans, "Women Trouvères"; Klinck, "Poetic Markers of Gender." Ultimately, Klinck argues against passivity as a female marker, and instead proposes the concepts of detention and enclosure as possible markers.

[11] Such as Anne L. Klinck and Ann Marie Rasmussen (ed.), *Medieval Woman's Song: Cross-Cultural Approaches*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); and Doris Earnshaw, *The Female Voice in Medieval Romance Lyric*, American University Studies Series 2, Romance Languages and Literature, v. 68 (New York: P. Lang, 1988), 94–105.

[12] One exception is a 2010 dissertation by Kathryn Anna Grau, which focuses on the representation and reception of women in twelfth-century French lyric poetry. Grau's dissertation presented close readings of song texts with female lyric subjects that demonstrate double-voiced expression of female vocality by both using and resisting music and textual stereotypes; see Grau, "Representation and Resistance: Female Vocality in Thirteenth-Century France" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2010).

This dissertation considers the role of women as subjects, rather than as authors or patrons, in the songs contained in the chansonnier (songbook) of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308 (hereafter Douce 308), a manuscript originating from the Lorraine region of France. The Douce 308 chansonnier, which lacks any musical notation, is of great interest because of its unusually high proportion of female-voiced lyrics in a variety of different genres. In 94 song texts, the majority (75%) of which are *unica*, women appear as lyric subjects, as characters whose voices are heard through poetic forms. This study is the first to examine these songs as a group and to concentrate exclusively on representations of women in their lyrics, indeed in the lyrics of any trouvère chansonnier.[13]

Supported by the ever-increasing scholarship on medieval women's lives and their representation, I explore how the thirteenth-century poet-composers of the Lorraine region presented the voices of women in a variety of different genres. I demonstrate how female-voiced songs in the chansonnier permit the expression of female erotic desire, but also of critiques of the stereotypes of trouvère song and of the wider courtly literary tradition. A multiplicity of women's voices in the chansonnier at times reinforces but also powerfully resists the poetic norms of Old French lyric.

Before I examine how women are constructed in the songs of Douce 308, I will first give a description of the Douce 308 manuscript and chansonnier and an overview of

[13] There are song collections from other periods and regions that have received such scholarly attention. For example, the fifteenth-century Findern Anthology contains a collection of anonymous Middle English poems including female voices and perspectives, and it has been argued that they were written by real women. See Elizabeth Hanson-Smith, "Woman's View of Courtly Love: the Findern Anthology," *Journal of Women's Studies in Literature* 1 (1979): 179–94; and Sarah McNamer, "Female Authors, Provincial Setting: The Re-Versing of Courtly Love in the Findern Manuscript," *Viator* 22 (1991): 279–310. For a discussion of women's songs in a certain German collection, see Albrecht Classen, "Ottilia Fenchlerin's Songbook: A Contribution to the History of Sixteenth-Century German Women's Literature," *Women in German Yearbook* 14 (1999): 19–40.

the literary tradition to which its songs belong, that of the trouvères. I then discuss several important contexts for this repertory that intersect with my analyses: medieval gender and genre, literary representation, and the ideology of "courtly love."

DOUCE 308: THE CHANSONNIER AND *LE TOURNOI DE CHAUVENCY*

The lyrics of Douce 308 are considered part of the courtly literary tradition of the trouvères, a modern term for poet-composers who wrote in Old French (the *langue d'oïl*) and flourished during the late twelfth, thirteenth, and early fourteenth centuries in northern France. Where once the figure of the trouvère was thought to be that of a carefree and itinerant vagabond, scholars now understand the trouvères to have been "serious, well-educated and highly sophisticated verse-technician[s]," who combined music and poetry in the service of a courtly ideal.[14] The trouvères were slightly preceded by the troubadours in the south of France who wrote in Old Occitan (the *langue d'oc*), from whom they adapted a number of poetic conventions, yet also parodied and reinvented the older songs.[15] At first, the trouvères worked in courtly environments, and many named trouvères were members of the nobility. The performance spaces for their songs were wealthy and aristocratic households, where noblemen performed to or provided audiences for one another, or for less privileged trouvères under their patronage. This social distinction changed during the thirteenth century in the northern city of Arras, where the prosperous merchant class formed guilds and imitated the nobility by

[14] John Stevens, Ardis Butterfield, and Theodore Karp. "Troubadours, trouvères," *Grove Music Online* (2001), accessed April 15, 2021, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28468>.

[15] There was overlap between the later generations of troubadours, such as Peire Cardenal (ca. 1180–ca. 1278), Guiraut Riquier de Narbona (ca. 1230–1292), and Raimon de Miraval(h) (fl. 1180–1220), and the earlier trouvères, including Conon de Béthune (before 1160–1219), Le Chastelain de Couci (fl. ca. 1170–1203), and Gace Brulé (ca. 1160–1213).

performing *chansons* (songs) for the public, opening the tradition to a new bourgeois audience. The *confrérie* guild and the *puy* society that emerged in the civic environs of Arras encouraged the proliferation of more "popular" style genres, such as the *pastourelle* (narrative pastoral song) and *jeu-parti* (debate song), in addition to the courtly *chanson* of the earlier generations of trouvères.[16]

The vast majority of trouvère songs are transmitted in chansonniers, large books of *chansons* in different genres by various trouvères that were compiled during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At least twenty-two major manuscripts survive, along with dozens of minor manuscript sources, with approximately 2,130 trouvère poems listed in the standard bibliography by Gaston Raynaud.[17] Eighteen of the twenty-two principal trouvère manuscripts transmit both text and music, containing some 2,500 trouvère melodies with nearly 5,000 readings.[18] This is significant, given that this is one of the first secular repertoires to have been notated. The troubadours, in comparison, have only four main chansonniers with musical notation, with 253 songs surviving, and 322 readings. Almost all the trouvère sources originated to the north and northeast of Paris, the majority in Artois and Picardy, and they vary widely in size, format, contents, date,

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[16] General overviews of the troubadour and trouvère traditions found in the following: Stevens, Butterfield, and Karp, "Troubadours, trouvères," in *Grove Music Online*; John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Elizabeth Aubrey, *Poets and Singers: On Latin and Vernacular Monophonic Song* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Hendrik van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and Their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1972), 13–25; Jennifer Saltzstein, "Cleric-Trouvères and the *Jeux-Partis* of Medieval Arras," *Viator* 43.2 (2012): 147–64. For an in-depth study of the musical center of Arras, see Carol Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras*, Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

[17] Gaston Raynaud, *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1884); Hans Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1955). Raynaud-Spanke's work received an important update in R.W. Linker, *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics* (University, MS: Romance Monographs, Inc., 1979). See list of manuscript sigla on page v.

[18] John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères*, 20.

origin, and state of preservation.[19] Some manuscripts are large with lavish illuminations, often with historiated initials depicting the poet-composers and different types of music-making, while others are small and utilitarian in appearance. Most were copied around the second half of the thirteenth century, with the earliest dating from ca. 1240–50, and a second wave appearing during the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

Some chansonniers are complete codices devoted entirely to the transmission of vernacular song, while others are distinct fascicles in manuscripts that transmit other musical works such as polyphonic motets, and still others are fascicles within a larger collection of miscellaneous non-musical items. While a few group the *chansons* by genre, and some present them alphabetically by incipit, most organize their contents with the courtly *chansons* at the beginning, presented in descending order of the poet's social and/or aristocratic position, followed by anonymous *chansons* and finally *jeux-partis*. Author attributions are provided in most chansonniers that are organized by author status, but those organized by genre or incipit are less likely to include attributions. All but a few of the chansonniers contain music, the exceptions being trouvère manuscripts *C*, *I*, *S*, and *b*.

These chansonniers are complicated witnesses to the trouvère tradition. With the exception of manuscript *U* (described below), all the principle chansonniers date from the late thirteenth century, end of the thirteenth, or early fourteenth century. The earliest generation of trouvères flourished nearly one hundred years earlier, as seen by the dates of works of such famous figures as Blondel de Nesle (fl. 1180–1200), Le Châstelain de Couci (fl. ca. 1170–1203), Gace Brulé (ca. 1160–1213), and Conon de Béthune (d.

[19] Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 51.

1219).[20] The extant manuscript tradition does not appear before the fourth generation of trouvères, thus written transmission of most of their songs only began after their deaths. Also, the chansonniers are wholly entwined with the specific constraints of the writers and intended readers by whom and for whom they were compiled. While they may present a fair view of Old French song, it cannot be conclusively verified that they do. To a certain extent, leaping over the space between the singer's time of performance and the scribe's time of writing is required; one must always remember this distance between the poets and their chansonniers.

The Douce 308 Chansonnier

The chansonnier that is the focus of this dissertation is known as trouvère manuscript *I* and originated in Lorraine, a cultural and historical region of northeast France. Once the Carolingian kingdom of Lotharingia, the medieval duchy of Lorraine emerged in 951 and existed independently until France annexed it in 1766. Today, it is located in the administrative region of Grand Est and is made up of the *départements* of Meurthe-et-Moselle, Meuse, Moselle and Vosges.

Dating from the first quarter of the fourteenth century, Douce 308 consists of six different works copied into four fascicles, including the trouvère chansonnier, with a total of 286 folios. The chansonnier appears fourth in the manuscript, preceded by Jacques de Longuyon's chanson de geste *Les Vœux du paon (The Vows of the Peacock)*, Richart de Fournival's prose *Bestiaire d'amours (The Bestiary of Love)*, and Jacques Bretel's poem *Le Tournoi de Chauvency (The Tournament of Chauvency)*, and followed by a fragment

[20] Mary O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 15.

(single folio) of the anonymous poem *Li prophetie Sebile (The Sibyl's Prophecy)* and a complete version of Huon de Meri's poem *Li tornoiemens antecrist (The Tournament of the Antichrist)* (see table i.1).[21]

Table i.1: Contents of MS Douce 308

Fascicle	**Title of Work**	**Folio Numbers**[22]
Fascicle 1	Jacques de Longuyon, *Les Vœux du paon*	ff. 1r–85r
Fascicle 2	Richart de Fournival, *Bestiaire d'amours*	ff. 86d–106
Fascicle 3	Jacques Bretel, *Tournoi de Chauvency*	ff. 107dr–139v
	Trouvère Chansonnier (ends with one blank folio)	ff. 140r–250a
Fascicle 4	Anonymous, *Li prophetie Sebile*	f. 250cr
	Huon de Meri, *Li tornoiemens antecrist*	ff. 250cv–282v

The manuscript London, British Library, Harley 4972, which contains the rest of *Li prophetie Sebile* and a French Apocalypse (the Revelations of St John), was once part of the volume, and it is not known when this section was removed or by whom.

Within the codex, the chansonnier is prefaced by an index (labeled as "l'abecelaire") and includes 504 song texts grouped by form or lyric type, with each section introduced by a decorated miniature, often depicting a scene connected to the style or theme of the genre. The entirety of the chansonnier, including the index, as well

[21] Mary Atchison, *The Chansonnier of Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 308: Essays and Complete Edition of Texts* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2005), 22–26. For an analysis of the quire structure, see the report by Martin Kaufman, Department of Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, reproduced in Atchison, "The Structures and Scribes of the Chansonnier of the Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 308," 2 vol. (PhD diss., Monash University, 1995), 37–39.

[22] Two foliation systems operate throughout the complete Douce 308 manuscript. These are described as the "Old Foliation" and "New Foliation." The Old Foliation system, which appears in the bibliographies of Jeanroy, Spanke, Linker, and Wan der Werf and in a diplomatic edition of the texts by Steffens, numbers all folios sequentially in Arabic numerals regardless of whether the folio contains any text. The New Foliation, which is used by the Bodleian Library and in this dissertation, identifies the folios that are blank with alphabetical lettering following the last folio number with text; for example, the index ends on fol. 143v, and is followed by the blank folios 144ar and 144av and the opening folio of the *grand chant* section, fol. 144br.

as the preceding work *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, was transcribed by the same two scribes within the same time frame.[23] There are six sections labeled by genre: the *grand chant* (courtly love lyric), *estampie* (dance song), *jeu-parti*, *pastourelle*, *ballette* (refrain song), and *sottes chanson contre amours* (silly songs parodying the *grand chant*).[24] These are followed by a seventh unlabeled section made up of monophonic *motets* and *rondeaux*. The lyric texts, which exhibit features of the Lorraine dialect of Old French, are presented as prose without musical notation or empty staves, indicating that the chansonnier was not originally intended to contain notated melodies. It is also known as *motet* manuscript *D*, due to its unlabeled section of sixty-five *motet* texts on fols. 243v–247v, and 249v.

As Mary Atchison has hypothesized, the disruption of the organizational pattern in the final section suggests that it was not part of the original plan for the manuscript.[25] Atchison also proposed that the original organization of the first six genre sections followed a set of pairs that represented the courtly love lyric, the dance song, and love debates. In addition, the two genres that are allegedly determined by form, the *estampie* and the *ballette*, are placed between genres determined by textual themes (see table i.2 below, reproduced from Atchison).[26]

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[23] Mary Atchison, in an essay preceding her edition of the chansonnier, discussed the distribution of labor between the two scribes, suggesting that they were engaged in a joint task rather than two unrelated scribes working at different times and could have been a master and pupil; see Atchison, "The Scribes," in *The Chansonnier*, 57–79. This is also accepted by the editors of the *ballette* edition: see *The Old French Ballette: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308*, ed. Eglal Doss-Quinby, Samuel Rosenberg, and Elizabeth Aubrey (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2006), li.

[24] For a thorough description of the Douce 308 *estampies*, see Elizabeth Eva Leach, "The Estampies of Douce 308," in *Music and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Christopher Page*, ed. Tess Knighton and David Skinner, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 22 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2020), 77–117. For an introduction to *sottes chansons contre amours*, see Eglal Doss-Quinby, Marie-Geneviéve Grossel, and Samuel N. Rosenberg (eds), "*Sottes chansons contre Amours": parodie et burlesque au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Champion, 2010).

[25] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 38.

[26] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 38–41.

Table i.2: Conceptual framework of the Douce 308 chansonnier

Section	**Genre**	**Type**	**Theme/Form**
1	*Grands chants*	Love song	Theme
2	*Estampies*	Dance song	Form
3	*Jeux-partis*	Debate	Theme
4	*Pastourelles*	Debate	Theme
5	*Ballettes*	Dance song	Form
6	*Sottes chansons contre amours*	Anti-love song	Theme

Most scholars agree that Douce 308, or at the very least the chansonnier, was likely compiled at the beginning of the fourteenth century. This is attested by historical figures present in certain songs, as well as circumstantial evidence from other works included in the manuscript. In two *jeux-partis* of Douce 308, "Lorete, suer, par amor" (RS 1962) and "Concilliés moi, Rolan" (RS 1074), the Countess of Linaige and her sister Mahaut of Commercy are addressed in the final stanzas as the judges for the debates. These two women have since been identified as Jeanne d'Aspremont and Mahaut d'Aspremont, respectively.[27] Jeanne d'Aspremont held the title of Countess of Linage, or Leiningen, from 1282 (date of marriage to Ferri IV) to 1316 (Ferri IV's death). Mahaut d'Aspremont (1285–1329) was Dame de Commercy from her marriage, sometime before 9 August 1309, to Jean I (who acquired the fief of Commercy in 1305 and held it to 1341), until her death in 1329.[28] Both Jeanne and Mahaut also appeared as figures in

[27] Doss-Quinby, et.al., *The Old French Ballette*, liii. Mahaut is mentioned two separate times in *Le Tournoi*, first when she receives praise from Jacques Bretel in the lead-up to the event, and then later when she joins her two sisters-in-law, Isabelle de Quiévrain and Agnes de Commercy, in singing the refrain "Par ci va la mignostie, par la ou je vois" (If you wish to take the path of alluring charm – follow my steps! v. 1312); Debouille, *Le Tournoi*, 44; translation from Bryant, *The Tournaments at Le Hem and Chauvency*, 78. Isabelle de Quiévrain is referred to as "madame d'Aspremont," a title she earned through marrying Mahaut's brother, Joffroi d'Aspremont, a highly praised knight who participates in the tournament. Mahaut's sister Jeanne is not specifically mentioned as a tournament attendee, although she was probably present given that her husband, Friedrich IV von Leiningen ("Linaige" in Old French), is named as a participant ("Ferci de Lunenge," v. 335); Debouille, *Le Tournoi*, 13.

[28] Maurice Delbouille, "A propos des jeux-partis lorrains du chansonnier Douce 308 (I)." *Revue*

Jacques Bretel's *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, the work preceding the chansonnier. The tournament at Chauvency that is chronicled in Bretel's poem, was held over the course of six days in October 1285 in the village of Chauvency in northeastern France.

Maurice Delbouille hypothesized that Mahaut d'Aspremont may have been already engaged to Jean de Commercy at the time of the tournament, and this led the editors of *The Old French Ballette: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308* to suggest 1309 as a *terminus post quem* for the chansonnier, or at least for its *jeux-partis*.[29] While this alone is fairly weak evidence, other works in Douce 308 support this date. The poem *Vœux du paon* by Jacques de Longuyon, which opens the manuscript, was written around 1310 for Thibaut de Bar, Bishop of Liège from 1303–12.[30] Jacques de Longuyon also appears as a judge for the *jeu-parti* "Rolant de rains je vos requier" ("Roland de Reims, I ask you," RS 1307, fol. 180v), and Thibaut de Bar faces off against Rolant de Reims in *jeu-parti* "Thiebaus de bair li rois des allemans" ("Thibaut de Bar, king of the Germans," RS 259, fol. 184r), both of which are transmitted solely in Douce 308.

The provenance of Douce 308 can be traced to as early as the fifteenth century, when it belonged to the le Gournaix (or Gornay), a leading family in Metz. This is attested to through the ex-libris of "sieur Reynalz le Gornaix chevalier" on fols. 106v, 139v, 205bv, 283v, and the name of "Fransois le Gournaix" on fols. 3, and 283v.[31] According to Keith Busby and the editors of the *ballette* edition, the manuscript was

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Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire 21 (1933): 132–40, 138; idem, *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* (Paris: E. Droz, 1932), lxxvii; Michel Parisse, *Noblesse et chevalerie en Lorraine médiévale: les familles nobles du XIe au XIIIe siècle* (Nancy: Service des publications de l'Université de Nancy II, 1982), 215.

[29] Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, liii.

[30] Delbouille, "A propos," 133.

[31] Noted in *The Douce Legacy: An Exhibition to Commemorate the 150th Anniversary of the Bequest of Francis Douce (1757–1834)* (Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1984) 62; reproduced in *The Old French Ballette*, xlvi.

probably commissioned by the Gournaix family, or else some other prominent citizen of the city of Metz.[32]

Douce 308 is one of three trouvère chansonniers from the Lorraine region: the other two are MS *U*, or the Chansonnier Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and MS *C*, or the Bern Chansonnier.[33] MS *U* was compiled likely ca. 1230–40 and contains 304 trouvère and twenty-eight troubadour songs, all unattributed.[34] This chansonnier is the earliest surviving trouvère compilation, and Christopher Callahan commented that it represents "the fledgling stages of *chansonnier* production" at a time when the consensus around the trouvère canon was still in-development.[35] There is no clear organizing principle to the presentation of the texts—the songs are presented in seemingly random order with minimal decoration. The first half of the chansonnier contains 114 melodies transcribed in Messine neumes alongside the texts, and the majority of the second half includes space left for staves throughout. An origin of Lorraine is suggested by the chansonnier's style and layout, as well as its ownership by the Bishop of Metz.

MS *C* dates from the last quarter of the thirteenth century and contains common linguistic features of the Lorraine dialect as well as concordances with Douce 308 and MS *U*.[36] The manuscript is made up solely of the chansonnier, which contains 519 texts

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[32] Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, l; Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, Faux Titre 222, 2 vol. (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2002), 539 and 722.

[33] See list of manuscript sigla on page v.

[34] The chansonnier is dated ca. 1230–40 due to the inclusion of works by trouvères whose careers did not begin before about 1230, and the lack of representation by poets active after 1240; see Aubrey, *Music of the Troubadours*, 35. Because of the inclusion of troubadour songs, the chansonnier has also been given a separate sigla as a troubadour manuscript: *X*.

[35] Christopher Callahan, "Collecting Trouvère Lyric at the Peripheries: The Lessons of MSS Paris, BnF fr. 20050 and Bern, Burgerbibliothek 389," *Textual Cultures: Texts, Contexts, Interpretation* 8.2 (2013): 16.

[36] The first in-depth analysis of MS *C* was Nicolaas Unlandt's 2011 edition of 53 anonymous poems that included a linguistic and material analysis of the chansonnier; see Unlandt, *Le Chansonnier Français de la Burgerbibliothek de Berne: Analyse et Description du Manuscrit et Édition de 53 Unica Anonymes*, Beihefte Zur Zeitschrift Für Romanische Philologie, 368 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011).

ordered by incipit with inconsistent genre groupings. Each alphabetical section begins with one or more religious songs (Marian songs, crusade songs, pious contrafacta), demonstrating the flowering of Marian lyric in the trouvère art form by the time of its compilation.[37] The manuscript was designed for musical notation, with staves provided but never filled. There are strong stemmatic connections between the texts of MSS *U* and *C*, with the two chansonniers sharing 211 texts between them. Douce 308 shares thirty-five songs with MS *C* alone, twenty with *C* and *U*, and eight with *U* alone.[38] Four of the ten *ballettes* in Douce 308 that have concordances in other sources are found in MS *C*, as well as ten of the seventeen *pastourelles*.

Of the three Lorraine chansonniers, Douce 308 is the latest compilation and, most relevant to this study, contains the highest proportion of female-voiced songs. Out of 504 texts contained in Douce 308 in total, ninety-four of them feature a female voice in some form, either as a female monologue, female interlocutor, or, in the case of most of the *pastourelles* and several *ballettes*, a female character whose speech is reported by a male narrator. Of these ninety-four, there are seven *jeux-partis* (out of thirty-six total), forty-five *pastourelles* (of fifty-seven total), three (of thirty-seven total) *rondeau* texts, five (of sixty-four total) *motet* texts, thirty-two (of 177 total) *ballette* texts, one (of nineteen) *estampie* texts, and one (of ninety-two total) *grand chant* text. Altogether, these female-voiced texts comprise 18.4%, or roughly one-fifth, of the total number of collected texts (see table i.3).

[37] Callahan, "Collecting Trouvère Lyric at the Peripheries," 23–24.
[38] Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, lvii.

Table i.3: Distribution of female-voiced texts in the Douce 308 chansonnier

Genre	**Female-Voiced Texts**	**Total Texts in Douce 308**	**Percentage of Female-Voiced Texts**
Pastourelles	45	57	78.9%
Jeux-partis	7	36	19.4%
Balletes	32	177 *[191 total, with 14 duplicates]*	18.3%
Rondeaux	3	37	8.1%
Motets	5	64 *[65 total, with 1 duplicate]*	7.8%
Estampies	1	19	5.0%
Grand chants	1	92 *[93 total, with 1 duplicate]*	1.0%
Sottes chansons	0	22	0.0%
Total	**94**	**504** *[520 with duplicates]*	**18.4%**

Considering the significantly lower percentage of female-voiced texts in other trouvère chansonniers, the Douce 308 chansonnier clearly deviates from common practice by giving space to the female voice. As a comparison, the manuscript with the second-highest number of female-voiced texts is MS *C*, which contains forty-two texts with a female voice out of the total 519 texts, or 8% of the entire chansonnier (with most appearing only as shepherdesses in *pastourelles*). It is also significant that among the ninety-two *grands chants* and nineteen *estampies*, there is only one female-voiced example to be found in each section, and no female voices at all among the twenty-two *sottes chansons contre amour* of Douce 308.

Douce 308 as a lyrical compilation appears to represent a local tradition that was familiar to the recipients of the manuscript. The *ballettes* and texted *estampies* are not found in any other chansonnier and are considered by numerous scholars to be locally

produced and isolated repertories.[39] The inclusion of *Le Tournoi* also firmly grounds it in the Lorraine region, since it is based upon a real event that occurred in that region and could have involved ancestors of the manuscript's owners.

In a recent study of the Douce 308 chansonnier, Elizabeth Eva Leach argued that the contexts and nature of performance for the texts can be explored despite the absence of notation.[40] This dissertation, in studying the female voice as it is represented in this particular source, shows that the inclusion of female-voiced texts leads to a fuller, more gender-balanced view of the ideal of romantic love as it pertained to both men and women in medieval Lorraine, and this in part is due to its frequent bending and breaking of courtly conventions by the characters as described in the texts.

There are no author ascriptions anywhere in the chansonnier, but some characters are named in the texts, as in the *jeux-partis*, where the interlocutors address each other by name. While this is not surprising when compared to most music manuscripts in this time, the majority of trouvère chansonniers typically group songs by named authors in order of decreasing rank (usually beginning with Thibaut, King of Navarre and Count of Champagne) with anonymous songs only appearing after the ascribed texts.[41] All of the 504 texts in Douce 308 are presented as anonymous, although ascriptions can be found in other manuscripts, including the other two Lorraine chansonniers, for a small number of the texts. This lack of emphasis on the authorial identity of the creators of the various

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[39] See Yolanda Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 52; Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, xxiv, l–li.
[40] Elizabeth Eva Leach, "A Courtly Compilation: The Douce Chansonnier," in *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context*, ed. Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 221–46.
[41] This grouping together of texts by the same composer has occurred elsewhere; one example is the Squarcialupi Codex (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Med. Pal. 87), the largest source of music from the Italian Trecento of the fourteenth century. The Squarcialupi Codex, which contains 353 compositions, does not contain any compositions by women.

texts, whether male or female, suggests that the compilers of this particular chansonnier deliberately moved away from the typical focus on the composers (and the majority of the named composers were male) of the trouvère tradition and toward the function of the texts and their interpretation by the audience, which likely included women.[42]

Several features of Douce 308 suggest an overarching design and intentional compilation of courtly and sacred themes. As mentioned above, *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* and the chansonnier share two common scribes, and the miniatures in *Le Tournoi*, the chansonnier, and *Les Vœux de paon* are by the same illuminator. There also exist multiple instances of concordance between *Le Tournoi* and chansonnier: three *pastourelle* song texts and one *sotte chanson* refer to a "robardel," an elaborate dance game (described further below);[43] there is one refrain shared between *Le Tournoi* and the *ballette* section (in the *ballette* "Dues, dues, dues, dues," discussed in Chapter Four), and three refrains are shared between *Le Tournoi* and the *motet/rondeau* section.[44]

Such links have led scholars such as Nancy Regalado and Mary Atchison to argue that these works appealed to a specific audience in Lorraine and that a planned design guided their compilation. Regalado stated that the collection of Douce 308 "reveals the tastes and beliefs of a class and a region as it tells a story about the practice and meaning of chivalry."[45] As a trio, the *Tournoi*, *Vœux*, and chansonnier "constitute a complete kit of

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[42] For a thorough discussion of the documentary evidence for women among the audiences for the performance of trouvère songs, see Grau, "Representation and Resistance," chapter 3.
[43] The three *pastourelle* texts are "L'autre iour par un matin," "Quant ces mouxons sont faillies," and "Sest tout la jus," and the *sotte chanson* is "Quant ioi crier rabardie."
[44] The three texts are "Jolietement m'an voix" (Mot 1095), "Fui te gaite fai me voie" (Mot 1115), and "Lai merci deu j'ai ataint" (vdB rond. 147).
[45] Nancy Regalado, "Picturing the Story of Chivalry in Jacques Bretel's *Tournoi de Chauvency* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308)," in *Tributes to Jonathan J.G. Alexander: The Making and Meaning of Illuminated Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, Art, and Architecture*, ed. Susan L'Engle and Gerald B. Guest (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2006), 343.

secular chivalry" that links ideals of prowess, love, and lyric sophistication to proper names of historical persons that point to a particular audience in Lorraine. The three works that follow, the *Apocalypse*, *Li prophetie Sebile*, and *Li tornoimens*, "engage chivalric readers in the mighty struggle for salvation." According to Atchison, "the themes of conflict, love and recreation can be traced from the historical past time of Alexander the Great in the *Vœux*, through the historical present of the narratives in the *Bestiaire* and the *Tournois* and the short courtly lyrics of the *Chansonnier*, to the future apocalyptic and sibylline prophecies and the final conflict with the Antechrist of the *Apocalypse*, *Sebile*, and *Tornoiemens antecrist* respectively."[46] On the other hand, Alison Stones has affirmed that the booklets were all produced in a Metz workshop, but notes that the presence of blank pages between the different sections of the manuscript "simply makes it a little unlikely that they were all intended to fit together thematically from the beginning."[47]

Elizabeth Eva Leach has also linked several songs of the chansonnier topically to events in other poetic works in the manuscript, in particular *Le Tournoi*, through the musical descriptions and iconography of performers in the chansonnier.[48] The Douce 308 chansonnier is part of the final gathering of Jacques Bretel's *Le Tournoi*, meaning that these two works share sections of parchment and were deliberately bound together, establishing an intertextual network that stretches across the lyrical genres of Douce 308 and encompasses the preceding poem. Thus, each song can be read in the context of a courtly performance, allowing for analysis of the chansonnier's lyrics within the context

[46] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 32.
[47] Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260–1320: A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France* (London: Harvey Miller, 2013), vol. 1, 50.
[48] Leach, "A Courtly Compilation."

of the courtly spaces inhabited by the performers and audiences of the texts, like those in *Le Tournoi*.

Jacques Bretel's *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*

Le Tournoi de Chauvency, the poem that precedes the chansonnier in Douce 308, was written by the trouvère Jacques Bretel and recounts the chivalric battles and entertainments that occurred at the tournament of Chauvency in 1285.[49] Little is known of Bretel outside of his authorship of this narrative poem, though it can be hypothesized that writing was his livelihood, since at the beginning of the poem he walks from the count of Salm's castle and into the woods to "seek inspiration, composing some little couplets about love" (vv. 47–49).[50]

The tournament chronicled in Bretel's poem was an actual event, held over the course of several days in October 1285 in the village of Chauvency (present day Chauvency-le-Château, near the modern borders with Belgium and Luxembourg). Hosted by Louis de Looz, Count of Chiny, the tournament's participants consisted of nearly five hundred knights, and members of the nobility and their families were present in the audience. According to Bretel's account, the tournament began on a Sunday with feasting, followed by several days of jousting, another feast on Tuesday evening, a mêlée[51] on Thursday, and singing and dancing each evening.

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[49] It is also important to note that there is one other manuscript that transmits *Le Tournoi* : Mons, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 330–215. Interestingly, the Mons *Le Tournoi* text contains two large sections of text that are not in the Douce 308 version of the poem. Delbouille notes in his edition of the poem that vv. 1107–1568 and 2021–2182 are missing in Douce 308's *Le Tournoi*; see Delbouille, *Le Tournoi*, xxii–iv.
[50] "Parmei le bois alai jouer/Pour mes pansees remuer/Faisant d'amors deus petis vers." Delbouille, *Le Tournoi*, 4.
[51] A kind of mock combat where two teams of horsemen clashed in formation.

The performance of women is specifically emphasized in *Le Tournoi*: of all the interpolated refrain texts that Bretel records throughout the week, noblewomen are identified as singing fourteen different refrains, while eleven are sung by men.[52] There are also two recorded role-playing games (*jeux*), with both foregrounding roles played by women. The first is the *robardel* (the robber dance, or the game of the stolen kiss), performed on Tuesday night (discussed in Chapter One, below); and the second is the *jeu du chapelet* (game of the garland) on Thursday night (discussed in Chapter Two).

The *robardel* performance is a pantomimed *jeu* with instrumental accompaniment that does not involve any singing. The *jeu* is played by three young noblewomen: Agnes de Florenville, dressed in a red scarlet gown covered in bells and playing a shepherdess; a "youth" playing the part of a shepherd, later revealed to be Jeannette de Boinville; and Perrine d'Esch accompanying them with the vielle. Bretel gives the greatest attention to the behaviors of the disguised Jeannette, who as the shepherd character leaps and dances around Agnes before stealing two kisses from her. The *jeu du chapelet*, taking place on the last evening of the tournament, is the finest of the courtly entertainments. This is highlighted by the fact that it is performed by Beatrice, the Countess of Luxembourg, the woman of the highest standing in the company, along with a male minstrel playing a vielle. The two performers have an extended dialogue peppered with ten sung refrains, in which the minstrel questions her sexual autonomy, offers to find her the kind of lover she desires, and brings the *jeu* to a close by picking a knight from the audience to join the Countess in her dance.

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[52] Because Douce 308's version of *Le Tournoi* is missing two sections of the narrative (see note 43 above), there are nine refrains that are excluded from it, including three refrains sung by women, four by men, and two by mixed groups of singers.

The use of role-playing games, such as the *robardel* and *jeu du chapelet*, as entertainment throughout the narrative provides a lighthearted escape for their noble performers and audiences into characters who were socially distant from them. Before the Countess is asked to dance *le chapelet*, the gathered courtiers discuss which *jeu* should be performed next, and list different "types":

Apres le vin s'entravoiterent Li uns a l'autre et encerchierent Qui seit faire le beguignaige L'ermite le pelerignaige Le provencel le robardel Berengier ot le chapelet Ou aucuns gieu pour esgaier Et pour les navrez apaier. (vv. 4181–88)	After the wine they gathered together And they looked for one Who knew how to play the Beguinage, The Hermit, the Pilgrim, The Provençal, the Robber, Berengier,[53] or the Garland, Or another game to brighten up And entertain the wounded ones.[54]

Here the "robardel" is mentioned, presumably referring to the *robardel* dance performed earlier in the week, as well as the "beguignaige," the name for the houses where beguines (religious laywomen) resided, suggesting a game involving the character of a beguine, who is also attested to in two different *ballette* texts in the chansonnier (see Chapter Three).

While *Le Tournoi* allegedly documents a historical tournament held in the medieval region of Lorraine in 1285, it is unclear how accurate its reporting is. Bretel declares himself an eyewitness to the events taking place in Chauvency and repeatedly

[53] This could be: 1) the female given name Bérengère, potentially referring to Bérengère de Navarre (ca. 1165–1230), queen consort of England and wife of Richard I, who accompanied him on the Third Crusade and resided in Le Mans, France after her husband's death in 1199; or 2) a *malmariée* character from the early thirteenth-century French *fabliau*, *De Berangier au lonc cul (Bérangier of the Long Ass)*, who cross-dresses as a male knight to confront her lazy husband who is pretending to be a great knight, and ultimately cuckolds him in revenge for his cowardice and deceit. The text exists in two versions, one by Guerin and one anonymous; see *Cuckolds, Clerics, and Countrymen: Medieval French Fabliaux*, ed. John DuVal and Raymond Eichmann (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1982), 47–58.
[54] Delbouille, *Le Tournoi*, 134. All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

adds details about his position in the stands and his proximity to various conversations (particularly those of women) on the sidelines, presenting countless "direct quotations" from various attendees, including knights, noblewomen, heralds, and servants. In this way, Bretel functions as a chronicler and propagandist: he contributes to his patrons' hyperreal narrative in person and in his subsequent poem by recounting the event and enhancing their self-aggrandizing images, while at the same time puncturing those images slightly with his own asides. While it should not be read as strictly documentary evidence of the tournament at Chauvency, *Le Tournoi* can be seen as providing an idealized context for the performances of the lyrics contained in the Douce 308, or at the very least for several of the refrain texts, as there are refrains that appear in both *Le Tournoi* and the chansonnier.[55] Together, *Le Tournoi* and the chansonnier would have contributed to the noble audience's perception of themselves as belonging to a highly chivalrous and courtly environment.

CONTEXTS AND CONVENTIONS

Amour courtois

The trouvères contributed to the surge in amorous literature that emerged during the twelfth century in France and flourished in monasteries, cathedral schools, and secular

[55] There are five refrains that appear in both *Le Tournoi* and Douce 308: *Trai toi arriere, fai me voie, par vi pascent gent de joie* (Stand back! Make way! A merry company's passing through, vdB 765); *Clere blondete sui, a mi, lassette, et si n'ai point d'ami* (Shining blonde I am, and ah, alas, I have no lover, vdB 374); *Joliëtement m'en vois! Joliëtement!* (Oh the happiness I feel! Oh the joy, vdB 1165); *La merci Deu, j'ai ataint, se que je voloie* (I've received God's grace, that which I desired, vdB 1191); and *Dex, doneis amors a sous qui amors maintienent muez* (God grant love to those who love and dare not speak of it, vdB 507). There are three additional refrains that appear in the Mons version of *Le Tournoi*, (see note 48) but are absent from the abbreviated version in Douce 308: *Honi soit qui ja se repentira d'amer!* (Shame, shame on anyone who ever repents of love, vdB 881a); *Par ci va la mignostie, par la ou je vois* (If you wish to take the path of alluring charm – follow my steps, vdB 1473); and *Dont vient li maus qui m'ocirra?* (Do you know the cause of my mortal pain?, vdB 595).

courts.[56] It is certain that the trouvères learned directly from the troubadours, their southern forebears, who introduced the topic of *fin'amors* ("refined or pure love," a medieval Provençal term) to the Western literary world. The primary focus of this tradition was love, but that love varied widely depending on the context and could be "chaste or erotic, directed to a celestial or terrestrial beloved, harmonizing or disorienting, unilateral or reciprocal, a means to an end or an end in itself."[57] Each text, while inherently personal and individual, implicitly included the social spheres of each individual poet. Thus, while any given poem ostensibly expressed an individual's joy or despair from being in love, often it also drew attention to the text's refinement and eloquence, social graces that were highly prized among the wider medieval courtly community.

A term regularly adopted in early scholarly literature to describe the love tradition of the trouvères was *amour courtois*, or "courtly love," a term first coined by French philologist Gaston Paris (1839–1903) in 1883 as a translation of the term *fin'amors*.[58] Paris drew upon on the Arthurian romances of the first known trouvère Chrétien de Troyes (fl. 1170–90) to construct his paradigm of "courtly love": a knight is enamored of a woman who is of higher station than he, and in order to earn her favor he must conduct

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[56] Many factors have been cited in the "love explosion" of the twelfth century, including the dissemination of Islamic and Christian mysticism, the rise in the veneration of Mary, the mother of God, socio-economic shifts that required a "civilizing" of the military class, the increased influence of clerics in court life; and the patronage of powerful noblewomen in Occitan, particularly Eleanor of Aquitaine. For a summary of the many theories of origin for *fin'amors*, see Gerald A. Bond, "Origins" in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, ed. F.R.P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 237–54; Moshé Lazar, "*Fin'amor"* in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, 61–100; and Ruth Harvey, "Courtly Culture in Medieval Occitania," in *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ed. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 8–27.

[57] Judith Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume De Machaut* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 11.

[58] Gaston Paris, "Études sur les romans de la Table Ronde: *Lancelot du Lac*," *Romania* 12 (1883): 459–534.

himself courteously and do chivalrous deeds. For Paris, the theme of "courtly love" had four main characteristics: 1) it is illicit and furtive (according to Paris, adultery is practically mandatory); 2) the lover is in an inferior position to the lady; 3) the lover strives to perform deeds of prowess to render himself more worthy of his lady; and 4) love is simultaneously an art, a science, and a virtue, with set rules.

Starting in the 1940s, however, the term "courtly love" was subjected to questioning and re-evaluation, and scholars such as Marc Bloch and John Benton problematized Paris's characterization by demonstrating that adultery is not an essential element of medieval love literature, particularly in northern France, and affirmed that many of the literary elements associated with *fin'amors* had little if any historical reality.[59] Moshé Lazar made the case that *amour courtois* does not begin to cover all of the elements of courtliness, nor does it take into account all of the variations of love in medieval literature.[60] In the 1980s, musicologist John Stevens argued that the courtly love relationships represented in trouvère lyrics can be considered idealized "fictions," since they "are repeated over and over again in different forms and have little claim to be recognized as 'real' experiences. […] The individuality of the poem lies in the success with which the shared ideal is re-created."[61] In a similar vein, Christopher Page demonstrated how chivalric fictions constructed a "courtly cult of love" in secular

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[59] Marc Bloch, *La société féodale*, 2 vol. (Paris: Albin Michel, 1939–40), 2:41; Benton, "Clio and Venus: An Historical View of Medieval Love," in *The Meaning of Courtly Love*, ed. F.X. Newman (Albany: SUNY, 1968), 19–42; Roger Dragonetti described love in medieval poetry as a "cliché," as a "lien d'entente pré-établie entre le poète et son public" and argued that such links only worked because both poet and audience actively participated in the motion being conveyed, "vécu en commun"; see Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouveres dans la chanson courtoise: Contribution à l'étude de la rhétorique médiévale* (Brugge: De Tempel, 1960), 542.
[60] Lazar, "*Fin'amor*"; see also Lazar, *Amour courtois et fin'amors dans la littérature du XIIe siècle* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1964).
[61] John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 30.

aristocratic society that emphasized ideals of male sexuality, narcissism, and eloquence, unique in that "the male's ardour for honour and his ardour for erotic experience are conjunct and almost indistinguishable impulses."[62]

From this period of critical re-evaluation emerged a more nuanced and detailed understanding of the relationship between love as it is described in all its variety in medieval poetry and prose, and the changing social and ecclesiastical structures of love and marriage in the Middle Ages. Regardless of the term used, both male- and female-voiced Old French lyrics make use of the same motifs and vocabulary to describe erotic desire, although as I shall demonstrate, female voices often interact with *fin'amors* in ways distinctly different from their male counterparts.

Medieval Gender and Sexuality

Throughout this dissertation, I make frequent use of gendered terms to describe the subjects of the lyric texts under consideration. I refer to texts as "in a female voice" or "female-voiced" if they employ a female lyric subject, regardless of whether it is a monologue or if there are other voices also present. In this way, I use "voice" as it is used in literary scholarship, to describe only the subjective stance of a song or passage, and do not to claim that these texts were definitively authored by female poets. I employ the terms "feminine" and "masculine" to describe elements having qualities appropriate to or usually associated with women or men, respectively, which may or may not overlap with the lyric subject's apparent gender. There are also numerous instances where female lyric subjects express or explore some facet of their sexuality, which during the medieval

[62] Page, "Music and Chivalric Fiction in France, 1150–1300," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 111 (1984): 7.

period was deeply intertwined with gender. While medieval songs should not be considered evidence of actual practice, they were not, as in any culture, produced in a vacuum, and both male and female poets writing female lyric personae are to some degree representing in lyric concepts about gender informed by their society. Thus, an overview of gender's use as a critical lens, as well as some of the more prevalent concepts of gender and sexuality in the medieval period, is needed.

One of the best definitions of gender comes from the historian Joan Wallach Scott, who wrote that gender is "a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes."[63] Scott's writings from the 1980s advocated the use of gender as an analytical lens in a variety of academic disciplines to disrupt "the notion of fixity" and normalized binary opposition.[64] This has since become a central concern for studies of sexuality and gender, which have been further nuanced in light of Judith Butler's explorations on the performative nature of gender and the ways in which language and biological sex play a role in gender construction.[65] Feminist scholars such as Patricia Hill Collins have also stressed the importance of considering how studies of gender intersect with race and class.[66] As a result, gender scholarship has become a wide and diverse field that draws upon linguistic studies, cultural studies, and anthropology to examine the multiplicities of genders and sexualities.

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[63] Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988, repr. 2018), 42.
[64] Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 1053–75.
[65] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1990); eadem, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993). For studies that draw upon Butler, see *Bodily Citations: Religion and Judith Butler*, ed. Ellen T. Armour and Susan St. Ville (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Amy Hollywood, *Sensible Ecstasy: Mysticism, Sexual Difference, and the Demands of History* (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 2002).
[66] Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

Medievalists have also employed the concept of gender as a critical tool of analysis for understanding the past, applying the same critical analytical techniques and historiographical methods to medieval subjects.[67] What has emerged from various studies over the last few decades is that that gender was as unstable and multifaceted in the medieval period as it is considered to be today and was subject to many interpretations. Scholars have described the medieval European conception of gender as roughly a binary, with men and women opposed to one another in a variety of abstract contexts, including heat versus cold, light versus dark, and strength versus weakness—generally to the disadvantage of women. At the same time, medical theorists often placed all individuals on a single-gender scale, adapted from Aristotle, that ranked their degree of manliness, with the highest degree of the male sex characterized as hot, strong, and active.[68] Women appeared toward the "effeminate" end of the scale—characterized as cold, weak, and passive—and were thus conceptualized as incomplete or deformed men (like children). While there was no consensus of opinion, many medieval theorists embraced Aristotle's view of sex differentiation, built around binary oppositions and complementarity, and used it to reaffirm the belief in women's inherently flawed natures.[69]

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[67] *Representing Medieval Genders and Sexualities in Europe: Construction, Transformation, and Subversion, 600–1530*, ed. Elizabeth L'Estrange and Alison More (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2011); *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe: New Perspectives*, ed. Lisa M. Bitel and Felice Lifshitz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); *Saints, Scholars, and Politicians: Gender as a Tool in Medieval Studies*, ed. Mathilde van Dijk and Renée Nip (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*, ed. Sharon Farmer and Carol Braun Pasternack (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken, and James A. Schultz (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

[68] Prudence Allen, *The Concept of Women: The Aristotelian Revolution, 750 BC–AD 1250* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

[69] Many scholars attempted to reconcile Aristotle and Christian dogma: the thirteenth-century theologian Albertus Magnus arguing that the female's imperfect state naturally desired perfection through union with the more perfect male; see *Quaestiones super de Animalibus* 10.4, quoted in Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

An important component of gender is sexuality, because gender roles govern and are governed by norms of sexuality.[70] Michel Foucault's writings are a common starting point for many medievalists,[71] who assert that "medieval sexuality is constructed by historical formations, produced by and embedded in specifically medieval discourses, customs, institutions, regulations, and knowledges."[72] Scholarship has increasingly shown that the Middle Ages in Europe did not constitute a monolithic culture of misogyny and repression of women's sexuality, and that the sexual landscape was "diverse, nuanced, and confusing" for medieval women.[73] There were varying views of medieval sexuality that coexisted at various times, including religious exhortations for people to remain chaste and modest, secular descriptions of joyful sexual escapades and free loving, as well as a darker image of violence against vulnerable populations (including women, children, those who engaged in homosexual relationships, etc.). Ruth Mazo Karras has expanded upon these three prevailing views and observed that women's sexuality was more commonly seen as "active but sinful" while men's was "active but celebrated."[74] Most scholars have suggested that medieval society held, by comparison with the modern perspective, a neutral to dim view of women's sexuality in general and tended to discourage its expression.

1993), 160. In the 1270s, Giles of Rome upheld Aristotle's views in the debate over embryo development, denying "female sperm" or women's active involvement in conception or development of the fetus; see M. Anthony Hewson, *Giles of Rome and the Medieval Theory of Conception: A Study of the De Formatione Corporis Humani in Utero*, University of London Historical Studies 38 (London: Athlone Press, 1975).

[70] Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing Unto Others* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

[71] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978–2021).

[72] Lochrie, McCracken, and Schultz, *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, ix.

[73] Sherry C. M. Lindquist, "Introduction," *Different Visions: A Journal of New Perspectives on Medieval Art* 5 (2014): 15.

[74] Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 4.

Ecclesiastical narratives about women's sexual tendencies were pervasive and had a distinct influence upon societal expectations for laywomen, noble or otherwise. In general, church authorities viewed reproductive sex as the only acceptable form of intercourse; without it, sex was considered only an expression of polluting lust, an idea popularized by St Augustine.[75] Connected to this was a strong focus upon the protection of women's virginity and the discouragement of their sexual activity; much less concern was given to men's sexual exploits, since women, the weaker sex, were perceived to have less control over their earthly impulses.[76] As Theresa A. Vaughan argued, "the church viewed women, generally associated with sexual appetite and lack of control, as temptations to men until the age at which they had lost their beauty and attractiveness and were found to be merely comical."[77] Because of this, women were frequently distinguished in sermons, theological treatises, collections of exempla, and penitentials (handbooks for confessors) by their sexual status, with the two options being "chaste" or

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[75] In his *Confessions*, Augustine argued that carnal desire, what he termed "concupiscence," was "a divine punishment which God gave to humankind for the first sin of Adam and Eve." See Timo Nisula, *Augustine and the Functions of Concupiscence*, Vigiliae Christianae, Supplements (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 59. According to Christine McCann, the "unifying factor within medieval thought…on sexual morality in general is the pervasive uneasiness about the relationships between spirituality and carnality. In short, medieval theologians needed a way to make a fundamentally carnal act holy." See McCann, "Transgressing the Boundaries of Holiness: Sexual Deviance in the Early Medieval Penitential Handbooks of Ireland, England and France 500–1000" (PhD diss.. Seton Hall University, 2010), 5.

[76] On the medieval view of feminine sexuality as polluting, see Dylan Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999). The female body was also constructed as monstrous/demonic; see Margaret Miles, *Carnal Knowing: Female Nakedness and Religious Meaning in the Christian West* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989); Gail McMurray Gibson, "Scene and Obscene: Seeing and Performing Late Medieval Childbirth," *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 29, no. 1 (1999): 7–24; James J. Paxson, "The Nether-Faced Devil and the Allegory of Parturition," *Studies in Iconography* 19 (1998): 130–76; and Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona, "Barren Metal and the Fruitful Womb: The Program of Giotto's Arena Chapel in Padua," *Art Bulletin* 80.2 (1998): 274–91.

[77] Theresa A. Vaughan, "'Composed for the Honor and Glory of the Ladies': Folklore and Medieval Women's Sexuality in *The Distaff Gospels*," in *Unsettling Assumptions: Tradition, Gender, Drag*, ed. Pauline Greenhill and Diane Tye (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2014), 216.

"sexually active," with chastity consistently ranked as the superior state for a woman, whether as a nun, an unmarried virgin, or even as a widow who did not remarry.[78]

In addition to these general suppositions about women's sexual status and tendencies, femininity and female sexuality in the European Middle Ages were complicated by various categories of difference and were regulated by social hierarchies that shifted over time and in different contexts. In particular, there were added distinctions that existed between medieval women of different classes, with implications for how each class of woman was expected to behave. Sharon Farmer argued, "in some contexts propertied women were associated with spiritual and intellectual aspects of the domestic and affective realms while lower-status women were associated with bodily, sexual, and irrational aspects of those realms."[79] In his thirteenth-century manual for preachers, *De Eruditione Praedicatorum*, the Dominican theologian Humbert de Romans classified women alternatively by social status, profession, and age.[80] When he discussed noble and bourgeois women, he virtually ignored issues of sexuality and sexual misbehavior, instead suggesting that they were obliged to direct their talents toward the domestic realm in order to enhance the lives of others morally and spiritually. In contrast, Humbert's discussion of lower-status women (including servants, prostitutes, and peasants) heavily stressed their sexuality and sexually deviant behavior and scarcely acknowledged the potential for such women to have a positive moral or spiritual influence on those around them, instead emphasizing their negative influences.

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[78] Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 11.
[79] Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 106.
[80] Humbert de Romans, *De Eruditione Praedicatorum* (Barcelona: ex Tipographia Sebastiani à Cormellas, 1607): chapters XLIII–LI, "Ad mulieres religiosas quascunque"; XCIII, "Ad omnes mulieres"; XCV, "Ad mulieres nobiles"; XCVI, "Ad mulieres burgenses divites"; XCVII, "Ad famulas divitum"; XCIX, "Ad mulieres pauperes in villulis "; C, "Ad mulieres malas corporesive meretrices."

While it is clear that sex and gender constructions served a prevailing social order and patriarchal hierarchy, what has also been demonstrated is that men and women actively questioned, ignored, manipulated, and broke down such hierarchies, normalized responses, and binary oppositions.[81] Medieval women writers in particular established a critical "other" voice in the overwhelmingly male-dominated discourse to push back against negative stereotypes of women. For instance, the poet and author Christine de Pizan (1364–ca. 1430), in a series of letters, firmly critiqued Jean de Meun's *Le Roman de la rose*, a thirteenth-century allegorical poem that was widely admired, for its misogynistic treatment of women. She was supported in her argument by Jean Gerson, a theologian and at the time the influential Chancellor of the University of Paris.[82] She also composed a revisionary book celebrating the famous women from legend and history, *The Book of the City of Ladies* (1405).

While the Church's strictures against pre-marital sex were well-recorded, evidence suggests that people, particularly those in the lower classes, tended to ignore them. In a study on the records for *leyrwite*, a fine for fornication (a term used for a variety of offenses but most often for sex between an unmarried man and unmarried woman) levied by manorial courts (secular courts presided over by the lord of a manor), Judith Bennett observed that there were many more charges for fornication in church court records than manorial court records, and concluded that far fewer instances of fornication were reported in the rural courts than actually occurred.[83] She further

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[81] See, for example, the various essays contained in *Representing Medieval Genders and Sexualities in Europe*.
[82] David F. Hult, "The *Roman de la Rose*, Christine de Pizan, and the *querelle des femmes*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Women's Writing*, ed. Carolyn Dinshaw and David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 184–94.
[83] Bennett, "Writing Fornication: Medieval Leyrwite and Its Historians: The Prothero Lecture," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 13 (2003): 136–37.

suggested that this had to do with marriage customs, and that "for medieval peasants, marriage-making was a process, a sometimes lengthy process that blurred the line between marriage and co-habitation, and that if derailed, could render legitimate sexual intercourse illegitimate."[84] Often, it was considered acceptable for couples to live together while marriage terms were being arranged, and when a marriage was approaching, there was a marked relaxation of the usually tight norms governing sexual relations, a shift condoned by families and society alike.[85] Within such contexts, the strictures of the church were shown to be flexible, or even completely irrelevant.

Male and female poets writing during the thirteenth century would have composed and constructed lyric personae within these overlapping and shifting cultural contexts and ideologies. Yet it is also the case that the gender of the "real authors" of anonymous trouvère texts, like those found in Douce 308, whether male or female, is not definitively knowable. Instead, that gender can be understood to be fluid, for most scholars agree that trouvère songs were not perceived as fixed entities but instead were products of an oral tradition that encouraged the re-interpretation and re-composition of works in performance.[86] Thus, the authorship of a particular song can be seen as

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[84] Bennett, "Writing Fornication," 145.

[85] Richard Adair, *Courtship, Illegitimacy and Marriage in Early Modern England* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1996), 168–70.

[86] It has grown increasingly clear that the development of musical notation did not completely uproot the oral tradition; on the contrary, as Jack Goody has pointed out, it makes little sense to make a clear-cut distinction between oral and written culture; see Jack Goody, *The Interface Between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Instead, the musical culture of the Middle Ages was a rich and complex interaction between oral and literate features and the trouvère chansonniers can be considered a product of this combination of oral and written cultures. Many scholars, among them Leo Treitler, recognize the importance of considering the oral dimension of medieval music in its analysis and interpretation. For some of the problems and concepts involved with this approach to medieval music, see the essays in Treitler's book *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it was Made* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), especially 131–85. Mary Carruthers, in her work on medieval memory, has demonstrated how medieval composition was not an act of writing, but "rumination, cogitation, dictation, a listening and a dialogue, a 'gathering' (*collectio*) of voices from several places in memory"; Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge:

collaborative, and there are names of nine female trouvères that have been preserved in addition to the 256 named male trouvères. In addition, there are references to men and women composing and performing songs in the opposing gender's voice.[87]

At the same time, the trouvère tradition was one in which the male voice was the norm and formed the hegemonic narrative. All female voices, whether written by biologically male or female authors, can be considered non-hegemonic narratives. Female-voiced trouvère songs use the tools and conventions of the system that privilege the male voice and do resist the hegemonic narrative of that system to varying degrees, but are also informed by medieval cultural tropes of the female voice. For these reasons, female-voiced songs can only be approached on a single basis—as representations of women.

Representations of Women in Medieval Literature

A range of female characters encountered in Old French literature, specifically the romances, *fabliau*, and lyric. A short description of these character-types provides a wider background to the representations of women specific to the Douce 308 chansonnier considered in the following chapters. While individual depictions of women may vary

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Cambridge University Press, 1990), 197–98; eadem, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[87] Evidence shows that men did compose in the female voice, for there are a number of female-voiced songs attributed to known male authors, and multiple literary works contain scenes of women singing songs from the perspective of a man. Male-authored female-voiced songs include "Amors mi fait" by Moniot d'Arras, Richard de Fournival's "Onqes n'amai tant," the famous *chanson de croisade* "Chanterai por mon corage" by Guiot de Dijon, and Adam de la Halle's "Amours m'ont si doucement." In the medieval romance *Roman de la rose* by Jean Renart, a female minstrel, Bele Doete, entertains the emperor Conrad with a *pastourelle* in the masculine voice; see Jean Renart, *The Romance of the Rose*, ed. Patricia Terry and Nancy Vine Durling (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), II. Lines 4563–83. In Gerbert de Montreuil's *Roman de la Violette*, the female heroine Euriaut performs an Occitan *canso* by the troubadour Bernart de Vendatorn and a *chanson de malmariée* by Moniot d'Arras. See Gerbert de Montreuil, *Le roman de la violette*, ed. Douglas Labaree Buffum (Paris: H. Champion, 1928), lines 319–31, 441–49.

from author to author and from work to work, there are recurring themes, characters, and behaviors that can be observed.

How were these women represented in literature? Definitions of representation have been put forth by various historians and literary scholars to refine this concept and its related terms. W.J.T. Mitchell described "representation" as the use of signs to stand in for and take the place of something but also stressed that this is "an extremely elastic notion. […] Sometimes one thing can stand for a whole group of things […] and the representation sign never seems to occur in isolation from a whole network of other signs."[88]

Other scholars have advocated for different terms in place of representation. Roland Barthes rejected the term "representation," which he argued indicated discourse that circulated only among the characters of a particular frame of action, and instead advocated in favor of the term "figuration."[89] In a study of anxieties in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century literature surrounding the female speaking subject, Claire Kahane justified her use of Barthes' term "figure":

> In using the word figure, I am not limiting myself either to a character within a fiction or to an actual historical personage. I intend, instead, to evoke the idea of a cultural trope that circulates within the discourse of a particular historical era, provocatively embodying its anxieties and desires.[90]

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[88] W.J.T. Mitchell, "Representation," in *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, ed. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 11–22.
[89] Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1975), 55–56.
[90] Claire Kahane, *Passions of the Voice: Hysteria, Narrative, and the Figure of the Speaking Woman*, 1850–1915 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), viii.

More recently, however, "representation" has been reclaimed as a term for understanding narrative voices in literature and how they relate to their cultural contexts. In the introduction to *Framing the Family*, a collection of essays on depictions of familial units in the medieval and early modern periods, editors Rosalynn Voaden and Diane Wolfthal interpreted "representation" as follows: "The images and texts that are explored here are not mirrors that reflect the historical reality of the family, but rather cultural forms that represent it."[91] This definition, which relies upon the cultural theorist Stuart Hall's work on systems of representation,[92] is useful in that it fully explores the complex relationship between history and cultural context by acknowledging the role of text, author, and audience in the formation of meaning.

Anna Kathryn Grau preferred Voaden and Wolfthal's use of "representation" to describe cultural tropes in the female voice within the context of thirteenth-century French literature and music, and cited a number of reasons why a study of musical meaning should favor this term over "figuration": "A musical 'figure' is something quite separate from Barthes's 'figure,' while 'representation' in music has been the subject of a number of studies that pursue music's ability to signify."[93]

Throughout this study, I follow Voaden, Wolfthal, and Grau in making use of the term "representation" to describe the depiction of women in Old French lyric texts. As a group, these depictions appear most often as cultural tropes and should not be taken as reflections of reality: when a text takes on a female perspective or presents a female

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[91] Rosalynn Voaden and Diane Wolfthal, *Framing the Family: Narrative and Representation in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 7–8.
[92] See Stuart Hall, "Introduction," in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices. Culture, Media, and Identities* (London: Sage, 1997), 1–74.
[93] Grau, "Representation and Resistance," 5.

character, it makes use of these tropes to represent a female voice. Here, I concentrate on how the composition of the text communicates something about its female subject(s) to the audience through refrain citation, emphasis, or internal associations.

Poets who wrote female personae were representing in lyric not only concepts about gender informed by their society but also responding to various tropes of the female voice already present in literature. Grau has argued that certain trends can be observed in the depiction of women's voices in various literatures of thirteenth-century France, namely that women were associated with "ornament, excess, body and voice in general, and specifically with excessive, seductive and disruptive speech."[94] The more negative side of these stereotypes can be seen through depictions of talkative and quarrelsome women in numerous clerical writings, including the famously misogynistic work, the *Liber Lamentationum Matheoluli* (ca. 1295), which included a riddle referencing the familiarity of the assertion that women are universally talkative.[95] Andreas Capellanus' treatise on love, *De amore* (ca. 1180s), lists women's vices, which include several "sins of the tongue" such as dominating conversations, bothering a whole neighborhood with loud outbursts, and having the compulsion to speak even while alone.[96] Sermon *exempla*, illustrative stories in sermons intended to keep the attention of

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[94] Grau, "Representation and Resistance," 45.

[95] In the fourteenth century French translation by Jehan Le Fevre is a riddle that takes as a given the familiarity of the assertion that women are universally talkative: « Pourquoy sont femmes plus noiseuses/Plaines de paroles oiseuses/Et plus jangleuses que les homes?/Car elles song d'os et nous sommes/Fais de terre en nostre personne:/L'os plus haut que la terre sonne » (Why are women more noisy/Full of foolish words/And more garrulous than men? /Because they are made of bones/And our persons are made of clay:/Bones rattle louder than earth). From Book II, 241–46; Matheolus, *Les Lamentations de Matheolus et le Livre de leesce de Jehan Le Fevre, de Resson, (poemes francais du XIVe siecle)*, ed. Anton Gerard van Hamel (Paris: E. Bouillon, 1905). The original Latin passage: "Quare clamose plus quam nos sunt mulieres? Fiunt ex osse, nos ex tellure. Vide res: Nam magis os resonat terra" (Book II, 742–45).

[96] Andreas's treatise, which concerns what is referred to as "courtly love," is both widely known and controversial. Taken for many years as a straightforward account of the love ethos of the troubadours and trouvères, more recent scholarship has proposed that the treatise more so attempts an ironic treatment of

the congregation, occasionally feature the stereotype of the overly garrulous woman.[97] The belief in women's speech as powerful and seductive appears in theological writings that cite the book of Genesis for the earliest example of women's tendency to disrupt men's lives through their speech, that of Eve in the Garden of Eden. In a commentary on the Gospel of Luke, St Ambrose assigned the female mouth a significant role in the Fall, as well as in Man's ultimate redemption through Christ's Resurrection:

> Just as woman was the author of man's sin in the beginning, and he the follower in error, so now she who had previously tasted death had first sight of the Resurrection, and in turn was first in the remedy for sin. So as not to endure the opprobrium of man's perpetual blame, she transmitted grace too, and compensated for the misery of the original fall by her disclosure of the Resurrection. Through woman's mouth death had proceeded: through woman's mouth life was restored (X: 156).[98]

Women were also compared to sirens, which in medieval bestiaries were located among the bird entries, often depicted as appearing as a woman to the navel with the lower half of a bird and characterizing women's music-making as a danger to men for its seductive qualities.[99]

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popular attitudes, due to the third book's blatant contradiction of the first two as well as its extreme statements about women (including those cited here). Despite its uncertain sincerity, these comments about women can still be considered responses to contemporary ideas about women, even if the intent is to mock them. See Peter L. Allen, *The Art of Love: Amatory Fiction from Ovid to the Romance of the Rose* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 178; Don Alfred Monson, *Andreas Capellanus, Scholasticism, & the Courtly Tradition* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 383

[97] In one example by Jacques de Vitry (ca. 1180–1240), a married couple argues about whether the grass has been mowed or not until the husband, enraged, cuts out his wife's tongue, but she continues to doggedly sign the motion of cutting grass; see Thomas Frederick Crane (ed.), *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry* (London: Folklore Society, 1890), 93, 222–23.

[98] Ambrose, *Sanctii Ambrosii Opera, Pars Prima*, ed. Carl Shenkl, Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 32.1 (Vienna, 1896), 280. Translation from Alcuin Blamires, Karen Pratt, and C. William Marx (eds.), *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 62

[99] Florence MacCulloch, *Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries*, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 33 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1962), 166–69. Their association with women is seen in the *Liber Decern capitulorum* by Marbod of Rennes (ca. 1035–1123), which alternatively attacks and praises women and compares them to monsters and seductresses of

While these stereotypes of women as excessive, seductive, and disruptive are prevalent in clerical writing, they are also relevant to the literary genres of the courtly romance and the *fabliau*, which are much closer in subject matter and audience to trouvère song. Romances contain a wide range of female characters, although they are generally of some high social status, and when they speak, they tend to be more restrained than the women of *fabliaux*, who are often married women or those of lower-class status and whose speech is frequently disruptive and noisy. When women appear in romance, they are often cast as desired objects rather than active, desiring subjects. According to Roberta L. Krueger, "we find complex and often ambiguous portrayals of female subjectivity that seem to mirror women's paradoxical position in courtly culture, where they were both privileged centers of attention, and marginal players in a game whose rules were written by men."[100] Yet at the same time, there are female characters who play roles that challenge social conventions or codes through their transgressive acts or disruptive speech. While female characters only rarely figure as the sole adventurer of a romance tale, they consistently play a role in those narratives centered around men by exhorting them to displays of prowess, beseeching them to return home, or providing essential information to the male hero. In romances where women are prominent, or even central, characters, they often serve as a focal point for questions about gender and social roles that trouble the courtly world.

Classical legend: "The Siren is also like this [i.e., bears female form]: she entices fools by singing lovely melodies, draws them towards her once they are enticed, and when they are drawn in she plunges them into the annihilating abyss." Marbod of Rennes, *Liber decern capitulorum*, ed. Rosario Leotta (Rome: Herder, 1984), lines 60–62; translated in Blamires, Pratt, and Marx, *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended*, 102.

[100] Roberta L. Krueger, "Questions of Gender in Old French Courtly Romance," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 132–49.

Often portrayed as the lover of the male lead, women's roles in romances hold the potential to be both extraordinary and problematic. For example, in one of the earliest romances, *Le Roman d'Enéas* (ca. 1160), which is based upon Virgil's *Aeneid*, the eponymous hero's lover, the Latin princess Lavine, delivers a love letter to Enéas by shooting an arrow into the Trojan camp and in doing so nearly re-ignites the war. Lavine's action is in response to an argument with her mother, who accused Enéas of being a homosexual and attempted to prevent their relationship. This scene does not appear in Virgil's original narrative, but by its addition Lavine conveys female literacy, passion, and resourcefulness in a sphere usually inhabited only by men, blending Ovidian and chivalric elements. Yet at the same time, considering her mother's comments, her actions might also communicate the narrator's anxieties about sexual identity in a romance that includes a variety of sexual roles, including the characterization of Enéas' love for Lavine as a pure and courtly love, as opposed to his lust for Dido, and as a relationship that will rid him of the accusations of homosexual attraction and solidify his destiny as the founder of Rome.[101]

Many heroines of courtly romance present similarly dynamic portraits of women. In Jean Renart's early-thirteenth-century *Roman de la rose, ou de Guillaume de Dole*, the titular character's sister, Lienor, is praised for her resplendent beauty but demonstrates her cleverness when she is accused by the emperor's seneschal of no longer being a virgin. While her brother Guillaume and the emperor are distraught, she sets up a ruse that proves false the accusation and the narrative ends with her accuser's incarceration, the restoration of her reputation, and her marriage to the emperor. Interestingly, two of

[101] See Simon Gaunt, "From Epic to Romance: Gender and Sexuality in the Roman d'Eneas," *Romanic Review* 83 (1992): 1–27, and Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature*, 75–86.

the most influential female characters of romance, Iseut and Guenevere, are not virtuous maidens but adulterous queens, although authors tend to show a significant degree of sympathy for their situations. These fictional women's passionate attachments to knights who pledged fealty to their royal husbands were of continuous fascination and may have allowed authors and audiences to explore cultural anxieties around women's agency and ability to wield power and destabilize lines of succession at a time when historical queens played an increasingly limited role.[102]

Occasionally, female lead characters in romances throw the very foundations of identity and social roles into confusion. One thirteenth-century romance, *Le Roman de Silence*, serves as a site of gender trouble, and also contains three extremely contrasting representations of women.[103] Silence is a young, virtuous maiden who hides her womanhood and is raised as a boy in order to circumvent unjust inheritance laws, and throughout the narrative she takes on the male roles of a young man, jongleur, knight, and courtier. In addition to Silence, there are two very different female characters: her mother, Countess Eufemie, who is a kind mother and loyal wife to her husband and serves as an exemplar of reciprocal love and consensual marriage. On the other side is Queen Eufeme, a wicked woman whose arranged marriage to the king is infertile, who attempts to seduce the male-appearing Silence, and who carries on an affair with a knight, who has disguised himself as a priest. While Silence successfully acts a knight and enjoys

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[102] See Peggy McCracken, *The Romance of Adultery: Queenship and Sexual Transgression in Old French Literature*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).

[103] Due to the text's thematic exploration of nature vs nurture, transvestism, gender and sex, and gender roles, the *Roman de Silence* has received considerable treatment in gender studies and queer theory since the 1990s. See Valentina S. Sergeeva, "The Feminine and the Masculine in *Roman De Silence*," *Studia Litterarum* 3.4 (2018): 116–39; Heather Tanner, "Lords, Wives, and Vassals in the *Roman De Silence*," *Journal of Women's History* 24.1 (2012): 138–59; Karen A. Lurkhur, "Medieval Silence and Modern Transsexuality," *Studies in Gender and Sexuality* 11.4 (2010): 220–38; Elizabeth A. Waters, "The Third Path: Alternative Sex, Alternative Gender in 'Le Roman De Silence,'" *Arthuriana* 7.2 (1997): 35–46.

the privileges of masculinity, along with its risks, her female sex is ultimately revealed when she is forced to strip before the king's court. Once all is revealed, including Eufeme's adultery, the queen is justly punished by being put to death for her transgressions, and the king marries Silence. At the conclusion, the narrator apologizes for his harsh treatment of Eufeme and encourages audience members to praise and emulate Silence. This courtly text and its subversive heroine create a space in which conventional roles and identities are fluid and ambiguous, even though the disruptions are ultimately resolved by the end of the narrative.

Most courtly depictions of women were written by men; however, there are examples of female characters in writing by women. The poet Marie de France (fl. ca. 1160–1215) composed twelve *lais* (short narrative romances), in which numerous women speak and act according to their own desires as they attempt to overcome obstacles in their lives.[104] Half of the *lais* feature young *malmariées* (unhappily married women), while the other half focuses on young maidens who grapple with questions of identity as they transition to adulthood, and often the female characters experience miraculous interventions or encounters that allow them to explore alternate realities or alter the perceptions of those around them. For example, in the text of the *lai Le Fresne*, an orphaned maiden bestows a significant item, the blanket she was abandoned with, upon the woman whom her beloved has just married; this simple gesture sets off a chain of events that result in the maiden being identified as the twin sister of the bride, the annulment of the marriage, and the heroine marrying her lord. In another *lai*, *Eliduc*, a wife revives her husband's mistress from a coma and, realizing that her husband's

[104] Glyn S. Burgess and Keith Busby (ed.), *The Lais of Marie de France*, Penguin Classics (New York: Penguin Books, 1986).

feelings for her have changed, generously allows him to marry the maiden and enters a convent; after many years, this couple enters religious orders. Krueger notes that it is because Marie's *lais* "imagine unusual answers to ordinary, yet intractable problems" that they highlight how real-life tensions experienced by men and women cannot be perfectly resolved and encourage audiences "to ponder the ethical dimensions of sexual and social relations, which are inevitably thorny."[105] While the majority of romances uphold traditional values of chivalry and Christian unions, where historically women played more marginal roles, their fictional spaces allow for the exploration of tensions within and resistance to gender norms, often through multifaceted female characters.

Often discussed in contrast to courtly romances was the *fabliau*, another medieval literary genre where women found significant representation. These were short narratives in verse that were mostly satirical or comic, with the favored targets being the clergy, cuckolds, or women, and often involved bawdy or obscene humor. *Fabliaux* characters are typically of the middle and lower classes, with women and their relationships often central; adultery is a common theme. Because of the prominence given to women and sexual encounters, the *fabliau* has been the subject of a number of gender-focused studies.[106] The genre has been considered anti-feminist due to its many added morals that uphold stereotypes about women, and the suggestion that most married women cheat on their husbands.[107] Yet they can also be interpreted in the opposite direction, since the

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[105] Kruger, "Questions of Gender in Old French Courtly Romance."
[106] See for example, E. Jane Burns, *Bodytalk: When Women Speak in Old French Literature*, New Cultural Studies (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), chapter 1; Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature*, chapter 5; Norris J. Lacy, "Fabliau Women," *Romance Notes* 25.3 (1985): 318–27; Lesley Johnson, "Women on Top: Antifeminism in the Fabliaux?," *Modern Language Review* 78.2 (4, 1983): 298–307; Raymond Eichmann, "The Anti-Feminism of the Fabliaux," *French Literature Series* 6 (1979): 26–34.
[107] Johnson, "Women on Top" and Eichmann, "The Anti-Feminism of the Fabliaux." See also Lacy, *Reading Fabliaux* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), chapter 5.

adulterous women usually act with more agency and intelligence, and even physical stamina, than their husbands and lovers.[108] Simon Gaunt argued that the genre's tendencies for showing women "on top" was less about sexual differences and more about the overturning of hierarchical structures of all kinds, revealing the conventional position of men above women to be artificial and susceptible to manipulation.[109]

Much of the impact of the *fabliaux* is said to come from their parodying of courtly romance's characters and scenarios,[110] but the *fabliau* wife is not so different from the courtly heroine, in that both women can demonstrate powerful, often disruptive voices. The challenge to gender conventions generally takes the form of a wife who nags, abuses, or lies to her husband to preserve an adulterous relationship or for material gain. For example, in "Les Perdriz" ("The Partridges"), a gluttonous wife eats the partridges intended for dinner with her husband and the village priest, then lies to both men to avoid blame, pitting them against one another.[111] In another, "Les .iiii. souhais saint Martin" ("The Four Wishes of St Martin"), a browbeaten husband is offered four wishes by the saint; his wife, in stereotypical fashion, nags him until he tells her of the wishes and then uses her powers of persuasion to secure one of the wishes for herself. Once he agrees, the wife immediately wishes that her husband be covered in penises, fulfilling the stereotype of women as lascivious; in retaliation the husband wishes for her to be covered in vaginas. In frustration, they wish away their new appendages without specifying that the originals remain, and thus must use their final wish to restore themselves to their normal

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[108] Natalie Muñoz, *Disabusing Women in the Old French Fabliaux*, Currents in Comparative Romance Languages and Literatures, vol. 230 (New York: Peter Lang, 2014).
[109] Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature*, 235.
[110] Anne Elizabeth Cobby, *Ambivalent Conventions: Formula and Parody in Old French* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), 180.
[111] Robert Hellman and Richard F. O'Gorman (eds.), *Fabliaux: Ribald Tales from the Old French* (New York: Crowell, 1965), 123–27.

state.[112] Interestingly, in the few *fabliaux* where the main female character is not a wife, such women often do not engage in these quarrelsome behaviors. For example, in one of the most famous of these, "La Damoiselle qui ne pooit oïr parler de foutre sans avoir mal au coeur" ("The Maiden who couldn't hear talking about fucking without having heartburn"), the heroine of the title cannot bear hearing, much less saying, vulgar words, although she still desires, and ultimately attains, what the word *foutre* signifies.[113]

What, then, do the male voices of lyric have to say about women? Most often, male troubadours and trouvères praise ladies who possess *biauté* (beauty), *courtoisie* (courtliness), *noblesse* (nobility), *bonté* (goodness), *douceur* (sweetness), and *sens* (wisdom), with "Douce dame" (sweet lady) being one of the most common addresses in male-voiced lyric.[114] For example, Gace Brulé, in his *chanson* "Ne me sont pas achoison de chanter" ("They are for me no reason to sing," RS 787), conveys that he is happy to sing whenever his lady, "la bele o le douz non" (the beautiful lady with the sweet name), commands:

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[112] Robert L. Harrison (ed.), *Gallic Salt: Eighteen Fabliaux Translated from the Old French* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 188–89.

[113] Ulf Malm, "'Par foi, ans mes ne vi tel con,' Medieval Sexually Explicit Narrative: The *Fabliau*," *Samlaren* 133 (2012): 17–23.

[114] There has been significant discussion of how male-voiced lyrics, while they construct the image of a courtly lady and direct their desire toward her, fix and limit her as an object that is used "to promote the amorous desires, literary aspirations, moral improvement, marital superiority, social mobility, or psychic fantasy of men"; E. Jane Burns, "Courtly Love: Who Needs It? Recent Feminist Work in the Medieval French Tradition," *Signs* 27.1 (2001): 35. Sarah Kay explained, "From the mid-twelfth century onwards, therefore, the [troubadour] *canso* is likely to exhibit an alternation of subject and object roles, which together construct the experience of desire from the standpoint of the male troubadour. This giddying alternation between passivity and activity is usually perceived as uplifting and exalting and the source of unqualified moral improvement for the troubadour-subject, but not for the lady"; *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 97. Simon Gaunt has shown that even in "the most courtly and moving love poetry it is not always clear whether the poet is talking about his relations with his lady or other men"; *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 140. This has also contributed to the discussion of the underlying misogyny of the "courtly love" ideology in general: See R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1991), 156, 160, 164.

"Ne me sont pas achoison de chanter," stanza 2, lines 1–4	
Por ce m'est bon que sa valor retraie Sa cortoisie et sa beauté veraie Dont Dex li vot si grant planté donor Qu'il en estuet les autres oblïer	I am happy to talk of her worth Her courtesy and her true beauty, Which God gave her in such abundance That all other [ladies] must be forgotten.[115]

In this *chanson*, Gace is primarily preoccupied with the lady's appearance and non-descript "biens" (goodness). In another *chanson*, "Desconfortez, plains d'ire" ("Dejected, full of woe and sorrow," RS 233), Gace sings of a lady who embodies both eloquence and simplicity:

"Desconfortez, plains d'ire," stanza 2, vv. 1–4	
Mult a en li courtoisie et vaillance Simple resgart qui trop bien li avient. Ses biaus parlers, sa simple contenance Me fet penser plus qu'a moi ne couvient	She has great courtliness and worth, A simple expression which becomes her very well. Her beautiful speech, her simple face Make me think thoughts above my station.[116]

Simplicity of face and expression here is not to be understood as an indication of plainness: elsewhere, Gace describes the woman as "la plus bele de France" (the most beautify [lady] in France) and addresses her as "Bele vaillans, doulce, cortoise et franche" (Beautiful lady, sweet, courtly, noble lady). Yet, in his words, Gace's lady is also capable of speaking eloquently and this is part of her allure. While it ostensibly conveys intelligence and skill, Helen Solterer has demonstrated that the medieval notion of women's "beautiful talk" was also used by male writers to control women's utterances

[115] Text and translation from van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 106–07.
[116] Text and translation from van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 113–15.

by associating what it means to be feminine with speech that adheres to the sociolinguistic code of courtliness under their jurisdiction.[117]

There are also decidedly negative portrayals of women represented in male-voiced lyrics, most often circling around women's falsehood, fickleness, or independence. In Bernart de Ventadorn's *canso* "Can vei la lauzeta mover" ("When I see the lark move," PC 70.43),[118] perhaps the most famous and most anthologized of all troubadour songs,[119] the male speaker details an episode of unrequited love:

"Can vei la lauzeta mover," stanzas 2 and 4; stanza 5, lines 1–4	
Ai, las! Tan cuidava saber	Alas! I thought I knew so much
D'amor, e tan petit en sai!	about love, but how little I really do,
Car eu d'amar no·m posc tener	because I cannot stop myself from loving
Celeis don ja pro non aurai.	that one from whom I shall never gain advantage.
Tout m'a mo cor, e tout m'a me,	She took my heart and robbed me of myself
E se mezeis e tot lo mon;	And of herself and all the world.
E can se-m tolc, no·m laisset re	And when she robs me thus, she leaves nothing
mas dezirer e cor volon.	But desire and a willing heart.
De las domnas me dezesper;	I despair of ladies
Ja mais en lor no·m fiarai;	I shall never more put my faith in them
C'aissi com las solh chaptener	Just as I used to defend them,
Enaissi las deschaptenrai.	Now I shall leave them to their own devices.
Pois vei c'una pro no m'en te	For I see that a woman has no use for me
Vas leis que·m destrui e·m confon,	who ruins and destroys me,
Totas las dopt' e las mescre,	I suspect all women and disbelieve them,
Car be sai c'atretals se son.	For I know well that the others are like this.
D'aisso·s fa be femna parer	In this way, my lady reveals herself

[117] Helen Solterer, *The Master and Minerva: Disputing Women in French Medieval Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 22–61, especially 55–56. By analyzing late-thirteenth- and fourteenth-century French Aristotelian narratives, Solterer demonstrated that narrators used the notion of women's beautiful talk (*biaus parler/bele conversation*), whose beauty is "amplified and intensified to a superlative degree," to exert their intellectual mastery over women.

[118] *Bernart von Ventadorn: Seine Lieder mit Einleitung und Glossar*, ed. Carl Appel (Halle: Niemeyer, 1915), no. 43, 249–57. Translation from Murray, "The Clerical Reception of Bernart De Ventadorn's 'Can Vei La Lauzeta Mover' (PC 70, 34)," *Medium Aevum* 85.2 (2016): 261–62.

[119] The song appears in three manuscripts as "Can vei" and ten others with different words, more so than any other *troubadour* melody. "Can vei" is found with the original text and melody in troubadour MSS *W*, 190d; *R*, 10a; and *G*, 56d.

Ma domna, per qu'e·lh o retrai,	To be woman like another, so I recount it
Car no vol so c'om deu voler,	Because she does not want what one should
E so c'om li devada, fai.	And what she is forbidden to do, she does.

Bernart understandably suffers because his love is in vain, yet he places the blame for his predicament entirely on his *domna* (lady), saying that she has revealed herself to be a *femna* (woman), because she does not do what he thinks she ought.

While a vast majority of the male-voiced songs in Douce 308 describe their beloved as a beautiful and courteous *dame* who is worthy of their devotion, there are a few that present the association between women and lying and flattery, and feature a man railing against his lady, and by extension all women, for her deceit. For example, in the *ballette* "Par fate de lëaultei" ("For lack of loyalty," RS 464, found twice in Douce 308, on fols. 214r–v and 225r), a male speaker recounts how he devoted himself completely to his lady, a woman surpassing all in beauty and charms, but has been unpleasantly tricked:

"Par fate de lëaultei," stanzas 3 and 4	
Promesse d'amor.	My lady gave me
Et durer toz jours.	A promise of love
Me faixoit ma dame.	To last forever.
Can je l'ai cointai.	When I first knew her,
Sovant de cuer gai	She would often tell me
Me dixoit par m'arme.	Cheerfully: "By my soul,
Je vos ain de loiaul cuer.	I love you truly;
N'an partiroie a nul fuer.	I wouldn't stop for anything!"
Ansi fu je d'amor pris.	That's how I was caught by love.
Se ma dame m'ait.	I am quite aware
Faillit et elle ait.	That my lady has
Sa volanteit dite.	Failed me and has
Et m'ait de ceü.	Expressed her will
Je l'ai bien ceü.	And has deceived me.
Je l'an clain bien quite.	I renounce her!
Nuns ne s'an doit mervillier,	No one should be surprised,
Car femmes par losangier	For women, with their blandishments,

Ont plus saige de moi pris.	Have trapped men wiser than I.[120]

The speaker then names other men who were trapped by women, including Merlin, Samson, and Hippocrates, and comments that if such wise men fell prey to women's trickery he, a fool, does not stand a chance. In a different *ballette*, "Li hons fait folie" ("That man's a fool," RS 1160, also found twice in Douce 308, on fols. 215r and 225v), the man gives his tormentor a new nickname to match her behavior:

"Li hons fait folie," stanzas 2 and 3	
Je l'appelloie m'amie.	I called her my love,
Mon cuer ma mort et ma vie.	My heart, my death, and my life;
Car je ne cudoie mie.	I never thought
K'ele me deüst traïr.	She could betray me—
Mais elle ait non folz ci fie.	But her name is Fool's Trust.
Conpaignon de conpaignie.	Friends, don't—by God—
Por deu ne les croieis mie.	Have faith in their friendship;
C'est bairas et tricherie.	It's lies and trickery;
Vos ne porïez santir.	You couldn't be stung
Nule plus poignant ortrie.	By a sharper nettle![121]

Thus, when male speakers feel slighted by their *dames*, they often call upon the same negative stereotypes in order to slander not only the object of their affection but women as a group. What surfaces is the clear association between women's words as seductive and powerful but ultimately disingenuous, and women's behaviors as disruptive and out of men's control.

[120] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 406–07; translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *Old French Ballettes*, 102–07.
[121] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 410; translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *Old French Ballettes*, 120–21.

As will be shown in the following chapters, women's voices in lyric poetry frequently appear as stock literary characters that are defined in part through their manner of speaking. There are characters that inhabit the more negative stereotypes, such as unhappy wives (*malmariées*) and peasant girls (*pastourelles* or *tousettes*), similar to women of the *fabliaux*, in that they are often disruptive or seductive, using their voices to harass men or flatter them until they are submissive. Positive stereotypes characterize more independent female characters, such as queens and single *dames*, who use their voices to improve their own situations or the situations of those around them. There is some correlation between the negative and positive quality of the stereotypes with class differences, with married bourgeois women and peasant girls contrasted with single noblewomen and wives. Scholars have discussed the potential for an ambiguity of gender and sex regarding female characters like the courtly *dame*, who is silent in male-voiced song, and the division between *domna* (lady) and *femna* (woman) in troubadour song encapsulates this split (as seen in Bernart's *canso* above).[122] The noble *domna* (literally the feminine "lord") is not considered a *femna* because she is usually seen as silent and inaccessible; in contrast, the *femna*, potentially by virtue of her class, is a woman who speaks and takes up space.

While other representations of women's voices certainly exist, the patterns noted above are far-reaching. What will also be demonstrated here is how these stock literary characters and their stereotypical feminine behaviors move across different genre

[122] Sarah Kay, *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 91; William E. Burgwinkle, *Love for Sale: Materialist Readings of the Troubadour Razo Corpus*, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities v. 2067, New Middle Ages v. 5 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 262. On virginity as a third gender, see the Introduction to Ruth Evans, Sarah Salih, and Anke Bernau, *Medieval Virginities* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 3.

categories of the Douce 308 chansonnier, with disruptive, seductive, and independent female voices appearing in the courtly *grands chants* and *jeux-partis*, as well as in the more dance-like or hybridized *ballettes*, *pastourelles*, and *motets*. This fluidity mirrors an inherent lack of rigidity in medieval lyric types, which warrants a brief overview of medieval concepts of lyric genres and modern typologies.

Medieval Genre

Douce 308 has been described as an "explicitly genre-conscious songbook,"[123] since it is one of only two that organizes its entries into separate sections by genre instead of by author or incipit.[124] The usefulness of genre distinctions in trouvère lyric is a rather complex topic, so this chansonnier's division of its text with genre labels requires a brief discussion of lyric genres here. According to William Paden, the concept of song type developed alongside the poetry and did not predate the songs of the earliest troubadours.[125] Only in the thirteenth century did the trouvères develop a self-consciousness around their modes of composition and those of the troubadours, and this included genre as a framework for discussing vernacular song. Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century treatises on the composition of lyric, such as the anonymous late-thirteenth-century work *Doctrina de compondre dictats*, provide evidence for a concept of lyric genre. Elizabeth Aubrey discussed how the *Doctrina* stipulates melodic qualities for various genres, such as whether or not the melody should be newly composed or borrowed, and implies that the character of a song's melody is connected with the poem's

[123] Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, xxvi.
[124] The other manuscript that classifies its contents by genre and form is trouvère MS *a*.
[125] Paden, "The System of Genres in Troubadour Lyric," in *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*, ed. William D. Paden (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 21–67.

genre, which is defined by its theme or subject matter.[126] Elsewhere, she pointed to the thirteenth-century music theorist Johannes de Grocheio, who clearly argued that while text provides matter in vernacular song, melody provides form.[127] In Grocheio's view, following Aristotelian thought, matter and form are inseparable in relation to the song's theme or subject matter; theme indicates genre, and genre then would determine a song's structure, language, function, and melody.

One medieval genre that intersects intriguingly with the Douce 308 chansonnier is that of the thirteenth-century *motet*. The *motet*, a musical work characterized by a fundamental tenor voice (often quoting a section of plainchant melody) combined with one, two, or three upper voices, is considered one of the most important forms of polyphonic music from about 1220 to 1750, and has been the focus of countless musicological studies over the past century.[128] Its history has gradually been refashioned from a consideration of a "central," Parisian tradition of liturgical polyphony to a recognition of the heterogeneous nature of the genre, which has no single set of characteristics that serves to define it generally, except in particular historical or regional

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[126] Paden, "Introduction," in *Medieval Lyric*, 10–11.
[127] Aubrey, "Genre as a Determinant of Melody in the Songs of the Troubadours and the Trouvères," in *Medieval Lyric*, 273–96.
[128] Definition from Catherine A., Bradley, Peter M. Lefferts, Patrick Macey, Christoph Wolff, Graham Dixon, James R. Anthony, Malcolm Boyd, Jerome Roche, Leeman L. Perkins, and Ernest H. Sanders, "Motet," *Grove Music Online*, December 30, 2019, accessed May 27, 2021, <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-90000369371>. Some more recent studies include: Catherine A. Bradley, *Polyphony in Medieval Paris: The Art of Composing with Plainchant*, Music in Context (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Jared C. Hartt (ed.), *A Critical Companion to Medieval Motets*, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music, 17 (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2018); Anna Zayaruznaya, *The Monstrous New Art: Divided Forms in the Late Medieval Motet*, Music in Context (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 1997); Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry and Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

contexts.[129] In exploring how performances of multi-texted motets may have been understood by audiences, Sylvia Huot and Jennifer Saltzstein described the capacity for intertextual listening during the High Medieval period in the performance of both polyphonic motets and monophonic songs.[130] In that time, when readers were few and hearers were numerous, medieval lyric was an art form intended for oral performance. The juxtaposition of multiple voices in a polyphonic motet was capable of foregrounding or expanding certain perspectives or obscuring others in performance, something that Sarah Kay has referred to as "spectrality."[131] Given this, *motets* are often analyzed for their complexity and the multiple meanings that emerge when the different voices are read alongside or against one another, particularly when pre-existing *chansons* or refrains are cited in different voices.[132]

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[129] For instance, Catherine A. Bradley has demonstrated how a vernacular motet can affect earlier, Latin-texted versions or may in fact be the original version; see Bradley, "Re-workings and Chronological Dynamics in a Thirteenth-Century Latin Motet Family," *Journal of Musicology* 32 (2015),:153–97; eadem, 'Contrafacta and Transcribed Motets: Vernacular Influences on Latin Motets and Clausulae in the Florence Manuscript," *Early Music History* 32 (2013): 1–70; and eadem, 'New Texts for Old Music: Three Early Thirteenth-Century Latin Motets," *Music & Letters* 93 (2012): 149–69. Gaël Saint-Cricq and others have paid attention to the presence of motets in trouvère chansonniers and proposed a more complicated and diverse origin of more "song-like" motets. See Gaël Saint-Cricq, "A New Link Between the Motet and Trouvère Chanson: The Pedes-cum-cauda Motet," *Early Music History* 32 (2013): 179–223; idem, "Motets in Chansonniers and the Other Culture of the French Thirteenth-century Motet," in *A Critical Companion to Medieval Motets*, 225–42; Elizabeth Eva Leach, "The Genre(s) of Medieval Motets," in *A Critical Companion to Medieval Motet*s, 15–42; Matthew P. Thomson, "Building a Motet around Quoted Material: Textual and Musical Structure in Motets Based on Monophonic Songs," in *A Critical Companion to Medieval Motets*, 243–60.

[130] Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet*, 19–55; Jennifer Saltzstein, *Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry* (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 35–79.

[131] Kay defines spectrality as "the potential for echoes of various kinds, and their capacity to summon up other versions of the text, in which thoughts are processed more or less obsessively and more or less repetitively." Zrinka Stahuljak, Virginie Greene, Sarah Kay, Sharon Kinoshita, and Peggy McCracken, *Thinking Through Chrétien de Troyes* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2011), 39.

[132] See, for example, Jennifer Saltzstein, "Rape and Repentance in Two Medieval Motets." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 70.3 (2017): 583–616; Suzannah Clark, "'S'en dirai chançonete': Hearing Text and Music in a Medieval Motet," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 16 (2007): 31–59; Sylvia Huot, "Intergeneric Play: The Pastourelle in Thirteenth-Century French Motets." In *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*, ed. William Paden (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 297–316.

The Douce 308 *motets*, however, have not been considered in the history of *motets* due to their presentation as monophonic songs, as well as the lack of musical notation.[133] There is no indication of tenors, and nearly all of them appear in the refrain-inflected form known as the *motet enté*. This form consists of lyric texts that fuse *chanson* and *motet* structures into single-stanza, free-verse songs that often feature refrains grafted onto the beginning and end of the stanzas.[134] According to Judith Peraino, the *motet enté* was both a product of grafting and a graft onto the central chanson repertory, calling attention to its genre-crossing and occasional occurrence of cross-gender dialogues within a single verse.[135] She also observed that the distribution of monophonic *motet* texts was narrow, and mostly occurred within a single manuscript. Unusually, unlike every other genre collection in the manuscript, the section of *motet* texts in Douce 308 is unlabeled and the presence and use of refrains is inconsistent, although several of the texts are also transmitted in the labeled *motet enté* section of trouvère manuscript *N*.[136] In the case of the *motet* (and several *ballette*) texts of Douce

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[133] This has only recently begun to be remedied; see Elizabeth Eva Leach, "Adapting the Motet(s)? The Case of *Hé Bergier* in Oxford Ms Douce 308," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 28.2 (2019): 133–47.
[134] For the use of the term "enté" in contemporary sources, see Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 10.
[135] Peraino, "Monophonic Motets: Sampling and Grafting in the Middle Ages," *The Musical Quarterly* 85.4 (2001): 644–80.
[136] Trouvère MS *N* contains the rubric "here begins the motets entés" on fol. 184r. There has been controversy over the accuracy of the term "motet enté" among scholars regarding its effectiveness as a genre label. Mark Everist has suggested that "motet enté" not be used, because the range and variety of procedures exercised in motet composition and refrain usage is much greater than that expression suggests. Everist defined the "motet enté" as both a thirteenth-century motet with French texts in which one of the upper voice-parts cites or quotes a refrain, and as the process of splitting a refrain into two sections and placing it at the beginning and end of a voice-part in a motet. In examining the fifteen monophonic motets entés of MS *N*, Everist noted that six of them have refrains split in two and placed at either end of the single stanza, while four have refrains appearing elsewhere. Instead of using the term "motet enté," Everist proposed working with the compositional premise that includes such a division of refrains and considering it next to other motets that employ such variety of refrain usages; see Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century*, 75–89. In response to this, Ardis Butterfield asserted that because the term was used by scribes, composers, and writers at the time it should not be discarded outright, but nonetheless treated carefully. After reassessing the term "enté" in late medieval music and poetry and surveying its appearance in rubrics and treatises, Butterfield concluded that "grafting" was both a musical and textual process that fundamentally relied upon refrains and that it was a nuanced tool often used by both composers and writers

308 with an unusually-placed refrain, the term "enté" can be used to refer primarily to the compositional method of integrating preexisting material rather than a separate subgenre of *motets* (or *ballettes*).

Many of the genres represented in the Douce 308 chansonnier, including the *motets*, make use of refrains. Refrains play a large role in the discussion of vernacular song genres and forms and have been subject to significant scholarly attention; they are also notoriously tricky to define. The refrain has been described as a short (usually 1–2 lines) verse or melody (or both) that "recurs at intervals, especially at the end of a stanza" and, specific to thirteenth- and early-fourteenth-century music and poetry, an autonomous element that "migrates from one genre to another as a kind of quotation."[137] The same refrain can demonstrate both of these functions, and so Anglophone scholars often italicize "*refrain*" for those examples that move across different texts.

Refrains are the characteristic formal feature of the *rondeau* (also called *rondel* and *rondet a carole*), a dance-song form that had appeared by the early thirteenth century.[138] Typically, in a *rondeau* the refrain appears as an element of a single-stanza

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to combine old and new materials seamlessly; see Butterfield, "Enté: A Survey and Reassessment of the Term in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Music
and Poetry," *Early Music History* 22.1 (2003): 67–101.

[137] Suzannah Clark, "Refrain," *Grove Music Online* (2001), accessed April 25, 2021, <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000023058>.

[138] From Nigel Wilkins, "Rondeau (i)," *Grove Music Online* (2001), accessed June 7, 2021, <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000023782>. For a discussion of refrains and their relation to dance-song, see Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 171–78. Early scholars believed that refrains in fact originated in *rondeaux*: see Alfred Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge*, 4th ed. (Paris, H. Champion, 1969); Friedrich Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen aus dem Ende des XII., dem XIII. und dem ersten Drittel des XIV. Jahrhunderts, mit dem überlieferten Melodien*, 3 vols. (Dresden and Göttingen: Gedruckt für die Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1921, 1927); 102–26, 387–401, 406–26; Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe siècle au debut du XIVe* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969). This hypothesis has since been thoroughly disproved; see van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains* (1969); Ardis

text that is repeated in alternation with a strophic response with an additional partial repetition of the refrain appearing in the middle, as in this female-voiced *rondeau* from Douce 308 (vdB rond. 143, fol. 249v):

"J'ai ameit et amerai"	
J'ai ameit et amerai	*I have loved and will love*
Trestout les jours de ma vie	*All the days of my life,*
Et plus jolive an serai.	*And I will be merrier for it.*
J'ai bel amin, cointe et gai,	I have a handsome lover, charming and lively,
—J'ai ameit et amerai.—	*—I have loved and will love—*
Il m'ainme, de fi lou sai;	He loves me, I know this well;
Il ait droit, je suis s'amie,	He has the right, I am his love,
Et loialtei li ferai.	And I will be faithful to him.
J'ai ameit et amerai	*I have loved and will love*
Trestout les jours de ma vie	*All the days of my life,*
Et plus jolive an serai.	*And I will be merrier for it.*[139]

Refrains appear repeated internally within works in other genres beyond the *rondeau*, and as part of different works (even of different genres). When they appear in other lyric forms, refrains typically keep their function as refrains, although they often exhibit small-scale variation. Refrains are most often identified as such by virtue of their appearance in more than one text; if there are no known concordances, they are singled out by their disruption of rhyme, meter, and register where they occur. Nico H. J. van den Boogaard's 1969 index of refrains still remains the standard reference.[140] Two-thirds of the refrains van den Boogaard catalogues appear in only one source, however, and he only considers the refrains as texts without taking into account whether their melodies are repeated with them. Refrain citations in *motet* texts are also particularly irregular and unpredictable, and

Butterfield, "Interpolated Lyric in Medieval Narrative Poetry" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1988), chapter 1, 30–46.

[139] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 182.

[140] Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe siècle au debut du XIVe*.

this is demonstrated clearly by Mark Everist's study of the so-called "refrain cento," a type of *motet* whose upper voice appears to be made up of chains of refrains.[141]

As demonstrated in the discussion of *Le Tournoi* above, refrains are sometimes interpolated into otherwise narrative genres, like romances, where they function as song citations. The early-thirteenth-century work *Le Roman de la rose, ou Guillaume de Dole* by Jean Renart was the (self-proclaimed) first romance to include lyrical insertions in the form of refrains within its narrative, although it survives in only one manuscript without any accompanying musical notation.[142] Its lyric-narrative hybrid form proved to be highly influential, and many other examples exist from throughout the thirteenth century, including Gerbert de Montreuil's *Le Roman de la violette* (1227–30), Adam de la Halle's *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion* (thirteenth century), Gervais du Bus's *Le Roman de Fauvel* (early fourteenth century), and, as already demonstrated, Bretel's *Le Tournoi*. This French lyric-narrative tradition was continued in the *dits amoureux* of Guillaume de Machaut and Jean Froissant and also had a notable impact upon Chaucer, who included song citations in almost all of his narrative poems.[143]

Despite the difficulty in definition, it is clear that refrains were consistently recognized and re-cited by medieval poets and composers in a variety of contexts. Ardis Butterfield, in a discussion of the literary culture centered in the city of Arras, proposed that a rewriting of register took place throughout the thirteenth century in romance, assisted by the use of refrains.[144] She argued that the inherent mobility of register in

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[141] Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry, and Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 109–25.
[142] *Le Roman de la Rose, ou Guillaume de Dole* is transmitted in I-Rvat reg. lat. 1725.
[143] For a detailed analysis of the use of refrains in thirteenth-century romances, see Butterfield, "Interpolated Lyric in Medieval Narrative Poetry."
[144] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 133–50.

refrains allowed them to create liaisons between the different worlds of the aristocrat and the peasant, the sacred and secular, or even the animal and human. According to Butterfield, "in its wandering existence as a recurrent citation, the refrain reflects a fluidity about generic definition which is at the heart of many types of compositional procedure in the thirteenth century."[145] Building upon Butterfield's approach to tracing the patterns of refrains as they appear in different contexts,[146] Jennifer Saltzstein studied the refrain in *Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular* through a wide range of genres, including *motets*, trouvère song, plays, romance, vernacular translations, and proverb collections.[147] Saltzstein compared the use of refrains to the medieval concept of *auctoritas*, where authors would quote Scripture or Classical authors to legitimatize new texts and she argued that this harnessing of hermeneutic technique served to elevate the vernacular. By quoting refrains as vernacular *auctoritates*, medieval songwriters would engage in an intertextual dialogue to establish a connection with the tradition of *fin'amors* and their contemporaries, but also signal their difference from them.

When discussing trouvère *chansons* with refrains, scholars often divide them into two main types: *chansons à refrains*, or fixed-refrain songs, which have an internally repeating refrain; and *chansons avec des refrains*, or multiple-refrain songs, which have a different refrain for each stanza. When *chansons avec des refrains* are transmitted with musical notation, most manuscripts provide music for the first refrain only, although different music was almost certainly sung for each refrain. In most *chansons*, refrains

[145] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 131.
[146] Butterfield, "Repetition and Variation in the Thirteenth-Century Refrain," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 116.1 (1991): 1–23; Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 75–102.
[147] Saltzstein, *Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*.

appear at the end of each stanza, although this expected positioning can be disrupted (particularly in *ballettes*).

Refrains often appear in dance forms like the *rondeau* but also the *ballette* and *estampie*, and songs that are influenced by dance, such as *chanson à refrains* and *chanson avec des refrains*. These forms were associated with popular dancing at the courts and, given their function as music for dancing, have been noted for being more rhythmical and repetitive in form.[148] The *pastourelle* is also considered a part of this group: John Stevens observed that the *pastourelle* is "the meeting-place of two traditions: the courtly *chanson* and dance-song"[149] and should be considered a "special type of courtly-popular dance-song."[150] Ardis Butterfield noted that by the time of the Douce 308 chansonnier's compilation early in the fourteenth century, French lyric had been experiencing a radical shift in which new forms were replacing old ones.[151] The courtly *grand chant* of the earlier trouvères was supplanted in favor of genres that were formerly lower in style and register, many of which were dance-like and used refrains, and which gained new life and authority as fourteenth-century *formes fixes* of *rondeau*, *ballade*, and *virelai*.[152] These formerly lower register songs included the *ballettes*, which are definitively, although not clearly, bound up in the history of refrain songs (discussed further below).

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[148] About 350 dance lyrics survive from the thirteenth century, with one of the more significant sources being Douce 308. For a discussion of dance poetry and music and its development from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, see Lawrence Earp, "Lyrics for Reading and Lyrics for Singing in Late Medieval France: The Development of the Dance Lyric from Adam de La Halle to Guillaume de Machaut," in *The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry*, ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer, Thomas Cable and James I. Wimsatt (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 102–04.
[149] Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 473.
[150] Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 476.
[151] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 201–02.
[152] Earp, "Lyrics for Reading and Lyrics for Singing in Late Medieval France."

While it is clear that the theme of "courtly love" had a significant place in vernacular song, Christian worship had equal influence in medieval literature and lyric in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, resulting in some clear instances of secular-sacred crossover. There are numerous *chansons pieuses* (non-liturgical devotional songs) transmitted in trouvère chansonniers, such as "Amours, u trop tart me sui pris" ("Love, to which I have been drawn so late," RS 1604a)[153] that use the language of the most passionate of trouvères love lyrics to address Mary or Christ. As for longer poetic works, the Grail romances, such as Chrétien de Troyes's *Perceval ou le Conte du Graal* (late twelfth century), and vernacular saint's lives often blur the boundaries between sacred and secular narrative by drawing upon the conventions of both. This is particularly prevalent in the genre of the vernacular hagiographic romance: saints' lives were frequently made more accessible to lay audiences by incorporating the conventions of romance and lyric.[154] While there is no section devoted to *chansons pieuses* in Douce 308, there are, as we shall see, texts that feature religious characters engaging in discourses of secular love.

A Regional Genre? The Douce 308 *Ballettes*

Beyond its arrangement by genre, the Douce 308 chansonnier is significant for its inclusion of a sizeable collection of *ballettes*, a genre label that is unique to the manuscript and that appears to indicate a regional genre that nonetheless had a distinct

[153] Attributed to "li roïne blance," hypothesized to be Blanche de Castille (1188–1252), wife of Louis VIII of France and mother of Louis IX (Saint Louis); see Doss-Quinby, et.al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 30–32.
[154] Brigitte Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint: A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).

influence on the development of French song forms. Thus far, the *ballettes* are the only texts in the Douce 308 chansonnier to have been translated—in a complete critical edition of *ballettes* with English translations in 2006,[155] which followed an edition of all of the texts of the Douce 308 chansonnier in 2005.[156] The texts are mostly *unica*, and, according to the editors of the 2006 *ballette* edition, represent a "popular" (i.e., lower style as opposed to higher, aristocratic style) lyric tradition from the thirteenth century that was apparently native to Lorraine and largely limited to that region.[157]

Interestingly, despite the clear delineation of the *ballettes* into a distinct group, this section is an "uncomfortably varied poetic corpus," with no single formal structure, poetic content, or register, suggesting that in this proto-ballade form the position (or even the presence) of refrains had not yet been standardized.[158] Yet the editors discern two features common to most *ballettes*: first, with ten exceptions (or 5%), all contain refrains, though the position or type of refrain varies widely. A quarter of the *ballettes* more closely resemble the fixed structure of the later *virelai*, in that each stanza is preceded and followed by the refrain. Out of the 177 total *ballettes,* only ten lack refrains, and of the thirty-two female-voiced *ballettes*, only three are without them (see table i.4 below).

Table i.4: Position of refrains in Douce 308 female-voiced ballettes

Refrains	**Number of Texts**	**Titles and Numbers[159]**
Chanson à refrain: initial and post-strophic refrain	18	Ne mi bateis mie (B16)
		J'ain simplete, anvoixie (B24)
		Tres dous amis, je lou vos di (B32=104)

[155] Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*.
[156] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*.
[157] Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, xxiv.
[158] Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, xxvi.
[159] All numbers are those used by the editors of *The Old French Ballette,* following the numbering provided by the scribes of the chansonnier, with some adjustments for unnumbered texts; see the rubric reproduced in Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette,* 3–9.

		Maris, cant plus mi destraigniez (B58b)
		Jolie ne suix je pas (B75)
		Je fu de bone houre nee (B82)
		E, bone amourette (B87)
		Duez, j'ain par amorette (B89)
		Deduxans suis et joliette, s'amerai (B91)
		Trop mi demoinne li malz d'amer (B93)
		Cilz a cui je suis amie (B98)
		Mesdixant, c'an tient (B99)
		Dues, dues, dues, dues (B100)
		On dit ke trop suis jone (B120)
		Dont sont, qui sont (B124)
		Larges et amerouzes (B126b)
		Trop me repent (B136a)
		Ponce m'ait point ci poins, si point (B181)
Chanson à refrain: post-strophic refrain only	11	Dues, en un praielet estoie (B13)
		Aucune gens vont dixant (B21)
		Amours, par sa signorie (B42=64)
		Je me levai ier main par un matin (B97)
		J'ancomans ma chansonette cointe et amerouze (B101)
		Osteis ma kenoille (B132)
		L'autrier par un matient (B138)
		Douce Mergot, je vos pri (B154)
		Tant ai mal, n'i puis dureir (B166)
		J'antrai en lai ruwelette (B171)
		Pres d'un boix et lons de gent (B173)
No refrain	3	Amors m'anvoie a mesaige (B71)
		Bone amor jolie (B72)
		Amors m'ont si doucement (B139)

Second, the pieces are generally associated with dancing, and occasionally refer to different kinds of dance, including a *virelai* (in three *ballette* texts).[160] The word "ballette" itself likely comes from the Old French *baler*, which may have designated a genre of dance involving stamping or jumping.[161] The illumination that begins the

[160] The *ballette* texts in question are nos. 52, 100, and 149.
[161] Robert Martin, "baller," *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330–1500)*, 2015, accessed June 8, 2020, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/baller>.

ballette section also emphasizes this association with dance by featuring a pipe-and-tabor player making music for a man and woman, whose hands are joined in the act of dancing.

While there is a consistent mixing of higher and lower styles, themes, and lexical elements among the texts, the editors of the *ballette* edition comment that "few are the ballettes in which poets are not concerned with the joys and woes of *fin'amors*."[162] Consistent is the expression of amorous desire with many of the trappings of courtly love: extensive descriptions of the object of the poet's affection; a need for secrecy to protect the honor of the beloved; frustration against slanderers, flatterers, and gossip-mongers; the confluence of loving and singing; and declarations of complete devotion to the beloved, despite the pain of loving.

According to Doss-Quinby, Rosenberg, and Aubrey, the editors of the *ballette* edition, this non-aristocratic tradition relatively contained to the Lorraine region had a significant influence upon French lyric. Their hypothesis is that the *ballette* resulted in the much-more-studied *ballade* and *virelai*, fixed-form chanson genres that, along with the *rondeau*, became the principal vehicles of high poetic expression in the French language beginning in the fourteenth century.[163] They also suggest that the similarity between the word "ballette" and "balaide," the Lorraine form of the Francien "ballade" further blurs the lines between the later form of the ballade and the varied texts found in Douce 308. While this evolutionary hypothesis is certainly appealing, I hesitate to assign such a clear causal relationship between the Douce 308 *ballettes*, which still demonstrate

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[162] Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, xlv.
[163] Nigel Wilkins, "Ballade (i)," *Grove Music Online* (2001), accessed October 8, 2020, <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000001884>.

a considerable amount of formal and thematic variation, and the later, formalized *ballade* and *virelai* forms.

As demonstrated in the table of female-voiced songs by genre (see table i.3, above), the greatest number of undiluted female voices are in the *ballettes*, with a total of 32 out of 177 texts featuring a female voice in at least one stanza. Unlike the *grands chants*, *jeux-partis*, and *pastourelles*, the *ballette* is one genre of trouvère song that has not yet been analyzed in terms of its representation of the female voice. While the 2006 edition of the *ballettes* mentions that the female perspective is well-represented, it makes no attempt to analyze the nature of the female voices found among the *ballette* texts beyond listing those texts that feature a female speaker.[164]

Chansons de femme

While only a few explicit generic labels survive in documents contemporary to Old French songs, such as the Douce 308 chansonnier, sources show that some such categories were acknowledged, and musical content was occasionally considered in genre classification. That said, no clear label was ever used by medieval poets, scribes, or theorists to describe women's songs, or songs with a female speaker. Even the Douce 308 chansonnier does not group texts with female subjects together, demonstrating that gender had no role in classification for the compilers of the manuscript.[165]

In trouvère scholarship, however, songs in a female voice are often called *chansons de femme*, a sort of umbrella genre defined primarily through the female

[164] Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, xliii–iv.
[165] There is one exception to this in the chansonnier, where five female-voiced texts appear consecutively in the *ballette* section: *ballettes* nos. 97–101 are of different generic types (including a *pastourelle* and a male-female dialogue) but all feature a female voice in some capacity.

speaking subject, regardless of thematic or formal considerations. The term itself is a modern one, having been used since the nineteenth century in the earliest discussions of trouvère song, and contains within it several more-or-less clearly defined subgenres: the *chanson d'ami*, *chanson de malmariée*, *chanson de nonne*, and *chanson de toile*.

The *chanson d'ami* is the broadest subgenre of the *chanson de femme*, and typically refers to a song with a young, unmarried female speaker who desires a lover. The *chanson de malmariée* is a song from the perspective of an unhappily married woman who insults her (frequently old, ugly, or otherwise undesirable) husband and seeks a young, handsome lover. A subcategory of the *malmariée* is the *chanson de nonne*, where a young nun bewails her unwilling enclosure in a convent. Finally, a *chanson de toile* is one in which a presumably male narrator describes a young woman, either married or unmarried, who engages in solitary meditation on love while she spins or sews in a courtly location ("toile" meaning "fabric").[166] Often a second character, either her beloved or a go-between, interrupts her musings. Beyond these specifically "female" subgenres, examples of *chansons de femme* can be found among other genres, including the *grand chant* (also called *chanson d'amour*, *chanson courtoise*, or simply *chanson*), the *jeu-parti* (debate song), the *chanson de croisade* (crusade song), the *aube* (dawn song), the *plaint* (lament), and *chanson pieuse*.[167]

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[166] *DMF*, s.v. "toile," by Robert Martin, accessed July 91, 2021, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/toile>.
[167] A small number of scholars have published anthologies and studies of specific Old French lyric genres, which give varying levels of attention to the presence of female-voiced texts among the selected corpus: see Daniel E. O'Sullivan, *Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century French Lyric* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005); Marcia Jenneth Epstein, *Prions en chantant: Devotional Songs of the Trouvères* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Cathrynke Th. J. Dijkstra, *La Chanson de Croisade: Étude Thématique d'un Genre Hybride* (Amsterdam: Schiphouwer en Brinkman, 1995); Michel Zink, *Les Chansons de Toile*, Collection Essais sur le Moyen Âge (Paris: H. Champion, 1977).

Modern scholars have defined the kinds of texts that should be considered *chansons de femme* with different degrees of specificity, with some rejecting songs that have a male narrator. This is most notably the case in the single published anthology of female-voiced songs from northern France, the *Songs of the Women Trouvères* (2001), whose editors comment that "we have excluded chansons de toile, pastourelles, chansons de rencontre, and *chansons pastorales*, as these genres are defined by the presence of a male narrator."[168]

Because they are so often framed by a male perspective, *pastourelles*, pastoral songs, and other kinds of *chansons de rencontre* (encounter songs) are rarely incorporated into anthologies or studies of the female voice. I contest this. Despite their mediation through a male narrator, the presence of female characters in these song types merit serious consideration as representations of the female voice. As I shall demonstrate, they often contain resistant and multifarious female characters that upend the expectations for the narrative genres even if their utterances are considered reported speech. Thus, in this dissertation, I follow the most inclusive definition for female-voiced song, that of Doris Earnshaw: "a song with the woman's voice in all or in part of its lines,"[169] and include *pastourelles* and *chansons de rencontre* among my analyses.

Scholars frequently turn to the concept of register when discussing anonymous trouvère lyrics, as are most of the surviving *chansons de femme*. Poetic register can be defined as the level of formality in a text and encompasses how the author uses language for a particular purpose or in a particular social setting. This is different from style, which generally refers to specific choices in vocabulary and the accuracy in their use in the text.

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[168] Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 34.
[169] Earnshaw, *The Female Voice in Medieval Romance Lyric*, 3.

Three medievalists thus far have offered registral distinctions for trouvère song genres: Pierre Bec, Christopher Page, and Paul Zumthor. Bec problematized the earlier terms of "popular" and "aristocratic" (used by scholars like Gaston Paris and Alfred Jeanroy) and instead adopted the terms *aristocratisant* (ennobling) and *popularisant* (popularizing), which de-emphasized the origins (particularly those of class) of different voices, genres, and styles while still acknowledging their effect.[170] It is also important to note that "popular" here is not meant to indicate "of the people," i.e. of the general public. Instead, songs on both ends of the *aristocratisant-popularisant* spectrum reflect the tastes and imaginations of a medieval elite audience, and the characters and voices (like the unhappy wife in *fabliaux* or the shepherdess in the *pastourelles*) in such songs are more so stereotypes and stock characters than realistic depictions of lower-class peoples.

Bec's terms also allow for the appearance of two different registers within one song text. In the *aristocratisant* register, Bec placed the *canso* (troubadour courtly lyric), *sirventes* (satirical political or moralizing song), the *planh* (lament), the *tenson* or *jeu-parti*, and the *lai-descort* (a lyric genre consisting of nonuniform stanzas); in the *popularisant* register, he included the *aube*, the *chanson d'ami*, the *chanson de malmariée*, the *chanson de toile*, the *rondet de carole*, the *ballette*, the *virelai*, and the *resverie* (a nonsense genre alternating long and short verses). His "hybrids" were the *pastourelle*, the *reverdie* (a joyful lyric-narrative song recounting a lovers' meeting), the *chanson de croisade*, the *motet*, the *estampie*, and the *rotrouenge* (a type of dance lyric). He termed the remaining genres of *sotte chanson* and the *fatrasie* (a fixed-form lyric genre emphasizing sound and repetition) as "bourgeois."

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[170] Bec, *La Lyrique française au moyen âge, XIIe-XIIIe siècles: Contribution à une typologie des genres poétiques médiévaux* (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1977), 35.

Christopher Page, drawing upon medieval notions of levels of poetic register, argued that the distinction ought to be between "High" and "Lower" register.[171] With this approach, he focused on offering terms that instead drew upon real distinctions in poetic and musical form, while also making explicit the hierarchical distinction implied in Bec's choice of terms. Paul Zumthor's approach was less hierarchical; he instead offered the register of "requête d'amour" (love petition) and the register of "bonne vie" (good living).[172] He described the second register as less coherent than the first and as having a central theme of "*joie de vivre*… [that was] amplified in three different ways […]: play and dance or *al fresco* meal and, very commonly, declarations of love."[173]

To Zumthor, the *grand chant* stands alone in its own register while all the others are grouped together as in the "bonne vie" register. To Page and Bec, the *grand chant* is considered in a register along with its closest formal relatives: the troubadour debate genres of the *tenso* and *partimen* (Old French *jeu-parti*), the *planh* (Old French *plaint*), the satirical *sirventes*, and the *lai-descort*. Both Bec and Page take pains to place songs considered "lyrico-narrative" and "lyrico-choreographic" in the second, lower register. According to Helen Dell, "for the trouvères, it would seem, the *chanson* stood alone, and its standing alone is linked to its functionless status. *Chansons* do not tell stories, engage in dialogue or accompany a dance."[174]

Most scholars, including Bec, Page, and Zumthor, place the *chanson de femme* on the lower, "popular" end of the spectrum, in opposition to the higher *grand chant*, due to

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[171] Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages*: *Instrumental Practice and Songs in France, 1100–1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 12–39, especially 16.
[172] Zumthor, *Toward a Medieval Poetics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 200.
[173] Zumthor, *Toward a Medieval Poetics*, 202.
[174] Dell, *Desire by Gender and Genre*, 33.

the presence of a woman's voice. More recently, Helen Dell argued that distinctions of genre were real and did matter. Yet in her psychoanalytic study of how genre affects the expression of desire in both masculine- and feminine-voiced texts, which draws heavily upon Lacanian theory, she unfortunately assumes that the trouvère system is "unabashedly hierarchical" and that "to be feminine is already to be low to the masculine high."[175]

As female-voiced lyrics in all medieval languages of Western Europe have garnered more attention, however, they have been shown to demonstrate qualities on both sides of the registral spectrum, regardless of which terms are used.[176] With this in mind, the editors of the 2001 edition of the music of women trouvères held that notions of genre within the trouvère corpus are too "fluid" to be useful and may even be misleading. Joan Tasker Grimbert argued:

> Rather than assigning the canso to the *registre aristocratisant* and relegating the chanson de femme to the *registre popularisant*, as Bec does, it might be more logical to envisage a register of the lyric "I" encompassing love lyrics with both male and female voices and subdivide it by genre such as the canso, chanson de *malmariée*, aube, and so on. If this idea seems counterintuitive, it may be because critics are so used to defining *fin'amors* from the male perspective that the female viewpoint tends to be seen as derivative and somehow inferior.[177]

Elizabeth Aubrey also encourages caution in using register as a paradigm for discussing musical style in medieval vernacular lyric, although she does not focus on gender, and

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[175] Dell, *Desire by Gender and Genre*, 11, 48.
[176] The uselessness of the "popular" register in discussing woman's song has been convincingly argued by multiple scholars, who have suggested that these classifications have caused more confusion than clarity in the study of female-voiced songs. See Klinck, "The Oldest Folk Poetry? Medieval Woman's Song as 'Popular' Lyric," in *From Arabye to Engelond : Medieval Studies in Honour of Mahmoud Manzalaoui*, ed. A. E. Christa Canitz and Gernot R. Weiland (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2000), 229–52; Grimbert, "Songs by Women and Women's Song"; Elizabeth Aubrey, "Reconsidering 'High Style' and 'Low Style' in Medieval Song" *Journal of Music Theory* 52.1 (2008): 75–222.
[177] Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 11.

instead redirects attention back to the importance of subject matter and thematic content by looking at medieval accounts of musical style.[178]

Here, I use the classifications of Pierre Bec to indicate when certain texts exhibit a more *aristocratisant* (higher) or *popularisant* (lower) register. Textual indications of the *aristocratisant* register include precise syllabic counts (especially consistent longer line-lengths, i.e., eight, ten, eleven, or twelve syllables per line), intricate and stable rhyme schemes, strophic forms, and the inclusion of a short *envoi*, or short final stanza addressing a patron or the song itself. *Grands chants* and texts on the *aristocratisant* end of the spectrum can also demonstrate connections across multiple stanzas in terms of rhyme, creating larger forms like *coblas doblas* (lit. double stanzas), when the rhyming scheme never changes but the sounds do every two stanzas, or *coblas unissonans* (lit. unison stanzas), when the rhyming scheme and rhyming sounds are the same each stanza. Indications of more *popularisant* registers, often appearing in genres linked to dance forms or those with dance influences, include repetition of phrases (textual and musical), use of refrains, simple rhyme schemes, and short or varied line-lengths.

While medieval accounts of musical and poetic style do not typically define genres by their lyric subjects, there is a link between certain genres (such as the *pastourelle*) and the gender of their stock characters that suggests gender is important in such explorations. Refrains occur much more frequently in songs in a more *popularisant* register, where women's voices also appear more regularly. They are associated with women's speech, since they often appear as the utterances of shepherdesses in the

[178] Aubrey, "Reconsidering 'High Style' and 'Low Style' in Medieval Song." She has discussed the thirteenth-century *Doctrina de compondre dictats* in particular; see Aubrey, "Genre as a Determinant of Melody."

pastourelle, where two-thirds of refrains are sung by female characters or men who directly quote them (see Chapter One), or in *chansons d'ami*, which frequently employ refrains.[179] While the association between women's voices and refrains is certainly well-attested, in this dissertation I aim to explore the ways in which the association between female voices and textual markers of the popular register holds out in individual texts and to demonstrate how the presence of a female voice does not automatically indicate a lower register or style. In addition, I also strive to bring out the overlapping genre relationships that are frequently found among the female-voiced lyrics, such as *ballette*-like *pastourelles*, *pastourelle*-like *ballettes*, *grands chants* with narrative framings, and *chansons de rencontre* ("encounter" songs), in which disruptive wives or religious women take the places of the typical shepherdesses. Such relationships can be shown through registers, forms, content, or vocabulary, and demonstrate a complex network of often-interrelated genres.

In the chapters that follow, I examine the varied representations of women in the Douce 308 chansonnier and show how their exploration of female sexuality and bodily autonomy results in decidedly non-hegemonic and wholly female expressions and characters. Chapters One through Three focus on specific character types that appear across different genres, notably in the *pastourelle* and the *ballette* genre sections, beginning with the shepherdess. In Chapter One, I use the *pastourelles* to construct a "standard" formula for the genre and then examine how a significant number of the texts

[179] Susan M. Johnson, "The Role of the Refrain in the *Pastourelles à refrain*," in *Literary and Historical Perspectives of the Middle Ages*, ed. Patricia Cummins, Patrick W. Conner, and Charles W. Connell (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 1982), 78–92.

diverge, some quite substantially, from this standard to provide new explorations of the pastoral framing. I then examine the character type of the shepherdess as she is represented in numerous *pastourelle* texts (found both in the *pastourelle* genre section and among the *ballettes*), considering texts that feature repeated refrains (*pastourelles à refrains*), multiple refrains (*pastourelles avec des refrains*), or no refrains (*pastourelles sans refrains*) in turn. I demonstrate that these female characters, despite being preyed upon and silenced by narrators, sing of their fear and their desire through refrains and the presence of their bodies, and by doing so disrupt the expected "standards" of the *pastourelle* genre and resist the traditionally predatory framing of women in the countryside by courtly male narrators. I then address the provocative *robardel* game, performed by two noblewomen cross-dressing as male and female shepherd characters, respectively, in the preceding *Le Tournoi* narrative to argue that the *robardel* is an erotic, boundary-crossing performance that is made non-threatening due to its pastoral framing.

Chapter Two examines the genre-crossing character of the *malmariée*, found among the *pastourelles*, *ballettes*, and *motets* in Douce 308. What emerges are two distinct characters: the first is the *malmariée* encountered by a *pastourelle* narrator, who uses humor and defiance to defy her husband publicly, identify domestic violence, and enact her own forms of violence in revenge. Elsewhere, a more dignified *malmariée* appears, a character whose utterances are marked by a higher register, a preoccupation with reputation, and self-identification as a *dame*. I also address the sentiments of the *malmariée* as they appear briefly in *Le Tournoi* through the performance of the *jeu du chapelet*, where a noblewoman fluidly moves across the boundaries between a pastoral

malmariée character and her courtly counterpart through her refrains, dialogue, and gestures.

Chapter Three examines the sexualized portrayals of nuns and beguines in two *ballettes*, a *pastourelle*, and a *motet*, and demonstrates how these four different representations of religious women engage with the stereotype that all women, regardless which of the three medieval estates (clergy, nobility, peasantry) they belonged to, were equally prone to sexual urges. I demonstrate how each text's framing and formal characteristics communicates underlying tensions within and disruptions of sexualized stereotypes of medieval religious women by blending courtly, popular, and sacred themes, and by using and displacing refrains.

Chapters Four and Five examine genre-specific representations of women, specifically the *chansons d'ami* among the *ballette* texts, and the female interlocutors of the *jeux-partis*. The *chanson d'ami* traditionally depicts unmarried young women speaking of their desire to love, and these female voices have been understood by past scholars as being stereotypically simple, in both text and music, and lacking narrative or descriptive detail. In Chapter Four, I demonstrate how the *ballettes* present a diverse corpus of *chansons d'ami* that are nonetheless united by their playful resistance to formal and thematic conventions, directly contesting the simplistic modern stereotypes of the female voice. I examine seven *ballettes d'ami* texts where the poet-speaker disrupts medieval poetic expectations using feminine, masculine, and ambiguous gender markers, the exploitation of dialogic settings, the personification of song, and the manipulation of returning refrains. Alongside this subversion, the *ballettes d'ami* speak to a more diverse range of women's perspectives, from the very young to the very old, and from the very

popular to the very courtly, performing the sexual agency of unmarried women in a way that acknowledges the medieval misogynistic stereotype of female sexuality as dangerous and offers a resistant alternative.

Chapter Five examines the *jeux-partis* that feature a female participant and demonstrate how in these debates, female interlocutors continue the conversation from the preceding *Le Tournoi* narrative around the importance of prowess in determining a man's honor and value by actively performing the roles of spectator and arbiter of chivalry. They accomplish this by affirming their approval of men jousting in tournaments and the pleasure they are capable of getting from them, and in doing so, they declare their desire not only for love but for physical satisfaction. In addition, I examine a stand-alone example of two sisters debating each other on the issue of honesty and consent in courtship, moving the discussion away from the preceding arguments around sexual satisfaction and chivalrous acts to one concerned with personal choice.

CHAPTER ONE:

RUSTIC WOMEN AND REFRAINS IN THE *PASTOURELLES*

The world of the rustic shepherd has captured the imaginations of writers since Antiquity, and composers from at least the time of the earliest music in the vernacular. Throughout its many forms the consistent function of the pastoral concept is not simply to portray an idyllic world, as modern usage might suggest, but also to involve "the process of putting the complex into the simple," as William Empson described it.[180] This results in a certain level of strangeness and confusion as two separate worlds, those of the aristocracy and peasantry (or more generally, rich and poor), collide in unexpected ways within pastoral framings. Countless scholars have engaged with the development of the pastoral model as it appears throughout centuries of literature, with some of the common features of its usage being its coded relationship with politics and its idealization of social differences.[181] In Old French literature, the *pastourelle* was a widely transmitted genre of stanzaic narrative song cultivated by the trouvères. Literary scholars and musicologists have granted this highly diverse genre considerable attention, delving into its development, hybridization of courtly and popular themes, and treatment of female characters.[182]

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[180] William Empson, "Proletarian Literature," in *Some Versions of Pastoral* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1935), 25.

[181] See, for example, Empson, *Some Versions of Pastoral* (1935); Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Hogarth Press, 1985; first published, Chatto & Windus, 1973); Helen Cooper, *Pastoral: Mediaeval into Renaissance* (Ipswich: D. S. Brewer, 1977); Louis Montrose, "'Eliza, Queene of Shepheardes,' and the Pastoral of Power," *English Literary Renaissance* 10.2 (1980): 153–82; and eadem, "Of Gentlemen and Shepherds: The Politics of Elizabethan Pastoral Form," *English Literary Renaissance* 50.3 (1983): 415–59.

[182] Some of the most notable monographs focusing on *pastourelles*: Michel Zink, *La Pastourelle: Poésie et folklore au moyen âge* (Paris: Bordas, 1972); Joël Blanchard, *La Pastorale en France au XIVe et XVe siècles: Recherches sur les structures de l'imaginaire médiéval* (Paris: Champion, 1983); Geri L. Smith,

The Douce 308 chansonnier transmits a particularly large collection of texts under the genre label "pastourele": there are fifty-seven in total, with the majority being *unica* (forty texts, or over two-thirds). Of the *pastourelles*, the vast majority (forty-five) feature a female voice in monologue or as a speaking character. The remaining texts consist of male-voiced monologues (seven texts), *bergeries* (a pastoral scene describing the celebrations of shepherds appearing in four texts), and one *chanson de rencontre* (encounter song) involving a male narrator speaking with a shepherd.[183] The "standard" *pastourelle* scenario is, according to Geri L. Smith,

> A beautiful day in springtime. An aristocratic man rides through the countryside and encounters a lone shepherdess as she watches her sheep, perhaps singing a simple song or weaving a garland of flowers. Almost always, he propositions her, and the ensuing animated conversation involves varying degrees of coercion and resistance, leading to outcomes ranging from successful seduction to thwarted attempts, and in the extreme, to rape.[184]

The Medieval French Pastourelle Tradition: Poetic Motivations and Generic Transformations (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2009). For discussions of the *pastourelle's* manipulation of genre conventions, see Anna Kathryn Grau, "Representation and Resistance," 149–56; Christopher Callahan, "Hybrid Discourse and Performance in the Old French Pastourelle," *French Forum* 27.1 (2002): 1–22; Ardis Butterfield, "Pastoral and the Politics of Plague in Machaut and Chaucer," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 16.1 (1994): 3–27; Sylvia Huot, "Intergeneric Play: The Pastourelle in Thirteenth-Century French Motets," in *Medieval Lyric*, 297–316. There are also relevant discussions in Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, chapters 5 and 14; and Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, chapter 9, which looks at the pastoral and *pastourelle* in relation to Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*.

[183] Twenty-two of the Douce 308 *pastourelles* appear with English translations in William Paden's two-volume anthology *The Medieval Pastourelle* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987). Of the remaining 35, one is included in *The Old French Ballette* (2006) edition due to its appearance in both the *ballette* and *pastourelle* sections, and three texts (two *chansons de malmariée* and one *aube*, or dawn song) appear in the anthology *Songs of the Women Trouvères* (2001).

[184] Smith, *The Medieval French Pastourelle Tradition*, 1. Several different criteria for the identification of pastourelles have been suggested, with the male narrator often, but not always, appearing as a crucial component. In the definition of Jean-Claude Riviere, for example, the criteria include countryside location, an encounter, a dialogue or seduction attempt, and the involvement of an unmarried young woman; see Jean Claude Rivière, *Pastourelles: introduction à l'étude formelle des pastourelles anonymes françaises des XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Geneva: Droz, 1976). William Paden's criteria include a country setting, the description of the heroine as a shepherdess, the inclusion of both a man and a woman, a narrative that includes discovery and attempted seduction, the use of both narrative and dialogue and that "the point of view is that of the man"; see Paden, *The Medieval Pastourelle*, ix.

This scenario that Smith lays out is made up of three parts: first is the encounter, where the narrator describes his surroundings and how he came across a shepherdess in the country. This introduction frequently includes some variation on an opening formula that describes the movement of the narrator through a rustic environment, including "Chevachait" ("I was riding"), "alloie mon chamin" ("I was going along my path"), or "leis un boix" ("beside a wood"), as well as a mention of the encounter as having occurred in the past, such as "L'autrier/L'autre matin" ("The other day/morning"). Occasionally the narrator's journey will be to or from specific towns, including in "De mes a fristor l'autre jour" ("From Metz, in the cool the other day," RS 1991, fol. 203v), "De saint quaitin an cambrai" ("From Saint-Quentin to Cambrai," RS 61, fol. 205r), and "D'ares a flandres alloie" ("I was going from Arras to Flanders," RS 1683, fol. 206r). Sometimes the narrator is attracted to the shepherdess by the sound of her singing; at other times he finds her in his path, guarding her sheep or weaving a garland.

Part two is a dialogue that is typically a love-debate between the narrator and shepherdess, where the narrator attempts to woo her into being his *amie* (friend, here meaning lover). The narrator kicks off the exchange with a declaration of love, and he may go on to offer her gifts; the shepherdess almost always refuses, usually citing another lover. The third and final part is the outcome, and this is where the scenario diverges most often. In one common iteration, the shepherdess finally acquiesces to the narrator's cajoling, and they engage in a physical encounter (ranging from kissing to sexual intercourse); elsewhere, the shepherdess continues to voice her refusal and the narrator leaves. In more troubling texts, the narrator ignores the shepherdess' refusal and subjects her to sexual assault. Sometimes, after the non-consensual interaction the

shepherdess declares that she in fact enjoyed the experience, whereas in other texts she is rescued by her shepherd companion(s).

For what follows, Smith's three-part scenario must be expanded to include six elements to accommodate the themes that are characteristic of the "standard" Old French *pastourelle*, based upon the texts collected under that genre label in Douce 308. This expansion also accounts for those elements that are most prone to variation or omission:

1. Rustic setting, often with a formulaic opening
2. First-person narrative
3. Main character/narrator is a man
4. Main character/narrator encounters a shepherdess alone
5. Main character/narrator and shepherdess engage in a dialogue
6. Main character/narrator secures the shepherdess' affection, forces himself on her, or leaves

Of the fifty-seven texts contained in the section of the Douce 308 chansonnier labeled "pastourelles," thirty-two of them (over half) include at least four of the six standard elements listed above. Of those thirty-two "standard" *pastourelles*, in thirteen texts (just over one-third), the male narrator is ultimately successful in seducing or carrying off the shepherdess, typically through beguiling language, gift-giving, or by a physical embrace so that she is won over by his skills in intimacy. There is also one unusual text where the narrator and shepherdess do not engage in a dalliance, consensual or otherwise, but the narrator embarrasses the shepherdess into silence, who before his approach was lamenting her abandonment.[185]

The shepherdess can be considered the victor of the narrative in nine of the thirty-two "standard" texts (just under one-third), where she succeeds in refusing him verbally

[185] The *pastourelle* is "Je me levai ier main matin" (RS 1371), found on fol. 201v.

or resorting to trickery, or, in three instances, is rescued by Robin or other shepherds before the narrator can successfully conquer her. In the ten remaining texts (or one-third), the outcome is uncertain, because the texts end after either the narrator's proposal or the shepherdess' refusal, robbing them of a clear resolution and often the love-dialogue as well.

The remaining twenty-five "pastourelles" contain as many as three of the "standard" *pastourelle* elements itemized above, or none, and these texts demonstrate an array of divergent plots. Within this group of "non-standard" *pastourelles*, ten can be considered *chansons de rencontre*, in which a male narrator recounts his arrival in the countryside where he observes a dialogue between a couple (or in one case, a group of ladies), or engages in dialogue with a male shepherd. There are also four examples of the *bergerie*, which involve an observation and/or narration of the celebrations of shepherds, two with and two without a first-person narrator. There are ten texts that are strictly monologues in the male or female voice that often stand in contrast to the pastoral texts surrounding them. One text, "S'est tout la jus con dist sor l'olive" ("It's all over there, it's said, under the olive tree," RS 1653, fol. 206r) does not fit into any of the above categories, for it appears to be made up of a jumble of pastoral fragments and exhibits a classic *rondet a carole* formula in the opening phrase "la jus."[186]

As the above statistics demonstrate, the Douce 308 *pastourelles* include many variations on the so-called "standard" scenario, and many of the more disruptive texts call into question the thematic conventions of the genre that I outlined above. Alongside this

[186] Ardis Butterfield has commented on the "la gieus" ("over there") type of *rondet a carole*, as in the example "C'est la jus, desoz l'olive" (Vdb rond. 17), found in the *Lai d'Aristote*; see Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 46–47.

diversity, the *pastourelles* also contain a multiplicity of surprisingly resistant shepherdesses but also other unconventional female characters, as this chapter and the two subsequent chapters explore.

Poetic form in the *pastourelle* is no less difficult to pin down. Examples of the *pastourelle* are not strictly limited to any single formal structure or register, although Eglal Doss-Quinby singled out the *pastourelle* for its use of the refrain, which she noted is more frequently included and more varied than in any other medieval genre.[187] According to Susan M. Johnson, about half (sixty according to her count) of pastourelles are *chansons à refrains* (fixed-refrain songs), and significantly more are *chansons avec des refrains* (multiple-refrain songs).[188] John Stevens and Ardis Butterfield noted a tendency among *chansons à refrains*, including *pastourelles* with refrains, to contrast elevated, courtly stanzas with more "popular" refrain registers, although the inherent mobility and ambiguity of refrains across register was stressed in the previous chapter.[189]

Among the Douce 308 *pastourelles* refrains are common, appearing in forty-one of the fifty-seven texts (or 72%). Of those forty-one texts, thirty-five are *pastourelles à refrains* and the remaining six are *pastourelles avec des refrains*; thus, the tendency among the Douce 308 *pastourelles* seems to be texts with repeating refrains. Refrains are

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[187] Eglal Doss-Quinby, *Les Refrains chez les trouvères du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe* (New York: Peter Lang, 1984), 85–86, 108–110, 232–35, 245, 276.
[188] Susan M. Johnson, "The Role of the Refrain in the *Pastourelles à refrain*," in *Literary and Historical Perspectives of the Middle Ages*, ed. Patricia Cummins, Patrick W. Conner, and Charles W. Connell (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 1982), 78–92. Johnson uses Rivière's anthology, so her sample is somewhat different from Paden's.
[189] See Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 471–75; Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 125–32; eadem, "Medieval Genres and Modern Theory," *Paragraph* 13.2 (1990): 194–99. The *mūwashshaḥ*, a medieval Arabic song form cultivated in Andalusia during the tenth and eleventh centuries, also features a similar juxtaposition of a higher register stanza with a final, lower register refrain (the *kharja*); see Tova Rosen, "The muwashshah," in *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 163–89.

most often found, although not exclusively, as the utterances of female characters who are frequently depicted as singing, and this occurs especially in the first stanza appearance of a repeating refrain. Given the twelfth- and thirteenth-century French examples selected by William Paden for his anthology *The Medieval Pastourelle*, just over half of the lyrics in this genre (sixty-two of 107) contain refrains identified by Nico van den Boogaard, and about two-thirds of those that include refrains place them exclusively in the mouths of female characters or men who directly quote their female companions.[190] In Douce 308, five of the *pastourelles à refrains* have a shepherdess character who speaks only through the refrains, while in fifteen she sings the refrains as well as some part of the stanzas.

Numbers of stanzas and line lengths (often an indicator of register) also vary widely; twenty-four texts have five stanzas, sixteen have three, and the rest of the *pastourelles* vary from one to nine stanzas. Most have short lines that occasionally vary in number of syllables from line to line; there are only seven texts that venture beyond seven-syllable lines: six texts in octosyllabic (eight-syllable) meter, a common pattern in Old French narrative poetry (excluding *chansons de geste*), and one in decasyllabic (ten-syllable) meter, found often in *chansons de geste*.[191]

Some scholars have considered the *pastourelle* to be on the *popularisant* end of the registral spectrum due to their refrains and the frequent appearance of low-class characters. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that *pastourelles* were destined for an

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[190] For example, in "L'autre jour moi chivachai" (RS 72, fol. 196cv), the first stanza puts the refrain directly in the voice of the shepherdess (introduced by "qui dixoit..."/"who was saying..."). In the second stanza, the refrain is introduced in the male voice, but as a quotation: "demandai li por coi dit..." (I asked her why she said...).

[191] T. V. F. Brogan and Clive Scott, "Octosyllable" and "Decasyllable," in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Alex Preminger, T. V. F. Brogan, Frank J. Warnke, O. B. Hardison Jr and Earl Miner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

aristocratic audience and should not be considered "true" song expressions of the lower classes. They circulated in the courtly space of the nobility and their entourage of servants. As Helen Cooper described the pastoral, it is "never the product of the particular section of society it claims to depict. It is the attempt of the court or city to find an image of life outside itself, and the simple life of the pastoral world is the opposite of the society that creates it."[192]

In addition, despite its prevalence in Old French texts, the medieval character of the shepherdess was almost certainly fictional. Given the demands of the actual job, including its largely nomadic nature and the expectation that the shepherd would protect the flock from attacks by wolves and other animals, the role would have been almost entirely carried out by solitary men without children.[193] Despite the reality of a shepherd's life as difficult and lonely, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century there was an increase in the representation and idealization of shepherd's life in poetry, drama, and literature. Such idealizations portrayed the rustic lifestyle as one populated by attractive men and women who spent their time singing, dancing, playing instruments, eating, and having sex. Thus, the *pastourelle*, along with other forms of the pastoral, should be understood as depicting lower-class environments and stock characters curated specifically for an elite audience.

Many have argued that the *pastourelle's* constructions of gender are mere ciphers for larger medieval society, with rape standing in for class conflict, and this is worth

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[192] Cooper, *Pastoral: Mediaeval into Renaissance* (Ipswich: D. S. Brewer, 1977), 2.
[193] Bronislaw Geremek, "The Marginal Man," in *Medieval Callings*, ed. Jacques Le Goff, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 366–67. Sharon Farmer identifies one example of a real-life shepherdess as one of the beneficiaries of Saint Louis' miracles, as transcribed by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus in his biography of the king (Louis IX); see Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris*, 107 n 4. That said, given the demands of the job, the authors of *pastourelles* stretched reality by populating the rural landscape with more shepherdesses than could have ever existed.

keeping in mind due to the importance of status to the medieval nobility.[194] Yet such analyses gloss over the complications that arise with the simultaneous performance of female sexual desire and male violence in the *pastourelle* texts. Geri Smith commented on the frequent "light-hearted tone" of the *pastourelle* narrator and observed that such a tone "belies a current of violence ever present when desire, power, and gender and social otherness confront each other so starkly."[195] The opposition of social differences, including gender, that the pastoral facilitates occurs on multiple levels, and results in the separation and exaggeration of distinctions between them.

I will demonstrate that the representations of women in the *pastourelles*, despite existing within male-constructed narratives, include some of the most outspoken and strongest female characters within Douce 308. Finally, I show how the *robardel* dance in Jacques Bretel's *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* offers a gender-crossed subversion of the pastoral model and demonstrates that both characters of this and other pastoral narratives, the desired object (shepherdess) and the acting subject (shepherd or male narrator), are constructs that could be exploited and undermined through performance.

The Discourse of Rape in the *Pastourelle*

It is a common stance that *pastourelles* are "the locus of male erotic fantasy" due to their privileging of the male perspective and voice and subsequent downplaying of female agency.[196] This is most often present in the depiction of non-consensual sexual

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[194] See, for example, W.T.H. Jackson, "The Medieval Pastourelle as a Satirical Genre," *Philological Quarterly* 31 (1952): 156–70; Zink, *La Pastourelle*; Blanchard, *La Pastorale en France*; and Callahan, "Hybrid Discourse and Performance in the Old French Pastourelle."
[195] Smith, *The Medieval French Pastourelle Tradition*, 1.
[196] Anne MinSook McCreary, "Women in Circulation: Tracing Women and Words in Medieval Literary Economies" (PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2014), 137.

encounters, with the male narrators almost universally appearing as the sexual aggressor.[197] Kathryn Gravdal, in her study of depictions of rape in medieval literature, observed that "sexual violence serves many functions in the pastourelle, but none has been so overlooked as the erotic pleasure it offers the male audience. […] The pastourelle aestheticizes assault as a socio-sexual game and therefore a source of pleasure for the playful, resilient, and plastic female character, thus enabling rape to become a source of pleasure for the male listener and critic as well."[198] The *pastourelle* has received considerable attention in feminist scholarship for its depictions of low-class women and rape, and as a result of this work the genre is acknowledged for its problematic gender dynamics and light-hearted portrayals of rape.[199]

As has been the case throughout history up to and including the present day, sexual violence against unwilling female victims was a real occurrence in the medieval period. Evidence gleaned from medieval sources (especially penitentials, rulebooks reflecting the Christian sacrament of penance) reflects the reality that a woman's agency and sexual self-determination were often not respected.[200]

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[197] There is one exception to this that I am aware of, "L'autre jour en un jardin" (RS 1322), in which a "tousete" encountered in an orchard pursues, knocks down, and has her way with the male narrator.
[198] Kathryn Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law*, New Cultural Studies Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 110.
[199] Carissa M. Harris, "Rape Narratives, Courtly Critique, and the Pedagogy of Sexual Negotiation in the Middle English *Pastourelle*" *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 46.2 (2016): 263–87; Smith, *The Medieval French Pastourelle Tradition*; and Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*. The 1980s and 90s saw a heated argument between literary scholars on the representation of rape in the *pastourelle*, with some casting the *pastourelle* as an aestheticization or even outright celebration of rape, and others characterizing rape as a notable but ancillary aspect of the song genre; see especially Gravdal, "Camouflaging Rape" *Romanic Review* 76 (1985): 361–73; Paden, "Rape in the Pastourelle," *Romanic Review* 80 (1989): 331–49; and E.B. Vitz, "Rereading Rape in Medieval Literature: Literary, Historical, and Theoretical Reflections," *Romanic Review* 88.1 (1997): 1–26. A summary of the broader debate can be found in Smith, *The Medieval French Pastourelle Tradition*, 31–38.
[200] See Christine McCann, "Transgressing the Boundaries of Holiness"; Erin V. Abraham, *Anticipating Sin in Medieval Society: Childhood, Sexuality, and Violence in the Early Penitentials* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017).

How, then, was "rape" defined in the thirteenth century, when these texts were likely composed? Do those definitions correspond to the fictional and constructed events in an early fourteenth-century chansonnier, especially those within the texts of the *pastourelles* and in some *ballettes* (discussed in Chapter Four)? Today, rape is defined as "unlawful sexual activity and usually sexual intercourse carried out forcibly or under threat of injury against a person's will or with a person who is beneath a certain age or incapable of valid consent because of mental illness, mental deficiency, intoxication, unconsciousness, or deception."[201] The medieval definition and legal notion of the crime of rape is somewhat more ambiguous and fluid. In Roman law, the concept of "raptus," literally a "carrying off by force," applied to the abduction of a woman against the will of the person under whose authority she lived, or else could simply describe a theft of a woman as property.[202]

In 1140, the jurist Gratian characterized rape as a type of sexual corruption involving the abduction of a woman and unlawful sexual intercourse. The fact that, for Gratian, coitus was necessary to consider abduction to be rape, and vice versa, demonstrates a shift in the sense of abduction toward a sexual meaning. "Rap" or "rat" both designated abduction by violence or by seduction for the purposes of forced intercourse. The connotation of swiftness that is found in the French verb "ravir," meaning "to run at great speed, to carry off by force," had joined that of force. There are

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[201] *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, s.v. "rape," accessed 18 August 2020, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/rape>.

[202] For a thorough discussion of the different medieval uses of the Latin terms *rapere* and *raptus* and how they changed over time, see Caroline Dunn, *Stolen Women in Medieval England: Rape, Abduction, and Adultery, 1100–1500*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 18–42.

instances of legal experts who condemned rape, including thirteenth-century jurist Philippe de Remi, sire de Beaumanoir, who defined rape thus:

> Femme efforcier si est quant aucuns prent a force carnele compaignie a feme contre la volonté de le feme, et sor ce qu'ele fet tout son pooir du deffendre soi.
>
> Forcing a woman is when one has carnal knowledge of a woman against the will of that woman and despite the fact that she does everything in her power to resist him.[203]

Philippe also considered rape as a crime equivalent to treason and murder, but his perspective is rare among medieval authors.[204] While secular French law maintained the death penalty for forced intercourse (a continuation of Roman law), "the act of forced intercourse…was not a crime in Church law" and twelfth-century canon law shows a "blurring of distinctions between forced and voluntary sex, between love and violence."[205]

In this study, I use the term "rape" to describe a scenario in which a man abducts a woman or forces her to engage in sexual intercourse, without her consent. This includes *pastourelles* in which the narrator rapes a non-consenting shepherdess who then claims to have enjoyed the act after the fact; the determining factors are the shepherdess' lack of

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[203] Philippe de Remi, *Coutumes de Beauvaisis: Texte critique publié avec une introduction, un glossaire, et une table analytique*, ed. A. Salmon (Paris: Picard, 1899), 30:7; translation from Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*, 3.

[204] "Quiconques est pris en cas de crime et atains du cas, si comme de murtre, ou de traïson, ou d'homicide, ou de fame esforcier, il doit estre trainés et pendus" (Whoever is caught and convicted in a case such as murder, or treason, or homicide, or rape must be dragged and hanged); Philippe de Remi, *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, quoted in
Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*, 170 n. 11

[205] Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*, 10–11. In her study of medieval law and its interpretation and punishment of rape, Gravdal outlined how medieval literary tropes structured many legal accounts of rape in eroticizing terms in court records. By examining the texts of medieval law, both canon and civil, and the records of medieval courts of church and state, Gravdal revealed how medieval courts wrote about rape in ways that distracted from the victimization of women and violence against the female body; see *Ravishing Maidens*, 122–40.

clear consent and the narrator's assault against the woman. I include abduction in my definition because of the medieval concept of "raptus" including either kidnapping or sexual assault, and the fact that one Douce 308 *pastourelle*, "Entre arais et dewai" ("Between Arras and Douai," RS 75, fol. 199r), features a male narrator who grabs a shepherdess and carries her away on his horse, without a clear indication of forced intercourse.

Admittedly, it is not always easy to determine when rape is being depicted; frequently male narrators will veil their actions in coded language, such as "playing," "having/taking pleasure," or "the game of love." For example, in the *pastourelle* "Ier matinet delés un vert buisson" ("The other morning, beside a green shrub," RS 1855, fol. 201r) by Jacques de Cambrai, the narrator encounters a "touze soule sans bergeron" (girl, alone without a shepherd) who refuses his proposition, saying that she has a lover, Robin, who will beat the narrator if he finds him. In this case, the narrator does not heed her warning:

"Ier matinet delés un vert buisson," stanza 3; stanza 4, lines 1–2	
Cant j'ai veut ke par mon biau proier.	When I saw that from my beautiful prayer
Ne me porai de li muez acointier.	I would not be able to get to know her better,
Tot maintenant lai getai sor l'erbier.	Speedily I threw her onto the grass
An mi leu de la preelle.	Into my spot in the little meadow,
Se li levai lai gonelle.	Then I lifted her gown,
Et apres la foureure	And then the fur lining,
Contremont vers la sinture.	Upwards towards her belt,
Et elle c'escrie. Robin ave.	And she was crying out, "Robin, O,
Cor pran ta massue.	Bring your club!"
Je li proie.	I begged her
Que soit coie	That she might be quiet.
Dont s'acoixe.	She calmed down
Noixe ne fist plus.	And did not make any more noise;
Si demenainmes solais.	Then we had pleasure
Sor l'erbete et sor les glais.	On the tender grass and on the irises,

Brais a brais.	Arm in arm.
Riant, juant, somes andu assis Leiz lou bouxon qui iert vers et foillis.	Laughing, playing, we were both seated Under the green and budding shrub.[206]

The woman's refusal of the narrator's suit and her cries for help communicate a lack of consent to the encounter; at the same, the narrator's description of the union suggests that the woman did take equal pleasure in the act. When Robin approaches and chastises her for allowing the narrator to touch her, she responds "Paie lou jugleir/Qui m'ait apris a tumeir/Et je li ai fait dancier et balleir" (Pay the minstrel/He taught me how to tumble/And I have made him dance and leap [stanza 4, lines 11–13]). Nonetheless, given the definitions described above, I consider this *pastourelle* as including a depiction of rape that is complicated by the narrator's subsequent retelling of the encounter as one bringing mutual pleasure to both parties.

In considering the representations of rape in medieval vernacular literature, the tendency of *pastourelles* to romanticize rape is not exceptional. Andreas Capellanus' *De amore* (ca. 1185) suggests that men who fall in love with such (peasant) women must "remember to praise them lavishly, and should you find a suitable spot you should not delay in taking what you seek, gaining it by rough embraces" (XI, "The Love of Peasants").[207] In a thirteenth-century French translation of the treatise, Drouart La Vache expanded the passage and argued:

> Ains dois acomplir con plaisir
> Tantost, sanz querre autre loisir,
> Et a ton pooir t'en efforce

[206] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 347–48.
[207] "eas pluribus laudibus efferre memento, et, si locum inveneris opportunum, non differas assumere quod petebas et violento potiri amplexu." Text and translation from *Andreas Capellanus on Love*, ed. P. G. Walsh (London: Duckworth, 1982), 222–23.

> […]
> Car c'est maniere de vilaine
> Qui s'amour ne vieut otroier,
> Tant la sache i. hom biau proier,
> Et que plus biau la proiera,
> Plus vilaine la trouvera.
> Si l'estuet .i. peu forcoier
>
> You should take your pleasure on the spot, without seeking further permission, and force yourself on her to the best of your ability. […] For this is the custom of peasant women, who never do want to grant their love. Despite a man's skill in eloquent pleading with her, the more elegantly he pleads, the more churlish he will find her. Therefore, he will have to use a little force.[208]

While *De amore* has been interpreted as a parody of the Old French courtly tradition, the fact that the trope of rape sanctioned in rustic contexts is included may be reflective of the *pastourelle* tradition.[209]

In his 1987 anthology, William D. Paden calculated that rape occurs in roughly 18% of the surviving *pastourelles* in his collection, while 33% end in other forms of "sexual union," which he describes as sexual interaction with consent and/or without coercion.[210] In 41% the knight is unsuccessful at accomplishing his goal, and in 7% the outcome is unclear. Kathryn Gravdal noted that Paden, in his calculations, "[lowered] the total percentage of rapes by including *pastourelles* of all languages, bringing the number

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[208] Drouart La Vache, *Li Livres d'Amours*, ed. Robert Bossuat (Paris: Champion, 1926), 130 (vv. 4519–33).
[209] Admittedly, there are no French *pastourelles* which were demonstrably written before *De amore*, although Andreas may have been thinking of the early Occitan *pastorelas*, Latin *pastourelles* (such as those by Walter of Châtillon) or earlier French texts which cannot be clearly dated or are no longer extant. Catherine Brown argued that Capellanus' *De amore* functions as a dialectical work of contradictions, since Books 1 and 2 both advocate that erotic love is the source of all good while Book 3 declares it to be the opposite, and the reader is encouraged to choose one proposition and reject the other; see Brown, *Contrary Things: Exegesis, Dialectic, and the Poetics of Didacticism* (1998), 91–115. Additionally, the advisory in love treatises to use force when all methods of seduction fail also does not always extend just to peasant women. According to the thirteenth-century treatise *La Poissance d'amours*, the master instructs his pupil in the art of love and teaches him that all women are ashamed to make their desires known owing to their good breeding, and so must be taken by force. See *La Poissance d'amours dello Pseudo-Richard de Fournival*, ed. Gian B. Speroni (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1975), 68–69; cited and translated in Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*, 167 n. 8.
[210] See Paden, "Rape in the Pastourelle," 332. See also Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*, 105.

to 13%. To do so is to erase a key question: why are the texts of northern France more devoted to the representation of rape than those of any other country or language?"[211] Yet, as I will demonstrate, against this tendency to romanticize rape or to reduce women to being only victims of sexual violence, there are female characters whose voices and bodies defy such erasure through their formal or thematic disruption of the action in the *pastourelle*.

It is worth noting that in live performances of *pastourelles* that feature a narrator (the majority), the male-voiced narrator receives physical voice and body, albeit as a character borrowed by whomever is performing the poem. In contrast, the shepherdess' words are frequently understood by modern scholars as mediated speech, since the encounter is consistently recounted through the lens of the narrator, and thus the woman remains one step removed from reality. Despite how much agency she claims by speaking, she is described in scholarship as a two-dimensional figure while the narrator is given breath and presence. In the texts below, I demonstrate that despite this, shepherdesses frequently emerge as the heroines of the *pastourelles* through the poets' manipulation of formal expectations and crossing of genre boundaries.

Pastourelles à refrains

The largest formal group of the Douce 308 *pastourelles*, the *pastourelle à refrains*, deviates in using different configurations of the "standard" *pastourelle* themes and formal elements. These genre disruptions ultimately enhance the displaced social norms and

[211] Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*, 166 n. 4.

hierarchies that are inherent to the pastoral and draw out the performative and theatrical elements of the *pastourelle*.

I will start with an example of a *pastourelle à refrains* that fulfills all six of the "standard" *pastourelle* elements. "Heu main matin jueir alai" (RS 57, fol. 208r), an *unicum* that appears as *pastourelle* no. 50, begins with the expected narrative, and is framed with a formulaic opening by a male narrator:

"Heu main matin jueir alai," stanza 1, lines 1–8	
Heu main matin jueir alai	Early this morning I went to play
Leis un bouchet ke je bien sai;	Beside a little wood I know;
Une pastourelle trovai	A shepherdess I found
Seant deleiz sai proie.	Sitting beside her flock.
Kant je la vie je m'arrestai	When I saw her I stopped
Et je l'oÿ chanteir ensi:	And heard her singing this way:
Les mamelettes me poignent,	*"My breasts are tingling,*
Je ferai novel amin.	*I'll take a new lover!"*[212]

Each of the stanzas are octosyllabic in meter, a pattern used frequently in Old French literature, particularly among *romances*, which were often written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets. The stanzas are each followed by a refrain of two heptasyllabic (seven-syllable) lines. Here the rhyme pattern of each stanza is *aaabac*, with the refrain *DE*, however, and this pattern repeats throughout. Despite being five *coblas singulars* (same rhyme scheme, different sounds per stanza), the stanzas are connected by more subtle means: the *b* rhyme of each line is a *rim estramp*, meaning that the *b* rhyme is not repeated in the stanza itself but corresponds to the same rhyme sound, also isolated, in other stanzas.[213] For example, the fourth line of stanza one ends in "proie" ('flock"),

[212] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 377–78; translation from Paden, *The Medieval Pastourelle*, vol. 2, 392–95.
[213] Defined by Frank M. Chambers in *An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, v. 167 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1985), 45.

which rhymes with the same line of stanza two, "corroie" ("belt"), the same line of stanza three, "celleroie" ("I would hide"), and so on. Thus, the five stanzas are linked together through a repeated "-oie" ending at each stanza's fourth line.

Having been attracted by the shepherdess' singing, the narrator approaches her, and the familiar encounter progresses to the next stage. He embraces her and asks why she sings her refrain; she replies that she has not loved Robin for three days and now regrets leaving him. In this way, she indicates that her increasing sexual frustration compels her to sing, a struggle that is made explicit and physical through her repeating refrain. This refrain, an erotically charged song that refers to her breasts, brings the narrative directly into dialogue with the shepherdess' body. The refrain is notably different from the stanzas in terms of both meter and rhyme, but in each stanza is preceded by an explicit, parallel cue that introduces and indicates the shepherdess' song (stanza 1: "chanteir ensi"; 2: "chantoit ansi"; 3: "chanterai ansi"; 4: "chanteiz ansi"; 5: "chantant ansi"). From the beginning, then, the woman's song, describing her body and her desire, is distinct from the narrated stanzas. And, as we shall see, this female body is never fully claimed by the narrator.

The narrator responds to the shepherdess by offering himself in Robin's place, and throws in some gifts to sweeten his proposal:

"Heu main matin jueir alai," stanza 4	
Belle por moi ansi chanteiz. Et de moi vostre amin fereis. Biaus juelz vos vorrai doneir. Sainturelle de soie. Tos jors ferai a vostre grei. Mai kes por moi chanteiz ansi. *Les mamelettes me poignent.*	"Pretty one, sing this way for me, And you'll make of me your lover; Pretty baubles I'll be willing to give you, A little belt of silk; I'll always do as you like If only you sing this way for me: *"My breasts are tingling,*

Je ferai novel amin. *I'll take a new lover!"*

Despite her previously stated desire for a lover, the shepherdess refuses the narrator's proposition, declaring, "jai nou ferai/jai por vos Robin ne lairai" (I won't do it; I'll never leave Robin for you!). When he hears that she will remain faithful to Robin, the narrator does not continue to press his suit but instead comments that "boin grei l'an sai/si la laixai chantant ansi" (I was grateful/and I left her singing this way). Surprisingly, despite his proposition just one stanza before, he seems pleased at her refusal and leaves without a fuss, and the shepherdess' refrain is repeated once more, ending the *pastourelle*.

Interestingly, this text, despite including the elements expected in a *pastourelle* and displaying its most common form (the *pastourelle à refrains*), presents an encounter that results in a successful shift in power from the narrator, who is made non-threatening, to the shepherdess. The shepherdess' singing of her refrain, so often a demonstration of her desire to love and often taken by the narrator as an invitation to approach, is in this case shown not to be an open invitation at all, despite its explicit language. The narrator's gratitude at her refusal serves as an intriguing plot twist, one that hints at a narrator whose initial desire has been superseded by the shepherdess' desire, emphasized by the final repetition of her explicit yet also poetically distinct refrain.

Another *pastourelle à refrains*, "L'autre jour je chevachoie" (RS 974=1697, fol. 196cr), includes five of the six "standard" elements, with only the outcome missing. This text opens the *pastourelle* section, and it presents a classic scenario with one interesting variation—it is the narrator who sings the refrains:

"L'autre jour je chevachoie," stanza 1, lines 1–6, 8–12	
L'autre jour je chevachoie.	The other day I was riding
Sor mon palefroit amblant.	On my walking palfrey,
Et trovai en mi mai voie	And I found in my path
Pastorelle aigniaus guardant.	A shepherdess tending lambs
Et chaipial faixant.	And making a garland
Partit a muguet.	Mixed with lily of the valley.
[…][214]	[…]
Je li di marguet.	I said to her, "Marguet,"
Bargeronette.	*Little shepherdess,*
Tres dous compaignete	*Sweetest little companion,*
Doneis moi vostre chaipelet.	*Give me your garland,*
Donneiz moi vostre chaipelet.	*Give me your garland."*[215]

The association between young women weaving garlands, and the garland's symbolism as a love token from a woman to a man, is one that is also present in several *rondets a carole* (thirteenth-century *rondeau* forms).[216] For example, elsewhere in Douce 308, in the *rondeau* "Ancor un chaipelet ai" (vdB rond. 142, fol. 249r) we read:

"Ancor un chaipelet ai"	
Ancor un chaipelet ai	*I have another garland*
Ke fut m'amie	*That was my lover's.*
Doneiz me fut de cuer gai.	It was given to me with a happy heart.
Ancor un chaipelet ai	*I have another garland,*
Por s'amour lou garderai	For her love I will keep it
Toute mai vie.	All my life.
Ancor un chaipelet ai	*I have another garland*

[214] This line is missing from both readings of the text in Douce 308. The editors of *The Old French Ballette* hypothesized that, given the rhyme and length of the second stanza's equivalent line, this missing line ended in
"-ette" and consisted of five syllables.
[215] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 323; translation from Paden, *The Medieval Pastourelle*, vol. 1, 241–43.
[216] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 144–45. The terminological distinction between *rondet de carole* and *rondeau* is difficult. It seems that the *rondet de carole*, a dance song, was the earliest form of the *rondeau* that was first recorded in the thirteenth century and was of variable form but always contained a refrain. The *rondeau* was a type of song associated with dance and contained a repeated refrain appearing mid-stanza, and it became one of the principal *formes fixes* of the fourteenth century. See Nigel Wilkins, "Rondeau (i)," *Grove Music Online* (2001), accessed July 23, 2021 <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000023782>; and Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 43.

Que fut m'amie.	*That was my lover's.*[217]

In the case of the refrain of "L'autre jour je chevachoie," the narrator calls upon the shepherdess to grant him a lover's token but does so using diminutive terms, such as "compaignete," which emphasizes her youth and diminished status in comparison to the narrator; she is not a "dame" in his eyes, but a "bargeronette." The courtly-sounding entreaty does not have its desired effect, for the shepherdess refuses, and sounds a warning to the narrator:

"L'autre jour je chevachoie," stanza 2	
Elle dit ce dex me voie	She said, "So may God see me…"
K'elle n'an feroit niant.	That she would do no such thing.
Robins est an la codroie	"Robin is in the hazel wood,
Qui Revanrait maintenant.	And he will come back right away.
Cil vos voit Ribant	If he sees you dallying,
J'aurai teil niket	I'll get such a blow
De sa massuette.	Of his cudgel
Non averez marguet.	[That] you won't get Marguet!"
Bargeronette.	"*Little shepherdess,*
Tres dous compaignete	*Sweetest little companion,*
Doneis moi vostre chaipelet.	*Give me your garland,*
Donneiz moi vostre chaipelet.	*Give me your garland."*

As often occurs in *pastourelles*, Robin is absent from the scene, but his potential arrival is used as a threat by the shepherdess to stop the male narrator's advances, even though it is she who would receive Robin's blow. Given the text's unfinished state, whether the narrator is successfully rebuffed by Marguet's refusal is unclear, although the return of the repeated refrain suggests that he continues to press his suit.

[217] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 566; translation from Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 145.

Interestingly, the *pastourelle's* first stanza, as well as its refrain, appears elsewhere in the chansonnier among the *ballettes* (fol. 226r), where there is a version of this same text that is in an even more incomplete state. It appears with the refrain opening the text, in the manner of a *ballette*, followed by the first stanza and a repeat of the refrain. The refrain has also been altered slightly: the shepherdess is now addressed as "baicelette" instead of "compaignete." This alternative communicates an additional layer of social difference, for the new term is from the root "bas," meaning inferior or low in status, and "baisse" was a term used to refer to female servants.[218] The placement of this text in a different genre section and deliberate inversion of the form suggests that it was an attempt to turn this *pastourelle* into a *ballette*. While there are texts among the other genre sections that feature *pastourelle*-like narratives (six in the *ballette* section and one among the *motets*), showing how "standard" *pastourelle* elements were adopted into other genres, this demonstrates that there was at least one instance of an active recomposition of an existing *pastourelle* text into a *ballette* form.

The refrain of "L'autre jour je chevachoie" occurs in Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, a pastoral play that centers on the shepherdess Marion, shepherd Robin, and their friends, but also features the classic encounter between Marion and a knight. Adam's *Jeu* is often described as a dramatized *pastourelle* through its adaptation of the "standard" *pastourelle* encounter and its characters (as well as its subgenre, the *bergerie*), but also its exploration and juxtaposition of different social roles, genders, and forms. This is underpinned by the citations of or gestures to *pastourelles*, which "form a

[218] Robert Martin, s.v., "baiasse," *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1300–1500)* (hereafter, *DMF*), accessed July 14, 2021, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/baiasse>; *Le Dictionnaire étymologique de l'ancien français* (hereafter, *DEAF*), s.v., "bas," s.v., "baisse," accessed July 14, 2021, <https://deaf-server.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/lemme/bas#baisse>.

prior network of dramatic, narrative, and linguistic expectations to which Adam's work makes constant allusion."[219] The refrain of "L'autre jour je chevachoie" is the eighth refrain to appear in the *Jeu* and is sung by the knight after he has encountered Marion and struck up a dialogue with her.

In a comparison of the refrain's presence in Adam's *Jeu* versus the *pastourelle*, a few of its features stand out. The text of the refrain remains relatively the same, with one alteration: in his version, Adam exchanges "tres dous compaignete" (sweetest little companion) for "douche baisselet" (sweet little darling), mirroring the *ballette* version. This heightens the knight's perception of Marion's low status, while in the *pastourelle* refrain she is addressed as a companion, containing the potential for something a closer to equal standing between the two characters. In addition, the placement has changed. In Adam's reading, the refrain is merely one of several that the knight uses to try and seduce Marion before he eventually abducts her (although she manages to free herself), an act that is expressed through the refrain "Hé! Resveille toi, Robin!/Car on en maine marot, car on en maine Marot" (Hey, wake up Robin, for someone is taking Marot away, for someone is taking Marot away), sung by Marion's friends. In the *pastourelle*, the refrain is the first and only snippet of song that is heard as the narrator approaches the shepherdess and begins to woo her. The shepherdess is not heard singing at all in this *pastourelle*; she speaks only to firmly refuse the man's request. The narrator, then, is granted authority over both the narrative and song elements of the *pastourelle*: he woos the woman through song, instead of hearing her sing, and the recurrent nature of his song allows his suit to be continuously revisited.

[219] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 159.

This *pastourelle à refrains*, then, while it exists in an unfinished state in two separate locations, still contains all the requisite elements for a "standard" encounter, and in this way its text and refrain function as if they were the building blocks of a *pastourelle*. By examining its different locations and variations one can see how the narrator's/knight's perception of the shepherdess slips between one context and another, from sweet companion to lowly maid, and how the specific *pastourelle* functioned as a point of origin for the experimentation with form and genre in the pastoral mode. The repeated refrain can be located at an intersection of three overlapping genres, that of the *pastourelle*, *ballette*, and pastoral *jeu*, and makes clear the complex interactions between the "standard" *pastourelle* narrative, dance-like forms (both old and new), and the theatrical aspects inherent to the pastoral genre. In each context, the repeated refrain accrues new resonances and connotations that change the relationship between the aristocratic narrator/knight and shepherdess.

The next *pastourelle à refrain* example includes four of the six "standard" *pastourelle* elements, displacing the entrenched genre norm of the first-person narrator while maintaining all others except for a clear outcome. Another, "Pute poinne chivachoit a matinet" (RS 961, fol. 208v), appears near the end of the section as *pastourelle* no. 52 and is made up of three stanzas with a repeating refrain:

"Pute poinne chivachoit a matinet"	
Pute poinne chivachoit a matinet. A l'ixue de lowon leiz un bouchet. Vi pastoure ou cuet muguet. Et faixoit .i. chapelet D'amours c'escrïait .iii. mos.	Putepoinne was riding in the morning; After departing from Lowon, near a grove, He saw a shepherdess picking lilies And making a garland. On account of love she cried out three times:

O deli O deli O deli o.	*Odeli, Odeli, Odeli, o!*
Dieus amours m'ont navrei a mort.	*God! Love has hurt me to death.*
Elle dit coment aveis non dous amis	She said, "What is your name, sweet friend?"
On m'apelle pute poinne li jolis.	"I am called Putepoinne the handsome,
Qui d'amors est si sopris.	Who has been overtaken by love
Et de dame si garnis.	And so possessed by a lady,
K'a poc je n'an suix tous sos.	That I am not far from a complete fool."
O deli O deli O deli o.	*Odeli, Odeli, Odeli, o!*
Dieus amours mont navrei a mort.	*God! Love has hurt me to death.*
Vos n'estes mies cortois sire sachiez	"You are not at all noble, sir, you know,
Qui dames et pucelettes donoiez	You are courting[220] [many] ladies and young girls.
Fu de ci ne m'aprochier.	Go from here, don't approach me!
N'ai cure de vos dongier.	I don't have the remedy for your suffering.
Onkes n'amai viez riot.	I never liked an old quarrel."
O deli O deli O deli o.	*Odeli, Odeli, Odeli, o!*
Dieus amours mont navrei a mort.	*God! Love has hurt me to death.*[221]

In addition to lacking a clear outcome following the shepherdess' refusal, this text is unique to the *pastourelle* section in that it is a "standard" encounter told in the third person with a named male character, Putepoinne. He identifies himself as "li jolis," and declares that he is enamored in a *dame*, presumably flattering the shepherdess he has just encountered. As is expected, she refuses him, although her refusal conveys that she is not so naïve as he might believe. Instead, she knows Putepoinne's reputation—he woos other women and she has no taste for any recycled overtures that he might make to her. The narrative ends here, and while we may imagine that a deflated Putepoinne has been sufficiently put off by the shepherdess' words, the lack of a clear outcome removes the assurance of an uneventful parting.

[220] "donoiez," from "donoiier," meaning to woo or court; *DEAF*, s.v., "doiiner," accessed June 3, 2021, <https://deaf-server.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/lemme/done#donoiier>.
[221] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 379–80.

The rhyme scheme follows a pattern of *aaaab*, with refrain *BB*, in each stanza. The rhyme sounds change each stanza, resulting in three *coblas singulars*. The line-lengths also fluctuate; each stanza follows the pattern 10.10.7.7.7, or two decasyllables followed by three heptasyllables, thus switching between higher and lower register line-lengths. The two-line refrain continues the pattern of the stanzas with its *B* rhyme endings, indicating its integration into the greater structure. The refrain has a meter of 10.8, a pairing of two higher register line-lengths. The refrain text starts out with repeated nonsense words that are evocative of rustic revelry, however, and by singing it the shepherdess both expresses her despair in love and sings explicitly rustic lyrics.

Christopher Callahan commented that more rustic, "dorenlot" dance-type refrains like this one tended to appear in the more "objective" *pastourelle* type, that of the *bergerie*.[222] This also mirrors the shift away from a conflictual encounter to *pastourelle* as theater.[223] For example, in Jean Erart's early thirteenth century *pastourelle* "Au tens pascor" (RS 2005), the narrator witnesses a scene of pastoral revelry, and a nonsense refrain "cibalala duriaus duriaus, cibatala durie" is intended to imitate one of the shepherds' bagpipes. Callahan argues that it also assumes "metaphorical status as a representation of general merriment," for following the deterioration of that initial joyous mood, Perrin, who has been beaten in a jealous quarrel, now "n'a talen q'il die 'cibabala duriaus'" (has no desire to sing cibalala, etc.).

The unusual setting in "Pute poinne chivachoit a matinet" of an otherwise "standard" *pastourelle* in the third person ultimately increases the focus on the drama of the *pastourelle* and its displacement of both courtly and rustic environments and

[222] Callahan, "Hybrid Discourse and Performance in the Old French *Pastourelle*," (2002), 15.
[223] Blanchard, *La pastorale en France aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (1983), 17–45.

characters. The juxtaposition of the notorious Putepoinne, who speaks in the most courtly language possible, with the shepherdess, who sings a rustic refrain yet reveals a sharpness through her dialogue with Putepoinne, lays bare the differences in status but also the behaviors of the two characters. The female character, the shepherdess, despite her refrain's clear rustic and dance-like character, wields her knowledge to puncture Putepoinne's courtly façade, showing him to be merely a playboy who speaks prettily. Also, despite his airs, this man cannot be very courtly; his name translates loosely to "prostitute's pain."[224] The courtly man, then, is shown to be a vulgar rake, and the shepherdess demonstrates the sharp and discerning eye of a woman of higher standing.

While the third-person narrative is relatively rare, other *pastourelles à refrains* present similarly startling disruptions of the genre's expectations through form. "En mi deus vrais deus/L'autre jour moi chivachoie, si pansoie" (RS 79, fol. 203r), another *unicum* with four of the six "standard" *pastourelle* elements, makes use of a particular refrain and results in a new inversion of the power dynamic. The form is the first arresting aspect of this text: the five-stanza *pastourelle* is preceded by an incipit four-line "refrain" that is sung not by the shepherdess or the narrator but, as it turns out, by the shepherdess' lover, Robin:

"En mi deus vrais deus," initial refrain	
En mi deus vrais deus sire dex *Ke ferai.*	*O God, true God, Lord God,* *What shall I do?*

[224] For *pute*, see *DMF*, s.v., "pute," by Hiltrud Gerner, accessed May 23, 2021, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/pute>; *Anglo-Norman Dictionary (AND² Online Edition)* (hereafter, *AND*), s.v., "pute1," accessed 23 May 2021, <https://anglo-norman.net/entry/pute_1>. For *poinne*, see *DMF*, s.v., "peine," by Pierre Cromer, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/peine>; *AND*, s.v., "peine1," accessed May 23, 2021, <https://anglo-norman.net/entry/peine_1>.

Marot mait bien dit	*Marot has told me*
Can briez tens de li cous serai.	*That soon she will cuckold me!"*[225]

Although its placement is highly unusual among the *pastourelles*, the "refrain" does not appear to be a stand-alone fragment or part of the preceding text. In the manuscript, this four-line "refrain" begins after the marking "xxvii" on the new folio of 203r/213r, indicated with a new blue capital "E." In the "abecelaire des pastorelles" on fols. 141r–v that lists the incipits of all the *pastourelles* at the beginning of the chansonnier, "Em mi deus vrais deus" appears as the twenty-seventh entry (out of fifty-seven), indicating that the "refrain" was intended, at least when the index was compiled, to appear at the opening of this particular text. Additionally, this initial element can be considered a refrain because of its difference from the rest of the poem's structure: it consists of four lines compared to the six lines of the other stanzas and has entirely different rhyme sounds (except for stanza five, which shares the same *b* sound with the "refrain").

Following this opening "refrain" is the first stanza, with a familiar narrative opening in a familiar voice:

"En mi deus vrais deus," stanza 1	
L'autre jour moi chivachoie	The other day I was riding,
Si pansoie.	And thinking
D'amours qui m'ont an prison.	Of love that keeps me in prison,
Et trovai an mi ma voie.	And I found in my way
Gardant proie.	Watching their flock
Marion et robesson.	Marion and Robeçon.

Nevertheless, the narrator encounters not a shepherdess alone, but a shepherdess and her shepherd lover. Immediately there is also a greater discrepancy between the "refrain" and

[225] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 354–55; translation from Paden, *The Medieval Pastourelle*, vol. 1, 254–55.

the plot of the stanzas revealed here: that of the name of the female character. While both are variously used as stock names for shepherdess characters and "Marot" is simply a diminutive of "Marion" (itself a form of "Mary/Marie"), the fact there is this inconsistency makes the "refrain" sound even more external to the text of the *pastourelle*. This is emphasized by the fact that it is only heard once at the start and does not return, which is highly unusual in a *pastourelle à refrains*. We shall see, however, that the "refrain" serves a different function, one underlined by its initial appearance. The "refrain" foreshadows the action to come; in a sense, it functions not as a lyric element embedded in the unfolding narrative as sung by one of the characters in the narrator's "present" time, but instead as a kind of prologue to this *pastourelle*, with Robin foretelling his own displacement.

As he approaches, the narrator overhears the couple arguing: Marion is rejecting Robin, who pleads with her:

"En mi deus vrais deus," stanza 2, lines 2–6; stanza 3	
A robin. maroie. Dist an reproichon. Ameir te souloie. Mais or va ta voie. N'ai soing de garson.	Marion said to Robin In reproach, "I used to love you, But now go your way— I don't need a knave!"[226]
E marot par cortoisie Je te prie. Mon meffait pardone moi. Je ferai une estampie Si jolie. Balle .i. petit je t'an proi.	"O Marion, in courtesy I beg you, Excuse my offense. I'll play a pretty Dance song; Dance a little, I beg you."

[226] While it carries the connotation of "homme vil et grossier," "garson" could alternatively be translated simply as "boy"; see *DMF*, s.v. "garçon," by Hiltrud Gerner, accessed July 23, 2021, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/garçon>.

Here two forms of "Marie" appear, "Maroie" and "Marot," the first used by the narrator and the second used by Robin to address the shepherdess as he begs for her forgiveness. Robin's language is courtly: he begs her "par cortoisie" and requests that she pardon him, in the manner of a supplicant appealing to the Virgin Mary. Interestingly, in this stanza Robin attempts to persuade Marion to engage in a musical activity with him, and as Eglal Doss-Quinby and Samuel Rosenberg have pointed out, instances of acts of singing or dancing as a thinly veiled reference to sexual activity are well-documented, and this is probably no exception.[227] What offense he has committed is unknown, but Marion then directly addresses the narrator, who until now has been eavesdropping:

"En mi deus vrais deus," stanzas 4 and 5	
Oz keil deruerie.	"Hear what love
Eiz musairs me prie.	This idiot begs from me!
Sire vangiez moi.	Sir, avenge me.
Mains n'i soit tochie	But don't touch a hand,
Dou piet lou me pille.	Kick him with your foot!
Je me rant a toi.	I give myself to you."
Je boutai robin arriere.	I knocked Robin back
Par maniere.	In such a way
Si que point ne lou blesai	That I didn't wound him;
Puis m'acis leiz lai bergiere	Then I sat by the shepherdess
En lai bruiere.	In the heather
Et de s'amour la priai.	And begged her for her love.
Tant fix par prieire.	I did so well with begging
K'ainz ke fust priagniere.	That before it got to noon
.iii. fois la baixai.	I had kissed her three times!

By the end of the text, the outcome is evident: the narrator has successfully gained the affections of Marion. Yet the love dialogue where the narrator courts her is missing (he

[227] Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, xxx, 306. See, for example, Jehan le Renti's "L'autrier errai m'ambleure" (RS 2084), where the "teaching" of a *virelai* occurs in the fifth and sixth stanzas.

merely mentions that he "begged her for her love"), and instead the direct exchange is between Marion and Robin, who is made a cuckold as the "refrain" predicted when Marion tells the narrator "Je me rant a toi." Indeed, she does not veil her words, insulting Robin by calling him a *garson* and *musairs* and she explicitly asks the narrator to use force to remove him, although she tempers this by requesting that he use his feet. Thus, while the outcome is in the narrator's favor, it is the shepherdess who has decided the matter by directly asking the narrator to intervene and stating that she will be his.

The stanzas themselves are relatively varied in form: the first four stanzas each have six lines, following an alternating metric pattern of 7.3.7.7.3.7 (stanzas one and three) and 5.5.5.5.5.5 (stanzas two and four). In the five-line stanzas, the shepherdess speaks; in the alternating stanzas Robin and the narrator speak. The first four stanzas all follow the rhyme pattern of *aabaab*. The fifth stanza, in which the narrator acts, differs in its line lengths, meter, and rhyme scheme, although it functions as a variation drawing on both preceding forms: it is made up of nine lines following the metric pattern 7.3.7.7.3.7.5.5.5 and the rhyme scheme *aabaabaab*. Thus, the form of the *pastourelle* contributes to the theatrical nature of the encounter by contrasting the utterances of the shepherdess with those of the two men. The different rhyme scheme and metric pattern of the "refrain" (discussed above) makes it stand apart from this structure, highlighting its separation from the narrative in functioning more like a prologue in a drama.

This *pastourelle* takes numerous formal liberties with the meaning of the "refrain" by beginning with it, but not having it, or any other refrain-like elements, appear again. Additionally, its appearance in the voice of the losing, male character rather than the voices of the two traditional players (the narrator and the shepherdess) marks it as

disruptive. The shepherdess, moreover, plays a highly authoritative role. Not subject to refrain-singing or staving off the narrator's advances, she instead conducts (and wins) the anti-love-dialogue with Robin and instigates the relationship with the narrator. Thus, the formal disruptions of "En mi deus vrais deus" overshadow the formulaic aspects of this "standard" *pastourelle* to make use of the external "refrain" in a new, more theatrical fashion that highlights the shift in focus to the new protagonist of the *pastourelle*: Marion!

For texts that feature three or fewer of the six "standard" *pastourelle* elements, the pastoral space opens for even more diverse representations of peasant women. For example, one exceptional text features a speaking female character who laments her pregnancy. Rarely, if ever, is pregnancy addressed in Old French lyrics, although the pregnancy lament was a popular lyric genre in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England.[228] Through this *pastourelle's* inclusion of a pregnancy lament, it offers a glimpse of a realistic consequence for a woman of the physical love recounted in many *pastourelles*, as well as her attendant shame and regret.

The *pastourelle* in question, "Je me levai ier main matin" (RS 1371, fol. 201v), is an *unicum* and consists of five stanzas with a repeating two-line refrain. The narrative begins in a typical *pastourelle* fashion:

[228] See Neil Cartlidge, "'Alas, I go with Chylde': Representations of Extra-Marital Pregnancy in the Middle English Lyric," *English Studies* 5 (1998): 395–414; and Judith M. Bennett, "Ventriloquisms: When Maidens Speak in English Songs, c. 1300–1550," in *Medieval Woman's Song: Cross-Cultural Approaches*, ed. Anne L. Klinck and Anne Marie Rasmussen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 196–97.

"Je me levai," stanza 1, lines 1–3, 5–8, and refrain	
Je me levai ier main matin. Un pou devant soloil luxant. Si m'an antrai an un jardin. […] Et oi an .i. preit chantant. Une sade plaisans brunette. Qui chantoit avoix seriette. Grant desdus fut de l'escoutier: *Les iolis malz d'amorettes,* *Ne puis plus celleir.*	I got up early yesterday morning A little before the sun began to shine; I entered into a garden […] And I heard singing in a meadow A charming, pleasing brunette Who was singing sweetly; It was greatly pleasurable to hear: *The delightful pains of love,* *I cannot hide them anymore.*[229]

The text begins with a formulaic phrase setting the scene in the past, the narrative is in the first person, and it is spoken by a man. There are a few slight dislocations of the "standard": in the first stanza the narrator encounters a woman alone, although she is not a shepherdess but a brunette in a meadow within a garden. The rustic location is modified by the fact that the narrator enters a garden before spying on the woman; placing the encounter in a "jardin" suggests that this location is an enclosed space and thus not so removed from court. There are also implications of virginity and purity, since the enclosed garden (*hortus conclusus*) is often a metaphor for the Virgin Mary.[230] The woman's status, then, since she is not explicitly labeled a "pastourelle" (shepherdess), is decidedly ambiguous.

After being attracted to the meadow by the young brunette's singing, the narrator hears her speak, lamenting her unfavorable situation. The lament she sings in the refrain

[229] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 348–50.
[230] The *hortus conclusus*, first represented in the Song of Songs in the Hebrew scriptures, was a well-known metaphor of the Virgin Mary's virginity; see Rachel Dressler, Wendy Hoofnagle, Jessica Boon, Liz Herbert McAvoy, and Naoe Kukita Yoshikawa, "The Virgin in the *Hortus Conclusus*: Healing the Body and Healing the Soul," *Medieval Feminist Forum* 50.1 (2014): 11–32.

is decidedly courtly; it refers to "les iolis malz d'amorettes" (the delightful pains of love), which abstractly describes the experience of being in love that often compels the suffering individual to sing, just as the woman does, repeatedly. In Douce 308 alone, there are nine different refrains that contain some version of the phrase "li malz d'amor."[231] In the second stanza, the narrator comments on her "regret" as she describes how she has lost her lover, "Lou biau lou blon" (the beautiful, the blond [man] [stanza 2, line 4]). Now, she has been left alone, singing:

"Je me levai," stanza 2, lines 7–8	
Si an fix une foliette Dont nuns ne m'an douroit blasmeir	Thus was I made a foolish girl For which no one could blame me.

In stanza three, the young woman begins to tell her story. This *pastourelle* is notable in giving voice to the shepherdess for most of the text: three out of the five stanzas. The *pastourelle* opening primes listeners to expect the man to approach the woman and attempt to woo her immediately, but he instead remains silent while she continues to sing. Thus, most of the narrative, despite being framed by the typical male narrator's speech, is propelled by the woman's retelling of her past encounter and her current struggles.

The form of the text is also worth noting: each stanza has eight octosyllabic lines, the pattern of many Old French *romances*. The refrain of "Je me levai" disrupts the pattern by ending with a five-syllable phrase. The rhyme scheme of stanza one is

[231] Using van den Boogaard's numbering, the refrains are: vdB 48 (Enmi, je muer des jolis **malz d'ameir** et si ne puis en li merci troveir), vdB 339 (C'est li malz, **li malz d'ame[ir],** qui nos prent, ameir a la fin, dous a[u] comancement), vdB 534 (Dex, je n'i puis dureir; ceu me font **li malz d'ameir**), vdB 901 (J'ai a cuer **les malz d'amors** orendroit), vdB 1220 (the refrain in this *pastourelle*), vdB 1221 (**Les malz d'amors** santit ai et sans et adés ferai), vdB 1543 (Pues ke **li malz d'ameir** est vie, dont est mercis bien signorie), vdB 1747 (Sor tous les mals est **li malz d'amors**; a nul jor n'en aroi los ne pris), and vdB 1812 (Trop mi demoinne **li malz d'amer**).

ababbccd, with the refrain completing this pattern with *CD*. The rhyme scheme repeats for the first two stanzas, deviates in stanzas three and four, and then returns to the original scheme in the final stanza, with new rhyme sounds each stanza, resulting in five *coblas singulars* (see table 1.1 below).

Table 1.1: Rhyme scheme of "Je me levai"

Stanza	**Rhyme Scheme**
1	*ababbccd / CD*
2	*ababbccd / CD*
3	*abcbcdde / DE*
4	*abcbbcad / AD*
5	*ababbccd / CD*

The brunette describes how her fair-haired lover promised that he would give her his heart and body and serve her loyally, as long as she would give him her love. There is also a more permanent, observable result, which she bitterly laments:

"Je me levai," stanza 3, lines 7–8

Fait ai tant ke ma sainturette	I did so until my little belt
Ne puet a son point retorneir.	Can no longer return to its point.

This stanza is emphasized with a new rhyme scheme, *abcbcdde* (with added refrain *DE*), which deviates from the pattern established by the first two. Here, the first line (*a*) does not rhyme with any other, and the *bb* couplet in the middle of all other stanzas disappears; in its place is an alternation of *bcbc*.

In the fourth stanza, it is made obvious that it is not her belt that has shrunk but her belly that has grown, as she comments:

"Je me levai," stanza 4, lines 1–8 and refrain	
Or me covient ma sainturette	Now it is necessary to put back
Remettre .i. petitet avant	my little belt a little bit further,
Car li ventres m'est jai grosses	Because my stomach is already large
Et ades me vait angroissant.	And immediately I was afraid.
Lors si m'alai apercevant	For if I had been aware
Ke je n'estoie plus pucelle[tte]	That I would no longer be a little girl,
Si dirai ceste chansonette	Then I would have sung this little song
De boin cuer ne puis oblieir:	With a good heart, [and] would not have forgotten:
Les iolis malz d'amorettes	*The delightful pains of love,*
Ne puis plus celleir	*I cannot hide them anymore.*

As the young woman continues to speak of her fear and preoccupation with her changing body, there is further disruption of the rhyme scheme: *abcbbaad* with refrain *AD*. Regretful of her previous naivete that led her to trust the man's promises, the speaker now understands that by giving up her virginity she unknowingly left her girlhood behind and is faced with the unexpected responsibility of single motherhood. Considering this realization, the refrain takes on a more specific meaning. Although it at first glance appears to be typical courtly language describing the abstract pain of being in love which often requires release through song, it also references the real visual change of the young girl's body as her unborn child, conceived through falsehood and blind trust, grows within her.

In the final stanza, the male narrator breaks his silence and responds to what he has overheard, not with sympathy but with amusement. As he approaches, she immediately falls silent and turns red, apparently at having been overheard. He laughs and says:

"Je me levai," stanza 5, lines 6–8 and refrain	
S'avient a mainte pucelette. Et elle fut un pou pailette De honte n'ozait plus chanteir: *Les iolis malz d'amorettes* *Ne puis plus celleir.*	"This happens to many young girls." And she became a little pale, Out of shame she no more dared to sing: *"The delightful pains of love,* *I cannot hide them anymore."*

In this final stanza, as noted above, the rhyme scheme returns to the pattern *ababbccd / CD* from the first two stanzas, reorienting the narrative to the purview of the narrator, who has re-entered the scene.

In this text, the male narrator does not engage in the usual love dialogue with the shepherdess but instead only utters a single phrase, which is enough to shame her into silence. This stands in contrast to most *pastourelles*, which so often contain the potential for masculine violence alongside a lack of interest in preserving the chastity of the women they encounter. Typical *pastourelles* also do not recount what happens to the woman after the encounter is over.

What is additionally arresting about the young woman's lament is that her situation follows many of the tropes of the *pastourelle*, in that she was successfully wooed by a young lover with promises of love and fidelity, although this occurred even before the "past" of the *pastourelle* encounter. By the time that the narrator finds her, the consequences of such amorous and lighthearted encounters is painfully evident for all to see and hear. The fact that the narrator overhears this woman's predicament and the poet then re-counts this revelation to a live, listening audience, removes the hope of any level of concealment of the fictional young woman's situation, adding further resonance to her lament that "[she] cannot hide…anymore."

In the end, the voice of the lone young woman, laced with pain and regret, is given space to tell her story before she is silenced by the male narrator's unsympathetic observation. In the stanzas where she recounts her own past amorous encounter, the rhyme scheme shifts in unpredictable ways while still maintaining consistent octosyllabic lines. Her returning refrain, which is well-integrated into the structure of the text through its connection to the rhyme scheme, speaks in the courtly language of the pains of love yet also refers, literally, to her own body within the context of the shifting rhymes of her stanzas.

The narrator's words cannot erase the shape of the woman's pregnant body under her belt. She is an exception to all the other women encountered in *pastourelles* because she is the only one to demonstrably live the consequences of male narrators' careless dalliances with these female stock characters. Her body is beyond the usual narrator's view and thus it cannot be under his control; the presence of her resistant body signals that while vulnerable due to her previous abandonment and ridicule by the narrator, she is capable of speaking and singing of her pain, altering the form of the narrator's text and granting an otherwise abstract and courtly refrain new and specific meaning.

There are a few *pastourelles* that contain none of the "standard" elements, and in these texts the genre is subject to its greatest disruptions yet. In the final example of a *pastourelle à refrains*, significant disruptions of the "standard" *pastourelle* come via critiques of the pastoral scenario, delivered by the solo voice of a woman. The text in question is "J'ain simplete anvoixie" (RS 1146, fol. 213r and 201v), and its disruption of *pastourelle* formal and thematic norms is intensified by the text's two appearances in the

chansonnier, as *ballette* no. 24 and *pastourelle* no. 31.[232] The *ballette* is among the 25% of the corpus that appears in a *virelai*-like form, with each stanza preceded and followed by the refrain:

"J'ain simplete anvoixie"	
J'ain simplete, anvoixie, *Saverouze et plaisant, mignote et jolie.*	*I'm simple and vivacious,* *Charming and pleasant, gracious and lovely!*
Des ore mais avons assez De marionette chantei; Mes cors an est trestous lasseis Si chanterai: jolietei, Bone amour qui maistrie Fins amans nuit et jor, me tiennent jolie. *J'ain simplete, anvoixie…*	We've now sung quite a lot About dear Marion; My heart is tired of it So I'll sing: "High spirits [and] good love, which guides True lovers night and day, keep me lovely." *I'm simple and vivacious…*
Por moi vanteir nou di je pas. Teis cuide belle amie avoir Cant il lai welt; il ne l'ait pais, Et s'i ait mis cors et avoir. C'est trop grant tricherie Kant on cuide estre ameis et on ne l'est mie. *J'ain simplete, anvoixie…*	I don't say that to brag. A man may think he can have A girlfriend whenever he likes; he can't, Even though he's given it feeling and funds. It's a bitter disappointment When you think you're loved, and you're not. *I'm simple and vivacious…*
A tous fins amans fais savoir C'onkes n'orent joie d'amor C'il n'ait an iaus sans ou savoir; Jai n'an auront fors ke dollours; Mais a lai departie Saurait on ki avrait fait sans ou folie. *J'ain simplete, anvoixie …*	I'm letting all true lovers know That they've never experienced the joy of love If they have no sense or know-how; They'll never get anything for it but grief; But by the way it ends You'll know who's been wise or foolish. *I'm simple and vivacious…*[233]

The connection of this otherwise unrelated *ballette* to the *pastourelles* seems to be in the immediate reference to "Marion," a common shepherdess's name. When it appears as *pastourelle* no. 31 out of 57, it is roughly half-way through the genre section. As a

[232] There are 14 *ballettes* that are copied twice within the *ballette* genre section, but "J'ain simplete anvoixie" is the only text to appear twice in two different genre sections.
[233] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 357–58; translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 75.

ballette, it is no. 24 out of 177 and does not seem to relate in any specific way to the surrounding texts: those before it are typical courtly scenarios with no mention of pastoral characters. The closest connection is *ballette* no. 21, "Aucune gens vont dixant" ("Some people go around saying"), a *chanson d'ami* text. In neither genre section is there any significant marking in the manuscript to separate this text from what came before it. The only potential marking of difference is the appearance of the opening initial "J," which is blue but undecorated, though this could be simply a scribal oversight. The form consists of three stanzas with a repeated refrain and *ababcc* rhymes, where the refrain is *CC*. The meter of the text is 8.8.8.8.6.11, with the refrain repeating the last two line lengths at 6.11. The text also changes rhyme in each stanza, thus they can be considered three *coblas singulars*.

Among the *pastourelles*, "J'ain simplete anvoixie" offers a commentary on the pastoral encounters that precede and follow it. The speaker, who can be presumed to be female due to the feminine endings in the repeated refrain, declares that Marion (the shepherdess) has been sung about too much and she is tired of it. In this way the text offers a literal break in the *pastourelles* by singing from woman's perspective and voice instead of that of the traditional male narrator. The female speaker also performs both sides of the *pastourelle* shepherdess figure, in that she expresses herself as both wily/wise and naïve/silly. In stanza one, she says that she will sing about "jolietei/bone amour" (high spirits/[and] good love), "fins amans" (true lovers), and her own loveliness, presumably instead of Marion, who typically sings of such subjects in refrains. This is followed in stanza two by "por moi vanteir nou di je pas" (I don't say that to brag), and a

tirade against men who think they can take any "belle amie" they want. Her response? These men have no such right.

Such a blunt statement from the female speaker is jarring, particularly as it appears in the middle of the *pastourelle* section. In claiming her own bodily autonomy, she takes back what is so often stripped from the women in the *pastourelles*. She also references the typical gifts given to shepherdesses by entitled men, "cors et avoir" (feeling and funds), and the economic exchange is laid bare: too often the trope in the *pastourelle* is the narrator having his way with the shepherdess after offering sweet words and shiny gifts.

Yet the speaker destabilizes this common exchange and exposes it for its contrived nature, observing, "C'est trop grant tricherie/Kant on cuide estre ameis/Et on ne l'est mie" (It's a huge trick/When you think you're loved/And you're not).[234] This phrasing has a striking similarity to a refrain that is found attached to a *ballette* text "Li hons fait folie" (RS 1160, fol. 215r and 225v), which is copied twice as *ballettes* nos. 39 and 108. The refrain reads: "Li hons fait folie/qui cude estre ameis/et il ne l'est mie" (That man's a fool who thinks he is loved when he is actually not).[235] This *ballette* does not contain any references to the *pastourelle*; instead, the male speaker rails against women for their untrustworthiness, revealing that he himself had been betrayed by his "amie." By referencing trickery in love, a falsehood implied to be on the part of the woman given the context, the speaker of "J'ain simplete anvoixie" punctures the romantic veneer of the *pastourelle* by intimating that in most cases the shepherdess is not

[234] The editors of *The Old French Ballette* edition translated "C'est trop grant tricherie" as "It's a bitter disappointment"; see Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 75.
[235] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *Old French Ballettes*, 120–21.

actually "in love" with the male narrator, as he might like to believe. Instead, she manipulates the narrator for her own ends, and he merely deludes himself (and his audience).

The speaker's final stanza comes off as more didactic and provides instruction for "fins amans." In her view, true love and its joys *require* sense and experience, without which a person will only encounter grief. In the context of the *pastourelles*, this comments upon the prevailing naïveté and lack of experience so often conferred upon the shepherdess character in contrast to the motivated male narrator. This is immediately followed, however, by the final lines that acknowledge a battle of wits that so often occurs in *pastourelles* between the male and female characters: "Mais a lai departie/saurait on ki aurait/fait sans ou folie" (But by the way it ends/You'll know who's been/Wise or foolish). In pointing to "lai departie" of true love, she could be understood as referring to the end of the love debate of the *pastourelle*, at which point the audience observes whether the narrator has had his way, or the shepherdess has outsmarted the narrator, the loser being the foolish one.

Through this cynical critique of the *pastourelle* narrator and his idealization of the pastoral scene and its characters, the repeating refrain continues to return with its self-focused feminine adjectives, sharply contrasting the incisive voice of the speaker in the stanzas. The refrain text, in being overly focused on listing her many traits, comes off as overly shallow and naïve, for it emphasizes both her simplicity and gentle behaviors, all characteristics typically assigned to the shepherdess by the observing narrator. In these repeated refrains, the speaker almost undermines her own resistance by mimicking the voice of the simplest, most infantile shepherdess.

Overall, through the contrast of the caustic stanzas and the naïve refrain, the female speaker of "J'ain simplete anvoixie" inhabits both the stereotypical young shepherdess and a resistant woman who has observed the destructive tendencies of male and female lovers in the *pastourelles* and desires to impart both critique and wisdom to her audience. Her refrain grants her all the typical youthful expressions of the rustic shepherdesses of the *pastourelle*. But it is in the stanzas themselves that the audience encounters a shrewder view of love and relationships, one predicated upon protecting one's (specifically a woman's) right to bodily autonomy and entering the world of love with a level of common sense.

Most of the *pastourelles* in Douce 308 are *pastourelles à refrains*, and these demonstrate the greatest diversity in their divergence from the "standard" elements of *pastourelles* as well as the greatest mobility in terms of exploitation of social differences in the pastoral. While texts with a single refrain are most common, in several examples the refrains giving the shepherdess' reactions to her male interlocutor are cleverly juxtaposed to each stanza as a repeated reminder or re-interpretation of the stanza's meaning. In one case where the repeated refrain was the returning request of a male narrator, its location in other contexts demonstrates its function as a starting point for other pastoral forms and shows how the pastoral subtly alters the relationship between the two main characters. Additionally, a single refrain has been demonstrated as breaking expectations of form in "En mi deus, vrais deus" by appearing first and not repeating, serving an entirely new function of prefacing the narrative with a character's internal concerns that prove to predict the outcome of the text. Finally, when refrains demonstrate a shepherdess' rustic identity or erotic desires, they serve to displace the narrator or male

character's desire and authority and instead assert the woman's potential as a desiring and discerning subject.

Pastourelles avec des refrains

While *pastourelles à refrains* are the most common in Douce 308, there are four *pastourelles avec des refrains* that present different refrains at the end of each stanza, complicating the use of the refrain as simple, repetitious speech. Most often, refrains are identified by their appearance in other sources; if there are no concordances, refrains are identified by their disruption of meter and rhyme when compared to the stanzas. Christopher Callahan called *pastourelles* with multiple refrains the "most innovative," since they use refrains both to introduce the shepherdess to the audience and narrator and to form part of the dialogue between the characters.[236]

Beginning again with *pastourelles* that contain all six of the tropes of the "standard" type outlined above, the first example is "L'autre jour me chivachoi sous sans compaignie" (RS 1707, fol. 199v). The text is an *unicum* and consists of five stanzas. The refrains function in conjunction with the narrative, serving as a kind of theatrical rubric to what follows, and are also somewhat external through their formal instability. Each of the stanzas follows the metric pattern 7.5.7.5.7.7.7, and the rhyme scheme *ababccd*. The refrains vary regarding their metric and rhyme patterns (see table 1.2 below). Additionally, all the refrains are two lines long except for that following stanza three, which has three lines.

[236] Callahan, "Hybrid Discourse and Performance in the Old French *Pastourelle*" (2002), 10.

Table 1.2: Rhyme scheme and line lengths of "L'autre jour me chivachoi"

Stanza	**Stanza / Refrain**
1	rhyme: *ababccd / DE* meter: 7.5.7.5.7.7.7 / 3.8
2	rhyme: *ababccd / ED* meter: 7.5.7.5.7.7.7 / 6.7
3	rhyme: *ababccd / DEF* meter: 7.5.7.5.7.7.7 / 6.7.7
4	rhyme: *ababccd / ED* meter: 7.5.7.5.7.7.7 / 6.5
5	rhyme: *ababccd / ED* meter: 7.5.7.5.7.7.7 / 9.7

In the first few lines, the narrator sets the scene as expected:

"L'autre jour me chivachoi," stanza 1	
L'autre jour me chivachoie sous sans compaignie, et trovai en mi ma voie pastore jolie, cointe et gai et avenant et a haute voix chantant de joli cuer amerous, *Amis dous,* *Li malz que j'ai me vient de vos.*	The other day I was riding Alone with no companion, And I found in my way A pretty shepherdess, Charming and gay and attractive And singing aloud With a pretty loving heart, *"Sweet friend,* *The pain I have I get from you!"*[237]

In this opening, the narrator specifies that he travels alone, setting up the expectation that he is seeking someone to fill this role. At once, he hears the shepherdess singing and notices her appearance; in this case he describes her body as charming, gay, attractive, and in the following stanza as "simple and sweet." Simplicity is a frequent (and dismissive) characteristic of such rustic characters, so he is emphasizing that she is not on his level of intelligence or social status.

[237] Text and translation from Paden, *The Medieval Pastourelle*, vol. 1, 250–53.

Despite her low status, the narrator greets her immediately and puts forth his proposal in a refrain:

"L'autre jour me chivachoi," stanza 2 refrain	
C'or devenez m'amie *et je vostre amin serai*	*Now become my girlfriend* *And I'll be your man.*

The shepherdess, for her part, seems cognizant of the situation. She responds by explaining that she already belongs to someone and tells him to "careis aillors vostre proie/que moi n'areis mie" (seek your prey elsewhere, for you'll not get me at all). It seems that she is an "informed consumer of *pastourelles*,"[238] and knows immediately that this interaction is a predatory one. To drive home her commitment to another, she sings a refrain:

"L'autre jour me chivachoi," stanza 3 refrain	
Sa delarandurei. *e. sa delaradurelle.* *J'ai sans s'amor ne serai.*	*Sa delarandurei,* *E ! Sa delaradurelle,* *I'll never be without his love.*

This refrain, which is similar to the shepherdess' refrain of "Pute poinne chivachoit," communicates a level of rustic revelry through song, underlining her low status. This is emphasized through this refrain's extra line (compared to the other two-line refrains) that further deviates from the rhyme scheme of its stanza.

Her singing must not be as light-hearted as the nonsense syllables seem to suggest, for the narrator immediately afterwards notes her alarm:

[238] Callahan, "Hybrid Discourse and Performance in the *Pastourelle*" (2002), 10.

"L'autre jour me chivachoi," stanza 4	
Cant je vi k'elle s'effroie	When I saw she was alarmed
De ceu que la prie,	At my request,
Plus l'anchauce et plus la proie	I urged her again and begged her again
Que s'amor m'otrie.	To grant me her love.
Elle dist, m'amez vos tant	She said, "Do you love me as much
Com m'an faites lou samblant?	As you appear to do?
Je croi ke vos me gabeiz;	I believe you're fooling me;
Por vos serai batue,	*I'll be beaten because of you;*
J'a trop demorei!"	*I have stayed too long!"*

As most often occurs, the narrator ignores the woman's refusal, thereby erasing her voice and her consent. He clearly observes her physical discomfort but pushes his suit more forcefully. Responding to this pressure, the shepherdess questions the truth of his words, and in doing so points out the untruths that make up so much of courtly lyric: secrecy, overly exaggerated protestations of love and its associated suffering, and in the *pastourelles*, the man's sudden declarations of loyalty to a stranger.

The narrator then escalates their interaction by approaching and kissing her three times "an un tenant" (all at once). According to him:

"L'autre jour me chivachoi," stanza 5	
Sans deffendre tant ne	Without resisting even a bit
Cant a mon voloir s'otroiait.	She yielded to my will.
E! A! Joli malz est d'amorettes;	*E! A! A pretty pain is love's;*
bien les doit garder kes ait!"	*Those who have it, be sure to keep it!"*

In this final stanza, there is no reported speech from the shepherdess, only the narrator's description of her reaction to his advances. This sudden submissive response can be interpreted in two different ways: either the shepherdess did in fact cave to his advances,

or the shepherdess continued to resist her rapist, and the narrator has simply removed her voice from his narrative to underline further his triumph over her body.

For the final refrain, the character singing the text is not indicated. It could be assumed to be the poet-narrator, given that the final stanza is solely narrator-speech, although this refrain departs from the others in that it is directed to the audience instead of to the shepherdess as part of the narrative. There are also vocal exclamations of "E!" and A!" that provide an opportunity for suggestive performance due to their ambiguity. If these are simply nonsense syllables meant to express the narrator's joy, they make light of the situation, mirrored by the rest of the refrain text that calls pain "pretty." Seen another way, the vowels could also be veiled allusions to the rapturous sounds of sexual intercourse ("Eee!" "Ah!"), whether from the narrator himself or his perception of the shepherdess' pleasure during the encounter.

Taken together, while the refrains of "L'autre jour me chivachoi" extend the dialogue of their respective characters, they also provide an outline for the narrative, which includes the three main parts of a "standard" *pastourelle*: encounter, dialogue, and outcome (the narrator is successful, in this case). The refrains are also not just utterances of the shepherdess; instead, the narrator sings two of them and makes use of lyrical expression to convey his suit to the shepherdess, as well as to justify his actions to the listening audience:

"L'autre jour me chivachoi" refrains
"Sweet friend, *The pain I have I get from you!"* *"Now become my girlfriend* *And I'll be your man."*

"Sa de la randurei,
E sa de la radurelle,
I'll never be without his love."

"I'll be beaten because of you;
I have stayed too long!"

"E! A! A pretty pain is love's;
If you have it, be sure to keep it!"

Additionally, the first and last refrains (sung by the shepherdess and narrator, respectively) both reference pain in connection to love, or a lover. In the first case, the shepherdess frames her "pain" as one that causes her to lament, perhaps because she is currently apart from her beloved. In the second case, the narrator seems to applaud the pains of love, and encourages all listeners to hold onto it when they have it. In this way, the narrator transforms the shepherdess' initial lament of the suffering associated with love into a celebration of it. In this case, however, it is not clear that the shepherdess has consented to this new "love," and so the pain of which the narrator sings is uncomfortably ambiguous.

In contrast to the previous example, a different *pastourelle avec des refrains*, which also contains all six of the "standard" *pastourelle* elements, presents an instance of female agency and power over the man who approaches her. The text is "De Més a friscor l'autre jor" (RS 1991, fol. 203v), which is *pastourelle* no. 32 in the section. The assertion of power by this text's shepherdess appears to be helped by the patchwork nature of the refrains. Here, the refrains function less as a roadmap for the narrative than as a

collection of courtly lyrics that enhances the two characters' dialogue with repeated fragments of well-known songs.

In addition to containing multiple refrains, "De Més a friscor l'autre jor" demonstrates strong ties to the Lorraine region and also contributes to the intertextual network of the manuscript, since it references "Metz" in the incipit and shares three of its refrains with Douce 308 *ballettes*, another refrain with the preceding poem *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, and another with Jacquemart Gielee's *Renart le Nouvel*, a satirical poem with origins in the Lorraine region.[239]

"De Més a friscor l'autre jor," stanza 1	
De mes a fristor. l'autre jor	From Metz, in the cool the other day,
Me chivachoie mon chamin	I was riding my road;
An un vert preit lonc .i. destour	In a green meadow beside a bend
Une pastorelle choixi.	I saw a shepherdess.
De flours faixoit un chaipelet.	She was making a garland of flowers
Et chantoit de cuer joliet.	And singing with pretty expression
Ceste chanson bien l'antendi.	This song (I heard her well)
Si tost con elle m'ait choixit.	As soon as she saw me:
Cleire brunette suis en mi.	*"A brunette with light complexion I am,*
Laisette et si nai point d'amin.	*Poor me, and I have no lover."*[240]

From his first observation of the shepherdess ("choixi" [stanza 1, line 4]), the narrator notes that she begins to sing upon noticing him ("elle m'ait choixit" [stanza 1, line 8]). He notes this progression of events distinctly, but what can the woman's intention be?

[239] Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 32. The *pastourelle* shares refrains with the following *balletes* in Douce 308: "*Jolie ne suix je pas*" (RS 379, fol. 220v), "*Je fu de bone houre nee*" (RS 532, fol. 221v) and "*Alegiez moi ma grevance*" (RS 228, fol. 236r). The second refrain, "*Amerouzement me tient*," appears in *Renart le Nouvel* (line 6278), sung by Renardel the fox; and the refrain "*Cleire brunette"* appears in *Le Tournoi* (fol. 122b), sung by Aëlis de Lupi. Ardis Butterfield discussed the use of refrains in *rondets* and romances, including *Le Tournoi*, and how their contexts affect their nature and role; see Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 42–46, 59–63, 142, 46; eadem, "The Musical Contexts of *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*," in *Lettres, Musique et Société en Lorraine Médiévale: Autour du Tournoi de Chauvency*, ed. Mireille Chazan and Nancy Regalado, 399–422 (Geneva: Droz, 2012).

[240] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 358–59; translation from Paden, *The Medieval Pastourelle*, vol 1, 257–59.

The word choice "choixi/choixit" could also mean "selected" or "designated."[241] While this grants a level of predatory "selection" to the narrator's observation of the woman, if the expression is understood from a more calculated perspective, it also suggests that the encounter is somewhat premeditated on the part of the shepherdess. It is commonplace for a male narrator to be attracted by a woman's singing, and in this case, it seems as though she has been waiting for a nobleman such as he to come along and timed her song to attract his attention.

As the narrator dismounts, the shepherdess greets him "mout bien" (well), apparently not afraid to see him, or feigning an awareness of what is about to occur. The narrator makes his case, and it is clear that he is attempting to maintain the traditional power dynamics of the *pastourelle*:

"De Més a friscor l'autre jor," stanza 2, lines 5–11; stanza 3; stanza 4	
Je regardai son sors sadet. Pues li di belle mes cuers est. Sopris de vostre dous samblant. Reteneis moi por vostre amant. *Amerouzement* *Me tient por vos dame* *Li malz ke je sant.*	I looked at her nice little body, Then I said, "Pretty one, my heart is Overtaken by your sweet air; Take me as your lover. *The pain I feel* *Holds me lovingly,* *Lady, for you."*
Selle qui ot freche colour. Tout en Riant me respondi. Sire se dieus vos dont honour. Repairies a vostre chamin. Je vos donrai mon chaipelet. Vos antrovereiz deixe sept. De moi plus joliette. Lors ce clamait laicette. *Jolie ne suis je pais.* *Mais je suis blondette* *Et d'amin soulette.*	She who had a fresh complexion Answered with a smile, "Sir, as God give you honor, Return to your road; I shall give you my garland. You will find seventeen [other girls] Prettier than me." Then the poor girl complained, *"Pretty I am not,* *But I am a blond* *And lonely for a friend."*

[241] *DMF*, s.v. "choisir," accessed February 22, 2020, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/choisir>.

Belle trop feroie follour.	"Pretty one, I would be very foolish
Se vos laissoie soule si.	If I left you here alone;
Il me vanroit a deshonour.	It would dishonor me.
Mais reteneis mois a amin.	But take me as your friend;
Jualz vos donrai ke biaus est.	I'll give you a bauble that's pretty,
Teixut d'argent que Riches est.	Woven of silver that's rich
Et une amoniere ke j'ai	And an alms-purse that I have,
Et tous jors mais vos servirai.	And forever more I'll serve you.
Alegiez moi ma grevence	*Relieve my grief, sweet lady*
Douce dame ki por vos ai:	*That I have for you;*
Mercit vos pri ou je morrai.	*I beg your mercy, or I'll die."*

Interestingly, the multiple refrains of the text form a patchwork of utterances and even contradict one another and the narrative itself. For instance, the shepherdess' first refrain states that she is "brunette," while her second refrain shows that she has undergone some kind of transformation, for she is now "blondette." Additionally, the narrator addresses the shepherdess as "dame" and "douce dame" in his selected refrains, titles reserved for the lady of aristocratic lyrics, but in the stanzas, he refers to her only as "belle" (pretty one). In this way, he elevates her status only in song, and in doing so creates a firm boundary between a romanticized, elevated version of her, and the reality of her lowborn status.

As the song progresses his pleas become increasingly desperate, and he offers her a silver "jualz" along with "une amoniere" in hopes that she might reciprocate.[242] Unfortunately for him, however, he is disappointed. Her response to his "prayer" and his "charitable donations" is a single kiss, as befits a lady, not the sexual encounter that is more familiar in the rustic setting of the *pastourelle*. The pretty shepherdess then makes a

[242] Gifts and love tokens, including decorated purses, are not an uncommon occurrence in medieval love poetry; according to Andreas Capellanus' twelfth-century treatise *The Art of Courtly Love*, the aesthetic appeal of the gifted adornments directly correlated to the attractiveness of the adorned person; see Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love* (London: Harry N. Abrams, 1998), 51–53.

promise to be the *amie* of the narrator and then immediately embraces her shepherd *amin*, Parrinet. As she does, she sings a final refrain:

"De Més a friscor l'autre jor," stanza 5 refrain	
Je fu de bone houre nee *Ke j'a bel amin*	*"Bless the hour I was born,* *Since I have a handsome friend!"*

Thus, the shepherdess strategically keeps both the rich man and the poorer, handsome one in her thrall. By the end of the poem, she is not only richer than before, but has avoided any forced sexual encounter, remains satisfied by her original lover, and potentially assures that the narrator will return to perform the duties of a "friend" and give her even more pleasure. This final refrain also appears in the *ballette* section of the same manuscript as the repeated refrain of a *chanson d'ami*, "Je fu de bone houre nee" (fol. 221v). The *ballette* texts consists of a female-voiced monologue describing the honorable and reciprocal love that is shared between the speaker and her "bel amin," marking the refrain as a genuine expression of satisfaction in love.

In "De Més a friscor l'autre jor," the woman demonstrates her own aspirations to increase her personal and social resources through her own beauty and visible sexual maturity, indicated by the narrator's commentary on her "son cors sadet" (nice little body [stanza 2, line 5]). From his perspective, it is the body of a motive-less woman primed for his pleasure, and he exercises all his resources to get it. However, as the outcome shows, her "nice little body" indicates her knowledge of her own power and her own intention to use that body to her financial advantage. In this way, the shepherdess wrests economic power from the male narrator, gaining material wealth from him without having to sacrifice her ownership of her own body or alter her social situation.

The agreement that is reached between the shepherdess and the narrator, as his receipt of a kiss and her return to Perrin gives evidence, indicates an equal standing established between them, an outcome that is enhanced by the usage of local, well-known, and courtly refrains by both characters. As mentioned, the refrains do not directly contribute to the narrative, beyond giving the characters a chance to alternate between speech and song and for the narrator to flatter the shepherdess by comparing her to a *dame*. The shepherdess, for her part, repeatedly sings of wishing for a new *amin*, yet once the narrator has promised her gifts, she directs her final refrain toward Perrin, her *bel amin*. Compared to the other *pastourelle avec des refrains*, this text features a female character who engages in the "standard" encounter with a narrator yet escapes with her bodily autonomy intact. The reason seems to be because of this poet's treatment of refrains, specifically as songs that are not integral to the narrative yet are a kind of courtly currency traded between two stock characters in a dialogue between temporary equals.

Pastourelles sans refrains

In contrast to the examples described above, where shepherdesses express their desires and their identities as peasant women variously through refrains (or, in the case of "En mi deus vrais deus," deliberately without them), there are sixteen *pastourelles* that do not contain any refrains. Five of these texts are non-*pastourelle* male-voiced *chansons*, two feature *malmariée* characters speaking to their husbands instead of lonely shepherdesses (these examples are discussed in Chapter Two), and one is "S'est tout la jus con dist sor l'olive," which consists of a jumble of pastoral fragments. The remaining eight *pastourelles* without refrains, when compared to the larger corpus of Douce 308

pastourelles, more often feature female characters who are silenced or coerced by the narrator. Only in three of the eight texts does the female character successfully refuse the narrator and escape any physical altercation. In four of the five *pastourelles* where the narrator has his way with the woman, he uses physical force.

Despite this tendency, such refrain-less texts also contain alternatives to the "standard" *pastourelle*, which grant power, even temporarily, to the woman. One *pastourelle sans refrains* that contains all six of the "standard" *pastourelle* elements, "Pastorelle vi seant leis un bouxon/aigniaus gardoit" ("I saw a shepherdess sitting under a shrub, watching her sheep," RS 1848, fol. 201v), defies expectations by adding an entire scene of additional dialogue onto the typical three-part structure, along with a new character and obscene language spoken by the shepherdess. The text is one of only two *pastourelles* in Douce 308 to have eight stanzas, and each one is twelve lines long, except for the final stanza, which is eight lines. This *pastourelle* also appears in MS *C*, under the incipit "L'autrier pastoure seoit lonc un bouxon" ("The other day a shepherdess was sitting under a shrub," fol. 133r–v).[243]

The text begins with the narrator seeing a shepherdess sitting beneath a bush, watching her sheep, and composing a song with a pipe. Typically, the shepherdess' song would be heard as a refrain, but this text does not follow that particular convention. Instead, the shepherdess' song is heard only once and, since there are no known concordances elsewhere, may be original to the text. The narrator eavesdrops on her music-making:

[243] In MS *C*, the *pastourelle* is attributed to Jocelin de Bruges.

"Pastorelle vi seant," stanza 1, lines 7–12	
Et an son flaiot dixoit.	And over her pipe, she recited
Le ver d'une chanson.	The verse of a song:
E amour. amor amour.	"O love, love, love!
Pris m'aveiz a les cousor	You have taken me for a beating,
Dont jai n'isterai nul jour.	Which I will not escape a single day;
Amors ce par vous non.	This, Love, in your name."[244]

The "standard" *pastourelle* encounter progresses as expected, although the shepherdess is not heard to speak: the narrator merely reports that she refuses his request for her love, saying that she does not desire anyone besides Robin. After offering her jewels, a belt, and gloves, the narrator is tired of waiting and "takes her," alleging that she received as much pleasure from the experience as he did. Typically, the *pastourelle* would end there, but in this case the narrative continues:

"Pastorelle vi seant," stanza 4	
Cant de la pastoure o	When from the shepherdess
Fait tout mon talent.	I had done all that I wished,
A son voloir et a mien.	For her desire and for mine,
Sa miere i vint corrant.	Her mother came running.
Haroi haro qui est dieus	"Help! Help! Who is it? God!
Leiz mon enfant.	Release my child!
Fille tochait il a toi	Daughter, did he touch you?
Moustre moi ton samblant	Show me your face!"
Et cant la pastoure l'ot.	And when the shepherdess heard her,
En halt s'escriait .ii. mos.	She cried out loudly:
Se ne venixiez si tost	"Don't come so quickly;
Mar me fut covenant.	He made me an agreement."

Beginning in stanza four, the narrator fades into background as the shepherdess' mother arrives, and a dialogue between the two women takes up the rest of the scene, ultimately

[244] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 350–52.

comprising most of the text. Having remained silent for most of the interaction with the narrator, it is only once her mother appears that the shepherdess begins to speak at length in defense of her actions.

It should be said that "Pastorelle vi seant" is not the only example of a *pastourelle* that sees a third character appear after the sexual act, although such texts are rare and in every other case it is Robin who chastises the shepherdess. For instance, in the Douce 308 *ballette* "Je me levai ier main per un matin" (RS 1376, fol. 223v), the "standard" *pastourelle* scenario with its three requisite parts takes place quickly over the course of two four-line stanzas, where the narrator successfully seduces Marot through the promise of a silver-studded belt. Then, Robin approaches and demands to know who the "garson" (boy) was that he saw with her. Over the course of four stanzas, Margot at first lies to Robin, claiming the narrator was her cousin bearing food, but Robin is not fooled. She finally admits the truth and claims that she only dallied with him for the jewels he promised her, and it is Robin whom she truly loves. Interestingly, "Je me levai ier main per un matin" comes after a male-voiced *ballette*, "Vos qui ameis, je vos fair a savoir" ("You who love, I'm letting you know," RS 1814), that rails against women who demand gifts and material things and claims that the only result for the one who loves such a woman will be harm. Given this placement, "Je me levai ier main per un matin" presents a hypothetical scenario in which a frivolous woman (Marot) is taken advantage of due to her greed for gifts (the belt); as a result, Robin, her trusting lover, is cuckolded.

Returning to "Pastorelle vi seant," the dialogue between the shepherdess and her mother contains sexual allusions and vulgar language, similar to the language of the

fabliaux, demonstrating their lowly status in comparison to the narrator. Yet they use this language to argue about their own rights, pleasures, and autonomy in sexual intercourse:

"Pastorelle vi seant," stanza 5, lines 1–8; stanzas 6–8	
Fille fille il lou t'ait fait.	"Daughter, daughter, he has had you here."
Meire non l'ait.	"Mother, he has not had me.
Il ne me fist ce bien non	He did not do me wrongly;
Il ne fist nul mal.	He did nothing bad,."
Ke fu ceu dont.	"Who was that, then,
Que iel vi jus dou chival	Who I saw with my own eyes on his horse,
Et alleir et Remueir.	Going and coming back,
Et amont et aval.	Upstream and downstream?"
[…]	[…]
Fille welz me tu celleir	"Daughter, I want to keep you hidden
Ceu ke je vi.	From that which I saw
Ainz por celle remueir	Before, coming back up;
Apiet ne dexendit.	Although on foot, he did not descend.
Je lou vi sor toi monteir	I saw him mount on top of you
Et toi sous li.	And you beneath him,
Et baisier et escolier	Both kissing and embracing
Cant vint au departir.	When he saw [me], he departed
Lors sol je bien vriaement.	Then I was well and truly alone
Ce n'est pas ieus de parent.	This is not a game for a parent
Don pucelaige est niant	Your virginity is gone
Robins j ait faillit.	Robin has failed here."
Meire laixiez moi esteir	"Mother, let me be,
Vostre mercit	I beg you!
Ne puis pais les chans veeir.	I cannot see the countryside
A sous qui vont parci.	Through those who travel here,
Onkes de Robin ameir.	Nor one day be loved by Robin.
N'o fors lou cri.	And I did not cry out forcefully;
Asseis poroie muzeir.	Rather I have amused myself
Ansi mignot amin.	With a flirtatious lover.
Mes peires fut vostre espouz	My father was your husband
Et vos lou feistes cous.	And you made him a cuckold.
Meire a si cuidiez vos.	Mother, consider your own actions
Ke jaie fait robin	Rather than what I have done to Robin."
Fille fille vos saveis	"Daughter, daughter, you know
De lai tribot.	The cost,
Il vos fist lou jeu d'amours	He played you a game of love

Par dezous lou soircot.	Beneath his surcoat."
Nou l'ait meire taiteis y.	"He has not had me, mother, feel there.
Ancor est mes cons ansi.	After all it is still my cunt
Con il estoit eu matin	Just as it was in the morning;
Lai rouzee s'i dort.	The dew sleeps there."

Up to this point, the *pastourelles* have relied more upon coded language to explain the sexual unions and encounters between men and women, but in this case the shepherdess and her mother speak frankly in a discussion of what has happened, and the daughter declares her right to experience such things.

Carissa M. Harris has argued that obscene language in texts from medieval Britain had a pedagogical function.[245] While characters in the *fabliaux* are more often the location of vulgar and sexually explicit language, some *pastourelle* speakers, most often the female characters, use obscenity "to articulate desire, to inflict violence, and to express resistance."[246] Both of the women of "Pastorelle vi seant" use clear and vague language alternatively to describe the sex act, with the mother stating that she saw the man mount (*monteir*) her daughter and the daughter explains that she amused herself (*muzeir*). Yet it is the shepherdess who uses obscenity to justify her pleasure and explain the encounter to her mother, who is bent on chastising her and lamenting the loss of her daughter's virginity. The shepherdess uses the word *con* (cunt) to assure her mother that what has come to pass is not worth worrying about, for her sex organ is still in place and so there is nothing lost. She also directs some of the blame onto her mother's cuckolding of her father, suggesting that her behavior was learned, and advises her mother to worry about herself before getting involved in her daughter's love life.

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[245] Harris, *Obscene Pedagogies: Transgressive Talk and Sexual Education in Late Medieval Britain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018).
[246] Harris, *Obscene Pedagogies*, 113.

Overall, the structure of the stanzas is unstable and varied (see table 1.3 below).

Table 1.3: Rhyme scheme and meter of "Pastorelle vi seant"

Stanza	**Rhyme and Meter**
1	rhyme: *abcbcbcbdddb* meter: 7.4.7.6.7.4.7.6.7.7.7.6
2	rhyme: *abcbcbcdeffb* meter: 7.4.7.6.7.4.7.6.7.7.7.6
3	rhyme: *abcbdbabeeeb* meter: 7.4.7.6.7.4.7.6.7.7.7.6
4	rhyme: *abcbdbebfffb* meter: 7.4.7.6.7.4.7.6.7.7.7.6
5	rhyme: *aabcbcdcaaaa* meter: 7.4.7.6.7.4.7.6.7.7.7.6
6	rhyme: *abababababcccb* meter: 7.4.7.6.7.4.7.6.7.7.7.6
7	rhyme: *abababacdddc* meter: 7.4.7.6.7.4.7.6.7.7.7.6
8	rhyme: *abcbddeb* meter: 7.4.7.6 7.7.7.6

Each of the stanzas consists of alternating line lengths, all but the final stanza are of identical meter, and the rhyme scheme shifts from stanza to stanza. The stanzas start out with as many as six different rhyme sounds per stanza before shrinking to only three rhyme sounds in stanzas five and six, before expanding again. This decrease in rhyme sounds occurs after the scene has shifted to the dialogue between the two peasant women beginning in stanza four, mirroring their distinctly lower status compared to that of the narrator.

Within the confines of the "standard" *pastourelle* narrative, the shepherdess of "Pastorelle vi seant" is given no refrains to express her refusal or her desire, although she composes her own song in place of the expected refrain. Instead, due to the poet's continuation of the narrative through the additional scene and dialogue, she reclaims

some of the autonomy she has lost by declaring to her mother, in clear and vulgar terms, her right over her own body.

In an example of a *pastourelle sans refrains* with five of the six "standard" *pastourelle* elements, "Ambanoiant l'autre jor" (RS 1682, fol. 202r) exhibits a deviation with respect to the figure of the shepherdess. The text instead features a surprising character, a *dame*, in place of the usual rustic woman, and both the form and language reflect a shift to a higher register to mirror this shift. While most songs considered *pastourelles* feature the voice and figure of the shepherdess, more noble female characters do occasionally appear. By locating them in isolated and rural scenes, the texts emphasize their inherent vulnerability without the protection of the walls and eyes of the court. "Ambanoiant l'autre jor," an *unicum* consisting of five stanzas without any refrains, is one such text.

The song features an emphatic elevation of a woman encountered in the countryside to the status of a lady by the male narrator. This elevation is emphasized by the absence of a singing female character, for the lady does not attract the narrator by singing, and by the presence of the woman's voice in the stanzas instead of in refrains, as is so often the case in *pastourelles*. Additionally, the stanzas are consistently decasyllabic (10 syllables per line), a metrical pattern that signals a higher register.

The first stanza is entirely taken up with the thoughts of the narrator, who describes a previous day of walking in an unspecified location:

"Ambanoiant l'autre jor," stanzas 1 and 2	
Ambanoiant l'autre jor m'an aloie, Pancis d'amors ou j'ai mis mon panceir,	For fun I was walking the other day, Thinking of love, on which I've set my thought,

Qui mon cuer tient et destrent et maistroie,	Which holds my heart and torments and commands it,
A cui je suis sans jai jour decevreir;	To which I belong without ever leaving;
Et an chantant me prix a gamenteir	And as I sang I began to lament
Come celu iqui sans amie estoie,	As one who was without a girlfriend,
N'onkes ancor nul jor n'avoie ameit.	And who never had loved for a day.
N'o gaire alleit cant truix en mi ma voie	I had walked only a little when I found in my way
Dame seant plainne de grant biauleit.	A lady, seated, full of great beauty.
Demandait moi que je karant alloie,	She asked me what I was seeking,
Et je li di, ne vos iert pais celleit:	And I said, "I'll not hide it from you"
Je kier iceu que je ne puis troveir.	I seek the thing I cannot find."[247]
Dittes lou moi, sire; ce je pooie,	"Tell me, sir; if I could,
Dou tout en tout vos seroit amendeit.	It would be made up to you in every way."[248]

That the narrator begins by walking and not riding is worth noting, since it brings the male and female characters onto the same level, though he approaches her as she remains seated. A seated position was one typically reserved for a person who enjoyed hierarchical superiority or held power.[249] In this *pastourelle*, the man approaches almost as a courtier might approach the lady of a noble house, with her seated posture a proper indication of her status.

Upon seeing the woman, the narrator at first terms her a *dame* and observes that she is "plainne de grant biauteit" (full of great beauty), without referring to her body's shape or appearance, as many more sexually explicit *pastourelle* narrators do. Throughout the text, he addresses her both as "dame" and "belle," the latter more often associated with the lowly shepherdess character. In lacking refrains, this *pastourelle* limits its intertextual capabilities but gives space to the characters to present their own

[247] Text and translation from Paden, *The Medieval Pastourelle*, vol. 1, 252–55.
[248] Text and translation from Paden, *The Medieval Pastourelle*, vol. 1, 252–55.
[249] François Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au moyen âge* (Paris: Léopard d'or, 1982), vol. 1, 113.

unique expression and dialogue. The woman seems inclined to help the narrator, within reason:

"Ambanoiant l'autre jor," stanzas 3–4	
Belle, ce je de ceu certains estoie, Bien m'averoit Deus ici ameneit. De mon grant duel me poriez faire joie	"Pretty one, if I were certain of that, God would have done well to bring me here. In my great grief you could give me joy
S'un petit don me volieiz doneir.	If you wanted to give me a small gift."
Dittes lou tost, ne vos iert refuzeit	"Tell me quickly, it will not be refused you
C'il n'est dont teiz ke je trop mesprandroie	Unless it's such a gift that I would give offense
Anvers Robin, cui j'ai mon cuer doneit.	To Robin, to whom I have given my heart."
Dame, certes, ce jai Jhesus me voie, C'est vostre amor cui je voil demandeir.	"Lady, surely, may Jesus ever see me, It is your love that I wish to ask."
Sire, par Deu, pas ne la vos donroie;	"Sir, by God, I would not give it to you:
Muez vodroie que fuxiés outre meir, Si deleis vous ne wel plus demoreir—	I would prefer that you were overseas, And I don't want to stay any longer beside you—
Ainz m'an irai la jus soz la codroie,	Rather I'll go down there under the hazels,
Ou mes amins m'atent por deporteir.	Where my sweetheart is waiting to play."

In the exchange between the seated woman and narrator, four forms of the word *(l')amer* are used to represent the word-play of *romances*: *amors* (love), *amie/amins* (lover), *ameit* (to love), and *meir* (sea). The "lady" describes her amins as waiting "soz la codroie" (under the hazels), making a potential reference to a *lai* by Marie de France, *Chevrefoil*, where a hazel branch is used by the knight Tristan as a secret sign to his lover Yseut that

she should go to him.[250] The two lovers of *Chevrefoil* are also described as intertwining hazel and honeysuckle branches, which explains Tristan's choice of the hazel tree for his message. This courtly reference thus elevates the woman's speech at the same time that it is paradoxically marked by rustic accents, since she calls her lover "Robin," a quintessential shepherd's name, and describes the anticipated rendezvous as *deporteir* (playing), a term suffused with the assumption that low-class couples are constantly engaging in love play.

There is also a considerable masking of intentions within the narrator's words, such as when he asks for the woman's love, likely a sexual favor, as a "petit don" (little gift). This use of the word "gift" masks the kind of interaction the narrator is asking for, and the diminutive here downplays the weighty nature of the favor and places it in contrast to the "grant duel" (great grief) the narrator feels. This masking continues with the use of the phrase "jeu d'amours" (game of love), an expression often used to describe sexual intimacy in *pastourelle* lyrics:

"Ambanoiant l'autre jor," stanza 5	
Mout fu dolans kant vi k'elle c'effroie,	I was very sad when I saw she was afraid,
N'onkes por ceu ne lai laixai alleir.	But all the same I didn't let her go.
Sor l'erbette qui point et qui verdoie	On the grass that was growing and greening
Lai la couchai, puez si l'ai confessei;	I laid her down and then confessed her;
Lou jeu d'amours li fix tout a song greit.	I played her the game of love just as she pleased.

[250] *Chevrefoil* survives in two manuscripts, GB-Lbl, Harley 978, which contains all the *Lais*, and in F-Pn n.a.fr. 1104.

Here, the lady, who wishes to engage in sexual intimacy with her love, Robin, is forced into engaging with the narrator. Afterwards, the woman (allegedly) attributes her cure from a (previously unmentioned) illness to the narrator's "jeu."

This consistent cloaking of truth within symbolic terms and expressions evokes the *double-entendres* found in more courtly genres, where explicit desires cannot be spoken outright for fear of being perfectly understood by those who may be in earshot. Alongside the woman's pre-established status as a *dame*, the narrator finds an opportunity to practice his artful seduction through suggestive wordplay, though he does not stop short of claiming what he wants in the end. Through this elevated language, the woman is held high in the narrator's male gaze, but this position of power is shown to be simply a temporary, romantic construction, and she is treated only as a desired object once she fails to offer him what he seeks. The lady's alleged pleasure at the end of the poem excuses the narrator's violent pursuit of his goal and exonerates him of any wrongdoing. The fact that the woman had been positioned as a seated *dame* at the beginning of the text adds to the narrator's prowess, for not only did he please his partner, but she was potentially of higher rank than he, thereby adding an additional accomplishment to his conquest. As is also typical of *pastourelles* in which the man is victorious, the text ends after the "positive" reaction of the lady, not recounting any further aftermath or reaction of her lover, Robin.

The narrator also can see that the woman is afraid. Since this does not stop him, he cements his position as a dangerous, threatening presence in the poem. The narrator remarks that she is found "en mi ma voie" (in my way), framing it so that her body is positioned so that he cannot help but walk up to her; in this way, her body is both

problematic (she is blocking his path) and appealing (she is a great beauty), but either way she claims observable physical space. Instead of being attracted by her singing voice, as so often happens, it is her bodily presence that arrests him. Once she appears to realize the situation she is in, her body expresses her fear, perhaps through a fearful expression or trembling, to the point that he becomes aware of it.

This *pastourelle* recounts a pastoral encounter with a *dame* who is initially granted honor and agency. What is revealed through the course of the narrative is that such agency is tenuous when granted solely by an external and masculine figure of authority, in this case the male narrator. While the seduction ultimately forces the woman to be the object of the male gaze, her initial refusal, paired with the narrator's description of her, bestows upon her body the coveted position of the virtuous yet distant lady praised by male poets in courtly lyric, however tenuous that position proves to be.

This exploration of Douce 308 *pastourelles* has examined representative texts that demonstrate that a "standard" form of the *pastourelle* in form and theme exists, but that the norms of the genre and the genre's boundaries are remarkably fluid: sometimes even one disruption of the "standard" narrative can push a *pastourelle* in new directions. The proximity or distance of a refrain text to its surrounding stanzas conveys a variety of meanings depending on the host poem, with refrains functioning as direct character dialogue, as a prologue to the drama about to unfold, or as an overarching roadmap for the narrative.

It also seems, then, that *pastourelle* refrains, instead of maintaining their traditional association with the shepherdess' simplicity and connection to nature though

her snippet of song, can serve as her greatest source of agency. As we have seen, when she is granted the space to speak through repeating refrains, she remains resistant to the narrator's advances, regardless of whether he ultimately "takes" her or not. When multiple refrains are used, the shepherdess can find herself the victim of a narrator's advance, yet she alternatively can establish firm control of her situation, wheedling gifts from the narrator while maintaining her bodily autonomy and loving the man she chooses.

In contrast, when the text is devoid of refrains, she is more often subject to the violent tendencies of unsupervised courtly narrators and reduced to an object placed in a rural landscape for their pleasure, regardless of whether she is a shepherdess or an esteemed lady. For the woman in the *pastourelles*, refrains are not just light-hearted songs but an expression of self, and through this she claims a defiant space even in the confines of a male-framed narrative.

A *Robardel*, *Bergeries*, and Pastoral Fantasy

As the above analyses have shown, the *pastourelle* section of Douce 308 contains many more diverse explorations of the pastoral mode than the "standard" type might suggest, with poets constantly finding new ways to subvert expectations and include a multiplicity of female voices and characters. The range of possibilities provided by the pastoral setting for the subversion and displacement of social roles and registers is demonstrated elsewhere in the manuscript, particularly in the narrative poem that precedes the chansonnier, *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* by Jacques Bretel. There, two noblewomen

perform a sexually charged pastoral game and push past boundaries of decorum, class, and gender.

From the beginning, Bretel's narrative makes clear the role of noblewomen who attended the tournament (as well as those who engaged in *jeux-partis* debates, see Chapter Five): that of affirming a knight's prowess so that he might gain honor and love. In this way, noblewomen negotiated a place for themselves in the male-dominated sphere of the tournament by praising the knights and serving as their "raison d'être" for the competitions. This business occupies much of the text, as each day is primarily taken up with jousts and preparation for the mêlée. The evening's entertainments, however, provide a new space where courtliness is performed differently. It is, most notably, where the female attendees play an equal, if not a larger, role compared to the male participants. Foremost among these are two different performances of *jeux* (games): the first, the *robardel* (game of the stolen kiss) on Tuesday night; the second, the *jeu du chapelet* (game of the garland) on Thursday night (to be discussed briefly in Chapter Two).

As mentioned in the Introduction, the *robardel* is a performance by two female courtiers performing as a shepherd and shepherdess, with the shepherd dancing, leaping, and finally stealing two kisses from the shepherdess. The description of this scene as a *jeu* (game) is worth noting, since the term itself conveys multiple meanings in the context of Old French courtly entertainment and lyric. It can be understood practically as a "game," a fun activity carried out for entertainment, or as a "dance" or "spectacle," involving a theatrical performance (either dramatic or comic).[251] The term can also

[251] According to the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330–1500)*, "Activité qui n'a d'autre but que le plaisir qu'elle procure; divertissement, amusement" or as "Représentation théâtrale d'une pièce en vers (dramatique ou comique)." See Corinne Féron, "jeu," *DMF*, 2015 <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/jeu>, accessed 4 February 2021.

function as a metaphor with sexual overtones, as in the phrase the "game of love" (*jeu d'amor*). This phrase is often used *pastourelles*, as demonstrated in several of the texts discussed above, and refers to activities ranging from loving caresses to sexual intercourse.[252]

In the performance of the robardel, as recounted by Bretel, the courtier playing the part of the shepherdess is Agnès de Florenville, daughter-in-law of Isabelle de Chiny, madame de Florenville, who is dressed in a sleeveless red gown. Agnès is joined by a simple shepherd but whose role is acted out by another woman, and they are accompanied by a third woman, Perrine d'Esch, who is playing a vielle. Bretel describes the performance thus:

Tantost li saut emmi la voie	Immediately, there leapt
Touz escouciéz, uns garçonnés	Into view a youth;
Pour niant fu uns robines	No denying he was a roguish man,[253]
Tailliez au chief d'une citole	Like those carved into the end of a cithara![254]
De cuer senvoise et si viole	He was heartily enjoying himself and struck up a tune
Et celle dance et fait son tour	While she danced and made her turns
C'on li bergiere a son paistour	Just as a shepherdess for her shepherd!
Et huitars ses enuoisiez	So thoroughly the shepherd was enjoying himself
Et fierement c'est degoisiez	And bravely he was rejoicing.
Ses gans ot a son dos trossez	He had his gloves tied up on his back
Et son chaperon reboussez	And his hood was twisted up
Dont il faisoit le bicornet	As if it were a bicornet.[255]
La moquerie au robardel	Oh, the mockery of the robardel!
Si dance et bale et huie et tume	The shepherd danced, capered, whooped, and jumped,

[252] According to the *Dictionnaire Étymologique de l'Ancien Français*, "jeu" can be defined as "l'échange de caresses amoureuses pouvant inclure l'acte sexuel." See Thomas Städtler, "jeu," *DEAFplus*, <https://deaf-server.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/lemme/jeu>, accessed 4 February 2021.
[253] "robine" can be translated as "personnage sans considération, bon à rien, palefrenier, etc." From "robine," *DEAFpré*, <https://deaf-server.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/lemme/robin#robine>, accessed 4 February 2021.
[254] "citole" refers to an "instrument de musique à cordes, espèce de sourdine longue et étroite, peut-être le cythara des anciens." See "citole," *DEAFpré*, <https://deaf-server.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/lemme/citare#citole>, accessed 4 February 2021.
[255] A bicorne was a two-cornered hat, similar to that frequently worn by Napoleon Bonaparte.

Et en riant giete la pume	And then, laughing, tossed her an apple[256]
Puis fiert a terre de sez mains	And hit the ground with his hands.
Mais encor est ce dont del mains	But then with those same hands
Car quant il saut la pucelete	He touched the pretty young woman,
Les rains le pis la meuelette	Her buttocks, breast, and nipple,
A donc li samble qui soit rois	He felt that he was a king!
De fin orguel sen va si rois	Proudly he walked about like a king,
Qu'il ne touche na ciel na terre	As if he wasn't touching either sky or earth
Petit li est de l'autrui gerre	So little he was thinking of her.
En son deduit est moult aase	In his own enjoyment he was completely lost
Au retorner .ii. fois la baise	He returned [and] kissed the woman twice
Ains quelle fust point avisee	Before she had noticed at all.
A dont commenca la risee	Then everyone began laughing
Et dient tuit par la maison	And said throughout the house
Que li baisiers fu de saison	That the kisses were more appropriate.[257]

As a performance of two courtiers performing as low-class shepherds, the boundary-crossing nature of the *robardel* is heightened by an additional revelation that greatly concerns Jacques Bretel. After asking a nearby servant who the rakish man performing as the shepherd was, Bretel is nonplussed to discover that the person playing the shepherd "est file non pas fis" ("is a daughter, not a son!" [v. 2592]). The servant reveals that the person who successfully hoodwinked the audience by performing in shepherd's attire is Jeannette de Boinville, a young noblewoman, and praises Jeannette's skill in disguise, exclaiming "Com a or ci mal con d'argent / qui ainsi fait muser la gent / et a sez gieus estudier" ("She's worth her weight in silver, entertaining the people thus; they are fascinated by her games!" [vv. 2597–99]).[258]

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[256] This gesture meant asking for her hand in marriage. It is a reference to the Ancient Greek custom of throwing an apple at someone as a marriage proposal, likely derived from the Greek myth of the huntress Atalanta and her suitor Melanion, the latter of whom threw golden apples to distract Atalanta to beat her in a footrace and thereby win her hand in marriage.

[257] vv. 2554–78, Debouille, *Le Tournoi*, 81–82; translation is mine, with some reference to Bryant, *The Tournaments at Le Hem and Chauvency*, 95–96.

[258] Debouille, *Le Tournoi*, 83. The fact that Bretel is successfully fooled, presumably along with a good portion of the audience, is not entirely surprising given the androgenous concept of beauty in medieval courtly spaces. According to Valerie R. Hotchkiss, "medieval notions of male and female beauty are compatible. Even in medieval romances without the motif of gender disguise, there exists little difference

The association of the *robardel* with pastoral characters and scenarios is heightened through its appearance elsewhere in the chansonnier, in three *pastourelle* song texts and in one *sotte chanson*, and certain performance elements consistently reappear.[259] All three of the *pastourelles* in question are *bergeries*, in that they describe the celebrations and entertainments of shepherds without engaging in the typical aristocrat-peasant dialogue. In the case of the first, "L'autre iour par un matin" ("The other day in the morning," RS 1374, fol. 196cr), the narrator recounts seeing four shepherds singing, playing music, and joking with one another under a thornbush, and one performs a *robardel*:

"L'autre iour par un matin," stanza 4	
Li quairs, qui ot non Gatiers, Si ce fist trop cointes Por ces moufles sans pouchiers C'ot de novel ointes. Vait faisant lou roubardel. Vestus fut d'un giperel Deguixiez sans pointe. An un boix leis un vaicel Oï lour acointe Ki chantoient a haut son, *La tridenne dondenne,* *Le tridenne dondon.*	The fourth, who was called Gautier, Put on airs With his mittens without thumbs, Which he had freshly oiled. He went about doing the robardel;[260] He was dressed in an unstitched tunic, In disguise. In a wood beside a vale I listened to their meeting, As they sang to a loud tune, *"La tridenne dondenne,* *Le tridenne dondon!"*[261]

between masculine and feminine beauty in strictly physical terms"; see Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, 120. Beautiful men and women were often said to resemble each other in appearance, and male heroes of romances where not-infrequently described as, or even mistaken for, beautiful maidens.

[259] The three *pastourelle* texts are "L'autre iour par un matin," "Quant ces mouxons sont faillies," and "Sest tout la jus," and the *sottes chanson* is "Quant ioi crier rabardie." The fact that the *robardel* (as well as the *jeu du chapelet*, to a lesser extent) is a theatricalization of pastoral characters and scenes familiar to the *pastourelle* draws parallels with Adam de la Halle's play *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*. Ardis Butterfield, in her book *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, demonstrated a strong association with works produced in a similar period in Lille and Arras, and argued that authors in these regions were drawing upon a similar stock of refrains and using them in similar ways; see *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, chapter 8.

[260] Paden's original translation of this particular line read "he went about acting like a dandy," which reflects the usage in other medieval literary texts of "robardel" as "homme qui est recherché dans sa toilette et dans ses manières, coquet"; see "robardel" *DEAFpré*, <https://deaf-server.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/lemme/robardel>, accessed April 24, 2021.

[261] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 324; translation from Paden, *The Medieval Pastourelle*, vol. 1, 245.

The narrator describes the shepherd's performance as one where he "puts on airs," bringing out the connotation of the *robardel* as a dance involving affected, courtly behaviors, which comes off as a mimicry of nobility by the peasantry. What is also interesting about this instance is that Gautier is described as "in disguise," suggesting that there is also an association of costuming here, although perhaps not as subversive as cross-dressing.

Another example, the *pastourelle* "Quant ces mouxons sont faillies" (RS 1350, fol. 198r), opens with the play of the shepherds:

"Quant ces mouxons sont faillies," stanza 1	
Quant ces mouxons sont faillies. Ke paistoriaus font rosties. Robardiauz font ronbardies. Baicelles sont revesties	When the harvests are over The shepherds toast bread, The young men dance robardels, And the young ladies are adorned.[262]

Here, a group of men perform *robardels*, while the women adorn themselves. Given the performance by Gautier in the previous *pastourelle*, and the dance by Jeannette in male drag, the *robardel* seems to have been associated primarily with male performance.

Finally, in the *pastourelle* "S'est tout la jus con dist sor l'olive" ("It's all over there, it's said, under the olive tree," RS 1653, fol. 206r), which appears to be more of a jumble of pastoral fragments due to its lack of narrative structure and stanza breaks, there are two lines that refer to the performance of a *robardel*, as well as an association with musical instruments:

[262] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 333–35.

"S'est tout la jus," lines 30–35	
Car la grant meruaille Font si robardel. Sires robines est biaus. Sa porterait sa fleute et ces fertiaus.[263] Ces challemiaus[264] roberdiaus.	For the great marvel Was the robardel. Sir Robin is handsome! His bearing, his flute, and his pipes His robardel chalumeau.[265]

Once again, there is the association with male performance and the *robardel*, as well as instruments and the suggestion of putting on airs. Through these various *pastourelle* references, it is clear that the *robardel* was a *jeu* associated with male peasant characters who, often in disguise, attempted to imitate the bearing and appearance of the upper classes. Since *pastourelles* are often the site of the mixing of genre and register and the deliberate displacement of social hierarchies, it makes sense that a *jeu* in the same setting, featuring the same characters, and referencing the same dance, would be a fertile site for performers to subvert gender expectations through cross-dressing.[266]

The *robardel*, as described by Bretel, destabilizes the gender norms of courtly performance because one of the two women plays a male character. There are multiple examples of female characters in romances performing songs in the male voice, and there are also several romances that feature cross-dressed heroines.[267] In Jean Renart's *Roman*

[263] "frétel," referring to a Pan flute or similar instrument; see *DMF*, s.v. "frétel," by Robert Martin, accessed July 14, 2021, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/frétel>.
[264] "chalelmel" referring generally to reeds or straws, or specifically to the "chalumeau," a reed woodwind instrument that was the predecessor of the clarinet. See *DEAF*, s.v. "chalemel," accessed July 14, 2021, <https://deaf-server.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/lemme/chalemel#chalemel>; and *DMF*, s.v. "chalumeau," by Robert Martin and Pierre Cromer, accessed July 14, 2021, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/chalumeau>.
[265] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 370–71.
[266] Ardis Butterfield, in her book *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, showed how the network of narrative works from the Lille-Arras region (which includes *Le Tournoi*) used refrains to parody the courtly frameworks into which they are placed: "we find a common interest in public display, theatrical disguise and musical interlude that appears to correspond to *puy*-inspired circumstances of production"; *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 140.
[267] The phenomenon of women adopting traditionally masculine dress in literature and on the stage throughout history has been the focus of a small number of studies, though most deal with periods of history later than the Middle Ages. The notable exceptions include: Valerie R. Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the*

de la rose, the innkeeper's daughter sings a *rondeau* in the male voice while accompanied by the jongleur Jouglet on his fiddle, and later in the story a female minstrel, Bele Doete, entertains the emperor with a *pastourelle*.[268] Two additional examples appear in Gerbert de Montreuil's *Roman de la violette*, when the female heroine Euriaut performs a *canso* by the troubadour Bernart de Ventadorn and a *chanson de malmariée* by Moniot d'Arras (note the layered performance of a female-voiced song authored by a male trouvère that is sung by a woman).[269]

The act of cross-dressing by female characters in Old French romances generally takes one of three forms: a heroine is disguises herself in order to prove her chastity or marital fidelity (as in the case of Jeanne in the *Roman du roi Flore et de la belle Jehanne*), or to complete a quest or heroic task (as in the case of Jourdaine in the poem *Jourdain de Blaye*, who puts on her father's armor to defend a castle against an assault by Infidels); or a woman presents as masculine as a symptom of something that is amiss in the world (as in the case of Silence in the *Roman de Silence*, who cross-dresses to subvert

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Man: Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996); Erika E. Hess, *Literary Hybrids: Cross-dressing, Shapeshifting, and Indeterminacy in Medieval and Modern French Narrative* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Sarah Jane Dietzman, "En Guize D'omme: Female Cross Dressing and Gender Reversal in Four Medieval French Texts" (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2005); Karen Adams, "Reimagining Gender, Reimagining Kinship: Cross-Dressing, Sex Change, and Family Structure in Four Medieval French Narratives" (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2017); Meagan Evans, "You're Putting Me On: The Old French Fabliaux as Carnival Cross-Dressing" *New Medieval Literatures* 12 (2010): 69–88; Sandra Lowerre, "To Rise Beyond Their Sex: Female Cross-Dressing Saints in Caxton's *Vitas Patrum*," in *Riddles, Knights, and Cross-dressing Saints: Essays on Medieval English Language and Literature*, ed. Thomas Honegger (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), 55–94; Sahar Amer, *Crossing Borders: Love Between Women in Medieval French and Arabic Literatures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008). Additionally, Robert L. A. Clark and Claire Sponsler draw forth examples of theatrical cross-dressing in the medieval period wherein the transformed figures (whether male or female) are used to explore social roles, specifically their gender and class content, and while the cross-dressing threatens to be transgressive, it is ultimately controlled by their strictly limiting spaces; see Clark and Sponsler, "Queer Play: The Cultural Work of Crossdressing in Medieval Drama," *New Literary History* 28.2 (1997): 319–44.

[268] See Renart, *The Romance of the Rose*, ed. Patricia Terry and Nancy Vine Durling (1993), II., vv. 1846–51 and 4563–83.

[269] See Gerbert de Montreuil, *Le Roman de la Violette*, ed. Douglas Labaree Buffum (1928), vv. 319–31, 441–49.

unjust inheritance laws). In the lives of saints, female monks/saints who cross-dressed were viewed positively, because this was perceived as their attempt to emulate men and attain a higher level of being;[270] those women who cross-dressed in social and political contexts were viewed with suspicion because of their subversion of social order and gender hierarchies. Ultimately, cross-dressing women in Old French romances always return to their "true" feminine-presenting lives after successfully performing as a heroic male character and fulfilling their given task.

In courtly romances, disguised women can fill the role of a man in every way except sexual activity, and so the issue of female cross-dressing is resolved either through physical transformation (miraculous sex change from female to male) or revelation of the individual's "true" gender. As a result, heterosexual union and the re-establishment of heterosexuality's hegemony is achieved. According to Valerie Hotchkiss,

> While elsewhere female transvestism signifies asexuality, in the courtly romance it engenders problems of, or obsession with, sexuality. Gender concealment is inevitably challenged by courtly society's focus on heterosexual love and marriage for cross-dressed women perceived as ideal male heroes. […] The crises of identity and strain of sexual confrontation are resolved when the traditional marriage motif clarifies sexual ambiguity.[271]

In the *robardel*, however, the traditional notions of sexuality do not prevail. The tension caused by the transgression of overt erotic pleasure is partially diffused when Bretel calls it a "moquerie" (v. 2562) and the audience reacts with laughter and suggestive commentary (v. 2576). Yet, as Regalado points out, the tension ultimately remains because of the quandary of cross-dressing. The sexual encounter is completed while

[270] Lowerre, "To Rise Beyond Their Sex" (2004).
[271] Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, 123.

Jeannette is still performing in male dress, and after the revelation of her true gender both women remain without male partners, leaving the rustic and sexual disorder that unfolded within the *jeu* unresolved.

Jeannette de Boinville, as a noblewoman in male disguise, deliberately performs male desire as a shepherd, and in doing so ostensibly upholds the male gaze of the *pastourelle* while simultaneously destabilizing it. The woman performing as the shepherdess, Agnès, appears first, and Bretel notes that a squire from the group "was regarding her with pleasure" before asking for her name. The close attention paid by Bretel and other men to Agnès' entrance and physical appearance mirrors the *pastourelles*, for immediately upon entering the performance space, she is under the gaze of the male audience just as the shepherdess is watched by the male narrator. Once the game begins and the male shepherd comes into view, however, the shepherdess fades into the background.

Bretel does not spend much time describing Agnès' performance, observing only how she "danced and made her turns, just as a shepherdess for her shepherd," and that she was so absorbed into her own movements that Jeannette-as-shepherd kissed her twice "before she had noticed at all" (although her obliviousness is likely feigned for comedy's sake). In contrast, the attention paid to the movements and mimed emotions of the disguised Jeannette is significantly greater than that given to Agnès, and the subsequent conversation about Jeannette's cross-dressing is roughly equivalent in length (consisting of 23 lines). This results in significant attention given to a woman's portrayal of masculine desire and sexuality, and the fact that she performs it convincingly.

In contrast to the cross-dressed heroines of romances, who are forced to reveal themselves (or call upon supernatural forces) when faced with sexual activity, Jeannette enacts some of the physical aspects of a sexual encounter by caressing the other woman's body, including some of the most intimate areas of her body, and kissing her, not once but twice! In the heightened, curated narrative of Bretel's *Le Tournoi*, the *robardel* removes the limitations for women's sexual expression and the resulting response of both the performers and audiences is not dismay but pleasure and approval. The pastoral scene, inhabited by the nobility, is already a space for the expression of sexual desire but the gender-crossing *robardel* suggests an entirely new realm of sexual pleasure, where women can assume the perspective of the male actor. The implication of this subversion for the *pastourelle*, then, is that gender hierarchy was even more fluid and prone to displacement through the pastoral idiom than even the *pastourelle* texts suggest.

CHAPTER TWO:

DISRUPTIVE AND DISCREET WIVES IN THE *CHANSONS DE MALMARIÉE*

The texts of the Douce 308 chansonnier include representations of what followed a medieval woman's youth and was often the main part of her life—marriage. While marriage itself was not often a topic of discussion in trouvère lyrics, which more often focus on relationships outside of any clear marital bond, spousal relationships are the topic of discussion in *chansons de malmariée* (a modern term), songs of unhappily married women, where a female character expresses disdain for her husband and her desire or preference for a lover.[272] The term "mal marié(e)," referring to a "personne qui a contracté un mariage malheureux,"[273] is used almost exclusively in its feminine form in modern studies of trouvère song to refer to female characters and speakers.

Many trouvère texts that treat the topic of marriage depict unfavorable unions, but one should not then assume that marriage between the nobility was perpetually unhappy, or that trouvère lyrics universally oppose marriage in favor of extra-marital relationships. Instead, scholars have long demonstrated that harmonious unions existed between married men and women throughout the Middle Ages.[274] In addition, the utilitarian nature

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[272] Susan M. Johnson, "The *Malmariée* Theme in Old French Lyric or What is a *Chanson de Malmariée*?" in *"Chancon Legiere a Chanter": Essays on Old French Literature in Honor of Samuel N. Rosenberg* (2007), 133–52. Pierre Bec was the first to use the term "chanson de malmariée" in his book *La Lyrique française*, 69–90, and further expanded upon it in his article "La chanson de malmariée du moyen âge à nos jours. Essai de typologie diachronique," *Via Domitia* 14 (1978): 139–63.

[273] "person who has entered into an unhappy marriage."*DMF*, s.v., "malmarié," by Jean-Loup Ringenbach, accessed February 21, 2021, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/malmarié>.

[274] See Agnes Siggerour Arnorsdottir, *Property and Virginity: The Christianization of Marriage in Medieval Iceland 1200-1600* (Århus: Aarhus University Press, 2010); Cristelle Louise Baskins, and Sherry Roush, *The Medieval Marriage Scene: Prudence, Passion, Policy* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005); David D'Avray, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

of medieval marriage is frequently over-emphasized: while marriages were often a means for linking powerful families and fortunes, by the thirteenth century the free choice of individuals was an important factor in arranging marriages, an idea backed by the Church, and marital affection was frequently a reality. In fact, Neil Cartlidge argues that love lyrics reflected a coherence with monastic and scholastic definitions of marriage.[275] Instead of presenting clear oppositions to marriage, depictions of love in trouvère lyrics could be seen as reflecting a growing consciousness that appears across medieval legal and theological sources of the importance of individual choice, and the accompanying concept of marriage as a personal relationship between equals.[276]

Yet the perception of marriage and love as incompatible in medieval literature and lyrics persists in popular thought today. This "tenet" of courtly love, that marriage and love are incompatible, is frequently traced to Andreas Capellanus' treatise *De amore*, where he recounts the following argument by the fictionalized Countess Marie of Champagne, a real-life patron of Andreas:[277]

> Dicimus enim et stabilito tenore firmamus amorem non posse suas inter duos iugales extendere vires. Nam amantes sibi invicem gratis omnia largiuntur nullius necessitatis ratione cogente. Iugales vero mutuis tenentur ex debito voluntatibus obedire et in nullo se ipsos sibi invicem denegere.
>
> We state and affirm unambiguously that love cannot extend its sway over a married couple. Lovers bestow all they have on each other freely, and without the compulsion of any consideration of necessity, whereas married partners are forced to comply with each other's desires as an obligation, and under no circumstances to refuse their persons to each other.[278]

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[275] Cartlidge, *Medieval Marriage*, 5–21.
[276] The conceptual shift in the medieval period to a high valuation of the union, both emotional and sexual, between husband and wife in marriage is explained fully by David D'Avray in his book *Medieval Marriage*.
[277] The Countess of Champagne is also believed to have been the patron of Chrétien de Troyes, who credits her with the idea for his *Lancelot*, the troubadours Bertran de Born and Bernart de Ventadorn, and the trouvères Gautier d'Arras and Conon de Béthune.
[278] *Andreas Capellanus on Love*, 156–57.

The countess's argument refers to the marital debt, an idea in the New Testament letters from Saint Paul to the Corinthians, I Corinthians 7:3–4, where he asserts that "the wife does not have authority over her own body but yields it to her husband. In the same way, the husband does not have authority over his own body but yields it to his wife."[279]

The countess's words quoted above are an adjudication in response to an impasse encountered in the seventh dialogue of Book One, where a nobleman character suggests that it is impossible to confuse love with marital affection (*maritalis affectio*). Since marriage partners achieve their desires without fear of opposition (*sine contradictionis timore*), their feelings lack the urgency that characterizes genuine, carnal love.[280] His partner in discussion, a lady, retorts that a husband and wife may engage in "furtive" embraces if they wish, and that such embraces are preferred because they can be enjoyed securely and regularly without garnering condemnation.

Although the countess's and nobleman's arguments both assert that marriage is oppressive of one's freedoms and lacks the irrational passion that frequently begets jealousy, in doing so they also speak in alignment with Christian theology. St Augustine linked together carnal love and jealousy, and St Jerome asserted that the sacramental hierarchy of marriage was intended to prevent the kind of love defined by Andreas, a passion that involved the corruption of the senses and was thought to be a weakness deriving from Original Sin.[281] As D.W. Robertson stated, "if Walter [the addressee] was very astute, what he learned from this dialogue must have been that carnal love leads to

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[279] Holy Bible, New International Version (Biblica, Inc., 2011), *Bible Gateway*, accessed 11 February 2021, <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=1%20Corinthians%207%3A3-4&version=NIV>.
[280] *Andreas Capellanus on Love*, 146–53.
[281] Walsh, "Introduction," in *Andreas Capellanus on Love*, 19–20.

crime unless it is checked by marriage,"[282] and this is confirmed in Book Three, when Andreas says, "Praeterea cum uxore sine crimine libidinem superamus et incentiva luxuriae absque animae macula removemus" ("with a wife we overcome our passion without sinning, and we do away with the incentives to wantonness without staining our souls").[283] It is important to remember, too, that Andreas was first and foremost a cleric, and in writing his treatise was clearly attempting to play with rhetorical conventions, thus his arguments were likely not reflective of real thinking or behavior.[284]

The conflict between love and matrimonial obligation is also treated variously in French romances, with depictions of love both within and outside of marriage. Most frequently, marriage appears at the conclusion to the narrative, often after the separation and happy reunion of the main couple, as in the anonymous *Floire et Blancheflor* (ca. 1150) and Jean Renart's *L'Escoufle* (ca. 1200–02) and *Roman de la Rose* (early 13th century) Thus, when the love story ends in marriage, married life is not usually discussed: the couple, presumably, "lives happily ever after." Other romances feature an adulterous relationship between the hero and heroine, including *Lancelot (ou, le chevalier de la charrette)*, where the Arthurian hero rescues and falls in love with the abducted queen Guinevere, and *Cligès*, a Greco-Byzantine tale following a young knight and his love for his uncle's wife, Fenice: both are attributed to Chrétien de Troyes. There are also a small number of romances that follow married characters: one is Chrétien's first romance *Érec*

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[282] Robertson, *A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), 431.
[283] *Andreas Capellanus on Love*, 300.
[284] For a discussion of the inconsistencies in Andreas' arguments on love and marriage, see Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Love and Marriage in the Age of Chaucer* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975), 36–39; Robertson, *A Preface to Chaucer*, 425–31; idem, "The Concept of Courtly Love as an Impediment to the Understanding of Medieval Texts" in *The Meaning of Courtly Love*, ed. F.X. Newman (Albany: SUNY Press, 1968), 1–18; E.T. Donaldson, "The Myth of Courtly Love" in *Speaking of Chaucer* (New York: Norton, 1970), 154–63.

et Énide, in which the titular characters are married early in the narrative and set out together to restore Érec's reputation as a knight, with Énide demonstrating wifely loyalty along the way. Another example is Philippe de Beaumanoir's *La Manekine* (ca. 1270), which tells the story of a wife who is falsely accused and banished but is reunited with her husband after many trials. Overall, in French romances the preference seems to have been in favor of marriage, yet if marriage and love were in conflict with one another, love always won.[285]

Other influential literary texts also discussed marriage and its potential limitations, including Jean de Meun's *Le Roman de la rose*. Here, one of the Amant's (Lover's) companions, the Ami (Friend), gives a long speech on how the Amant can keep a sweetheart. The Ami gives as a negative example Le Jaloux (the Jealous Husband), an imagined character who launches into misogynistic rants about women's deceitfulness and corruption. In doing so, however, Le Jaloux also demonstrates the destructive consequences of a domineering husband and makes the argument that love must be mutual, for love and mastery do not mix:

Le Roman de la rose, vv. 8463–66, 9426–30, 9437–42	
Que bone amour n'i peut durer, Tant s'entrefont maus endurer, Quant cil veaut la maistrise aveir Dou cors sa fame e de l'aveir […] [Sa fame] ne redeit pas estre dame, Mais sa pareille e sa compaigne, Si con la lei les acompaigne, Et il redeit ses compainz estre Senz sei faire seigneur ne maistre.	Good love cannot endure, So much suffering do they undergo, When [the husband] wants to have control Over the body and possessions of his wife. […] His wife in turn, should not be his lady, But his equal and his companion, As the law joins them together, And, for his part, he should be her companion Without making himself her lord or master.

[285] Kelly, *Love and Marriage in the Age of Chaucer* (1975), 22–23. See also D. H. Green, *Women and Marriage in German Medieval Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Neil Cartlidge, *Medieval Marriage: Literary Approaches, 1100–1300* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997).

[…]	[…]
Ja de sa fame n'iert amez	He will not be loved by his wife
Qui sires veaut estre clamez;	If he wants to be called "lord";
Car il couvient amour mourir	For love must die
Quant amant veulent seignourir.	When lovers want lordship.
Amour ne puet durer ne vivre,	Love cannot endure nor live
S'el n'est en cueur franc et delivre.	If it is not free and active in the heart.[286]

Readers, both medieval and modern, have always had to keep in mind that such passages ostensibly project the views of Jean de Meun's characters and not necessarily their author. The editors of *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended* have commented that, in the case of the Ami's use of La Jaloux's misogynistic rants, Jean has "worked out a formula that courts his audience's (and maybe his own?) responsiveness to familiar misogynistic themes while simultaneously acknowledging their blatant invidiousness."[287] In this way, the Ami argues that love is possible for married couples, as long as they abide by the marital contract that stipulates neither must dominate the other; they are to be equals, for love does not last when a husband assumes absolute authority over his wife and treats her like his property.[288] This aligns generally with the rhetoric of the Church, which often stressed the wife's equality with her husband, at least to some extent, using the symbolism of Eve's formation from Adam's rib as an exemplar.

By contrast, in the parodic vehicle of the *fabliaux*, marriage is rarely depicted as a union between equals but more often as battle of wits between husband and wife, with the wife usually coming out on top. According to Elizabeth W. Poe, one-quarter of the

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[286] *Le Roman de la rose by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun*, ed. Félix Lecoy (Paris: Champion, 1965–70), 83, 121–22; translation from *The Romance of the Rose by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun*, ed. Charles Dahlberg (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1971), 156, 169–70.
[287] *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended*, ed. Alcuin Blamires, Karen Pratt, and C. William Marx (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 149.
[288] Henry Ansgar Kelly discussed the Friend's arguments against marriage, including his various examples, and the Jealous Husband character's tirade against marriage, see *Love and Marriage in the Age of Chaucer*, 39–48.

approximately 150 surviving *fabliaux* involve an adulterous relationship.[289] The scenarios typically follow the same storyline: a married woman takes a lover despite the risk of discovery by her husband. Even when she is caught in a situation where her affair is about to be revealed, she manipulates and hoodwinks her husband, who is dull-witted or at least gullible, into not noticing or even disbelieving her infidelity.[290] The wife is almost always the adulterer, and she is never punished for her behavior, because she devises ridiculous schemes to outsmart her husband. In one example, *Le Pliçon* by Jean de Condé, a wife is in bed with her lover when her husband comes home unexpectedly.[291] The lover takes refuge under the covers and the wife accuses her husband of spying on her, forcing him to apologize. To get her lover out of the room, she poses a hypothetical scenario, asking the husband what he would do if he had found her with a lover, and he responds that he would have killed them both. In response, the wife declares that, in this situation, she would have put her surcoat over his head (which she does while she speaks) and held it there until her lover had sneaked out (which he does). When the surcoat is removed, the lover is gone, and her husband is mollified, having thought the whole thing a lighthearted joke.

In another story, *La Saineresse*, a man boasts to his wife that she could never deceive him without him finding out. Accepting his challenge, the wife invites a male friend of hers, who is dressed as a female nurse, to come upstairs with her, and they engage in a vigorous lovemaking session while the husband waits downstairs. The wife is

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[289] Elizabeth W. Poe, "The Old and the Feckless: Fabliau Husbands," in *The Medieval Marriage Scene: Prudence, Passion, Policy*, ed. Cristelle Louise Baskins and Sherry Roush (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 115–34.
[290] Poe, "The Old and the Feckless," 115.
[291] Poe, "The Old and the Feckless," 118–19.

red-faced and short of breath when she rejoins her husband and gives him a detailed account of what just transpired. The husband listens sympathetically, believing that she is describing a particularly nasty blood-letting procedure.[292] In each case, the wife keeps the marriage intact, and in some cases the affair as well, through her persuasive yet deceitful speech, as she is determined to maintain her own pleasure and comfort. Scholars have dismissed the *fabliaux* strictly as entertainment, devoid of any morality, which intends to present a topsy-turvy world where false values reign supreme.[293] Yet some, such as Mary Jane Schenck and Norris Lacy, have regarded the *fabliaux* as reflecting a desire for an ordinary world, as well as portraying the "proper" relations between husband and wife and a pervasive concern with human justice.[294]

Among the *ballettes*, *motets*, *rondeaux*, and *pastourelles* of Douce 308, there are fourteen texts with a *malmariée* character. All (with one exception) express a distaste for their husbands and a desire for a more fulfilling (usually sexual) relationship. It will be demonstrated here, however, that the characters are of just two main types: the first is a character who frequently appears in the *fabliau*, the outspoken and disruptive adulteress. In many of the Douce 308 texts she is located within a *pastourelle* framing and shown speaking directly to her husband, drawing comparisons to the shepherdess and the function of the pastoral. The second type is one that fits within the larger, diverse corpus

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[292] *Cuckolds, Clerics, and Countrymen: Medieval French Fabliaux*, 105–09.
[293] See Jürgen Beyer, "The Morality of the Amoral," in *The Humor of the Fabliau: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Thomas Darlington Cooke and Benjamin L Honeycutt (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1974), 41; and Philippe Ménard, *Les Fabliaux: Contes à rire du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1983), 116–17; Charles Muscatine, *The Old French Fabliau* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 153, maintains that fabliau do have a value system, one of "hedonistic materialism."
[294] Mary Jane Stearns Schenck, *The Fabliaux: Tales of Wit and Deception* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1987), 32 – 33; Norris J. Lacy, *Reading Fabliaux* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), 37–38, 40.

of *chanson d'ami* texts by featuring a woman who sings of her desire for her lover (who is not her husband) in courtly language. There is also a third character that appears alongside a *malmariée* in a single *pastourelle*, the *bienmariée*, who delights in her husband as if he were her lover. The various married women characters discussed in this chapter frequently criticize undesirable or abusive husbands and the institution of marriage as an economic exchange, but also offer entertainment and relatability for their medieval audience in equal measure through the contrasting perspectives of loud and rustic *malmariée* characters and those who express their desires in a more discreet manner.[295]

Four *pastourelles*, two *ballettes*, and one *motet* place the resistant *malmariée* characters into the context of the *pastourelle*, with pastoral themes, refrains, or frameworks. Christopher Callahan has commented on the *pastourelle's* lyric-narrative hybridity and its mixing of social registers.[296] Callahan argued that the *pastourelle* contained "a passion for staging socially transgressive amorous encounters" through the mixing of genres and social groups. With this in mind, the *pastourelles* that blend feminine lyrical personae together here are not entirely unexpected. This overlap of *pastourelle* and *malmariée* themes was identified by Susan M. Johnson, and Anna

[295] As with all *chansons* in the female voice, whether the *chanson de malmariée* texts were composed by actual unhappily married women or by male poets adopting the feminine persona is impossible to determine, although there are a few examples of *chansons de malmariée* with attributions to male *trouvères*. For example, the *chanson de rencontre/malmariée* "Je chevauchoie l'autrier/Sor la rive de Saine" (RS 1255) is attributed to Moniot de Paris, and Guillaume le Vinier is said to have composed a *chanson de malmariée*; see Theodore Karp, "Le Vinier, Guillaume," *Grove Music Online* (2001), accessed February 21, 2021, <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000011985>.

[296] Callahan, "Hybrid Discourse and Performance in the Old French Pastourelle."

Kathryn Grau introduced the term *pastourelle-malmariée* to identify such songs.[297] In these texts, the expected encounter between a male narrator and shepherdess is disrupted when the narrator instead finds an unhappy wife and overhears her complaining to her husband and asserting her desire to find a lover. In some cases, the *pastourelle-malmariée* texts share refrain citations that add authority and weight to the *malmariée's* range of expression, but as the texts below demonstrate, the mobility of this particular *malmariée* character across different structures and settings troubles the concept of *pastourelle-malmariée* text as a distinct subgenre.

I suggest that the texts of Douce 308 that include such *pastourelle*-like framings represent a *fabliau-malmariée* character type. Many of the *malmariée* in Douce 308 fulfill the trope of the quarreling wife common to the *fabliaux*, for the narrator recounts a quarrel between a husband and wife, and the woman consistently speaks antagonistically to her husband. Many *fabliau* narrators identify the husbands as *vilains*, which can be translated as "peasants" but is used pejoratively by the women in the *chansons de malmariée* to mean "boors."[298] Domination over the husband is also the desired outcome for many of the wives of the *chansons de malmariée*: enjoying their lover and ensuring their husband gets called a "cous" (cuckold) by others mark many of the utterances in the *fabliau-malmariée*. There is one significant departure from the *fabliau* stock character in the *fabliau-malmariée* texts, however: according to Stefanie Goyette, "Women in the

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[297] Johnson, "The Malmariée Theme in Old French Lyric," 133–52; Grau, "Representation and Resistance," 150.

[298] "[un] roturier, homme de basse condition," see Robert Martin, "vilain," *DMF*, 2015, accessed May 29, 2021, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/vilain>. For example, the narrative of "De Brunain la vache au prestre" (Browny, the Priest's Cow) begins "D'un **vilain** conte et de sa fame…aloient ourer à l'yglise" (a peasant took his wife to pray…and celebrate the mass in town," and "Du Prestre ki abevete" (The Priest Who Peeked) begins "D'un **vilain** qui ot femme prise/sage, courtoise et bien aprise" (there lived a peasant who had wed a maiden courteous, well bred); from *Cuckolds, Clerics, and Countrymen*, 31, 45. There is also an extant *fabliau* titled "Du **Vilain** Asnier" (The Villager and His Two Asses).

fabliaux […] are shown to have a strong motivation to keep their secrets and retain as much mystery as possible."[299] The *fabliau-malmariée* character in the texts discussed below openly resents her husband, and instead of conducting a secret adulterous relationship speaks plainly of her intentions to take a love using the *popularisant* rhetoric of the *fabliaux*.

While the outspoken *fabliau* type dominates the *chansons de malmariée*, among the *ballettes* there is a second *malmariée* character who is distinct from the *fabliau-malmariée*. In two texts, the pastoral setting and husband-wife dialogue are removed, leaving only monologues in the voices of more dignified and reputation-conscious *malmariée* characters. In these texts, which I term *chanson d'ami-malmariée* songs, there is a shared preoccupation with the handsome lover instead of the hated husband, who is at best a side-character, and with the fear of slander instead of the drive to humiliate. This *malmariée* character differs notably from the bold *fabliau-malmariée* woman and offers a more careful and measured lament of an undesired union.

***Fabliau-malmariées* in the Country**

Six *pastourelle* texts in Douce 308 feature the voices of *malmariée* characters; all but one of these are *unica*. Four begin with the traditional *pastourelle* opening, that of a (presumed male) narrator encountering a woman in the countryside, a remarkably common feature among the Douce 308 *malmariée* texts: "L'autre jour me departoie"; "An un florit vergier jolit"; "L'autre jour mon chamin erroie," and "Pancis amerouzement." "L'autre jour me departoie" and "An un florit vergier jolit" both use

[299] Goyette, "Fabricating Monstrosity: Secrets and Violence in the Lay of Graelent and Several Old French Fabliaux." *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural* 6.2 (2017): 222.

refrain citations and intertextual references to connect the *malmariée* in the countryside to other *pastourelle-malmarieé* texts, while "Pancis amerouzement" contrasts the expected *malmariée* voice with a new perspective, that of the *bienmariée*. These texts, because they do not involve a shepherdess character and the narrator rarely interacts with the women that he meets, can also be considered *chansons de rencontre*, or "encounter songs," a loosely defined genre in which a male poet-narrator, just as in a *pastourelle*, encounters a woman while he is out wandering.[300] Most often he remains a passive observer, but on occasion he enters into dialogue with the woman and attempts to seduce her.

As indicated in the previous chapter, *pastourelles* in general are characterized not just by the poet-knight narrator but also by a shepherdess who expresses herself in direct discourse, often through refrains. In her work on refrains, Jennifer Saltzstein demonstrated that while many refrains contribute to or thwart an intertextual reading and reinterpretation through their presence, there is also a third option, that of similar usage in multiple contexts that lends authority to new works.[301] Anna Kathryn Grau argued that when feminine-voiced refrains are considered as markers of intertextual authority, the noted tendency to voice women through refrains could be seen as contributing to shared song networks that provide intertextual readings that push against stereotypical portrayals of women.[302] In the case of some *pastourelles*, Grau noted a network of *malmariée* texts with *pastourelle* framings, and argued that the convention of locating feminine utterances

[300] The genre term is first used in *Chanter M'estuet: Songs of the Trouvères*, ed. Samuel N. Rosenberg, and Hans Tischler (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1981).
[301] Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*.
[302] Grau, "Representation and Resistance," 148–49.

through refrains might also have offered an opportunity for poets and audiences to resist feminine textual stereotypes.

One such network can be found among the *pastourelle* texts of Douce 308, and it provides an intriguing resolution of the classic *malmariée* conflict: should a woman be faithful to her husband or take a lover? "L'autre jour me departoie" (RS 1713, fol. 198v) is a five-stanza text with a different refrain at the end of each stanza and clear *malmariée* themes. The opening is typical of a *pastourelle*:

"L'autre jour me departoie," stanza 1	
L'autre jour me departoie	The other day I was departing
De Nivers sospris d'amors.	Nevers, overwhelmed by love;
En .i. bruelet leis ma voie.	In a small wood near my way
Trovai dame an un destour.	I found a lady at a turn in the path.
Euz ot vairs, les crine blowe	She had grey eyes and blonde hair,
Freche avoit la colour	And a freshness of color,
(et) chantoit (et) menoit joie.	And she sang and moved joyfully,
Tout an despit de son signor.	In complete defiance of her lord:
Doucement me tient amors.	*"Gently, love took hold of me."*[303]

Thus far, the narrative precedes as expected: a narrator is going his way when he finds a beautiful woman out in the countryside, singing. Here, as in other encounter texts where the narrator does not directly speak with the characters, the narrator is never explicitly referred to in a way that conveys a particular gender, although the common *topos* of encounter texts narrated by a man (i.e., *pastourelles*) makes a male observer an unspoken assumption. This narrator then observes a dialogue between the lady and her husband, providing contextual details along the way:

[303] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 335–36.

"L'autre jour me departoie," stanza 2	
Ses amins l'avoit tenue.	Her lover had held her,
Mais d'amors ce confortoit.	And love comforted her.
Este vos aval la rue	See there, down the street
Son marit qui la queroit.	Her husband searches for her.
Que mout bien l'ait entendue	He has heard very well
La chanson k'elle dixoit.	The song that she sang.
Ez folette malle estrute	[He says:] "you are a crazy, unhappy little one!
Je vos taing en mon destroit.	I hold you in my prison."
(et) la debonaire disoit.	And the noble lady said,
J'ai a cuer les malz d'amors orendroit	*"I now have the pains of love in my heart."*

Over the course of the three additional stanzas the wife and husband quarrel with each other; the wife threatens that her lover will come to insult the husband, and calls him "Dans vilains, bairbe florie" (Sir Peasant, Bristly Beard). The husband retaliates by claiming that he has the greatest hold over her, not her lover, and threatens to cut off her clothing allowance. In the one refrain given to him, the husband grumbles that one cannot have joy when tied to a wife. This antifeminist comment along with his threats of punishment in the face of her complaints demonstrate a husband attempting to act as his wife's lord and not as an equal partner, disrupting any chance for a loving relationship. The final stanza is the wife's last rebuttal, in which she complains of his snoring and the fact that he does not play the "game of love" to her satisfaction, casting into doubt his ability to fulfill his marital duty.

In four out of the five stanzas, the refrains are sung by the *malmariée* character, and this reflects the common occurrence (especially in *pastourelles* but in other genres as well) of refrains most often being the utterances of female characters.[304] The one refrain

[304] Susan M. Johnson, "The Role of the Refrain in the Pastourelles à refrain," in *Literary and Historical*

that is sung by the husband, "Ki feme ait, a joie ait faillit" also appears as the repeating refrain in "Je soloie estre jolis" ("I was accustomed to being happy," Mot 1134, fol. 247v), a male-voiced *motet* text that advises listeners against marrying, because it destroys all joy.

Two of the woman's four refrains, "Doucement me tient amors" (vdB 617) and "J'ai a cuer les malz d'amors orendroit" (vdB 901), appear together in another *pastourelle-malmariée*, "L'autrier de Paris m'en partoie" ("The other day I was leaving Paris," RS 1746a), transmitted solely as a late-thirteenth-century addition to a twelfth-century copy of the Old Testament book Ecclesiastes preceded by the prologue of Saint Jerome.[305] In 1929, A. Långfors and S. Solente hypothesized that "L'autre jour me departoie," was the original and served as a model for "L'autrier de Paris."[306] When the two texts are compared (see table 2.1 below), "L'autrier de Paris" mirrors the text of "L'autre jour me departoie" closely for the first two stanzas, which share the same rhyme scheme and refrains:

Table 2.1: Comparison of "L'autre jour me departoie" and "L'autrier de Paris"

"L'autre jour me departoie"	"L'autrier de Paris"
L'autre jour me departoie De Nivers **sospris d'amors**. En .i. bruelet leis ma voie. Trovai dame **an un destour**. **Euz ot vairs**, les crine blowe	**L'autreir** de Paris m'en partaie Par .i. matin, **pensant d'amors**. En .i. pré flori m'en entreie, Si m'en entré **en .i. destor**. Dame chantot a mout grant joie,

Perspectives of the Middle Ages, ed. Patricia Cummins, Patrick W Conner, and Charles W Connell (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 1982), 78–92.

[305] F-Pn lat. 193, fol. 58r. View images here: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10032706m>. The refrain "Doucement me tient amors" also appears as the first line of the second voice in an anonymous three-voice motet, "Aimi, las! Vivrai je ainsi / Doucement me tient amours / Omnes," transmitted in the Montpellier Codex (F-MO H 196, fol. 143v–145) with music. A full inventory and link to digital images can be viewed at: <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/888/#/>.

[306] A. Långfors and S. Solente, "Une pastourelle nouvellement découverte et son modèle," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 30.4 (1929): 215–225.

Freche avoit la colour (et) **chantoit (et) menoit joie**. Tout an **despit de son signor**. ***"Doucement me tient amors."*** Ses amins l'avoit tenue. Mais d'amors ce confortoit. Este vos aval la rue **Son marit** qui la queroit. Que mout **bien l'ait entendue** La chanson k'elle dixoit. "Ez **folette malle estrute** **Je vos taing en mon destroit."** **(et) la debonaire disoit.** ***"J'ai a cuer les malz d'amors orendroit."***	**Euz a vers**, **fresche la color**, Et si diseit desus l'erbaie En haut, en **despit son seignor**: ***"Doucement me tient amor.*** L'amor de mon ami m'argue Sor la memele au cor tot dreit." **Son mari l'a bien entendue**, A lé est venuz orendreit Et li dit: "**Fole malostrue**, Or **vos teen ge en mon destrait**. Ne seret mes par mé vestue, Ainz arez mesese et freit." **Et la debonnaire disoit:** ***"Au cor é li maus d'amors orendroit."***

The narratives are also initially identical, with the narrator encountering a lady who sings of her lover before her irritated husband finds and chastises her. Beginning in stanza three, however, the songs deviate, with the lady of "L'autrier de Paris" dominating the rest of the stanzas with her declarations of passion for her lover and insults to her husband, who is not given a chance to respond. In a surprising turn of events, the narrator recounts how the lady's husband releases her, and she is united with her lover. This revision of the narrative to silence the husband and give the *malmariée* the "happy" ending that she desires (to be free and able to pursue a relationship that gives her joy) offers a kind of resolution to the conflict that no other *malmariée* text provides.

The text of "L'autrier de Paris" cannot be dated more specifically than the thirteenth century, however, and there is equal uncertainty about the precise dating of "L'autre jour me departoie," along with the rest of Douce 308. While it is generally agreed that the chansonnier as a whole was transcribed in the early fourteenth century, it has been observed that some texts share refrains with works composed in the 1280s, while other texts are elsewhere attributed to authors active in the mid- to late-thirteenth

century.[307] Given the fragmentary nature of this evidence, it cannot be determined with any degree of certainty which of the two *pastourelle-malmariée* texts was composed first from their sources alone.

Yet the poet of "L'autrier de Paris" chose to direct the familiar narrative toward a highly unusual outcome, one that favors the wife and ends the conflict. Given that *malmariée* texts, including the *pastourelle-malmariée* songs, almost universally end with the *malmariée* character continuing to sing without resolving the argument, this suggests that the revision was deliberately done to subvert the expectations of the subgenre. Thus, the hypothesis that "L'autre jour me departoie" was composed first, and that the poet of "L'autrier de Paris" used that text as a model for a new composition that deviated from the subgenre's norms is not an unreasonable one. Regardless, the fact that one of these *pastourelle-malmariée* songs served as a model for another text and included multiple refrain citations suggests that the *fabliau-malmariée* character framed by a *pastourelle* was an established trope among the poet-composers of Old French lyric, more so than previously acknowledged.

Another example from the *pastourelle* section, "An un florit vergier jolit" ("Into a pretty, blooming orchard," RS 1043a, fol. 199v) demonstrates how the *fabliau-malmariée* character incorporates more implicit references to the voices of shepherdess and the passionate, unmarried woman of the *chansons d'ami* despite lacking the expected placement of refrains. "An un florit vergier jolit," which is transmitted in one other chansonnier also from the Lorraine region (MS *C*), does not contain any post-strophic

[307] Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, lxviii–xxii.

refrains as seen in all the previous *pastourelle-malmariée* texts. Unusually, however, its first stanza has a one-line refrain embedded within it that strongly resembles through its language two other refrains found elsewhere in the chansonnier.

This is not the only *ballette* with a refrain located in a stanza instead of appearing after the strophe: the *ballette* "Amours, par sa signorie" ("Love, through its authority," which appears twice as *ballettes* nos. 42 and 64), is a female-voiced text that has two one-line refrains, the first of which appears as the sixth line of the stanza and is separate from a different, post-strophic refrain. This also occurs in the following *ballette* "Amors m'aprant a chanter" ("Love teaches me to sing"), a male-voiced text.

Consisting of only three stanzas, "An un florit vergier jolit" begins with a narrator entering an orchard and perceiving a lady and her husband, who strongly chastises her. The lady responds in kind:

"An un florit vergier jolit," stanza 1	
Se li ait dit vilains floris. La dame simple et coie. *J'ai bel amin coint et jolit*	She responded to him, "Hoary peasant," [Said] that honest and composed lady, "*I have a handsome lover, charming and attractive*,
A cu mes cuers s'otroie. Ne soiez de moi jalous. Mais aleiz vostre voie. Car par deu vos sereis cous. Por riens ne m'an tanroie.	To whom I have given my heart. Do not be jealous of me But go your way. For, by God! You will be a cuckold. I would hold myself back for nothing."[308]

Her husband retorts that what she has suggested is a great folly and dishonor and promises that he will keep her in his power and restrict her access to clothing, attempting to hold sway over his disobedient wife just like the husband in "L'autre jour me

[308] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 339–40.

departoie." In the final stanza, the *malmariée* tells her husband, whom she calls a "vilains bossus et malestrus" (hunchbacked and miserable boor), to stay away because she does not need anything from him. Instead, her future will consist of sweet encounters with her lover:

"An un florit vergier jolit," stanza 3	
Vez ci lou dous tens ou vient Ke ranverdist la pree. S'irons moi et mon amin Coillir lai flor novelle.	"Now is the sweet time when The meadow grows back. We will go there, my love and I, To pick the new flowers."

This imagined meeting with her lover contains imagery of springtime and flowers, and such references are found throughout trouvère song representing the youthfulness of lovers occurring in tandem with exclamations of new love.

This connection to youth is anticipated earlier in the text by a thus-far overlooked refrain citation that makes implicit connections to a young and passionate feminine voice. In the first stanza, the seventh line, "J'ai bel amin coint et jolit," strongly resembles a phrase found in two different refrains used elsewhere in the chansonnier (see table 2.2 below):

Table 2.2: "J'ai bel amin coint et jolif" in Douce 308 refrains

	"An un florit vergier jolit," lines 6–8	Refrain vdB 920	Refrain vdB 669
Text	La dame simple et coie. **J'ai bel amin coint et jolit** A cu mes cuers s'otroie.	***J'ai bel amin cointe et gai;*** *Amors a cui suix voee vuelt ke j'ain, si l'amerai*	*En non Deu,* ***j'ai bel amin, coente et jolif****, tant soi je brunete*

Appearances in Douce 308		*ballette* "Aucune gens vont dixant" (RS 337, fol. 212v)	*pastourelle* "De saint quaitin an cambrai" (RS 61, fol. 205r)
		rondeau "J'ai ameit et amerai" (B rond. 143, fol. 249v)	

Given the close associations between refrains and women's voices in *pastourelles*, and the phrase's occurrence when the text shifts between the narrated text and the lady's initial utterance, this line allows a strong case to be made that the phrase is an internal refrain citation. The first version of the refrain (vdB 920) is found in the *ballette* "Aucune gens vont dixant" ("Some people go around saying"), a *chanson d'ami* that rails against gossipmongers, and the second is in the *rondeau* "J'ai ameit et amerai" ("I have loved and I will love"), a *chanson d'ami* where the feminine speaker revels in her relationship and pledges eternal loyalty to her *amin*.[309] The second version (vdB 669) appears in the *pastourelle* "De saint quaitin an cambrai" ("From Saint-Quentin to Cambrai"). Outside of the chansonnier, it is found in Jacquemart Gielée's *Renart le Nouvel*, a work that shares numerous refrain concordances with the chansonnier.[310]

The fact that this one-line phrase appears not only in *pastourelle* refrains but also in multiple *chansons d'ami* refrains infuses the exclamatory phrase with the rustic, sexualized voice of the young shepherdess as well as the naivety of the unmarried young woman found in the *chansons d'ami*. Within "An un florit vergier jolit," a text with clear *malmariée* themes throughout, these overlapping refrain citations inject youthfulness into the defiant voice of the *malmariée* and emphasize her assertion that while her present

[309] The refrain also appears in a later work, the late fourteenth-century *dit enté*, "Gracieuse, faitisse et sage," by Jeannot de Lescurel, transmitted in F-Pn fr. 146 (fol. 60 vb).
[310] Eight texts among the *ballettes* alone have refrain concordances with *Renart le Nouvel*; see Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, cxxxviii–cxl.

state is limited by a hoary and cantankerous husband, her future will be filled only with her young lover.

"Pancis amerouzement" ("Preoccupied with thoughts of love," RS 639, fol. 202v) is an unusual example of a *malmariée* with a *pastourelle* framing, for in this text a narrator overhears the opposing sentiments of two newly married women as they argue with one another over whether to serve one's husband faithfully or to choose a lover. On the road from Tournai, the unspecified narrator sees three women sitting together in a meadow. They are all recently married, for the narrator observes, "chascune ot .i. vert chapel" (Each one wore a green garland [stanza 1, line 6]). As the narrator eavesdrops, each woman reveals her feelings about marriage and the prospect of a lover.

"Pancis amerouzement," stanza 1, line 7 and refrain; stanza 2, lines 1–8 and refrain	
La moinnee ait dit ansi. *Je servirai mon marit*. *Lealment en leu d'amin*.	The younger one declared: *"I will serve my husband* *Loyally as a lover."*
Li annee an ot irour. Se li dit sans atargier. Dame dex vos dont mal jour Nos voliez vos a saier. A cuer ne m'est mie bel. Dou poing an son lou haterel L'alait maintenant ferir Puez ce dist c'est mot joli. *Je ferai novel amin*. *An despeit de mon marit*.	The oldest one was angry at this, And said without delay, "Lady, God give you a bad day; Are you robbing us from testing Whether a heart is at all noble?" [The oldest] hit the other straightaway With her hand on the nape of her neck, Then, she said these merry words: *"I will have a new lover* *In spite of my husband."*[311]

[311] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 352–53.

This text deviates from the previous *malmariée* laments, for it pits three opposing voices of married women against one another, and their husbands are not present to participate in the debate. The first to speak, the youngest woman, makes the unusual declaration that she will be as loyal to her husband as she would be to a lover. Revealing herself to be a *bienmariée*, she equates her marriage union with the same passion and devotion that is described through most Old French love lyrics. The eldest woman, perhaps speaking from her experience, chastises the first woman by wishing her ill and slapping her on the back of her neck. She is incredulous that the youngest woman would dedicate herself to her husband when she does not yet know if his heart is "bel." The eldest, in contrast, looks forward to securing a lover despite her husband.

The third married woman provides her own perspective in the final stanza, undeterred by the blow her companion has received:

"Pancis amerouzement," stanza 3, lines 7–8 and refrain	
Et chantoit c'est chant novel. Si ke je l'ai bien oit. *S'on trovaist leaul amin.* *Ja n'euxe prins marit.*	She sang this new song, As I heard it well: *"If I had found a loyal lover* *I would not already have taken a husband."*

Despite the elder's violent denunciation of the *bienmariée's* words, the third woman chimes in with a new refrain, in which she states that she took a husband because she did not already have a lover. In this way, she treats the roles of "husband' and "lover" as distinct, similar to the arguments in Andreas Capellanus's *De amore*, and suggests the alternative view that if one does not have a lover, a woman can get married. This does not leave room for a lover to appear after one is married, as the eldest woman maintains.

Instead, the woman's statement confirms her inexperience, for she did not engage in a love relationship before marrying her husband.

In many of the *fabliau-malmariée* songs, the wife is the last one to speak (or sing) and thus holds the stronger position at the end of the narrative, although they almost universally end without a clear resolution to the conflict. While the *pastourelle*-like openings of these texts initially grant power to the wandering narrator, the use of the *malmariée* refrains at the ends of stanzas ensures that these women are unified in their utterances, and that they shall have the last word in the narrative, authorial power transferred to them by their shared, defiant refrains.

In the case of "Pancis amerouzement," the women are the only ones whose voices are heard and so this transfer of power does not occur; instead, they offer their female listeners three different approaches to love and marriage. While the eldest asserts the more common argument of the *malmariée*, that of keeping a lover in addition to a husband, the youngest declares that she will serve her husband as if he were a lover. This idea is unusual, indeed radical compared to the sentiments of the *malmariée* heard thus far, which assume that a lover is or will be involved while the husband is still in the picture. By offering this option, the youngest woman characterizes herself as a *bienmariée*, a happily married woman who blends love with marital duty, in defiance of her pessimistic companions.

Ballettes de malmariée

The *fabliau-malmariée* character also appears in the *ballette* genre, emphasizing its popularity as a stock character for the Lorraine poets. The *ballettes de malmariée*

"L'autrier par un matinet" and "Ne mi bateis mie" both appear within that specific section of the chansonnier, yet they also present the voice of a *fabliau-malmariée* within a *pastourelle* framing, where a male narrator encounters a woman in the countryside. In both cases, too, the *fabliau-malmariée's* speech is defiant and laced with insults, regardless of the husband's reaction. While in one text the husband is remarkably conciliatory, the other makes evident the masculine violence that occasionally threatens disruptive feminine speech.

The first case, "L'autrier par un matinet" ("The other day, early in the morning," RS 964, fol. 230r) features a particularly domineering *fabliau-malmariée* paired with an unusually courteous husband, with whom the narrator appears to sympathize. The *ballette de malmariée* is a three-stanza text with a single one-line refrain, and both the text and its refrain are *unica*. The narrator wanders into a garden and overhears a husband and wife berating one another:

"L'autrier par un matinet," stanza 1, lines 6–11; stanza 2, lines 4–11	
S'oï sus un aubepin Un home qui a sa feme Tensoit, mais pas n'entendi; Mais j'ai mout tres bien oït K'elle li dit: vilains jalous, *S'i ne vos siet, s'alleis aillors!*	Then I heard, under a hawthorn tree, A man who was berating his wife, But I couldn't grasp his words; I heard very well, however, What she said to him: "Jealous boor, *If it doesn't suit you, you should go somewhere else!"*
[…] Li boins hons la chastïait Et doucement li dixoit: Dame, de cuer anterin Vos ain; si vos di, par m'arme, Ke j'ai au cuer grant anuit, Et si ne sai pas por cui Vos m'appeleiz vilains jalous.	[…] The good man was chiding her And saying softly: "Lady, I love you with all my heart; And, upon my soul, I tell you I feel great distress in my heart And I don't know why When you call me a jealous boor."

S'i ne vos siet, s'alleis aillors.	*If it doesn't suit you, you should go somewhere else!*[312]

In this quarrel, the contrast in the husband and wife's tone is significant; the wife produces the now-familiar insults and boldly tells her husband that their relationship is going to be conducted according to her rules. Her husband's reaction, at least as reported by the narrator, is one of confusion, not anger. Characterized as a "boins hons" by the narrator, the husband speaks "doucement" to his wife and expresses his deep, emotional pain at her words. The juxtaposition of the man's reasonable and gentle request of his wife for an explanation marks her as the aggressor, and this is emphasized by the return of her bitter refrain after the husband's words.

The wife is unmoved by his speech, however, and responds immediately:

"L'autrier par un matinet," stanza 3, lines 2–11	
[…] vilains malportrait, Toz jors flairiez vous lou vin! Vos n'avez en moi nuns droit, Car j'ai amin qui me plait. Ancor lo vi an matin, Si sai bien k'il n'ainme feme Nulle tant con il fait mi. Et si vos dis, de pair li, Se je vif, il vos ferait cous. *S'i ne vos siet, s'alleis aillors*	[…] "Misshapen boor, You always reek of wine! You have no rights over me, For I have a lover to my liking. Besides, I saw him this morning, And I am sure he loves no other Woman as much as he does me. And I am telling you, from him, [that], as I live, he'll make a cuckold of you. *If it doesn't suit you, you should go somewhere else!"*

Here, the reason for the wife's unhappiness is revealed: the husband, another "vilain," is clumsy and smells strongly of wine; the wife insinuating that he is an alcoholic. The dialogue between the two shows that the wife has already made her decision: she has

[312] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 398–401.

secured a new lover and has already had a meeting with him. Because of this, the wife explicitly upends her marital duty by outright declaring, "Vos n'avez en moi nuns droit," attempting to remove any rights that her husband previously had over her body and personhood. The stanza concludes with the familiar threat of cuckolding, although this time the *malmariée* makes her new lover the acting subject; it is he, the other man, who will actively bring about the husband's fate!

In comparison, the other *ballette de malmariée*, "Ne mi bateis mie" (RS 1184, fol. 212r), differs from those discussed thus far because it includes an instance of domestic abuse by the husband against his disruptive wife. In now-typical *pastourelle-malmariée* fashion, the narrator of "Ne mi bateis mie" comes across a "novelette marïee" singing of her marriage woes:

"Ne mi bateis mie," stanza 1	
Novelette marïee	Alongside lush woods, I came across
Trovai leis un gal foilli	A young bride
Batue de son mari	Who had been beaten by her husband.
Si en ot lou cuer doulant	Her heart was saddened,
Et por ceu aloit dixant	So she was going along singing
Cest motet par anradie:	These verses out of rage:
Ne mi bateis mie,	*Don't beat me,*
Maleüroz maris,	*Wretched husband,*
Vos ne m'aveis pas norroie!	*You haven't raised me!*[313]

The themes of the *malmariée* lament are clearly articulated, as the woman sings to express her displeasure with her husband. In this case, however, her lament is because he is physically abusive.

[313] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 48–51.

Domestic abuse, like rape, must be understood according to medieval expectations and standards of gender roles. Many historians have presented evidence of the pervasiveness of "domestic correction" by husbands to control the behaviors of those within their households.[314] Yet it is also important to remember the contexts of *chansons de malmariée* and how they were understood by their medieval listeners. As part of the courtly literary world, which included the *pastourelles*, *fabliaux*, and romances like Bretel's *Le Tournoi*, such texts would have contributed to the entertainment of the noble audience and figured into their attempt to demonstrate aristocratic dominance over popular culture.[315]

Because the situations and characters of *fabliaux* were sufficiently distant from their audience, they remove sympathetic attachment and identification from their lyric personae. Thus, in the *fabliaux*, violence often has a farcical nature and is used to mete out punishments, castigate transgressions, and amuse the audience. For instance, in the *fabliau Bérangier au lonc cul* (*Bérangier of the Long Ass*), a young peasant, who has been knighted by his rich father-in-law, attempts to fool his wife into thinking he is a

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[314] For discussions on domestic "correction" or violence in the medieval period see A.T.M. Bailey, "The Construction of Gender Through Violence in Medieval France from the Letters of Remission, 1410–1411" (Master's thesis: University of Calgary, 2018); Sara M. Butler, *The Language of Abuse: Marital Violence in Later Medieval England*, Later Medieval Europe, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Hannah Skoda, *Medieval Violence: Physical Brutality in Northern France*, *1270–1330* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), (2015); eadem, "Violent Discipline or Disciplining Violence? Experience and Reception of Domestic Violence in Late Thirteenth-Century Paris and Picardy," *Cultural and Social History* 6.1 (2009): 9–27; and Trevor Dean, "Domestic Violence in Late-Medieval Bologna," *Renaissance Studies* 18.4 (2004): 527–30. Adultery in particular could be emasculating for a husband and do damage to his reputation as an authoritative male figure, and men were considered to be justified in responding with domestic violence in order to "maintain order" and protect the household from outside threats. Yet there is also the possibility that domestic violence was not always as permissible in medieval French communities as some have claimed it to be. In his work on the Provençal town of Manosque, Steven Bednarski noted that the community was extremely concerned about the use of violence in private spheres. There were even reports of extended family and neighbors participating in the protection of wives who were victims of excessive force by their husbands. See Steven Bednarski, *Curia: A Social History of a Provençal Criminal Court in the Fourteenth Century* (Montpellier: Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2013), 121–26.
[315] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 42–46, 59–63, 140–47.

noble knight by riding into the woods, battering his shield with his own sword, and returning to boast of the great battles he has won. His wife approaches to assist in his dismount from his horse (vv. 118–23):

Li chevaliers la boute au pié.	The knight hit her in the face
Qui ert molt forz de grant maniere:	With the full weight of his big foot.
"Traiez vos tost, fait il, arriere;	"Stand back!" he cried, "Hands off the boot!
Quar ce sachiez, n'est mie droiz	Let it be known it isn't right
Qu'à si bon chevalier touchoiz	For you to touch so great a knight
Com ge sui […]	As I am" […][316]

In this way, the "knight" conveys that his wife is not worthy to touch him and kicks her in the face. The gesture emphasizes the ridiculousness of the knight's parodying of greatness, for in truth he does not deserve the deferential treatment from his wife that he demands. Often the humor of the *fabliaux* lies not in the violence itself but in its ineffectiveness: the lover gets away, the husband is still tricked, and the wife has her way in the end. In the case of *Bérangier*, the wife eventually discovers his farce and exacts her revenge, which involves him kissing her bare bottom while she is cross-dressed as a knight in order to prove his falsehood, ensuring that *Bérangier* is properly shamed for his presumptuous behavior.

These *chansons de malmariée*, by incorporating the stock character of the *fabliau* wife into *pastourelle*-like settings, provide the potential for exploration of social differences and consequences of disruptive behavior. Depictions of violence against women in *malmariée* texts, just as in the *pastourelles*, can be seen as a consequence for their disruptive speech and refusal to submit to expected social roles. The risk of domestic abuse for *malmariée* characters is thus no more than a consequence of their

[316] Text and translation from *Cuckolds, Clerics, and Countrymen*, 54.

disruptive speech and subversion of marital hierarchies. The similarity in status between the two female lyric types of the shepherdess in the *pastourelle* and the *fabliau-malmariée* is heightened by the shared risk of masculine violence, an unfortunate consequence that looms over many lyrical encounters between men and women in isolated, rustic landscapes. Despite the boldness and sexual confidence of the *malmariées* represented in the earlier texts, "Ne mi bateis mie" demonstrates that her resistant and disruptive speech, fundamental to her character, opens her up to the risk of physical punishment.

In a performance of "Ne mi bateis mie," the three-line refrain would repeat before and after each stanza. Hearing the woman's repeated cry of "Ne mi bateis mie!" repeatedly brings the audience's attention to the woman's physical safety and her status as a battered wife. Yet the refrain is a powerful phrase, not one of confusion or despair, because of its use of the imperative: this *malmariée* boldly commands her husband to stop his abusive behavior. Additionally, while the narrator describes her as "doulant" (saddened), he also specifies that she is singing "par anradie." The editors of the *ballette* translate the latter phrase as "out of rage," but it could also be understood as meaning "hardened," from the verb *enraidir*.[317] Altogether, the narrator's report and her refrain both characterize her performance as one not tinged with fear but marked by a distinct toughness.

The wife goes on to express her intentions:

"Ne mi bateis mie," stanza 2	
Elle dist: "Vilains, donee Suix a vous, se poice mi;	She said: "Boor, I was given To you, and this distresses me;

[317] Robert Martin, "enraidir," *DMF*, accessed 3 March 2021. <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/enraidir>.

Mais par la Virge honoree, Pués ke me destraigniés si, Je ferai novel ami, A cui qui voist anuant; Moi et li irons juant, Si doublerait la folie."	But, by the blessed Virgin, Since you mistreat me this way, I'll find a new lover, Whomever it may upset; He and I will make love, Which will make the situation doubly reckless."

In her lament, the *malmariée* makes a direct reference to the passive nature of marriage by stating "donee/suix a vous," suggesting that she was treated as a piece of property and her marriage was merely an economic transaction. Her obvious distress conveys that she did not favor the match or has grown to resent it. As in most *malmariée* texts, the wife threatens to find another lover and in doing so she compares both of their behaviors, his of domestic abuse and hers of adultery, to "folie" when she comments that "si doublerait la folie" (lit. "so the folly will double").

While the *fabliau-malmariée* character can be understood to be a stronger and less objectified character type than that of the shepherdess, it is clear, at least in "Ne mi bateis mie," that she is still vulnerable to masculine violence. The husband, we find out, has been listening to his wife's lament and threats of infidelity, and he responds to her words with words describing physical violence, confirming the woman's accusations of abuse:

"Ne mi bateis mie," stanza 3	
Li vilains, cu pas n'agree, La ranponne, si li dit: "Pace avant!"; grand pamee Li donait, pués saixit Par la main et se li dit: "Or rancomance ton chant, Et Deus me dont dolor grant Se je bien ne te chastie!"	The boor, who does not appreciate The taunt, tells her: "Go ahead!"; he slapped her Hard, then he seized her By the hand and said: "Now start your song over, And may God inflict great pain on me If I don't chastise you properly!"

In this way, the husband asserts his physical control over his wife's body by both hitting her with impunity and then grabbing her, followed by threats of further punishment if she continues her song. Although this is the final stanza, the *ballette* form usually required one more return of the refrain, and so the unhappy wife's voice is once again heard to rebuke her husband for his folly in mistreating her. "Ne mi bateis mie" ends with the wife's refrain, as do most of the *malmariée* songs, yet it is preceded by the husband's threat to beat his wife and "encouragement" to sing her song again. The final refrain is thus colored by the assurance of what will continue to happen despite the ending of the performance; if the woman is indeed singing her refrain once more, her continued physical punishment is guaranteed.

The refrain of "Ne mi bateis mie!" (vdB 1353) deepens the resonance of the text's rustic *malmariée* character, for it also appears in another *malmariée* song with a *pastourelle* framing, "En une praele m'antra l'atre ier" ("I was crossing a meadow the other day," RS 607), here sung by a shepherdess to her shepherd lover (who is not her husband).[318] "En une praele" in turn shares refrains with several other *pastourelle* texts with *malmariée* characters that together form a network of *pastourelle-malmariée* refrain citations, first identified by Anna Kathryn Grau.[319] "En une praele" also shares a refrain with the Douce 308 *malmariée*-themed *motet* "Osteis lou moi" (Mot 1100, fol. 244v), an

[318] RS 607 appears in the trouvère manuscripts *KNPTXU*, almost all date from the 1270s-1280s and were made in the Picardy or Artois regions of northern France. Only MS *U* dates from earlier, probably before 1250. The full text of "En une praelle" can be found in J. H. Marshall, "Un prétendu descort fragmentaire et ses congénères," *Romania* 105.418–19 (1984): 345–46. <https://www.persee.fr/doc/roma_0035-8029_1984_num_105_418_1713>.

[319] Grau, "Representation and Resistance," 149–56. Grau pinpoints the *pastourelle avec des refrains* "Quant je chevauchoie/tot seus l'autrier" ("When I was riding completely alone the other day," RS 1698) as the center of her network.

unicum, where the female speaker expresses complete dissatisfaction with her marriage, demonstrated by her removal of her wedding ring:

"Osteis lou moi"	
Osteis lou moi,	*Take it off,*
L'anelet dou doi!	*This ring on my finger!*
Avoir pas vilains ne me doit,	A boor should not have me,
Car, bien sai, cous en seroit	For I know well he would end up a cuckold
S'avocke moi	If he were with me
Longement estoit;	For long;
Departir m'an vuel orandroit,	I want to leave him right now,
Je ne suix pas marïee a droit.	*This marriage is not right.*[320]

This married woman references many of the conventional *malmariée* topics: she calls her husband a "vilains," and predicts that if they remain together, he will become a "cous" (cuckold), a shameful insult because it assumes he has lost his position as the head of the household, for he cannot keep his wife faithful to him. Unfortunately, we are not told what makes this husband so undesirable, but the woman asserts that "*Je ne suix pas marïee a droit!"* (lit., I am not married justly!), suggesting that she did not consent to the match.

In addition to "En une praele," the refrain of "Osteis lou moi" also appears in Mathieu le Poirier's fourteenth-century romance *La Cour d'amour*, which describes an aristocratic community that forms a court of law to try questions of love and to air love complaints. The refrain is sung as a *carole* by a lady to an assembly of dancers during a feast of lovers.[321] While "Osteis lou moi" does not have any explicit *pastourelle* characteristics, such as a narrator, *pastourelle* opening, or rustic setting, the fact that its

[320] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 249.
[321] The romance is transmitted in F-Pn nouv. acq. fr. 1731; the refrain appears on fol. 61va.

repeating refrain is also transmitted in "En une praele," sung by a shepherdess, establishes a connection to *pastourelle* contexts, and the woman's insulting of her husband as "vilain" echoes the rhetoric of the *fabliau-malmariée*. Yet its presence in a romance that has such a strong courtly focus also offers a connection to rhetoric of a higher register, with the *malmariée's* lament against her unfavorable union garnering some of the weight of a formal love complaint. This shared *malmariée* refrain citation between "Osteis lou moi," "Ne mi bateis mie," "En une praele," and *La Cour d'amour* demonstrates the mobility of the *fabliau-malmariée* character and her utterances across multiple registers, from pastoral to courtly.

As has been noted, the Douce 308 chansonnier is unusual for its organization of the texts into distinct genre sections, and this attention to genre raises questions when texts showing the characteristics of one genre are found in a different section. In the case of the *pastourelles*, they are a genre group that is determined most often by the thematic content of its texts, although as the previous chapter has indicated those themes are prone to displacement. Among the *pastourelles*, there are three *malmariée* texts that by their form would appear to be *ballettes*: "Por coi me bait," "L'autrier un lundi matin," and "Au cuer les ai les jolis malz." "L'autrier un lundi matin," is a *chanson de nonne* (nun's song) in *ballette* form that contains a *pastourelle*-like opening, discussed further in Chapter Three. "Por coi me bait" is a monologue by a *fabliau-malmariée* musing on why her husband is so physically abusive, and "Au cuer les ai les jolis malz" combines the voice of a third-person narrator, an urban setting, and the voice of a *fabliau-malmariée* directly addressing her husband.

"Por coi me bait" (RS 1564, fol. 197r) resembles the *ballettes* entirely in form and contains all the themes common to a *malmariée*: an unhappy wife laments her undesirable and abusive husband, seeks a lover to fulfill her needs, and swears revenge against her husband.[322] It is entirely absent, however, of a *pastourelle* opening, narrative style, and clearly rustic characters. As in many of the *ballettes*, the text begins with the repeated refrain:

"Por coi me bait," refrain	
Por coi me bait mes maris *Laisette.*	*Why does my husband beat me?* *Poor wretch!*[323]

Once again, the woman clearly articulates the physical abuse that she has suffered at the hands of her husband. Her apparent confusion and self-pity (demonstrated by the feminine ending of "laisette") continues into the first stanza, but she then reveals what she has in fact done:

"Por coi me bait," stanza 1	
Je ne li ai rienz meffait. Ne riens ne li ai mesdit. Fors c'acolleir mon amin. Soulete.	I've done him no wrong, Said nothing against him, Just embraced my lover All alone.

With this revelation, the refrain is explained: the husband has likely been physically abusing his wife because he knows of, or suspects, her infidelity.

[322] A version of this text appears in Guillaume de Machaut's later motet, "Lasse, comment oublieray/Se j'aim mon loyal ami/POUR QUOY ME BAT MES MARIS?" where all three texts are in the female voice, and the music of the tenor voice is roughly in *virelai* form.
[323] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 328; translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 153–54.

The wife is not beaten into submission, however, because in the next two stanzas she retaliates further against her spouse by scheming her own forms of punishment. At first, the *fabliau-malmariée* wife threatens to ruin her husband's reputation by having him labeled a cuckold. In the final stanza, she asserts that her revenge will be to lie with her lover "nüete" (naked), and this added detail emphasizes the physicality of her revenge, driving home the point that she is having sex with another man. In this way, the physical violence perpetuated against the woman by her husband is rewarded with emotional violence, that of infidelity and its associated humiliation, since she insists upon spreading the gossip that he has been made a cuckold.

The other *ballette de malmariée*, "Au cuer les ai les jolis malz" ("In my heart I feel them, the sweet pains," RS 386, fol. 198v), contains a stark threat of violence, not from the woman's betrayed husband, but from the *malmariée* herself. Its position immediately following another *pastourelle*-like *malmariée* text, "L'autre jour me departoie" (discussed above), strengthens the connection between the strong *malmariée* figures and their location within a more *popularisant* context, although in this case it does not exactly reproduce the traditional *pastourelle* opening, instead placing the narrative in a market, a more "bourgeois" setting:

"Au cuer les ai les jolis malz," stanza 1	
Kant li vilains vait a marchiet, Il n'i vait pais por berguignier, Mais por sa feme a esgaitier Que nuns ne li forvoie.	When the boor goes to market, He does not go there to bargain, But to spy on his wife Lest someone seduce her.[324]

[324] Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 151–52.

The unspecified narrator observes that the husband, "li vilains," spies on his wife in the market, locating this text in a more urban, middle class setting but one that is decidedly away from the courtly spaces of the noble listeners. The identification of the husband as *vilain* by the narrator draws strong comparison to the narration of the *fabliau*, where husbands are often identified by narrators using this low-class term.

The second stanza switches into first-person, with the wife directly addressing her husband, picking up on the narrator's terminology:

"Au cuer les ai les jolis malz," stanza 2	
Vilains, car vos traites an lai, car vostre alainme m'ocidrait. Bien sai c'ancor departirait vostre amor et la moie.	Boor, get away from me, For your breath will kill me. I am certain that your love and mine Will yet separate.

She aggressively insults her husband and demands that he keep his distance, for he disgusts her. Throughout the text, the stanzas are accompanied by a repeating refrain:

"Au cuer les ai les jolis malz," refrain	
Au cuer les ai, les jolis malz. *Coment an guariroie?*	*In my heart I feel them, the sweet pains.* *How could I be cured of them?*

Once again, we hear a reference to the "les malz d'amour" in the *malmariée's* lament, a phrase common to many refrains in Douce 308. This courtly rhetoric contrasts with her bold and blunt speech to her husband in the stanzas by referencing the more abstract description of being in love more familiar in the *grands chants*.

The female speaker's prediction of her impending separation from her husband in the second stanza seems relatively straightforward, until the listeners hear her final promise in the last stanza:

"Au cuer les ai les jolis malz," stanza 3	
Vilains, cuidiez vos tout avoir, Et belle dame et grant avoir? Vos avereiz lai hairt on col, Et mes amins lai joie.	Boor, do you think you can have it all, Both a lovely lady and great wealth? You'll have a noose around your neck, And my lover will have joy.

When followed by the refrain one last time, this "promise" offers a grim answer to the question posed in the refrain: *Coment an guariroie [les jolis malz]?* The juxtaposition between the plaintive, courtly refrain and the threatening and abusive language of the *malmariée* stands as a particularly disquieting interaction between aristocratic and popular themes.

In this text, the woman seeks to separate herself from her undesirable husband and be free to experience *joie* with her lover, yet the declaration is marred by violent threats and a retaliatory tone. Her revenge against her husband's oppression is death, potentially outright murder, throwing into confusion the traditional paradigm of women being the recipients, not the perpetrators, of violence in *malmariée* texts. Interestingly, the poem's rhyme scheme is disrupted in the final stanza, where the female speaker becomes most antagonistic. The first two stanzas follow the same scheme of *aaab*, but the last stanza shortens the number of consonant endings and instead follows the scheme of *aabc*. The third line that marks this disruption is "Vos avereiz lai hairt on col," precisely the point at which the woman delivers her most vicious and clear, unmistakable threat. This

emphasizes the violent extreme to which the wife is willing to go to express her agency over her own body in defiance of spousal authority.

Of the two *ballettes de malmariée* placed among the *pastourelles*, "Au cuer les ai les jolis malz" maintains the narrative first stanza and decidedly non-courtly setting, and overheard dialogue between the unhappy wife and her husband that is witnessed in many of the *pastourelle-malmariée* texts. It also contains the most disruptive *fabliau-malmariée* character yet encountered in any of the texts, for she retaliates against her husband with threats of violence while she sings a refrain marked by courtly accents, distancing herself from him and even her threat. The feminine monologue of "Por coi me bait," contains none of these expected markers, but still reflects the rhetoric of the *fabliau-malmariée*, who swears revenge on her *vilain* of a husband by laying with her lover. Thus, it seems that by the time of this relatively late chansonnier's compilation, the figure of the disruptive *fabliau-malmariée* was a recognizable character who permeated beyond the *pastourelle* genre and into the newer genre of the *ballette*.

As E. Jane Burns put it, "to 'know' women in this standard *fabliau* paradigm is to define female nature as irrational, pleasure-seeking, and wholly corporeal in opposition to the rationally endowed, thinking male."[325] For their listeners, these *fabliau-malmariée* texts present a strong female voice in the form of a *malmariée* who subverts expectations for the *pastourelle* genre and boldly speaks out against an undesired marriage, usually directly to the despised husband, without fear of humiliation or retaliation. By placing the *fabliau*-like character in the pastoral mode and pitting her against an irritable, placatory, or abusive husband, the poets fuse the perceived sexuality and prowess of the lowly

[325] Burns, *Bodytalk*, 28.

shepherdess with the voice of the mature, married, and equally rustic woman of the *fabliau*, creating a vocal and sexually conversant peasant woman character who loudly declares her dissatisfaction and desire for pleasure. The consequences of such disruptive female speech are also occasionally played out, as in the revision of "L'autre jour me departoie" as "L'autrier de Paris" to include a happy ending for the *malmariée*, or in the deployment of physical abuse by the husband. Even when the *pastourelle* framing is removed, as in "Por coi me bait," the retaliatory tone remains, showing that while the *fabliau-malmariée* is not tied to the countryside, wherever she appears she is dedicated to having her pleasure and, perhaps even more so, achieving dominance over her husband.

The Voices of the *Chansons d'ami-malmariée*

Of the fourteen *malmariée* texts contained in the manuscript, only five lack any ties, explicit or implicit, to the *pastourelle*.[326] Of these, two *ballettes* present a distinctly courtly *malmariée* voice removed from a pastoral context and displaying instead a concern for the woman's reputation and status. These texts feature feminine monologues instead of dialogues, and the *malmariées* address their songs not toward their husbands but instead their lovers or those who would spread rumors of their infidelity. A concern for status, secrecy of relationships, and a dislike of *mesdisants* (slanderers) conveyed through strict monologues are themes that are like those found in the female-voiced *chanson d'ami*, which in turn draws many of its themes from the well-established (and

[326] This includes two *rondeau* texts, "Jai ne lairai" (VdB rondeau 149, fol. 250r) and "Maris, cant plus mi destraigniez" (VdB rond. 113, fol. 217v); one *motet* text, "*Trop suis jonette, maris"* (Mot 1124, 246v); and two *ballettes*, "Tres dous amis, je lou vos dis" (RS 1038, fol. 214r, 225r), and "Mesdixant, c'an tient" (RS 2048, fol. 224r/235r).

majority male-authored) *grand chant* (see Chapter Four for a more general discussion of *chanson d'ami* themes in the *ballettes*).

The two *ballettes* are "Tres dous amis, je lou vos dis" (RS 1038, fol. 214r and 225r), which appears twice as *ballettes* no. 32 and 104, and "Mesdixant, c'an tient" (RS 2048, fol. 224r).[327] Both texts are *unica*, and although they are included among the *ballettes*, both deviate from the more typical three-stanza form. Instead, "Tres dous amis" consists of two stanzas with a repeating refrain, while "Mesdixant, c'an tient" is a five-stanza text with a repeating refrain. As discussed in the Introduction, the *ballettes* are known for their hybridity; this stems from their common use of refrains and associations with dance alongside their use of courtly language and preoccupation with "the joys and woes of *fin'amors*."[328] The scenarios, more often the purview of *grands chants* and *chansons d'ami*, include a need for secrecy to protect the honor of the beloved, frustration with slanderers and gossipmongers, and declarations of complete devotion to the beloved. In the case of these two *ballettes* with *malmariée* characters, this offers a more courtly and less slanderous *malmariée* character compared to the *fabliau-malmariée*, one that I term the *chanson d'ami-malmariée*.

One immediate similarity between the *ballettes* is that both of their refrains refer explicitly to *mesdixant*, a common enemy of young lovers in trouvère song who wish to love secretly (see table 2.3 below):

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[327] "Mesdixant, c'an tient" appears in the middle of a grouping of five *chansons de femme*, *ballettes* nos. 97–101. "Mesdixant, c'an tient" is the only text of the group to feature a *malmariée*, and the surrounding texts represent a wide variety of feminine characters, including Marot the shepherdess, a *pastourelle*-influenced monologue by a young girl, and two *chansons d'ami*, one consisting of a dialogue between a girl and her lover as they escape her mother.
[328] Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, xlv.

Table 2.3: Refrains of "Tres dous amis" and "Mesdixant, c'an tient"

Refrain of "Tres dous amis"	Refrain of "Mesdixant, c'an tient"
Tres dous amis, je lou vos di: ***Medixant** sont nostre anemin.* *(Dear sweet beloved, I warn you:* *Slanderers are our enemies)*	***Mesdixant**, c'an tient a vos* *Se je voil ameir par amours?* *(Slanderers, why should you care* *If I want to love truly?)*[329]

The focus on the enemy status of slanderers is underlined by the explanation in "Tres dous amis" of why exactly slanderers should be avoided: "li mesdixant nous ont grevei/c'ont pairleit sor vos et sor mi" (Slanderers have harmed us, who have gossiped about you and me [stanza 1, lines 5–6]). In addition, the refrain of "Tres dous amis" (vdB 1800) also appears in Jacqumart Giélée's thirteenth-century romance *Renart le* Nouvel, where it is sung by Masquelee the Cow to Bruiant the Bull at the final feast.[330] The refrain is sung in the narrative right after it is revealed that Bruiant has been the lover of both Masquelee and another cow, Blere. Blere knows of the deception, but Masquelee does not and instead sings the refrain warning Bruiant against slanderers, complicating the refrain with layers of deception and infidelity.

The refrain of "Mesdixant, c'an tient" has no known concordances but it clearly emphasizes the *malmariée's* concern for her reputation by addressing her song entirely to her slanderers. This is no surprise, for according to her, she has had to face them since her first love:

"Mesdixant, c'an tient," stanza 1	
Ains ke fuxe marïee	Before I was married
Fu je par amors amee	I was loved truly

[329] Texts and translations from Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 98–99, 302–05.
[330] The refrain appears in two of the four manuscript versions of the poem: trouvère MS *W*, fol. 167ra and F-Pn fr. 1593, fol. 50 (51)rb.

A tort m'an ont encuzee Li mavais lozangeours.	Wrongly did the wicked scandalmongers Denounce me for it.

What is also evident upon comparison of the two texts is that neither speaker spends more than a few lines talking about her husband. In "Tres dous amis, je lou vos dis," the *malmariée* admits that her husband suspects her infidelity:

"Tres dous amis," stanza 2, lines 1–4	
Mes maris si me manaice Et se dist k'il me baterait Mais por chose qu'il me faice Mes cuers ne vous oblïerait.	My husband does indeed threaten me And says that he will beat me, But whatever he may do to me, My heart will not forget you.

Here, the threat of domestic abuse has crept into the *malmariée's* speech, reviving the risk of male violence that was discussed and demonstrated in the *fabliau-malmariée* texts. This threat is addressed just as it had been by the *malmariées* in the countryside, with an even firmer declaration of love, and in doing so the woman shows that the legal right of a husband over his wife does not deter the women of the *chanson d'ami-malmariée* texts from loving.

In "Mesdixant, c'an tient," the woman spends even less time discussing her husband and merely states that she was loved truly ("par amors amee") before she was married, which presumably is in the "present" time. She then reveals that she is once again "loved truly" by a man armed with a sword who is not her husband, but she is pestered by slanderers because of this relationship. In the fourth of five stanzas, the *malmariée* declares:

"Mesdixant, c'an tient," stanza 4	
Dame qui est bien amee	A lady who is well loved
Ne doit pais estre blamee;	Should not be reproached;
Qui bien ainme a recellee	She who loves sincerely and discreetly
Haïr doit les anvïous.	Should disdain the envious.

Thus, she makes the case that, since her extra-marital relationship is discreet and casts no aspersions on anyone's honor, she should be free to engage in it.

Finally, in both *ballettes* the women refer in some way to their own status as ladies, whether "dame" or "damoiselle." The *malmariée* of "Tres dous amis" declares her right to love, and in doing so demonstrates how she fits the requirements of *fin'amors*:

"Tres dous amis," stanza 1, lines 1–4; stanza 2, lines 5–6	
Por ceu se je suix brunete,	Even though I am dark-haired,
Ne fai je pas a ranfuseir.	I don't deserve to be rejected.
Je suix jone damoixelle,	I am young and a lady,
Si an fais moult mués a amer.	And deserve all the more to be loved.
[…]	[…]
Mais lëalment vous amerai	But I will love you faithfully,
Con bone dame son amin.	As any good lady [loves] her beloved.

For this *malmariée*, it is her status that qualifies her as deserving of love, for despite not being light-haired, she is young and has the distinction of being a lady (*damoiselle*) and intends to behave as one by loving faithfully. This same attention to status is found in "Mesdixant, c'an tient," where the woman argues that "[une] dame qui est bien amee/ne doit pais estre blamee." She repeatedly claims to have been loved truly and in doing so indicates her own title as that of a *dame*, an honorable position to which the most desirable and praiseworthy women in trouvère lyric are typically elevated.

Both *chanson d'ami-malmariée* texts present relationships that concur with the judgements of the countess of Champagne and the unnamed nobleman written by Andreas Capellanus discussed in the Introduction. Neither woman's experience of love coincides with her marriage, and thus, since love is the ultimate priority, they should be permitted to love without scandal, if they are discreet. These utterances are made distinct from those of the *fabliau-malmariée* texts through their elevation in status, their devotion to secrecy, and their aversion to gossip and slanderers.

In all the *malmariée* texts examined here, each character presents a woman's perspective on the issue of marital (dis)satisfaction. The women in these texts variously experience excessive domination by their husband through threats over their allowances, excessive jealously and surveillance, drunkenness, and physical abuse, all of which go against the idea that a husband and wife would be equal companions in the eyes of the church and influential texts. In each scenario, the *malmariée* makes the case that her marriage is incompatible with her pursuit of love, either because her husband does not respect her as his equal or she was married against her will, and she acts to pursue her priority, the freedom to love and be loved well.

Despite the similarity in their situations, two distinctly different yet equally powerful representations of married women are present: one that is disruptive (*fabliau-malmariée*) and one that is discreet (*chanson d'ami-malmariée*). The *fabliau-malmariée* character represents a woman who is disorderly, sexually confident, and even violent. In her arguments, she boldly denounces and insults her husband directly without fear of ruining her reputation. The use of refrain citations and *pastourelle* narrative framings

contribute to a loose network of texts that locate the disruptive *malmariée* woman in the countryside, although examples of *ballette* monologues with the same *fabliau*-like character show that she was a highly mobile and versatile character.

These texts also reveal small refrain citation networks within the manuscript that further nuance the *fabliau-malmariée* character with references to the youthful, feminine voice of the *chanson d'ami*, the rare perspective of a *bienmariée*, and the acknowledgement of the potential position of the *malmariées* as victims of domestic correction. The women of the *fabliau-malmariée* songs, instead of demonstrating obedience and submission to spousal correction, express autonomy over their own bodies in defiance of marital duty and make love their ultimate priority.

While the voice of the *fabliau-malmariée* dominates the texts featuring married women's voices, *ballettes* "Tres dous amis" and "Mesdixant, c'an tient" provide an alternative to the brazen *fabliau-malmariée* in the countryside with their courtlier *chanson d'ami-malmariée* characters. These women convey a more dignified way of expressing their disappointment in their marriages that does not blatantly punish their husbands with public accusations of cuckolding. Instead, the *chanson d'ami-malmariée* character works to preserve the reputations of all involved while still fulfilling her own desires. In contrast to the bold *fabliau-malmariée*, the *chanson d'ami-malmariée* women take a more unobtrusive position by overlaying their declarations of love to another man with a desire for secrecy and an awareness of the damage caused by slanderers, while still acknowledging the incompatibility of their situations with genuine love. This attention to secrecy and honor infuses the *malmariée* characters with the dignity of the *dame* of the *grands chants* but also a level of deceit as they engage in extra-marital affairs.

***Jeu du chapelet* as *Chanson de malmariée*?**

In the idealized world of the tournament of Chauvency as recounted in Jacques Bretel's *Le Tournoi*, there are many refrains sung by various noble attendees over the course of the narrative, but only one of them contains any reference to marriage or a husband. On the last night of entertainments, Bretel recounts how Béatrice d'Avesnes, the countess of la Roche and Luxembourg and wife of Count Henry IV, performs the celebrated *jeu du chapelet*. She dances with a flowered garland (*chapelet*) and sings back and forth with a male minstrel, who swears to find her a worthy companion. When asked by the minstrel whether she longs for a "baron" (lord), presumably a husband, she firmly denies it:

N'aie se je l'ai tres bon, je i averoie damaige Jain miex mon chapelet de flors que malvais mariaige.	– "No! If I didn't have a good one, I'd have pain! I desire my garland of flowers more than a bad marriage!"
Tres douce dame il est trovez, Si fait com vos le demandez	– "Dear gentle lady, the kind of man You're asking for is found!"
Biaus sire et car le m'amenez la jus en cel herbaige Je m'en vois vos mi troverez seant sor [le rivaige]. (vv. 4181–4300)	– "Then bring him to me, sir, down by that tent! I'm going – you'll find me sitting by the river"[331]

The minstrel searches the audience for the man she desires, which, as Bretel tells us, is a lover and not a husband ("Pour la dame tenir convant/de son ami qu'il li devoit" or "he had promised the lady that he would provide her with a lover" [vv. 4264–65]). The minstrel then coaxes André d'Amance, one of the heroes of the tournament, to come out from the crowd and join the Countess in the performance space. The lady, pleased with

[331] Delbouille, *Le Tournoi*, 136–38.

the minstrel's choice, leads André away by the hand, singing "La merci deu j'ai ataint se que je voloie" (I've received God's grace, that which I desired! [v. 4296]).

Only three of the refrains have concordances, and the fact that most of the refrains sung by the Countess are *unica* implies, according to Ardis Butterfield, that they were newly composed, either by Jacques Bretel or by the participants of the *jeu*.[332] The *jeu du chapelet* has a distinctly pastoral character, emphasized by the Countess' clear portrayal of a peasant woman dancing with her garland and describing the imagined setting of a meadow by a riverbank, although her dance movements are decidedly restrained.[333] Butterfield also noted that several of the Countess's refrains possess the register and diction of *rondets de carole*, including the type describing a pastoral scene "la gieus" (over there):

C'est la jus, desoz l'olive.	It's over there, under the olive tree.
La la voi venir, m'amie.	*There I see her coming, my beloved.*
La fontaine I sort serie,	The fountain springs up clearly
El jaglolai soz l'aunoi.	And the gladioli under the alder.
La la voi, la voi, la voi,	*There, I see her, I see her,*
La bele la blonde; a li m'ontroi.	*The beautiful, the blonde one, I give myself to her.*[334]

Rondets particularly of the "Bele Aelis" type (so-called for their descriptions of a beautiful woman), also include descriptions of women weaving garlands and gifting them to their lovers. Those refrains that have concordances are all located in other romances, except for one male-voiced *rondeau* in Douce 308 ("La merci Deu, j'ai ataint," vdB rond. 147, fol. 249v).

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[332] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 144.
[333] Regalado, "Picturing the Story of Chivalry," 350.
[334] vdB rond. 17, from the *Lai d'Aristote*, 303–08. Text and translation from Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 46.

To Butterfield, the Countess's retort to the minstrel's question of whether she seeks a lord is like that of a shepherdess rejecting a knight's suit, and the connection is a fair one. Her pre-existing and *unica* refrains blend the popular characteristics of the *rondets a carole* and romance citations, which Butterfield points out leads to the layering of older, dance-like elements and newer, romance-informed resonances.[335] While the *jeu du chapelet* is not traditionally understood as a *chanson de malmariée*, the Countess's strongly worded refusal of the prospect of a lord in favor of her symbol of pastoral maidenhood, her garland, faintly echoes the equally firm refrain of "Osteis lou moi," where a *malmariée* firmly rejects the symbol of matrimony she wears:

"Osteis lou moi," refrain	
Osteis lou moi,	*Take it off,*
L'anelet dou doi!	*This ring on my finger!*
[…]	*[…]*
Je ne suix pas marïee a droit.	*This marriage is not right.*

When the Countess, a married woman, plays the part of a rustic woman considering the concept of marriage, she rejects the very idea because of the chance that she might get a "bad one," and is only satisfied with a lover. In this way, the Countess momentarily plays with her own version of a rustic *malmariée* expression, albeit absent an actual "husband," by rejecting the trappings of marriage and ultimately being satisfied with a lover of her choosing. The *malmariée*, then, is capable of speaking from within both courtly and popular frameworks, and particular those that create liaisons between the two.

Together, the voices of the *malmariées* of the Douce 308 chansonnier in that corpus of songs explore the relationships between women, their husbands, and their

[335] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 142, 145–46.

lovers in a variety of ways, whether through the brazen, sexually charged voice of the *fabliau-malmariée* character, or through the courtly and youthful *chanson d'ami-malmariée* character. Wherever the *malmariée* texts might have been performed, including in the courtly-popular spaces of *Le Tournoi*, their characters frequently engage the pastoral mode, with all its subversive potential, and play with the stereotype of the unhappily married woman by granting her loud, disruptive speech and courtly accents, in turn, the possibility of being heard.

CHAPTER THREE:

NAUGHTY NUNS AND BAWDY BEGUINES IN THE *CHANSONS DE NONNE*

The pained and defiant voices of the *malmariées* in the previous chapter give evidence that marriage had its fair share of critics among the female voices texts of Douce 308, even though relatively few trouvère lyrics deal with scenarios of married life when compared to the entire corpus. In that vein, some of the female characters that feature in Douce 308 texts are women who are unmarried, although they are engaged in a "committed" relationship of a different nature. These texts are often termed *chansons de nonne*, a modern term for subgroup of *malmariée* songs that present the perspectives of cloistered nuns who are trapped in a convent and desire release.[336]

That the experiences of nuns received attention from the poet-composers of trouvère lyrics is worth analyzing, particularly because the religious women are often depicted in highly sexualized ways. One way to approach the portrayal of female members of the clergy as sex-crazed in medieval lyrical texts is to examine how social stereotypes of religious women functioned within the medieval literary tradition. The relationship between depictions of medieval figures in literature and their perception by medieval society in "real life" is a complex question, and thus it is important to acknowledge the opinions and motivations of the respective authors of literary works in how they chose to treat various fictional characters.

One aspect of literary representation that I have not yet addressed, but which I feel is particularly relevant for this chapter, is the depiction of the three estates and of

[336] Pierre Bec was the first to use the term "chanson de nonne" to describe a subgroup of the *chanson de malmariée*; see *La Lyrique française*, 74–75.

social stereotypes in medieval literature. Jill Mann defines medieval estates as "a class of persons, especially a social or political class or group; also a member of a particular class or rank."[337] The three estates are ranked in scholarship as follows: the first estate, comprised of members of the clergy; the second estate, or members of the nobility (for whom the works like romances and the Douce 308 chansonnier were compiled); and the third estate, or members of the working classes, which included about 98% of the population. These categories of people are addressed in medieval estates literature, which, as defined by Ruth Mohl, enumerates the estates and laments their shortcomings, proclaims the divine ordination of the principal estates and the necessity for people to be content with their station, and attempts to find solutions for defects of the estates.[338]

Chaucer is an author who was acutely aware of the social hierarchies of the estates. Jill Mann observed that Chaucer, along with other satirists of medieval estates, depended on and exploited "social stereotypes," the traditional images of large groups of people, such as monks or women, that receive constant reinforcement and embellishment from a variety of different sources.[339] Stereotypes of this sort were transmitted in a variety of ways and in differing degrees of formality, which in the medieval period would have included everything from proverbs to treatises, and that literature would, at the same time, probably have been reinforced and embellished from a multitude of daily experiences.

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[337] Jill Mann, *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire: The Literature of Social Classes and the General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 3.
[338] Ruth Mohl, *The Three Estates in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933), 6–7.
[339] Mann, *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire*, 8–9.

The estates were often further subdivided into "socio-professional" positions. For the clergy, they were separated into the regular and secular clergy, graded all the way from the pope and cardinals to the lower ranks. The nobility included kings, dukes, counts, knights, and sergeants. Among the workers, there were free peasants and serfs, merchants, notaries, physicians, artisans, beggars, and thieves. Women were sometimes treated as a separate estate and categorized according to their socio-economic status and marital status (a division never applied to men), and although religious women were considered part of the first estate, they did not escape the stereotypes associated with women in general.[340]

Friars and monks receive primarily negative portrayals as vain and covetous men who acted too much like lords in works by authors such as John Gower and Jean de Meun, but representations of these same figures in other sources, such as hagiographic writings, present them as respected and well-liked.[341] Scholars have analyzed the "General Prologue" of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* for its satirization of members of the three estates, including the clergy. Regarding stereotypes of religious women, Mann argues that Chaucer presented a Prioress character in the "General Prologue" similarly to that of the courtly lady of romance and stressed her reverence for "curteisie," but notes

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[340] Shulamith Shahar, *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages*, rev. ed. (London: Routledge, 2003), 1–4. Women even had estates poems all to themselves, as is shown by a short twelfth-century poem "Fuge cetus feminarum," which explains the drawbacks of loving each class of women in turn: virgin, wife, widow, beghine, nun; reproduced in Wilhelm Wattenbach, "Lateinische Reime des Mittelalters," *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, N.F. 17 (1870): 10–11. As mentioned in the Introduction, the Dominican theologian Humbert de Romans composed sermons for preaching to women, and one whole chapter of his *De Eruditione Praedicatorum* was devoted specifically to nuns, with different sermons for each of the religious orders to which they belonged; see Humbert de Romans, *De Eruditione Praedicatorum*, chapters XLIII–LI, "Ad mulieres religiosas quascunque."

[341] See Penn R. Szittya, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986). For a compelling complication of the traditional view of Jean De Meun and Chaucer as brazenly anti-fraternalist, see G. Geltner, "Faux Semblants: Antifraternalism Reconsidered in Jean De Meun and Chaucer," *Studies in Philology* 101.4 (2004): 357–80.

that Chaucer stripped his character of the more typical sensuality that appeared in other satires of nuns.[342]

Representations of religious women can also be found in the depiction of female saints in hagiographic romances, or imaginative verse adaptions that focused on the most dramatic events in saints' lives, literature which brought together secular and sacred narratives. Both courtly romances and hagiographies traditionally contain a "representation of greatness," and scholars have noted a tendency in thirteenth-century literature to "sanctify courtly heroes and secularize saints" in order to demonstrate such greatness in their characters.[343] While "female perfection appears to be grounded in bodily pain, silence, and passivity"[344] in hagiographic romances, there are also instances of female saints turning to their powers of speech to convert people to Christianity, to defy pagan figures of authority, and to pray.

St Katherine of Alexandria is a notable example of the feminine power of speech, for stories about her often emphasize her intellectual and rhetorical skills.[345] Through her persuasive speech, Katherine bested and converted fifty pagan philosophers and orators who were ordered by the emperor Maxentius to dispute her and expose her folly. She is constantly identified as a learned and well-spoken woman, and her speech is so eloquent that it poses a danger to the emperor, leading to her torture and ultimate death by

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[342] Mann, *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire*, 128–37.
[343] Brigitte Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint: A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 8, 18. See also Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), chapter 1, especially p. 18; Duncan Robertson, *The Medieval Saints' Lives: Spiritual Renewal and Old French Literature* (Lexington, KY: French Forum, 1995).
[344] Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 9.
[345] See Jacqueline Jenkins and Katherine J. Lewis, *St Katherine of Alexandria: Texts and Contexts in Western Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2003).

beheading.[346] Women martyrs such as Lucy, Christina, and Agnes also spoke to defend themselves and were tortured to end their compelling speech; miraculously, all three women continued to speak despite violent attacks on their throats and tongues. In the life of St Christina, she refuses a marriage due to her desire to remain a virgin and, in an attempt to silence her, the emperor Julian cuts out her tongue; she spits it out, hitting him in the eye and blinding him.[347] St Agnes and St Lucy were also targeted and tortured for their commitment to a life of chastity: among other trials, both were set aflame and stabbed in the throat in an attempt to stop their preaching.[348] Gail Ashton has argued that this voice-specific mutilation could be seen as "not only a pagan's unsuccessful attempt to assert the inadequacy of Christianity, but a violent male response attempting to quell the threat of an articulate woman."[349]

When represented in lyric as *chansons de nonne*, religious women often sing laments that describe their commitment to a religious order (whether voluntary or otherwise) as an impediment rather than a holy calling. These nun's laments often portray religious women as partaking in courtly love relationships, longing for release from their cloistered lives into a secular life with all of its pleasures.[350] In the Latin song "Plangit

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[346] When she first addresses the emperor, the author notes "De bel parler ert afaitie,/Dune ad sa reisun cumencie" (She was well trained in fair speech and began her address as follows"), and the emperor responds to Katherine: "Bele, fait il, mult bien parlez,/mais poi de raisun i metez" ("'Fair one,' he said, 'you speak very well, but there is little sense in what you say'"). Later, the author recounts "Mais ceste ne pot nul reprendre/De bel e bien sa reisun rendre" ("No one could criticize this maiden in the matter of fine and eloquent discourse"). From Anonymous, *Sainte Katerine: An Anonymous Picard Version of the Life of St. Catherine*, ed. William MacBain (Fairfax, VA: George Mason University Press, 1987), 198–99, 227–28, 617–18.
[347] Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint* (1991), 138–50, especially p. 149.
[348] Osbern Bokenham, *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, ed. Mary S. Serjeantson (London: Oxford University Press, 1938; Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1992), 126, 256.
[349] Gail Ashton, *The Generation of Identity in Late Medieval Hagiography: Speaking the Saint* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 62.
[350] See Karl Bartsch, *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen* (Leipzig: F.C.W. Vogel, 1870), nos. 33 and 34, pp. 28–30. A nun in a courtly love relationship also appears in the eleventh-century Latin poem,

nonna, fletibus," a nun's lament from the eleventh century, the woman's voice laments the tediousness of singing the divine office, and describes the activities she would prefer to engage in:

Plangit nonna, fletibus	A nun is crying,
Inenarrabilibus	weeping inexpressibly,
condolens gemitibus	accompanying her lamentations
-que consocialibus	with groans.
Heu misella!	"Oh, poor me!
nichil est deterius	Nothing is worse
tali vita!	than such a life,
Cum enim sim petulans	for someone sexy and lusty
et lasciva,	like me.
Sono tintinnabulum,	I ring the bell,
repeto psalterium,	repeat the psalms,
gratum linquo somnium	have to leave pleasant dreams
cum dormire cuperem	when I'd like to sleep.
heu misella!	Oh, poor me!
pernoctando vigilo	I have to do a vigil all night
cum non vellem;	when I don't want to.
iuvenem amplecterer	How glad I'd be
quam libenter!	to put my arms around a young man!"[351]

Most often the context for such literary descriptions of religious women is concerned with sexual sins. Contained in many of these depictions is the anti-feminist sentiment that religious women are no different from their secular counterparts in that they are sexually insatiable by nature. Boccaccio explicitly expressed his surprise that some would be so foolish as to believe that a woman would cease to experience stereotypical female desires upon donning a religious habit.[352]

"Suavissima nunna," see Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), vol. 2, 353 (text); vol. 1, 277–81 (discussion).

[351] Text and translation from Klinck, *An Anthology of Ancient and Medieval Woman's Song* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 89–96.

[352] See A. Wulff, *Die frauenfeindlichen Dichtungen in den romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters bis zum Ende des XIII Jahrhunderts* (Halle: Ehrhardt Karras, 1914), 81; cited in Mann, *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire*, 129.

The topos of nuns (and monks) falling in love or speaking about a lover may be attributed in part to the relationship between Héloïse d'Argenteuil (ca. 1100–1164) and Pierre Abélard (1079–1142), one of the most famous medieval couples. Their love affair, recounted in the *Historia calamitatum* (*History of My Calamities*), an autobiographical public letter from Abélard to an unnamed monk, as well as through letters exchanged between the two, captured the medieval imagination.[353] The story goes that Abélard was a gifted poet, philosopher, and teacher in Paris, and Héloïse was a talented and highly literate prodigy who became his student and later his wife. Faced with great opposition from Héloïse's family and due to Abélard's occupation (which required him to be celibate), the couple took religious vows, although they continued to write one another. Their surviving letters are quite personal: they contain intimate terms of endearment and describe stolen moments in churches and the couple's forays into erotic role-play. Over a century later, Jean de Meun translated their exchange and summarized part of its contents in *Le Roman de la rose* (vv. 8729–8802), suggesting that the letters were sufficiently popular in order for the audience to understand the allusions.[354] Through this presentation of the myth of Héloïse and Abélard, de Meun created an enduring image of Abélard and

[353] At first, only eight letters (including Abélard's *Historia calamitatum*) were known to survive, dating from late in the couple's separation and discovered sometime after Heloise's death. Then, in 1980, 113 letters written between a theologian and his young female student were discovered by Constant J. Mews, who argued that they were written by the same couple during the earlier part of their affair; see Mews and Neville Chiavaroli, *The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard: Perceptions of Dialogue in Twelfth-Century France*, 1st ed., The New Middle Ages (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999). See also Mews, *Abelard and Heloise*, Great Medieval Thinkers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), and M. T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999).

[354] In his translation of her work, however, de Meun ignored Héloïse's significant role as abbess of the Paraclete and instead focused only on her declaration that love was more important to her than marriage; see Mews, *Abelard and Heloise*, 4.

Héloïse as lovers instead of scholars, and this image has continued to influence perceptions of the two intellectuals up to the modern day.[355]

Medieval images of naughty nuns (and monks) are also well-represented in medieval marginalia, the markings and drawings in the margins of medieval manuscripts. Perhaps the most well-known imagery of an over-sexed nun can be seen in several margins of a fourteenth-century manuscript of *Le Roman de la rose*, which shows scenes of a nun leading a man with a string attached to his penis, a nun harvesting disembodied penises from a tree, and the same nun and man having sexual intercourse in various positions.[356] The presence of these obscene images in the margins of a romance text brings up questions of the allure of depictions of misbehaving clergy to medieval readers of vernacular literature, where their marginal status "imbued them with a special kind of power even as it reinforced their taboo status."[357]

Michael Camille noted that this particular manuscript of *Le Roman de la rose* was compiled by a husband-and-wife team, Richart and Jeanne de Montbaston, who worked under the jurisdiction of the University of Paris.[358] Richart was responsible for the writing of the text while Jeanne was in charge of the images, and Camille suggests that Jeanne herself might have been responsible for these particular depictions of the lusty nun, calling them "perhaps the first example we have of a woman artist subverting sexual roles in the depiction of male desire and domination over her sex."[359] The figure of the naughty

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[355] Mews, *Abelard and Heloise*, 7–20. See also Guy Lobrichon, *Héloïse: L'amour et le savoir*, Bibliothèque des Histoires (Paris: Gallimard, 2005); Peter Godman, *Paradoxes of Conscience in the High Middle Ages: Abelard, Heloise, and the Archpoet*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 75 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
[356] F-Pn, fr. 25526, fols. 106r–v and 111r–v. View images here: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000369q/f217.item>.
[357] Harris, *Obscene Pedagogies*, 12.
[358] Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion, 1992), 147.
[359] Camille, *Image on the Edge* 148.

nun (or monk) in marginalia holds potential as a jibe against lax monastic celibacy: whereas nuns are supposed to be virgins and aspire to be like the Virgin Mary, depictions of nuns engaging in unchaste acts points to their susceptibility to all-too-human sins.[360]

The nuns and beguines as lyrical characters in Douce 308 stand as examples of secular-sacred crossover. Barbara Newman has studied secular and religious conceptions of allegorized female power and analyzed medieval religious texts that use the language and idioms of *fin'amors* and romance literature. She argues that such works would have appealed to audiences in both sacred and secular spheres because they would imagine themselves in the other world.[361] The same can be said for love lyrics presenting religious characters and sacred references. According to Newman, "[crossover texts] titillated by representing, seriously or playfully, how the other half lived."[362] In the case of the *chansons de nonne* and *chansons de beguine* of Douce 308, the characters of religious laywomen and nuns differ significantly from the previously encountered shepherdess and *malmariée*. While the latter are often portrayed as outsiders to the courtly world of the audience, they are still in the same secular sphere and their sexuality is already established, as demonstrated by the rustic amusements and songs represented in *Le Tournoi*.

The female religious characters, however, perform a role similar to that of the shepherdesses and *malmariées* because they speak with the voices of sexually maturing young women, a far cry from the expectation that they were committed to lives of

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[360] See also Jonathan Morton's argument of how Jean de Meun's *Rose* offers a radically different way of thinking about sexual desire, art, and nature in his book *The Roman de la Rose in Its Philosophical Context: Art, Nature, and Ethics*, Oxford Modern Languages and Literature Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).
[361] Newman, *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).
[362] Newman, *God and the Goddesses*, 156.

chastity. The association between the nuns and beguines, and rustic women of the *pastourelle* is heightened by their appearance within the well-worn pastoral frameworks and scenarios. This results in fascinating collisions of popular/courtly alongside sacred/secular worlds as the religious women address secular love through their own lens, making use of, or rejecting, the highly mobile refrain.

Nuns Inside and Outside the Convent

Given the genre's focus on religious female characters who are often seen as "cloistered," *chansons de nonne* often contain many relevant themes of vulnerability and enclosure. This includes "Trop suis jolïette" (Mot 722, fol. 243v), a female-voiced monologue found among the single-stanza *motet* and *rondeaux* texts in Douce 308. The text in question is the first to appear in the unlabeled final section of the chansonnier and has three concordances, appearing in a motet for three voices in two sources and in a four-voice motet in a third.[363]

As discussed in the Introduction, *motets* are often analyzed for the various interlocking meanings that emerge from the interaction between multiple texted voices. The *motet* in which this text originated belongs to a larger group of motets about nuns and monks falling in love, a topos likely made popular by the story of Héloïse and Abélard. In 2008, Lisa Colton examined the lyrics of several *chansons de nonne* as they appeared in medieval polyphonic motets.[364] She demonstrated how voices of nuns could

[363] Appears in the four-voice motet "*Jolïement en douce desirree / Quant voi la florete / Je sui jolïete* / APTATUR" in *Mo* 55v–58r; appears in *Ba* 29v–30r and *PsAr* 36r–37r with the triplum and duplum texts only.
[364] Lisa Colton, "The Articulation of Virginity in the Medieval 'Chanson de nonne,'" *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 133.2 (2008): 159–88.

disrupt the voices of male motet composers and represent certain aspects of femininity and female sexuality. She ultimately concluded that the young women of the *chansons de nonne* were the product of the sexual frustrations of their male counterparts, and they should not be considered representative of the authentic experiences of medieval women. In the case of Douce 308's version of "Trop suis jolïette," and its *motet* collection, the interpretations that one can propose by analyzing how multiple voices engage in dialogue with one another are not available, because the source provides no music. Yet, as we shall see in this example, sometimes it is the absence of certain intertextual elements that allows other meanings and connections to emerge.

"Trop suis jolïette" is a female-voiced monologue that presents the perspective of a young girl enclosed against her will in a convent. Her purpose in singing is simple: she does not belong in the nunnery, nor does she wish to be there, for she is maturing in both body and mind. This is emphasized by her highly physical commentary:

"Trop suis jolïette"	
Trop suix jolïette	*I am too merry,*
Doucette plaixans.	*Gracious, and charming,*
Belle pucelette.	A young girl,
N'ai pais quinze ans.	Not yet fifteen.
Point ma mamelette.	My little breasts are swelling
Selonc lou tans.	With time.
Or deüxe aprandre.	I should be learning
D'amors et antendre.	About love and turning my mind
Les samblans	To its delightful
Deduisans.	Ways.
Mais je suix mis en prixon.	But I have been put in prison.
De deu la maleison.	May god curse
Ke m'i mist.	The one who put me here!
Mal et vilenie pechiet fist.	An evil, vile, and sinful thing he did
De teil pucelette.	Sending such a young girl
Mettre en abïette.	To a nunnery.
Trop i mesprist.	He did a wicked thing,

Par mai foy.	By my faith;
An religion vivre ait grant dollor.	In the convent I live in great misery
Car trop suis jonette.	for I am too young.[365]

The *motet* text follows an unstable rhyme scheme (*abababccbbddeeaaefga*) that shifts over the course of the stanza, beginning with alternating couplets of *ab* and later introducing new rhyme sounds in pairs (*cc*, *dd*, *ee*).

A continuously returning sound throughout the text is the *a* rhyme, heard in the endings with the diminutive "-ette," which includes terms such as *jolïette*, *pucelette* (twice), *mamelette*, *abïette*, and *jonette*. Such terms remind the audience of her enclosure but strongly emphasize the nun's youth and physical sensations due to their common appearance in *chansons d'ami*, or songs that depict more generally a young, unmarried woman wishing for a lover. For example, in the refrain of the *ballette* "Duez, j'ain par amorette" (RS 971, fol. 222v) the speaker sings "*Duez, j'ain par amorette/Et si an ai bone oquison/S'an suis jolïete/Ce suis mon!"* (God, I'm in love and have good reason to be; I am delighted—yes, I am!);[366] a similar song is heard in "Deduxans suis et jolïete, s'amerai" (RS 59a=983, fol. 223r) (I am charming and pretty, so I will love).[367] In a third *ballette*, "E, bone amourette" ("Hey, pleasing love song," RS 970, fol. 222r), a young woman declares "Car je suis jonette/plaisans et doucette, rians/s'amerai tout mon vivant" (For I am young, charming, and sweet, full of laughter, so I will love my whole life long).[368] This shared self-identification by "Trop suis jolïette" and the speakers of the

[365] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 539; translation adapted from Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 246–47.
[366] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 449; translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 271.
[367] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 450; translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 277.
[368] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 447–48; translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 263.

chansons d'ami draw comparisons between the young women singing outside the convent and the one inside it, suggesting that they are not so different.

Compared to this text's appearance in notated *motets* elsewhere, the version in Douce 308 is slightly abridged. In the other three sources in which it appears, the same two-line refrain is appended to the end: "*Je sent les doz maus desoz ma ceinturete/honnis soit de Diu qui me fist nonnete*" (I feel the sweet pangs beneath my little girdle: May God curse the one who made me a nun!).[369] The refrain (vdB 1126) also appears in a *chanson à refrains*, "Quant ce vient en mai que rose est florie" ("When in May the rose is blooming," RS 1156), in which a narrator tells of a young woman trapped in a convent. When included, the refrain rhymes with the final line by containing two more *a* rhyming sounds: "ceinturete" and "nonnete." Most scholars who have worked on or edited the notated *motet* have identified the first two lines of the "Trop suis jolïette" text as a refrain, although van den Boogaard's index and the version in *Songs of the Women Trouvères* do not.[370] Yet in the notated versions of this *motet*, the melody that begins the text also appears at the end, although slightly varied. In an article analyzing the three- and four-voice versions of this *motet*, Suzannah Clark argues that what she considered to be a refrain at the beginning of the "Trop suis jolïette" text was created during the composition of the three-voice version of the *motet* and that its music was adapted from the refrain at the end, constituting an instance of internal musical adaptation as well as intertextual borrowing.[371] She also notes that the intentional citation of the refrain melody

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[369] *Mo* 55v–58r; translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 247.
[370] Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 247. Friedrich Gennrich took these lines to be a refrain and catalogued it as number 1470; see Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen*.
[371] Suzannah Clark, "'S'en Dirai Chançonete': Hearing Text and Music in a Medieval Motet." *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 16 (2007): 48.

at the beginning of the *motet* functions to reveal musically the identity of the young girl as a nun at the outset, a fact which is otherwise unclear until almost the end of the text.

Interestingly, the version of this text in Douce 308 removes the refrain citation at the end of the text completely and adjusts the text of the opening refrain from "Je suis" to "Trop suis." The change to "trop" might be a consequence of the text's placement: while it appears as the first in the unlabeled seventh section, it is followed by the *motet* "Trop longement m'ai faillit" (Mot 397), creating a coherence between two consecutive *motets* beginning with "trop." Yet the variation also achieves an internal coherence: the change to "Trop suis jolïette" creates a parallel with the final line of the Douce 308 version ("car trop suis jonette") and links the text together from start to finish, firmly closing the circle against the previously-attached final refrain.

More substantially, the removal of the refrain weakens the textual link, and potentially the musical one as well, between this *motet* and another *chanson* featuring a nun's voice. Since there is no notation, it is impossible to know if the melody of the initial refrain changed at all in this version of the text.[372] If it had remained relatively the same, the absence of the final refrain could suggest that by the time the *motet* was transcribed in Douce 308, it had circulated enough that the musical identification of the young girl as a nun was unnecessary. If the melody of the incipit had changed so that it no longer paralleled the final refrain, a later poet or scribe might have chosen to remove the refrain since it was not musically relevant anymore. In any case, the connection to another *chanson de nonne* is weakened, and as a result this female speaker exists more

[372] Eglal Doss-Quinby noted that a single refrain can change its melody ("un même refrain peut changer…de mélodie"), and Suzannah Clark has added "and it frequently does." Doss-Quinby, *Les refrains chez les trouvères du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe*, Romance Languages and Literature 17 (New York: Peter Lang, 1984), 4–5; Clark, "Hearing Text and Music," 46 n. 31.

ambiguously as a young, determined woman who wishes to love, more akin to her counterparts in the *chanson d'ami*, until nearly the end of her song.

Colton pointed out the striking imagery of "Trop suis jolïette" and commented that the young woman "is imprisoned both within the physical walls of the nunnery and her vestments, and within her own body," highlighting the common feature of *chansons de nonne* that is their description of the physical and metaphorical constraints of life enclosed in a convent. The end of the text, according to Colton, "invites the listener's imagination to consider her as a willingly corruptible virgin," and invites the imaginations of the male audience (both aristocratic and clerical) into the presence of a sexually available yet forbidden woman.[373] Regardless of the audience, however, the nun clearly makes the argument that young girls should be permitted the freedom of sexual exploration and self-determination before choosing marriage or lifelong chastity, an idea decidedly against the prevailing norm that expected women to be virgins at marriage and examples of piety after. The imagined young and lusty nun, while decidedly stereotypical, adds a rare, cloistered voice to those of the women in Douce 308 and contributes a medieval commentary on women's inherent natures, even of an estate distinctly separate from that of the noble audience. By removing the final refrain that was probably original to the *motet*,[374] the Douce 308 version effaces some of the connections that tie this woman's voice to her cloistered existence and in doing so demonstrates that she could easily be just another young woman seeking love.

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[373] Colton, "The Articulation of Virginity," 185.
[374] vdB 1126, "*Je sent les doz maus desoz ma ceinturete/honnis soit de Diu qui me fist nonnete,"* discussed above.

Most of the small group of texts in Douce 308 that feature religious women are not monologues (as in the *chanson de nonne* above) but instead take the form of *chansons de rencontre*. One such text presents the perspective of a nun wrestling with her desire for love and ultimately leaving the convent behind, which in reality would have been a dangerous act of resistance. The text, "L'autrier un lundi matin" (RS 1370, fol. 198r), appears in the *pastourelle* section but only fulfills three of the six "standard" elements of the *pastourelle* genre conventions laid out in Chapter One. Interestingly, it follows a form reminiscent of many of the *ballettes*, with three stanzas and a repeated refrain. In the text, an unseen (presumably male) narrator observes a nun's lament for her lover, a monk, and the situation is typical of the *chanson de rencontre*, although due to the specific identity of its female character it is also considered a *chanson de nonne*.

As in the typical *chanson de rencontre*, the narrator recounts a past encounter where he spies on a woman from a distance who speaks to herself or another. In the case of "L'autrier un lundi matin," the narrator finds not a shepherdess but a nun lamenting in a garden:

"L'autrier un lundi matin," stanza 1	
L'autrier un lundi matin	The other day on a Monday morning
M'an aloie ambaniant,	As I went wandering,
Santrai en .i. biau jardin	I entered into a fair garden
Trovai nonette seant.	And there I found a nun sitting.
Ceste chansonette	This was the song
Dixiot lai nonette	That the little nun sang:
Longue demoree	"Long have you tarried,
faites frans moinnes loialz.	O noble, loyal monk.
Se plus suis nonette,	*If I have to be a nun longer,*
Ains ke soit li vespres	*Then before it is vespers*
Je morrai des jolis malz	*I shall die of the delightful pains."*[375]

[375] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 333–34.

As stated above, this text is placed among the *pastourelles* and does exhibit three of the "standard" elements. Yet due to the absence of the shepherdess, love-dialogue, and outcome between the narrator and woman, and the addition of a nun's lament, what results is an overlap of *chanson de nonne* and *pastourelle* themes. The setting in a garden also unsettles the typical *pastourelle* scenario: just as in the *pastourelle* "Je me levai ier main matin," the cultivated nature of the garden places the encounter in a space that is more courtly than rustic, and also adds the implication of virginity and purity.[376]

This courtly coloring is further supporting by the nun's refrain, repeated at the end of each stanza. In it, she provides more context by specifying that she is waiting impatiently for her "loyal monk," because she is frustrated with her life as a nun, and she is tormented by the "jolis malz."[377] Because of this, she firmly rejects the strictures of the convent in favor of the feelings and sensations of love, the pains of which she declares shall be the cause of her death if further continued. In doing so, she casts off the burden of inhabiting a type of femininity deemed by Christian authorities to be the superior type, that of a celibate virgin, and embraces the earthly and human desires for love and intimacy.

Most often *chansons de nonne* are from the perspective of nuns who are still enclosed by the walls of the convent, and they lament the loss of physical freedom, as well as the pleasures of the world. As Colton notes, "nuns in these lyrics frequently make reference to their imprisonment in physical and metaphorical containers described

[376] See p. 106 n. 230.
[377] Though the text does not specify that the "malz" are "d'amour," numerous other texts and refrains in the chansonnier include some variation of the phrase "jolis malz d'amors" to the point that it is clear the nun is referring to love's pains; see p. 107 n. 231.

variously as cells, tombs, prisons and belts."[378] In this text, however, the nun has already escaped her convent and does not bewail any aspect of her previous containment, but instead focuses on the tension of waiting for her lover. The fact that she has left her institution is the most rebellious aspect of her song; according to Shulamith Shahar, the abandonment of a convent was considered a grave sin, and "a woman who left a nunnery and married was deprived of the opportunity to repent and was totally excommunicated."[379] Although she is outside of the convent walls, she is nonetheless still in torment until her lover arrives and confirms that her decision to leave was not in vain.

In the third and final stanza, the lament of the nun comes to an end as her monk arrives, and the form shifts to accommodate her change in outlook from one of frustration and abandonment to one of joy and pleasure.

"L'autrier un lundi matin," stanza 3	
La nonain se gaimentoit	The nun lamented,
Regardeit aval un preit.	Looking out along the meadow.
Vit lou moinne qui venoit.	I saw a monk,
Qui avoit son frot osteit.	Whose cowl[380] had been removed,
Droit vers lai nonette	Coming towards the nun.
Maintenant s'adresse	Immediately she addressed him
Si l'ait escolee.	As she embraced him;
Et elle c'escrie an haut:	And she cried out loudly:
"Duez tant buer fu nee	"God, I was born so blessed,
Can serai amee	For I will be loved
De vos frans moinnes loialz	By you, O noble, loyal monk.
Se plus suis nonette,	*If I have to be a nun longer,*
Ains ke soit li vespres	*Then before it is vespers*
Je morrai des jolis malz."	*I shall die of the pains of love."*

[378] Colton, "The Articulation of Virginity," 186.
[379] Shahar, *The Fourth Estate*, 42. This may also have depended on the particular religious order, but departing the convent was often not regarded favorably.
[380] A monk's cowl, a hooded garment that covered the head and shoulders, and an outward symbol of a monk's commitment to his order.

The form throughout "L'autrier un lundi matin" is fairly consistent in the first two stanzas: both are of eight lines, with a three-line refrain. In each the rhyme scheme follows a similar pattern: *ababccde / CDE* (capital letters indicating the refrain) in stanza 1, and *ababccde / FDE* in stanza 2. In the second stanza, the first line of the refrain (ending in "-ette") does not receive a rhyming pair. While the first stanza has a couplet of *chansonnette*/*nonette*, the second stanza dispenses with this rhyme sound and leaves the "nonette" standing alone.

The final stanza differs significantly from the first two due to the addition of three lines to the stanza, increasing from eight to eleven lines. The rhyme scheme does not appear to compensate for this addition; instead, it includes two different lines that do not find rhymes within the stanza: *ababcdefeeg / CEG*. The additional lines also make the repeating refrain seem superfluous, because the last three lines of the final stanza comprise the nun's new, joyful song that she sings to her lover. They come after the phrase "elle c'escrie an haut," and this kind of phrase appears elsewhere in *pastourelle* and *chanson de rencontre* texts, often with the verb *dire*, *escrier*, or *chanter*, and serves as a kind of prompt that the lines following are an external, lyric citation. The nun's new song essentially takes over the role of the previous refrain and reflects her change in mood and her new identity, no longer as a nun but as a woman who is loved by the "noble, loyal monk."

Nevertheless, the stanza still ends on the same final sound "-alz," which rhymes with the last line of the repeating refrain (*malz*). The return of the lamenting refrain after the nun's joyful song then functions less like a genuine lyrical expression of the nun, for she no longer is lamenting her frustration at being a nun. Instead, the refrain performs

more to echo her previous despair and to underline the fact that her lover, the "loyal monk," after a long wait, has finally appeared.

Beguines in the World

Nuns are not the only religious women "encountered" in the texts of Douce 308. One character that seems to have elicited the fascination of at least two poet-composers, appearing in two different *chansons de rencontre* among the *ballettes*, is the beguine. Beguines were religious laywomen who dedicated themselves to living according to the apostolic model of chastity, poverty, and simplicity. While often grouped under the larger umbrella of religious women, beguines differed from nuns in several distinct ways. They did not follow a rule, take vows, or retreat from the world, and instead formed a third option in opposition to the convent and married life by taking on employment and enjoying social freedoms. Although the word "beguine" was commonly used from the thirteenth century onward, women who led a religious life outside established religious orders were also known variously as *mulieres sanctae*, *mulieres religiosae*, *sorores pauperes*, *and swestriones*.

Older scholarship on beguines describes them as either thoroughly orthodox with impeccable morals ("good" beguines), or as heretical and displaying moral aberrations ("bad" beguines).[381] More recently, however, scholars have begun to reconsider the beguine figure and the significant, albeit scattered, archival evidence, and as a result the

[381] Jennifer Deane, "'Beguines' Reconsidered: Historiographical Problems and New Directions," *Monastic Matrix*,
Commentaria 3461 (2008), accessed 8 February 2021.
<http://monasticmatrix.osu.edu/commentaria/beguines-reconsidered-historiographical-problems-and-new-directions>; see also eadem, "Did Beguines Have a Late-Medieval Crisis? Historical Models and Historiographical Martyrs," *Early Modern Women* 8 (2013): 275–88.

beguine movement has emerged as a manifold and diffuse phenomenon, with beguines following a variety of different lifestyles. According to Anke Passenier, "it seems the only thing beguines really had in common was their extra-regularity: they lived a *vita religiosa* without being nuns, without following any officially approved rule, and without making eternal vows."[382] There is evidence of beguines living without stable residences and surviving by begging, as well as of groups of beguines living in independent "beguinages" or "begijnhoven" that were usually a circle of houses around a church, or in the larger community.[383]

Although not bound by vows, beguines who lived in beguinages did agree to abide by the house's regulations while they resided there, but they were allowed to come and go as they pleased and could leave the community if they chose.[384] Frequently involved in active service to the community, they would support themselves and serve the town through labor, typically weaving, spinning, domestic chores, tending to the sick, or caring for the bodies of the deceased before burial.[385] There is also evidence of beguines making translations and interpretations of scripture and of reading them in public meetings, to the great chagrin of the local clergy.[386] First appearing in southern Germany and the Low Countries in the late twelfth century, beguines were most often of the lower or middle classes, although beguinages accepted new members from all social ranks, including aristocratic women.

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[382] Anke Passenier, "'Women on the Loose': Stereotypes of Women in the Story of the Medieval Beguines," in *Female Stereotypes in Religious Traditions*, ed. Ria Kloppenborg and Wouter J. Hanegraaff (New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), 62.
[383] Passenier, "Women on the Loose," 61.
[384] Laura Swan, *The Wisdom of the Beguines: The Forgotten Story of a Medieval Women's Movement* (Katonah, NY: BlueBridge, 2014).
[385] Jennifer Deane, "Mysticism, Lay Religious Women, and the Problem of Spiritual Authority," *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 161.
[386] Passenier, "Women on the Loose," 61.

Although the best-documented beguinages were located in the Low Countries, since the early twentieth century a number of scholars have brought attention to the beguinages of notable French cities such as Paris, Reims and Besançon; more recently, Bernard Delmaire has presented archival evidence for the operation of beguine houses in over twenty different towns in northern France.[387] There is also evidence, albeit scarce, of the presence of beguines in the Lorraine region, mostly in Metz. Charles McCurry, in his overview of religious institutions in thirteenth-century Metz, argued that three houses of "pucelles" operating in the city by 1250 were likely houses of beguines; in addition, according to the cartulary from the cathedral of Saint Étienne, at least sixteen beguines, each in her own house, lived on either side of the city's Dominican convent in 1330.[388] Thus the Lorraine nobility, particularly those familiar with the city center of Metz (where Douce 308 was compiled), would have been familiar with the beguine lifestyle and likely its associated stereotypes as well.

Modern historiography's stereotypes of "good" and "bad" beguines in fact originated in medieval sources, despite not being directly based upon actual behavior, and represent long-standing generalizations about women regardless of their roles or status, similar to the stereotypes about enclosed nuns. Jean de Meun's *Le Roman de la rose* contains a character who performs a particularly nasty beguine stereotype. In it, the character of Constrained Abstinence (*Astenance Contrainte*) disguises herself as a beguine and accompanies False Seeming (*Faus Semblant*), dressed as a friar, to silence

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[387] Tanya Stabler Miller, *The Beguines of Medieval Paris: Gender, Patronage, and Spiritual Authority* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Gaston Robert, *Les Béguines de Reims et la maison de Sainte-Agnès* (Reims: Monce, 1923); Roland Fiétier, *La Cité de Besançon de la fin du XIIIe au milieu du XIVe siècle*, vol. 3 (Lille: H. Champion, 1978), 1340–56; Bernard Delmaire, "Les Béguines dans le Nord de la France au première siècle de leur histoire (vers 1230–vers 1350)," in *Les Religieuses en France au XIIIe Siècle*, ed. Michel Parisse (Nancy: Presse Universitaires de Nancy, 1985), 121–62.
[388] F-Pn fr. 11846, fols. 9v–11v, 19v, 20v.

Foul Mouth (*Male Bouche*). Constrained Abstinence is described as a "dirty bitch" in an unseemly relationship with her confessor (False Seeming, in disguise) and is compared to "the horse in the Apocalypse that signified the wicked people, pale and stained with hypocrisy."[389] By the mid-thirteenth century, some critics had begun to portray beguines as antithetic to the organized and centralized monastic orders and ridiculed them for their perceived false piety and loose morals.

The beguine movement was also responsible for the development of a new religious literature in the vernacular that developed new approaches to the search for union with God through Love. The mystic writings of several female beguines beginning in the thirteenth century led to a religious and literary movement that adopted the language of *fin'amors* to contemplate and enable the mystical union of the Soul with the Beloved who was Christ. Barbara Newman termed this movement "*la mystique courtoise*" to distinguish it from the traditional forms of spiritual writing that used the imagery of the Song of Songs to characterize the love between God and the individual.[390] Crossover between the religious and secular systems of desire had existed prior to the beguine movement. The most notable examples are the monastic practice of bridal mysticism, which envisioned the union of Christ as bridegroom with the feminine Soul, and the *chanson pieuse*, a devotional counterpart to the courtly love lyrics of the trouvères that focused almost entirely on praise of the Virgin Mary. Yet the *mystique*

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[389] "le cheval de l'Apochalipse/qui senefie la gent male/d'ypocrisie tainte et pale." From Lecoy, *Le roman de la rose*, lines 12038–40; quoted in Richard Kenneth Emmerson and Ronald B. Herzman, "The Apocalyptic Age of Hypocrisy: Faus Semblant and Amant in the *Roman de la rose*," *Speculum* 62.3 (1987): 612.

[390] Newman, "*La mystique courtoise:* Thirteenth-Century Beguines and the Art of Love," in *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 137–67; eadem, "The Mirror and the Rose: Marguerite Porete's Encounter with the Dieu d'Amours," in *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Duncan Robertson, and Nancy Bradley Warren (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2002), 105–24.

courtoise broadened the existing practice of bridal mysticism by blending the language of religious and secular love poetry and created a more complicated and wider emotional range for its female beguine practitioners in the form of treatises.

At the end of the thirteenth century, a French priest compiled the *Règle des Fins Amans*, a collection of rules that articulated the ideals of the beguine community, comparing the beguinage to a court of love and Jesus Christ to "the abbot of courtly lovers."[391] The writings and teaching of the beguines drew distinct connections to the explicit blending of divine and carnal love in the poetry of the Song of Songs, which was interpreted in the Middle Ages in many ways and by beguines as a metaphor for Christ and his Church. In this way, beguines understood themselves to be communities of distanced brides of Christ. On the other hand, some outsiders interpreted such writings as a cover for sexual license. Ultimately, the stereotype of beguine women as being morally loose and prone to sexual temptations circulated widely, including in the secular world of the nobility.

There are two *ballettes* in Douce 308 that feature the character of a beguine: "Amors m'anvoie a mesaige" and "J'antrai en lai ruwelette." Both are among a group of seven *balletes* that can be considered *chansons de rencontre*, and this framing underlines the fact that beguines could be encountered out in the world and were not simply locked behind the walls of their houses. In the first example, the *ballette* "J'antrai en lai ruwelette" (RS 984, fol. 234v), the text begins with a *pastourelle*-esque opening and is

[391] Newman, "*La mystique courtoise*," 139–43.

taken up by the voice of the male narrator, who, upon encountering a beguine, expresses his mental fixations upon her appearance.

"J'antrai en lai ruwelette," stanza 1	
J'antrai en lai ruwelette,	I started down the narrow path
Si trovai la beguinette	And ran into the young beguine.
Vestu ot cotte parcete.	She was wearing a short blue tunic.
Pers non pers.	Blue? No! Blue,
Dieus pers.	God! Blue,
Ci pers.	Yes! Blue,
Pers. Pers. Pers.	Blue, blue, blue.
Il vait par lou muguet	*He walks among the lily-of-the-valley,*
Don dieus don dieus.	*Don dieus, don dieus,*
Hureliva, heu va, heu vien.	*Hureliva, heuva, heuvien,*
Beurelidon.	*Beurelidon!* [392]

From the opening framing device, it is clear that this is a different kind of meeting than that told in the familiar *pastourelle*: here the narrator "finds" ("trovai") the beguine on a narrow path, indicating that they were both traveling in opposite directions and crossed on the same path. Instead of discovering a woman seated under a tree or bush, as so often happens in *pastourelles*, this increased mobility of the semi-religious woman grants her an additional level of autonomy. She is introduced as being in motion, referring to her ability to leave the beguinage as needed, and so the narrator encounters her exercising this right.

At once, the narrator identifies her as a "beguinette," and the added diminutive of "-ette" emphasizes her youthfulness. He notices her clothing, and is instantly fixated, repeating the color of her tunic seven times. Such fixation on a word by its repetition occurs in the following two stanzas: he recounts how he bought her a waistband

[392] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 504–05; translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 478–81.

("corroie") and repeats the word *cors* (body), showing that he is fixating upon the woman's body beneath the tunic; then, he directly asks to kiss her all alone, where the word *soule* (alone) is then repeated, showing an obsession with the circumstances in which he would be able to physically express his attraction to her (and her body specifically). Despite its lighter tone and direct address, the male-voiced stanzas convey a distinct and obsessive male gaze upon the woman's physical form so often found in the *pastourelles*.[393] For example, in "Chevaichai mon chief anclin" ("I went riding, my head bowed," RS 1364, fol. 205v), the male narrator approaches the shepherdess, who bends down to pick up her club and pull on her dog's leash, and he is immediately fixated on what he sees:

"Chevaichai mon chief anclin," stanza 2	
Maix ceu m'alume et esprant, Ke je vix per la viselle La char desous la mamelle, Plux blanche ke nul airgent. Cors si avenant ne gent N'ot onkes maix pastourelle.	But this enflamed me and set me on fire, For I saw, through her lacing, The flesh beneath her breast, Whiter than any silver. No other shepherdess ever had A body so attractive and pleasing.[394]

In one sense, the text of "J'antrai en lai ruwelette" critiques the overly susceptible and lusty stereotype of the religious woman that we witnessed in the previous text. In this scenario, the male narrator is the one who comes off as overly sexualized and singularly minded by his attempted seduction of the isolated woman (a highly stereotypical

[393] It must be said that male-authored songs in a courtly register are not immune to the temptation of admiring a woman's body. See, for example, the *ballette* "Li tres dous panceirs ke j'ai" (fol. 222v), whose male speaker declares "douce dame de haut prix/vos gent cors et voc cleir vis/m'ont navreit" (sweet lady of high esteem, [the sight of] your lovely body and radiant face has wounded me) and describes "ma dame au cors honoreit/cui Duez ait si bien formeit" (my lady, prized for a body that God shaped so well); text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 272–73.
[394] Text and translation from Paden, *The Medieval Pastourelle*, vol. 1, 224–27.

pastourelle scene) and his repetition of various words that often relate to the woman's appearance. Instead of wooing the woman from afar, he gets in close and betrays his own fixation with the woman's physical form, showing himself to be far from a courtly lover who is satisfied to remain at a distance. Perhaps expecting a positive response from the beguine, this narrator instead finds himself refused and humiliated, complicating the image of the beguine as one who is not morally loose but instead exercises her own prerogative over whom to love.

The woman's response to the man's suit in the fourth stanza, the only time she speaks, puts an end to his repetitive monologue and blatant fixation on her body by explicitly rebuffing his advances:

"J'antrai en lai ruwelette," stanza 4	
Je ne suis pais si folette	"I am not so foolish
Ke soie vostre amïette	As to be your sweetheart
Se je ne voi lai promesse.	Unless I see your oath."
Folle Non fole.	Fool? No! Fool,
Dieus folle	God! Fool,
Va folle.	Sure! Fool,
Folle, fole, folle.	Fool, fool, fool.

The editors of the 2006 *ballette* edition note that the word "promesse" does not in fact rhyme with the final word of the preceding line ("amïette"), but it does have similar vowel sounds. The editors propose the following: "Given the context, perhaps the off-rhyme was meant to suggest some other feminine noun, truly rhyming, that is, ending in '-ette,' that was too 'explicit' to utter," potentially "couette" (little cock).[395]

[395] Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 479.

Such misdirection and veiling of terms is often present in the *fabliaux*, which frequently use tricks and turns of language to thwart the expectations of the audience. For instance, in *L'anel qui faisoit les vis grans et roides* (*The Ring that Makes Pricks Big and Hard*), a traveler, who owns a ring that gives its owner an impressive erection, stops to refresh himself at a spring:

Descenduz est quant il la vit Et les la fonteine s'asist Si lava ses meins et son vis (vv. 5–9)	He dismounted when he saw The fountain, and sat beside it While he washed his hands and face.[396]

Per Nykrog pointed out that there is an obscene pun between the nominal *vis* (face) and the double-entendre *vis* (prick).[397] Thus, through wordplay, the image of a knight resting by a fountain is momentarily transformed into an obscene scene of a man washing his erect penis. This is reinforced further by the image of the fountain used in other *fabliaux* as a scarcely veiled symbol of the female vulva and vagina.[398] In addition, regarding the absence of outright obscene words to indicate physical traits in *L'anel*, Sarah Melhado White remarked:

> Throughout the text, the more polite word, membre, is used to mean penis. This restraint is almost certainly for comic reasons. The euphemistic penis corresponds to the euphemistic vagina in the tale, that is, the ring, which is fraught with literary parody as well as sexual double entendre: rings play an important role in feudal ceremony and in the lore of courtly love.[399]

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[396] Brian J. Levy, *The Comic Text: Patterns and Images in the Old French Fabliaux* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), 137.
[397] Per Nykrog, *Les Fabliaux* (Genève: Droz, 1973), 211–12.
[398] Levy, *The Comic Text*, 137.
[399] Sarah Melhado White, "Sexual Language and Human Conflict in Old French Fabliaux," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24.2 (1982): 204.

The layering of double-entendres and puns in *fabliaux* serves to hint at obscene interpretations of otherwise more courtly motifs and scenes, and the same is potentially true in "J'antrai en lai ruwelette." Such an omitted vulgar word referring to something quite different from a verbal promise would have proved to be even more daring through its omission rather than it would have been with its inclusion.[400]

Having been rejected, the narrator repeats himself once again, this time with the word *folle* (foolish or mad). While the editors mark this final word-repetition as external to the beguine's reply, it is possible that it is the woman who sings this last repetitive phrase, mocking the male speaker's previous fixations by exclaiming "fool, fool, fool, fool!" If it is indeed the man who sings it, he is likely referencing the beguine's reply that she is not foolish or insane but calls him a fool or a madman for thinking he could so easily seduce her. If it is the woman's voice, she denies and then throws into doubt her own unstable state of mind in refusing his gifts and advances.

Regardless, the beguine demands something more substantial from the male narrator, whether that be a promise, presumably of his loyalty in the manner of a courtly lover, or the revealing of his genitals, perhaps as an indicator that he is both functioning and well-endowed. The two possibilities both present a woman who is conscious of what she desires in a love relationship, whether it should be in the style of courtly love or an explicitly sexual one. In both cases, she is not distant but abruptly puts an end to the man's repetitive chatter by actively stating her conditions for the relationship, with an underlying reading suggesting that he bring forth a part of his own body for her inspection. The beguine emerges as a fusion of a dignified lady and a sexually

[400] Robert Martin, "couette," in *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330–1500)*, 2015. Accessed 10 June 2020. <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/couette2>.

experienced *fabliau* woman, the earthly counterpart to the spiritually oriented bride of Christ referenced in the refrain.

The blending of low and high registers and past and present time in "J'antrai en lai ruwelette" is further enhanced by the ambiguity of the pastoral sing-song-like refrain with many nonsense words suggesting indeterminate human speech or babble, which is repeated at the end of each stanza:

"J'antrai en lai ruwelette," refrain	
Il vait par lou muguet. *Don dieus, don dieus,* *Hureliva, heuva, heuvien.* *Beurelidon.*	*He walks among the lily-of-the-valley,* *Don dieus, don dieus,* *Hureliva, heuva, heuvien,* *Beurelidon!*

This refrain has no exact concordances but resembles nonsense refrains sung by Marion and Robin in Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*.[401] Such a refrain adds a level of silliness and simplicity to the narrative, though it may also draw attention to its constructed nature as a fictionalized meeting akin to those of the *pastourelle*.

The one intelligible line in the refrain, "He walks among the lily-of-the-valley," references a flower used to denote fertility in both Christian and pagan traditions and also associated with the Song of Songs, a Biblical text in which the male bridegroom refers to himself as the lily of the valley (2:1) and the bride declares "I am my beloved's and my beloved is mine; he browses among the lilies" (6:3).[402] This one-line reference to the

[401] The play begins with a song sung by Marion, "Robins m'aime, Robins m'a," that includes the nonsense word "Aleuriva!" (v. 6). Additionally, the refrain "Hé Robechon, leure leure va/Car vien a moi, leure leure va/ S'irons jeuer, dou leure leure va/Dou leure leure va" (v. 101–04) is sung by Marion, and Robin responds in kind: "Hé! Marion, leure leure va/Je vois a toi, leure leure va/S'irons jeuer, dou leure leure va/Dou leure leure va" (v. 105–08). See Adam de la Halle, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, ed. Shira I. Schwam-Baird and Milton G. Scheuermann, Jr. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), 4–5, 12–13.
[402] In the Vulgate: "ego…lilium convallium" (2:1) and "ego dilecto meo et dilectus meus mihi qui pascitur inter lilia" (6:3); from Swift Edgar and Angela M. Kinney (eds. and trans.), *The Vulgate Bible: Douay-*

Song of Songs was a staple of bridal mysticism and once again brings into view the fixation of Christian mystics upon the Song of Songs as a different analogy from that noted above, which depicts the love affair of God and the Soul from betrothal to consummation. Such a reference to the Biblical text that most celebrates sexual love through poetry adds a subtle layer of sexual flavor to the encounter.

It is unclear who sings the refrain in this *ballette*, and although it could be either the male narrator or the beguine there is the possibility that it is performed by the singer of the poem and not either of its characters. This adds even more distance between the narrative and its performance and incorporates the singing poet as a third "character" in the poem. In this way, the refrain functions as an editorial on the encounter, since by its reference to an erotically charged Biblical text and nonsensical pastoral revelry, it makes overtly clear the collision between sacred and popular themes that the text as a whole is attempting. The sacred-secular crossover successfully flips the script on the male narrator, who is exposed as a *vilain*-like man propelled by his sexual urges and contrasted with the distant beguine, who through her single response expresses her requirements and questions his dedication and, obliquely, his manhood.

While *ballettes* like "J'antrai en lai ruwelette" above present a beguine's desire for love but simultaneously her assertion that she is not anybody's for the taking, in the other *ballette de rencontre* a beguine's desire for bodily autonomy is expressed differently, as a conscious decision to pursue sexual pleasure.

Rheims Translation, 6 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010–2013), vol. 3, 734–35, 746–47.

The *ballette* in question, "Amors m'anvoie a mesaige" (RS 30, fol. 219v), lacks the obvious *pastourelle* framing. Instead, the unnamed male and female characters jump immediately into a dialogue, from which the man soon identifies the woman as belonging to a beguine community. In this text, the man approaches and attempts to persuade the young woman to leave her beguinage and is ultimately successful, and from his first stanza conveys his intentions in the highest courtly rhetoric:

"Amors m'anvoie," stanza 1	
Amors m'anvoie a mesaige a vous, Dame de haut pris, Ke vos li faites homaige, Si savreis qu'iert vrais amins; Joie en vient, soulais et ris. Laxiés vostre beguinaige, S'irons oïr on bocaige Lou chant des oixiaus jolis	Love sends me to you, Most esteemed lady, with the message That you do it homage, And so you will know what a true lover is; Joy pleasure, and laughter come from [love]. Give up your beguinage, And we'll go hear in the woods The song of the cheerful birds.[403]

From the opening on, the male narrator gives the beguine a higher status, like that of a lady of higher-register love lyric, by referring to her as "dame de haut pris" and "douce dame debonaire" (dear gracious lady [stanza 3, line 1]). All his entreaties to her have the trappings of lofty, courtly wooing, including his presentation of himself as a "messenger" of a personified Love. He is at first rebuffed by the beguine, but in the third stanza he continues his suit and offers himself in service to her. His one request is simple but infused with courtly meanings: "Tourneis ver moi vos viaire/Regardeis moi doucement/De vos eulz vars et rians" (Turn your face toward me; look at me gently with your sparkling, smiling eyes).[404] Such a small semblance of attention and affection is

[403] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 216–19.
[404] Stanza 3, lines 3–5.

often all that is given by the distant lady of high status in trouvère lyric; for instance, in the male-voiced *ballette* "Dame cui je n'oz nomeir" ("Lady, whom I dare not name," RS 877, fol. 222r) the speaker declares that he has given his heart to a *dame* whom he cannot reveal, and she has granted him no mercy. He entreats her:

"Dame cui je n'oz nomeir," stanza 2, lines 12–16	
Por ceu vos voil demandeir	I therefore wish to ask you
Se ver vos poroie	Whether I might hope
Pitiét recovreir;	For your pity;
D'un dous regardeir	I would be quite satisfied
Bien paiez seroie.	With a tender glance.

The speaker admits that he does not wish to be too greedy and ask for anything that would grieve her, so he begs her for a mere glance. Such a look holds great power in trouvère song, for as another *ballette* states, "Vostre oil vair…m'ont pris par lou regardeir" (Your sparkling eyes…have captured me with their glance).[405] The difference in "Amors m'anvoie" is that the recipient of such entreaties is not a secular lady but a religious laywoman.

In this *ballette*, the man's pleas are successful, and the woman accepts his proposal to go with him. She at first refuses, claiming that nothing could make her love him or anyone else, the assumption being that she is dedicated to her beguine community. Yet immediately she casts doubt on her conviction by following her refusal with an equivocation:

"Amors m'anvoie," stanza 2, lines 5–8	
Se d'amors avoie cri	If I risked the scandal of love

[405] From "Lai saigette blondette m'ait" (RS 1), stanza 4, lines 1–2, located on fol. 222v.

Ne s'omaige lour faisoie	And did it homage,
Certes sire j'ameroie	Indeed, sir, I would love
Moult plus jolivet amin.	A much more spirited lover!

Contained in this humorous statement is both an insult and encouragement; she has considered the type of lover she would like, one who is bolder than the narrator. This suggests that she has entertained thoughts of leaving her religious organization for love at some point, and her statement also gives the narrator an excuse to try harder.

After his intensified appeal, the beguine responds by offering her own service, but also betrays an underlying desire for freedom from restrictions. In the fourth stanza, she indicates that both this man, the narrator, and Love have prevailed over her and agrees to change her clothing as a sign of her departure from her current life. The removal of her clothing signifies a shedding of outward piety and restriction, as she removes "ma gone grixe/si vorrai chainxe rideit" (my [rough] grey dress/and I will choose a [fine] pleated tunic (stanza 4, lines 3–4]), voluntarily removing the symbol of her status and restrictive lifestyle, her dress, in favor of a more ornamental article of clothing.[406] To emphasize this change, the woman declares:

"Amors m'anvoie," stanza 4, lines 5–8	
Sire, vostre volanteit,	Sir, I will do
Ferai a vostre devise,	Your bidding, as you wish
Et vos ferai teil servixe	And I will offer you such service
Que vos vanrait a boin greit.	As will please you.

[406] Scholars have elsewhere examined the connections between clothing and status in medieval society; see E. Jane Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed: Reading Through Clothes in Medieval French Culture* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

After her acquiescence, the woman's final stanza communicates a great deal about the situation she is leaving, and her decision is shown to be closer to a premeditated escape than an unplanned acquiescence to seduction. At the beginning of stanza five, the woman bids the beguinage "adieu, adieu!" and declares "Jolïement part de toi" (I leave you gladly!). She triumphantly describes what she will be giving up and what she will gain:

"Amors m'anvoie," stanza 5, lines 3–8	
N'i paierai lou musaige, Ains irai enver anoi. Antre mon amin et moi Si mainrons d'amor la raige, Je renoie beguinaige. Dous amins, acoleis moi.	I won't be paying for my pleasure, but will be freeing myself from vexation. My lover and I Will enjoy the passion of love. I renounce the life of a beguine; Dear lover, embrace me!

Now she may enjoy "d'amor la raige" with her new lover, where previously she was punished for indulging, or seeking to indulge, her sexual passions and frustrations. In this way, the man's textual encounter with a beguine fulfills the stereotype of a woman as being inherently lascivious—she abandons her devotions after the slightest cajoling from a stranger. Yet the beguine of "Amors m'anvoie a mesaige" conveys her own intentions in leaving her community, determining that, for her, the physical freedom and expression of her body's desires has become too great a price to pay for economic and social security among other religious laywomen. In this way, she escapes from a situation of confinement and the policing of physical expressions of love and chooses an arrangement where she is sexually free but also where it is suggested that she will be treated as an esteemed *dame* (at least, according to the man's rhetoric), the highest status a woman could earn in the idealized world of courtly literature.

This *ballette* is unusual in that it lacks any refrains, an otherwise defining feature of most of the texts gathered under that rubric. In the *ballette de beguine* discussed previously, "J'antrai en lai ruwelette," the repeating refrain juxtaposed distinctly sacred versus popular accents to underline the encounter between a not-so-courtly narrator and a rustic yet aloof religious woman. In "Amors m'anvoie a mesaige," the absence of refrains and a narrative opening and the rhetoric of the male speaker lend the text a courtly tone and push it away from the *pastourelle* compared to the previous *ballette de beguine*. Instead, it moves into the space between courtly and popular, where the religious woman is wooed like a lady yet displays remarkably disruptive speech as she loudly frees herself from sexual repression.

In the *chansons de nonne* and *ballettes de beguine* above, religious women betray an inherent desire for love and sexual satisfaction, something that their cloistered communities or religious orders would not permit them, and fulfill the stereotype: women, regardless of estate or status, are unable to curb their sexual appetites. In "Trop suis jolïette," the young nun expresses the necessity for the sexual expression of young women, and the removal of one of the refrains included in other version allows her identity to be eroded in favor of a more general *chanson d'ami* voice. In the other texts, two religious women—one nun and one beguine—actively choose to leave their lives as virgins due to their decisions to abandon their ascetic lifestyles, while the beguine of "J'antrai en lai ruwelette" rejects her boorish suitor while maintaining her appreciation for earthly love.

All the above texts negotiate the possibility of free choice over who and how to love through religious women's inner monologues and dialogues. The speaking beguine

characters in particular represent women who, despite their religious associations, were not just free to travel where they pleased, but free to choose between marriage and an independent life, presenting a unique sacred-secular female perspective. Yet the beguines declare their intentions in remarkably different terms and frameworks, demonstrating the flexibility of the *ballette* genre in terms of form and register. As I shall discuss in the following chapter, the female-voiced texts among the *ballettes* as a group demonstrate a playful resistance to formal structures, narrative, and register, as their female characters declare their desire and right to love against those who seek to curb their speech and behaviors.

CHAPTER FOUR:

RESISTANT MAIDENS IN THE *BALLETTES D'AMI*

The *ballettes* of Douce 308 make up the largest genre section of the chansonnier by far, consisting of 177 of the 504 total texts. Among these, there are thirty-two texts that feature a female voice in at least one stanza or refrain. The most common type of female-voiced song among the *ballettes* is the *chanson d'ami*, with seventeen *ballette* texts fitting under this modern genre label. As defined in the Introduction, a *chanson d'ami* is typically a lyric monologue with refrains, in which a young, unmarried woman either professes the urge to love or laments her lover's absence. Often present is the expression of her own youth and charm, as well as opposition from parents or detractors who consistently fail to dissuade her.

Of all the different types of *chansons de femme*, it is the *chanson d'ami*, the largest subgroup, to which most scholars turn for examples when determining the poetic and musical characteristics traditionally associated with "woman's song." Anne L. Klinck, in her introduction to *Medieval Woman's Song: Cross-Cultural Approaches*, lists the following characteristics that have come to be associated with "woman's song":

> Strophic structure, often with repeated lines or phrases creating a parallelism or refrain; simplicity of vocabulary and syntax; lack of narrative and descriptive detail; emotional, often exclamatory language; focus on certain natural objects—water, trees, birds, animals—which assume a symbolic function; and a strong element in the speaker's account of herself and her feelings.[407]

[407] Klinck, "Introduction," in *Medieval Woman's Song: Cross-Cultural Approaches*, ed. Anne L. Klinck and Anne Marie Rasmussen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 2.

Klinck further notes that "these features apply especially to monologue, but they also appear in dialogue, and in narrative-framed speech." The words reproduced above read more like a set of stereotypes than description of a textual "type," and as Klinck later asserts, the list "can in fact be seen as the product of socially dominant—i.e., male—view of young womanhood, or, more exactly, the male vision of what it would like young womanhood to be: frank, innocent, complete in its surrender."[408]

The fictional female voices in the *ballettes d'ami* subgenre, like many of those in the other genres discussed in the preceding chapters, push against the feminine stereotypes of simplicity and emotionality. Instead, their voices inhabit texts that disrupt narrative expectations through the use of refrains, dialogic settings, the personification of songs, and the cross-pollination of themes from different genres and registers, including aristocratic, pastoral, sacred, and popular themes.[409] In addition, while most of the voices in the *ballettes d'ami* can be identified as young, there is also an example of a *ballette d'ami* text sung from the perspective of an older woman who fights to pursue love regardless of her age.

In addition to resisting modern poetic stereotypes of feminine simplicity, the *ballettes d'ami* include female characters who unabashedly declare their desire to love, establishing a character distinct from both the purported medieval ideal of the unmarried virgin or chaste wife, and the medieval stereotype of the oversexed woman. Far from being "frank, innocent, [and] complete in its surrender," the young womanhood depicted

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[408] Klinck, "Sappho and Her Daughters: Some Parallels Between Ancient and Medieval Woman's Song," in *Medieval Woman's Song*, 28.
[409] Beverley J. Evans has elsewhere associated the feminine voice in trouvère song with complexity; see "Seeking 'Woman' in Medieval French Woman's Song, or *Lonc tans a que ne vi m'amie*." *Dalhousie French Studies* 82 (2008): 141–50; eadem, "Women Trouvères: Just the Same Old Refrains?"

in the texts below is frequently (though not always) subtle, experienced, and resistant, often in direct defiance of some of the more dominant discourses on women's sexuality in the Middle Ages. As discussed in the Introduction, these discourses, primarily mediated by the Church, revolved around a distrust of women's ability to control their own sexual appetites. Through a pervasive playful resistance, the *ballettes d'ami* demonstrate a mastery of genre norms that defies labels of simplicity and depicts a view of womanhood and female sexuality that is fully expressed and negotiated and that includes women at all stages of life.

Ballettes d'ami dialoguée

The first type of *ballette d'ami* to be discussed is that which includes a dialogue between two or more characters, with or without a narrator. Dialogues occur frequently among the *ballettes* that include a female voice, appearing in fifteen female-voiced *ballettes*, compared to seventeen female-voiced monologues (see table 4.1 below).

Table 4.1: Dialogues and monologues in Douce 308 female-voiced ballette texts

Form	**Number of Texts**	**Titles**
Dialogues	15	Dues, en un praielet estoie (B13)
		Ne mi bateis mie (B16)
		Amors m'anvoie a mesaige (B71)
		Bone amor jolie (B72) – *one female-voiced stanza*
		Trop mi demoinne li malz d'amer (B93)
		Je me levai ier main par un matin (B97)
		J'ancomans ma chansonette cointe et amerouze (B101)
		On dit ke trop suis jone (B120)
		Dont sont, qui sont (B124) – *female voice in refrain only*
		Osteis ma kenoille (B132)
		L'autrier par un matient (B138)

		Amors m'ont si doucement (B139)
		Douce Mergot, je vos pri (B154)
		J'antrai en lai ruwelette (B171)
		Pres d'un boix et lons de gent (B173)
Monologues	17	Aucune gens vont dixant (B21)
		J'ain simplete, anvoixie (B24)
		Tres dous amis, je lou vos di (B32=104)
		Amours, par sa signorie (B42=64)
		Maris, cant plus mi destraigniez (B58b)
		Jolie ne suix je pas (B75) – *female voice in refrain only*
		Je fu de bone houre nee (B82)
		E, bone amourette (B87)
		Duez, j'ain par amorette (B89)
		Deduxans suis et joliette, s'amerai (B91)
		Cilz a cui je suis amie (B98)
		Mesdixant, c'an tient (B99)
		Dues, dues, dues, dues (B100)
		Larges et amerouzes (B126b)
		Trop me repent (B136a)
		Tant ai mal, n'i puis dureir (B166)
		Ponce m'ait point ci poins, si point (B181)

Of the *ballettes* that feature dialogue between male and female voices, nine are *chansons de rencontre* (including *pastourelles*), in that they depict encounters between two characters framed by a narration: *ballettes* nos. 13, 16, 93, 97, 120, 124, 138, 171, and 173. Of the six remaining dialogic texts, *ballettes* nos. 71, 72, 101, 132, 139, and 154, the characters are not introduced or encountered, but instead speak directly and without mediation.

In three of the *ballettes d'ami dialoguées* without introductions or narrators, young women converse with their mothers and lovers. Here, pastoral themes are intertwined with those of the *grand chant* and *chanson de toile*. The first example, "Amors m'ont si doucement" ("Love has wounded me," RS 658=659, fol. 230r), begins as a male-voiced monologue. This text is unusual among the *ballettes* in that it has two

concordances: trouvère manuscripts *P* and *W*.[410] Despite its placement in the *ballette* genre section, the text does not have any refrains and begins with a love declaration in the male voice, initially placing it on the higher end of the registral spectrum.[411]

The speaker of "Amors m'ont si doucement" sings that although Love has wounded him, he will continue "an ameir loialment" (to love loyally) and offer his very being to his "douce dame." He declares that when he is near his love, he does not care what others think, but admits that it is a good thing to behave prudently and avoid raising gossip. That reputation is important is a courtly love convention because the medieval nobility frequently served as a symbol of their family and rank. The male speaker oscillates between indifference and concern for the opinions of others, suggesting that his actions toward his lady have been tempered out of a desire for an honorable reputation and thus adhere to the courtly expectations of secrecy and decorum. There are no refrains, usually a marker of a more *popularisant* register, and the versification is *coblas unissonans*, a poetic structure inherited from the southern troubadour *canso* repertoire where all stanzas have the same pattern of line-lengths and rhyme.

The speaker is then interrupted after two stanzas by a third stanza in the female voice, that apparently of the same lady to whom the male speaker was pledging his devotion:

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[410] MSS *P*, fol. 225v–226r, and *W*, fol. 15v–16r. Both manuscripts transmit the text with music, and the two versions of the melody are nearly identical with only minor ornamental differences.

[411] According to Christopher Page, the scribe who chose to include it in the *ballette* genre section either knew it belonged definitively to the *ballette* tradition or felt its sentiments and voices aligned with those of the other *ballettes* too well to be placed elsewhere; from Page, "Tradition and Innovation in BN fr. 146: The Background to the Ballades," in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms Français 146*, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 385 n. 89.

"Amors m'ont si doucement," stanza 3	
Vos mi priastes trop lant, Amis, a comancement: Se vos m'amexiez forment, J'amesse vous ausiment et loialment; La dame premierement Se doit tenir fierement: Por ceu, s'elle se deffent, Ne doit laixier qui atent A rekerre aisprement.	Your courting was too hesitant, My friend, at the start: If you had shown me ardent love, I would have loved you as well, and loyally; The lady, at first, Is obliged to show her pride: Therefore, even if she resists, A suitor must not fail To woo with persistence.[412]

The narrative voice changes from second person to third person halfway through the woman's stanza at the fifth line. The woman speaks directly to the man, and her response to the man's courtly love declaration is a critique, bluntly telling the man that he has not done enough to woo her. Then, the voice of an unidentified narrator, or the woman speaking as a narrator, breaks in to comment on what she just said. The third-person speaker indicates that the man should ignore his fear of publicly courting his lady from being afraid of gossip. In this section of the stanza, the unidentified (though potentially female) narrator upholds the double standards of courtly love for men and women by acknowledging that a lady must always restrain herself from responding positively to a man's advances.

In this text, all register markers point to it being a *grand chant* as well as a *ballette*. Yet the presence of the third, (initially) female-voiced stanza disrupts the courtly expectations for the text while its lady addresses the restrictions on women's behaviors. By addressing her male interlocutor directly, she abruptly turns the monologue into a dialogue and in doing so subverts the stereotype of the silent, distant lady who is only the object of the male poet's affections. This shift is also unprompted; the male speaker does

[412] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 404–05.

not address his lady at any point, and so her intrusion and introduction of a new subject comes off as even more of a narrative surprise. Even if the performer were male, and the woman's voice were thus ventriloquized, it is the arrival of the female character that breaks off the narrative flow. The narrative expectations are further destabilized when the voice in the third stanza enters in the third person, whether from the perspective of the lady or from an unknown, ungendered "narrator," who emphasizes the lady's position as a distant, idealized object even though she has just interrupted the male lover's speech. "Amors m'ont si doucement," while it appears among the dance-like *ballettes*, demonstrates a high register reminiscent of the *grand chant*, while at the same time manifesting a narrative hybridization as it switches between monologue and dialogue, a hybridization that is engineered by the unexpected voice of a woman.

The second *ballette d'ami*, "Osteis ma kenoille" (RS 856, fol. 229r), is a courtly exchange that differs in pairing two female voices. The text begins with a young woman's complaint, and she immediately refers to her spinning, the activity most often assigned to medieval women, by refusing to continue the task because of a certain dilemma on her mind:

"Osteis ma kenoille," stanza 1	
Osteis ma kenoille! Je ne pux fileir	Take away my distaff! I cannot spin
Cant il me sovient	Whenever I recall
D'amors qui me tient	The love that so grips me
Si ke je ne puis dureir;	That I cannot survive;
Et ciz que me doit ameir	And the man who should love me
Ne vait ne ne vient.	Neither comes nor goes.
Bien voi k'il ne m'ainme nient,	I see clearly that he loves me not in the least,
Et je ne puis mie sans amor dureir.	And I cannot survive without love.
Je voix kerre amors	*I go looking for love,*

Deus me.s dont troveir!" *God grant that I find it!*[413]

The first two stanzas can be considered *coblas doblas*, because they have the same rhyming pattern and line lengths, but the final stanza is very irregular: it consists of seven lines instead of eight, shortens one of its lines from seven to five syllables, and the rhyme scheme can be diagrammed as *bcbdaaa*, whereas the first two stanzas are consistently *abbaabba*.[414]

The just-described first stanza, however, is spoken in the register of the aristocratic *grands chants*, in which the speaker (whether male or female) cannot continue to go about their daily life and activities without bursting into song, often against their will, to express their pain. For instance, Blondel de Nesle begins a *chanson* by exclaiming, "L'amours dont sui espris/Me semont de chanter/Si fait con hons sopris/Qui ne puet endurer" (The love I feel compels me to sing; and I am like a man taken by surprise, who cannot resist).[415] The situation in "Osteis ma kenoille" is a classic love dilemma: the woman declares that the man who "should love [her]" avoids her. Conscious that he does not return her love for him, she declares that she cannot continue living, with the same phrase, "je ne puis dureir," repeated twice in the same stanza. This dramatic positioning of the beloved's indifference as tantamount to death is often found in higher-register trouvère songs, as seen in Gace Brulé's mournful *chanson* "Desconfortez, plains d'ire et de pesance" ("Dejected, full of woe and sorrow," RS 233), where he unequivocally states his fate for an unrequited love: "Si sai de voir qu'a morir

[413] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 380–81.
[414] Due to its irregularity, the editors of *The Old French Ballette* hypothesize that the final stanza is a later addition; see Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 381.
[415] "L'amours dont sui espris" (RS 1545); text and translation from van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 102–03.

me couvient/s'el ne m'envoie du sien une partie" (I know very well that I must die if she does not give me a part of her heart).[416] Yet such dramatic overtures are sometimes found in the refrains of more popular-register texts, as in the Douce 308 *pastourelle* "L'autre jour je chivachoie" ("The other day I was riding," RS 1696, fol. 209r), where a narrator encounters a handsome shepherd (not a shepherdess!) who is plaintively singing to his beloved: "Amorete doucette/Ne m'ocieiz alinette" (Sweet little love, don't kill me, Alinette!).[417]

The fact that the speaking character of this *ballette* is a young woman spinning (or rather, refusing to spin) and lamenting the absence of her lover draws immediate comparison to the Old French *chanson de toile*. This subgenre of the *chanson de femme* was characterized by narrative poems with refrains that "recount the torments and triumphs of wives and unmarried girls."[418] The greatest difference between the *chanson de toile* and *chansons d'ami* is that the heroines of the former are narrated characters, although they often have refrains in the first person. They also typically begin with a woman's solitary meditation on love in a courtly location, and out of twenty such texts edited by Michel Zink, eleven locate their heroine within a chamber.[419] The association of "toile" (fabric or cloth) with these songs stems from the fact that several of these texts set their female characters within an elaborate context of sewing, spinning, embroidery, or cutting cloth. For these women, "the acts of loving and singing are equally imbricated

[416] Stanza 4, lines 5–6; text and translation from van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 113–15.
[417] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 381–82.
[418] Catherine Léglu, "Place and Movement in the Old French Chanson de Toile," *Parergon* 24.1 (2007): 25.
[419] See Michel Zink, *Belle: Essai sur les chansons de toile, suivi d'une édition et d'une traduction* (Paris: Champion, 1978), 62–66.

with sewing," unlike the male speaker in the *grand chant*, who merely exists to love and sing.[420]

In one example, "Bele Yolanz en ses chambres seoit" (RS 1847), the heroine Yolanz expresses, like the unnamed woman in "Osteis ma kenoille," an inability to continue with her sewing, because she is overcome with passion for her absent lover:

"Bele Yolanz en ses chambres seoit," stanzas 1 and 2	
Bele Yolanz en ses chambres seoit. D'un boen samiz une robe cosoit: A son ami tramettre la voloit. En sospirant ceste chançon chantoit: *Dex, tant est douz li nons d'amors,* *Ja n'en cuidai sentir dolors.*	Pretty Yolande was seated in her room. She was sewing a beautiful silk robe: She wished to send it to her lover. Sighing, she sang this song: *"Oh God, so sweet is the name of love,* *I never thought it would make me feel such sorrow!*
Bels douz amis, or vos voil envoier Une robe par mout grant amistié. Por Deu vos pri, de moi aiez pitié. Ne pot ester, a la terre s'assiet. *Dex, tant est douz li nons d'amors,* *Ja n'en cuidai sentir dolors.*	My handsome sweet friend, I want to send you A silk robe as a sign of my great love. For God's sake, I beg you, have mercy on me." Unable to stand, she sat down on the ground. *"Oh God, so sweet is the name of love,* *I never thought it would make me feel such sorrow!*[421]

Similar to "Osteis ma kenoille," the narrative of "Bele Yolanz" switches between first and third person as the narrator recounts Yolanz's song and speech. Unlike this *chanson de toile* (and others like it), "Osteis ma kenoille" is not framed by a third person narrator, and thus the young woman's voice is unmediated.

Yet the *ballette* does include another narrative shift characteristic of the *chanson de toile:* that of interruption. As Catherine Léglu observed, "rather than pursuing a

[420] E. Jane Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed*, 91.
[421] *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, ed. Hans Tischler (Neuhausen: American Institute of Musicology, 1997), vol. 12, no. 1059. "Bele Yolanz" is transmitted solely in MS *U*, fol. 64v.

characteristic *fin'amors* meditation on absence, […] *chansons de toile* often interrupt the bereft lady's thoughts with brisk action, and invade her meditative cell with the body of a lover or a go-between."[422] In the *ballette*, the voice of the young woman's mother interrupts her daughter's monologue in the second stanza:

"Osteis ma kenoille," stanza 2	
Sote ribaudellë, ou welz tu alleir?	Foolish wench, where would you go?
Tu lou dis por nient,	You're wasting your breath,
Tu n'an irais nient,	You'll not leave,
Car je t'irai l'ux fermeir.	For I'll lock the door on you.
Or welz tu trop ahonteir	Now you really want to heap shame
Çous qui t'apartient.	On your family.
Mais se tes peires revient,	But if your father comes back,
Par rai pure estrainne te ferait chanteir:	Unluckily for you, he'll make you sing:
Je voix kerre amors,	*I go looking for love,*
Deus me.s dont troveir.	*God grant that I find it!*

Clearly, the mother has overheard her daughter's lamentation and scolds her, establishing herself not as a helpful go-between but as an antagonist. The daughter's foolishness, it appears, was loving without the approval of both her parents, an act seen as bringing shame to her family. As punishment, the daughter is locked indoors and subtly threatened with physical abuse from her father, who has yet to arrive.

Following *ballette* form, the young woman's hopeful refrain is heard again, only this time it appears as a quotation by the mother, and it is this citation by an antagonistic character that gives its repetition a hint of menace. The phrase "te ferait chanteir" is metaphorical: her father's violent response would give her pain to the point that she would "sing," but very differently from what she has been doing. The daughter responds angrily in the final, irregular stanza:

[422] Léglu, "Place and Movement in the Old French Chanson de Toile," 28.

"Osteis ma kenoille," stanza 3	
Par Deu, belle meire, vos ne dites riens.	By God, dear mother, those are idle words.
Por tout vostre avoir	For all your wealth
Sans amin n'ier jen	I'll not be without a lover,
Car je l'ai biaul et jolit,	For mine is handsome and cheerful,
Si lou voil ameir,	And I want to love him,
Qui ke m'an doie blamer.	No matter who blames me.
Ne piere ne meire ne m'an puet torneir.	No father or mother can make me change my mind.
Je voix kerre amors,	*I go looking for love,*
Deus me.s dont troveir.	*God grant that I find it!*

Despite her disobedience, the young woman refuses to insult her mother as she has been insulted, calling her "belle meire." She also reveals more about her parents' situation: by referencing "tout vostre avoir," she suggests that her parents, due to their status, want their daughter to marry for economic gain, and are frustrated at her romantic fantasies and fixation on finding a lover instead of a husband. Regardless of the threats of physical abuse, the young woman re-asserts her determination to love in her refrain, where her voice rings with the defiance found across numerous *chansons d'ami*. In this *ballette*, however, the lament and resolution are situated within the narrative motifs, here of spinning, lamentation, and interruption, of the *chanson de toile* and expressed through first-person refrains.

Yet from the start, "Osteis ma kenoille" disrupts the expectations of this subgenre by presenting the woman's voice immediately and without any mediation and marks it as a more feminine expression than a narrative depiction of it might. The young woman's monologue is then indeed interrupted by another character but is still not mediated by a narrator, and there the woman's narrative flow is abruptly shifted into a dialogue with a new, female character, just as occurs in "Amors m'ont si doucement." The mother, by citing her daughter's hopeful refrain, manages to introduce a threat to it, and this

menacing gesture is only dispelled by the daughter's defiant response, which ends the text with a reclamation of the refrain's youthful and optimistic tone.

Compared to the two dialogues discussed thus far, my final example of a *ballette d'ami dialoguée*, "J'ancomans ma chansonette cointe et amerouze" ("I begin my charming and endearing tune," RS 976, fol. 224v), appears explicitly geared toward dramatic performance, potentially as an expression of the irrepressible energy of youth. Frequent exclamations and vocalizations in the refrain seem to depict a pleasurable sexual encounter in progress between two young people who are prohibited from being together by the mother of the young woman, whose voice is not heard in the text. This poem, instead of depicting an argument between the daughter and a disapproving mother, is a dialogue between the woman and her male beloved, who agree to pursue their love despite the obstructions of a parent.

In the first stanza, the man's voice is heard first. He is singing about the beauty of his beloved:

"J'ancomans ma chansonette," stanza 1, lines 5–12	
Flor delis ne violette. Ne mugués ne roze. Non est pas ausi doucette Com est celle chose A cui j'ai mon cuer assis. An li ai mon panceir mis. Duez qui trestoute sa cure Mist an li ovreir nature.	Not fleur-de-lis or violet Or lily-of-the-valley or rose Is ever as sweet As is that creature On whom I have set my heart; My thoughts are all of her. God! Who put every care Into fashioning her? Nature![423]

[423] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 457–58; translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 308–11.

Similar to "Amors m'ont si doucement," this song begins with a male-voiced declaration of love for a woman, whom he calls "doucette." He compares her to flowers and exclaims that Nature has fashioned her with the utmost care. In making this comparison, the young woman is considered part of the landscape and perceived by the man to be the very product of Nature herself.

The repeating refrain serves as the site of the couple's intimacy and contains the sounds of lovemaking. In its first iteration, the refrain appears after the man's opening stanza and serves as his invitation to the woman: "We'll have such a good time in the woods under the branches." In addition to this invitation, the refrain is also filled with vocal expressions of pleasure:

"J'ancomans ma chansonette," refrain	
O certes o douchette. o.	*Oh, indeed, oh, my sweet, oh!*
Nos moinrons si bone vie	*We'll have such a good time*
On boix soz la ramee	*In the woods under the branches,*
O. o. o. o. o.	*Oh oh oh oh oh!*
Qui bien ainme, bien ait tout.	*Those who love have everything.*

In the manuscript itself, the "o" after "douchette," and each of the repeated five o's have punctuation marks between them. This raises the potential that a pause is to be inserted between each of these marked o's, creating emphasis and allowing for dramatic interpretation to help the audience understand what is happening under the branches between the couple.

The feminine diminutive ending of "douchette" suggests that the refrain is sung by the male character, and the fact that the initial stanza is in the male voice strengthens this interpretation. This placement of vocal exclamation into the mouth of the male

speaker, however, pushes against the stereotype of women's voices as being overly emotional and exclamatory, for we instead hear a man's voice devolving into wordless expressions of pleasure. And there is also the possibility of reading the vocal exclamations as a shared expression: the use of "nos" to describe the pleasurable encounter, along with the woman's later consent to this escapade in the woods, suggests that the woman's voice might also be located in the highly emotive refrain.

The editors of this *ballette* noted the significant internal rhyme among the first hemistichs of lines 1–4, especially in the first stanza sung by the male speaker to honor his lover.[424] The text seems to be intended for a dramatic live performance due to its well-constructed rhyme sounds and evocative sound effects. The continuous return of the refrain confirms the couple's successful foiling of the mother's surveillance. Their sounds (especially with a particularly enthusiastic performer) would have attracted the mother's attention, but the inclusion of the refrain's orgasmic sounds is placed to suggest that they found new places to hide out of doors and share their mutual pleasure.

The liveliness of a performance can also be found in the second stanza, where the woman's voice is very evocative of the scene's action:

"J'ancomans ma chansonette," stanza 2	
E amins, je n'irai mie	Ah, my love, noble and gracious,
Frans et debonaire.	I won't go,
Car se ma meirë i venoit	Because, if my mother came along,
Feroit moi contraire.	She would treat me ill:
D'une menue ramee	I've seen her turn
Li vis verge faire.	A little branch into a rod.
Qui l'ainme lai malle vielle.	Who loves her, the wicked old woman?
Je ne l'ainme gaires.	I don't!
[Tres douz] amiz, vez la ci.	Dear lover, here she is!
[Vite] fueiz vos de mi.	Quick! Run away from me!

[424] Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 309.

Par Deu qui c'an ait anvie, Si moinrons nous bone vie.	By God, no matter who dislikes it, We'll have our good time!

Similar to "Osteis ma kenoille," there is a clear threat of physical abuse, although in this case it is not from the father but the mother, even while she is absent, for her daughter's pre-marital sex. There is one small act of resistance that the young woman of "J'ancomans ma chansonette" engages in: she calls her mother "la malle vielle" and declares that she does not love her.

In the final stanza, the text is split evenly between both male and female speakers, demonstrating their mutual joining together, both physically and in the narrative. Each one expresses in turn their determination to have their pleasure despite the interfering mother. The male lover first offers a solution: he entices the woman to go with him to the woods to be alone, and this calls to mind the consistent setting of the *pastourelles* in remote landscapes outside of cities and away from prying and judgmental eyes. The young woman agrees and declares her intention to continue the relationship:

"J'ancomans ma chansonette," stanza 3, lines 9–12	
Bien aveiz dit dous amins. Mes cuers est ver vous si fins. K'avec vous moinrai ma joie. Ne por nelui nou lairoie.	Well said, dear love! My heart is so true to you That I'll have my joy with you And wouldn't give it up for anyone.

In her declaration, the young woman briefly parodies the *grand chant* when she says "Mes cuers est ver vous si fins." This phrase resonates with the courtly accents of male trouvères who are preoccupied with the machinations of "fine amours," the "fin ami," and the "fins cuers," including Audefrois le Bastard, who references all three in his *chanson* "Fine amours en esperance" (RS 223):

“Fine amours en esperance”	
Fine amours en esperance M’a mis et douné voloir De chanter… (stanza 1, vv. 1–3)	True Love has given me Hope and a desire To sing…
Qu’adés ai en ramembrance Que biaus servirs et soufrance Fair fin ami avancier Et s’onor croistre et haucier. (Stanza 2, vv. 6–9)	I will always remember That good service and suffering Advance the cause of the true lover And increase and heighten his honor.
Bien me faites persevoir Ke fins cuers sens repentence Ne mi puet maix riens valoir. Vostres seux, saichiés de voir… (stanza 5, vv. 2–5)	You make me see That the true heart, determine to love, Can no longer be of any use to me. I am yours, you should know…[425]

The courtly tone merely adds to the drama of the scene, as the young woman momentarily gestures to the love service and struggles associated with “fins amours” (true love) to deepen her commitment to a forbidden love. While the youthful resistance of both characters is evident throughout the text, the female speaker’s defiance toward her mother and escape to the outdoors grants her the space to take ownership of her own pleasure.

In this way, “J’ancomans ma chansonette” exhibits a multi-faceted narrative consisting of a male-voiced *grand chant* monologue that becomes a dialogue with the surprise entrance of the speaker’s beloved. The woman’s description of her enclosed situation once more brings to mind the lamenting lady of the *chanson de toile*, further emphasized by the second interruption, mid-stanza, of the mother’s arrival. The female speaker explains this imagined action excitedly, playing both narrator and heroine, and

[425] Text and translation from van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 120–21.

the final stanza resolves the dramatic encounter by moving the couple into a rural setting reminiscent of the *pastourelle* where they will not be disturbed. Throughout the text, the returning refrain provides unlimited opportunity for vocal exclamation by the performer(s) in both the male and female voice, bringing the anticipated tryst, loudly, into the performance space.

In the above examples of *ballettes d'ami dialoguée*, the female voices and characters are consistently located within narratives that blend *grand chant*, pastoral, and *chanson de toile* themes and feature multiple registers within a single text. They also make use of refrains with both feminine and masculine markers to increase the drama of the narratives and establish characters as heroines or antagonists depending on who is singing. As we shall see, *chansons d'ami* monologues found among the *ballettes* use the same tools, namely the manipulation of refrains, mixing of themes and genres, and dialogic settings, in new ways to forge narratives that subvert expectations.

Ballettes d'ami monologuée

As mentioned above, there are seventeen *ballettes d'ami* in the form of monologues, and in each case the female speakers express a desire to love and be loved, with diverse expressions that call into question the association between the female voice, poetic simplicity, and repetition. In three different *ballette d'ami* texts discussed below, young women disrupt their own monologues though the personification of their songs, cite ambiguously gendered refrains within female narratives, and blend courtly, pastoral, and even sacred themes, all in attempts to proclaim their own desires and agency over whom they wish to love and how to love.

The *ballette* "Deduxans suis et joliette" (RS 59a=983, fol. 223r) is a *chanson d'ami* that laments the impediments to a young woman's love, the main hindrance being lack of approval from her parents, but also contains within it a resolution to continue to love. After the initial refrain, the *ballette* begins with a framing device similar to that of the *pastourelles* and from the perspective of a female speaker:

"Deduxans suis et joliette," stanzas 1 and 2	
Deduxans suis et jolïette, s'amerai.	*I am charming and pretty, so I will love.*
Ier matin me levai droit au point dou jour	Yesterday morning I rose right at the break of day,
On vergier mon peire antrai ki iert plains de flours;	Entered my father's orchard, which was all abloom;
Mon amin plus de cent fois i souhaidai.	My sweetheart I wish for a hundred times and more.
Deduxans suis et jolïette, s'amerai.	*I am charming and pretty, so I will love.*
J'amerai mon amin, ke proiét m'an ait;	I will love my sweetheart, who has asked for my love;
Il est biaus et cortois, bien deservit l'ait:	He is handsome and refined and has well deserved it;
Mon fin cuer mal greit peire et meire li donrai.	I will grant him my true heart despite my father and mother.
Deduxans suis et jolïette, s'amerai.	*I am charming and pretty, so I will love.*[426]

Just like the familiar framings of *pastourelles*, this female speaker of "Deduxans suis" begins her song by placing her story in the near-past and giving it distance, as if she has reflected upon it before putting it to song for an audience. Additionally, her specific reference to "au point dou jour" echoes other *pastourelle* openings:

Hyer matin al'enjornee	Yesterday morning at dawn
Toute m'enbleüre	At an amble
Chevauchoi aval la pree…	I was riding down the meadow…[427]

[426] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 276–77.
[427] Text and translation from *The Medieval Pastourelle*, vol. 1, 124–25.

(RS 491a=526)

Hui main au dolz mois de mai Devant le soleill levant En un vergier m'en entrai (Mot 122)	This morning in the sweet month of May Before the sun had risen I went into an orchard.[428]

Volez oïr la muse Muset? En mai fu fete, un matinet, En un vergier flori, verdet, Au point du jour… (RS 966)	Do you wish to hear [Colin] Muset's song? It was made one morning in May In a blooming green orchard At dawn…[429]

The appearance of dawn also features largely in the *aube*, a courtly genre dominated by female voices where dawn signals the time for lovers' parting.[430] The connection to the more *popularisant*-like register of the *pastourelle* signaled by the incipit is lessened as the stanzas progress in a courtly style: the woman is clearly of high status, since she refers to her father's orchard, indirectly indicating that her father is a landowner. She then indicates that the wooing and love service by her male lover has already occurred, and describes him as handsome, refined, and deserving of her love.

Yet despite this woman's high status, she is still subject to the whims of her parents, since she is yet unmarried. This is reflected in her rebellious assertion that she will grant her heart to her lover "mal greit peire et meire." This lack of parental approval for her love reminds the audience that, no matter how mature and courtly she may seem, as a woman of higher status her decisions for her life are bounded by the expectations of her family. The refrain emphasizes this connection to youth and ability to love, a

[428] Text and translation from *The Medieval Pastourelle*, vol. 1, 160–61.
[429] Text and translation from *The Medieval Pastourelle*, vol. 1, 200–01.
[430] Gale Sigal, *Erotic Dawn-Songs of the Middle Ages* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 1–20.

particularly strong theme across all *chansons d'ami*, as it declares: "Deduxans suis et jolïette, s'amerai." The repeated refrain establishes a clear justification for the young woman's loving: that love is the purview of young and beautiful people, and she is both of those things.

Unusual among the female-voiced texts of the chansonnier, this female monologue speaks directly to the song itself in the final stanza, serving as an *envoi* for the text:[431]

"Deduxans suis et joliette," stanza 3	
Chanson, je t'anvoi a toz fins loialz amans,	Song, I send you to all true, faithful lovers,
Qu'il se gaircent bien des felz mavais mesdisans,	So they may guard against mean, wicked slanderers,
Car j'ain tant bien sai ke covrir ne m'an porai.	For my love is so strong I know I could not conceal it.
Deduxans suis et jolïette, s'amerai.	*I am charming and pretty, so I will love*.

Here, the female speaker shifts her speech away from speaking of her relationship with her beloved in the first person and instead directs her words toward her song, treating it as a distinct, listening entity. In this way, she personifies her song and grants it a kind of physical "body" that can "hear" her instructions and obey them. This moment of personification occurs at the beginning of a new stanza, which continues to follow the same rhyme scheme, and such a shift underlines the separation of the song, now a listening subject, from the poet-performer.

[431] Samuel N. Rosenberg defined the Old French *envoi* in two ways: 1) as "a terminal, partial stanza, composed of a set of lines showing the same meter and rhymes as the final lines of the preceding, last complete stanza," or 2) as "a terminal statement explicitly announcing the conclusion of the song; the statement may also transmit the song to a performer or listener." Samuel N. Rosenberg, "The *Envoi* in Trouvère Lyric, with Particular Attention to the Songs of Gace Brulé," *Romance Philology* 58.1 (2004): 51–52.

Such a direct address to the song itself is an unusual occurrence among the *ballette* corpus, although it is not uncommon among the songs of other trouvère genres as well as songs of the southern troubadours, most often appearing in the more "courtly" genres, such as *grands chants*.[432] Anne Levitsky has examined the prevalence of the poetic device of personified song in the higher-register troubadour *canso* and the ways in which poets used this device to question established norms of personhood and gender.[433] Levitsky argues that this act lends the song the human capabilities of speech, motion, and agency, and also posits that, since troubadours referred to the song with either masculine or feminine nouns, gendered constructs in the troubadour lyric corpus were understood to be fluid.

In the case of "Deduxans suis et joliette," the female speaker refers to her song as "chanson," a feminine noun, as opposed to the masculine "chant." This new subject (in addition to the female speaker and her audience) serves as a guard against slanderers by acting as a messenger to lovers to ensure that they are mindful, but also stands as proof of her love, for her song is being granted personhood and sent out, and thus her words cannot be concealed. This is one of only two female-voiced *ballette* texts that contain the personification of song, although there are four instances of male-voiced *ballettes* that refer directly to their songs.[434] The other *ballette*, "E, bone amourette" ("Hey, pleasing love song," RS 970, fol. 222r), features a single repeating refrain that exclaims: "E, bone

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[432] Rosenberg, "The *Envoi* in Trouvère Lyric," 54. Rosenberg observes that there are fifty-two of seventy-nine *chansons* by a single trouvère, Gace Brulé, that contain an *envoi*; all but one are *grands chants*.
[433] Anne Levitsky, "The Song from the Singer: Personification, Embodiment, and Anthropomorphization in Troubadour Lyric" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2018).
[434] There are 4 male-voiced *ballettes* that address their song: nos. 14 (which specifically addresses it as "balaide"), 77, 88, and 131. There is one example of a female-voiced text outside of Douce 308 that also personifies its song: "Lasse, pour quoi refusai" (RS 100), transmitted in the trouvère manuscript group *KNPX* with music.

amourette, tres saverousette, plaisans, n'oblïeiz nuns fins amant" (Hey, pleasing love song, so delectable, so charming, do not forget any true lover).[435] By referring directly to her song in the refrain, the female speaker continuously invokes the personhood of her song as the refrain repeats each time and encourages it to remember the "fins amant," just as in "Deduxans suis et joliette."

The audience that the speaker of "Deduxans suis et joliette" (and "E, bone amourette") references, the "fins loialz amans," shows the preoccupation with "fin ami," "fins cuers" and "fine amours" in trouvère courtly rhetoric. Including such a reference as part of an *envoi* occurs elsewhere: for example, Gace Brulé ends his *chanson* "Ne me sont pas achoison de chanter" ("They are for me no reason to sing," RS 787) with "Fins amorous, touz jors di et diroie/Nuns n'est amis qui contre Amor guerroie" (True lovers, I say now and shall always say that no man is a lover who struggles against love);[436] and "Desconfortez, plains d'ire et de pesance" (cited above) with the instruction, "Chançon, va t'en sanz nule demorance/As fins amanz" (Song, go without waiting to true lovers).[437]

These courtly addresses can be understood to be directed to the listening audience, which was normally made up of members of the nobility who populated the courtly spaces and oversaw the performances of such texts. In the *Tournoi* text, Bretel frequently refers to the gathered nobility as "li vrai amant" or "les loiaus amis," and calls upon the personified figure of Love to help him communicate to the listening audience:

> Or m'otroi Amors ke je soie/digne de conter sa parole/saigement et de bone escole/et as profis des vrais amans/ci lor dont faire ces commans" (vv. 4340–44)

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[435] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 447–48; translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 129.
[436] Text and translation from van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 106–07.
[437] Text and translation from van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 113–15.

> May Love make me worthy now to speak on His behalf in wise and well-schooled fashion, for the benefit of true lovers – and grant that they follow His biddings.[438]

Thus, the speaker of "Deduxans suis et joliette" not only shifts her narrative voice to address and personify the song she is singing but also instructs her song to then address the listening audience on the dangers of "mesdisans." In this way, she engineers an imagined dialogue between herself, her feminine song, and the "fins loialz amans" of the audience.[439]

The balance of courtly, elite language and surroundings with youthful rebellion, simplicity, and the pastoral elements shows "Deduxans suis et joliette" to be an impressive fusion of poetic registers. Additionally, the woman's use of song personification, typically a purview of male speakers in higher registers, disrupts the woman's own lament with a dialogic setting as a new character arrives, that of the song as messenger, and the awareness of the intended audience, those listening to her song. In this way, the speaker of "Deduxans suis et joliette" proves to be a young woman who can takes ownership of the landscape in a similar fashion to the male narrators of *pastourelles* yet can also speak as a courtly *dame* capable of creating and sending out her embodied song, rising above the confines of a restrictive existence overseen by her mother and father.

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[438] Delbouille, *Le Tournoi*, 139; translation from Bryant, *The Tournament*, 118.
[439] The editors of the *ballette* edition also comment on the irregularity of the meter through this *ballette*, noting that while most lines are dodecasyllabic (contain twelve syllables), as many as four out of the nine lines are hendecasyllable (eleven syllables); see Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 276. The caesuras also vary and occur after as few as five syllables and as many as eight. No underlying pattern is detected, and unfortunately no melody exists to validate correction of the text. It is also not clear that metrical irregularity was not an intentional aspect of the song.

In addition to the incorporation of *pastourelle* openings, *ballettes d'ami* also make frequent use of popular-style refrains, and often their appearance elsewhere in the manuscript or beyond further complicates the narrative contained within the texts themselves. One such example is the *ballette* "Dues, dues, dues, dues" (RS 1013, fol. 224r). An *unicum*, it fits the loosely defined *ballette* structure, as it is made up of two four-line stanzas with a three-line refrain that is both initial and post-strophic.

The *ballette* is similar to "Deduxans suis et joliette" discussed above, in that it contains *pastourelle* themes, but instead of having a male narrator encountering a young girl (as discussed in Chapter One), the narrator is herself a young girl who is tending cows when she enters into a grove alone, and she brings further nuance to her narrative with a refrain containing plaintive, sacred themes. Overall, the text presents a dark, woman-centric commentary upon the usually light and humorous tropes of the *pastourelle* genre, with a repeating, ambiguous refrain that is given authority by its appearance in a male voice elsewhere in the manuscript.[440]

"Dues, dues, dues, dues," stanzas 1 and 2 with refrain	
Dues, dues, dues, dues,	*Lord, lord, lord, lord,*
Dues, donneis donor a ceus	*Lord, grant honor to those*
Ki amor maintiennent mues!	*Who best maintain love!*
Cant je fu pretite gairce,	When I was a little girl,
Si me norit ma mairaistre.	My stepmother raised me.
El me fist garder les vaiches	She made me tend the cows
Tote soulë a un paistre.	All alone with a shepherd.
Dues, dues, dues, dues,	*Lord, lord, lord, lord,*
Dues, donneis donor a ceus	*Lord, grant honor to those*
Ki amor maintiennent mues!	*Who best maintain love!*
Je m'an antrai on boucaige	I entered a grove

[440] The refrain appears in *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* as vv. 4450–51 (fol. 138bv), where it is sung by Simon de Lalaing to the assembled audience after the *jeu du chapelet*.

Aprés une de mes vaiches, S'i trovai Robin lou saige. Lou veirelit me fist puez. *Dues, dues, dues, dues,* *Dues, donneis donor a ceus* *Ki amor maintiennent mues!*	After one of my cows And found clever Robin there. Then he performed a "virelai" with me. *Lord, lord, lord, lord,* *Lord, grant honor to those* *Who best maintain love!*[441]

In this anonymous song, the narrator is a young female cowherd who is sent out by her stepmother to tend to her cows alongside an at first nameless shepherd. Almost indistinguishable from the shepherdess of the *pastourelle*, this "cattlegirl" is at home in a pastoral setting, tending to her livestock in the rural landscape. The generic setting of the "boucaige," or the similar "buisson" (bush, small grove), "bois" (wood), or "vergier" (orchard), as a place for a sexual liaison between a male narrator and a local girl was also firmly established in the significant number of circulating *pastourelle* texts and was a common site for noblemen to set their fabled conquests, or failures. In contrast to the overwhelming majority of *pastourelle* texts, however, this *ballette* presents an encounter in the familiar setting that is narrated from an unusual perspective, that of the woman herself. Through deliberately vague word-choice and an ambiguous, multi-faceted refrain, the audience is made aware of the shepherdess' perspective: the vulnerability of a young girl in a deserted landscape that goes unacknowledged in traditional male-narrated *pastourelles*.

This elevation of the peasant girl to the narrator of a pastoral scene has a notable impact upon the gender relations represented in the *pastourelle*, and this has been discussed elsewhere with respect to similar female-voiced pastoral works. In her study of

[441] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 306–07. The editors of the *Songs of the Women Trouvères* translate the refrain as "Lord, Lord, Lord, Lord/Lord, grant honor to those/Who keep love secret!"; see Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 128–29.

Adam de la Halle's play *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, Geri Smith explored the impact that Adam's elevation of the shepherdess Marion to primary protagonist had upon the typical negotiations of gender and class found in the *pastourelle* lyric poems.[442] According to Smith, one of the greatest consequences of Adam's "theatralization" of the *pastourelle* was the dismantling of its first-person male perspective:

> No longer is the knight the privileged first-person voice, the filter of and sole witness to the past event he recounts. No longer is this a self-affirming account of the poet's fantasy, told by its own primary protagonist in implied complicity with his audience. No longer is he the mediator between the audience and the shepherd world, simultaneously bridging and guaranteeing the distance separating them.[443]

Adam privileges Marion's perspective by having her appear as the first speaking character of the play (specifically, singing about Robin's love for her), by her engagement in subtle wordplay with a knight who fails to seduce her, by her re-telling of the encounter to Robin, and by her role as arbiter of manners and good taste among her shepherd companions, who populate the second half of the play. In a way similar to Adam's Marion, the female speaker of "Dues, dues, dues, dues" holds the authoritative position of the narrating subject of the *pastourelle* scenario, which allows the audience direct access to her perceptions of the described encounter and places her voice and body at the forefront of the narrative.

In "Dues, dues, dues, dues," the female narrator's identification of herself as a "petite garce" (translated by the editors of the *ballette* edition as "little girl") is noticeably different from typical *pastourelles* and is jarring to the modern reader due to its meaning

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[442] Smith, "Marion's Merry Resistance: Implications of Theatralization in Adam de la Halle's *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*," *Women in French Studies* 8 (2000): 16–30.
[443] Smith, "Marion's Merry Resistance," 17.

in French of "little bitch." "Garce" is translated in Old French dictionaries variously as "[une] Jeune fille de basse condition" (a young girl of low status) and "[une] fille ou femme débauchée, putain, fille de rien" (a debauched girl or woman, whore, immoral girl), combing both youthfulness and sinfulness in a single term.[444] This term is used instead of "femme," "dame," "belle," or even "pastourelle," which would confer a level of maturity and experience or, in the case of the latter two, observable yet unspoiled beauty and sexuality, and such word choice further underlines her lower, even baseborn, status. While it could be used generally to refer to a young girl or maid, the pejorative associations of this term meant that it was also used among the nobility (both men and women) as an insult directed toward any woman with whom one was angry, due to its undertones of wickedness and debauchery, and so it often appeared in *fabliaux*.[445]

Interestingly, the final action of the narrative is a musical one, and as noted in earlier chapters, instances of acts of singing or dancing as a thinly veiled reference to sexual activity are well-documented, and this is probably no exception.[446] The fact that Robin is not the typical courtly knight who propositions a rustic young woman but is instead a low-class commoner, allows for the imagined encounter to maintain class hierarchies, as the singing poet and listening audience are both observing this rustic pairing from a comfortable distance. In this way, the text allows for the exploration of the gender dynamic between the two characters and ultimately results in the hinted subjugation of the female character by the male character, although the shepherdess

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[444] "garce," *DEAFplus* (1974–2008), I 151,14. <https://deaf-server.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/?type=image&letter=g&column=151>, accessed February 22, 2020. See also *DMF*, s.v. "garce," by Hiltrud Gerner, accessed February 22, 2020, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/garce>.
[445] See William Averill Stowell, *Old-French Titles of Respect in Direct Address* (Baltimore: J.H. Furst Co., 1908), 153; J. Vising, "L'étymologie de *garçon, gars, garce*," *Le Moyen Age* 2 (1889): 31–33.
[446] Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, xxx, 306. See, for example, Jehan le Renti's "L'autrier errai m'ambleure" (RS 2084), where the "teaching" of a *virelai* occurs in the fifth and sixth stanzas.

maintains her own level of agency by being the only speaking voice. While Robin has "won" her, the voice of the female narrator is the one the noble audience hears and who bears witness to the encounter.

The poem noticeably leaves out any sense of the speaker's acquiescence to the sexual encounter, and this silence leaves space for it to be understood as non-consensual. As discussed in Chapter One, although rape occurs in a minority of texts, it is not unusual for a *pastourelle* to include it, but "Dues, dues, dues, dues" is a rare example of this same scene described from the young woman's perspective, and the encounter is considerably darker from her point of view. The woman, in remembering her childhood, is sent out "tote soule" (all alone); Robin the shepherd is not her rescuer but is "saige" (sly or clever) and plays a "veirelit" (virelai) with her. Robin's characterization as "saige" throws into relief the narrator's own lack of experience and know-how upon entering the grove.

Repetition in the refrain also grants the *ballette* a certain amount of urgency, and here the female speaker's repetitive speech is not a limitation of her utterance but instead expands its narrative possibility. The narrative of the stanzas is clearly set in the distant past, for the speaker describes an encounter from when she was a "petite gairce." The repetition of the word "Dues" four times in the refrain, which is itself repeated three times, communicates an intensification or emphasis of a particular emotion or concept. In "J'ancomans ma chansonette" above, the repeated "o's" evoked the sounds of lovemaking, where repetition suggests that the act is particularly pleasurable. In the previous chapter, the repetition of words by the male narrator of "J'antrai en lai ruwelette," who was attempting to seduce a beguine, communicated his obsessive attention to the woman's body. In another *ballette*, "Or la truix trop durete" (RS 977, fol.

214v), a male speaker sings the refrain: "Or la truix trop durete/Voir, voir, voir/A ceu k'elle est simplete" (I find her too hard to get—really, really, really! She is so demure), insistently driving home the woman's inflexibility.[447] What emotion is meant to be emphasized in "Dues, dues, dues, dues" is unclear: if the refrain is sung by the woman telling the story, the repeated "Dues" could be heard as a repeated cry for aid, although the refrain's second line complicates this reading.

The second line of the refrain (vdB 507) has been translated in two different ways: by the editors of the *Songs of the Women Trouvères* as "Lord, grant honor to those who keep love a secret," and by the editors of *The Old French Ballette* as "Lord, grant honor to those who best maintain love."[448] The refrain is grammatically ambiguous, in that there are no grammatical gender markers, and this renders the clear identification of the speaker's gender impossible. It also appears in *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* (vv. 4450–51, fol. 138bv), where it is sung by Simon de Lalaing, a knight who participated in the Thursday mêlée, to the assembled audience after the celebrated *jeu du chapelet* has ended and Jacques Bretel has given a long "sermon" on the proper ways of Love. The variation that appears in *Le Tournoi* (see table 4.2 below) exchanges "donor" for "amors" and does not contain a repeated "Deu," removing the urgency of the *ballette* version:

Table 4.2: Comparison of the refrain (vdB 507) in "Dues, dues, dues, dues" and Le Tournoi

"Dues, dues, dues, dues" refrain	*Le Tournoi*, vv. 4450–51
Dues, dues, dues, dues, Dues, donneis **donor** a ceus Ki amor maintiennent mues!	[…] Dex doneis **amors** a sous Qui d'amors maintienent muez!

[447] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 112–15.
[448] In his translation of *Le Tournoi*, where this refrain also appears, Bryant translates it as "Lord, grant love to those who love and dare not speak of it!" see Bryant, *The Tournaments at Le Hem and Chauvency*, 120.

It is not clear whether *Le Tournoi* or "Dues, dues, dues, dues" was composed first. The *ballettes* as a group can only be said to represent a thirteenth-century Lorraine song tradition and *Le Tournoi* had to have been written between 1285 (the year of the tournament) and the early fourteenth century (when the manuscript was compiled). Yet given the late-thirteenth-century date of the narrative poem there is a chance that the *ballette* and its refrain appeared first.

The ambiguity of the refrain's voice opens multiple possibilities for interpretation. As already stated, the first interpretation is that the refrain is sung by the young girl in the story, and in that case, it could be a cry for help, or potentially, an exclamation of pleasure. Yet the second half troubles that reading since the phrase "amor maintenir" (maintain love) functions as an encouragement for the courtly lovers. In the *chanson à refrains* "Compaignon, je sai tel chose" ("Friends, I know something," RS 1939), attributed alternatively to Gace Brulé and Moniot d'Arras, the repeating refrain states: "Droit a qui amors maintient/Puiz qu'onours et priz l'en vient" (He who maintains love is favored, and will earn both honor and reward).[449] Taken together, the bestowing of honor upon those who love faithfully appears to be at odds with the fearful cry of "Dues" in the female voice.

The second possibility is that it is performed by the male character, Robin, in which case it is the male voice that is reduced to a repetitive, returning utterance instead of the traditional female voice. Where in the classic *pastourelle* it would be the male narrator who controls the narrative and recounts the shepherdess' utterances as refrains, here the gender dynamic is upended with the narrative female voice and potentially male

[449] Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies*, vol. 12, no. 1105.

refrain voice. In a third interpretation, the refrain could be sung by the poet who is performing the *ballette*. Regardless of whether the performer was a man or a woman, their voicing of the refrain would emphasize its position as ambiguously gendered and temporally removed from the narrative of the stanzas. As it continued to return, the refrain sung by the poet would interrupt the flow of the young girl's narrative and pull the audience out of past poetic time into the present of the performance space.

Finally, the refrain could also be understood as entirely removed from the past action of the narrative, serving instead as the voice of the characters and singer of the *ballette* (potentially along with the listeners) joined in a supplication to God to ensure love's continuation in secret. Thus, despite the female speaker's relatively vulnerable position of being left alone with Robin in a deserted landscape, "Dues, dues, dues, dues" disrupts poetic expectations by layering pastoral, religious, and *chanson d'ami* themes and offers the potential association of masculine repetition or the suspension of time in performance through an ungendered refrain.

In these ways, the authors of the *ballettes d'ami monologuées* expand their narratives beyond simple ruminations on love to blend courtly and popular themes within pastoral settings, engineer indirect dialogues by personifying their own songs, and make use of ambiguous refrains that both trouble narrative authority and bring attention to the live performance of the text. These disruptions grant the female speakers and characters authority as narrative voices in both courtly and popular registers, resulting in quirky, multi-faceted texts that defy the stereotype linking the female voice with simplicity.

A New and Courtly Interpretation of *La Vieille*

Many descriptions of lovers and beloveds can be encountered in Old French lyric, but one of the most common characteristics of them is that they are all young and beautiful. Gace Brulé and Audefroi le Bastard refer to their beloved as "la pluz bele de France" (the most beautiful lady in France),[450] *pastourelle* narrators regularly describe shepherdesses that they encounter as "bele," "pucele" and "tousette," and women in *chansons d'ami* frequently highlight their own youth alongside their attractiveness. For instance, in the *ballette d'ami* "E, bone amourette," the woman declares: "Se ne m'an doit nuns blameir/Car seroit folie/Car je suis jonette/Plaisans et doucette/Rians" (no one should blame me for [loving], that would be crazy: for I am young, charming and sweet, full of laughter).[451] It is rare for the speaker, whether male or female, to describe their desire and ability (or inability) to find love in their old age, although the figure of the old man is depicted from the mid-fourteenth century onwards in works by Guillaume de Machaut, Eustache Deschamps, Jean Froissart, John Gower, and François Villon. In this chansonnier, however, there is one female-voiced *ballette* that differs significantly from the typical *chanson d'ami* because it features the voice of an older woman describing her desire to love in courtly terms and using not one but two, opposing refrains.

In this *chanson d'ami*, the female speaker uses intertextual refrains, both post-strophic and grafted, to construct a positive perspective of aging womanhood. This stands in stark contrast to the misogynistic portrayal of old women represented by the undesirable and dangerous *la Vieille* (the old woman) character of Old French romance.

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[450] Gace Brulé, "Desconfortez, plains d'ire et de pesance," stanza 4, line 1; Audefroi le Bastard, "Fine amours en esperance," stanza 6, line 1.
[451] Stanza 2, lines 3–7.

This problematic portrayal of women in old age is present elsewhere in the chansonnier in an earlier and widely circulated male-authored *grand chant* as well as a male-voiced *ballette*. Both texts demonstrate male anxieties around the supernatural dangers and aesthetic taboo of older people, particularly of older women, in love.

The female-voiced *ballette* in question is "Trop me repent, mais tairt mi suis parsue" (RS 2069, fol. 229v). The female speaker of the poem is an older woman who failed to engage in love as a young woman and is derided by others for her aged appearance. This *ballette* also deviates in form from the typical poetic scheme of its genre: instead of a single one- to three-line refrain, "Trop me repent" features two refrains enclosing two stanzas of seven and eight lines, respectively.

"Trop me repent," stanza 1	
Trop me repent, mais tairt mi suis parsue	*Greatly do I repent, but I was late to realize*
Ke je suis jai laide, vielle, pessue.	*That I am already ugly, old, and decrepit*.
Je ne trus mais qui me voille esgardei,	I no longer find anyone who wants to look at me,
Ains dit chascuns: "Por Deu, vos an gardeis!	Rather, everyone says, "For God's sake, stay clear of her!
Ne veeiz vos coment elle est ridee?"	Don't you see how wrinkled she is?"
Et cant je l'oi, j'an suis desesperee,	And when I hear this I despair,
C'on me tenoit a cortoise et a nette;	For I was once considered refined and honorable;
Si soit malditte l'oure ke je fus nee,	Cursed be the hour I was born,
Kant je n'amai jonette.	Since I did not love in my youth.
Trop me repent, mais tairt mi suis parsue	*Greatly do I repent, but I was late to realize*
Ke je suis jai laide, vielle, pessue.	*That I am already ugly, old, and decrepit*.[452]

[452] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 390–93.

The first refrain (vdB 1809) is both initial and post-strophic and has not been located in any other manuscripts; thus, it may be original to the *ballette*. The refrain opens the poem with themes of regret and old age, marking the speaker as "laide, vielle, pessue" by her own words, although they could also be understood as the repetitive insults that she continuously receives from her many detractors. In the following lines, she further aligns her decline in appearance with a decline in dignity, describing her past self as "cortoise…et a nette." She is not the only one who notices her aged state; not only is there no one who desires to look at her, but "everyone" wants to avoid her because of her appearance.

The second refrain (vdB 1859) is a widely circulating one (it appears in ten manuscripts besides Douce 308), yet the poet grafted it onto the second stanza, separating its two parts by six lines of his or her own poetry and expanding the length of the stanza by an additional line:

"Trop me repent," stanza 2	
Vos lou me deffendreis l'ameir.	*You'll forbid me to love,*
Mais vos gaisteis vostre fransois,	But you're wasting your words,
Car, par Deu, vos areis ansois	For, by God, you'll have sooner
Faite iawe douce de la meir.	Made fresh water from the sea.
Mes cuers est durs a antameir,	My heart is hard to wound,
Por ceu d'ameir ne partirai,	So I will not forsake love,
Car on ne trueve point d'ameir,	For it holds no bitterness,
Et par Deu je l'amerai.	*And by God I will love him!*

The newly composed lines also mirror the grammatical structure of the refrain, taking the choice-affirming conjunction "mais" (but) as the beginning of the second line of the stanza. In opposition to stanza one and the opening/returning refrain, which contain regret

and displeasure, the second refrain and second stanza express the old woman's powerful desire to continue pursuing love, even in old age.

The female narrator describes an experience of erasure through avoidance by those around her, brought on by the decline of her traditional feminine virtues of beauty, honor, and courtliness, and, potentially, by the present lack of love in her life. Her response is at first to despair, and the first stanza emphasizes this defeat by its use of un-conjugated verb infinitives (*esgardeir*) and passive participles (*parsue*, *desesperee*, *nee*) at the ends of poetic lines. Elsewhere in this stanza, the few conjugated verbs are in the present or past tense, communicating a focus on the previous and current slander received by the speaker. In contrast, in the second stanza, future tense verbs appear at line endings (*ne partirai*, *amerai*) communicating the two resolutions the speaker makes: in the future, not to forsake love, and simply to love.

In choosing to graft a second refrain into the poem, the poet rejects the expected *ballette* poetic scheme and deliberately alters a recognizable text, expanding its brief rebuke in order to discount those who disparage her thoroughly. This splitting of a refrain into two parts to accommodate a stanza is typically only seen in motet forms (it will later be used in the fixed *rondeau* form) and encourages a diffusion of dichotomies in the same way that the familiar lines are split into two parts. There are binaries already embedded in the poetic stanzas: an aged body and a young, unmarked one; erasure and the recognition of honor; a defeated woman and one that is resilient and bold. The refrain is itself marked by opposing viewpoints and is further split into two to allow for a new, defiant woman to emerge in the second stanza, disrupting her erasure by others when she literally inserts herself into a familiar declaration of love.

The presence of the second, grafted refrain in "Trop me repent" allows for intertextual references to two other Old French sources that invest the female speaker with a certain cultural authority. As Jennifer Saltzstein has argued, the use of intertextual refrain quotation "established authorial lineages that allowed writers to place themselves within explicitly defined expressive traditions and communities."[453] The first intertextual reference is the appearance of the refrain in a late-thirteenth-century satirical poem, *Renart le Nouvel* by Jacquemart Gielée, which was intended to be a sequel to the *Roman de Renart* and features the same character of Renart, the anthropomorphic red fox.[454] The refrain is sung by the character Tite, a hen, to her mother, Pinte, in the final banquet scene, where many characters perform refrains for each other in a collection of miniature scenes between different pairs of animals. In this reference, Tite declares her independence and freedom to love her beau Canteriaus without approval from her mother, giving the refrain a decidedly youthful cast and firmly placing the female speaker of "Trop me repent" among the *chanson d'ami* corpus.

The second refrain is also, in fact, believed to originate from the fragmented twelfth-century poem *Tristan* by Thomas de Bretagne, which recounted the tragic romance of Tristan and Yseut.[455] Due to its popularity, it is likely that the well-circulated refrain would have brought the defiant voice of Yseut into the minds of the audience. There are also linguistic choices present in the poem that reference the same romance.

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[453] Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, 167.
[454] The refrain appears in all four sources that transmit the poem: trouvère MS *W*, fol. 168ra; F-Pn fr. 1581, fol. 50va; F-Pn fr. 1593, fol. 51(52)br; and F-Pn fr. 372, fol. 53ra. From Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains*, 332–33.
[455] See Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 34 n. 59. This refrain is also found in a Salut d'amours in F-Pn fr. 837, fol. 272 va; at the beginning and end of a lyric with mensural melody in trouvère manuscript *M*, fol. 3v; and within the tenor of a motet, "Qui Amours veut maintenir / Li dous pensers / Cis a cui je sui amie est cointe et gai," found in *Mo*, fol. 317 (315) br; *Ba*, fol. 33 rc; *Bes*, no. 29; and *Tu*, fol. 29 br. From Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains*, 257.

The second stanza uses five forms of the polysemantic Old French word "(l')amer": *ameir* (to love), *la meir* (sea), *amie* (lover), *amerai* (I will love) in the refrain, and *ameir* (bitter). The verb *antameir* (to wound) is also used. This practice of placing together the closely-related words for the sea, bitterness, and love is common in lyric poetry and is understood as an indirect reference to Bretagne's *Tristan*, which contains a notable scene in which Tristan and Yseut discuss at length the effects of the bitter love potion that they have consumed while traveling by sea.[456] There are also comparisons to be drawn to the final, fatal meeting of the lovers, when Yseut sails to see Tristan one last time while he is dying from a poisoned wound.

In this second comparison between the female speaker of "Trop me repent" and Yseut, the speaker imbues herself with the mythical, powerful qualities of the noble Yseut, who is compelled by magic (in potion form) to love, and thus there is no human power that can prevent her from reaching her goal. These references to two well-regarded medieval romances draw comparisons between the speaker's situation and those of the characters of the princess Yseut and Tite the hen (from *Renart le Nouvel*). In this way, the female voice, by infusing her narrative with multi-layered refrains, assumes an almost supernatural power. She is emboldened by fate to seek love, no matter the obstacle. In choosing a refrain that evokes both powerful (albeit backed by magic) womanhood and an almost childish defiance, the elderly woman who speaks of her determination to love despite discouragement and inexperience deliberately reclaims the dignity of a noble lady and the incorrigible hopefulness of a budding young woman.

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[456] Michael Benskin, Tony Hunt, and Ian Short, "Un Nouveau Fragment Du 'Tristan' De Thomas," *Romania* 113, no. 451–453 (3–4) (1992): 301–303.

Given the unusual attention given to a woman's age in this *chanson d'ami*, the question then arises, how *old* was old? What age would the woman of "Trop me repent" have to be to have utterly lost her beauty and call herself "laide, vielle, pessue"? In "Qu'est devenu printemps" ("What has become of spring"), a ballad by Eustache Deschamps (1346–1406/07), a thirty-year old woman complains bitterly of her old age. Where once she was "jeune, genre, fresche et fort désirée," now she is sad, wrinkled, and rejected. The Middle Ages saw great disagreement over when old age actually began, and depending on the context, the onset of old age was often determined to be different for men and women.[457] For some, old age for men began at thirty-five, while for others it started as late as seventy; for women, old age seemed to come as soon as they were no longer very young. In most medieval literature, if a women's age is mentioned at all, she is usually considered "old" if she is thirty or thirty-five.[458]

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[457] For considerations of old age and its gendered associations in medieval thought, see *Old Age in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Interdisciplinary Approaches to a Neglected Topic*, Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture vol. 2, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007); Shulamith Shahar, *Growing Old in the Middle Ages: "Winter Clothes Us in Shadow and Pain"* (London: Routledge, 1997); J. A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Mary Dove, *The Perfect Age of Man's Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); and Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986). For a cultural history of female aging specifically, see Lois W. Banner, *In Full Flower: Aging Women, Power, and Sexuality* (New York: Knopf, 1992).

[458] This does not seem to align with any biological changes, including the onset of menopause. The age at which menopause tended to occur for medieval women is difficult to pinpoint for numerous reasons, mostly due to the difficulty of determining women's exact ages and the impact of diet imbalances and frequent childbirth and long-term nursing upon the menstrual cycle; see *In Full Flower*, 183–84. Yet sources from the medieval period onward contain estimations of the age of menopause ranging throughout a woman's forties and occasionally extending into the mid-fifties. Seventh-century Visigothic law assumed that a woman over forty was infertile, but twelfth-century abbess and mystic Hildegard of Bingen estimated that a woman's childbearing years extended into her fifties; see Bonnie S. Anderson and Judith P. Zinsser, *A History of Their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present*, 2 vol. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), vol. I, 105. The eleventh-century female doctor Trotula of Salerno prescribed that menstruation typically ended at fifty, though some women experienced it even later if they were well-nourished and lived a leisurely life; see Trotula, *Medieval Woman's Guide to Health: The First English Gynecological Handbook: Middle English Text*, ed. Beryl Rowland (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1981), 59.

The character of the *la Vieille* appears in numerous works as an immoral, repulsive, and dangerous person. She is often not assigned a specific age; she is simply "vieille." The character most often functions as a go-between and tends to lie, cheat, and lure young people into sex. This role was inherited from the writings of Ovid, specifically the character of Dipsas in *Amores*, book 1, chapter 8, and continued to influence countless fictional depictions of old women.[459]

One of the most famous iterations of the *la Vieille* character is from the thirteenth-century *Le Roman de la Rose* by Jean de Meun. In the poem, *la Vieille* no longer wields the sexual power she had in her youth but now uses the girl under her care for financial gain and revenge upon the men who spurn old women. *La Vieille* herself states:

Le Roman de la Rose, vv. 13479–84	
Querre deit d'Amours le deduit Tant con jennece la deduit, Car, quant vieillece fame assaut, D'Amours pert la joie e l'assaut. Le fruit d'Amours, se fame est sage, Cueille en la fleur de son aage.	She should pursue the joys of love While she enjoys her youth; For, when old age assaults, She'll have no further part in lovers' bouts. The woman who is wise will pluck the fruit While she is in the flower of her age.[460]

Jean de Meun's portrait of *la Vieille*, as is the case with so many portrayals of the elderly female in Old French literature, reveals deep male anxieties about her power and influence, particularly over young women.[461] The male lover of the *Rose* hates her cynicism and materialism, perhaps because she is the one keeping his beloved locked away from him, yet Karen Pratt argues that Jean de Meun presents her sympathetically,

[459] Karen Pratt, "De vetula: The Figure of the Old Woman in Old French Literature," in *Old Age in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, 327.
[460] *Le Roman de la rose*, ed. Félix Lecoy, vol. 2, v. 13479–84; translation from *The Romance of the Rose by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun*, ed. and trans. H.W. Robbins (New York: Dutton 1962), 281.
[461] Pratt, "De vetula," 321.

opening up the possibility for the audience, particularly the women in it, to empathize with her plight.[462]

Regardless of Jean de Meun's intentions, the depiction of *la Vieille* as deceptive and sexualized was fairly prevalent during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A similarly unsavory depiction of an old woman appeared in the thirteenth-century *De vetula* (The Old Woman), believed by some in the medieval period to have been a genuine work by Ovid, while fifteenth-century scholar Arnold Gheyvolen asserted that it was the work of Richard de Fournival.[463] In the poem, an aged Ovid recounts the story of why he renounced love: having believed that he was being led to a beautiful young virgin in a dark room, he instead embraced the old woman who had served as the go-between, and was repulsed by her aged body.

Male-authored moral treatises in the medieval period also conveyed a similar disapproval of sexual desire in old age. They assumed that neither men nor women needed sexual intercourse when they were older; if they still wanted it, the explanation was that they desired partners simply to satisfy their own vanity. In his thirteenth-century treatise on the life cycles of man, historian Philippe de Novarre argued that old women

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[462] Pratt, "De vetula," 329.

[463] For a thorough account of the debate around Ovid's authorship of *De vetula* and issues concerning Fournival's authorship, see Dorothy Robathan, "Introduction to the Pseudo-Ovidian *De vetula*," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 88 (1957): 198–207. An earlier, influential portrait of a *vetula* (old woman) character is found in the early-twelfth-century *Pamphilius*, one of several Latin comedies featuring deceptive and sexualized old women (which include *Alda* (ca. 1170), *Baucis et Traso* (1150–75), and *Pamphile et Galatée*, a fourteenth-century French adaptation of *Pamphilus*; see Gretchen Mieszkowski "Old Age and Medieval Misogyny: The Old Woman," in *Old Age in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, 303–07. By the late-thirteenth century, the *vetula* entered the genre of French *fabliaux*, and also appears in Matthew of Vendome's *Ars versificatoria*, Adam's de la Halle's *Jeu de la feuillee*, the *Roman de la Rose*, the *Lamentations of Matheolus* and Villion's "Regrets of the Belle Heaulmière in his Testament"; see Pratt, "De vetula," 333. In the late-fourteenth century, Jean Lefèvre wrote a French version of *De vetula* (titled *La Vielle ou les dernières amours d'Ovide*) that extended the section containing the *vetula*; Pratt, "De vetula," 332.

who continued to indulge in the sins of the flesh were those who refused to acknowledge the fact that they were aging and continued "sinning" in order to prove themselves not yet old.[464] When these women did not sin, it was not because they wanted to stop sinning but instead because of the humiliation they faced when men did not want them.

The onset of menopause later in women's lives also did not help the perception of their need for sex in old age, and this is attested to in medieval medical sources. In medical literature from the medieval period up until the nineteenth century, menstruation was viewed as a beneficial and necessary purging of a woman's body humors, akin to bloodletting, and menopause was therefore problematic. Already the weaker, less rational sex, women (male-authored medical treatises explained) were at risk of doubly reprehensible behaviors if their humors were not expelled monthly and instead built up dangerously in the body. According to the sixteenth-century French physician François Rabelais, "When seed and menstrual blood are retained in women besides [beyond] the intent of nature, they putrefie and are corrupted, and attain a malignant and venomous quality."[465]

The consequence of such internal corruption was a carnal lust beyond even what was considered natural to women, who were thought to be governed by their sexuality. In falling prey to this increased sex drive, older women were said to be unable to avoid the temptations of witchcraft and the Devil. According to sixteenth-century Spanish friar Martín de Castañega, "after they become old the men don't pay any attention to them.

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[464] Philippe de Navarre, *Les quatre âges de l'homme*, ed. Marcel de Fréville, SATF (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1888), §184–85, pp. 100–01.
[465] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, ed. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), 87.

[The women] therefore have recourse to the devil, who satisfies their appetites."[466] Thus, in the minds of misogynistic male authors (and potentially readers), an older woman who successfully conducted extra-marital love affairs could be interpreted as a dangerous figure who possessed some secret knowledge which enabled her to bend others to her will.

This does not mean that women in the Middle Ages did not still marry in their later years. Despite this misogynistic rhetoric, in practice there were medieval noblewomen who were older and without a husband who went on to marry. Compared to their husbands, noblewomen married at a much earlier age and so, even if their husband did not die a violent death on the battlefield or tournament grounds, they frequently outlived them.[467] This can be seen among numerous medieval queens and their spouses: Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122–1204) died at age 82, fifteen years after her husband, Henry II of England, who was eleven years her junior and who died when he was 56; Blanche of Castile (1188–1252), wife of Louis VIII of France, died at 64, twenty-six years after her husband, who died at 39; and Margaret of Provence (1221–95), wife of Louis IX of France, died at age 74, twenty-five years after her husband, who died at 56. Thus, noblewomen had a high chance of finding themselves without a husband in their later years.

When the death of a husband occurred, a noblewoman, whether young or old, received her dowry, what she had been promised in the marriage settlement (typically income from one-third of her husband's estate), and whatever had been left to her in her

[466] David H. Darst, "Witchcraft in Spain: The Testimony of Martín De Castañega's Treatise on Superstition and Witchcraft (1529)." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 123.5 (1979): 298–322.
[467] Shahar, *Growing Old in the Middle Ages*, 128–29.

husband's will.[468] Because of this, widowed noblewomen were almost uniformly economically secure. Some of these women remained widows, some became nuns, and many more retired to convents without taking the veil; of those noble widows who remained in the world, however, a large majority married again, some for a third time, and a few even at a very advanced age. Yet it is also the case that some of these late-stage marriages did receive criticism, including a particularly unusual union between an English noblewoman in her sixties and a young man of 19, which was dubbed a "diabolical marriage." [469]

The woman in "Trop me repent," then, presents a hopeful view of old womanhood by deciding to love despite her age and consciously ignoring the criticism against her that is voiced in the returning refrain. The author disrupts the expectations of the *chanson d'ami* by giving insight into an older woman's reasons to seek love and uses two contrasting refrains in different ways and creates layers of intertextual references to align the speaker's utterance with youthful and mythical female characters. Admittedly, her references to Tristan and Yseut, while giving her words authority and courtliness, could be seen as potentially dangerous because of the characters' association with magic, represented by the love potion that spellbinds the eponymous couple, and the negative associations between old women and witchcraft. Regardless, the female speaker constructs her text through both a repetitive, humiliating refrain that represents the view of old age as disfiguring and limiting, and a grafted, hopeful refrain that conveys a

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[468] Shahar, *Growing Old in the Middle Ages*, 128.
[469] Shulamith Shahar identified a "matrimonial record breaker" in Katherine Neville (ca. 1400–83), Duchess of Norfolk. After her first husband died, she married three more times, with the last marriage occurring in her sixties to John Woodville, 19, and their marriage became known as the "maritagium diabolicum." She survived all four of her husbands. See Shahar, *Growing Old in the Middle Ages*, 129.

resistance to this damaging rhetoric. The *ballette* presents a perspective on older womanhood that is rare in trouvère lyric, even as many women in its audience might have identified with this cycle of life more than the perspective of the unmarried young woman that is typical of the *chanson d'ami*.

Elsewhere in the chansonnier, there are examples of male-authored and male-voiced texts that present the more negative view of older womanhood outlined above, arguing that advanced age should preclude a woman from seeking a love relationship. The first example is "L'autrier avint an cel atre païs" (RS 1574, fol. 147v), an unconventional courtly love debate between a man and woman. The text appears among the *grands chants*—the only text in that section to feature a female character—and is unusual in that it takes the form not of a monologue (the more typical *grand chant* format) but of a *débat*, a discussion between two characters that is framed by a narrator. The text has nine concordances, a significant number considering the large number of *unica* texts contained in the chansonnier. While unattributed in this manuscript the text is attributed to the male trouvère Conon de Bethune (fl. ca. 1180–1219) elsewhere.[470] Thus, this text is a relatively early composition compared to the others in the manuscript (likely thirteenth-century compositions) and is also firmly attributed to a male author.

The text references to the common *pastourelle* scenario in its incipit and its alternative version of the attempted wooing of a woman by a male narrator. It begins with an unnamed and ungendered narrator and opens with a vague, place-setting phrase: "It

[470] "L'autrier avint an cel atre païs" appears with music in MSS K 226, M 45, and O 74; and as text only in MSS T 98, N 109, P 152, H 229, U 136, and C 98. The text exhibits variance between the sources, and most often appears in editions as "Ce fut l'autrier en un autre païs."

happened not long ago in another land," reminiscent of the *pastourelle* opening of "The other day, I was riding" (even using the same initial word, "l'autrier"):

"L'autrier avint an cel atre païs," stanza 1, lines 1–4	
L'autrier avint an cel atre païs	It happened not long ago in another land
C'uns chivaliers ot une dame amee.	That a knight was in love with a lady,
Et lai dame tous iors an son boin pris,	And the lady, always mindful of her reputation,
Li ait s'amour esconditte et vëee.	Held him off and denied him her love.[471]

Here the male and female speakers are a knight and a lady instead of a lowly shepherdess, however, and the narrator appears to be a character separate from the speaking knight, who in a *pastourelle* would typically be describing his own adventures. In this way, the poet of the text invokes the more popular style *pastourelle*, which so often draws attention to gender and class dynamics, but also acknowledges the more typical scenario of the *grands chants*, where men love women from afar and women maintain this distance. The courtly rhetoric is underlined by the consistent decasyllabic (ten syllable) lines, and lack of refrains.

Having successfully maintained her honor by at first refusing him, the lady then informs the knight that his love has been made clear to her and thoroughly tested (presumably through patience), and that he has now won her. Unfortunately, the knight does the unexpected: he rejects her because she has grown old and ugly. As he describes it:

[471] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 140–41; Text and translation from *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: An Anthology of Poems and Melodies*, ed. Samuel N. Rosenberg, Margaret Switten, and Gerard Le Vot (New York: Routledge, 1998; repr. 2013), 24–28, with some editorial changes of my own.

"L'autrier avint an cel atre païs," stanza 2, lines 5–8	
Ke vostre vis, mi sambloit flour de lis,	Your face, which appeared like a lily to me,
Qui or est si aleis de mal an pis.	Has now gone from bad to worse
Ce m'est avis vos me soiez amblee	It seems to me you're not the person I knew;
A tairt aveis, dame, cest consoil pris.	Your change of heart, my lady, comes too late.

In a *pastourelle*, the shepherdess typically resists (or attempts to resist) the advances of the knight/narrator. Here, it is the man who resists the advances of the woman, thereby reversing the dynamics of the *pastourelle* and, at the same time, upending the logic of courtly relationships by casting the lady, who has kept her knight at arms' length until now, as the one at fault.

The lady reacts angrily to this rejection, taking back her offer and mocking the knight for having believed her words of love:

"L'autrier avint an cel atre païs," stanza 3, lines 3–8	
Par Dieu, vassaus, l'an vos doit bien ameir.	By God, sir knight, you make me so bitter!
Cuidiez vos dons ca certes lou deisee.	Do you really think I meant what I said?
Nenil, par deu, ne me vint an panceir.	Not at all, by God! What a thought!
Conques nuns iour ie vos dignaisse amer.	Not one single day do I deign to love you,
Ke vos aveis par deu grignour anvie	For you have, by God, greater desire
D'un bel valet baisier et escoleir.	To kiss and embrace some handsome young fellow.

As further retaliation, she accuses him of preferring young men to her! This allegation of homosexuality (to use the modern term) is both humorous and unexpected when encountered among the courtly *grands chants;* such ironic insults are more typical in the bawdy and biting *fabliau*. The charge here functions more as an insult to the knight's virility and masculinity, with the woman suggesting that he would still love her if he were

so inclined but since he does not, he is associated with a desire for other men and is thus feminized.

In response, the knight again points to her faded beauty and tells her not to respond so angrily to refusals of love:

"L'autrier avint an cel atre païs," stanza 4, 6–8	
Por ceu vos loz, dame, a escuseir, Ke tuit cil soint arresteit d'azerie Ke des or maix ne vos vorront ameir.	I therefore advise you, my lady, To refrain from responding harshly To men who do not wish to love you.

In giving this advice, the man implies that she will face more rejection in the future and should be prepared to accept it graciously. The woman's retort makes clear her own perception of what men find attractive:

"L'autrier avint an cel atre païs," stanza 5, lines 3–8	
Se je avoie tout mon jovent uzeit, Si suis je riche et de mout haut paraige L'on m'ameroit a petit de biauteit.	Even if I had no youth left, I am so rich and high-born That men would love me with far less beauty.
Certes n'ait pas ancor .ii. mois passeiz Ke li marchis m'anvoiait son messaige, Et li boriois ait por m'amor ploreit.	Truly, it was hardly two months ago That the Marquis sent me his messenger, And the Barrois has wept for my love.

In the lady's view, it does not matter that her beauty has faded with age since she is still an attractive match due to her wealth and high-born status. As proof of this this, she names men who have continued to seek her out, the Marquis and the Barrois. The knight, however, is not convinced, and argues that a lady is not loved because of her station, but instead because of her virtue and wisdom. Thus, the knight chastises the lady for wasting

her time by adhering to the ridiculous convention of delayed gratification, for responding to her rejection with anger, and for weighing her status so heavily in matters of love.

Since the lady chose to hide her feelings and keep the knight at arm's length to test his love and loyalty, her surprise at being rejected shows that she assumed that his loyalty would extend beyond any change in her appearance. Yet the knight places the blame for the deterioration of their relationship in this particular situation on the lady, whose irritated and self-aggrandizing words stand in clear contrast to the malicious yet detached responses of the knight. The male speaker distinguishes himself from his quarrelsome partner by elevating his arguments with intertextual references to similarly disgraced subjects:

"L'autrier avint an cel atre païs," stanza 4, lines 1–5; stanza 6, lines 5–8	
Par deu, dame, j'ai bien oit pairleir De vos biautei, mais ce n'est ores mies.	By God, my lady, I hear well what is said Of your beauty, but you don't deserve it now.
Et de troies ai je oit conteir L'elle fut jai de moult grant signorie, Or n'i puet onque lai plaice troveir […]	Of Troy, too, I have heard it said That it was once a city of great power, Yet now there is only a trace of it left. […]
Vos an savreiz par tans la veriteit, Car teilz sant ont por vostre amor ploreit; ke s'estieiz fille a roi de kartaige,	You will soon see the truth of this, For many a man has wept for your love, As if you were the king of Carthage's daughter,
N'an auront jamais lour volenteit.	But they won't ever feel the same longing again.

Such a reference to the city of Troy is an extremely courtly allusion: Troy was frequently invoked by the nobility to establish a connection between themselves and figures of ancient Rome,[472] although Luca Barbieri has observed that mention of the ruins of Troy

[472] Medieval nobility would construct long genealogies that traced their lineages back to Troy, and even beyond, to establish their authority; for a discussion of Troy's importance in European historical discourse

is incredibly rare in the texts of the trouvères, and only occurs in two other instances.[473] He also noted that the reference to the "daughter of the king of Carthage" was likely not Nicolette from the medieval romance *Aucassin et Nicolette* (ca. 1200), which was composed after this particular text, but rather Dido, the spurned lover of the Trojan hero, Aeneas. Dido was not strictly speaking the daughter of Carthage's king, however, since she founded Carthage, the city of which she was queen. In addition, Barbieri noted that two passages in *Le Roman d'Enéas* (ca. 1160) contain parallels to this text: the same accusation of homosexuality is applied to Aeneas in both a monologue by the princess Lavinie (v. 9130–70), Aeneas' lover after Dido, and in a speech by Lavinie's mother (v. 8565–83) that includes a reference to Dido's rejection by Aeneas.[474]

In making these comparisons, the knight elevates his speech with rare classical references and adds greater authority to his refusal. His likening of the woman's aged appearance to the ruins of the once-great city of Troy acknowledges her previous reputation for beauty but argues that it cannot change the reality of her current state, for she will never regain what she once had. By comparing her to Dido, the man again acknowledges that she had once been the object of men's attentions, just as the Queen of Carthage had been, yet states that he will abandon her just as Aeneas left Dido behind, and he further predicts that future men will similarly desert her. The text ends after the knight's final comparison of his spurned lover to Dido and we do not hear more from the

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and the aristocracy's construction of self-identity, see Francis Ingledew, "The Book of Troy and the Genealogical Construction of History: The Case of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*," *Speculum* 69.3 (1994): 665–704.

[473] It occurs in the anonymous song "Lonc tens m'ai teü" (RS 2060), and in Gontier de Soignies' song "L'an que la froidours s'esloigne" (RS 1777); see Luca Barbieri, "Exemples mythologiques de courtoisie dans la lyrique des troubadours," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 53 (2010): 116 n. 27.

[474] Barbieri, "'A mon Ynsombart part Troia': Une polémique anti-courtoise dans le dialogue entre trouvères et troubadours," *Medioevo Romanzo* 37.2 (2013): 278.

older woman of "L'autrier avint an cel atre païs." In this male-authored text, the lady does not have the last word and instead falls silent after the knight's final declaratory statement that she will not be loved again.

Elsewhere in the chansonnier, appearing nearly at the end of the genre section, there exists a male counterpart to "Trop me repent" that further complements the male perspective of the knight in "L'autrier avint an cel atre païs." This particular text, "Puez ke nature pesse" ("Once nature is flagging," RS 37=394=1938, fol. 236v), is another monologue *sans refrains* in the male voice addressing the question of loving in old age.[475] In contrast to "Trop me repent," "Puez ke nature pesse" takes a negative view of an elderly person, whether male or female, attempting to "[be] a lover again," deeming it to be fruitless, shameful, and garnering negative comment. In this way, he echoes the reasoning of the *grand chant's* knight but expands the audience of his argument to chastise any person who attempts to love in old age, although he directly addresses a lady in the body of his text. Through the course of his tirade, the speaker demarcates the "proper" ages at which women (and, presumably, men) should cease to pursue love (alternatively termed "sport" and "misbehavior") and betrays male anxieties about what happens to a woman once her fertile years end, and what that last stage of life consists of regarding love and sex.

The text begins with a description of what old age does to a body, describing the paling and dulling effect of age and the inevitable change from warm-hearted flesh to

[475] "Puez ke nature pesse" has concordances in MSS *T* 198v-199r; *γ* 207r-v; and *O* 68v-69r (with music).

coldness. The male speaker frequently backs up his claims with assurances that they are universally agreed upon:

"Puez ke nature pesse," stanza 2, lines 1–5; stanza 3, lines 1–8; stanza 4, lines 1–5	
Je ne ting pais a saige – Ausi ne fait nunz – Home de grant eaige, Cant il est si mus K'il welt estre noviaz drus. […]	I don't consider wise (and no one does) A man of many years Who is inclined To try being a lover again. […]
Certes, c'est laide chose Et vilains descors Cant jone cuers repoze Par dedens viez cors; Il en naist vilains recors. Je n'i voi nuns boins escors, Ke teilz an chiffle et cose Qui devant pairleir n'oze.	It is indeed an ugly thing, A nasty incongruity, When a young heart dwells Within an aged body; It gives rise to ugly comments. I see no consensus in its favor, For people hiss and sneer Who do not dare speak openly.
Mout est dame blamee Can ses ploiz ait pris, S'adons welt estre amee. Et monteir en prix; De s'amour est un grans cris. […] Par darrier est hüeie.	Once a lady has all her wrinkles, She is widely blamed If at that point she wants to be loved And enhance her standing; There is much ado about her amorousness. […] Behind her back, people jeer at her.[476]

The man's description of an older woman, similar to that given by the female speaker of "Trop me repent," focuses on wrinkles as outward indicators of age, though it uses the oblique term "pliz" (folds) as opposed to "ridee" (marked by wrinkles). The male speaker also directly critiques any attempt by an older woman to "monteir en prix" (enhance her standing) by being loved by a man. This aligns with the knight's argument in "Puez ke nature pesse," where he maintains that the lady he used to love should not place so much

[476] Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 508–15.

emphasis on her status as a desirable trait in love. Older women, according to the knight in the *grand chant*, can only be worthy of love if they are of good character and not overly concerned with flaunting their status.

Though both old men and women are considered undesirable lovers in the mind of the male speaker, women are the only ones to receive a direct address, in the form of an address to an unnamed *dame*. After comparing the figure of an old woman seeking love to a used, smoking firebrand, he appeals to the listening lady:

"Puez ke nature pesse," stanza 5, lines 1–5, 7–8; stanza 6, lines 1–8	
Dame, ne dites mie Que je blaisme amour: N'est desdus fors d'amie Jone sans atour, De baicheleir de baul tour	Lady, do not claim That I am finding fault with love: For a youth of handsome build There's no better sport than With a sweetheart young and unadorned
[...] Vielle amor soit honie! N'i ait ke jalozie.	[…] [But] love in old age is shameful; It's nothing but jealousy.
Ceu c'on fait en anfance, Par dezous trente ans, Dex loumet en soffrance, S'on est repentans Et de mal faire arestans; Et s'il pesse quarante ans Et il chiet an cinquante, li Anemins l'anchante.	What you do in youth, Under the age of thirty, God reserves for later judgement, [Waiting to see] if you repent And put a stop to misbehavior; But if it goes on past forty And continues beyond fifty The Devil is at work.

The speaker's address to an imagined female listener anticipates specifically feminine critique of his previous criticism of a wrinkled old woman who desires to love. In this

way, he invites the audience, even temporarily, to consider whether a woman loving beyond the "appropriate" age is indeed deserving of blame.[477]

In this *ballette*, the characterization of loving beyond the age of forty (and especially beyond fifty) as Devil-inspired betrays the male anxiety about what happens to a woman once her fertile years have ended, especially the fear of her perceived susceptibility to dealings with the Devil and associated witchcraft. While the speaker attributes shame to both men and women of advanced age who pursue love, the perceived dangers of older women and the influence of the Devil portrayed in literary depictions of old women would likely have been a more immediate connection in the minds of the medieval audience.

In comparing the two *ballettes'* discussion of the problem of loving in old age, the female-voiced text emerges as the more optimistic view. Though the woman admits she has garnered criticism for her appearance, both from people around her and indirectly from the male-voiced *ballette*, and she still has regrets regarding her choice not to pursue love in her youth, she proclaims her intention to seek it out regardless of gossip or ridicule. This declaration of intent is underlined by the speaker's use of a second, grafted refrain, which takes the words of other young women (in romance and animal parody contexts) and refashions them as her own in decided contrast to the repetitive, humiliating mantra of her first refrain that recycles the constant insults of her detractors. Such a stance pushes directly against Old French lyric's fixation on young, beautiful women, as

[477] In MS *T*, this text is accompanied by an additional 6 stanzas, one of which directly addresses "dames et damoiseles" and directs them to "traiés d'autre merele" (change [their] game) once they become fat and old. In MS *O*, the stanza in Douce 308 that addresses the single "dame" is replaced by a different stanza addressing "dames viez reparees" (adorned old ladies) who are also warned to "traez autre marrele." See the notes on textual variants for this version in Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 508–13.

well as the view of a woman's drop in appeal and increase in morally reprehensible behavior as she ages, simultaneously associating the female voice with a nuanced, narrative resistance.

While the women of "Trop me repent" and "L'autrier avint an cel atre païs" both reject the commentary and insults of others regarding their age, the choice by the poet of "Trop me repent" to use two refrains, one of which is grafted, casts the speaker's arguments as much more convincing due to her citation of other female authorities. With her youth and beauty faded, she declares that she will engage in the act of loving because she is passionate and stalwart, underlined by her citation of a youthful refrain, and has a previous reputation for being refined and honorable, emphasized by her references to the heroine Yseut.

In contrast, the woman of "L'autrier avint an cel atre païs" is first rejected by her disillusioned knight for her loss of beauty, before she is further rejected because she chooses to assign herself value through her material wealth and station instead of her character, the latter of which seems to the knight the only compelling reason to love an older woman. Interestingly, the difference in their approaches aligns with the *grand chant's* position as a higher-register song composed by an established male trouvère, while the *ballette* is a relatively new, anonymous, and localized genre that appears to embrace marginal perspectives more readily alongside texts that maintain the norm.

The two *ballettes* and the *grand chant* all touch in some way upon the pervasive fears of medieval male authors about old women who sought out romantic and, especially, sexual companionship, and the resulting insults and distrust experienced by women who declared their intention to do so. The courtly love lyrics of the trouvères,

which overwhelmingly privileged youth and so often became fixated upon the physical attractiveness of the desired lady, further cemented the inverse relationship between age and beauty. The fact that the female speakers in "Trop me repent" and "L'autrier avint an cel atre païs" declare their intentions to seek out love regardless of their age is significant, not just because hearing women's voices is still relatively rare in the trouvère corpus, but even more so due to their further marginalized perspectives as older women.

Among all the types of female voices found among the chansonnier, it is that of the unmarried *chanson d'ami* character that is heard most often and, as we have seen, accompanied by significant departures from expectations of form or narrative. Those *ballette d'ami* texts that feature dialogues between characters that are unmediated by narrators, such as "J'ancomans ma chansonette," "Osteis ma kenoille," and "Amors m'ont si doucement," juxtapose the voices of unmarried women and their parents and lovers and draw attention to the ways in which young women's bodies were policed by their families. The use of gendered and ungendered refrains in these consistently defiant dialogues allows their placement into the mouths of different characters, both male and female, to add performative possibilities to the texts and to blur the boundary between the poetic past (the narrative as it originally occurred) and the performative present (the "now" of the sung performance).

When the *ballettes d'ami* are in monologue form, such as "E, bone amourette," "Deduxans suis et joliette," "Dues, dues, dues, dues," and "Trop me repent," they also demonstrate a complex overlap of different themes and registers, particularly those emblematic of the *pastourelle* and *grand chant*. The occurrence of song personification, a

tool most often used by male speakers in the highest of registers, in the lower-register *ballettes* "E, bone amourette" and "Deduxans suis et joliette" brings each song into the performance space as another character. In that way, simple ruminations on love are complicated, because they engage in indirect dialogue with the active "listening" songs. "Deduxans suis et joliette" and "Dues, dues, dues, dues" both evoke the *pastourelle* opening so often uttered by a male narrator but upend its standard dynamic by placing the narration in the female voice. "Dues, dues, dues, dues" further demonstrates a nuanced treatment of citation and commentary by using a gender-ambiguous refrain to suggest multiple viewpoints and interpretations within a single monologue.

While rare, the perspective of an older, unmarried woman is given purchase among the *ballettes d'ami*, and it is in this hybrid text that a calculated use of refrains underlines the limiting stereotypes of old women and the female speaker's rejection of such misogynistic views. Elsewhere in the manuscript, the lady of "L'autrier avint an cel atre païs" also faces the authority of courtly love conventions and public opinion that declares her undesirable, like the speaker of "Trop me repent," and intentionally pushes her to the margins of the courtly love system, in her case in the form of a speaking male character. It is in the *ballette* text, however, where the female voice successfully commits herself to love as she mediates her own stanzas with intertextual references, and forcibly rejects the words of the repeated, humiliating refrain by creating space for herself between the two lines of a different, defiant refrain.

Across the *ballette d'ami* texts, the citation of refrains, dialogic exchanges, and intertextual references allows for the blending of themes from a wide range of genres, including the *pastourelle*, *grand chant*, *chanson de toile*, and *chanson pieuse*. In each

case, their authors resist the stereotypical portrayal of the female voice as one marked by simplicity and lacking narrative authority by presenting complex expressions of female agency, with each character, in her own way, declaring: "I will not forsake love…*and by God, I will love him*."

In addition, the female speakers in the *ballettes d'ami* express agency over their own body and choice of sexual partners at any age, and the inclusion of women at all stages of life struggling with prevailing authorities over their sexual expression serves to disrupt dominant Christian strictures against both pre-marital and post-menopausal love and sex. In this way, the *ballettes d'ami* perform the female sexuality of unmarried women both young and old, not unstable or polluting as the Church Fathers often claimed it to be, but fully articulated and negotiated.

CHAPTER FIVE:

DEBATING WOMEN IN THE *JEUX-PARTIS*

Previous chapters have dealt with texts where men and women, and women alone, debate one another through various dialogic arrangements, both genre-specific (the *pastourelle* and *chanson de rencontre*) and in a genre that demonstrates its diversity through the subversion of narrative expectations and forms (*ballette d'ami*). In this final chapter, I address the genre of the *jeu-parti*, which is transmitted in the third genre section of Douce 308, which focuses entirely upon a formalized debate between two interlocutors. This genre is more established in its form than those of the preceding chapters, and within its framework, the female participants consistently demonstrate their willingness to stand as arbiters of knightly *proece* (prowess), one of the defining aspects of medieval chivalry. In one standalone example, two women debate one another on an entirely different topic, that of consent in marriage, and collectively show that honesty in love is to be valued.

One of the most established genres of trouvère song is the *jeu-parti* that flourished mainly in the northern French city of Arras, a center of artistic activity throughout the thirteenth century. There are 182 extant Old French *jeux-partis*, of which 105 survive with music. The majority were composed by members of the Arras *puy*, a literary academy for poet-composers.[478] A sung debate between two poets, the subject matter of

[478] For further exploration of the founding and function of the *Puy* and its counterpart, the confraternity of jongleurs, see Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras*, 41, and Roger Berger, *Le nécrologe de la confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d'Arras* (Arras: Commission départementale des Monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1963). The necrology is the subject of a dissertation by Brianne Dolce; see "Making Music and Community in Thirteenth-Century Arras: A Study of the Confraternity of Jongleurs and Bourgeois" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2020).

the *jeu-parti* most often deals with a question of courtly conduct, with each participant choosing and arguing a side. The roots of the genre stretch back as far as the Latin debate poetry of the Carolingian era, but a more recent model for the trouvère *jeu-parti* was likely the troubadour *tenso*.[479] Scholars have also noted the similarities between this genre and the academic disputation, which was modeled on Socratic and Aristotelian methods of argumentation.[480]

The genre's form is well-established: in the first stanza, one partner poses a dilemma and its two possible positions or outcomes, and in the second stanza, the second partner choses a position, following the rhyme scheme and stanza length set out by the first stanza. The partner who began the debate then takes up the opposing side, and the participants alternate stanzas. In this arrangement, the competitors defend a theory not out of any personal conviction, but for the sake of discussion and demonstration of intellectual prowess.[481] There are typically six stanzas – three stanzas per participant – plus two short *envois* in which each participant calls upon a judge to validate their position; in some cases, two judges are indicated.

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[479] For background on the troubadour *tenso* and its relationship with the *jeu-parti* (also called *partimen*), see *Medieval Debate Poetry: Vernacular Works*, ed. and trans. Michel-André Bossy (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987), xiii–xvi; Michèle Gally, "Entre sens et non sens: approches comparatives de la tenso d'oc et du jeu-parti arrageois," in *Il genere tenzone nelle letterature romanze delle origini*, ed. Matteo Pedroni and Antonio Stäuble (Ravenna: Longo, 1999), 223–35; and Dominique Billy, "Pour une réhabilitation de la terminologie des troubadours: Tenson, partimen et expressions synonymes," in *Il genere tenzone nelle letterature romanze delle origini*, 237–313. For recent editions of the tenso and partimen, see *The Troubadour Tensos and Partimens: A Critical Edition*, ed. Ruth Harvey and Linda Patterson (Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer, 2010); and *La Joute poétique: de la tenson médiévale aux débats chantés traditionnels*, ed. Pierre Bec (Paris: Les Belles lettres, 2000).

[480] See Alfred Jeanroy, *Origines de la poésie lyrique*, 46; Pierre Bec, *La Joute poétique*, 20; and Michèle Gally, "La Chant et la dispute," *Argumentation* 1 (1987): 379–95. For explanation of the medieval tradition of disputation and its models, see Alex J. Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice, and Performance*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

[481] Jennifer Saltzstein, "Cleric Trouvères and the Jeux-Partis of Medieval Arras," *Viator* 43.2 (2012): 148.

The Douce 308 chansonnier contains thirty-six *jeux-partis* in total, found on fols. 178r–196b, and seven of these feature a female interlocutor. This chansonnier is an interesting case, as five of its seven *jeux-partis* with women's voices have no concordances elsewhere; the two other *jeux-partis* are also found in the other Lorraine chansonnier (MS *C*), and a few other manuscripts.[482] As Eglal Doss-Quinby observed, "It has long been recognized that by the early fourteenth century, after the *jeu-parti* flourished in Arras circles…the genre was transplanted from Picardy to Lorraine."[483]

Most of the *jeux-partis* in Douce 308 involving anonymous female participants are anonymous, meaning that the women are only addressed as "lady" (or in one case, "sister") by their opponent. This is not unusual given that most of the female-voice songs that survive in the trouvère corpus are anonymous (see Introduction). The one exception in Douce 308 is "Lorete," who is addressed in the *jeu-parti* "Lorete, suer, par amor" by her female partner, the latter who is herself identified only as "suer" (sister).[484] In addition to participants, women's names can also be found elsewhere in the *jeux-partis* of Douce 308 as listeners and judges, including the Countess of Linaige and her sister Mahaut of Commercy. These women's presence in the preceding *Le Tournoi* poem further strengthens the ties between Bretel's poem and the chansonnier of Douce 308.[485]

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[482] The two *jeux-partis* of Douce 308 that appear in other trouvère manuscripts are "Amis, qui est li muelz vaillans" (RS 365, found in MSS *C*, *I*, *O*) and "Douce dame, ce soit en vo nomer" (RS 876=878, found in MSS *C*, *I*, *M*, *T*, *U*).
[483] Doss-Quinby, "Rolan, de ceu ke m'avez/parti dirai mon samblant: The Feminine Voice in the Old French *jeu-parti*," *Neophilologus* 83 (1999): 497–516, 501.
[484] Outside of Douce 308, six women appear as named competitors in four *jeux-partis*: the Dame de Gosnai in "Dame de Gosnai, gardez" (RS 931), the Dame de la Chaucie and Sainte des Prez in "Que ferai je, dame de la Chaucie" (RS 1112), Dame Margot and Dame Maroie in "Je vous pri, dame Maroie" (RS 1744), and Blanche de Castille in "Dame, merci, une riens vous demant" (RS 335).
[485] Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, liii.

Eglal Doss-Quinby is the only scholar to have analyzed the female voice in the *jeux-partis* of the trouvères. She maintained that "when women broach a subject, whether arguing with a man or with each other, they seem particularly attentive to the woman's role in a relationship, intent on defining how a woman should act towards a lover, and the extent to which she should respect the principles of *fin'amors*."[486] Drawing upon computer-generated statistics of word frequency in eleven surviving *jeux-partis* with a female participant, Doss-Quinby observed the highest prominence of words pertaining to power and will, followed by honor, valor, and worth. She concluded that "a concern for agency, coupled with a need to enhance their reputation, marks most [of the language] of the female participants in *jeux-partis*."[487]

In my analyses of the female participants of Douce 308, I have observed a similar concern for preservation of one's agency and good reputation. Yet the women of the *jeux-partis* gathered in Douce 308 also often advocate for men who are not imbued with the traditional outward displays of courtly accomplishment, that of wealth and good behavior, but instead display their *proece* or are prized for the physical enjoyment they provide to the female speakers. In this way, they equate honorable men with action and movement, and bestow value on physical presence and pleasure.

Noblewomen Spectators in *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*

The tendency among the women of the Douce 308 *jeux-partis* to advocate for men who display *proece* takes on additional meaning when read within the context of the spectating noblewomen of the preceding *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* text. The author-

[486] Doss-Quinby, "The Feminine Voice," 505.
[487] Doss-Quinby, "The Feminine Voice," 512.

narrator Jacques Bretel, when describing the upcoming festivities to the German nobleman Konrad Wernher, explicitly mentions the anticipated female attendees:

Mais qui a Chauvenci venroit A ceste Saint-Remei tout droit, La pouroit asséz genz trover Pour ses proesses esprover A jouster et au tornoier. De dancier et d'estbenoir I avra fait mout et asséz Ainz que li termez soit passéz; Dames, pucellez I seront Pour esgarder que cil feront Qui requierent joie d'amour. (vv. 75–85)	Anyone who goes to Chauvency At the feast of Saint Remy Will find plenty of men To test his prowess In jousting and a mêlée. And there'll be a deal Of dancing and merry-making, too! Before it's over; Ladies and girls will be attending To see how they perform, Those who seek love's joys![488]

Bretel also makes it clear that a knight's *proece* is what brings him the honor and attention of the spectating ladies.

"Proece" can be defined specifically as a "character or act of valor,"[489] or, more generally, as "a generic term used to express the idealized positive characteristics of an individual, frequently a knight." According to Richard Kaeuper, chivalry gained force as an idea in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries thanks to a concern for public order.[490] In literary works that recount chivalric deeds, *proece* often appears first in the lists of chivalric attributes and equates to the capability of a knight to fight in hand-to-hand combat. If a knight was *preu* (full of *proece*), it meant that he could demonstrate

[488] Delbouille, *Le Tournoi*, 5; translation from Bryant, *The Tournaments at Le Hem and Chauvency*, 62.
[489] "proece," *DEAFpré*, accessed 14 January 2021, <https://deaf-server.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/lemme/pro#proece>; *Anglo-Norman Dictionary (AND² Online Edition)*, "proesce," accessed 14 January 2021, <https://anglo-norman.net/entry/proesce>.
[490] Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). Kaeuper commented that *proece* was so important that "'prowess often stands as a one-word definition of chivalry" in twelfth- and thirteenth-century texts, see p. 135.

superhuman feats, was courageous, and was also of noble stock.[491] As Joseph Mason has commented, "the ideal of *proece* ensured that knights would aspire to be the most effective and daring warriors, while only permitting those of noble birth to practise physical violence," a result that was necessary for the defense of territory or the Church's crusades because it ensured the supply of capable warriors whose loyalty was guaranteed through familial ties, vassalage, and marriage.[492] By restricting sanctioned violence to the concept of *proece*, which was further tempered by other attributes like generosity, loyalty, or courtliness, writers created a circumscribed discourse around masculine violence.

Chivalric literature developed the importance of *proece* further by depicting male characters within a moral framework of chivalry. Elspeth Kennedy has demonstrated that the *Prose Lancelot* directly influenced chivalry manuals, and Richard Kaeuper pointed to the chivalric ceremonies and rituals that originated in literature.[493] The aristocratic audience of chivalrous literature, which included romances along with *chansons de geste*, would have aspired to the attributes of chivalry and its associated *proece*, and this is evident in ritual of tournaments and jousts, where noble attendees could perform the role of the ideal knight.[494] As an imaginative "account" of a real-life tournament, Jacques

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[491] For a detailed analysis of *proece* in medieval literature, see Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*, 129–60; John W. Baldwin, *Aristocratic Life in Medieval France: The Romances of Jean Renart and Gerbert de Montreuil, 1190–1230* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2000), 68–97.
[492] Joseph Mason, "Melodic exchange and musical violence in the thirteenth-century jeu-parti" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2018), 8.
[493] Elspeth Kennedy, 'The Knight as Reader of Arthurian Romance', in *Culture and the King: The Social Implications of the Arthurian Legend: Essays in Honor of Valerie M. Lagorio*, ed. James P. Carley and Martin B. Shichtman, 70–90 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994); Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, 30–39.
[494] There are numerous studies of the tournament; see, for example, Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 247–73; David Crouch, *Tournament* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005). On aristocratic rituals based on Arthurian romance, see Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270–1350* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1982), 16–20.

Bretel's *Le Tournoi* contributes to the simulation of knightly chivalry through its descriptions of *proece*, as well as the behaviors of the noblewomen in the audience, who acted as unofficial judges of chivalry for the knights who participated.

Altogether, the term *proece/proesse* appears twenty-eight times throughout Jacques Bretel's text in multiple contexts, most often in descriptions of different knights' motivations for participating. These expectations are further emphasized through Bretel's use of the allegorized figure "Prouesse," who is "present" at the tournament. He introduces the feminine figure on the first day of the tournament, when he takes note of the many women in attendance:

Et mainte dame avoit montee	Many a lady had gone
Sour les berfrois pour esgarder	To the stands to watch
Cex qui weullent honor garder	Those eager to defend their honor
Et mestre cors en aventure,	And to put their bodies on the line,
Paient Proesse sa droiture,	Paying their full dues to Prowess,
Qui dit a son fil Hardement:	Who says to Her son Courage:
Biaus fis, aléz hardïement	"Go boldly, dear son.
Honor ceu c'on li doit paier,	Do all that must be done in Honor's name;
Si ne se fait nul esmaier;	None should show fear;
Améz Honor et creméz Honte	Love honor and dread shame
Se voz voléz entrer en conte	If you wish to be counted
De ceuz qui sont tenu a preu,	Among the worthy;
O vostre afairez ne vaut preu.	Otherwise your standing will not be
Ansiment set on oiseler	great." That's how Prowess
Proesce le boin bacheler	Lures the young knight
Tant qu'il a le mestier aprins	Till he's learnt the craft
Par coi il puet monter en pris.	That can lead him to glory.[495]
(vv. 422–38)	

While recounting the sights on Tuesday afternoon, Bretel once again calls upon allegorical figures to describe the scenes playing out before him, and deepens the connection of the word *proece* to physical exertion:

[495] Delbouille, *Le Tournoi*, 16; translation from Bryant, *The Tournaments at Le Hem and Chauvency*, 67.

Desous aval faisoit trambler	Meanwhile, below,
Hardement plain de volenté	Earnest Courage was making bodies
Cors bien taillié, entalenté	Shake with passionate desire
De grans cous recevoir et rendre	To give and take blows
Plus que Povoirs ne peut estandre.	Mightier than Power alone can manage.
Dont puis que Hardemens asamble	Once Courage penetrates
Au cuers, et cors fremit et tramble,	The heart and the body shake and tremble,
Lors vient et naist et croist en Force	Strength is born and grows apace,
Et Volentéz croist et enforce,	Along with Will;
Cuers engroisse, Talans atise,	The heart swells, desire intensifies;
Proesce esprent, qui tout justise,	*Prowess (which governs all) is set alight*.
Et fait faire mains grans soupirs	It leads to many a deep, deep sigh,
Qu'ancor ne puet li cors soufrir;	Fearing the body cannot yet endure it:
Car cuer si grans voloir encharge	The heart is filled with such desire
Que la chars tranble pour la charge,	That the flesh shakes under the burden.
Et quant li proudons vient au fait,	But when the valiant knight then goes to it
Son avenant et son droit fait,	And does as he has vowed,
Dont est la chars aseüree.	His flesh has unforeseen protection.
Quant li cuers laisse la pansee,	*For when the heart overtakes the mind*
Adont vieut cuers et cors desire	*And follows the body's craving,*
Et charlour monte et si s'aïre;	*Heat rises to a furious pitch*
Dont poéz dire que cors puet	*And the body can boldly achieve*
Hardïement quanque cuers wet.	*All that the heart desires*.[496]
(vv. 1824–46)	[emphasis mine]

Here, Bretel presents a cause-and-effect chain linking Courage, Strength, Will, and Prowess that manifests itself in physical sensation as well as action. Courage begins the process when it strikes the heart, making the body tremble; Strength and Will then begin to grow, and Prowess is "set alight." It is notable that Bretel portrays Prowess as something enflamed; as the body heats up to a "fever pitch," it can be assumed that Prowess is likely the driving force. In this way, Bretel defines Prowess as distinct from Courage, which is an external force that enters the heart, and Strength and Will, which trigger the growth of desire in the heart, leading to trembling. The physical sensation is

[496] Delbouille, *Le Tournoi*, 59–60; translation from Bryant, *The Tournaments at Le Hem and Chauvency*, 85.

intense as Bretel describes it, but it ultimately grants physical protection and allows the achievement of one's desires.

Numerous noblewomen participate in the tournament as recounted by Bretel, both as spectators and as performers in the evening entertainments, and their vocal contributions serve to underline the importance of prowess for the knights who desire their acknowledgement. Heralds constantly yell out the names and accomplishments of various knights to the audience, taking them up with commentary such as:

Gevigni! Certes vez le la, Le gent bacheler gracious. Chascunz devroit estre envious D'estre si fait, com on tesmoigne. Li cuens Renaus qui tint Boloingne Ne se fist onques mieus paroir Et sa prouesce va par oir: Par cestui n'est point decheüe. Mainte proiere a hui eüe De ces dames qui les esgardent. (vv. 1774–83)	Gevigni! Behold him here, This gracious, noble knight! All should plainly envy him For what he has done: Count Renaut of Boulogne Never cut a more splendid figure, And his prowess has passed down to his heirs: This one doesn't disappoint! He's been the object of many a prayer From the ladies watching here![497]

Yet the heralds also spend much of their time reprimanding the gathered noblewomen for their role in putting the men into danger. After a particularly violent collision between two combatants, the audience gets to their feet to see the damage and the heralds turn immediately to the women in the audience:

Or esgardés, mavaises femes! Cex qui metent et cors et armes Pour vos gissent a tel meschief Qu'il ne muevent ne pié ne chief. Hee! Que n'en avéz vos pitié? Fames, pour la vostre amistié Metent lor cors a tel dolor; […]	"Look, cruel women! Those who risk their bodies and souls For you, are lying there in such a state That neither head nor foot is stirring. Ah! Do you feel no pity? It's for your love, women, That they lay their bodies on the line. […]

[497] Delbouille, *Le Tournoi*, 57; translation from Bryant, *The Tournaments at Le Hem and Chauvency*, 84.

Touz tans lors estuet travillier, Li jour pener, la nuit villier Et puis languir en desirrant. […] Ainsi li hiraus estoutie Vers lez dames par sa sotie, Et si dist bien qu'il a bon droit. (vv. 549–55, 559–61, 575–76)	Their toil and suffering never cease: They strive all day and lie awake all night In agonies of desire!" […] That's how heralds always Rant and rave at ladies – And they're convinced it's with good reason.[498]

The heralds stress the physical limits to which the knights push themselves and make it clear that it is due to the women's presence and their expectations that the men will go to such lengths.

These complaints against women by the heralds are just as deliberately outlandish and extreme as are their excessive adulations of the competing knights, and both contribute to the hyperreal nature of the tournament and its performance of courtly ideals and individuals. While Bretel describes himself as an eyewitness to the events at Chauvency, carefully noting: "Car en bon leu estoie assis/Droit au monter des berfrois sis/Ainsi comme au quart degré" ("For I was seated in an excellent position, on the fourth step of the stand, [with] a full and perfect view," vv. 1813–17),[499] he also betrays his own role as a herald and thereby a contributor to the hyperreality of the event by overpraising the gathered courtiers, both men and women alike. For example, one unnamed knight he describes as "come on devise Lanselot" ("the very image of Lancelot," v. 1731)[500] and Jeanne de Bar, countess of Chiny, as "Por ce qu'estoit chief et baniere/Et ralïance de la feste" ("the leading light, the banner of this glorious feast, its rallying point," vv. 1349–

[498] Delbouille, *Le Tournoi*, 20–21; translation from Bryant, *The Tournaments at Le Hem and Chauvency*, 69.
[499] Delbouille, *Le Tournoi*, 58–59; translation from Bryant, *The Tournaments at Le Hem and Chauvency*, 85.
[500] Delbouille, *Le Tournoi*, 56; translation from Bryant, *The Tournaments at Le Hem and Chauvency*, 84.

51).[501] Although he expresses his irritation at the other heralds' constant lambasting of the women, he also playfully directs his own outrageous jab at the spectating ladies: "C'est mout bien fait puisqu'i lor siet/Combien qu'as autres cout ne griet" ("Indeed, it's all very fine for them, no matter what the cost and pain to others!" vv. 637–38).[502]

The noblewomen rarely respond to the heralds' admonishments, which Bretel recounts at length. Instead, most of the female audience members' reported speech consists of exclamations of admiration for the performance of various knights (thereby giving fodder to the heralds' rebukes). During the chaotic mêlée later in the week, however, Bretel describes a moment when an unnamed lady responds to a scathing speech from a herald named Baptisiéz:

Par Dieu, Baptisiéz, il sont preus	By God, Baptisiéz, they're valiant,
Et aspre et dur, s'averont preu.	Tough, and bold; they'll have their due reward.
Bien doivent par amors amer,	They must be in love indeed!
Ne nuns ne doit dame blasmer	And no one should blame a lady
D'estre cortoise et ensignie	For being inclined to share
Pour tex gens faire compaignie;	The company of such men.
Et honi soient mesdisant,	And to show them favor:
Qui tant sont felon et nuisant	Damn those who malign them,
Quant mesdïent par lor envie	The malicious, envious slanderers of all
De cex qui maignent bone vie.	Who strive to live a virtuous and worthy life.
Ainsi voirement m'ait Dieux,	So help me God,
Que c'il veoient or ces deus	If they could see those two now,
Et ces autres en autel fuer,	And the others so embroiled,
Je cuit qu'il n'averoient cuer	They wouldn't dare
Que il jamais en mesdeïssent	Say an offensive word
Ne que nul anui lor feïssent.	Or upset them in the least!
(vv. 3681–96)	

[501] Delbouille, *Le Tournoi*, 45; translation from Bryant, *The Tournaments at Le Hem and Chauvency*, 79.
[502] Delbouille, *Le Tournoi*, 23; translation from Bryant, *The Tournaments at Le Hem and Chauvency*, 70.

In this way, the noblewoman argues for the rightness of her and the other ladies' position and emphasizes the agreed purpose of the tournament: for the battling knights to prove themselves honorable and worthy of the love of a courteous lady.

This purpose receives confirmation among the texts of the chansonnier that follows the *Tournoi* poem, in particular the debates between men and women found among the *jeux-partis* of Douce 308. As a genre, the *jeux-partis* consist of debates revolving around courtly behavior and conduct; while their goal is to prove a poet's compositional ability, they also often convey individual identities, social values, or political agendas through the participants' arguments and how they respond to their opponents'.[503]

Among the *jeux-partis* in Douce 308 that feature a female voice, there are four where the women repeatedly indicate the chivalric, tourneying knight to be their preferred lover, and cite physical pleasure as the most important element in a relationship. Their male counterparts, in contrast, advocate for well-behaved lords who possess land and great wealth, as well as the superiority of abstract, unconsummated desire. In this way, the *jeux-partis* of Douce 308 represent women as dismissive of the conventions of *fin'amors* found in trouvère lyrics, particularly those of unfulfilled longing for a distant or indifferent beloved, and instead profess a frank desire for sex and physically capable lovers as depicted in the *Tournoi* narrative.

In one additional *jeu-parti*, the question of who should consent first to a man's proposal, a lady's friends, or the lady herself, is discussed between two women, one of

[503] For example, Jennifer Saltzstein analyzed the presentation of an authoritative clerical identity in *jeux-partis* from Arras; see Saltzstein, "Cleric-Trouvères and the Jeux-Partis of Medieval Arras." In his dissertation, Joseph Mason argued that *jeux-partis* provided a platform for symbolic violence within the context of aristocratic disputes; see Mason, "Melodic exchange and musical violence."

only three surviving *jeux-partis* out of all known chansonniers where both interlocutors are female. In contrast to the women who arbitrate the prowess of men, this debate is devoid of any consideration of the physical aspects of love and instead centers upon consent in marriage, which dispenses with any requirement for a man's skills in bed or on the tournament field.

Men's *Proece* and Women's Pleasure

Among the thirty-six *jeux-partis* preserved in Douce 308, the most-frequently named partner in the mixed *jeux-partis* is a man named Rolant, or "Rolant de Reims" in one exchange. A trouvère known only through this manuscript, Rolant appears as a participant in twenty-five of the thirty-six texts, and he is also paired with an unnamed lady in four of them. Eglal Doss-Quinby, Samuel Rosenberg, and Elizabeth Aubrey observed the apparently intentional grouping of the *jeux-partis* featuring Rolant in Douce 308.[504] The first group of *jeux-partis* (nos. 1–21) are all *unica*, and all but one of them feature Rolant. These are followed by a second group consisting of thirty short "dilemmas" (labeled collectively as *jeux-partis* nos. 22–23); a third group of eight *jeux-partis* (nos. 24–31a) involving a variety of participants (though none include Rolant) and all having known concordances; and a fourth and final group of five *jeux-partis* (nos. 32–36) that are once again *unica* and all involve Rolant as a participant except for the last one (though he is mentioned in the final stanza).

[504] Doss-Quinby, "The Visual Representation of Lyric Type in *Trouvère* Manuscript I (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308),' in *Chançon legiere a chanter": Essays on Old French Literature in Honor of Samuel N. Rosenberg*, ed. Karen Fresco and Wendy Pfeffer (Birmingham, AL: Summa Publications, 2007), 1–29; Doss-Quinby, et. al., *The Old French Ballette*, lii.

This grouping of the *jeux-partis* into two collections, the first with Rolant and the second without him, brings the organizing principle of this part of the manuscript closer to that of other trouvère chansonniers, which typically group songs by their named author. Although Rolant is addressed by name repeatedly in the texts of each *jeu-parti*, and scholars frequently presume that any male figures named in *jeux-partis* were the true authors of the texts, scholars have not yet been able to identify him using external sources. Thus, it is unclear whether he was indeed a historical figure or simply a fictional character that was popular in the region, although it is worth noting that the name "Rolant/Roland" was often given to male characters in romances, often in reference to the *chanson de geste*, *La Chanson de Roland*.[505] Regardless of the historical record, among the *jeux-partis* of Douce 308, Rolant is remarkable for the frequency of his engagement with women in debate and, when compared to his female opponents, his defense of wealth and abstract desire as the characteristics most deserving of honor.

These examples of love debates between men and women can be compared to the chansonnier's "popular" genre equivalent, that of the *pastourelle*, which features love dialogues between a male knight and a female shepherdess. Mary Atchison in her 2005 edition of the chansonnier observed that the *pastourelle* genre section immediately follows that of the *jeux-partis* and hypothesized that the compilers of the chansonnier intentionally arranged the genre sections into pairs of related forms, with an element of

[505] *La Chanson de Roland* is an eleventh-century *chanson de geste* that follows the story of Roland (d. 778), a paladin of Charlemagne. Considered the oldest surviving major work of French literature, the *chanson* belongs to the larger cycle of the *Geste du roi*, which in turn belongs to the larger body of literature and legend referred to as the Matter of France; see the Introduction to *The Song of Roland*, ed. John DuVal (Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2012), ix–xviii; for a discussion of the *chanson's* origins, oral vs. written transmission, and hypotheses about its live performance, see Andrew Taylor, "Was There a Song of Roland?" *Speculum* 76.1 (2001): 28–65.

parody or contrast between genre pairs (see table i.2 in Introduction).[506] The fact that two of the three surviving *jeux-partis* where the woman speaks first in a mixed-gender pairing appear in Douce 308 is significant, and further underlines this chansonnier's privileging of the feminine perspective.

To continue the comparison between the two debate types of the *jeu-parti* and the *pastourelle*, a similar privileging of the woman's voice can be seen in the roughly contemporaneous *Jeu de Robin et Marion* by Adam de la Halle. Adam's play focuses on a day in the life of Marion, a shepherdess, and her various escapades, including her encounter with a wandering knight and rendezvous with her lover Robin (what can be considered the "pastourelle section"), and an extended scene of dancing, singing, arguing, and eating with a group of friends (the "bergerie section"). Because the traditional poet-narrator "je" of the *pastourelle* is gone, attention is instead focused upon Marion as the central protagonist. As noted by Shira Schwam-Baird in a 1994 edition, once the knight disappears, "Marion is the axis of transition between the pastourelle section and the bergerie section."[507] Adam's dramatized *pastourelle* scene is also unusual in that it does not end in seduction, rape, or the knight being beaten by Robin; instead, Marion vehemently refuses him and escapes when he attempts to carry her off, and afterward the knight departs peacefully. Just as in Adam's thirteenth-century play, female voices take up increasingly more space in amorous debates, in both courtly and rustic settings in the chansonnier of Douce 308.

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[506] Atchison, *The Chansonnier*, 38–39.
[507] *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, ed. Shira I. Schwam-Baird and Milton G. Scheuermann, Jr. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), xx.

The first of the *jeux-partis* between Rolant and an unnamed woman (addressed simply as "Dame") offers a striking view of the lady's opinion of a knight who engages in feats of physical prowess. Yet throughout her stanzas, she also emphasizes the physicality of love and glorifies the violence exhibited in the courtly space of the tournament. The text in question is "Douce dame, respondez" (RS 944, fol. 183v), an *unicum*. Rolant begins the debate:

"Douce dame, respondez," stanza 1	
Douce dame, respondez	Dear lady, do respond
A ceu ke je vos demant.	To what I ask you.
Dui chivaillier riche asseis	Two very rich knights
Sont an .i. païs menant.	Live in a prosperous region.
Li uns despant largement	One spends abundantly
A aleir par lou païs	On journeying across the land
Por conkerre los et pris.	To gain praise and honor.
Tot i met, aillors n'antant.	He spends everything on this, attentive to nothing else.
Li autres tient osteil grant.	The other has a lavish lifestyle,
Bien despandans grant donor sans lasser.	Spending liberally, giving generously and tirelessly,
Et bien se fait a ses vexins douter.	And makes himself feared by his neighbors.
L'un de ces .ii. vos covient resevoir.	One of these two you must accept.
Lou keil prixiés vos muez dites me voir.	Which of them do you value more? Tell me truthfully.[508]

From the opening, Rolant sets up a distinction between two rich men, specifying that one man spends his money in pursuit of honor, while the other gives his as charity. Rolant's partner, the unnamed *dame*, chooses the former:

"Douce dame, respondez," stanza 2, lines 1-4, 9–11	
Cilz doit bien estre honoreis	The one who deserves to be honored

[508] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 89–91

C'a honor lou sient despant	Is the one who spends wealth pursuing honor
Et ke se vait travillant	And who toils
Nut et jor trop muez l'an prix.	Night and day; I value him much more.
[…]	[…]
Sai en arrier les soloit on amer.	I know that in the past one used to admire such men.
A celui mes cuer et cors et voloir	I grant my heart and body and will
Qui vait par tout por lui faire valoir.	To the one who journeys widely to enhance his merit.

The woman repeatedly invokes the physical body: she offers her body in addition to her heart and will to the man of her choice, that of the knight who continuously "journeys," presumably to tournaments, to prove his worth. She bestows the greatest honor upon the man who "se vait travillant/nut et jor" (toils night and day, stanza 2, lines 5–6]) and who "travillier son cors et main et soir" (works his body both morning and night [stanza 4, line 12]). The fact that she is continuously referring to the man's toils (*travillier*) by night could suggest that he is exerting himself equally in nocturnal activities, likely of a sexual nature. Lovemaking at night is referenced explicitly in another genre of love lyric, that of the *alba*, a type of lyric popular among the troubadours of southern France but also given minor attention by the trouvères (known as the *aube*).[509] In the *alba/aube*, a lady and her lover spend all night in ecstatic love-making only to be warned of the approaching dawn by the call of a lark or the castle watchman; to preserve the secrecy of their love, they must part.

[509] For background on the alba in medieval courtly lyric traditions, see Jonathan Saville, *The Medieval Erotic Alba: Structure As Meaning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); and Gale Sigal, *Erotic Dawn-Songs of the Middle Ages: Voicing the Lyric Lady* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1996).

The woman's adherence to the performance of chivalric attributes is deepened in her other stanzas, as she continues to push back against Rolant, who has chosen the knight who is a "great lord" and does not travel to prove himself.

"Douce dame, respondez," stanza 4, lines 3–6, 10–13; stanza 6, lines 3–6, 10–13	
N'est drois chivailliers nomeis	He who shuns arms
Qui vait armes esloignant.	Cannot rightfully be called a knight,
Mais cilz qui les vait quairant	But he who seeks them
Est drois chivailliers gentis.	Is a true noble knight
[…]	[…]
Nuns ne conquiert honor par sejorner.	No one acquires honor by resting,
Ne gentis hons ne doit aillors beer	Nor should a noble man aspire to anything
C'a travillier son cors et main et soir.	Save to work his body both morning and night,
Tant ke il put et los et pris avoir.	So that he may derive praise and merit.
[…]	[…]
Avoirs vait, maix li bonteis	Wealth is fleeting, but goodness
Est a proudome durant	Is forever lasting to the man of worth
Ke l'ait aquis an soffrant	Who has acquired it by suffering
Et ait les travalz joïs	And has savored the toils.
[…]	[…]
…prixiez ciaus qui font chevalz crever.	…value those knights who fell horses,
Lances brixier banieres vanteler.	Break lances, make banners fly.
Cilz ke ceu fait paie bien son dovoir.	He who acts thusly fulfills his obligation;
Il se doit bien an haute cort paroir.	He fully deserves to appear in the royal court.

In this way, the lady indicates that a knight must continuously toil and be tested to "fulfill his obligation" and deserve his rank and place in court, something that the noblemen in *Le Tournoi* constantly strive for while under the watchful eyes of high-born women. This lady's description of the violent scenes at the tournament mirror actual descriptions by Bretel in his narrative poem. As Bretel advertises the upcoming event to a German knight, he encourages him to come by Monday to see "Lances brisier, chevauz crever/et

lez bons des mauvais sevrer" (Lances shattered, horses killed, and the men well and truly sorted from the boys!, vv. 205–06),[510] a promise that he repeats before beginning his account of Tuesday, saying, "Demain verrés lances brisier/Chevaus crever et eslaissier" (Tomorrow you'll see lances shattered, horses charging – and horses killed, vv. 1383–84).[511]

In his rebuttals to the lady, Rolant claims that the knight she favors loses his wealth by putting too much at risk in tournaments, and thereby loses honor. As he says:

"Douce dame, respondez," stanza 5, lines 9–13	
Et cant avoirs vait faillant. Honors n'i valt, on les lait bien passer.	When wealth is wanting, Honor becomes worthless; everyone lets them pass,
Li grant signors ne.s doignent esgarder .Qui aikes ait, on lou seit bien veoir,	Great lords do not deign to look upon them. When someone has little wealth, everyone is aware of it
Et povres hons n'ait ne veux ne pooir.	And a needy man has neither voice nor power.

The arguments by Rolant position wealth as the source of social rank and power, although he does concede to his partner that "asseis vait on tesmoignant/qu'il son prous" (people often testify that they are valiant [stanza 5, lines 5–6]), which shows that he, too, sees the truth in her argument and foreshadows his later concession of the debate.

In favoring a man's movement and action, the lady of "Douce dame, respondez" maintains a focus upon bodily autonomy and physical sensation. She scorns Rolant's choice of man, for no one acquires honor by resting, only through physical exertion. She does not value the man whose reputation is through his wealth, which to her is fleeting;

[510] Delbouille, *Le Tournoi*, 9; translation adapted from Bryant, *The Tournaments at Le Hem and Chauvency*, 63–64.
[511] Delbouille, *Le Tournoi*, 46; translation from Bryant, *The Tournaments at Le Hem and Chauvency*, 79.

instead, it is the toil of the body by day and its physical presence by night that signify true honor to her. In her arguments, the woman also advocates for the types of events represented in *Le Tournoi*, evoking the violent and physical space of the tournament by praising men who "fell horses, break lances, make banners fly" and earn their honor through physical prowess. This further validates the pairing of Bretel's poem with the chansonnier, suggesting that the women attending the tournament at Chauvency were equally convinced of its role in bestowing honor upon men.

While the majority of the text follows the traditional back-and-forth debate, the final *envoi* includes a less common occurrence: that of one participant conceding to the other without judicial intervention. In the brief *envoi* to "Douce dame, respondez," Rolant concedes the debate to his female opponent, indirectly acknowledging that a tourneying knight accrues greater honor and is more worthy of the love of a lady. In doing so, he also suggests that the right suitor is not the one who is better suited to her in the opinion of a male authority, but the one to whom the lady desires to consent.

This final stanza is shorter than typical *envois*, for it consists only of three lines and the woman does not respond to Rolant's atypical concession with her own *envoi*:

"Douce dame, respondez," *envoi*	
Dame, nos plais sont fineis: Je vos don lou torniant, Puis k'il vos vient a talant.	Lady, our proceedings have ended. I grant you the tourneying knight, Since he appeals to you.[512]

In the manuscript, the final two words "a talant" spill over onto the same line as the beginning of the next *jeu-parti* ("Par deu, Rolant, j'ai ameit longement," RS 707), and the

[512] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 91.

rubricated number of that *jeu-parti* is placed in the margin as opposed to within the line as it often appears elsewhere in the chansonnier. Thus, it is uncertain whether the scribe simply did not leave enough room for the woman's *envoi* and omitted it, whether her *envoi* was not transmitted along with the rest of the *jeu-parti*, or whether it never existed in the first place. Given the fact that the first *envoi* in Rolant's voice offers a concession and ends the debate in the woman's favor, perhaps the woman, or the scribe who transcribed it, did not feel an *envoi* was necessary.

Regardless, this yielding of the debate indicates that the unnamed woman successfully overturned the advantage held by Rolant, much as an inexperienced knight might unseat a seasoned competitor. Rolant is the one who began the *jeu-parti*, taking the more powerful position by deciding the structure of the debate—its rhyme scheme, line, and stanza length, and, presumably, its melody. Yet according to Rolant, it is the woman who emerges victorious, taking Rolant's own structure and melody and using it more persuasively to the point that its instigator is convinced of her position.

In the end, Rolant appears to decide that, regardless of his own opinion, it is the woman's preference that should determine her choice, since "he appeals to [her]" (il vos vient a talant). This acknowledgement of the woman's preference in the dialogue serves to credit her with a certain degree of power. While *jeux-partis* are frequently structured as a "choice" between two options, Rolant grants the woman a significant role in the love affair by emphasizing that it is her preference that matters, ultimately recognizing her right to determine her own happiness.

In a second *jeu-parti* between Rolant and a lady, "Douce dame, vos aveis" (RS 1054, fol. 193v), the pair bring the love dilemma into an overtly sexual realm. The text appears among the final five unnumbered *jeux-partis* of the genre section, and as with the other songs featuring Rolant, it has no concordances. The song survives apparently incomplete, as there are only three 11-line stanzas and no *envoi*, and this is significant given the typical length of the *jeu-parti*. Thus, we receive only one stanza from the anonymous female participant, but the explicit nature of the debate is highlighted by its brevity.

Peter Dronke remarked that this *jeu-parti* has "greater psychological interest than the others," in that the two opponents debate whether it is preferable to have physical or psychological fidelity in a relationship, and it is the woman who advocates for the purely physical bond.[513] Rolant begins the debate and outlines the conundrum:

"Douce dame, vos aveis," stanza 1, lines 1–5	
Douce dame, vos aveis prins marit, Bel et vaillant et jone baicheleir. Aucune gent qui ne vos ainme mi Vos font savoir k'il ne fine d'aleir deleiz femes…	Dear lady, you have taken a husband, A handsome and worthy young knight. Some people who do not like you Let you know that he frequents Other women...[514]

Whether this dilemma was real or fabricated, the debate becomes weightier through this framing, because it suggests that real-life concerns will be discussed and different outcomes defended. The woman, when given her chance to select her preference, clearly opts for physical possession of her husband over being only the object of his abstract desire. She declares:

[513] Dronke, *Forms and Imaginings: From Antiquity to the Fifteenth Century*, Storia e Letteratura: raccolta di studi e testi, 243 (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2007), 332–33.
[514] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 94–95.

"Douce dame, vos aveis," stanza 2, lines 6–9	
Sa volentei soit par tout otroïe, Mais ke j'aie de lui la druwerie. J'ai trop plus chier pooir que vient sovent Ke volenteit ou je ne pran niant.	Let his desire be allowed everywhere, But let me have sexual pleasure from him. I prize frequent possession much more Than desire, from which I gain nothing.

Significantly, the woman directly references her physical self in her first (and only) stanza, commenting that she has "cors por teil fais a porteir" (the body to bear such a burden [of having a husband who desires others] [stanza 2, line 4]). In this way, the woman also presents her body as strong and capable of withstanding frequent lovemaking, or "joie d'amors" (love's joy). Instead of having such possession forced upon her by an external force or figure, she demands it. The woman further argues that nothing is gained from desire and compares unconsummated desire to drinking "an veude escuele" (from an empty bowl [stanza 2, line 5]). Thus, she indicates that her physical pleasure and satisfaction is of her utmost concern, betraying a level of bodily autonomy not expressed so explicitly by Rolant's previous female opponent. The woman's clear preference for physical pleasure departs from the previous debate, wherein a man's prowess was merely hinted at providing something for his lady "at night."

Rolant attempts to prove the rightness of his position by demonstrating that the woman's choice would lead to jealousy.

"Douce dame, vos aveis," stanza 3, lines 3–11	
Leiz vos maris gixies, or soit anzi, Et bien santeis qu'il ait boin poir d'ovreir, Mais volenteiz ne s'I welt acordeir. […]	Suppose you are lying next to your husband, And you feel sure he is fully capable of performing, But his desire does not agree to it; […]

Vos emoreis marrie a cuer dolant.	You are left distraught, with a lamenting heart;
Jaloize vos court sus maintenant	Now jealousy assails you
Et fait panceir qu'il ainme autre ke vos.	And makes you think he loves another,
Dont vos aveis et mezaixe et corrous.	Which brings you sorrow as well as anger.

In Rolant's view, it is unlike a lady to prefer sexual intercourse over the concept of love itself, as doing so will only lead to emotional distress through jealousy, sorrow, and anger.

As mentioned above, this *jeu-parti* consists only of three stanzas, and thus Rolant's dismissal of the woman's choice is the final word in this debate. Despite its brevity, however, in this text the woman's single stanza presents a firm argument in favor of sexual satisfaction and bodily possession over the abstract desire that is the overwhelming subject of male-voiced trouvère love lyric. Since the woman speaks in only one stanza, we do not hear further development of her argument, although it is probable, given her initial stance, that she would have argued that it is, in fact, abstract desire without sexual gratification that causes the most suffering. In this way, the woman's voice champions the physicality of love as its most desirable aspect and characterizes as pointless any relationship that is without such physical joys.

The next *jeu-parti*, "Concilliés moi, Rolan" ("Advise me, Rolant," RS 1074, fol. 178r), opens the *jeux-partis* section in Douce 308 following the rubric "vesci labecelaire des jeus partis" (here is the index of the *jeux-partis*) To introduce this genre section there is a miniature that depicts two men, a merchant in secular garb, including an emblematic purse, and a clerk with a hooded tunic, thereby "illustrating the opposition between rich

and poor that informs the debate."[515] It is also notable that the *jeu-parti* section begins with a woman debating a man, indicating from the beginning that the woman is an equal competitor in the realm of the *jeux-partis*, for she is given the power to commence the debate. This is uncommon; in the ten surviving Old French *jeux-partis* that feature both a male and female interlocutor, the man speaks first in seven of them.

This positioning of the woman as the respondent to a man's arguments is reflected in other medieval works, and Helen Solterer noted a pervasive tendency to associate woman's language with the format of response.[516] In his *De vulgari eloquentia*, Dante argued:

> Sed quamquam mulier in scriptis prius inveniatur locuta, rationabile tamen est, ut hominem prius locutum fuisse credamus: nec inconvenienter putatur tam egregium humani generis actum prius a viro, quam a foemina profluisse […] per viam responsionis hominem primum fuisse locutum.
>
> But although in the Scriptures woman is found to have spoken first, it is nevertheless reasonable for us to believe that man spoke first. For it is incongruous to think that such an extraordinary act for humankind could have first flowed forth from a woman rather than from a man […] man spoke first by way of response.[517]

Dante's commentary that the first utterance (according to the Bible, spoken by Eve) must have been Adam's, and as a response to God.

The medieval didactic work *Miroir des bonnes femmes* reinforces this rhetoric, contrasting Eve, who talks openly with God, with the allegorical *sage dame* (wise

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[515] Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 89.
[516] Helen Solterer, *The Master and Minerva: Disputing Women in French Medieval Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 1–22.
[517] Book I, caput IV. Text can be found in Dante Alighieri, *Opere*, vol. 6, edited by L. Ciardetti (Florence: Giuseppe Molini, 1841), 451–52, accessed June 16, 2021, <http://www.google.cat/books?id=gVkTeM-1SkwC&pg=PA453&vq=quam&dq=related:BNC1001958596&lr=&hl=es&output=html_text&source=gbs_search_r&cad=1>. Translation from Solterer, *The Master and Minerva*, 5.

woman), who refrains from such overt responsiveness.[518] While this link between woman's language and response could be constructed negatively or positively, as talkativeness or the promise or pledge via an utterance, the function of a woman's speech was seen as conforming to the dictates of a man's verbal action. Consequently, by taking the starting position, the woman in "Concilliés moi, Rolan" becomes the "master" in this arbitration of a love dilemma. Functionally, she gains the most power over the melody and rhyme scheme of the debate and leaves the male interlocutor to follow suit and fit his response onto the structure she has laid out.

"Concilliés moi, Rolan," begins with the lady posing the following conundrum:

"Concilliés moi, Rolan," stanza 1, lines 2–8	
Dui chivaillier me vont d'amor priant.	Two knights are seeking my love.
Riches et prous est li uns, je vos di,	One is rich and worthy, I tell you,
Et se n'ait pas faillit a hardement,	And has not lacked daring.
L'autre, vos di, il est prous et hardis,	The other, I tell you, is worthy and courageous,
Mais il n'ait pais tant d'avoir com ait cilz	But does not possess as much wealth as the first,
Mais cortois est et saiges et cellans	Although he is refined, wise, and discreet,
Et bien se seit garder devant les gens.	And knows how to behave around others.[519]

The scenario is simple: which knight should the lady choose as her lover, the one who is rich, or the one who is poor yet sensible? The two men are described in turn as virtuous and courageous, establishing them both as honorable and bringing the focus to their

[518] Solterer, *The Master and Minerva*, 5. This late thirteenth-century text, of which there are three known copies, remains unedited. For a lengthy description, see John L. Grigsby, "Miroir des bonnes femmes," *Romania* 82.4 (1961): 458–81; idem, "Miroir des bonnes femmes (Suite)," *Romania* 83.1 (1962): 30–51.
[519] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 87–89.

difference in economic standing. Rolant advises her to choose the wealthier man, equating wealth with power and honor and therefore most deserving of love:

"Concilliés moi, Rolan," stanza 2, lines 6–9	
Riches hons prous doit bien estre saixis De haute amor, au los de tous amans, Et bien afiert a dame soffisant K'elle aint si haut c'on ne l'an puist blasmeir	A rich, worthy man deserves to possess Lofty love, which all lovers would praise, And surely it befits an important lady To love so highly that she cannot be blamed for it.

In response, the woman vouches for the poorer man:

"Concilliés moi, Rolan," stanza 3, lines 2–5	
Il me samble vos parleis faintement. Cant povres hons ait grant proësse an li Et avuelz ceu sans et antandement, Et bien se seit celler, trop mués l'an pris	It seems to me that you speak deceitfully. When a poor man possesses great prowess Accompanied by wisdom and judgement, And knows well how to be discreet, I esteem him much more.

She also alleges that Rolant is too greedy, since "Ancontre sans ne valt ors ne argent" (compared to good sense, gold and silver are worthless [stanza 3, line 8]). To the lady, a man who is capable yet wise and sensible is the most desirable candidate. She further expands the poorer knight's abilities beyond the initial characterization of worth and courage, crediting him with *proece* and tying him directly to the ideals of the tournament grounds inhabited by the figures of Jacques Bretel's poem.

Rolant's rebuttal insists that "lofty" Love makes the rich man lose all pride of his own position and act as the sweetest and most submissive lover, but it is clear from this text that the lady prefers a man who risks everything in the pursuit of love and honor. In

stanza five, she argues that the poorer man makes the greatest sacrifice in the pursuit of honor:

"Concilliés moi, Rolan," stanza 5, lines 4–10	
Ke cuer et cors, avoir et tenement	For [the poor man] risks heart and body, riches and possessions
Met por avoir conkerre, los et pris,	To gain wealth, praise, and esteem
Aidier li doit bone dame de pris.	Deserves help from a lady of worth.
Et s'il avient car il soit requairans	And if ever he were seeking
Tres haute amor, et il i est venans,	A very lofty love, and he succeeded,
Tuit si panswer ne sont c'ai bien celler	All his thoughts would go to keeping it secret
Et a servir sa dame et honorer	And to serving and honoring his lady.

Thus, in addition to the exertion of his prowess in order to achieve success and honor, the poorer man also fulfills the requirement of *fin'amors* for secrecy and the protection of his lady's reputation.

The *jeu-parti* ends with a joint *envoi* that communicates a relatively amicable end to the discussion, with both participants acquiescing to the other and leaving the decision in the hands of two judges: the noblewomen Mahaut of Commercy and her sister, the Countess of Linaige. These women also appear as judges in a *jeu-parti* later in the chansonnier, "Lorete, suer, par amor" (RS 1962, fol. 182v, discussed below). As mentioned in the Introduction, the appearance of these women has supported the scholarly hypothesis that the chansonnier was likely compiled at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

In the scenario of "Concilliés moi, Rolan," the debate is ostensibly about the value of a man's wealth versus his ability to improve himself and comport himself sensibly, but the woman's arguments confer value upon other, less obvious traits. She provides an additional contrast of the two potential suitors through her strategy of

emphasizing her preferred knight's physical toil and sacrifice, stressing that the poorer knight risks not just riches but his heart and body in pursuit of his goals. This, in her opinion, is more deserving of honor and her affections than a rich man whose worth is derived from his accumulated wealth and who, presumably, is also averse to physical trials.

One additional debate featuring an unnamed lady pulls together the association between women as arbiters of a man's chivalric deeds and women also desirous of sexual satisfaction, although this time the man participating in the debate is not the familiar Rolant. "Douce dame, ce soit en vos nomer" ("Dear lady, let this one be your call," RS 876=878, fol. 193r) is the last *jeu-parti* of the group of texts not relating to Rolant, and its incipit neither appears in the manuscript's opening index nor is it indicated with a capital letter. The debate is between a lady and a man named "Perrot"; the text appears in four other manuscripts, where "Perrot" is revealed to be the trouvère Pierre de Beaumarchais.[520]

Fitting the more common arrangement where the man speaks first, Perrot poses the following question to his opponent: is it more important for a man to be brave and skilled in battle, but otherwise lacking in refinement or kindness, or for a man to be kind, refined, and generous but lacking courage? From the beginning both participants refer to the hypothetical nature of the situation. In Perrot's opening stanza, he queries:

[520] "Douce dame, ce soit" is found with text only in MSS *C*, fol. 50v; *M*, fol. 173r; and *U*, fol. 70v. The text with an accompanying melody is found in MS *T*, fol. 51r. Pierre de Beaumarchais is credited with two additional surviving texts: "Joie et jouvent, valor et cortoisie" (RS 1115) and "Bien quidai toute ma vie" (RS 1232).

"Douce dame, ce soit," stanza 1, lines 2–9	
Quels volés vos qui li vostres amis soit.	Which of these do you wish your lover to be:
Buen chevalier, s'il li covient armer.	A good knight, when he has to wage battle,
Et desarmés n'i ait nul autre esploit	Whereas disarmed he has nothing to his credit
Ne nule rien de courtoisie ait droit,	Nor frankly any refinement –
Tel le vos fas, c'en est l'une partie.	Such I make him, that's one choice –
U biaus et bons, de douce compaignie,	Or a handsome, good knight, of pleasing company,
Sage et courtois et d'amourous soulas,	Wise and refined, and of loving cheer,
Sans prouëce, itel le vous refas	But lacking prowess, such I make the other.[521]

In this stated dilemma, Perrot offers to the woman a knight who has *proece* but lacks any refinement, and one who possesses all imagined refinements yet lacks *proece*. By making this contrast, Perrot challenges the woman to determine whether *proece* should be the defining characteristic of a knight, or whether a knight who is without it can redeem himself in other ways.

In response, the woman advocates for the valiant knight who lacks refinement, praising his abilities and the long-lasting nature of bravery:

"Douce dame, ce soit," stanza 2, lines 1–4	
Par Dieu, Perrot, mout fait miex a amer	By God, Perrot, of the two, it is preferable to love
Li uns des deus ki proëce reçoit.	The one who is endowed with prowess.
Boens chevaliers ne puet tant amasser	However many unfavorable attributes
Males theches que tous jors preus ne soit	A good knight may amass, he remains valiant forever.

Similar to the *jeux-partis* between Rolant and a female opponent discussed above, the woman in "Douce dame, ce soit" emphasizes in her arguments the superiority of the

[521] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 97–98 (NB: the editors translate "prouece" as "bravery").

brave knight over the cowardly yet refined man because of the former's physical prowess and offers her physical body to the man of her choice. This very explicit sexual offering is made clear with the indication of her willingness to remove her clothing for the one who is *preu* (brave):

"Douce dame, ce soit," stanza 2, lines 7–9	
S'a l'un des .ii. me covient estre amie, Au preu donrai mes guimples et mes las: Tost le ferai cortois entre mes bras.	If I had to take one of these two as a lover, To the brave one I would give my wimple and my laces: I would soon refine him in my arms.

She continues this reference to sex in declaring she would refine him "in her arms," suggesting that she would use her *cortois* (refinement) in the bedroom to bring about the man's betterment. In this way, she valorizes bravery in battle as the single most important trait for a man, one more valuable than numerous other favorable chivalric traits, as well as one that can be bettered through sex.

In response, Perrot reasons that the man's vileness would irritate the lady, and that she would have no success in bettering him through her ministrations. Importantly, he acknowledges that *proece* ought to be the preferable choice, but that the man's less desirable qualities would overshadow that single character trait. Perrot argues that the additional qualities of *larghece et sens et cortoisie* (generosity, wisdom, and refinement), when combined with love, instill *bontés* (kindness) in a man. While the lady acknowledges this, she states that despite possible grief because the knight who is brave also has "vilonie" (vileness), this being fuel for later love laments, she does not yield her choice.

The *jeu-parti* ultimately pits courtly refinement against physical and chivalric *proece*. Both parties acknowledge that prowess is the highest quality of a knight, but ultimately disagree on whether the absence of any other favored traits can lessen its importance. The woman's initial response includes a strong emphasis upon a brave knight's prowess and the physical response that it awakens in her, even conveying hope that such physicality could allow better qualities to emerge in her lover. Courtliness, in her view, is not as significant as bravery, and thus the woman of "Douce dame, ce soit" rejects that love-relationships are supremely courtly affairs. The woman seems to indicate the audience's agreement with her arguments, for she insists that by making her choice she avoids receiving blame ("blasmer," "blasme"). If she garners no criticism, then the judgement stands: it is *proece*, not courtliness, that is the highest marker of an ideal lover and knight.

In all three of his debates with women, Rolant is confronted by opponents who clearly advocate for the physical pleasures of love and prefer the demonstration of a man's *proece* over demonstration of his wealth or status, and these themes are also present in Perrot's debate with an unnamed lady. In this way, the women's voices in these *jeux-partis* engage with dilemmas that pit courtliness and abstract desire against physical ability and chivalric acts. Specifically, they acknowledge that the characteristics of noble and worthy men are wisdom, discreetness, and kindness yet they firmly privilege *proece* over all other traits and demand from their lovers physical (and frequent) consummation.

Sisters Debating Honesty, Defending Consent

As mentioned above, of the 182 extant Old French *jeux-partis*, only thirteen feature a female participant. Even rarer is a debate between two women: there are only three surviving *jeux-partis* with this pairing. One of those is "Lorete, suer, par amor" ("Lorete, sister, in the name of love," RS 1962, fol. 182v), which is part of the first group of twenty-one *jeux-partis* that include the character of Rolant. This is the only *jeu-parti* among that group that does not feature Rolant as a participant, although there is a connection between this *jeu-parti* and one Rolant *jeu-parti*, "Concilliés moi, Rolan," in that they both name the Countess of Linaige and Mahaut of Commercy as judges.

The debate of "Lorete, suer, par amor" takes place between Lorete and an unnamed woman she refers to as "sister." This *jeu-parti* contains a distinctly different gender dynamic due to its solely female participants; since it is not pitting male and female approaches and perspectives against one another, the default male voice is completely silenced. The debate instead discusses a situation where there are shared values and expectations among women and reveals more subtle points of debate within them.

This *jeu-parti* between Lorete and her "sister" presents itself as a discussion about consent and honesty. Consent is a complicated topic to appear within courtly lyric, particularly considering the sizeable *pastourelle* section that follows the *jeux-partis*. As discussed in Chapter One, the need for consent in the *pastourelle* is at best a formality, with the knight-narrator often taking what he wishes regardless of the shepherdess' wishes. In loftier *grands chants*, the distant lady is often not even approached but loved from afar, consummation is a mere fantasy, thus removing the necessity for consent.

The main issue being debated by the two women is what one should value more, the consent of one's friends over one's own acquiescence, when responding to a man's proposal. In this *jeu-parti*, consent is understood by both participants to be inherently important. The unnamed woman speaks first, and poses the following dilemma to her sister, Lorete:

"Lorete, suer, par amor," stanza 1, 3–4, 7–11, 14	
.ii. chivailliers de valor	Two knights, both worthy
Et de cortoisie,	And refined,
[…]	[…]
Chascuns vos vuelt par pariaige [avoir].	Each one wants you in marriage.
Li uns ver vous le celle a son pooir,	One hides it from you as best he can,
Mais bien vous ait requis a vos amis,	But has sought you through your friends,
Et fait ancor. De l'autre vos devis	And still does. The other, I tell you,
Qu'il lou vos dit tot descovertement.	Lays bare his heart to you.
[…]	[…]
Au queil vous plait il mieus a asantir?	To which one do you prefer to consent?[522]

In her initial response to her sister, Lorete argues:

"Lorete, suer, par amor," stanza 2, lines 5–7, 10–14	
Qui n'est lou cuer si osei	He whose heart is not so daring
K'il ot rekerre santei	As to seek well-being
Lai ou il puet garison resevoir.	In the very place he can find a cure.
[…]	[…]
A lui m'acort, k'il est de sans garnis,	To him do I consent, for he acts wisely
Cant par l'acort de mes amis me prant:	When he takes me with the assent of my friends:
Jai n'an serai blasmee de la gent.	Never will I be blamed for it.
Qui ainme honor il la seit maintenir:	He who loves honor knows how to sustain it:
Celui doit bien bone dame cherir.	He is the one a worthy lady should cherish.

[522] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, 78–81.

In both of their arguments, the two women use various forms of the words "consent" (*acort*) and "assent" (*asantir*), and both assume that consent is being asked, whether to the woman's friends or directly to her. In her position, Lorete weighs the judgements of other people more highly than her own and states that it is more honorable to maintain initial secrecy of the man's intentions, only divulging it to her friends. This aligns with the approach of the male-authored *grands chants*, where a lovesick man is encouraged to pine for his lady from afar, for suffering from the pangs of love is considered a noble thing. Lorete's sister takes up the opposing view:

"Lorete, suer, par amor," stanza 3, lines 3–5, 8–12	
Amors met home an ardor	Love kindles a man's desire
Et an derverie.	And drives him to insanity.
Je n'en i voi nul senei.	Not one of them is rational
[…]	[…]
Dont ne doit nuns celui magrei savoir	Therefore no one should reproach him
Se bone amor l'ait an ses lieins mis,	If good love has bound him in its chains,
C'il requiert ceu dont puet estre garis	For he seeks what can cure him
Vers celle cui il ainme loialment.	In the presence of the one he loves faithfully.
Il li doit bien dire son errement.	He surely must disclose his desire to her.

In her argument, the sister claims that true love causes insanity and compels a man to reveal his love directly, although this still implies that asking consent from friends is the "wise" thing to do.

Truth and honesty are presented as significant aspects of love-relationships throughout the debate, although interpreted in different ways and to different degrees by each of the women. The unnamed sister begins by begging Lorete to be truthful, exclaiming, "Ne me celler mie" (Do not conceal the truth from me! [stanza 1, line 2]).[523]

[523] With *celler* meaning "to hide, to keep secret; see *DMF*, s.v. "celer," by Robert Martin, accessed July 22, 2021, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/celer>.

In response, Lorete pledges her honor that she will be truthful, declaring: "N'an mantirai mie" (I shall not lie [stanza 2, line 2]). Such an exchange is not unheard-of in *jeux-partis*; for example, in "Douce dame, respondez," Rolant ends his outline of the dilemma with "dites me voir" (tell me truthfully [stanza 1, line 13]), and in "Concilliés moi, Rolant," the lady responds to Rolant's argument by saying "il me samble vos parleis faintement" (it seems to me that you speak deceitfully [stanza 3, line 2]). In this exchange, however, it is clear that honesty is actually valued, not just as a formality, for in both cases it is honest communication that establishes a man's honor and loyalty. Lorete advocates for consenting to the man who makes his intentions known to her friends first before approaching her, saying that such behavior is wise and will ensure that she not be dishonored for her choice because he is pre-approved.

In response, her sister argues that the man who asks her friends instead of the woman should be seen as pursuing intrigue and hiding his feelings. The man who confesses directly to the woman is more honorable in her view, for he seeks honor in the one he loves. Truthfulness is again brought up in the final two stanzas; both women claim that they are speaking "por voir" (truthfully), and Lorete's sister ends the debate by declaring that the truth will be acknowledged by the two judges, the Countess and her sister Mahaut.

The issue of desire and fear in love and their ability to incite insanity is also visited by Lorete and her sister in their arguments, with both agreeing that desire drives men mad. Lorete further claims:

"Lorete, suer, par amor," stanza 2, lines 8–10	
Paors li fait relaixier son voloir	Fear quiets [a man's] desire

Et fine amor, ki lou cuer li ait pris.	And true love, which has taken hold of his heart,
A lui m'acort, k'il est de sans garnis	To him do I consent, for he acts wisely.

According to Lorete, fear, in overcoming a man's desire, can make him wise and prevent him from exploding into confessions and bringing embarrassment to them both. The man who approaches the woman directly is, in her view, dishonorable and stupid:

"Lorete, suer, par amor," stanza 4, lines 9–11

Mais .i. musars .i. folz .i. volantris	An idiot, an overzealous fool
Ne li chauroit ke por lui fut laidis.	Would not care who was dishonored for his sake,
Mais k'il peüst aconplir son talant	As long as he could satisfy his desire.

According to Lorete, a man who solicits a woman directly is selfish since he clearly does not care about his honor or the woman's. Thus, she refuses to grant her consent to men who are "baut" (bold) in love, believing it would only reward him for dishonorable behavior and lead to further bad behavior down the road.

Honesty in more direct form is championed by Lorete's sister, who paints the man whose fear has led him to seek out the woman's friends as akin to Renart the Fox:

"Lorete, suer, par amor," stanza 5, lines 3–10

Cant celui par sa dousor	When this one tenderly
Ver vous s'umelie.	Humbles himself before you
Et vos requiert loialteit.	And requests your loyalty,
Vos lou teneis an vitei.	You feel contempt for him.
Je jugeroie et diroie por voir.	I would judge and say truthfully
Qu'il doit trop muex an haute amor menoir.	That he is far more deserving of lofty love
Ke li autres seit Renars li Werpis.	Than the other: he is Renart the Fox,
Ke quiert ses tors tant ke il soit saixis.	Who pursues his intrigue until he has seized his prey.

The main character of the widely-circulated animal epic poem *Le Roman de Renart* (ca. 1170), Renart was known for the clever ruses he perpetrated against other animals, and in making this comparison the sister paints a dishonorable picture of Lorete's choice of man. This intertextual reference grants her increased cultural authority by connecting the man in question to a recognizable figure known for dishonesty. At the same time, this connection to a work frequently understood to be a parody of courtly lyric and the nobility adds a cartoonish nature to the "fearful" man and underlines Lorete's adherence to honor and discretion in love. In the sister's opinion, a man who does not confess his love directly to the woman pursues her through unnecessary intrigue and views her only as prey to be tricked into a trap. The man who confesses his love outright is tender and humble, she argues, and should not be rewarded with contempt. After the final comparison of a secretive man to Renart, the sisters' debate is turned over to the judges, the Countess of Linaige and her sister Mahaut who, Lorete's sister declares, will ensure that "bien en sarait la ceritei jehir" (the truth will be fully acknowledged [stanza 5, line 14]).

In this *jeu-parti* between Lorete and her sister, the discussion around consent and honesty is in direct opposition to the subject matter of the *pastourelles* back in Chapter One, which also feature lively dialogues, but ignore the issue of consent. Too often the shepherdess does not or appears not to consent to the experience or expresses her satisfaction after the fact as a kind of retroactive acquiescence. The male narrator frequently attempts to trick or seduce the woman for his own gain and therefore is not honest about his intentions or the situation. The fact that Lorete and her sister value honesty so highly yet disagree over the kind of honesty that is desired from a potential

husband represents surface-level contention with the expectations for courtship and betrothal from the woman's position. As mentioned in Chapter Two, because of ecclesiastical teachings that emphasized the essence of the bond between two individuals and their emotional commitment, by the thirteenth century consent by both parties was considered a core element of a Christian marriage. According to Neil Cartlidge, Church leaders "apparently felt that inward consent was so indispensable to the animation of outward ritual, that its absence rendered the visible formalities of marriage meaningless."[524] The acknowledgement of marriage as a personal relationship, founded in personal choice, also features in the debate between the two sisters. While they both maintain their own preferences and biases for how a man is to proceed in asking a woman for her hand, what is not up for debate is the requirement for the woman's consent for a relationship to commence.

[524] Cartlidge, *Medieval Marriage*, 19.

Ponce m'ait point ci poins, si point *Ke point pert et pointure.*	*Ponce stung me in this spot, so sharply* *That the wound is visible, as is the damage.*
Ponce m'ai point des ke je vix Lai douce fasson de son vis; Et cant je plus sor ceu m'avis, L'avision plus dure. *Ponce m'ait point ci poins, si point* *Ke point pert et pointure.*	Ponce stung me the moment I saw The sweet features of his face, And the more I think of it, The longer the vision lasts. *Ponce stung me in this spot, so sharply* *That the wound is visible, as is the damage.*
Ponce m'ait point d'un dous regairt A coi afiert tres bien esgairt, Mais mes cuers n'est teiz qu'il s'an gairt, Teile est l'agardeüre. *Ponce m'ait point ci poins, si point* *Ke point pert et pointure.*	Ponce stung me with a sweet glance To which my attention fittingly responds, But my heart is not one to be cautious, Such is the glance. *Ponce stung me in this spot, so sharply* *That the wound is visible, as is the damage.*
Ponce m'ai point d'un sovenir De voi j'espoir joie avenir, Et kai qu'il m'an doie avenir, J'en ain bien l'aventure. *Ponce m'ait point ci poins, si point* *Ke point pert et pointure.*	Ponce stung me with a recollection From which I hope joy will come; And come what may, I do like what's come to pass! *Ponce stung me in this spot, so sharply* *That the wound is visible, as is the damage.*[525]

In the above *ballette* (RS 1781, fol. 236r), a woman sings about a man, Ponce, and the painful-pleasurable sensations that she experiences from her encounters with him. The repeated refrain contains alliteration with words beginning with "p," including many with the same stem of "poin." The name of the man responsible for the woman's pleasurable distress, "Ponce," is heard repeatedly, for and each subsequent "p" can be heard as stemming from the source of the "sting" and perpetuating its pain by the repetition of the same percussive sound.

[525] Text and translation from Doss-Quinby, et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 502–03.

Alliteration and sexual innuendo are most often paired in the *fabliaux*, where tongue-twisting passages draw attention to the parodic elements of this overwhelmingly bawdy genre.[526] In real-time performance, the alliteration gives force to the woman's utterances, placing percussive accents upon each iteration of the refrain and stanza beginnings with the repetition of "Ponce," and drawing attention to the more subtle meanings of the text. In performance, the exaggerated movement of the mouth and lips for each aspirated "p" would have further enunciated a text that is preoccupied with physical sensations of pain and pleasure. The word "point," which appears numerous times, is also highly suggestive; from "poindre" (to poke), it can also mean "piquer, éperonner" (to prick, ram), adding a sexual overtone through its suggestion of forceful thrusting into and piercing of something.[527] The *fabliau*-like elements are balanced by octosyllables (the meter of romance) for most of the lines, including the refrain, which is clearly fitted to the text in both theme and rhyme scheme.

Even though the text is describing a particular man, it foregrounds the perspective of the female subject as she recounts an encounter with him and revels in the pain-pleasure that she received from it. Her body's physical sensations are front-and-center throughout, as the repeating refrain revisits Ponce's "sting" and the "wound" that he leaves behind. The stanzas expand upon the specific cause of the stinging sensation: Ponce's face (*son vis*) and sweet glance (*dous regairt*). Such gestures are the stuff of courtly *grands chants*, where male poets agonize over the gaze of their beloved; le

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[526] One such example is *Le Foteor* (The Fucker), which begins: "Qui fabloier velt, si fabloit, / mais que son dit n'en affebloit / por dire chose desresnable" (vv. 1–3), which Nathaniel E. Dubin translated as "Let fabulists confabulate; / but tales too fabulous deflate / a fable's worth and make it feeble." See R. Howard Bloch, *The Fabliaux: A New Verse Translation*, trans. Nathaniel E. Dubin (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2013), 839.
[527] *DEAF*, s.v., "poindre," accessed April 25, 2021, <https://deaf-server.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/lemme/poindre#poindre>.

Châtelain de Coucy (1165–1203), in his song "La douce voiz du louseignol sauvage" ("The sweet voice of the forest nightingale," RS 40), declares: "Car sa biauté me fet si esbahir/Que je ne sai devant li nul langage/Ne regarder n'os son simple visage/Tant en redout mes euz a departir" (I am so abashed by her beauty that in her sight I am tongue-tied and mute; I dare not glance at her innocent face, so much do I fear then looking away [stanza 2, lines 5–8]).[528] In her final stanza, the "sweet recollection" that Ponce "stings" her with is not divulged, and thus is left to the imagination. The woman clearly wishes for such encounters to continue, however, for she declares: "J'en ain bien l'aventure" (I do like what's come to pass!). Remarkable enough for its sexual undertones and female subject, in this *ballette* the speaker blends the lower register and parodic alliteration of the *fabliau* with courtly references, such as the rapturous description of a lover's glance and a higher-register meter, into a performative, and evocative, text expressing feminine desire.

The exploration of such intricate, feminine expressions of love has been the focus of this dissertation, which has taken as its subject the various ways in which women are depicted singing, speaking, and behaving in the trouvère lyrics of the Douce 308 chansonnier. I have demonstrated through representative works that female literary stereotypes are both enabled and destabilized in these texts using the pastoral mode; the citation, allusion, and omission of refrains to confirm or complicate themes or registers; and the theatrical possibilities of dialogic settings, exclamation, and song personification.

[528] Stanza 2, lines 5–8. Text and translation from Rosenberg, et al., *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 254–55.

Each of my chapters has explored a different facet of the representation of women both within and across genre boundaries and explained exactly how a chansonnier that gives an unprecedented amount of room to women's voices presents those female lyrical personae. The introduction explored the cultural contexts of the trouvères, particularly genre and gender categories, and demonstrated the ways in which scholars have variously defined *chansons de femme*. Chapter One examined the figure of the multi-faceted shepherdess as she is represented, and occasionally displaced, in the genre of the *pastourelle*, the fourth-largest genre section in the manuscript, but that with the highest proportion of female characters. The shepherdesses frequently make use of their refrains not as simplistic, fragmented speech, but instead as a significant source of agency in otherwise male-framed narratives, and the variety of formal disruptions demonstrates that the genre of the *pastourelle* is considerably more diverse than previous definitions have recognized. This chapter also addressed the performance of the *robardel* in Jacques Bretel's *Le Tournoi* and its ties to the *pastourelle* and demonstrated how this performance enhances the sexual undertones of the *pastourelle* yet places women in the positions of both characters, where they reenact pastoral fantasies and pleasures within a framework traditionally constructed from a male perspective. While these juxtapositions of pastoral themes and social relationships between men and women are mostly contained within the courtly framework of *Le Tournoi*, the fact that one of the performers is revealed to have been a woman cross-dressing leaves the tensions exposed by the *jeu* unresolved.

Chapter Two explored the genre-crossing *malmariée* character and showed how she is constructed alternatively as a highly disruptive, *fabliau*-like woman who publicly confronts her husband and as a courtly lady who keeps her indiscretions secret from him

and others. The use of the *pastourelle* framing of encounters with the *fabliau-malmariée* highlights the displacement to the woman of a man's authority over his wife and fuses the *fabliau* wife's character with that of the shepherdess. In contrast, the monologues sung by *malmariées* among the *ballettes* consist of significantly more demure women's voices, which favor deceit over honesty to keep their honor intact. In this chapter, I also considered the other *jeu* of Bretel's *Le Tournoi*, the *jeu du chapelet*, in which a noblewoman performs as a courtly-pastoral character who rejects the idea of marriage while singing refrains, showing how the *malmariée* voice momentarily emerges at the intersection of the aristocratic and popular worlds.

Chapter Three discussed the representations of religious women in the chansonnier and demonstrated how each of the religious female characters, despite their inclusion in three different genres, nonetheless expressed a physical need for love and pleasure through inner monologues and dialogues with men, reaffirming the social stereotype that women of all three estates experience sexual desire. In these texts, the poets negotiate the possibility of free choice in love for these women by emphasizing their roles as holy women through sacred references or by displacing identifying refrains so that the women would sound more like those of the *chanson d'ami*, who are the subject of the next chapter.

In Chapter Four, I focused on what I termed the *ballettes d'ami*, which feature the voices of young women in love, and showed how these women's voices, in monologues and dialogues, demonstrate a playful and at times overt resistance to the stereotypes of the female voice through their manipulation of formal and thematic elements, particularly refrains. In these *ballettes*, female speakers resist the stereotypical portrayal of the

woman's voice as one marked by simplicity and lacking narrative authority by presenting complex expressions of female agency through the citation of multi-register refrains, dialogic exchanges, and intertextual references, and by means of themes brought together from a wide range of genres, including the *pastourelle*, *grand chant*, *chanson de toile*, and *chanson pieuse*.

In Chapter Five, I analyzed the participation of women in the *jeux-partis*, particularly in debates against a specific man, Rolant, and demonstrated how these women continue the discourse expected of the ladies at the tournament, represented in *Le Tournoi*, by advocating for tourneying men who demonstrate the chivalric attributes, specifically *proece*, and defending their own choices centered on their rights to physical pleasure. In the final section, I discussed the one example in the chansonnier of two women formally debating with each another, where Lorete and her sister treat the issue not of *proece*, but of consent in marriage. What is not up for debate is the requirement for the woman's consent in order for a marriage to take place, and in this way, the two women speak in line with contemporary perspectives on what constitutes a marriage of equals.

In this dissertation, I have presented specific female lyric types that appear in the Douce 308, but in doing so, I have observed shared characteristics across these diverse representations. The women's voices in the chansonnier, regardless of genre or type, frequently discuss sex for pleasure, the right to choose whether to engage with a man sexually, and the possibility of a woman manipulating her situation to achieve what she desires. At the same time, female speakers encounter sexual violence and domestic abuse, both threatened and enacted, demonstrate the consequences of a young woman's naiveté

or subordination, and chafe against the carefully circumscribed boundaries in which they are expected by social (and mostly male) authorities to conduct themselves.

There is also considerable bending and breaking of generic expectations throughout the female-voiced texts examined here. In Chapters One, Two, and Three, I demonstrate how frequently the "standard" thematic and formal characteristics of the *pastourelle* are disrupted by the revision of form, addition of unexpected characters, or sudden change in the expected narrative. The female lyric types encountered among these texts demonstrate a complex relationship with refrains, which often serve as a means of expression for isolated shepherdesses, as bearers of cultural authority for *malmariée* women, or to illustrate sacred-secular crossovers of religious women, who are portrayed as not-quite-so-different from their secular counterparts. In Chapter Four, the overwhelming diversity of *ballettes d'ami* challenge prevailing notions about the female voice as simple or repetitive. Instead, the women's complex expressions playfully resist the expectations of form and narrative voice in this locally cultivated genre of refrain songs. In the chansonnier, the texts with female voices explore collisions between the contrasting yet suddenly overlapping worlds of courtiers, peasants, and religious men and women. These collisions are frequently enabled and enhanced by the author's use of refrains, which live up to their function as a kind of "shorthand" by instantly connecting a single text to a whole structure of cultural and social expectations, and seamlessly moving across boundaries of speech and song, formal and informal, and poet and audience.

This corresponds to historians' ongoing reevaluation of the roles of real medieval women in society, particularly of noblewomen, and of the outdated assumptions that

women in general did not exert political, social, and cultural forms of power in their respective spaces of activity, whether court, convent, or urban center. In the past twenty years, medievalists have demonstrated that even the indirect and often passive power of noblewomen could match the official authority of a male figure.[529] Yet a woman's role was demonstrably still restricted in distinct ways that varied depending upon her status and environment. For noblewomen, their main responsibility was that of legitimizing the male line by bearing sons (not daughters) and serving as a model of Christian virtue and piety, which often required, as mandated by the Church, the repression of sexual exploration, autonomy, and desire. This dissertation has demonstrated that there are as many representations of women as there are *chansons de femme*, and that each should be analyzed in terms of its individual contexts, language, and relation to poetic norms.

Underpinning this dissertation has been one question that has thus far gone unanswered: why does this chansonnier transmit so many female-voiced songs by comparison with others? Eglal Doss-Quinby hypothesizes that the relatively high concentration of *chansons de femme* in this chansonnier, as well as in another Lorraine chansonnier, MS *C*, suggests a regional predilection for female-authored poetry.[530] Given the current lack of archival evidence from the region, I cannot directly refute or support

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[529] Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*: *Women and Gender in the Early Modern World* (London: Routledge, 2016); eadem, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Misty Urban, *Monstrous Women in Middle English Romance: Representations of Mysterious Female Power* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2010); Albrecht Classen, *The Power of a Woman's Voice in Medieval and Early Modern Literatures: New Approaches to German and European Women Writers and to Violence against Women in Premodern Times* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007); John Wayland Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and Their Male Collaborators* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); J. L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445–1503* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Jennifer C. Ward, *Women in Medieval Europe, 1200–1500* (London: Longman, 2002).
[530] Doss-Quinby, "The Feminine Voice in the Old French Jeu-Parti," 501.

this hypothesis. Yet based upon my analyses of the texts, I can propose some explanations.

The fact that the number of *chansons de femme* is so high does result from my inclusion in this category of encounter texts featuring female characters who are framed by a male narrator, which significantly increases the pool of texts. In Douce 308, a relatively large number of *pastourelles* and *chansons de rencontre* take place in an idealized rural landscape, and this likely attests to the popularity of the pastoral model in the Lorraine region during the thirteenth century. The sheer diversity of these texts, as discussed in this dissertation, shows how the *pastourelle's* juxtaposition and mediation of social differences provided innumerable possibilities for poets to explore. When the *pastourelles* and *chansons de rencontre* are removed, there are forty-one female-voiced monologues or dialogues with at least one female voice. Of these, twenty-one are *ballettes*, with the next-largest genre group being the *jeux-partis*, which include seven dialogues involving female participants. Thus, the largest concentration of *chansons de femme* is in the *ballettes*, a genre characterized by diversity, refrains, and dance-like influences.

A shift toward *chansons* with a woman's voice or perspective may have accompanied the acknowledged change in French song that "elevated" popular genres and registers to the prominence previously held by the courtly *grand chant*, which occurred between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The genres examined here that contained the highest number of female voices, the *pastourelles* and the *ballettes*, most often demonstrated experimentation with refrains, and actively engaged with the mixing of higher and lower registers. In addition, the female lyric voice, in any genre, offers a

distinctly different perspective from the voice of her male counterpart regardless of whether the poet is male or female, and often involves a different set of expressions and concerns (such as parental approval or pressure, pregnancy, loss of youth and beauty, or physical confinement). Perhaps, similar to the tendency for narrative encounters between knights and peasants that explore class differences in the lower register *pastourelle*, the juxtaposition of male and female voices in the trouvère corpus was also of great interest to poets, and presumably their audience as well, for the possibilities their different perspectives afforded. This is especially true in the *ballettes*, a distinctly popular genre despite its inclusion of higher-register styles and references, that feature dialogue between male and female voices, as well as the *jeux-partis*. The fact that four of the *jeux-partis* pair a lady with the same man, Rolant (a potentially fictional persona), suggests that the combination of male and female voices in debate was appreciated enough in the Lorraine region to encourage a poet (Rolant, or his inventor) to stage debates with women or to compose a group of texts with that pairing.

The shift away from courtly genres was also accompanied by the rise of the refrain. The Douce 308 chansonnier, while it contains ninety-two *grands chants* in a high style, also demonstrates the increasing popularity of the courtly-popular tradition evidenced by the considerable number of *pastourelles* and *ballettes* with refrains.[531] As has become evident throughout Chapters One through Four, there are significant connections between the *pastourelle* and *ballette* genre sections: the

[531] By the time of the chansonnier's compilation, the *pastourelle* had become an established genre in Old French lyric and reached its height of cultivation. By the fourteenth century, however, the *pastourelle* sharply declined in popularity in France, but by this time the model had been adopted elsewhere. For example, the Castilian *serranilla* continued, along with some examples in German and Italian, until the end of the fifteenth century; see Paden, *The Medieval Pastourelle*, vol. 1, xi.

pastourelle/encounter texts with female characters appear among the *ballettes* as well as the *pastourelles* and feature the familiar shepherdess but also the *fabliau*-like *malmariée*, the nun, and the beguine.[532] The newer *ballette*, an indicator of the increasing interest in more "popular" dance forms that used refrains, pushed the pastoral mode further by incorporating new, female characters in dialogue with others to experiment with the mediation of different identities and social roles. This, in combination with the prominence of the refrain in the female-voiced texts in general and their frequent juxtapositions of register, genre, and gender, shows, I argue, that the female lyric voice was actively involved in the transformation of French song from courtly to popular, at least in the Lorraine region.

There are also new questions that result from this dissertation. For instance, is there any archival evidence for a higher number of female poets in the Lorraine region? Is there evidence for noblewomen as patrons who may have encouraged the poets of the region to cultivate the female voice in lyric? How were these songs received by their thirteenth-century audiences, especially women? The first two questions require research that was not possible but will be in the future. There exists no comprehensive archival study of the musical environments of Lorraine during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries; only the period after 1400 has been addressed in scholarship, even though earlier archives

[532] This connection was noted by Lucilla Spetia, who proposed that the *pastourelle* was widespread in Lorraine (in addition to Picardy and Artois) where it experienced a further development in dialectical relationship with other genres such as ballettes; see Lucilla Spetia, "Il *corpus* delle pastorelle francesi: una questione ancora aperta," in *Convergences médiévales, épopée, lyrique, roman: mélanges offerts à Madeleine Tyssens*, ed. Nadine Henrard, Paola Moreno, and Martine Thiry-Stassin, 475–86 (Bruxelles: De Boeck Université, 2001).

survive.[533] Yet archival evidence for women's influence on the musical cultures of this region could shine more light on how the trouvère repertory and its reception was shaped by living women and include them in the existing narratives of music history.

For example, in preliminary research, I discovered new evidence for women's associations with musicians in the County of Bar, the immediate neighbor to the west of the Duchy of Lorraine. According to an entry from 1347 in an account book of the *prévôt* (provost)[534] of Longwy from the County of Bar, Yolande of Flanders (1331–95), Countess of Bar, traveled that year to Longwy. A payment in this entry is intended for unnamed minstrels (*menestrelz*) of another named noblewoman:

> Item pour ma dame la contesse qui fuit a Lonwy lan de xlvii…apres boivre despens a dous pour ma dite dame et sa route avec lez menestrelz ma dame de Rodesmatre et de Belrewart et apres ceu que messire Jehans de Billey y adminstrat brissiet…xviii lb. xvii s. xi ds.
>
> Item for my lady the countess [of Bar] who was at Lonwy in the year [13]47…After drink the expense to both for my aforesaid lady and her journey with the minstrels [of] my lady of Rodesmatre, and of Belrewart and after this my lord Jehan of Billey, he there administered [and] divided…18 livres, 17 sols, 11 deniers.[535]

In another entry, in the account book of the *prévôt* of Bouconville and Pierrefort, in 1385, a payment was intended for the minstrels (*menestreis*) of Joanna, Duchess of Brabant (1322–1406), then travelling to Pierrefort:

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[533] Richard Freedman, "Music, Musicians, and the House of Lorraine during the First Half of the Sixteenth Century" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1987); idem, "The Chansons of Mathieu Lasson: Music at the Courts of Lorraine and France, Ca. 1530" *The Journal of Musicology* 8.3 (1990): 316–56; idem, "'Pastourelle Jolie: The Chanson at the Court of Lorraine, C. 1500," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 116.2 (1991): 161–200.
[534] Church official who managed the church's property, local affairs, and estates.
[535] Archives départementales de la Meuse, B 1852.

> …don propre et especial commandement furent bailliez et dehu par loudit prevost aus menestreis la duchesse de Brabant…faicte l'an mil ccc iiii^{xx} cinq lou xiie jour de septembre. 10 livres.
>
> …a suitable gift and specific payment was given and owed by the aforesaid *prévôt* to the minstrels of the duchess of Brabant…made [in the] year one thousand three hundred and eighty-five, [on] the twelfth day of September. 10 livres.[536]

These entries clearly state that the minstrels "belonged" to these two noblewomen, without providing any other information, so it is unclear whether the minstrels were employed by the women or paid for providing entertainment. Such evidence in fourteenth-century archives is relatively rare, because many women, even those of the nobility, would not typically have had the means to support their own musicians, or the education to want them. That such evidence can be located, however, suggests that women participated more in the musical cultures of northern France than was previously assumed, and opens up the possibility of women having had an influence on the repertoires, performance, and reception of vernacular texts and their musical settings.

The last question, that of the audience's response to female-voiced lyrics, is the most difficult to answer, due to the dearth of extant sources describing the performance of lyric or the listening practices of its audience. Much of the information we have about audiences for trouvère song comes from the texts themselves. For instance, the tradition of the *envoi*, in which a poet addresses or praises his or her patron, tells us little about that patron's response or if the song reached any other listeners.[537] Scholars have also turned

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[536] Archives départementales de la Meuse, B 1513.

[537] Ardis Butterfield has explored the connection between the trouvère *envoi* and the members of courts and retinues that served as messengers for kings and other political figures (called envoys), arguing that the trouvère *envoi* both anchors the song in a particular historical moment but also reflects the instability of performance, since a song will only be finished when it is written down and delivered. See Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 187–200.

to the manuscripts that transmit songs; ownership and signs of use are evidence of potential listeners, although in the case of the trouvère chansonniers, the manuscripts were more often intended for display and their audience was increasingly one living generations after the death of the poets.[538] Such evidence is more descriptive of some of the intentions of the individual poet, scribe or compiler, and to a lesser extent the manuscript's intended audience. Other written sources, such as romances, chronicles, sermons, and treatises, provide descriptions of music-making and have been used by scholars to augment our understanding of medieval performance. For example, John Baldwin has derived several new conclusions about the musical entertainments cultivated by the French aristocracy from Jean Renart's *Romance of the Rose* and other late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century romances.[539] Yet while literary sources like romances probably do not directly contradict contemporary practices, evidence from a romance is not reliable, because in this genre reality is often replaced by an idealized image.[540]

Given the clearly fictional representations and idealizations of medieval life that permeate courtly literature, it is not difficult to characterize the texts of Douce 308 as escapist and to imagine that they may have been understood as such by their medieval listeners.[541] For female-voiced songs in particular, whether it be an unhappy union or the

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[538] For example, Catherine Jean Parsoneault posited that the thirteenth-century Montpellier Codex, an important source for motets in French, was commissioned by Marie de Brabant, queen of France from 1275–85, due to the evidence for its creation in Paris and physical indicators of its intended courtly audience. See Parsoneault, "The Montpellier Codex: Royal Influence and Musical Taste in Late Thirteenth-Century Paris" (PhD diss., University of Texas, 2001).

[539] John W. Baldwin, *Aristocratic Life in Medieval France: The Romances of Jean Renart and Gerbert de Montreuil, 1190–1230* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 162–72.

[540] According to Ardis Butterfield, in Renart's *Romance of the Rose*, "we are witnessing not a direct reflection of the way in which the thirteenth century performed trouvère songs […] but a view of how a particular poet wished to represent such performances and their cultural signals." *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 56.

[541] I define "escapism" as the "habitual diversion of the mind to purely imaginative activity or entertainment as an escape from reality or routine. From *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, s.v. "escapism," accessed July 15, 2020, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/escapism>.

desire for a lover, they frequently draw attention to the numerous external forces policing medieval noblewomen's opportunities, behaviors, and bodies, including the literary conventions of "courtly love." Against these authorities, aristocratic women would have had few outlets to acknowledge their own agency and desires for love and relationships and to express criticism of the external supervisory forces that held them to restrictive and at times harmful standards. Through these "participatory aesthetic objects,"[542] however, women may have recognized specifically feminine concerns, desires, and fantasies, or at least what male poets imagined such to be. Regardless, for modern readers encountering these *chansons de femme* in a fourteenth-century chansonnier, they present a diverse representation of female voices that perform femininity and female sexuality confidently and frequently disruptively, communicating a glimpse of what their thirteenth-century authors believed, wanted, or perhaps simply perceived, women to be. In this way, the *chansons* of Douce 308 collectively contribute to imagined feminine fantasies of pleasure and power in love within a lyric tradition that ordinarily privileged male pleasure and perspectives.

[542] A term used by Elizabeth Eva Leach to describe how texts like trouvère lyric served "to assuage and re-direct some of the potentially dangerous thinking" by the medieval nobility that resulted from the stressors and tensions of aristocratic life." See Leach, "One of MS I's grands chants," personal blog, October 9, 2015, accessed May 28, 2021, <https://eeleach.blog/2015/10/09/one-of-douce-308s-grands-chants/>.

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SONG INDEX

Here are the principal lyric texts discussed in this dissertation, organized by incipit (**bold** indicates texts found in Douce 308):