

JOSEPH W. MASON

Email: joseph.mason@ucd.ie

TROUVER ET PARTIR: THE MEANING OF STRUCTURE IN THE OLD FRENCH JEU-PARTI

In their songs, trouvères referred to their own acts of composition in various ways, not least as 'finding' (trouver) or 'dividing' (partir). Both terms had a wide and varied usage in medieval French culture and carried meanings that shape the way that the melodic structure of trouvère songs might be analysed. Invention, and its sister art of memory, played a key role in rhetorical practices. The process of 'finding' a melody and adorning it with memorable musical figures is performed in the structure of some songs. Division was used for intellectual work, as found in the classificatory models of medieval encyclopedic works, but it also signified socio-political animosity and strife. Through close readings of text–music relationships in four jeux-partis, the cultural significance of the musical acts of invention and division in thirteenth-century Arras is assessed in order to explore why trouvères performed acts of invention and division through their songs.

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Manuscript sigla follow those in H. Spanke and G. Raynaud, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes* (Leiden, 1955):

- A Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 657
- C Bern, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 389
- D Frankfurt, Stadtbibliothek, *olim* MS 29
- I Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308
- K Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5198
- M Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 844
- N Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 845
- O Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 846
- P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 847
- R Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1591
- T Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 12615
- V Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 24406
- W Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 25566
- X Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.f. 1050
- Z Siena, Biblioteca comunale, H.X.36

‘Does trouvère melody express poetic meaning?’, asked Hans Tischler nearly three decades ago.¹ Scholars of trouvère song have largely, until recently, avoided this question and, rather than exploring the meaning of melody in trouvère song, have tended to focus on questions of manuscript transmission, scribal practice and historical context.² By examining the language used by trouvères in their songs, it may be possible to understand – at least in a preliminary fashion – the meanings that could be associated with melody in thirteenth-century monophony. Trouvères used several words to describe their compositional acts, two of which deserve closer attention for the light that they shed on the meaning of melody, and in particular the meaning of melodic structure: *trouver* (to find) and *partir* (to divide). Rooted in medieval discourses of rhetoric, literary composition and cognition, the concepts of *trouver* and *partir* open a window onto the approaches that trouvères took to creating their songs. In this study, I argue that by paying close attention to the relationships between the words and melodic structures employed by trouvères, we may gain an insight into their creative processes and the meanings that such compositional acts were felt to have among trouvères and their contemporaries. A particularly rich source for understanding meaning in monophonic song is the *jeu-parti*, a genre of trouvère song in which two trouvères debate a love question by exchanging stanzas.³ Because trouvères responded to one another (or at least appear to) in *jeux-partis*, the genre offers a snapshot of processes of musical creation

a Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1490

b Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1522

¹ H. Tischler, ‘Does Trouvère Melody Express Poetic Meanings?’, *Orbis Musicae*, 10 (1990–1), pp. 87–97.

² Recent examinations of text–music relations in trouvère song include D. E. O’Sullivan, ‘Text and Melody in Early Trouvère Song: The Example of Chrétien de Troyes’s “D’Amors qui m’a tolu a moi”’, *Text*, 15 (2003), pp. 97–119; E. E. Leach, ‘Do Trouvère Melodies Mean Anything?’, *Music Analysis*, 38 (2019), pp. 3–46; and J. W. Mason, ‘Structure and Process in the Old French *jeu-parti*’, *Music Analysis*, 38 (2019), pp. 47–79.

³ Although the subject matter of *jeux-partis* is frequently courtly love, several scholars (in particular Michèle Gally) argue that the *jeu-parti* was a space in which the ideals of *fine amour* could be tested in a different way from the *chanson*; the *jeu-parti* gives names of its participants and uses an explicitly dialectical structure to explore the themes of the *chanson* in a non-lyric way. See *Medieval Debate Poetry: Vernacular Works*, ed. and trans. M. Bossy (New York, 1987), p. xv; M. Gally, ‘Disputer d’amours: Les arrangeois et le jeu-parti’, *Romania*, 107 (1986), pp. 55–76, at p. 55; M. Gally, *Parler d’amour au puy d’Arras: Lyrique en jeu* (Orléans, 2004), pp. 59–65; M. Gally, ‘Le chant et la dispute’, *Argumentation*, 1 (1987), pp. 379–95, at p. 380; D. E. O’Sullivan, ‘The Northern *jeu-parti*’, in J. Saltzstein (ed.), *Musical Culture in the World of Adam de la Halle* (Leiden and Boston, 2019), pp. 153–88, at pp. 156–7.

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and reception and the social value of *inventio* and *divisio* played out through song.

When discussing the structure of vernacular monophonic song, scholars have tended to focus on categorisation rather than on the structure's meaning, normally recording particular parameters of text and melody. On the largest scale, the same melody may be set to several strophes in a song (isostrophic), or different strophes could have different melodies (heterostrophic). This was often aligned to genre, with, for example, *grand chant* as isostrophic and the *lai* as heterostrophic.⁴ At the level of the strophe, a melody could be structured by the repetition of significant portions that corresponded to poetic lines, as in the *pedes-cum-cauda* form (AAB), or it could be through-composed. The structure of song texts can be described in terms of the number of lines in a strophe, the number of syllables per line (isometric or heterometric), the use of oxytonic and paroxytonic line endings, the scheme of rhyme words at the end of lines, the use of caesuras and the reuse of rhyme sounds from strophe to strophe. The inclusion and placement of refrains also feature in descriptions of form.

Our knowledge and methods for studying the structure of medieval song have been shaped significantly by the work of Friedrich Gennrich. Before his monumental study, *Grundriss einer Formenlehre* (published in 1932), scholars had, according to Gennrich, insufficiently documented the ways in which poetic and, especially, musical forms were constructed in medieval song.⁵ Gennrich considered the end of the eleventh century until the end of the thirteenth century to be a period that witnessed the greatest variety and richness of musico-poetic form ever.⁶ Writing with explicitly biological terminology (Gennrich refers to song strophes as organisms), he understood all surviving medieval songs to belong to one of four species: the litany, the rondeau, the sequence and the hymn. To taxonomise songs in this way, Gennrich devised a graphical representation for the different interlocking structures of a song, showing rhyme scheme, syllable

⁴ Exceptions to this are the *descort*, which was sometimes isostrophic and sometimes heterostrophic, and the *chanson avec des refrains*, in which each strophe had the same melody but ended with a melodically and textually different refrain. The relationships between structure and genre are discussed in E. Aubrey, 'Genre as a Determinant of Melody in the Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères', in Aubrey (ed.), *Poets and Singers: On Latin and Vernacular Monophonic Song* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 183–206.

⁵ F. Gennrich, *Grundriss einer Formenlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes als Grundlage einer musikalischen Formenlehre des Liedes* (Halle, 1932), pp. 2–14. Gennrich had called for greater attention to be paid to musical form earlier in his 'Die Musik als Hilfswissenschaft der romanischen Philologie', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 39 (1918), pp. 330–61.

⁶ Gennrich, *Grundriss*, p. 2.

count and the repetition of melodic segments (which correspond either to the whole or to parts of individual poetic lines). This method of representing musico-poetic structure remains in use in scholarship today, albeit with different symbols.⁷

The drive to taxonomise that can be seen in Gennrich's work is also found in the publications of other nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars. Gaston Raynaud's catalogue of *trouvère* song (1884) is ordered by the end-rhyme of the first line of each song; Hans Spanke's reworking of the catalogue in 1955 added to each song the number of syllables per line, rhyme scheme and melodic scheme, as well as providing information on songs that shared the same poetic or musico-poetic structure.⁸ One of the applications of Gennrich's method, as taken up by Spanke (and expanded later by Ulrich Mölk and Friedrich Wolfzettel), was the identification of a song as a contrafact of or model for another, which was particularly appealing for scholars of Middle High German lyric, such as Gennrich and Spanke.⁹ But in using formal classification as a means to compare songs to one another, Gennrich, Spanke and others divorced the musical structure of individual songs from the social context in which those songs were composed.¹⁰ Although Gennrich asks at the end of the *Grundriss* why poets chose particular forms, he provides no answer, passing over the question of what meaning musical structures might have carried for particular poets at specific historical moments.¹¹

⁷ Perhaps the clearest example of the continued use of Gennrich's system is in Tischler's *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition* (Neuhausen, 1997), in which every song is preceded by graphs that represent musico-poetic structure in a manner similar to Gennrich.

⁸ G. Raynaud, *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1884); Spanke and Raynaud, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie*.

⁹ U. Mölk and F. Wolfzettel, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie lyrique française des origines à 1350* (Munich, 1972). For examples of the application of Gennrich's *Formenlehre* to the identification of contrafacts, see Gennrich, 'Die Musik als Hilfswissenschaft', pp. 333–41; Gennrich, *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters* (Langen bei Frankfurt, 1965); H. Spanke, 'Das öftere Auftreten von Strophenformen und Melodien in der altfranzösischen Lyrik', *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur*, 51 (1928), pp. 73–117.

¹⁰ Meghan Quinlan has recently argued that historical context should play a greater role in the scholarly evaluation of contrafacture: M. Quinlan, 'Contextualising the Contrafacta of Trouvère Song' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2017), pp. 260–1. Gennrich's transhistorical approach to musical form has its most extreme instantiation in the epilogue to his *Grundriss*, where he suggests a formal continuity between the 'reduzierte Strophenlai' (ABABCAB) and sonata form of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

¹¹ Gennrich, *Grundriss*, p. 254.

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Recently, musicologists and literary scholars have turned to the meanings that *trouvère* melodies might carry, but rarely in relation to melodic structure. Some have argued that textual meaning and musical structure are unrelated: John Stevens cites the importance of number in medieval music theory and sees number (the numerical match between number of syllables and lines and the number of pitches) as the only meaningful aspect of a song's formal structure.¹² Daniel E. O'Sullivan, while renewing the call for literary scholars to consider melody as well as text, interprets the non-relation between textual and musical structures in a song by Chretien de Troyes as a rendering of the irony in Chretien's text.¹³ While Elizabeth Aubrey maintains that text and melody each follow their own logic and are to some extent independent and autonomous, she does suggest the structure of a song's melody could mimetically represent its narrative arc;¹⁴ she argues that medieval treatises show text and music to spring from the same *razo*, and therefore to be conceptually related.¹⁵ Mary O'Neill notes the changes in the melodic structure of *trouvère* song throughout the thirteenth century, but attributes these to changes in musical taste, rather than new approaches to the expression of meaning.¹⁶ Both Aubrey and O'Neill also move beyond Gennrich's view of musical structure by considering tonal structure and small-scale motivic repetition.¹⁷

Judith A. Peraino's discussion of the Occitan *descort* provides an important methodological touchstone for this investigation of the *jeu-parti*.¹⁸ The *descort* is a genre of troubadour song defined by its unusual structure: some *descorts* have different versification patterns (and presumably, therefore, a different melody) for each strophe, while others are isostrophic but multilingual. Peraino examines the meanings and associations of the word 'descort', arguing that ideas of social discord, lateness and a breaking of the alignment between sound and sense can be associated with the genre's discordant musico-poetic structures. This discord is played out in performance,

¹² J. Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 47.

¹³ O'Sullivan, 'Text and Melody in Early Trouvère Song', p. 110.

¹⁴ E. Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington, IN, 1996), p. 144.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 77–8.

¹⁶ Compare, for example, O'Neill's discussion of the complex interaction between syntax, melody and metrics in Gautier de Dargies (pp. 101–16) and the subversion of 'characteristic genre-structure associations' (p. 151) in songs by the later *trouvère* Moniot de Paris: M. J. O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire* (Oxford, 2006).

¹⁷ Aubrey, *Music of the Troubadours*, pp. 144–97; O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, pp. 110–12.

¹⁸ J. A. Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut* (New York and Oxford, 2011), pp. 76–122.

where singers must struggle to make sense of these ‘studies in performative disruption’.¹⁹ I also want to make the case for viewing musical structure as a performance of meaning, though not in the same way as Peraino proposes for the *descort*. By considering the context in which poet-composers ‘performed’ particular musical structures (be that an act of composition or an act of live performance), I argue that it is possible to understand the ideas and values that were associated with melodic structure.²⁰

Such associations become particularly clear in cases where *trouvères* allude explicitly to their song-making as an act of ‘finding’ (*trouver/inventio*) or ‘dividing’ (*partir/divisio*).²¹ Here, I examine each of these terms for their medieval resonances and show how the poet-composers for four *jeux-partis* performed these meanings through their use of musical structure. I close by considering how widespread these melodic structures were, and the extent to which invention and division lie behind such cases of musical structure.

FINDING AND LOSING SONG

Jehan de Grieviler begins his *jeu-parti* *Sire Bretel, mout savés bien trouver* (RS 899) by praising his opponent Jehan Bretel for his skill in finding songs:²²

Sir Bretel, you know truly, in my view, how to find (*trouver*) divisions and songs²³ and for this reason I would ask you, when does a noble lover make (*faire*) more loving songs: either when he has his lover at his disposal, or when he serves in hope, desiring that he will be able to have pleasure from his lover, each leading a good life? But tell me, I pray you, which of these states makes the heart more invigorated?²⁴

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

²⁰ There is not space here to account fully for the use of the concept of performativity in music studies to date. Notable examples include Lawrence Kramer’s theorisation of ‘structural tropes’ in his *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800–1900* (Berkeley, 1990), p. 12 and N. Cook, *Beyond the Score: Music as Performance* (New York and Oxford, 2014). Sarah Kay considers performative meaning in relation to the troubadour *canço* in *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 132–70.

²¹ I do not distinguish strongly between the French and Latin terms for invention and division because I consider the French concepts to be closely related to the wider intellectual constructs represented by the Latin.

²² An RS number refers to a song’s number in Spanke and Raynaud, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie*.

²³ The phrase ‘divisions and songs’ refers to two genres of *trouvère* song, the song (*chanson*) and *jeu-parti* (here designated as *parture*). In some sources, the term ‘partures’ is the genre label given for *jeux-partis*.

²⁴ ‘Sire Bretel, mout bien savés trouver,/Ce m’est avis, partures et chançons;/Et pour itant je vous voel demander/Quant fins amis fait plus amoureux sons/U quant il a s’amie a son

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Two phrases in this opening verse make an explicit connection between song composition and rhetorical invention. First, there is the use of the term *trouver*. Since ‘trouver’ occurs only twice in *jeux-partis* to describe composition (as opposed to ‘finding’ in a more general sense), it is likely that listeners would have understood this to be a pointed reference to the rhetorical practice of *inventio*.²⁵ Second, the mention of the heart is a clear reference to a second aspect of rhetorical practice, *memoria*. The heart was considered to be the seat of memory in the Middle Ages, and here Grieviler explicitly connects the invigoration of the heart – and memory – to the invention of poetry and music.²⁶ Together, these phrases invite an interpretation of RS 899 in terms of rhetorical invention and its associated mnemotechnical practice, with which it appears Grieviler was familiar.

It is, in fact, very likely that Grieviler, an unordained cleric living in Arras, was educated in rhetorical invention, and that many of his listeners would have been too.²⁷ An affluent city and a political and religious hub, Arras boasted a population of which an unusually high proportion had received some form of clerical education. Carol Symes argues that the schools at the Abbey of St-Vaast and the cathedral educated many more men than were required to work at these institutions; Arras and its confraternity of jongleurs (known as the *Carité des Ardents* or the *puy*) probably therefore had an unusually high proportion of educated members.²⁸ As Jennifer Saltzstein has argued, ‘the genre [of the *jeu-parti*] was dominated by trouvères who were also clerics’.²⁹ A number of trouvères who participated in *jeux-partis* are addressed by the title ‘maistre’, a possible indication that the

comment,/U quant il sert en espoir, desirant/K'il puist joïr de s'amie./En cascun a bonne vie,/Mais dites moi, je vous en voel proïer,/Li queus estas fait plus cuer envoïer.' (RS 899, lines 1–10). Old French quotations are taken throughout this study from Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies*. Translations are my own.

²⁵ The two *jeux-partis* to use the term *trouver* in this sense are RS 899 and RS 1191. Sarah Spence argues that the Occitan term *trobar*, the equivalent of the Old French *trouver*, ‘has the same connotations as the Latin *invenire*’ in troubadour poetry: S. Spence, *Rhetorics of Reason and Desire: Vergil, Augustine, and the Troubadours* (Ithaca, NY, 1988), p. 107. The etymological roots of *trobar* are discussed in L. T. Topsfield, *Troubadours and Love* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 4.

²⁶ On the relationship between the heart and memory, see E. Jager, *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago and London, 2000), p. 45; M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 48–9.

²⁷ On historical evidence about Grieviler, see E. Aubrey, ‘Jehan de Grieviler’, in *Grove Music Online: Oxford Music Online* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.14234>> (acc. 13 April 2019).

²⁸ C. Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca, NY and London, 2007), p. 41.

²⁹ J. Saltzstein, ‘Cleric-Trouvères and the Jeux-Partis of Medieval Arras’, *Viator*, 43 (2012), pp. 147–64, at p. 149.

trouvère had benefitted from a clerical education.³⁰ That the clerical status of trouvères was particularly prized in Arras would suggest that listeners might have been attuned to signs of scholastic education in the structure and content of trouvères' songs.

Scholastic and monastic education are likely to have included a study of rhetoric, whose key texts were Cicero's *De Inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, possibly misattributed to Cicero.³¹ The teaching of rhetoric in the Middle Ages has been widely discussed in scholarly accounts; I offer only a brief summary here.³² In rhetorical treatises, *inventio* was a key pillar in the five-part scheme of rhetoric, consisting of invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery. The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* places particular emphasis on invention as the most important of these.³³ An architectural model is central to Cicero's theory of memory and invention: he suggests that one's memory should consist of a series of rooms or niches in each of which an image is placed, which must be emotionally affective in order to stimulate the memory.³⁴ Medieval theorists followed Cicero's teaching, sometimes using other spatial metaphors such as a beehive, book or grid instead of Cicero's rooms or niches.³⁵ An author was to traverse the different locations of his or her memory (either walking through the different spaces or observing them from a stationary position) in order to find (literally) the things (each item in one's

³⁰ Saltzstein suggests that the title 'magister' indicated that a cleric had gained his *licentia docendi* and was permitted to teach, but that not all uses of 'maistre' in *jeux-partis* can have referred to such highly qualified men: *ibid.*, p. 152.

³¹ For the purposes of this discussion, I will refer to the author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium* as Cicero. While the *Ad Herennium* was a resource for teaching throughout the Carolingian era and later Middle Ages, a flurry of commentaries on the *Ad Herennium* appear from the twelfth century, suggesting widespread interest in the text: see discussion in J. O. Ward, 'The Medieval and Early Renaissance Study of Cicero's *De Inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: Commentaries and Contexts', in V. Cox and J. O. Ward (eds.), *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition* (Leiden and Boston, 2006), pp. 3–69, at pp. 23–5.

³² Recent studies on the teaching of Ciceronian rhetoric in the Middle Ages include Ward, 'The Medieval and Early Renaissance Study', and R. Copeland, 'The Ciceronian Rhetorical Tradition and Medieval Literary Theory', in Cox and Ward (eds.), *The Rhetoric of Cicero*, pp. 239–65. The relation of rhetoric to memory has been discussed at length in M. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 1998) and Carruthers, *Book of Memory*. A helpful summary of rhetoric is given in Aubrey, *Music of the Troubadours*, pp. 66–72.

³³ M. T. Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, trans. H. Caplan (Cambridge, MA, 2014), p. 59.

³⁴ Cicero outlines the relationship of memory to invention *ibid.*, pp. 205–25.

³⁵ Carruthers discusses these and several more in her *Book of Memory*, pp. 34–45. An important musical application of the structured space of memory in the Middle Ages was the so-called Guidonian hand and the musical staff: see K. Berger, 'The Hand and the Art of Memory', *Musica Disciplina*, 35 (1981), pp. 87–120.

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memory is a *res*) that can be arranged to form their composition. Memory was thus a tool (*machina*) for invention.³⁶

The Ciceronian theory of invention permeated discussions of poetic composition, which could be found in the new genre of the *ars poetica* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.³⁷ Perhaps the most famous example is Geoffrey of Vinsauf, who opens his *Poetria nova* with an extended comparison of poetic composition to architectural construction: an architectural blueprint, or the *res* of the poem, is first found, and then the building or poem is constructed from it.³⁸ Geoffrey places particular emphasis on the next stage of the compositional process, the technique of amplification, in which the poet would ‘clothe the matter [of the poetry] with words’.³⁹

Whether the poetic treatises of Matthew of Vendôme, Geoffrey of Vinsauf and John of Garland properly concern *inventio*, arrangement or style has been contested by scholars.⁴⁰ Unlike others – Douglas Kelly, for example – I am not concerned here with the extent to which specific aspects of rhetorical style such as *prosopopoeia* or *circumlocutio* can be applied directly to *trouvère* song.⁴¹ For the purposes of my study, it is sufficient to note that in rhetorical or poetic composition, defined broadly, material was ‘found’ in the inventory of one’s memory and organised into a structured scheme from which it could be verbalised into a significant piece of oratory or poetry. This general model for *inventio* can be seen at work in romance literature and lyric compositions, despite the fact that in these genres, the precise procedures described in Ciceronian texts or in poetic treatises may not always be followed to the letter.⁴²

It is within this broad definition of *inventio* that I shall discuss *trouvère* song. Invention and memory have been discussed widely

³⁶ On the metaphor of the memory as a machine, see Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 22–4.

³⁷ The earliest surviving treatise of poetry alone (as opposed to rhetoric more generally) is considered to be Matthew of Vendôme’s *Ars versificatoria*, dated around 1175; before this, written composition was treated in more general accounts known as the *artes dictaminis*. See M. Curry Woods, ‘The Teaching of Poetic Composition in the Later Middle Ages’, in J. Murphy (ed.), *A Short History of Writing Instruction: From Ancient Greece to Modern America* (Mahwah, NJ, 2001), pp. 123–44, at p. 123.

³⁸ M. Carruthers, ‘The Poet as Master Builder: Composition and Locational Memory in the Middle Ages’, *New Literary History*, 24 (1993), pp. 881–904, at p. 889.

³⁹ Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, trans. M. F. Nims (Toronto, 1967), p. 17.

⁴⁰ See discussion in R. Edwards, *Ratio and Invention: A Study of Medieval Lyric and Narrative* (Nashville, TN, 1989), pp. 81–6.

⁴¹ Kelly gives examples of courtly literature that correspond to such poetic tropes in D. Kelly, ‘Theory of Composition in Medieval Narrative Poetry and Geoffrey of Vinsauf’s *Poetria Nova*’, *Mediaeval Studies*, 31 (1969), pp. 117–48.

⁴² On the use of Ciceronian rhetorical techniques in courtly literature, see D. Kelly, ‘Obscurity and Memory: Sources for Invention in Medieval French Literature’, in L. Ebin (ed.), *Vernacular Poetics in the Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, 1984), pp. 33–56.

in relation to medieval music. Theodore Karp, Leo Treitler and others have hypothesised that chant was stored in the memory through ‘chunking’ and then reconstructed in performance,⁴³ an approach to memory and composition that may have also applied to polyphonic practice such as that outlined in the Vatican Organum Treatise.⁴⁴ According to Aubrey, the technique of invention was used by the troubadours primarily to find a melody appropriate to the register of the poetry that it accompanied; the shaping of a melody was left to the later stages of the rhetorical process (*dispositio* and *elocutio*).⁴⁵ Here, I take a different approach, while acknowledging that melodic formulae and registral propriety may both have been considerations for trouvères. Instead, I want to suggest that a trouvère melody might perform the process of invention in a way that was discernible to listeners.

With its overt references to musico-poetic composition, RS 899 (introduced above) draws attention to the way it was made and thus invites an analysis of its structure. In this *jeu-parti*, composed by Jehan de Grieviler and Jehan Bretel, the poetry of the first stanza shapes how the melody is structured:

Sire Bretel, mout bien savés trouver,	Sir Bretel, you know truly, in my view,
	how
Ce m'est avis, partures et chançons;	to find (<i>trouver</i>) divisions and songs and
Et pour itant je vous voel demander	for this reason I would ask you, when
	does
Quant fins amis fait plus amoureux	a noble lover make (<i>faire</i>) more loving
sons?	songs?
U quant il a s'amie a son commant,	Either when he has his love at his
	command,
U quant il sert en espoir, desirant	or when he serves in hope, desiring
	that he
K'il puist joïr de s'amie,	will be able to have pleasure from
	his lover,
En cascun a bonne vie.	each leading a good life?
Mais dites moi, je vous en voel	But tell me, I pray you, which of
proïer:	these states makes the heart more
Li queus estas fait plus cuer envoisier?	invigorated?

⁴³ See, for example, T. Karp, *Aspects of Orality and Formularity in Gregorian Chant* (Evanston, IL, 1998), esp. pp. 5–16 and 99–134; L. Treitler, ‘Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant’, in *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it was Made* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 131–85; L. Treitler, ‘“Centonate” Chant: *Übles Flickwerk* or *e pluribus unus?*’, *ibid.*, pp. 186–201.

⁴⁴ A. M. B. Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley and London, 2005), pp. 65–74 and 119–34.

⁴⁵ Aubrey, *Music of the Troubadours*, p. 76.

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Lines 1–4 introduce the debate by praising Bretel and posing a question. Then lines 5–8 present the two alternative choices of the dilemma, using the construction ‘u ... u’ (either ... or, indicated above in bold type). Finally, lines 9–10 conclude the stanza, as Grieviler turns once again to Bretel. Line 9 is separated from line 8 by the conjunction ‘mais’ (but), also indicated above in bold.⁴⁶

This tripartite poetic structure corresponds to melodic structure (see Example 1 for a transcription of the first stanza from chansonnier Z).⁴⁷ As Saltzstein shows for songs by Gace Brulé, the poetic structure of *pedes-cum-cauda* (AAB) was often complemented by a structural break in the melody at the end of the *pedes* and the start of the *cauda*.⁴⁸ *Sire Bretel* is in *pedes-cum-cauda* form (AAB) and melodically articulates its textual structure in a similar way. Lines 1–4 consist of a *pes* (lines 1–2) that is repeated (lines 3–4), in which the melody outlines a cadence on *G*, moves to a secondary tonal centre on *d*, and then returns to *G*.⁴⁹ Lines 5–8, the first part of the *cauda*, repeat this melodic material in a more elaborated fashion, but starting from *a*, rather than *G* (the song’s primary pitch). Line 5 begins with an elaboration of *a* and avoids *G* as it moves to *d*. Starting in the tonal region centred on *d*, line 6 moves towards *G* but never arrives, finishing on the open pitch *a*. Line 7 is centred strongly around *d*, after which line 8 makes the return to *G*, causing tonal closure to coincide with the end of a structural unit of poetry. Lines 9–10 then repeat the tonal process *a–d–G* yet again, but in a different way from the opening *pes*. The two latter sections of the melody thus closely follow the *pedes* but also prolong tonal expectation by avoiding *G* until the end of each section. The relationships between the three sections of the melody can be seen clearly in Example 1, which aligns melodic sections by pitch.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ George Lavis has shown that ‘mais’ was a trigger word for the start of a new semantic unit in *jeu-parti* poetry: ‘Le jeu-parti: Jeu de réfutation, d’opposition et de concession’, *Medioevo Romanzo*, 16 (1991), pp. 21–128, at p. 31.

⁴⁷ RS 899 is transmitted with music notation only in chansonnier Z, fols. 42^r–43^r. The text, with small variants in the stanzas and without either *envoi*, is also transmitted in chansonnier b, fol. 164^r.

⁴⁸ J. Saltzstein, ‘Songs of Nature in Medieval Northern France: Landscape, Identity, and Environment’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 72 (2019), pp. 115–80, at pp. 130–1.

⁴⁹ I use the term ‘cadence’ to describe any gesture of tonal closure, regardless of its placement in a poetic line. See discussion in Mason, ‘Structure and Process in the Old French *jeu-parti*’, pp. 62–3.

⁵⁰ Alignment by pitch can also be found in paradigmatic analyses of monophonic song in M. O’Neill, ‘L’art mélodique dans “les chanz fors et pesans” de Gautier de Dargies’, *Revue de Musicologie*, 81 (1995), pp. 165–90, at p. 184, of which a later version is given in her monograph *Courty Love Songs*, and M. Switten, *The Cansos of Raimon de Miraval: A Study of the Poems and Melodies*, Medieval Academy Books, 93 (Cambridge, MA, 1985), pp. 24–38.

Example 1 *Sire Bretel, mout savés bien trouver* (RS 899), stanza 1 from chansonnier Z, aligned by pitch

AA

1. Si - re Bre tel mout biens a - vés trou - ver, 2. Ce m'est a - vis, par - tu-res et chan - çons;
 3. Et pour i - tant je vous voel de - man - der 4. Quant fins a - mis fait plus a - mou - reus sons

B

5. U quant il a s'amie a son commant, 6. U quant il

8 sert en es-poir, de-si - rant

7. K'il puist jo - ïr de s'a-mi - e

8. En cas-cun a bon - ne vi - e,

9. Mais di tes moi, je vous en voel proi - ier, 10. Li queuses - tas fait plus cuer en voi sier.

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A few aspects of the general approach to melody manifest in Example 1 warrant discussion. First, the example treats multiple pitches within a neume as equivalent to pitches set syllabically, such as ‘avis par-’ in line 2 and ‘-rant’ in line 6. This conception of melody requires a more flexible approach to text–music relationships than has previously been accepted; as Elizabeth Eva Leach has recently argued in relation to melodic variants in *trouvère* song, however, ‘the flexibility of text-music alignment can be seen to support the idea that basic pitch string is a more fundamental aspect of melody than its syllabification’.⁵¹ Second, the end of a poetic line is not always the end of a melodic section. Line 6 opens with three pitches that correspond to the end of line 1; the rest of the pitches in that poetic line span the end of line 1 and the start of line 2.⁵² Previous analyses of *trouvère* song almost always divide the melody only according to poetic lines because syllable count and rhyme was an important aspect of poetic structure.⁵³ While the relationship between melodic structure and poetic line was clearly a site of play for *trouvères* – the close correspondence between the start of line 8 and lines 2 and 4 in this song, for example – poetic line was not the only measure of melodic structure.

As Example 1 shows, the three sections of the melody (lines 1–4, 5–8 and 9–10) are closely related, and the resulting melodic structure

⁵¹ Leach, ‘Do *Trouvère* Melodies Mean Anything?’, p. 17. I am grateful to Leach for sharing a draft of this article before publication.

⁵² This is not the only solution to aligning the pitches in line 6 with the melody of lines 1–4. However, the leap of a fourth between the third and fourth syllables of line 6 would suggest that this constitutes a melodic break, given that most of the melody is in conjunct motion.

⁵³ While acknowledging that third chains can span breaks between lines, Leo Treitler generally conceives of troubadour and Minnesang melodies in terms of poetic line in ‘The Marriage of Poetry and Music’, in *With Voice and Pen*, pp. 457–81. Fiona McAlpine uses Schenkerian approaches in her analyses of songs by Hugues de Berzé to show voice-leading across line breaks, but frequently considers the final pitches of lines to be of structural importance: F. McAlpine, ‘Authenticity and “Auteur”: The Songs of Hugues de Berzé’, *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 4 (2008), pp. 13–32. Mary O’Neill generally treats the poetic line as the most important structuring unit of melody. Though she does not explicitly state it in her analysis of Gautier de Dargies’s *Maintes foiz m’a Ven demandé* (RS 419), her paradigmatic diagram of the song shows melodic material cutting across line divisions: O’Neill, *Courty Love Songs*, pp. 111–12 (analysis) and 130–1 (diagram). Described as a ‘rare, fringe practice’, the non-alignment of poetic lines and melodic segments is demonstrated in T. Karp, ‘Interrelationships between Poetic and Musical Form in *Trouvère* Song’, in E. H. Clincksale and C. Brook (eds.), *A Musical Offering: In Honour of Martin Bernstein* (New York, 1977), pp. 137–161, at p. 158. The two existing studies of *jeux-partis* melodies both divide melody according to poetic line: M. F. Stewart, ‘The Melodic Structure of Thirteenth-Century “Jeux-Partis”’, *Acta Musicologica*, 51 (1979), pp. 86–107; B. B. Pascale, ‘Le musiche nei jeux-partis francesi’, *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia: Università degli Studi di Perugia*, 13 (1975–6), pp. 509–72.

would probably have been audible to listeners.⁵⁴ It is through this melodic structure that Grieviler presents a process of Ciceronian invention to listeners. The process starts by finding things laid down in one's memory. In this *jeu-parti*, Grieviler first sets out a melody (the *pedes*) that can be memorised. Because music is ephemeral, a melody goes out of existence as soon as it has been performed, save for its existence in the memory of singers and listeners.⁵⁵ The performance of the *pedes* thus automatically entails the commitment of the opening melody to memory, the machine of invention. In the *cauda*, Grieviler then goes about the process of 'finding' the melody. He works through the melodic material that was established in the *pedes*, this time in a more elaborate form, amplifying it with melodic embellishments (indicated in Example 1 by brackets).⁵⁶ What is more, the melody of lines 1–2 is not simply repeated in an embellished form: a portion of the melody is stated and another section begins, not where the first portion leaves off, but at an earlier point. Since portions of melody in lines 5–8 overlap, it seems as if the melody is being created from a melodic blueprint (lines 1–2) that has been previously fixed. Grieviler revisits parts of the *pedes* melody in whichever order he wants since it is stored in his memory.

It is important to distinguish here between what Grieviler and Bretel really did to compose this song, and how listeners understood a song in performance – both of which can only be hypothesised. It is likely that Grieviler did not set down the *pedes* and then compose the *cauda* in the linear way that I imagined above: he probably had some conception of the *cauda* when he created the *pedes*. But for listeners, the song is a linear process which the lyric figure of Grieviler initiates. It was probably understood as a musical version of rhetorical invention for three reasons. First, the technique of invention was widely taught in monastic and cathedral schools, at which many of Grieviler's audience would have been educated: as Carruthers has argued, 'it is likely that

⁵⁴ While not every pitch in lines 5–10 can be aligned with a pitch in the opening *pedes*, the correspondences are very close. Differences can be explained by other factors: the avoidance of *G* at the start of line 5 and line 9 means that the cadences on *G* at the end of lines 8 and 10 are stronger.

⁵⁵ Famously, Isidore of Seville wrote that 'unless sounds are remembered by man, they perish, for they cannot be written down': J. McKinnon, 'The Early Christian Period and the Latin Middle Ages', in *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. W. O. Strunk and L. Treitler (New York and London, 1998), p. 39. Isidore's point is valid even after the invention of music notation, which for medieval singers was an aid to memory: Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, p. 4.

⁵⁶ It is notable that the same embellishment is used at the start of line 5 and at the end of line 10. It may have been the case that *trouvères* drew on melodic formulae for such embellishment: speculation on formulae in *trouvère* song include Stewart, 'The Melodic Structure of Thirteenth-Century "Jeux-Partis"', pp. 95–7.

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many ancient and medieval people, trained in oratory and/or in chant and prayer, “heard” and “saw” a piece performed in their minds’.⁵⁷ Second, a rhetorical approach is explicitly signalled by the word *trouver* and the metaphor of the heart for the memory in the opening stanza, which are uncommon enough to have been noted by listeners. Finally, invention was an intellectual process, and therefore carried prestige among an educated audience; because of this prestige, I suggest that listeners would have been inclined to listen out for compositions that made use of invention, especially when they (in the form of named judges) were asked to judge most *jeux-partis* at their conclusion.⁵⁸

De çou, Robert de le Piere (RS 1331) is another *jeu-parti* with a similar melodic structure that draws attention to the act of song-making (see Example 2). Here, the musical rendering of Ciceronian invention has implications for how the song is to be interpreted.⁵⁹ Like RS 899, RS 1331 is in *pedes-cum-cauda* form, with an opening melody (lines 1–2) that is repeated (lines 3–4) before a more elaborate section of melody (lines 5–9). First, lines 1 and 2 establish the melodic material on which the *cauda* is to be based. Line 5 acts as a small tail to the *pedes*, repeating much of line 4 but ending on *C* rather than *F*.⁶⁰ This accommodates the poetry well, since Lambert Ferri, the *trouvère* of this first stanza, starts his question to Robert de le Piere at line 6, marked by an octave leap up to *c*. Lines 6 to 9 then each work through a bit more of the melody, only cadencing onto *D*, the primary pitch of the *cauda*, at the very end of the song. As in RS 899, more and more of the opening melody is explored in lines 6–9, with overlapping chunks of melody. The break between line 1 and line 2 is not replicated in the way

⁵⁷ M. Carruthers, ‘The Concept of *Ductus*, or Journeying through a Work of Art’, in M. Carruthers (ed.), *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 190–215, at p. 197.

⁵⁸ The level of education among the judges in *jeux-partis* is difficult to ascertain. Some were aristocrats, such as Charles I of Anjou and Edward I of England; others were members of the Arras bourgeoisie, such as Jehan Bretel and Audefroï Louchart. At least six judges are known to have had clerical training: Adam de Givenchi, Adam de la Halle, Gadifer d’Avion, Jehan de Grieviler, Lambert Ferri, Robert le Clerc. This latter group would certainly have understood invention technique. It is possible that some aristocrats would also have had a basic understanding of rhetoric. The education of aristocrats was variable, but there is plentiful evidence for aristocrats learning to read and write in Latin or the vernacular (increasingly the latter in the thirteenth century), and some even learning parts of the *trivium*: see M. Aurell, *The Lettered Knight: Knowledge and Aristocratic Behaviour in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Budapest and New York, 2017), esp. pp. 62–7. I gratefully acknowledge the advice of Brianne Dolce and Claudia Wittig on this point.

⁵⁹ RS 1331 is transmitted with music in chansonnier **A**, fol. 143^v, chansonnier **Z**, fols. 39^v–40^v and chansonnier **a**, fols. 142^v–143^r, and with text only in chansonnier **b**, fols. 163^v–164^r.

⁶⁰ It is fairly common in *jeux-partis* with melodic invention for line 5 to elaborate the end of the *pedes* and for line 6 to return to the melodic material of the song’s opening.

Example 2 *De çou, Robert de le Piere* (RS 1331), stanza 1 from chansonnier A, aligned by pitch

AA

1. De çou, Ro - bert. de le___ Pie - re,___ 2. Me vois___ mult es - mer - vil - lant
 3. K'a - vés___ per - du___ la ma - nie - re___ 4. De vous___ et___ de___ vos - tre_ kant;

B

5. Et por___ çou je___vous de - mant,

6. S'a - mi - e___ prent son_ a - mant

7. Et il___ li par___ ma - ri - a - je,___

8. S'a - mours en va___ de - ka ant?

9. Or me fai -

tes___ de_ çou sa - ge!

*1. 4 only

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that the melody is explored in lines 7 and 8: *G* is connected to *F* in both of these lines, obscuring the structural break in the melody of lines 1 and 2.

In this song the principle of *inventio* is not signalled explicitly by the word *trouver*, but rather by its opposite: Ferri states that Robert has 'lost his style and that of his song'. As if to prove that he himself is able to find melodies successfully, Ferri appears to follow a process of invention, setting out a melody for Robert in the *pedes*, and then using this to build a more elaborate melody in the *cauda*. With a synoptic view of the melody stored in his memory, Ferri is able to begin poetic lines 6–9 wherever he chooses to create the pattern of overlapping melodic segments that Example 2 shows.

As Ferri is heard to construct the *cauda*, he also appears to embellish the melody by adding various stepwise figures (indicated by brackets in Example 2), a melodic version of the rhetorical technique of amplification. The placement of these embellishments in relation to the opening four lines of the song also suggests that this is a melodic rendering of mnemonic technique. The additional embellishment in line 8 corresponds to the break between lines 1 and 2, while the additional embellishments in lines 6 and 5 correspond to the fourth syllables of lines 1 and 2 respectively. As lines 1 and 2 have eight and seven and syllables respectively, the fourth syllable in each line forms the midpoint. Listeners might even expect a lyric caesura at the fourth syllable (although caesuras are only properly found in decasyllabic verse), lending extra structural significance to these points of the poetry. While the embellishments of lines 5, 6 and 8 do not occur at the fourth syllable of their own lines, they correspond to the structurally significant points of the melodic outline given in lines 1 and 2. The melody thus presents Ferri traversing the rooms of his memory in which the melody is stored, amplifying structural breaks in the poetry with embellishments that might help him to orientate himself and find the section of the melody.⁶¹ Again, this is not to say that Ferri composed the melody in this way, but rather, that listeners might have heard the melody as a performance of the invention process.

The construction of the melody of RS 1331 is particularly important for the themes of song-making that emerge in the debate

⁶¹ Carruthers notes that stylistic ornaments were used in rhetoric to slow down the flow of speech and to allow one to make 'mnemotechnically powerful associations': Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, p. 117. Such figures were intended to stimulate the emotions and keep the mind energised: *ibid.*, pp. 116–70. On the marking of architectural space with *notae*, see also Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, pp. 107–8.

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between the two *trouvères*. Ferri opens the debate with an accusation that Robert de la Piere has lost his style:

De çou, Robert de le Piere,
Me vois mult esmervillant
K'avés perdu la maniere
De vous et de vostre cant;
Et por çou je vous demant, 5
S'amie prent son amant
Et il li par mariaje,
S'amours en va dekaant?
Or me faites de çou sage!

On this matter, Robert de la Piere,
it seems really astounding to me
that you have lost your character
and that of your song,
and because of this I ask you:
if a lover (fem.) takes her lover,
and he her, in marriage,
does love diminish?
Now counsel me in this!

In the remainder of the debate, Robert argues that he has no need to keep singing because he has recently married. Ferri stubbornly maintains that Robert's lack of style must spring from a defect in his character, since those who are happy in love should be able to sing about it. To emphasise this point, Lambert compares Robert to a nightingale in stanza 5 of the song:

Robert, cose est coustumiere
Al fol rousignol volant,
Ki kante et fait lie ciere
Et maine joie mult grant, 40
Tant k'il a a son talent
Sa fumele, et puis errant
K'il l'a qaukie, sauvage
S'en fet et si va siflant.
Empris avés son usaje.

Robert, this matter is akin
to the foolish flying nightingale
that sings and makes his darling happy
and brings her great joy
during the time that he desires
[to have] his lady-bird, and then, erring
by hunting her down, he grows savage
and so goes around whistling.
You have undertaken his course of action.

With this simile, Ferri makes reference to the ambiguous status of birdsong, which, as Elizabeth Eva Leach has shown, held a liminal status in medieval theories of voice. Priscian, for example, argues that there are four categories of *vox*, depending on four combinations of two binaries: whether the voiced sound can be written (that is, *literata*), and whether it is uttered by a rational being (that is, *articulata*).⁶² By comparing Robert to a nightingale, Ferri suggests that he used to compose songs that could be written down and that were rational, since the nightingale deliberately

⁶² See discussion in E. E. Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 2007), p. 33.

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woos his lady-bird. Now (at the time of performance), Robert only utters noises that are irrational and unwritable.⁶³

The debate in RS 1331 thus explores what makes a melody rational. Humorously, Ferri creates a melody that, on its surface at least, seems to be irrational. First, the range of the opening *pedes* (an eleventh) is extreme and unusual: this is the largest range in the opening four lines of any surviving *jeu-parti*.⁶⁴ Secondly, the song has a tonal structure that the music scribes for the different versions of the song appear to have found problematic. In all versions of the song, line 2 ends on *F* and line 9, the final line of the song, ends on *D* (see Example 3). These pitches have structural significance because they mark the end of two principal sections of a melody in *pedes-cum-cauda* form. Variation occurs between the sources at the end of line 4, where chansonnier **A** gives *F* and chansonniers **a** and **Z** give *D*.⁶⁵

The discrepancy in final pitches of line 4 in the different sources might indicate that the music scribes had difficulty in deciding whether the primary pitch of the opening four lines should be *D* or *F*. The scribe of chansonnier **A** made line 4 match line 2 so that the two *pedes* both end on *F*; the scribes of chansonniers **a** and **Z** opted to make *D* the final pitch of both *pedes* and *cauda*, thereby compromising the double *pedes* structure. Either solution leads to tonal disunity of some kind. This seems to have caused particular problems for the scribe of **A**, whose confusion is visible in the erasure and clef change above 'vostre' (l. 4) (Figure 1). This difficulty in writing down the melody recalls the distinction made by Priscian and others of writable versus unwritable music (*il/literata*).

The melody of RS 1331, on the one hand, is a highly rational exercise of invention, demonstrated through the melodic structure of the *cauda*. On the other hand, it pushes the boundaries of what is singable (its range) and what is writable (the scribal variants). The nightingale allegory holds the key to this dichotomy: in conception the song is rational but in sounding performance it borders on the irrationality of *vox illiterata*. In the *jeu-parti*, Ferri is responsible for the

⁶³ Rationality seems to have been a key concern for trouvères, since in RS 899 (discussed above), the other *jeu-parti* that discusses song-making, the desiring lover is compared to the nightingale (lines 31–4) and the howling dog (line 45); these allegories press on the distinction between a rational voice and an irrational voice.

⁶⁴ Around half of surviving *jeu-parti* melodies have an opening quatrain that lies within the small range of a seventh: see discussion in Mason, 'Structure and Process in the Old French *jeu-parti*', p. 56.

⁶⁵ Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, 0139 (0657) is reproduced at <<https://bvmc.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https://bvmc.irht.cnrs.fr/iif/24762/manifest>> (acc. 23 October 2019).

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Example 3 Comparison of versions of *De çou, Robert de le Piere* (RS 1331), lines 2, 4 and 9

A
Z
a
2. Me vois mult esmer-vil-lant

A
Z
a
4. De vous et de vos-tre cant;

AZa
9. Or me fai-tes de çou sa-ge!

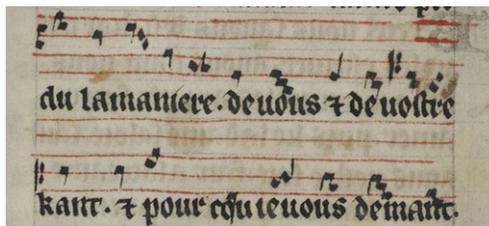


Figure 1 Chansonnier A (Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 657), fol. 143^v.
Photo: Bibliothèque municipale d'Arras. Reproduced with permission

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rational construction of the melody since he sings first in the debate. Robert is left to sing the melody back to Ferri, re-voicing sounds which imply that he, Robert, is an irrational creature. He is presented as lacking the rational capacity for the intellectual endeavour demanded by a process like invention. By comparison with Robert and in his performance of invention through melodic structure, Ferri presents himself as a rational inventor.

In finding their melodies through a process of invention, trouvères were thus able to create musical structures that were meaningful. In RS 899 and RS 1331, melodic structure results from a real-time performance of the process of invention. If, as I have argued, the structure of a song was understood to manifest the principles of rhetorical invention, the cultural significance of invention would then have become aligned with the meaning of that melody. In both examples here, invention is performed through melodic structure to demonstrate the intellectual prestige of a trouvère, asserting his educated status in relation (or opposition) to his opponent in a *jeu-parti*.

DIVISION, SUNG AND SOCIAL

Trouvères were frequently explicit about the acts of division (*partir* in French and *divisio* in Latin) that were central to their conception of the *jeu-parti*. The name of the genre itself literally means ‘divided game’, and the genre label ‘jeu-parti’ is used by trouvères in their songs to refer to their musical debates, as well as by scribes in a handful of the major chansonniers that transmit *jeux-partis*.⁶⁶ As shown in Appendix 1, twenty-nine *jeux-partis* open with a reference to dividing, after which the first trouvère will normally present the two opposing (that is, divided) sides of the dilemma.⁶⁷ The term ‘partir’ therefore has a performative function, in the strict sense established by Austin: the speech act is itself the act, in this case creating the situation in which a choice needs to be made between two alternatives that have been divided.⁶⁸ My contention is that in dividing their songs in ways that can be seen in melodic structures, trouvères could enact and perform other types of division (cognitive and socio-political) through song.

⁶⁶ The term ‘jeu-parti’ is found in marginal annotations in chansonniers **C** and **P**, and in a heading and in the index in chansonnier **I**.

⁶⁷ A few *jeux-partis*, such as RS 1331 above, do not have a question formed of a dilemma (either/or) in their opening stanza: see discussion in the final section of this study.

⁶⁸ J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures Delivered at Harvard University in 1955*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1975), pp. 5–6.

Division played an important role in theories of rhetoric as the counterpart to invention. Authorities such as Quintilian recommend that division should be used to enable the memorising process.⁶⁹ By dividing a text into manageable chunks, the text could be stored in one's memory and recalled through a process of re-composition, bringing together the parts in the right order thanks to the hierarchical structure of one's memory.⁷⁰ Division was therefore the means by which a reader exercised rational control over a text. The use of division in the service of rationality is also seen in texts that categorise fields of knowledge. Johannes de Grocheio, for example, cites Aristotle's *De partibus* as a model for his various divisions of music in the *Ars musicae*: '[Aristotle] made these things [about animals] more perfectly and precisely known through knowledge of parts, in the book which is called *De partibus*.'⁷¹ With a similar rationalising impetus, the addition of small strokes in music notation known as *divisio modi* is described by music theorists such as Franco of Cologne and Johannes de Garlandia as a way of showing the division between semibreve groups.⁷² As Mikhail Lopatin and Anna Zayaruznaya have shown, theoretical and poetic notions of *divisio* influenced composers of polyphony in the fourteenth century.⁷³

Division is often the term used when an either/or question is formulated. Cicero, for example, states that 'division separates the alternatives of a question and resolves each by means of a reason subjoined'.⁷⁴ Division is associated relatively early, therefore, with the either/or opposition that is found in the *jeu-parti* and was used in the service of reason, but Paul Remy has shown that by the thirteenth century, division had come to signify something slightly different. In three twelfth- and thirteenth-century French contexts, the term *jeu-parti* is used to mean a difficult or unfavourable choice: (1) in the romance, an impossible decision for a character; (2) in descriptions of chess problems; (3) as the name for a genre of song.⁷⁵ In

⁶⁹ On Quintilian, whose instructions are taken up by Hugh of St-Victor, see Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, p. 83.

⁷⁰ Geoffrey of Vinsauf exhorts his readers to find very small chunks for memorisation so that it might be a pleasurable process, rather than burdensome: Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, p. 88.

⁷¹ Johannes de Grocheio, *Ars musicae*, ed. and trans. C. J. Mews et al. (Kalamazoo, 2011), p. 67.

⁷² Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. G. Reaney and A. Gilles (s.l., 1974), p. 34; John of Garland, *De mensurabili musica*, ed. E. Reimer (Wiesbaden, 1972), p. 66. Notably, both theorists also describe the *plica* as a divided note, suggesting that in performance, the sound of a *plica* might be associated with some form of division: Franco, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, p. 41; John of Garland, *De mensurabili musica*, pp. 46 and 51.

⁷³ M. Lopatin, 'Metapoiesis in Trecento Song: "Divisio" at the Intersection of Love, Poetic Form, and Music', *Music & Letters*, 99 (2019), pp. 511–50; A. Zayaruznaya, *The Monstrous New Art* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 176–221.

⁷⁴ Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, p. 361.

⁷⁵ P. Remy, 'De l'expression "parür un jeu" dans les textes épiques aux origines du jeu parti', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 17 (1974), pp. 327–33.

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these uses of the term ‘*jeu-parti*’, the idea of a dilemma is preserved, but emphasis is placed instead on how the state of dilemma causes people to act or to be paralysed by inaction. Once an agent has chosen which side of the dilemma to follow, the course of action will be opposed to the alternative. Division causes opposition, whether this be within one’s mind (chess, romance) or between two figures (the sung *jeu-parti*).

The stark opposition that was evoked by the term *partir* in twelfth- and thirteenth-century contexts shaped the poetry of *jeux-partis*, which were written in what Michèle Gally has termed a ‘mode dilemmatique’.⁷⁶ Gally and Georges Lavis have shown that poets created stanzas not through developing a single line of reasoning but rather by placing discrete (and often opposing) textual units one after the other. Conjunctions such as ‘*mais*’ (but) or ‘*ains*’ (on the contrary) were trigger words that divided one textual unit from another, as I demonstrated for RS 899 above.⁷⁷ Textual units themselves were frequently self-contained in the form of proverbs, maxims and comparisons.⁷⁸ Instead of using poetry to persuade listeners of the validity of their arguments, *trouvères* would juxtapose chunks of text for effect, creating an ‘argumentative display’ that dramatized the division between two poets.⁷⁹ The division of a stanza into discrete and polemic textual units thus enabled poets to render division performatively.

I showed above that melodic structure could be interpreted in relation to the structure of the text: in *Sire Bretel, mout savés bien trouver* (RS 899), for example, the three renditions of the same melody (in various states of elaboration) correspond to three sections of the first stanza.⁸⁰ But there are also ways in which *trouvères* would invoke a state of textual dilemma or division that was mirrored by the melody; put another way, both melody and text can be seen to spring from the same cognitive process of division. The textual invocation of the state of dilemma can take several forms: sometimes a *trouvère* will use the verb *partir* performatively, saying, for example: ‘I’ll divide this for you.’ In Example 4, which gives the first two lines of the *jeu-parti* *Lambert Ferri, je vous part*, the verb ‘*part*’ is used to divide the melody into two tonal areas, one centred on *F* and the other on *D*.

In many more cases, a question is simply asked (*demander*) or a response requested (*responder*), but dilemma is created through textual formulae: a comparative question, beginning with ‘*li queieus*’

⁷⁶ Gally, ‘Le chant et la dispute’, p. 381.

⁷⁷ Lavis, ‘Le jeu-parti’, p. 31.

⁷⁸ Gally, ‘Le chant et la dispute’, p. 381.

⁷⁹ ‘une “argumentation-spectacle”’: *ibid.*, p. 392.

⁸⁰ On the interrelationship between *jeux-partis* texts and melodies, see also Mason, ‘Structure and Process in the Old French *Jeu-parti*’, pp. 65–71.

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Example 4 *Lambert Ferri, je vous part* (RS 375), lines 1–2

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

2. Or res - pon - dés vostre a - vis:

(which); the constructions ‘u . . . u’ (either . . . or) or ‘li uns . . . li autre’ (the one . . . the other); and the conjunction ‘mais’ (but). With varying degrees of performativity, these textual constructions act as ‘metapoetic’ commentary, a term which I borrow from Lopatin’s examination of *divisio* in trecento music.⁸¹ They are verbal utterances that have meaning within a song’s semantic realm, but also describe a song’s construction. As the following examples show, trouvères’ use of the term *partir* manifests itself in divisions of tonal space or melodic motif.

In the second stanza of *Biau Phelipot Verdier, je vous proi* (RS 1674), the trouvère Phelipot Verdier uses the verb *partir* in an overtly metapoetic way: ‘Lambert Ferri, since you have divided this so sweetly for me, you know well that I’ll take the better alternative, for it cannot be otherwise.’⁸² In describing his act of division (*parti*) as ‘sweet’ (*deboinairement*) Phelipot could simply be referring to the choice of sides that he must take in the debate: he sees one alternative as more defensible than the other, and chooses it. Viewed through a metapoetic lens, Phelipot’s use of the adverb ‘deboinairement’ to describe the way in which Lambert has set out the dilemma in the first stanza might suggest that the musical and poetic setting of that stanza is in some way also ‘deboinaire’. The following analysis explores the division of melody before returning to the aesthetic question of what ‘deboinaire’ might mean in this instance.

As often with *jeux-partis*, RS 1674 is transmitted with two melodies: one in chansonnier **A**, the other in chansonniers **Z** and **a**.⁸³ The following discussion treats the melody from **A**, which is more motivically

⁸¹ Lopatin, ‘Metapoesis in Trecento Song’. I am indebted to Lopatin’s excellent theorisation of the term in his article and thank him for allowing me to read this article before its publication.

⁸² ‘Lambert Ferri, sachiés bien, puis k’a moi/Avés parti si deboinairement,/Jou prendrai, ner puet estre autrement,/Kar bien puis prendre la meillour partie’ (RS1674, lines 11–14).

⁸³ RS 1674 is transmitted with music notation in chansonniers **a**, fols. 143^v–144^r, **A**, fol. 144^{r-v} and **Z**, fol. 41^{r-v}.

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unified than the melody in **Z** and **a**, and exemplifies division clearly through its use of motif. The melody of RS 1674 in **A** is intricately woven, such that aligning the melody by pitch becomes a very difficult task. As Example 5 shows, the opening *pes* can be divided into three different motifs, although whether any of these pitch strings has an identity strongly marked enough to constitute motivicity is questionable.⁸⁴ Each of the motifs is reused and elaborated in the *cauda* to create a melody that is structurally more complex than the *jeux-partis* discussed above. Example 5 gives one possible motivic structure for the *cauda*.⁸⁵ By contrast, the tonal structure of the song is relatively clear, although it may not have been obvious to listeners on first hearing the song. The opening *pes* emphasises *F* as the tonal centre through an opening cadence (motif p) that also closes line 2. Line 1 also ends on *F*, though with a turn figure *G–F–E–F* that contributes to the primacy of *F* in the tonal hierarchy. The only deviation in the opening *pes* from the tonal centre *F* is at the start of line 2, where *D/C* are fleetingly offered as a possible secondary tonal goal: the tonal trajectory of each *pes* is therefore *F–D/C–F*.

At the end of the opening *pedes*, *F* seems to have been established as the tonal centre (although this would only be clear if the pitch *b* was realised in performance as *bfa* (likely) rather than *bmi* (unlikely)). As the *cauda* of RS 1674 unfolds, the primacy of *F* over *D/C* seems, for a while, to continue, and the close motivic correspondences between *pedes* and *cauda* might prompt listeners to expect the tonal trajectory of the *cauda* to mirror that of the *pedes*. Perhaps it would have been surprising, therefore, that the *cauda* finishes on *C* rather than *F*, suggesting that *C* functions as the primary pitch of the *cauda*. By the end of the *cauda*, *C* has been repeatedly emphasised as the tonal centre of this part of the melody. A difference in tonal centres between *pedes* and *cauda* is not unusual within the *jeu-parti* repertory, and was perhaps a resource used specifically for this partitioned game: in the presence of metapoetic markers, one can imagine such tonal division having divisive significance. However, in this melody, the shift of tonal centre is marked more subtly than the placement of a metapoetic marker at the boundary between two tonally distinct sections.

⁸⁴ For simplicity, I continue to use ‘motif’ here to describe a pitch string that is repeated.

⁸⁵ Given the narrow range and generally stepwise motion throughout the song, other interpretations of the motivic structure of the song are possible. I do not claim that the interpretation given in Example 5 is the only valid reading. In this *jeu-parti*, the motivic/tonal structure of the opening *pes* matches the division of syllables by the lyric caesura (4+6). The caesura is observed throughout the *pedes* and in the text of most of the lines in the *cauda*, though not always in the use of motifs.

Example 5 Motivic structure of *Biau Phelipot Verdier, je vous proi* (RS 1674) in chansonnier A

1. Biau Phe - li - pot___ Ver - die - re,___ je vous___ proi___

2. Ke res - pon - dés___ se - lonc___ vostre en - si - ent:

3. Il est uns___ hom___ ki ai - me___ loi - au - ment,___

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

5. Et sa da - me li com - mande___ et li pri - e___

Example 5 (Continued)

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

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

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

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

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

At what point in the melody would a listener recognise that *F* has given way to *C* as the tonal centre? The pitch *b* in line 5 would probably have been sung as *bfa* because it is followed by a stepwise descent to *F*; for line 5 at least, *F* remains the tonal centre. The *B* in line 6, by contrast, ought to be realised *Bmi*; once *Bmi* has been reached in line 6, *b* (*fa* or otherwise) is not heard for the remainder of the song, suggesting a definite shift away from *F* and towards *C*. While the status of *B/b* would have been important in defining the tonal space of the melody, the text also provides a point of orientation for listeners. Ferri places the word ‘mais’, a conjunction that signals textual division, at a crucial juncture in the melody. In this case, ‘mais’ introduces the sting in the tail of the amorous scenario: ‘his Lady asks him and beseeches him to go to speak with her privately in a secret place, but (*mais*) he knows for certain that if he goes there he will be seen by slanderers’.⁸⁶ From the start of line 5 to ‘mais’ in line 7, the melody has increasingly shifted from *F* to *D*, matched by the increasing frequency of derivatives of motif *r*.⁸⁷ In the *pedes*, *D/C* was followed by *F* and motif *r* by motif *p*, giving the overall tonal trajectory *F-D/C-F*. At ‘mais’ in line 7, *p* is indeed stated, but the word ‘mais’ indicates that this motif should not be considered to be connected to what comes before: it is the start of a new unit, a return to the motivic material of the song’s opening, divided from what comes before textually, and thus also melodically. The use of the word ‘mais’ at this moment tells the listener that the tonal profile *F-D/C-F* of the *pedes* is not going to be the tonal profile for the *cauda* too. After the word ‘mais’, all statements of *p* are extended so that they descend to *D/C*: it becomes clear that *F* will yield to *D/C*, as it emphatically does in the final two lines of the song.

This reading of the motivic division of the first stanza is supported by Phelipot’s response in the second stanza. He places the word ‘mais’ at exactly the same point in the second stanza as Ferri does in the first stanza, suggesting that for both trouvères this marked an important point of poetic, but also melodic, division. But what was it about the potential of this melody to be divided that might have made it ‘sweet’ (*deboinaire*)? The adjective *deboinaire* also has the sense of ‘dignified’, suggesting that Phelipot might have found the orderly coinciding of textual and tonal division to be

⁸⁶ ‘Et sa dame li commande et li prie/K’il voist a li parler privéement/En secré lieu, mais il set vraiment/Ke s’il i va, k’il sera percheüs/De mesdisans’ (RS1674, lines 5–9).

⁸⁷ Line 7 begins with pitches that belong to motif *r*, but not with a clearly audible statement of the motif.

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a noteworthy aspect of Ferri's melody. The description of musico-textual relations as 'deboinaire' would also suggest that Phelipot finds the alignment of textual and musical division to be aesthetically pleasing. This pleasure is not excessive or lascivious, but dignified, gentle and sweet (all possible meanings of *deboinairement*).⁸⁸ The pleasure that Phelipot takes from the division of RS 1674 is thanks to the dignified way in which oppositions within the text are complemented by tonal opposition. That Phelipot can take a righteous pleasure in the use of textual and melodic division suggests that division has been deployed in a morally sanctioned way in RS 1674. Given the utility of *divisio* technique in categorising and disciplining knowledge, the pleasure found in this kind of *divisio* could only be rational (as opposed to corporeal) and was therefore morally permissible. As a device that organises and categorises knowledge, *divisio* also had an intellectual cachet, similar to the prestige associated with *inventio* that I explored above. Phelipot thus praises Ferri for his creation of a musico-poetic complex in which division has the potential to do intellectual work.

The conjunction 'mais' was not the only word that could be deployed to create division. As explained above, the construction 'u ... u' (either ... or) was used to set out the two equally unpalatable sides of the dilemma from which the second trouvère in a *jeu-parti* had to choose. In *Or coisisiés Jehan de Grieviler* (RS 861), Jehan de Marli invites Jehan de Grieviler to make a difficult choice: to have your lady naked in your arms every night but in your dreams, or to have the solace and company of your Lady in reality but for only one day in your whole life.⁸⁹ Although 'u' is used only once in this opening stanza, the conjunction nevertheless divides the dilemma for Grieviler.

Parallel to his act of textual division, Marli creates a melody that is tonally divided. As Example 6 shows, the opening line of the song marks either *F* or *G* as its tonal centre. The break after 'coisisiés' (marked by the fermata in Example 6) would argue for *F* as the tonal centre, while the statement of motive p' at the end of line 1 turns an inconsequential pitch string (marked p in Example 6) into a cadential

⁸⁸ ATILF - CNRS & Université de Lorraine, 'débonnairement', in *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (DMF 2015) <<http://www.atilf.fr/dmf>> (acc. 16 July 2018).

⁸⁹ RS 861 is transmitted in chansonnier a, fols. 158^r–159^r with music notation and without music notation in chansonnier b, fol. 156^r. The first stanza of RS 861 was also transmitted on a fragment formerly held in the Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, now lost: see A. Jubinal, *Lettres à M. le comte de Salvandy sur quelques-uns des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de la Haye* (Paris, 1846), p. 95.

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Example 6 *Or coisiés Jehan de Grieviler* (RS 861), lines 1–2

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

motif that implies *G* as the primary pitch. That *G* may be the tonal centre is also supported by a stylistic feature of *jeu-parti* melodies, in which the primary pitch is usually one step above the lowest pitch of the melody.⁹⁰ By the end of line 2, the melody has shifted to a different tonal and registral realm, centred on *C*. The same cadential formula a fifth apart is used for the ends of line 1 and line 2; having listened to the opening *pedes*, it is therefore likely that the listener would hear *G* as one tonal centre and *C* as another.

The division of tonal space according to two tonal centres shapes the remainder of the song. Example 7 gives the text and melody of the first stanza of RS 861 aligned by pitch. As for the cases discussed above, the *cauda* explores the melody of the *pedes* in a non-linear fashion, perhaps indicative of a process of invention. Notably, the start of each poetic line in the *cauda* coincides with a jump backwards in the melody, except for the start of line 6, which therefore sticks out as unusual. While the beginnings of lines 5, 7 and 8 are marked structurally by their move to an earlier part of the melody, line 6 is marked as structurally significant in a different way. Opening with the conjunction ‘u’, the beginning of line 6 corresponds to the point in the *pedes* where the melody begins to move from a higher tonal area centred on *G* to a lower tonal area on *C* (marked in Example 7 by an unbroken vertical line). Although *G* need not be an absolute boundary between the two tonal regions, the use of ‘u’ (or) at this point encourages the melody to be heard in this way. The word ‘u’ is used to divide the two alternatives of the dilemma, but also divides the tonal space in two, causing the melody to be heard as a kind of tonal either/or, consisting of opposing parts. To highlight this further, *G* is sung to an ‘ou’ vowel at the same point in the melody in previous lines (marked in Example 7 by a dotted box), a sonic play on the

⁹⁰ This is the case for 75% of the *pedes* in *jeux-partis*: see Mason, ‘Structure and Process in the Old French *jeu-parti*’, p. 56.

Example 7 *Or coisiés Jehan de Grieviler* (RS 861), stanza 1 in chansonnier **a**, aligned by pitch

AA (high) †

(low)

1. Or coi - si - siés, Je - han de Gri - vi - ler: 2. A - vis vous ert_ tout a - dés en dor - mant
 3. Que vousten-résvostre a - mie au vis cler 4. Nue en vos bras,_ toute a vos - tre con mant,

B

5. Sans plus a - voir_ en tres - tout
 vo vi - vant, 6. U un seul_ jour en
 tre - stou - te vo vi - e_

7. A - rés de li sou - las_ et
 con - paig - - ni - e
 8. Sans_ re - fu - ser.

*1. 3 only
 † 1. 4 only

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Example 8 *Or coisisiés Jehan de Grieviler* (RS 861), lines 9–12

1.1] 9. Mais - tre Je - han de Mar - li, mer - cī - er

1.2.] 10. Vous veul de cou que vous me pri - siés tant

1.3.] 11. Que me par - tés. Çou que plus de - si - rer

1.4.] 12. Me fait A - mours vous di - rai main - te - nant:

metapoetic potential of the conjunction ‘u’ to divide textual and tonal space.

Having heard this division of tonal space, Grieviler has a choice whether to use the divided structure that Marli has created, or to interpret the melody in a different way. By the end of the first stanza, it has become clear that the melody is tonally divided, with two tonal centres of *G* and *C*. The opening confusion between the places of *F* and *G* in relation to one another and in the tonal hierarchy has been solved. Grieviler chooses to subvert the tonal hierarchy established by Marli, by careful use of the word ‘partés’ (see Example 8). In his opening address, Grieviler thanks Marli for ‘hold[ing] me in such high esteem that you divide [this] for me’.⁹¹ While the opening line of the second stanza has no clear cadence on *F*, the third line of the stanza has a strong syntactic break following the word ‘partés’, much stronger than after ‘coisisiés’ in the first stanza. At this moment, the pitch string *F–G–G–F* is made to function as an emphatic cadence on *F*, highlighted by the metapoetic term ‘partés’. What is more, whereas line 1 of the first stanza ended with a syntactic break that emphasised *G* as a tonal centre, in the second stanza, both lines 1 and 3 of the melody (poetic lines 9 and 11) end with an enjambment that negates a sense of *G* as a tonal centre. Grieviler thus chooses to reverse the tonal hierarchy that Marli sets up in the first stanza, in which *F* was subordinate to *G*.

The manipulation of metapoetic terms in this song shows the possible range of meanings that formal structure could carry. Both trouvères use division and its gamut of textual devices to shape the tonal space of the

⁹¹ ‘vous me prisés tant/Que me partés’ (lines 10–11).

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song, but in different ways: Grieviler not only divides the tonal space in a different way from Marli, but he also divides himself from Marli. Music and text could be manipulated to render the opposition between two trouvères in the structure of a song, which in turn encouraged them to take an oppositional stance to one another.

Opposition between trouvères is clear in the language that they use to describe their debates. While sometimes paying homage to one another, as has been shown for *Biau Phelipot Verdier* (RS 1674) and *Or coisisiés Jehan de Grieviler* (RS 861), *jeux-partis* are full of insults that bristle with hostility. Trouvères would also on occasion refer to their *jeu-parti* with words that variously mean quarrel, struggle, discord and even battle or war.⁹² Emphasising the agonistic aesthetic of the genre, trouvères thus associated the *jeu-parti* with a different nuance of the meaning of *divisio*. The term could be used to indicate the process of intellectual division through classification but could also mean ‘estrangement, dissension [or] disunion’.⁹³ Similarly, *pars* (the etymological root of the French *partir*) could mean something fairly neutral like ‘constituent part’ or could convey the more loaded sense of a ‘party’ with which one might side in a debate or conflict.⁹⁴ The French ‘faire parties’ was even used to describe two opposing sides in a tournament.⁹⁵ While it is not clear that *partir* has this antagonistic sense in all *jeux-partis*, the striking frequency with which trouvères return to this word in *jeux-partis* suggests that an aesthetic of violent opposition permeated performances of the genre.

APPLYING INVENTION AND DIVISION TO THE TROUVÈRE SONG CORPUS

In the case studies discussed so far, invention can be seen in melodic structure for songs that make explicit reference to acts of invention (‘trouver’ in RS 899 and ‘perdu’ in RS 1331) and in songs without such explicit reference (RS 861 and RS 1674). Invention can therefore be the cause of melodic structure whether a metapoetic term

⁹² ‘Discord’ (*descort*): RS 203 (line 38); ‘quarrel’ (*estrivement*): RS 1687 (line 44); ‘struggle’ (*aatir/aatie*): RS 2129 (line 15), RS 938 (line 46), RS 1097 (line 1), RS 841 (line 38), RS 359 (line 19); battle (*aramie*): RS 8 (line 50), RS 949 (line 50); war (*guerre*): RS 1666 (line 60). Godefroy notes a use of ‘parture’ to mean ‘dispute’ or ‘quarrel’ in the fourteenth-century romance *Perceforest*. Frédéric Godefroy, ‘parture’, in *Dictionnaire de l’ancienne langue française* <<https://www.classiques-garnier.com/numerique-bases/godefroy>> (acc. 16 October 2019).

⁹³ R. E. Latham, ‘divisio’, in R. E. Latham, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources Online* (Turnhout, 2015).

⁹⁴ Latham, ‘pars’, *ibid.*

⁹⁵ Godefroy, ‘partie’, in *Dictionnaire de l’ancienne langue française*.

Table 1 References to composition in the first stanza of trouvère songs

Songs surveyed	1468
Songs with an instance of a compositional term	595
Instances of:	
<i>chanter</i> (composition)	447
<i>faire</i> (to make)	122
<i>comencier</i> (to begin)	33
<i>trouver</i> (to find)	26
<i>renouveler</i> (to renew)	9
Other compositional terms	45

relating to invention is present or not. By contrast, I consider division only to be present in the structure of a melody when it corresponds to a division in the structure of the text, caused by words such as ‘u . . . u’ (either . . . or) or ‘mais’ (but).

This observation is borne out by the words that trouvères use in songs to describe their compositional acts. By comparison with the troubadours, who reflected extensively on their musico-poetic practice in their songs, the trouvères do not demonstrate the same reflexivity.⁹⁶ Table 1 presents the frequency of different compositional terms in the first stanza of the songs in Tischler’s complete edition of trouvère song.⁹⁷ Trouvères use the verb ‘to sing’ (*chanter*) most frequently by far, typically in the phrase ‘I must sing’ (*chanter m’estuet*) or ‘I will sing’ (*chanterai*), often following a description of springtime and birdsong. These descriptions present song as a spontaneous vocalisation of desire for the lady; as a spontaneous act of creation, the verb *chanter* therefore does not shed light on the processes of creating and shaping a song. Trouvères speak of ‘making a song’ (*faire*) in 122 songs, of ‘beginning a song’ in thirty-three songs, and of ‘renewing’ their song (*renouveler*) in nine songs. In only twenty-six songs does the poet speak of ‘finding’ (*trouver*) a song.

⁹⁶ According to Sarah Spence, ‘so many of the poets draw attention to the fact that they are making poetry’: S. Spence, ‘Rhetoric and Hermeneutics’, in S. Gaunt and S. Kay (eds.), *The Troubadours: An Introduction* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 164–80 at p. 164. The range of devices with which troubadours demonstrate reflexivity is outlined in S. Gaunt and J. Marshall, ‘Occitan Grammars and the Art of Troubadour Poetry’, in A. J. Minnis and I. R. Johnson (eds.), *The Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 472–95 (esp. pp. 474–82).

⁹⁷ Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies*. Only the first stanza of each song was studied since the first stanza of a trouvère love song is typically where the poet refers to the act of singing or composition. Only songs in Old French were included; *lais* are included in this tally but not *rondeaux*.

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Each of these terms tells us a bit more about how trouvères might have represented their processes of composition. The most common of these, *faire*, gives little specific information about the compositional process, but does perhaps suggest that trouvères thought of their songs as objects to be ‘made’; ‘to make a song’ seems to have had roughly the same meaning as ‘to sing’, *chanter*, since in forty-three songs both verbs are used in the opening stanza. The verb *trouver* is used far less frequently by trouvères and almost never in *jeux-partis*.⁹⁸

The verb ‘to divide’ (*partir*) is, by contrast, found extensively in *jeux-partis*. As the list in Appendix 1 shows, sixty-seven (35%) of the approximately 190 surviving *jeux-partis* use the word *partir* or its derivatives.⁹⁹ That such a significant proportion of *jeux-partis* is named by their trouvères as an act of division suggests that this was a fundamental aesthetic premise of the *jeu-parti*, but not of other trouvère songs, which are never described as being created through ‘division’. Textual markers of division (‘partir’, ‘u . . . u’, ‘li qieus’, ‘li uns . . . li autre’, ‘mais’/‘ains’) appear very frequently in *jeux-partis* but rarely in other genres of trouvère song. Melodic division, which relies on division in the text, is therefore an aesthetic limited to the genre of the *jeu-parti*. Invention, on the other hand, is a melodic principle that is independent of the semantic content of song texts, and might therefore be found not only in the *jeu-parti* but in other genres as well.

To ascertain how widely the structuring principles of invention and division are found, the entire repertory of *jeu-parti* melodies was tested. This sample was chosen because it enabled invention and division to be tested simultaneously. Appendix 2 gives the RS numbers for all melodies for *jeux-partis* that are extant. Because some *jeu-parti* texts are transmitted in different manuscripts with different melodies, the sources for each melody are given alongside each RS number. (RS 258, for example, has a different melody in each of **a**, **A** and **Z**, and these different melodies are placed separately in the table.) The melodies are sorted into three groups according to the extent to which they demonstrate the structural principle of invention. In group 1, the melodies strongly exhibit invention; all or most of the melodic material of the *cauda* is derived from the *pedes* (or equivalent, if the song is through-composed). Group 2 melodies are those that could be heard to have some invention, that is, their *cauda* may partly be based on melodic material introduced in the first section of the melody.

⁹⁸ There are only two *jeux-partis* that use it, as listed in Appendix 1.

⁹⁹ A calculation of the total number of *jeux-partis* depends on one’s definition of the genre; one song in Appendix 1, RS 339, is not by definition a *jeu-parti*, but contains a debate within it.

Group 3 melodies have little or no discernible melodic structure that corresponds to the process of invention. Within each of these groups, the presence of division in the first stanza of a song is indicated.

Of a grand total of 168 different melodies, forty-one exhibit strong invention, sixty-three could be interpreted to have some invention and sixty-four have little or no invention to speak of. Group 1, whose melodies make use of thorough-going invention technique, constitute 24.4 per cent of the extant melodic record, a minority, but nevertheless a not insignificant proportion. Group 1 and group 2 together – that is, melodies that I believe to demonstrate some use of the technique of invention – make up 61.9 per cent of the total number of melodies. Invention is therefore found to some extent in the majority (albeit it is fairly slight) of *jeu-parti* melodies. The categorisation of melodies here is, unavoidably, subjective; some group 2 melodies could belong in group 1 when analysed by a generous analyst, while a sceptical analyst might see some group 2 melodies as belonging in group 3. Appendix 2 should therefore be taken as a rough indication of the practice of melodic invention, rather than a precise account.

Of the 168 melodies, sixty-five are set to first stanzas in which textual division corresponds to structural division in the melody. This amounts to 38.7 per cent of the total, a minority, but again, not an insignificant one. The proportion of melodies with division changes slightly when the presence of textual division is taken into account. Songs whose first stanza does not contain the textual divisions of ‘li qieus’, ‘u . . . u’, ‘mais/ains’, or ‘li uns . . . li autres’, or the metapoetic term ‘partir’, are signalled in Appendix 2 in square brackets. These twenty-seven settings of the first stanza all fall in the lower half of each group, that is, they contain no melodic division because their texts are not divided. There are thus 141 melodies (corresponding to ninety-five different texts) for which at least one of the five most common textual markers for division is found in the first stanza. It is only in this latter group that composers could choose to create melodic division, according to my definition of the term. In 46.1 per cent of these cases, composers chose to match division in the text with division in the melody.

A number of trends in Appendix 2 stand out. First, invention and division are correlated to one another: the stronger the presence of invention, the more likely there is to be division too. In group 1, thirty-two of the forty-one melodies (78.5%) have division. The correlation is stronger still when the texts that lack textual division (in square brackets in Appendix 2) are omitted from the count. Thirty-two of the new total of thirty-six melodies (88.9%) in which melodic division is possible have division. (RS 691 in **T** may also have had division, but

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the absence of some of the *cauda* makes this moot.) Group 3 shows the reverse: 14.1 per cent of melodies (18.0% if the bracketed melodies are omitted) in this group have melodic division. This finding is not surprising. Highly structured melodies, such as those found in group 1, are more likely to have structural breaks that could be made to coincide with divisions in a text. Of the nine melodies in group 3 that exhibit divided melodies, four have a division in the text between the *pedes* and *cauda*, or between *pedes* (RS 704, RS 840, RS 1293, RS 1672). Three have motivic repetition that is significant but that is not enough to be considered invention (RS 927, RS 952, RS 1584) and two have a shift in register (RS 618, RS 1817).

Second, there is some correlation between the presence of invention and whether the *pedes* and *cauda* of a song have significantly different ranges. Table 2 gives the melodies for which the lower or upper limit of the *cauda* differs by more than a major third. Only two of these melodies are from group 1: RS 403 and RS 258 (in A). In RS 258 (A), the elaboration of melodic material from line 1 is extended higher and higher for each iteration during the *cauda*, a gradual expansion of the song's ambitus. In RS 403, the *cauda* moves up to a new higher tessitura for lines 6 and 7 before returning to the tessitura of the *pedes* and continuing the process of invention.¹⁰⁰ In all of the group 2 examples in Table 2, the extension either downwards or upwards is caused by the introduction of new melodic material not found in the *pedes*; in these group 2 melodies, this new material is the principle cause for the melody being in that group, rather than group 1.

Certain sources are more likely to contain *jeux-partis* with invention. Of the nine melodies in T, only one (RS 1293) is in group 3.¹⁰¹ Seven fall in group 1, suggesting that T represents a group of poet-composers – among them Guillaume li Vinier, Gillebert de Berneville and Thomas Erier – who made particular use of the technique of invention. Manuscript a also features prominently in group 1, a fact that is unsurprising, given that a transmits the most *jeux-partis* with music notation. There are seventy-six melodies in Appendix 2 that are transmitted in a: twenty-five of these (32.9%) fall in group 1. Notably, few melodies in a have neither invention nor division: of the fifty-five melodies in this category, only sixteen come from a. Chansonniers V and W tell a different story. Neither features much in group 1, where one

¹⁰⁰ Some readers may consider this deviation in lines 6 and 7 to be too marked for RS 403 to belong in group 1. I have placed RS 403 in group 1 because the melodic material in the higher tessitura is manipulated in a way that is reminiscent of invention.

¹⁰¹ I omit from this calculation RS 332, which is not copied with a melody in T, even though its contrafact (RS 700) is.

Table 2 *Jeux-partis* with significantly different ranges in *pedes* and *cauda*

Group	Melody	Lower limit		Upper limit		Form	Division?
		<i>pedes</i>	<i>cauda</i>	<i>pedes</i>	<i>cauda</i>		
1	RS 258 (A)	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>c</i>	ababx	y
	RS 403	<i>F</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	ababx	y
2	RS 668 (a)	<i>G</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	ababx	y
	RS 693	<i>G</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>f</i>	ababx	y
	RS 1026	<i>F</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>f</i>	abacx	n
	RS 1071	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	ab'a'a''x	y
	RS 1340 (Z)	<i>C</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	ababx	n
	RS 1514	<i>c</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	ababx	y
	RS 1523	<i>D</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	ababx	y
	RS 1584 (W)	<i>c</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	ababx	n
3	RS 1794 (A)	<i>G</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	ababx	y
	RS 335 (Aa)	<i>C</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>f</i>	ababx	n
	RS 840	<i>F</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>a</i>	ababx	y
	RS 908	<i>G</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	ababx	n
	RS 1341	<i>F</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	ababx	n
	RS 1351 (a)	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	ababx	n
	RS 1666 (V)	<i>G</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	*	n
	RS 1671 (Z)	<i>C</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>c</i>	ababx	n
RS 1675 (A)	<i>F</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>c</i>	ababx	n	

* RS 1666 (V) is through-composed.

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melody comes from **V** and two melodies from **W**. Both manuscripts are represented more numerous in group 3, where five melodies are found only in **V** and nine only in **W**; this may indicate that **V** and **W** transmit stylistically unusual melodies.

The collection of *jeux-partis* by Thibaut de Champagne, many of which are contrafacts of *grand chant*, fall largely outside group 1.¹⁰² Thibaut's *jeux-partis* are often copied together in the sources. The only one of these to be found in group 1 is *Sire, ne me celés mie* (RS 1185); RS 294, also by Thibaut and in group 1, is unusual in that it is not copied in the Thibaut group in **KNX**. All of Thibaut's other *jeux-partis* are in group 2 or 3.¹⁰³ Other *jeux-partis* not by Thibaut that are contrafacts of other songs also fall outside group 1.¹⁰⁴ Given that most of the models for contrafact *jeux-partis* by Thibaut and others are courtly love songs, the notable absence of these melodies from group 1 could suggest that melodies for the courtly chanson often did not follow the melodic process of invention. An examination of the entire *grand chant* repertory, which is beyond the scope of this study, would be necessary to prove such a hypothesis. The absence of contrafact *jeux-partis* from group 1 also means that the presence of invention in melodic structure would appear to be a uniquely Arrageois phenomenon.

Invention and division are not restricted to melodies in *pedes-cum-cauda* form: seven of the forty-one melodies (17.1%) in group 1 are through-composed; in group 2, nineteen of the sixty-three melodies (30.2%) are through-composed; in group 3, twenty-two of the sixty-four melodies (34.4%) are through-composed. Melodies that are through-composed are therefore more likely to lack invention, but this is not a fast rule. Where through-composed melodies demonstrate invention to a high or mild degree, the initial material on which subsequent sections of the melody can be based is either introduced in the first two lines of the song, or in the first four lines. In the group 1 melody *Sire Michiel, respondés* (RS 949), for example, the melody is 'found' in lines 1 and 2 and then revisited in the remainder of the melody (see Example 9).¹⁰⁵ Lines 3 and 4 expand on line 2. Line 5 returns to the start of line 2 to introduce the first side of the dilemma (whether a true lover should know the heart of his lady or that his lady knows his desire) with the conjunction 'ou'. The second 'ou' is stated

¹⁰² On the prevalence of contrafacture in early *jeux-partis*, see H. Spanke, 'Zur Geschichte des altfranzösischen Jeu-parti', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 52 (1929), pp. 39–63.

¹⁰³ RS 332, RS 333, RS 334, RS 335, RS 943, RS 1097, RS 1423a, RS 1666.

¹⁰⁴ RS 365, RS 491, RS 840.

¹⁰⁵ RS 949 is copied with notation in chansonnier **T**, fol. 86^r and without notation in chansonnier **C**, fols. 225^v–226^r.

Example 9 *Sire Michiel, respondés* (RS 949), stanza 1 in chansonnier T, aligned by pitch

1. Si-re___ Mi - chiel, re - spon - dés, 2. Un jeu par - ti___ vos_ de - mant,

3. Et par rai-son me mos - très

4. Ke vaut miex a fin___ a - mant,___

5. Ou sa-voir le___ cuer s'a - mi - e

6. K'il ai-me sans tre-che - ri- e,

7. Ou e - le se - ùst de_____ voir 8. Tot son cuer_____ et_____ son vo - loir.

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at the start of line 7, where the melody returns for the first time to the melodic material of line 1. The second part of the melody (lines 3–8) is closely modelled on melodic material ‘found’ in the first stage of invention in lines 1 and 2. Important moments of division in the text (two statements of ‘ou’) are matched in the melody by returns to significant melodic moments – either material from the start of line 2, where the metapoetic term ‘*jeu-parti*’ is first heard, or material from the song’s opening. Formal repetition of whole lines, such as one finds in *pedes-cum-cauda* form, is thus not a prerequisite for invention or division.

A note of caution to end this study is perhaps prudent. In searching for invention and division in the melodies of *jeux-partis* I have been optimistic in my analyses, asking whether a melody can be understood through the lenses of invention and division. Some analysts may not hear invention or division as strongly in some of the melodies of group 1 and group 2, and may question whether these *jeu-parti* melodies, with their relatively narrow ranges and mostly conjunct motion, can be explained just as well without recourse to concepts of invention or division. But that is perhaps the point. In a social context where intellectual rigour was valorised, and where processes such as invention and division were paradigmatic, I contend that poet-composers and listeners would have listened out for and appreciated the subtle ways that *trouvères* performed invention and division through their use of melodic structure. The social significance of both invention and division is clear from the use of metapoetic terms – occasional for *trouver* and frequent for *partir* – through which poet-composers drew particular attention to their performances of meaning. In their self-conscious employment of invention and division, poet-composers of the *jeu-parti* curated authorial positions that were intellectual, prestigious and combative, commensurate with their cultural environment of Arras and the shift towards more clerkly modes of authorship during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁰⁶

University College Dublin

¹⁰⁶ Sylvia Huot charts this trajectory in *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, NY, 1987), *passim*.

APPENDIX 1

Instances of 'Trouver' or 'Partir' in *Jeux-partis***Trouver:**

Only uses of 'trouver' that refer to an act of composition are included. Songs are indicated by their RS number.

899

1191

Partir:

Only uses of 'partir' that mean 'division' or 'divide' have been included. * indicates that 'partir' is used to open the first stanza. Songs are indicated by their RS number.

8	861	1071*	1517
107	862	1072*	1520*
147*	875	1074	1584*
155	899	1085	1671
212	915	1089	1672*
239	916	1097*	1674
334	931	1121	1798
339*	938*	1122	1818
359	940*	1185	1822*
375*	941*	1187*	1833*
378	943	1191*	1949*
572*	944	1235	1962
667*	946	1293*	1986a
691*	949*	1351*	2000*
707	978*	1442a*	2014*
711	1026	1443*	2129*
841	1054	1504	

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APPENDIX 2

Prevalence of Invention and Division in *Jeu-parti* Melodies

<u>Group 1 (strong invention)</u>		<u>Group 2 (some invention)</u>		<u>Group 3 (little or no invention)</u>	
With division		With division		With division	
258	a	8	a	618	Za
258	A	294	A	704	Z
294	a	297	Z	840	KNOPX
296	a	365	O	927	a
375	a	378	A	952	a
403	a	494	W	1293	AMTa
664	a	572	A	1584	A
669	a	666	a	1672	a
704	a	668	a	1817	W
842	T	668	Z		(total: 9)
861	a	690	P		
876	T	693	a		
899	Z	862	a		
940	a	943	V		
947	a	1071	a		
949	T	1085	A		
958	a	1097	DKMOX		
1025	A	1346	a		
1025	a	1354	A		
1042	a	1514	a		
1066	W	1523	Aa		
1191	T	1744	a		
1354	a	1776	Z		
1443	MT	1794	A		
1505	a		(total: 24)		
1674	Za				
1674	A				
1744	A				
1774	a				
1798	W				
1817	a				
2129	MTa				
	(total: 32)				

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(Continued)

Group 1 (strong invention)		Group 2 (some invention)		Group 3 (little or no invention)	
No division		No division		No division	
[277]	a	155	a	39	Z
[277]	A	203	a	258	Z
295	a	297	a	[277]	W
[333]	V	331	W	[333]	O
546	a	332 ²	MOT	[333]	KMX
691 ¹	T	[333]	R	[335]	Aa
1185	KMOX	334	KMOX	[335]	KMX
[1331]	AZa	334	V	[335]	O
[2083]	a	334	R	378	Ma
	(total: 9)	[335]	V	[494]	A
		[359]	W	596	A
		[491]	KMNPX	668	A
		496	Z	690	W
		[547]	a	691	A
		596	a	692	AZa
		690	a	703	W
		703	a	862	A
		871	a	908	Z
		909	Aa	915	a
		918	a	927	Z
		942	a	938	V
		[945]	KNX	943	KMNOX
		978	Z	950	A
		1021	a	950	a
		1026	W	950	W
		1085	MTa	[1041]	a
		1094	a	[1041]	Z
		1121	Za	1042	A
		1291	Z	1094	A
		[1340]	Z	1094	W
		1584	W	1097	V
		1584	a	1185	A
		1666	A	1185	V
		1687	KNX	[1282] ³	A
		1794	a	[1282]	a
		1798	a	1335	a
		1825	A	[1340]	a

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(Continued)

Group 1 (strong invention)	Group 2 (some invention)	Group 3 (little or no invention)
No division	No division	No division
	1888 a	1341 a
	1925 a	1351 Z
	(total: 39)	1351 a
		1423a KMNOX
		1423a V
		1443 W
		[1637] Za
		1666 KMNOXa
		1666 V
		1671 Z
		[1675] a
		[1675] W
		[1675] A
		1774 Z
		1798 A
		1833 W
		1850 a
		1888 a
		(total: 55)

¹RS 691 in **T** is notated up to line 6 (of a total of eight poetic lines). Line 6 is a close repeat of line 1, suggesting the presence of invention. The lack of melody after line 6 means that it is not possible to judge whether division is present.

²Melody for RS 700 used, of which RS 332 is a contrafact (only the melody in the sources in which RS 332 is also found).

³RS 1282 in **A** only has notation for lines 1–6 (of nine poetic lines).