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THE POWER OF SONGS PAST: EVOKING OLD COURTLY SONGS IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY LYRICS FOR EASTER*

In my recent study of citational practices in French songs and lyrics without music from ca. 1280 - ca. 1420,[1] I demonstrated that studying citational practices in late medieval French lyrics and songs lends a powerful forensic tool with which to illuminate our understanding of the compositional process of poets and composers and the reception of their works. It can also shine vital new light on the geographical dispersal of such works and on their date of composition, and even on possible contexts for their subsequent performance. My findings highlighted the extent to which the new so-called fixed forms of the fourteenth century perpetuated traditions of quotation and allusion that had been so fundamental to the crafting of poetry and music in the thirteenth century. Indeed, the allusiveness that characterises so many extant lyrics with and without music from this period reflects the essentially playful and collaborative nature of lyric composition at this time. Certain unnotated manuscript sources transmit sets of deliberately interrelated lyrics that were the product of *puys*, contests in which authors were sometimes challenged to submit secular or religious lyrics constructed around material set by the organizers.[2] But I showed that composers of polyphonic songs in the elevated Ars Nova style, including Guillaume de Machaut and his contemporaries, simi-

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1. Yolanda Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

2. See ibid., chapter five for a discussion of collections of lyrics composed for the *puys* of Valenciennes and Paris in the fourteenth century; and chapter one presents a case study of a group of interrelated song-texts from ca. 1300 that were likewise probably the fruits of such an institution.

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larly engaged in citational jousts with one another, building their works around quotations from past songs as a way of demonstrating their prowess in relation to their peers or predecessors.

In this essay, I explore a set of lyrics copied in the late fifteenth century that further illustrates this playful inventiveness by evoking French courtly lyrics and songs, but does so in an altogether unusual and unexpected context. Although presented without notation in its manuscript sources, this work testifies to the longevity of certain songs and lyrics from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that are transplanted here into a novel setting where they serve to engage but also to instruct their readers. The work in question, which has thus far escaped close scrutiny by musicologists and literary scholars alike, provides fascinating insights into the cross-fertilization of secular and religious culture in late medieval France. It also contributes rare and intriguing evidence for the enduring popularity of certain secular songs and lyrics that had enjoyed success in their own day but seemingly continued to inspire new authors and their audiences for many years to come.

Les xij. balades de pasques appears in a paper manuscript of 161 folios that was copied after 1470 and once belonged to the great bibliophile and collector Paul Pétau (1568-1614); this manuscript is now in the Vatican library under the shelf-mark Reg. lat. 1728.[3] This lyric cycle is presented on ff. 117v-118v, without attribution and undated, amidst twelve vernacular works. The latter are mostly religious texts dating from the thirteenth to late fifteenth centuries. These include: several saints' lives from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; a French version of a Latin text written by the Franciscan visionary Jean de Roquetaillade in 1356;[4] Pierre de Nesson's *Vigiles des*

3. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1728 (Reg1728). Ernest Langlois describes it as follows: measuring 299mm x 208mm, 161 folios, 45-55 lines per page, two columns for verse and the prose presented in long lines; bound in red leather with the arm of Pius IX; see Ernest Langlois, "Notices des manuscrits français et provençaux de Rome antérieurs au XVIe siècle", in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Vol. 33/2 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1889), 233. A watermark identification with Briquet 1041 and 1685 dates the manuscript to the end of the third quarter of the fifteenth century; the watermark can be located in the Île de France and in Champagne. The manuscript was owned by Paul Pétau (1568-1614), and then by his son, Alexandre (d. 1672) who later sold the collection; see the entry by Anne-Françoise Leurquin, "Vaticano (Città del), Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1728" in the database "Jonas" of the IRHT/CNRS at http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/manuscrit/66135 (last accessed June 6, 2017).

4. On the original Latin text, see most recently Matthias Kaup, *John of Rupescissa's "Vade mecum in tribulatione" (1356). A Late Medieval Escatological Manual for the Forthcoming Thirteen Years of Horror and Hardship* (New York and Oxford: Routledge, 2016). On the French translations of this text, see Barbara Ferrari, "Le *Vade mecum in tribulatione* de Jean de Roquetaillade en moyen français (ms.

morts from the early fifteenth century;[5] the anonymous fourteenth-century *Evangile de Gamaliel* on the Resurrection of Christ; and a further anonymous account of the Resurrection and other spiritual works from the mid- to late fifteenth century. They also include two secular items composed in the 1440s, a pair of responses to Alain Chartier's *Belle dame sans mercy*: one is anonymous and recounts how the lover seeks refuge in the Church, while the other, *Confession et Testament de l'amant trespassé de deuil* attributed to Pierre de Hauteville, outlines the lover's death and testament. Hauteville fulfilled various roles at the French royal court; he was also the *prince*, or head judge, of the famous *cour amoureuse* (court of love) that was established there in 1400 and whose members included poets Deschamps and Garencières as well as composers Haucourt, Tapissier and Charité. The statutes of the *cour amoureuse* inform us that this institution held monthly lyric contests, to which its members were invited to submit ballades composed on refrains chosen by the organizers; in other words, these competitions were citational. It is worth noting that Hauteville cites the incipits of songs in his poem and that, according to the description of Paris by Guillebert de Metz, he had in his entourage *galants* who were skilled in the composition and instrumental performance of ballades, rondeaux, virelais and other *dictiés amoureux*. It seems, then, that Hauteville's interest extended to music as well as poetry.[6] As we will see, although *Les xij. balades de Pasques* meshes especially closely with the French religious texts presented in the manuscript, like Hauteville's poem, it also evokes the spirit of the secular *puy* in its citational format; its presence in the Vatican manuscript alongside Hauteville's work, therefore, may be no accident.

BAV, Reg. lat. 1728)", in *Pour acquerir honneur et pris: mélanges de moyen français offerts à Giuseppe Di Stefano*, ed. Maria Colombo Tinelli and Claudio Galderisi (Montreal: CERES, 2004), 225-36, and Ead., "La prima traduzione francese del *Vade mecum in tribulatione* di Giovanni di Rupescissa (Parigi, BNF, fr. 24524)", *Studi mediolatini e volgari* 50 (2004): 59-76.

5. Pierre de Nesson died between 1439 and 1442; he was an officer at the court of Jehan, duke of Bourbon, son-in-law of Jehan, duke of Berry, and served in the embassy of Charles VI to the Council of Basel in 1436; see Arthur Piaget and Eugénie Droz, *Pierre de Nesson et ses oeuvres* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1977). Nesson's *Vigiles des morts*, a meditation on death, was a popular work and survives in many sources; ca. 1450 a prose version was made, on which see Olivier Delsaux, "La mise en prose des *Vigiles des morts* de Pierre de Nesson, texte inconnu attribuable à Jean Miélot", *Le Moyen Âge* 119 (2013): 143-81. A list of sources and bibliography is given on the "Jonas" IRHT/CNRS database; see "Vigiles des morts, Pierre de Nesson" at http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/7120, and https://www.arlima.net/mp/pierre_de_nesson.html#mar; last accessed June 6, 2017.

6. Antoine Jean Victor LeRoux de Lincy and Lazar Maurice Tisserand, eds., *Paris et ses historiens aux 14e et 15e siècles: documents et écrits originaux recueillis et commentés* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1867), 234.

1. The Thematic Content of «Les xij. balades de Pasques»

The work recounts, in semi-dramatised form, the story of the Passion, focussing specifically on the Resurrection on Easter Day. Designed to be read in sequence, its twelve poems present a lyric commentary on these dramatic events: its central core presents vignettes of the reaction and suffering of the Virgin when she discovers Christ's tomb empty, which are largely expressed through dialogues between herself and Mary Magdalen on the one hand, and with an angel on the other. This core is framed by reflections from the narrator and his advice to his readers to keep the faith (the twelve lyrics are presented in their manuscript sequence in Examples 2-13 in the Appendix below).[7]

The first lyric sets the scene in spring, reminiscing that it was in this sweet season that the flesh of God was placed in the Holy Sepulchre, guarded there by armed Jews; as they slumbered, they lost the precious jewel (*biau joiel*), which, it concludes, we must serve with loyal heart. The second lyric dwells further on the *faulx juifz* guarding the tomb; the narrator advises that we must have faith in the Resurrection, otherwise the Jews' allegation that Christ died would be hard to refute. In the third poem, Nature induces the narrator to recall the Holy Scriptures that teach us that the Lord was resurrected by divine intervention and that He then blessed his disciples, warning them of a false prophet hidden amongst them. The fourth reflects on how the Resurrection, the gift of love, took place as predicted, and relates how the three Marys together journeyed to find God, each recalling Christ's suffering and lamenting in her own tongue, and it concludes that the death of Jesus of Nazareth holds us in loving servitude. The fifth lyric presents the three Marys as they walk at dawn on Easter Day to discover Christ's tomb empty; the disconsolate Virgin Mary laments how she beheld the wound inflicted by a spear on her Son as he hung on the cross. In the next lyric, Mary Magdalen responds that Christ will break down the door of the great castle of martyrdom, where the devil imprisons many souls, and there save His *bons amys*. In *balade* seven, the Virgin advises Magdalen to tread gently, and reminds her that we must love and anoint Jesus; but an angel from on high tells her to return to Christ's tomb by the tree in the beautiful field and, continuing into the eighth poem, confirms that Christ is not there. The Virgin replies that she so desires to see

7. My transcription of *Les xij. balades de Pasques* is from the Vatican manuscript and differs slightly from that of Adalbert Keller, *Romwart. Beiträge zur Kunde mittelalterlichen Dichtung aus italienischen Bibliotheken* (Mannheim: Bassermann; Paris: Renouard, 1844). I am very grateful to Francesca Manzari for kindly checking my transcription of the Easter lyric cycle against the original manuscript in the Vatican library.

Him that she cannot sleep; in *balade* nine, she implores the angel to reveal Jesus' whereabouts and the angel responds that He is in Galilee, which fills the Virgin with joy. In *balade* ten, she is comforted on an island in the sea as Mary Magdalen reports that her Son has appeared to her, which has made her rejoice and conclude that there is a tower full of great riches in Galilee. In *balade* eleven, the narrator states that Hope has implanted in his heart the will to rejoice in praising God, who comforts the Virgin and appears in His divine state six times on Easter Day, thereby bringing solace to His followers; the narrator reflects that the pains Christ suffered for us makes him love life. In the concluding *balade*, he introduces a personal prayer: he addresses Christ, whom, he reminds us, died on Good Friday but was resurrected on Easter Day, imploring Him to protect us from the snares of the devil and to keep us from evil intent. As he concludes the work, the narrator asks the Lord to take pity on us all and on himself at the Last Judgement.

2. French Devotional Literature: Religious Models

The piety expressed in *Les xij. balades de Pasques* places it within the genre of French religious writing that was long established in France and reached a pinnacle in the fifteenth century. Late medieval piety had stimulated increased production of Books of Hours for the laity since the mid-thirteenth century, which encouraged the reader to meditate on their religious texts, in particular those on the life of Christ, a process assisted by images in the case of illuminated copies. Alongside these prayer books, there developed a tradition of meditative texts in the vernacular that were designed at once to move and to instruct the laity. From early on, some authors integrated elements from secular literature in order to draw in their lay readers. As Maureen Boulton has recently suggested, these writers "combined the religious truths of Christianity (otherwise set out in less accessible texts) with apocryphal stories translated from Latin, and recast them in the narrative modes of secular literature in order to appeal to an audience used to lighter fare".[8] Lives of the Virgin or of Christ from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, for instance, drew on devices from romance, including in some cases the use of the octosyllabic couplets as well as motifs from *chansons de geste*. A particularly interesting example is *Les Trois Maries* by Carmelite friar and chronicler Jehan de Venette,

8. Maureen Barry McCann Boulton, *Sacred Fictions of Medieval France. Narrative Theology in the Life of Christ and the Virgin, 1150-1500* (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2015), 7-8. The details that follow regarding the Passion tradition are from McCann's stimulating study.

a verse life of the Virgin and her sisters written in 1357 that focuses mostly on the Incarnation and on the Passion. The latter is recounted in Mary's own words in a passage modelled on the celebrated Latin text *Tractatus de planctu beatae Mariae Virginis*, which was variously attributed to St Augustin and St Bernard.[9] Elsewhere, however, Venette sought to move his noble audience by introducing elements evocative of romance: these included an emphasis on the veneration of relics, which was especially dear to the French nobility, and even references to knights, battles and adventures.

As Claudia Rabel has recently discussed, the feast of the Trois Maries was established in the Carmelite order in the 1340s and soon after was adopted by the diocese of Paris. Rabel proposed that Venette's *Les Trois Maries* was written for Blanche d'Evreux (1330-98), dowager queen of Philippe VI of France (d. 1350), and suggested that twin manuscript copies of it may have been produced in connection with the foundation in 1401 of a confraternity in honour of the Trois Maries by the Parisian Carmelite house.[10] The work certainly found favour in Valois circles at that time. Charles V of France (1338-80), Philippe VI's grandson, was especially devoted to the Three Marys, and founded a chapel dedicated to them in Chartres cathedral.[11] His brother, the great bibliophile and patron of the arts, Jean, duke of Berry (1340-1416), owned a copy of Venette's work in his library and I wonder whether that copy was Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1532, one of the twin copies mentioned above, which was illuminated by the artist known as the *Maître du Policratique*, the lead artist of Berry's Machaut manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 9221 (MachE).[12] In total, seven copies of Venette's *Les Trois Maries* from the period are still extant today.[13]

A series of fifteenth-century Passion texts in prose that draw on early Latin models and similarly connect with Valois France and its royal capital provide a further literary context for the Easter lyrics that concern us here. One such text is an influential French sermon that was delivered by Jean Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris, on Good Friday in 1403, known as *Ad deum*

9. Arthur Långfors, "Contributions à la bibliographie des Plaintes de la Vierge", *Revue des langues romanes* 53 (1910): 58-69.

10. Claudia Rabel, "Des histoires de famille. La devotion aux Trois Maries en France du XIVe au XV^{e} siècle. Textes et Images", *Revista de História da Arte* 7 (2009): 121-37, at 126-7. On Venette's work, see also Boulton, *Sacred Fictions*, 68-78.

11. Ibid., 128.

12. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1532 belonged to the library of the dukes of Bourbon in the fifteenth century; Berry's daughter Marie married Jehan I, duke of Bourbon in 1400.

13. On the manuscript tradition of Venette's *Les Trois Maries*, see Boulton, *Sacred Fictions*, 79-8, and 305-6.

vadi.[14] After an introduction, this work falls into two parts, each divided into twelve sections that represent the hours of day and night: the first part relates to Christ's arrest and trial in the morning, and the second to the Crucifixion in the afternoon. Gerson's purpose was to move his listeners to devotion and sorrow; to do this he asks them to imagine the pictures and events he describes, notably, the suffering of the Virgin.[15] The *Passion Isabeau*, which is of similar date and was apparently commissioned by Charles VI's Queen Isabeau de Bavière, proved enormously popular. This work aimed to appeal to its readers' emotions by alternating descriptions of Christ's suffering with the reactions of the Virgin; much of the narrative in the second part is in Mary's voice, where she voices her sorrow in long laments.[16] A few years later and also in Paris, Christine de Pizan wrote a meditation on the Passion entitled *Heures de Contemplacion sur la Passion de Nostre Seigneur Jhesu-crist* that was designed to appeal to a wide readership that explicitly included women. Like Gerson, Christine organised her work according to the monastic hours, and she likewise sought to imagine the reactions of the Virgin.[17] So, too, did the *Contemplations sur les sept heures de la Passion*, written by Miélot for Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, in 1456; like Christine, this author regularly addresses his princely reader, whom he urges to imagine what is being described as if present at the scene.

In addition to these Passions, there survive three French texts that served as expansions to the Passion.[18] These works focus specifically on the Resurrection, starting their account on the Saturday morning and depicting the final events of Christ's life, his Resurrection and Ascension, ending with Pen-

14. It was copied widely and today survives in twenty-five manuscripts and fragments that attest to its varied readership. These sources range from paper manuscripts originally owned by various monastic houses to deluxe parchment ones made for the high aristocracy; one of the latter (now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 990 [Paris990]) was a devotional anthology commissioned by Marie de Berry, duchess of Bourbon and daughter of Jean, duke of Berry. See Boulton, *Sacred Fictions*, chap. 5.

15. As Boulton suggests, "Gerson's appeal to emotion is ultimately aimed at making his audience more receptive to the systematic moral instruction that is woven into his reflection on the Passion". Boulton, *Sacred Fictions*, 236.

16. This text was extremely popular, to judge from the copies in thirty-six surviving manuscripts, which include anthologies of devotional texts, such as the deluxe manuscript owned by the princely poet Charles, duke of Orléans and his wife Marie de Clèves, or the illuminated copy belonging to a rich merchant of Troyes, Guillaume Molé.

17. This text survives in just two anthologies, one that includes the *Passion Isabeau* and another text by Gerson alongside other works, while the other unites various spiritual texts, including Pierre de Nesson's *Vigiles des morts*, which appears along with the Easter *balades* in Reg1728.

18. For this account of the Resurrection texts, see Sean T. Caulfield, "An Edition of the Middle French prose 'resurrection nostre Saulveur Jhesucrist' based on vatican reginensis lat. 1728" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1993), especially 77-90.

tecost. *Les xij. balades de Pasques* thus relates especially closely to these and it is therefore interesting that one of them is also transmitted in Vat1728. Here, rather than being coupled with a Passion text as is the case with the other examples, the *Resurrection nostre Saulveur Jhesuchrist* serves as a kind of prologue to the popular fourteenth-century *Vengeance nostre seigneur*.[19] The latter is a Resurrection text that is drawn almost verbatim from another life of Christ, *La Vie et Passion de nostre Seigneur Jhesuchrist*, which is attributed in one source to Franciscan theologian Pierre aux Boeufs (1368-1425), confessor to Queen Isabeau in 1404 and an influential presence at the French royal court.[20] The content of the Easter lyrics intersects with chapters nine to twelve of the *Resurrection nostre Saulveur Jhesuchrist*, which recount how the three Marys came to the tomb on the Sunday morning, discussing their sorrow and carrying with them the holy oil to anoint Christ, there encountering the angel.[21] As we have seen, the central core of the Easter *balades* cycle, running from the fifth to the tenth *balade*, comprises the dialogue between the Virgin and Mary Magdalen (reference to the holy oil they bring is in no. 7) and their encounter with the angel. In the tenth chapter of the *Resurrection*, the Marys, on returning to the field where the tomb is situated, meet there St John and Peter and see two angels, and in the following chapter Christ appears to them and they speak with him. The disciples are not mentioned in the Easter *balades*, however; instead, the focus is on the Virgin's exchanges with Mary Magdalen and with the angel, and on Christ's appearance to her and to Mary Magdalen, and the comfort this brought them.

In *Les xij. balades de Pasques* the action is thus more compressed due to the miniaturist form. Yet despite this essential difference, this work relates to the Resurrection and the Passions mentioned above in its aim to appeal to the lay reader by using dialogue to dramatise the events recounted and to stimulate the readers' empathy for the suffering of the Virgin. Like those texts, it includes reflection and meditation on the story recounted in the lyrics that frame this central episode; here, the narrator reminds his readers of the significance of Easter and the importance of maintaining their faith. Another aspect that is shared with certain of the Passion texts discussed above is its formal division into twelve "sections", in this case twelve lyrics. Although the rela-

19. Ibid., 90. This work is presented in other manuscripts alongside the *Passion Isabeau*; see Boulton, *Sacred Fictions*, 247 and 248-9n67.

20. See Caulfield's discsussion of the authorship and dating, and other bibliography he cites there; Caulfield, "An edition", 36-40. On the close parallels between the *Resurrection* and the *Vie et passion*, see ibid., 88-9 and the useful proposed stemma on 91.

21. Caulfield's edition from the Vatican manuscript begins at ibid., 135.

tionship to the various monastic hours is not spelt out here, it seems probable that for fifteenth-century readers of such devotional texts this division may well have been understood as an allusion to the hours.[22]

Finally, the lyric form of the *balades de Pasques* recalls an anonymous lament in verse from the early fifteenth century that survives in a manuscript now in the Médiathèque Municipale de Cambrai (Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale [*olim* Bibliothèque Municipale], 812 [Ca812]).[23] Introduced as *les regrez que nostre dame fist quant Jhesuchrist rechupt mort et passion en arbre de la crois pour humaine lignie au jour de vendredy*, this work comprises eight *douzains*, which, in turn, address God, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, St John the Evangelist, the Archangel Gabriel, the Cross, the Jews and sinners, and ends with a four-line address to the Virgin by the author.

3. Models from the Secular World

The author's choice of a secular lyric form for his *balades de Pasques* might surprise us today, but as we have seen, this chimes with a long-established tradition within French devotional writing to integrate elements from secular literature in order to draw in the lay reader. Indeed, the designation of the poems as *balades* immediately evokes the secular world, for the ballade was the archetypal form for love poetry and songs from the mid-fourteenth right up to the fifteenth century; by 1400, the ballade had become a classic vehicle for the urban *puys*, together with the related *chanson royale* and the *serventois*, which often carried Marian texts.[24] By evoking a secular form that would have been familiar to the lay reader, the author of the Easter lyrics was doing something akin to Gautier de Coinci in his *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, who introduced chansons by famous trouvères to which he fitted new, sacred texts. Gautier even transformed one *grand chant* by adding catchy refrains typical of dance-songs in order to reach out to his lay readers in terms they would enjoy and understand.[25] Given the long tradition of sacralising French love songs using *contrafacta*, in particular for veneration of the Virgin, a practice that

22. Another possible association might have been with the twelve disciples; I thank Maria Sofia Lannutti for this suggestion.

23. Arthur Långfors, "Contributions à la bibliographie des Plaintes de la Vierge", 65.

24. On the *puys* and the forms cultivated there in the fourteenth century, see Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chap. 5.

25. See Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Late Medieval France. From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 109-11 and Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 164 and the bibliography cited there.

continued into and beyond the fifteenth century especially in the context of *puys*, the choice of the ballade form for the Easter *balades* may not seem so remarkable. However, religious ballades are far from common and the lyrics that make up the Easter cycle, in fact, are not ballades at all. In its classic form, the ballade comprises three stanzas, each of which closes with the same refrain, usually of one or two lines. Sung ballades of the mid- to late fourteenth century typically favour seven- or eight-line stanzas, although from the late fourteenth century ballades without music often featured longer stanzas and a concluding *envoy* in the mode of the *chanson royale.* In contrast, each of the Easter lyrics, except the last one, comprises a single stanza of thirteen lines and, therefore, there is no internal refrain and neither does any refrain-like element unify the series.

One notable feature shared by the lyrics (again, except the last one) offers a clue as to the secular model drawn upon by the author. Each lyric begins with a couplet, the two lines of which are then reiterated, split to frame the remaining nine lines of the stanza. This matches the format of the *fastras*, another of the "fixed-forms" that, like the ballade, crystallised in the early fourteenth century and became popular with competitors at *puys* by 1400. The *fastras* had its roots in thirteenth-century nonsense poems and by 1320, sporting a new, distinctive template, it was cultivated in French royal court circles: two partially notated examples appear among the *sotes chançons* of the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel* and there also survives a set of thirty un-notated *fastras* by Watriquet de Couvin, a court poet active in the same political circles a few years later.[26] According to a rubric in manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 14968 (Paris14968), Watriquet and his associate Raimondin performed these works before King Philippe VI on Easter Day, probably in 1329. Example 1 (see the Appendix below) presents one of these *fastras* to illustrate their characteristic form: first, at the head of the lyric, appears a courtly couplet (shown in italics) written in red ink; this is then followed by an eleven-line stanza, comprising isometric lines and rhyme scheme *aabaabbabab*, in which this couplet frames nine lines of nonsense.

The compositional principle of the *fastras*, then, comprised the grafting of nonsense verse upon a courtly couplet; this later earned the form the name *fastras enté* (grafted *fastras*). It has long been suspected that the couplets of Watriquet's *fastras* were pre-existent and a century ago, Charles-Victor Lan-

26. On the relationship of the *Fauvel* examples to thirteenth-century *sottes chansons* and other nonsense forms, see Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 114-20; for a detailed account of Watriquet's *fastras* and associated bibliography, see ibid., chap. 4.

glois showed that one derived from a trouvère song[27] and another was drawn from a motet from the *Roman de Fauvel*.[28] Indeed, the splicing of the couplets across the beginning and end of the form recalls thirteenth-century *motets entés*, where existing *refrains* are split between the start and end of the upper voices, and also certain fixed-form songs and lyrics from the fourteenth century, notably ballades and *serventois*, in which we find borrowed material similarly divided between the beginning and end of the stanza.[29] I have recently identified several further matches with the couplets of Watriquet's *fastras*, works, including in lyrics by Machaut and Le Mote,[30] which thereby strengthens Langlois' supposition that Watriquet's *fastras* were citational.[31] An accompanying image in the single manuscript source depicting Watriquet and Raimondin presenting these *fastras* before the king leads us to imagine that the game might have involved challenging one another to improvise a stanza of nonsense on the spot in response to the chosen courtly material.[32] The resulting bravura performance would have showcased the lyrical prowess of these *menestrels de bouche* as they improvised a flight of fancy within the strict constraints of the form. The quotation of a familiar musical work, including, as in one of the *Fauvel* examples, the original melody, coupled with political in-jokes, would doubtless have added to the appeal of these bizarrely entertaining works. In the example presented here (Example 1), the reference to solmization syllables emphasizes a musical dimension; a political reference is made in the evocation of Pierre Rémi, a high-ranking officer at the royal court who was tried for maladministration of finances and hanged for treason shortly before the composition of these works.

27. Guillaume de Machaut also quoted this material some years later in three of his ballades without music. For a recent case study of these and other ballades by Machaut built around material borrowed from the trouvères, see Yolanda Plumley, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Advent of a New School of Lyric c. 1350: The Prestige of the Past", in *Poetry, Art, and Music in Guillaume de Machaut's Earliest Manuscript (BnF fr. 1586)*, ed. Lawrence Earp and Jared C. Hartt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 315-40.

28. Charles-Victor Langlois, "Watriquet, ménestrel et poète français", *Histoire littéraire de la France* 35 (1921): 394-421 at 412n3.

29. Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chap. 5 discusses some of Jehan de Le Mote's ballades from the 1330s that feature such splicing of borrowed material between incipit and refrain of the ballade stanza; see also the anonymous *serventois* shown in ibid., 174-5.

30. Details are presented in ibid., chap. 4; a summary of the matches is presented on the table on p. 139.

31. Most scholars have previously assumed that these couplets were pre-existing but for a different view, see Patrice Uhl, *Rêveries, fatrasies, fatras entés. Poèmes "nonsensiques" des XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Louvain: Peeters, 2012), 60-1, the publication of which overlapped with my own study. Uhl's point that *refrains* were sometimes combined or altered and that Watriquet himself might have modified such existing materials to suit his own purposes seems plausible, however.

32. See the fuller discussion of the performance of these works in Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 141-3, and also Uhl, *Rêveries*, 61-6.

The form, if not the content, of the Easter *balades* thus relates them directly to the *fastras*: they display an identical format and rhyme scheme, and thus appear to represent a religious equivalent to that secular genre. An early fifteenth-century poetry treatise by Baude Herenc provides examples of two kinds of *fastras*: the *fastras impossible*, where the content is nonsensical as in Watriquet's examples, and the *fastras possible*, which is the case here, that is, where the verse makes sense.[33] Whether the Easter lyrics relate directly to Baude's category is not entirely clear since Herenc does not indicate that the *fastras* could be religious; neither does he specify that its form is drawn from an existing work, as apparently was the case in Watriquet's examples. Nevertheless, it certainly seems that our Easter lyrics were indeed understood to be *fatras* in their own time, because six of them appear in a second manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 4641B (Paris4641B), f. 142v, which was compiled in Paris ca. 1430-ca. 1440,[34] where they are introduced as follows: *Cy apres s'ensuit vi. fatras qui sont faits et entez sur la Resurrection notre Seigneur*. Not only is their form identified correctly here but, with the descriptor *entez* (grafted), the compositional principle behind them is likewise made explicit: like the secular *fastras*, the *balades de Pasques*, indeed, are citational, as I shall now demonstrate.

4. Courtly Quotations in «Les xij. balades de Pasques»

The couplet that heads each of the lyrics adds a further secularising element to the Easter lyrics, for they are all suspiciously courtly in tone. As I have suggested was the case in Watriquet's *fastras*, these couplets are all quotations, most or all from secular models. In the analysis that follows, I explore how each cou-

33. See Baude Herenc, *Le Doctrinal* in Ernest Langlois, ed., *Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique* (Paris: 1902; repr., Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974), 192-3. In the same volume, a treatise by Jehan Molinet presents an example of a *fastras* of the "possible" kind that is not religious; in his discussion, Molinet suggests that the form is suitable for amorous themes, because of its repetition of lines, which are of seven or eight syllables ("[…] convenable a matieres joyeuses, pour la repeticion des metres [lines], qui sont de sept et de huyt [syllables].") Although he indicates that lines are repeated, he does not explicitly state that the couplets are formed by quotations. Both theorists, however, specify that the *serventois* (which by that time was always religious) was modelled on secular songs; this tallies with the statutes of the *cour amoureuse* of 1400.

34. Paris4641B transmits in sequence nos. 2, 4, 5, 10, 11, and 12. My discussion focuses on the full set, which appears only in the Vatican manuscript. The readings of the above six lyrics from Paris4641B differ in places from those of the Vatican manuscript, providing better copy in some cases but displaying errors elsewhere (all of them lack the repetition of the first line of the couplet, so they appear as twelve-line stanzas; for no. 12, the Paris manuscript gives the final line twice, at the end and as the second line). The disparities between the two manuscripts indicates that exemplars with divergent readings were in circulation. My edition of the lyrics in the figures follows the Vatican manuscript except in a couple of instances where the Paris manuscript offers a better version; these spots are indicated in the footnotes below the texts.

plet served as a starting point for the composition of the lyric it encloses and how the author used these secular elements to drive home his message. Table 1 presents a summary of the couplets and the matches that I have thus far identified.

Table 1. The couplets of the Easter *balades* and their matches with earlier works

Balade	Couplets	Shared with:
1	En ce doulx temps que raverdit la pré Que cilz arbre flourissent de nouvel.	Renaut de Trie: *Quant je voi le doz tens venir* (chanson, early 13th c.) [paraphrase]
2	S'Amours n'estoit plus poisant que Nature, No foy seroit legier a condempner.	Brisbarre: Marian *serventois* (1330s?) [same incipit also in: Anon., Marian *serventois* (1330s?); *Serventois pastourel* (before 1390); *Balade* (14th c.?)]
3	[Si doulcement me demaine nature] Que je ne say si je suis mors ou viz.	Machaut: *Se Dieus me doint de ma dame joïr* (ballade, *Lo162*, 1340s) Trebor: *Helas, Pitié envers moy dort si fort* (ballade with music, 1380s)
4	Le don d'amours, qui tous les cuers attraict, Nous met et tient en amoureux servage.	Granson: *Qui veult entrer en l'amoureux servage* (ballade, late 14th c.) [reformulated]
5	Coeur de marbre couronné d'aÿemant, Ourlé de fer, a la pointe acheree.	Machaut: *Amis, je t'ay tant amé et cheri* (*chant royale*, *Lo254*, 1360s) Le Mote: *Coers de marbre, couronnés d'aÿmant* (ballade, 1339)
6	Ung chastel say ou droit fief de l'empire Dont Venus est de son droit chastellaine.	Anon: *Un chastel sçay es droiz fiez de l'empire* (ballade, before ca. 1390)
7	Marchiez du pie legierement L'herbe du joly pré regnant.	–
8	Qui bien aime, il ne doit mie Le tiers de la nuyt dormir.	Anon: *Qui bien aime, il ne doit mie* / *Demie la nuit dormi* (refrain, 13th c.) Anon: *Qui bien aime* / *Cuers qui dort* / *Viderunt* (motet, late 13th c.) Anon: *L'abeï du chastel amoureus* (poem, late 13th c.)
9	Seduict d'amours, nourry en doulx espoir, Out mon cuer mis en noble seignourie.	Watriquet: *Desir d'amours, nourri en dous espoir* / *Tient mon cuers pris en noble seignorie* (*fastras*, ca. 1329)
10	En ung ilsle de mer avironnee Say une tour qui est de grant noblesse.	–
11	Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat Sentir me fait d'amer la doulce vie.	Anon: *Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat* (rondeau with music, 1360s)
12	Clere faiçon de biaulté souveraine	–

The first lyric, as we have seen, sets the scene of Christ's Resurrection in spring. The couplet *En ce doulx temps que raverdit la pré / Que cilz arbre flourissent de nouvel* serves to evoke this pleasant season in the reader's imagination and to situate the cycle as a whole within the imaginative space of French courtly literary tradition by adopting this classic opening. Many narrative vernacular poems and *dits* from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries influenced by the *Roman de la Rose* begin in this way. From a time and milieu relatively close to Watriquet's *fastras*, for instance, is *Li Regret Guillaume*, by his fellow countryman Jehan de Le Mote,[35] a poem written in 1339 to commemorate the death of the Count of Hainaut. Interpolated into the overarching narrative of that work is a series of laments in ballade form, a good number of which are constructed around framing courtly quotations in a manner akin to those of Watriquet's *fastras*. Another example from the same period is the popular *Le Jugement du Roy de Behaigne* by Le Mote's more famous contemporary and lyric interlocutor Guillaume de Machaut. That work it is set at Easter and was often known as *Le temps pascour* on account of its opening:

> Au temps pascour que toute riens s'esgaie,
> Que la terre de mainte colour gaie
> Se cointoie, dont pointure sans plaie
> Sous la mamelle
> Fait Bonne Amour a mainte dame bele,
> A maint amant et a mainte pucelle [...][36]

Of course, such springtime scene-setting at the opening of vernacular poems predates the fourteenth century, and the choice to use this for the opening couplet in *Les xij. balades de Pasques* also evokes in particular the earlier and prestigious secular love song tradition of the trouvères. Although it is not an exact match, the couplet of the first lyric strongly echoes the start of a song by Renaut de Trie (fl. 1219-1239), *Quant je voi le doz tens venir* (RS 1484), as can be seen in Example 2 (where correspondences are shown in bold font). Renaut's song inspired several imitations in the thirteenth century that bear similar incipits, including a Marian *contrafactum*, but, as Theodore Karp noted long ago, an Italian *caccia* from the trecento also quotes this song in its text.[37]

35. See Jehan de Le Mote, *Li Regret Guillaume, Comte de Hainaut. Poème inédit du XIV^e siècle*, ed. Auguste Scheler (Leuven: Imprimerie J. Lefever, 1882).

36. See *Guillaume de Machaut: The Complete Poetry and Music*, Vol. 1, *The Debate Poems*, ed. Richard Barton Palmer, Uri Smilansky and Domenic Leo (Kalamazoo: Michigan University Press, 2016), 46.

37. Theodore Karp, "The Textual Origins of a Piece of Trecento Polyphony", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20 (1967): 469-73.

Recently, Giuliano Di Bacco observed that not only was the incipit of Renaut's song quoted there but so was the whole of the first stanza.[38] Recent research has begun to reveal that trouvère songs were still being plundered in this way by French songwriters in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. My own recent findings have shown that Guillaume de Machaut drew far more persistently on the songs of his trouvère predecessors than previously supposed, in his fixed-form lyrics and songs as well as in his motets. Moreover, there are two striking examples of extensive quotation from trouvère songs amongst the anonymous songs of the early fifteenth-century Cyprus codex (Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.II.9 [Cyp]) that suggest that Machaut's successors from ca. 1400 were likewise inspired by these old songs.[39] These songs from the Cyprus codex suggest that the trouvère song repertories had remained very much alive in the collective imagination within French and francophone courts in the early fifteenth century.

Whether the opening couplet of the first Easter *balade* would have been readily identified by the readers of *Les xij. balades de Pasques* is hard to say. Yet the choice of this material at the start of the work suggests, at least, that the genre of spring songs cultivated by the trouvères was still familiar at this much later point and hence was useful for the author's purpose. From the very opening, the couplet calls to the mind of the reader the agreeable sweetness of spring, with its warmth and its greening of the landscape and, importantly, its association with love. The reiteration of the first line cements the spring context in the listener's mind, while the conclusion of the stanza with its second line attributes the yearly blossoming of trees in spring to Christ; instead of dwelling on earthly love, the narrator thus deftly steers the reader to Godly thought and devotion.

The couplet opening the second *balade* evokes two of the classic allegorical figures that populate fourteenth- and fifteenth-century songs and lyrics, *Amours* and *Nature*, and has the character of an epithet: if love was not stronger than nature, our faith would be easy to refute. This couplet finds an

38. Giuliano di Bacco, "*Quant je voi le dous temps*. On the 14th-century Italian Reincarnation of a Trouvère Song" (unpublished paper); I am grateful to Dr Di Bacco for sharing his research with me.

39. On Machaut's quotations from the trouvères in his songs, see Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chap. 8, and, in particular, Ead., "Guillaume de Machaut and the Advent of a New School of Lyric"; and in his motets, see in particular Jacques Boogaart, "Encompassing Past and Present: Quotations and their Function in Machaut's Motets", *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 1-86. On the Cyprus songs in question, see Yolanda Plumley, "Memories of the Mainland in the Songs of the Cyprus codex", in *Poésie et musique a l'âge de l'Ars subtilior, Autour du manuscrit Torino BNU J.II.9*, ed. Gisèle Clement, Isabelle Fabre, Gilles Polizzi, Fañch Thoraval (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 95-113, and a further case identified by Isabelle Fabre in her essay in the same volume.

exact match with the first two lines of a Marian *serventois* ascribed to Brisbarre (see Example 3), author of *Le Restor du paon*, which he composed before 1338 as a sequel to the popular *Voeux du paon* by Jacques de Longuyon to which cycle, in turn, Jehan de Le Mote added his *Le Parfait du paon* in 1340. A *Serventois de Nostre Dame* beginning with these two lines is cited and attributed to Brisbarre in the early fifteenth-century poetry treatise known as *Les Règles de la seconde rhétorique*.[40] An extant poem of five stanzas plus envoy that starts in this way may be Brisbarre's work; it appears, without attribution, in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1543 (Paris1543), a mixed anthology from ca. 1400 that includes texts by Jean de Meung and Jean Le Fèvre, under the rubric *Chy comenche un serventois de nostre dame* (f. 99r; this is the reading presented in Example 3, tentatively attributed to Brisbarre). Another Marian *serventois* with the same incipit and first lines of each stanza is transmitted by Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 2095 (Paris2095; f. 80v, entitled *balade*), a fourteenth-century anthology of mainly religious texts. These two poems appear together in Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 897 (Ar1), a *Roman de la Rose* manuscript copied in 1370 that also features Machaut's *Jugement du roi de Behaigne* and various saints' lives amongst other texts. A three-stanza ballade is built on this same incipit and first lines of stanzas but treats a more wordly subject: it begins *Se l'argent n'estoit plus puissant que nature* and is found, alongside a large number of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century song-lyrics, in *Le Jardin de Plaisance* (f. 202v, entitled *balade*), which was printed by Vérard in 1501. Finally, in Philadelphia, PA, University of Pennsylvania Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 902 (Penn), f. 6b, in an anthology of lyrics deriving from French royal court circles compiled ca. 1390 that includes many lyrics and song-texts by Machaut, there is a *serventois pastourel* with five-stanzas and *envoy*; once again, this poem shares the incipit and first lines of its stanzas with the above three poems.

The address to the "Prinches d'amour" in the *envoy* of the *serventois* from Paris2095, and to a "Prince" in the poem from Penn, suggests that all these poems may have been contributions to a *puy*. According to Eustache Deschamps, by the late fourteenth century the *serventois* form, along with the *chanson royale* and the *fastras*, was "ouvrage qui se porte aux puis d'amours, et que nobles hommes n'ont pas accoustumé de faire".[41] Since, as already mentioned, the fourteenth-century *serventois* was often Marian and modelled on existing *chanson amoureuses*, it seems possible that these four works were based

40. See Langlois, *Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique*, 12.
41. See Langlois' discussion, ibid., XLV.

on a now-lost *chanson amoureuse*.[42] Whether the second Easter *balade* was quoting from that same secular model or from Brisbarre's Marian *serventois* is hard to say. In Brisbarre's poem, the two lines are presented as a statement, which is then developed in the ensuing lines in the first stanza: Love teaches us that Christ was born of the Virgin to save mankind but whoever argues according to Nature against the Immaculate Conception will not know the truth, for the Holy Spirit, which is Love, made Him; that's what the narrator steadfastly believes. The *balade de Pasques* follows a similar argument. The couplet supports the author's moralising aim: his point is not to push for acceptance of Christ's begetting but, rather, to urge his reader to remember that Love caused Jesus to rise again, and that we must believe this without fail because if the Jews' could prove that Christ's body had turned to dust, our faith would be easy to deny.

The couplet of *balade* three is related to a ballade without music by Guillaume de Machaut that probably dates from the 1340s and appears in Penn as well as in the Machaut manuscripts (Example 4). In Machaut's lyric, the second line of the couplet, *Que je ne say se je sui mors ou vis*, forms the refrain of the poem; in the ballade form, the refrain, which serves as the "punchline" of the work, is the classic locus for quotations, along with the incipit. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, Machaut's lyrics and song-texts are full of quotations and allusions. Machaut drew extensively on the songs of the trouvères to furnish textual and sometimes even musical material for his ballades and other lyric forms, and he also seems to have engaged in citational jousts with his contemporary Jehan de Le Mote on more than one occasion; as mentioned above, certain of his lyrics cite material that Watriquet had previously quoted in his *fastras*.[43] However, although it seems possible that the author of *Les xij. balades de Pasques* knew this ballade by Machaut, the shared line probably originated elsewhere. It also features in *Baudoin de Sebourc*, a *chanson de geste* from the early fourteenth century, and was evidently still circulating later since it appears again in a song by the composer Trebor from the 1380s or 90s that is transmitted in the Chantilly codex (see Example 4), and in the refrain of an anonymous ballade appended to a fifteenth-century treatise on poetry writing.[44]

42. The Arras manuscript also contains Machaut's poem the *Judgement of the King of Bohemia*, which was composed in the 1330s, and other *dits* from that time, including Jehan Acart de Hesdin's interpolated *dit La Prise amoureuse*, which is dated 1332 (on this work, see below).

43. See Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chap. 8 and especially Ead., "Guillaume de Machaut and the Advent of a New School of Lyric".

44. See Langlois, *Recueil des arts de seconde rhétorique*, LI.

The ballades by Machaut and Trebor use the line in a predictable way, as an exclamation by the narrator to the trials endured for being in love. In Machaut's ballade, the line concludes each stanza, thereby furnishing the central conceit of the lyric, while in Trebor's it falls in the second line: here it is Pity who ignores the narrator so completely that he hardly knows if he is dead or alive. In the third *balade de Pasques*, the first line of the couplet, *Si doulcement me demaine Nature*, which I assume was also borrowed, echoes the previous *balade* in the series by referring to personified Nature, who now gently leads the narrator to remember the teaching of the Holy Scriptures, that, despite the Jews, Christ was resurrected. The second line of the couplet provides the conclusion of Christ's cry to His disciples that the *prophete haÿs* is hidden amongst them, knowledge that causes Him such unease that He does not know if He is alive or dead. Here, then, the pathos of the terrestrial lover is transformed into Christ's disquiet and, curiously, the quotation serves Christ to question whether in His resurrected state He is dead or alive.

The secular flavour of the couplet of *balade* four is all too apparent: here the gift of the god of Love, which attracts all lovers' hearts, holds us in loving servitude. I have not found an exact match for this material but a very similar formulation appears in a ballade without music by Oton de Granson from the late fourteenth century, which is transmitted in Penn in addition to other sources (see Example 5, which presents the first stanza of Granson's ballade).[45] Granson's lyric is in the spirit of a "mirror" for the lover: whoever wishes to enter love's servitude – this is the incipit – needs to ensure that he observes the rules set by convention in order to earn the gifts of Love – this is the punchline, the refrain. The rules of the game are spelt out in the second stanza: the lover must love loyally, be discreet and hide his lovesick state, be gentle and courtly, and bear himself nobly; he should avoid bragging or talking too much, and do his best to serve the lady, and, in fact, he must honour all women with humility, to fear, dread, love and obey, and to pray often in loving manner. When read together, the incipit and refrain of Granson's poem closely echo the couplet presented in the *balade de Pasques*; it seems likely that Granson, too, was paraphrasing existing material here. While he used the material to offer an instruction manual to the would-be lover, the author of the Easter *balade* transforms the bonds of secular love to spiritual love,

45. The lyric is given here after Oton de Granson, *Poems*, eds. Joan Grenier-Winther and Peter Nicholson (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2015), no. 44; the full version with English translation is presented online at http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/granson-nicholson-grenier-winther-ainsi-puet-il-don-d'amours-desservir (last accessed June 6, 2017).

using this material to meditate on the gift of love that leads all to seek Christ, whose death, he tells us, holds us all in loving servitude.[46]

The couplet of *balade* five offers a further link with Machaut and Le Mote (Example 6).[47] It presents a highly distinctive image of the lady's heart made of marble and crowned with a steel-tipped diamond edged with iron. The first line matches the incipit of a ballade from the interpolated poem *Li Regret Guillaume* by Jehan de Le Mote, which, as we saw above, dates to before 1339 and survives without notation. Le Mote's ballade is one of the "sung" laments for his dead patron, Guillaume I, Count of Hainaut, and is voiced by Plaisance, one of the Count's allegorised virtues. In Machaut's work, the full couplet provides the two-line refrain of a *chanson royale* without music (*Amis, je t'ay tant amé et cheri*, *Loange des Dames* [*Lo254*]) of unknown date but composed before 1350. It seems possible that Machaut and Le Mote submitted these items to a *puy* for which this highly idiosyncratic material had been set as a challenge by the organisers, given the address in Machaut's *envoy*: "Princes, onques ne vi fors maintenant / Amant a cuer plus dur que un *dÿamant* / *Ourlé de fer a la pointe aceree*."[48] Alternatively, Machaut's lyric might have been composed later in response to Le Mote's or to a now-lost model. Whether the author of the Easter *balade* knew Le Mote's or Machaut's lyrics is unclear, but together, these items indicate that this material was doing the rounds in the mid-fourteenth century. Either way, the association of this material with the secular domain of courtly love-lyric served our author's purpose, for he used this material to frame the *balade* that introduces the pain felt by the three Marys as they lament Christ's passing: the Virgin speaks of her sorrow and how she saw her Son on the Cross, His body wounded by the long, piercing spear, the description of whose sharp steel point is supplied by the second line of the couplet. Thus, the idiosyncratic couplet that so startlingly evokes the pains of worldly love in the lyrics by Le Mote and Machaut is now put to dramatic use to bring home to the lay reader of the Easter lyrics Mary's anguish at Christ's death.

The couplet of the sixth *balade* (Example 7), *Ung chastel say ou droit fief de l'empire* / *Dont Venus est de son droit chastellaine*, matches the opening two lines

46. My edition of the fourth Easter lyric in Example 5 corrects v. 7 to follow the better reading of Paris4641B, which provides "Les trois royaulx Maries" instead of "Les trois royaulmes avec luy".

47. Penn transmits six of Machaut's eight *chansons royales* but not this one.

48. See *The Art of Grafted* Song, chaps. 6 and 7. Machaut's poem might be later since it does not appear in the earliest of the Machaut manuscripts, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1586 (MachC), which is thought to date to before ca. 1356.

of an anonymous ballade that is transmitted uniquely and without musical setting in Penn (f. 6b),[49] which dates this material to before ca. 1390. This ballade clearly evokes the *Roman de la Rose*. In its opening two lines, Venus is presented as custodian of the castle wherein dwells the narrator's love-object. Despite being warned off by the allegory *Raison*, the lover is impelled to approach it, encouraged by Dame Oiseuse, but he is terrified and angry when he sees Venus torch the land around it; his message is to warn young lovers about the perils of such castles of Love. In the sixth Easter *balade*, these two borrowed lines frame the first speech by Mary Magdalen: the castle is Satan's fortress with many souls imprisoned within, the doors of which Christ will batter down so that he can choose the good souls and thereby save the human race by storming the castle of martyrdom of which Venus, by rights, is the custodian. The author evidently adopted this existing couplet because of the castle motif, which not only frames the poem but, as in the model from Penn, becomes a central motif: the castle of earthly Love guarded by Venus is now Satan's castle of martyrdom, and Christ, instead of the hapless lover, is the knightly figure who will break down the doors; Venus now represents God's love, which is the true custodian of the fortress.

I have not identified the couplet of *balade* seven, *Marchiez du pie legierement / L'herbe du joly pré regnant* but it evokes the genre of the *pastorelle*. A similar sentiment is expressed in a *refrain* that is quoted in a thirteenth-century Robin and Marion motet (see Example 8): the motetus of *Quant voi la fleur en l'arbroie / Et tenuerunt* (Mo 241) opens in a similar manner to *Les xij. balades de Pasques* as a whole, setting the scene in spring as the leaves turn green, and it closes by quoting a *refrain* that advises Marion to leap carefully to avoid her shoes being damaged: *Espringués legierement / Que li soliers ne fonde.* The author of the Easter lyrics was seeking to paint a similar pastoral image in his readers' imagination. Now it is the Virgin who advises her companions to tread carefully as they go to anoint Christ; the *joly pré* is where the tomb is situated and where Mary is instructed to go by the angel. Note how the second iteration of the lines varies slightly from the initial presentation of the couplet (*l'herbe* now becomes *l'arbre*, and *regnant* becomes *regnault*), which might suggest the author was collating his material from two different exemplars; interestingly, similar disparities between couplet and verse can be seen in *balades* ten and eleven (see below), as well as in Watriquet's *fastras*.

49. I am grateful to Elizabeth Eva Leach for reminding me of this secular model; the connection was also noted by Charles R. Mudge, "The Pennsylvania Chansonnier, A Critical Edition of Ninety-Five Ballades From the Fifteenth Century with Introduction, Notes and Glossary" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1972), 287.

The couplet of the eighth *balade de Pasques* also connects with the thirteenth-century musical repertory, once again echoing an old *refrain* (no. 1586 in Van de Boogaard's catalogue of *refrains*, hereafter VdB).[50] The *refrain* in question appears in the late thirteenth-century allegorical poem *L'abeï du chastel amoureus* (at the end of the ninth commandment, as *Qui bien ainme, il ne doit pas le tier de la nuit dormir*), and at the start of the motet *Qui bien aime il ne doit mie / Cuer qui dort il n'aime pas / Viderunt* from the Montpellier codex (Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine, H 196 [Mo], Mo 99, as *Qui bien aime, il ne doit mie demie la nuit dormir*) (Example 9). In the motet, the quotation provides the theme of sleep that runs in counterpoint between the two upper voices; the presence there of this *refrain* suggests that it may well have carried an associated melody. In the Easter lyric, the first line of the borrowed couplet fits comfortably into the continuing speech of the angel, as he informs Mary that Jesus is not present at the tomb and, therefore, that "whoever loves well should not at this time come here". The second line of the couplet rounds off Mary's reply, as she emphasises that such is her desire to see her Son that she can barely sleep a wink. Thus, in this transplantation of the courtly couplet, it is not the worldly lover who suffers insomnia but the Virgin Mary (*la dame sainctie*). What is interesting in this and in the other Easter *balades* is how familiar motifs from the thirteenth-century secular lyric repertory are redeployed to tell a story about a different and more worthy form of love than the earthly kind. In this particular lyric, the author pushes this approach further. The second line of the main stanza, "*Dame, de tous biens garnie*" also has a courtly ring; in fact, this same formulation is found in another thirteenth-century motet, *Nus ne se doit / Ave verum corpus* (Mo 276). The same is true of the ninth line, "J'ay tel desir de le veïr", which is a very common trope in the motet and song repertory of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; for instance, *Pensis, chief, enclin / Flos filius eius* (Mo 239) ends its motetus with "tant la desir veoir", and examples abound in the trouvère song repertory and, in particular, in the songs and lyrics of Guillaume de Machaut – this conceit permeates the latter's celebrated double-texted ballade *Quant Theseus / Ne quier veoir* (B34) where both its lyrics share as their refrain *Je voy assez, puis que je voy ma dame*.[51]

The author of the Easter lyrics appears to have felt that such secular resonances would render his cycle accessible and meaningful for his lay readers,

50. Nico van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XII^e siècle au début du XIV^e* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969). See also the useful database by Anne Ibos-Augé that incorporates Boogaard's catalogue at http://refrain.ac.uk/5147/ (last accessed June 6, 2017).

51. On Machaut's Ballade 34 and its influence on his contemporaries and successors, see Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chap. 10, and ead., "Memories of the Mainland".

helping to communicate its spiritual message by appealing to their own experience of love and, in particular, to their familiarity with the courtly song tradition. The ninth *balade* strengthens the link with Watriquet's *fastras*, for its couplet matches one of those used there (see Example 10).[52] Although the wording is slightly different to Watriquet's, and the latter is a nonsense poem, the link with that work seems more than just coincidence: the Easter lyric displays the same form, the same grafting principle, the same Easter context, and it is built around the same couplet, although, of course, its content is now firmly religious. Watriquet's nonsense poem is characteristically obscure and satirical: we are told that Desire for Love, fed by Sweet Hope, did such battle last night with a cockerel that he warned Trickery and Craftiness and said that God and his saints have no power over [a line is missing] the many vices that hold sway in Rome; everyone is out in the cold because Envy holds the narrator's heart in noble sovereignty. In the Easter lyric, the two lines of the couplet form part of the dialogue and help the Virgin express her mental state: first her feelings of love, which are fed by hope, and at the end, her happiness and relief after learning from the angel that Christ is alive; it is now the angel's news, fuelled by divine hope, that places her heart in noble sovereignty.

I have not identified the couplet of the tenth *balade* but, again, it is courtly in flavour (Example 11). *En ung ilsle de mer avironnee / Say une tour qui est de grant noblesse* evokes passages from various *chansons de geste*; note how its opening line recalls the start of a chapter (no. 90) in the fourteenth-century *La Belle Helene de Constantinople*, for instance, at the point when the young Marie is sacrificed on an island by her uncle, the Count of Clochestre:

> Or est Marie au fu delee la mer salee.
> En une ile qui fut de mer avironnee,
> Voit le fu alumer et la flame levee.[53]

In *Le Roman de Charles de Chauve*, which dates from ca. 1360, we find a similar formulation at the point when King Philippe, having set off to find the site of Jesus' tomb, is forced by a storm to take refuge *En .i. ille qui est de mer avironee*; there he comes by *un hermitage*, in which he is held prisoner by

52. The *fastras* in question is found not along with the rest of Watriquet's examples but in a recently rediscovered manuscript, now Brunswick, Bowdoin College Library, M194.W337 (Brun), f. 44v. The edition presented here is after Charles H. Livingston, ed., "Manuscrit retrouvé d'oeuvres de Watriquet de Couvin", in *Mélanges offerts à Maurice Delbouille*, Vol. 2 (Gembloux: Duculot, 1964), 439-46, at 442.

53. See Claude Roussel, ed., *La Belle Helene de Constantinople* (Geneva: Droz, 1995), v. 3470.

the traitorous Butor.[54] In the Easter lyric, in contrast, the site of Jesus' tomb is one of joy as the Virgin Mary is comforted by the appearance of her Son, which leads her to renounce her sorrow and to exclaim that she knows that in Galilee there is a tower full of riches.[55]

The choice of couplet for the penultimate *balade de Pasques*, no. 11, which forms the climax of the series, is particularly intriguing for the musicologist because *Esperance qui en mon cuer s'embat / Sentir me fait d'amer la doulce vie* matches exactly the refrain of an anonymous polyphonic song from ca. 1365 that enjoyed great fame from the mid-fourteenth century and well into the fifteenth. Interestingly, that song, which is in rondeau form, is itself citational: its second refrain line alludes to the text of Guillaume de Machaut's song *En amer a douce vie* from his *Remede de Fortune*, a work from the 1340s or early 50s possibly composed for Bonne of Luxembourg, wife of the future Jehan II of France (see Example 12).[56] This allusion thus provides a *terminus post quem* for the anonymous rondeau, the relatively simple style of which suggests a composition date before ca. 1375. In a previous study, I connected the rondeau with royal French circles, proposing that its text may well have also been intended to evoke Louis II of Bourbon, who adopted the motto "*Esperance*" when he founded his princely Order of the Golden Shield in 1366 on his return from England, where he had served as one of the royal hostages. Louis was closely related to the royal Valois family: his mother Isabelle was a sister of Philippe VI and his own sister Jeanne was married to the new king, Charles V. Louis remained a close counsellor to the monarchy during and after Charles' reign, assuming the role of regent, alongside Charles' brothers, during the troubled reign of Charles VI. His intimacy with the young Charles VI

54. Otto Rubke, *Studien über die Chanson de Charles le Chauve (Inhalt, Quellen, Textprobe, Namenverzeichnis)* (Greifwald: Adler, 1909), 84.

55. As in *balade* seven, the second line of the couplet differs slightly on its iteration at the end, suggesting that the couplet and the main part of the poem might have been collated by the scribe from different exemplars. The reading of these lines in the Paris manuscript, on the other hand, is consistent.

56. For a full case study on this song, see Yolanda Plumley, "Citation and Allusion in the Late Ars nova: The Case of *Esperance* and the *En attendant* Songs", *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 287-363. Bonne of Luxembourg has long been considered the patron behind Machaut's *Remede de Fortune*; see especially Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide* (New York and London, 1995), 24-6. However, new documentary evidence published by Michelle Bubenicek and now amplified with additional material by Andrew Wathey, connects Machaut to alternative patrons in the 1340s, inviting us to consider the possibility that this work was originally destined for another female princely patron. See Michelle Bubenicek, *Quand les femmes gouvernent. Droit et politique au XIV^e siècle: Yolande de Flandre* (Paris: École des chartes, 2002), 154, n. 39; the forthcoming publication by Andrew Wathey is cited and discussed in Lawrence Earp, "Introduction", in *Poetry, Art, and Music.*

and the latter's brother is reflected in their adoption of his device of a belt bearing the *Esperance* motto. This device was also distributed to other French and foreign nobles.[57]

If my hypothesis is correct, the connection of the rondeau with French royalty might help account for its wide circulation and enduring popularity. As I have discussed elsewhere, the *Esperance* rondeau was quoted in several songs from the late fourteenth century that can be linked to French princely circles. It was at the centre of the citational complex of Ars subtilior songs, including three that begin *En attendant* and that variously quote its text, with or without its music; its idiosyncratic opening text and music are also evoked in the anonymous song *Je voy mon cuer*.[58] The rondeau itself is extant in a surprising number of sources, mostly from ca. 1400. These include Penn, an unnotated lyric anthology that originated in or close to the court of Charles VI ca. 1390, which provides the only full version of the song's text (given in Example 12), and twelve musical sources of varying geographical provenance north and south of the Alps, where the rondeau appears with varying accompanying parts, mostly without its text, and, in two cases, arranged for instruments.[59] Of these written traces, the latest testimony is a fifteenth-century English source with white notation; a *basse danse* with the same title that dates from 1449.[60] The quotation in the couplet of the Easter *balade* thus provides further and intriguing testimony to the longevity and continued appeal of this song, but it also strengthens my hypothesis that the latter very likely originated in or close to the Valois princely courts. In the Easter cycle, the quotation matches exactly the reading of the rondeau's refrain-text in Penn, further reinforcing the connections between *Les xii balades de Pasques* and that source. The author evidently anticipated that this

57. See ibid., 352; in a forthcoming study, I shall present further evidence regarding the historical context of the *Esperance* song.

58. See the detailed analysis of this network in Plumley, "Citation and Allusion" and the further bibliography listed there. A new source for *Je voy mon cuer* is reported in Michael Scott Cuthbert, "A New Trecento Source of a French Ballade", *Harvard Library Bulletin* 18 (2007): 77-82. See also Lannutti's essay in this volume (237-72) for further connections, in particular with an Italian bilingual ballata set to music by Paolo da Firenze.

59. Two new sources for the song were recently identified in fragments from Italy from the late fourteenth century by Michael Scott Cuthbert; see Michael Scott Cuthbert, "*Esperance* and the French Song in Foreign Sources", *Studi musicali* 36 (2007): 3-20, which provides an updated list of sources. A further new source has been identified in a Gradual that was copied in Avignon and then taken to Rome; see Michael Scott Cuthbert and Nicola Tangari, "Identificazioni di composizioni vocali italiane e internazionali in alcuni manoscritti liturgici del tardo Trecento", *Rivista internazionale di musica sacra* 37 (2016): 219-28.

60. See David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 154.

long-standing popular song would still be familiar to his targeted lay readers and thus a useful tool. Once again, he transformed this secular material to fit his spiritual purpose. In the *Esperance* rondeau, Hope battles in the lover's heart to help him love sweet life – this is the line that alludes to Machaut's love song from the *Remede de Fortune*, composed by the lover with *Dame Esperance*'s help to woo his lady. In contrast, in the Easter lyric Hope strives in the heart of the Christian narrator and implants there the desire to rejoice in praising Christ, who comforts the grieving Virgin Mary by appearing to her six times on Easter day. At this joyful climax of the Easter cycle, the narrator declares that the company was so sweetly comforted on seeing Christ risen that we should all now exalt Easter Day; he concludes that Christ's great suffering to redeem us makes him love Sweet Love, just like the lover-narrator of the *Esperance* rondeau.

The twelfth and final poem (Example 13), at least in the Vatican source, lacks a framing couplet but the first line is surely also drawn from a secular model: *Clere faiçon de biaulté souveraine* is now directed to Christ, rather than to the *dame* of a love song. The reader is thus implicitly encouraged once more to consider how Christ's spiritual beauty surpasses that of any earthly beloved, and to heed the narrator as he addresses Christ with a prayer to deliver us from evil and to have mercy upon us all on the Day of Judgement, including the author himself.[61]

By evoking these secular songs and lyrics of the past, the author of the Easter *balades* seems to have been doing something akin to Gautier de Coinci, who, in his *Miracles de Notre Dame* of the early 1220s, overtly drew on the form and content of existing trouvère songs to create Marian songs that his lay audience would understand and enjoy. In this case, the anonymous author drew on a series of lyric materials that had evidently circulated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As is frequently the case when investigating late medieval quotations, even when a match with an earlier extant work is identified it is often impossible to confirm a direct relationship, or whether the shared material originated in that specific context. As we have seen, some of the matches I have presented here are not exact ones, suggesting that the author of the Easter cycle may have drawn on another, related model. This seems likely to be the case for the couplets of *balades* one, four, and eight. However, in the remaining matches I have identified here, the formulation of

61. The Paris manuscript presents the final line both at the end of the poem and as its second line, suggesting these two lines might represent a quoted couplet.

the shared material is very similar or even exact. Especially intriguing are the repeated intersections with the works of Machaut and his contemporaries Jehan de Le Mote, Watriquet, Brisbarre and the anonymous composer of the *Esperance* rondeau, and with the lyric anthology Penn; all those works originated in, or close to, the French princely courts in the last half of the fourteenth century.

5. Dating and Placing «Les xij. balades de Pasques»

When and where, then, might the Easter cycle have been composed? Since all the connections I have identified date from before ca. 1390, it might seem reasonable to conclude that the cycle was written ca. 1400, when the cited models or materials were still sufficiently familiar for their use in this new context to be meaningful. The recurrent intersections with the Penn lyric anthology certainly suggest such a date could be plausible. Yet, as we have seen, many such song lyrics continued to be copied well into the fifteenth century. The widely circulated rondeau *Esperance qui en mon cuer s'embat* illustrates particularly vividly how old songs could enjoy a surprisingly extended shelf life, in this case, of nearly a century. Indeed, in studying citational practices in late medieval French songs and lyrics over the past years, I have been repeatedly surprised by evidence attesting to the longevity of lyric material; I have encountered *refrains* used by Watriquet in the 1320s in motets and songs composed decades later,[62] and, recently, I have pinpointed extensive and explicit borrowings from the trouvères in lyrics and songs by Machaut and in songs from ca. 1400 transmitted in the early fifteenth-century Cyprus codex.[63] As I suspect was the case for Machaut and the poet-composer of the Cyprus codex, the author of the Easter *balades* must have had access to a book or a gathering of courtly materials that included at least the lyrics of old songs, if not their musical settings. Possibly, this source material comprised a set of *fastras* that included the one by Watriquet, that shares its couplet with the ninth Easter lyric alongside others that are no longer extant. It seems possible that the Easter cycle might date from as late as the 1430s, given its relationship with the early fifteenth-century tradition of vernacular Passions and with the *Resurrection* transmitted in the Vatican manuscript, on the one hand, and the presence of half its lyrics in Paris4641B, on the other.

62. See Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chap. 4.

63. See Plumley, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Advent of a New School of Lyric"; and Ead., "Memories of the Mainland".

Who might have composed *Les xij. balades de Pasques* and to whom were they addressed? As I suggested above, the modelling of sacred lyrics upon secular ones was closely linked to the activities of urban *puys*, which by the fourteenth century were long established in northern France. The annual *puy* organised by the Parisian goldsmiths offers some good examples. I have demonstrated elsewhere how the surviving religious lyrics from this annual poetry contest reveal an increasing tendency after 1350 to be modelled on earlier, winning entries.[64] The sung religious rondeaux that appear in the Miracle plays staged by the goldsmiths on the same day were similarly citational: I have shown that some of those from ca. 1350 were modelled on secular songs from Jehan Acart de Hesdin's *La Prise amoureuse*, an interpolated romance composed before 1332.[65] It seems an intriguing possibility that the Easter lyric cycle similarly was the product of a French confraternity, written by one of its members to entertain his lay *confrères* at Easter and to celebrate with them this most important religious festival in the Church calendar. Clerics and laymen rubbed shoulders in confraternities and at the urban *puys*. Whether religious or lay, the author of this little work was clearly familiar with the tradition of French devotional writing, and, in particular, with early fifteenth-century vernacular accounts of the Passion, as well as with secular lyrics and songs from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The position of the Easter lyrics next to the two mid-fifteenth-century debate poems in the Vatican manuscript reminds us that the secular and sacred worlds were far from polarised at this time. The presence of six of the Easter lyrics in Paris4641B together with two religious dramas[66] raises the enticing possibility that they were composed to be performed alongside, or as part of, a miracle or mystery play hosted by a confraternity. The annual staging of Passion plays by confraternities was well established by the late fourteenth century; the statutes of 1374 of the *confrérie de la Charité*, for instance, signal its regular staging of dramas, which were most often devoted to the Passion.[67] Such performances were also staged by other confraternities, not

64. See Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chap. 5.

65. Ibid.

66. These are an *Épître farci de Saint Étienne* from the thirteenth century and *Le Mariage des quatre fils Hemon* [*Aymon*] from the fifteenth.

67. "… jeux qui furent faix et ordenez [le 27 mars 1380] en l'onneur et remembrance de la Passion Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Christ par aucuns des bourgeois et autres bonnes gens d'icelle [ville de Paris] … Si comme esdiz jeux on a acoustumé a faire par chascun an a Paris"; see Graham A. Runnalls, "La confrérie de la Passion et les mystères. Recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire de la confrérie de la Passion depuis la fin du XIVe jusqu'au milieu du XVIe siècle", *Romania* 122 (2004): 135-201, at 140; and Emile Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle. Etudes sur les sources et le classement des mystères de la Passion* (Paris: 1902; repr., Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974), 11.

least those dedicated to the Passion and Resurrection. The oldest known confraternity of the Passion is that of Nantes, founded in 1371,[68] but the most celebrated is the Parisian *La confrérie de la Passion et de la Resurrection Nostre-Seigneur*. The latter performed plays on the Passion and Resurrection at Easter at the Church of the Trinity in Paris from 1380 onward and it survived right up to the eighteenth century.[69] This particular confraternity was probably responsible for the performance of a Passion before Charles VI at his Parisian palace of Saint-Pol in 1380.[70] From 1402, it was given the monopoly on the staging of plays after a general ban had been introduced by the Provost of Paris in 1398; it was given permission to stage plays not just for its members but in public for a wider audience.[71] This body may have been involved in the staging of *Le Mystere de la Resurrection* before the king at Easter in 1390, for which there survives an account that records payment made to *certains chapelains et clercs de la Sainte Chapelle*.[72] Such collaboration between this confraternity and the musicians of the royal chapel in the presentation of Easter plays may also provide a context for *Les xij. balades de Pasques*. Another document, this time from the accounts of Philippe "le bon", duke of Burgundy, informs us that a *Mystere de la Resurrection* was presented at Easter 1418 before the queen and the duke of Burgundy in Troyes; again, this was organised by a chaplain of the Burgundian court, Maistre Jehan Bonne, who collaborated with a *valet de chambre* who, curiously, went by the name Jehan Fastras.[73] Is the name Fastras simply a coincidence or might we construe from this probable nickname that *fastras* poems with religious texts were similarly implicated in the staging of plays at Easter? Could a Resurrection play staged by this man in collaboration with singers of the royal chapel and, possibly even with the confraternity of the Passion or a similar body, have been the occasion for the composition of *Les xij. balades de Pasques*?

These references to the involvement of singers of the princely chapels are richly suggestive, given that the Easter lyrics were built on quotations taken from secular songs and courtly lyrics of the kind we know these musicians composed and performed. Several elements in the cycle encourage the suspi-

68. Ibid.
69. See Emile Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion*, 11.
70. Ibid., 211-2.
71. Runnalls, "La confrérie de la Passion".
72. Ibid., 141.
73. Nine years earlier a certain Fatras, presumably the same man, and his companions, *joueurs de farces*, performed for the King in Paris, once again, at the palace of Saint-Pol; see Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion*, 101.

cion that its author was close to French royal circles, not least the repeated matches with the lyric anthology Penn and the juxtaposition of the work with Hauteville's response to the *Belle dame sans mercy* in the Vatican manuscript.[74] Certainly, the contents of Paris4641B, which transmits six of the Easter lyrics, point to a Parisian context for that manuscript, and it is worth mentioning that at least one of the included lyrics presents a better reading than the Vatican copy.[75] The scribe-compiler of Paris4641B was very likely a lawyer operating in the *Chambre des comptes* or *Cour des aides*,[76] and the collection includes three ballades on life at court (presented under the rubric *Trois ballades contre les courtisans*), including one by poet and royal officer, Eustache Deschamps. The contents of the Vatican manuscript likewise suggest a clerkly compiler and a Parisian context, and point to a milieu that links the university and the royal court. Alongside the French texts in the volume are some Latin works[77] that include some legal texts, a treatise on the Salic Law, a topic much debated in royal French circles during the 100 Years War, some philosophical disputations by Cicero [*Tusculanae disputationes*], and, in a later hand, a Latin grammar by Guillaume Tardif, a professor at the University of Paris and lector to King Charles VIII in the 1480s. Interestingly, the scribe responsible for most of the contents, including *Les xij. balades de Pasques*, also copied at the very start of the manuscript a fragment of Johannes de Muris' *Musica speculativa*[78] and a *species tonarum*; whoever compiled this manuscript evidently had more than a passing interest in music.

74. Hauteville fulfilled various functions in the royal administration, including being *maître general des monnaies*; as well as being *prince d'amour* of the *cour amoureuse*, he was a member of a literary confraternity in Tournai (*du Chapel Vert*); Daniel Poirion, *Le poète et le prince: l'évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1965), 39.

75. See footnotes 34 and 46.

76. Nicole Pons, "Honneur et Profit. Le recueil d'un juriste parisien au milieu du XVe siècle", *Revue historique* 645 (2008): 3-32.

77. See Langlois, *Notices et extraits*, 234n1.

78. The extracts are from the updated version of Muris' *Musica speculativa* (from ca. 1325); this is preceded by a *species tonarum*, and followed by the grammar text by Tardif. See Caulfield's brief discussion of scribal hands in Caulfield, "An Edition", 102-3.

Appendix

En chantant me reconforte
Quant j'ai perdu mon ami.
En chantant me reconforte
Une oe, qui fu si forte
Qu'elle abati saint Remi
En luitant a jambe torte;
Mais uns limaçons l'enporte
As chans de Bé-fa bé-mi,
Et puis dist: "A! É-la-mi,
Va chacier dehors no porte
Le songe Pierre Remi,
Et li di qu'envie est morte,
Quant j'ai perdu mon ami."

Example 1. Watriquet de Couvin: *fastras* (ca. 1330)

Premiere balade.

En ce ***doulx temps que raverdit la pré,***
Que cilz arbre flourissent de nouvel.
En ce ***doulx temps que raverdit la pree,***
Que la chair Dieu estoit mise et posee
Ou glorieux sepulchre, bon et bel,
Avoient juifz qui gardoient l'entree,
Dont chacun d'eux avoit la teste armee;
Maiz en dormant perdirent biau joiel:
Au resveillier parchurent le tombel
Dont cieux avoit descouverte l'entree.
Que nous devons servir de cuer loyal;
Car c'est par luy, ceste vertu loee,
Que cilz arbres flourissent de nouvel.

Renaut de Trie (RS 1484)

Quant je voi le **doz tens venir**
Que reverdit la pree,
Et j'oï le rousignol tentir
Ou bois soz la ramee,
Adonques ne me puis tenir
De chanter, car tuit mi desir
Et tote ma pensee
Sunt en cele amer et servir
Cui j'ai m'amor donee,
Senz repentir.

Example 2. 'Balade' 1: Echoes of the trouvère tradition

ii^e balade.

S'Amours n'estoit plus poisant que Nature,
No foy seroit legier a condempner.
S'Amours n'estoit plus puissant que Nature,
Les faulx juifz qui mettoient le cure
De fermement le sepulcre garder,
Ilz n'eussent pas perdu la creature,
Qui receu avoit la mort obscure;
Maiz Bonne Amour le fist ressusciter,
Ce devons nous bien croire sans errer,
Car se les juifz, par verité seure,
Ou eust dit et peu bien prouver
Que sa chair eust tourné a poureture,
No foy seroit legier a condempner.

Brisbarre: ***Serventois de Nostre Dame*** (stanza 1)

S'Amours n'estoit plus poissans que Nature,
No foys seroit legiere a condempner,
Qui nous aprent que Diex de Vierge pure
Nasqui ch'a vis pour le people sauver;
Mais qui selonc Nature argueroit
Comment che n'est que Vierge mere soit,
Ja ne seroit par Nature sceü;
Mais Sains Espris le fist de sa vertu,
Qui est Amours, ainsi mes cueurs le croit.

Example 3. 'Balade' 2: material shared with a religious serventois (1330s)

La iii^e balade.

Si doulcement me demanie nature
Que je ne say si je suis mors ou viz.
Si doulcement me demanie nature
Quant me souvient de la sainte scripture
Qui nous aprent que, maulgré les juifz,
Ressuscita; car d'eulx il n'avoit cure
Et se leva par divine faicture
Du monument, en seignant ses amis
Dont ung tirant. Si cria a haultz cris:
"Ha! Male gent vecy grande laidure
Emblé nous est le prophete haÿs;
S'en ay au cuer telle desconfiture
Que je ne say se je suis mors ou viz."

Machaut, Lo162 [stanza 1]

Se Dieus me doint de ma dame joïr,
Que je ne sui onques ne temps ne heure
Que je n'aie penser ou souvenir
De sa biauté, comment que je demeure
Long de sa fine douçour;
Dont il avient souvent que pour s'amour
Je sui a li si durement pensis
Que je ne say se je sui mors ou vis.

Trebor [stanza 1, vv. 1-4]

Helas, Pitié envers moy dort si fort
Que je ne sçay se je sui mort ou vis.
Dangier, Refus, Desdaing sont d'un acort,
Encontre moy poient grever toutdis.

Example 4. 'Balade' 3: material shared with a lyric by Machaut (before 1350) and a song by Trebor (ca. 1390)

iiij^e balade.

Le don d'amours, qui tous les cuers attraict,
Nous met et tient en amoureux servage.
Le don d'amours, qui tous les cuers attraict,
A Pasques, eust tout acomply et fait
Quanque de luy avoient dit ly sage
En ce moment qu'il avoit tout parfait
Les trois royaulx Maries[a] sans retraict
Avoient prins ensemble leur voiage
Pour trouver Dieu, qui nous fist a s'ymage,
En recordant ce que luy eüst sourfait
Et la disoit chacune en son langaige:
"Ay my! La mort Jhesus de Nazareth
Nous met et tient en amoureux servage."

a: MS: trois Royaulmes avec luy (above reading from Paris4641B).

Oton de Granson [stanza 1]

Qui veult entrer en l'amoureux servage
Ne si mette s'il ne veult maintenir
Ce qui s'ensuit, selon le droit usage,
De vray amant qui tant a aquerir
Grace d'amours et a honneur venir.
Premierement, c'est d'amer loyaument,
Estre secret, pour son fait miex couvrir.
Soit doulx, courtois, de gent contenement.
Ainsi puet il ***don d'amours*** *desservir.*

Example 5. 'Balade' 4: material shared by a ballade lyric by Granson (late fourteenth century)

La v^e ballade.

Coeur de marbre couronné d'aÿemant,
Ourlé de fer, a la pointe acheree.
Cuer de marbre couronné d'aÿemant,
Aloient les trois Maries disant,
"A Pasques, droit devant l'aube crevee,
Que le filz Dieu, par divin fait puissant,
Ressuscita ou sepulcre plaisant."
Et la disoit la Vierge couronnee,
De doulent cuer la triste desconfortee,
"Ay, my! Mon Dieu, m'amour, mon doulx enfant,
En la croix viz vo chair forment navree;
Ce fist longis du fer, long et trenchant,
Ourlé de fer, a la pointe acheree."

Machaut, Lo254 [stanza 1]

Amis, je t'ay tant amé et cheri
Qu'en toy amant me cuidoie sauver;
Lasse! dolente, et je ne puis en ti
N'en ton dur cuer nulle douceur trouver,
Pour ce de moy vueil hors joie bouter
Et renoier Amours d'ore en avant,
Sa loy, son fait et son faus convenant,
Quant tu portes, sous viaire de fee,
Cuer de marbre couronné d'aÿemant,
Ourlé de fer, a la pointe asseree.

Jean de Le Mote, *Balade de Plaisance* [stanza 1]

Coers de marbre, couronné d'aÿmant,
M'est point si durs, selonc m'entencion,
Que li cuers est qui, de voloir engrant,
Ama jadis men frere et men baron,
S'en li n'en a grief tribulation,
Car tant qu'en my jamais n'arai leece,
Plaisance euc non, or ai a non Tristrece.

Example 6. 'Balade' 5: material shared with lyrics by Machaut and Le Mote (ca. 1350)

La vj[e] balade.

Ung chastel say ou droit fief de l'empire
Dont Venus est de son droit chastellaine.
"Ung chastel say ou droit fief de l'empire,
Ou mainte ame a que le dyable detire,"
Ce respondit Marie Magdalene,
"Dont Jhesu Crist, donné sans contredire,
Debrisera les portes pour eslire
Ses bons amys et gettera de paine,
Car saulvé a mainte lignee humaine
Qu'Adam dampna, ce peut on pour voir dire,
Que fait avoit euvre si tres villaine,
Qu'il nous acquist le chastel de martire,
Dont Venus est de son droit chastellaine."

Balade (Penn, f. 42r)

Un chastel sçay es droiz fiez de l'empire
Dont Venus est de son droit chastelaine.
La m'adresçay, muant mon mal en pire,
N'a pas loing temps; droit que par une plaine
Vi aprochier dame de Raison plaine.
En trespassant me dit, "Amis, regarde,
Cilz chasteaulz est la perilleuse garde."

Ce que Raison m'ot dit pris à despire.
D'amours espris, lors au chastel me maine
Dame Oiseuse, qui jeune cuer empire,
Pour preux me tient quant Fortune m'assainne
Ou escript vy Lancelot en grant paine.
Fu cy jadis Morgain en ot la garde.
Cilz chasteaux [est la perilleuse garde].

Esbaïs fu, paoureux et plain d'ire,
Quant j'aperceü Venus qui fort demaine
Deduit d'anfant et son brandon atire.
Le feu esprent tout entour le demaine.
Dangier m'assaut; Dolour me fu prochaine.
Jeunes, jolis amans, prenez y garde,
Cilz chasteauls est [la perilleuse garde]!

Example 7. 'Balade' 6: material shared with a late fourteenth ballade lyric

La vij^e balade.

Marchiez du pié legierement
L'herbe du joly pré regnant.
"***Marchiez du pié legierement***,"
S'a dit la Vierge doulcement,
"Dames gentilz, alez nous fault,
Oingdre de ce doulx ongnement
Jhesu aminstrablement,
Qui Vendredi fut a l'assault
Ensemble le sainct moment.
Maiz ung ange leur dit en hault:
"Doulce dame reportez ent
L'arbre du joly pré regnault."

Example 8. 'Balade' 7

La viii^e balade.

Qui bien aime, il ne doit mie
Le tiers de la nuyt dormir.
"***Qui bien ayme, il ne doit mie,***
Dame, de tous biens garnie,
A ceste heure cy venir;
Car Jhesus, le fruict de vie,
Cy n'est pas, je le vous affie,"
Sa dit l'ange, "Sans faillir,
D'ycy en voulu partir.'
Dont dist la dame sainctie:
"J'ay tel desir de le veïr,
Que je ne povoie mie
Le tiers de la nuict dormir."

Thirteenth-century *refrain* (VdB, 1586)

Qui bien aime il ne doit mie/ Cuers qui dort il n'aime pas/ Viderunt (Mo 99)

Motet, Triplum:

Qui bien aime, il ne doit mie
Demie la nuit dormir;
Ainz doit penser a s'amie,
S'il veut bien amors servir.
Cil ne doit joïr
D'amer, que que nus en die,
Qui les maus ne veut sentir.
Qui bien veut, mal doit souffrir.

Example 9. 'Balade' 8: quotation of a thirteenth-century *refrain*

La ix^e balade.

Deduict ***d'amours, nourry en doulx espoir,***
Out ***mon cuer mis en noble seignourie.***
"***Deduit d'amours, nourry en doulx espoir,***
Ange de Dieu, amy, or me dy voir
Ou Jhesus est né; le me celés mie!"
"Dame royal, se le voulez sçavoir,
En Galilee alez, sans remanoir;
Il se tient la, je le vous signifie,
La en sera vraie nouvelle ouÿe.
Je m'en revois la sus en hault manoir."
Dont respondit la dame a chiere lie:
"Ce doulx parler et par divin espoir,
Out mon cuer mis en noble seignourie."

Watriquet de Couvin: ***fastras***

Desir ***d'amours, nourri en dous espoir,***
Tient ***mon cuers pris en noble seignorie.***
Desir ***d'amours, nouri en dous espoir***,
Se conbati tant a .1. coc ersoir
Qu'il avertit Barat et Tricherie
Et dist que Diex ne si saint n'ont pooir
[…]
Ourgueil, Hainne, Mesdit ne Felonie,
Et qu'Avarisse, Luxure et Simonnie
A court de Rome ne se seut maïs veoir.
Chascuns en est hors planice et hantie
Pour ce qu'Envie c'on y a fait ardoir,
Tient ***mon cuer prise en noble seignourie***.

Example 10. 'Balade' 9: material shared with a *fastras* from ca. 1330

La x^e balade.

En une ilsle de mer avironnee
Say une tour qui est de grant noblesse.
En ung isle de mer avironnee
Fut la royale Vierge reconfortee
De son doulx filz qui luy rendist liesse,
Qui s'aparut premier celle journee
A Marie Magdalene appellee,
Et luy monstra de son corps la haultess,
Dont elle dist: "J'ay veü la noblesse
De la chair Dieu, qui est ressuscitee,
Si qu'a mon cuer n'avra jamais tristesse;
C'est bien raison que dedens Galilee
Say une tour qui est de grant noblesse.

Example 11. 'Balade' 10

La xj[e] balade.

Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat,
Sentir me fait d'amer la doulce vie.
Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat,
A mis en moy ung vouloir qui s'esbat
En loant Dieu, qui la Vierge Marie
Reconforta, son cuer doulent et mat;
Et se apparut en son divine estat
Vi. foiz au jour de la Pasque jolie.
Si doulcement conforta sa maisgnie,
Que de tous cuer, sans trichier nul barat,
Doit moult estre la journee exaulcee;
Car la griefté qu'il eust pour no rachat
My fait sentir d'amer la doulce vie.

Anonymous: rondeau

Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat,
Sentir me fait d'amer la doulce vie;
Mais Faulx Dangier le refuse et debat
Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat.
Cheoir ne puet se Franc Cuer ne le bat,
Qui de doulçour tiengne la seignourie.
Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat,
Sentir me fait d'amer la doulce vie.

Example 12. 'Balade' 11: quotation of a sung ballade from ca. 1365

La xij[e] balade.

Clere faiçon de biaulté souveraine,
Tu qui junas la sainct xl[e]
Et qui mourus au jour du Vendredi,
Et qui au jour de la Pasque haultaine
Ressuscita, c'est bien chose certaine,
Si come c'est voir, biau sire Dieu, je vous pry,
Deffendez-nous de las de l'ennemy,
Que nous n'aions entencion villaine
Et qu'au sainct jour du jugement aussi
Que vous venrez juger lignee humaine
Aiez pitié de vostre chier amy.

Explicit.

Example 13. 'Balade' 12: the conclusion

ABSTRACT

Recent research, including my own, has demonstrated how tracing the intertextualities that link many late medieval French lyrics and songs can cast powerful light on the transmission and reception of those works. It can also contribute fascinating evidence about their longevity and offer clues as to the cultural meaning they carried for their medieval readers and listeners. In this essay, I explore a curious case where French-texted songs from the distant past are evoked in a new and surprising context: a cycle of vernacular lyrics for Easter composed in the later fifteenth century. By using secular songs to frame these religious lyrics, the author sought to bring home the significance of the Passion to his lay readers in terms that would be appealing and meaningful to them.

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