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Learning French by singing in 14th-century England

It seems to have gone unnoticed that the complete poetic text of the anonymous rondeau *Tres doulz regart*, uniquely copied with musical notation in the early 15th-century music manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense Ms.α.M.5.24 (**ModA**), is contained in a late 14th-century dialogue-based treatise designed to improve the French of English readers. The treatise, which specifically describes *Tres dous regart* as being *sung*,[1] can be found in no fewer than five manuscripts of English provenance from the later 14th and early 15th centuries. This article gives an overview of the treatise, an account of the song, and attempts to draw out some of the issues of provenance raised by this discovery.

Manières de langage and the French of 'Stratford atte Bow'

In England of the later 14th and early 15th centuries, when English was in the ascendant, French was still regularly used—especially in written form—by an influential section of society. As a form of written and spoken communication, French was in common use among royalty and the nobility, was useful for international diplomacy, trade, husbandry (*manaungerie*), and was the standard written language of the law. Chaucer famously describes the Prioress as speaking French 'ful faire and fetisly [elegantly], / After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe, / For Frenssh of Paris was to hire unknowe.'[2] Her language skills are part of a collection of habits that mark her as a religious who is, arguably inappropriately, aping courtly manners. Most modern readers see further mockery implied by the fact that she speaks London's supposedly less authentic French, which for Chaucer was an imperfect form of a true Parisian French original. While this view can be shown to agree with that of some late medieval writers,[3] William Rothwell has argued that accepting Chaucer's denigration of Anglo-French at face value will lead us to neglect basic questions about the status of French in England in the later 14th century.[4] Underlying Chaucer's gentle satire of the Prioress's pretensions, he argues, is the fact that French was a living, useful and local language in the English capital.[5] The situation is undoubtedly complex, and Rothwell's work has not yet been fully and widely absorbed into other scholars' work.[6] It seems likely that the linguistic situation has been subject to later scholars' own language-based historiographical agendas in the 19th and 20th centuries, but much work remains to be done on these issues, both historical and historiographical. The generalizations that follow must therefore be taken as provisional.

It seems that while not all people working within the upper strata of English society were French-English bilingual by virtue of birth, many acquired French colloquially in the course of everyday business—a group which included not just businessmen and nobles but also women who ran households.[7] As French came to be used increasingly in written records, it became necessary for individuals to perfect grammatically through book-learning what they had initially acquired more casually.[8]

In this way Anglo-French acquired a pedagogy all of its own. During the later Middle Ages English scholars thoroughly conversant with Latin grammar compiled French grammars, orthographies and word-lists for the French of England.[9] These 'academic' texts were joined at the end of the 14th century by texts that consisted largely of lifelike dialogues in French: at the market, on the road, at the hotel, and so on. These *Manières de langage*—ways of communicating— were usually copied into manuscripts alongside the more traditional material

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(grammar, morphological treatises, instructions on writing, and so on) and were designed to supplement such writing-focused study with more oral practice. In this regard they are similar to the classroom texts of England today, which typically focus on using French as a modern language of principally oral communication.[10]

The *Manières de langage* seem to have been fairly popular texts. In 1995, as part of the Anglo-Norman Texts series, Andres M. Kristol edited three different *Manières*, from 1396, 1399 and 1415 respectively, which are contained in a total of ten contemporary manuscript sources (many transmitting two different *Manières*).[11] Neither the *Manières* themselves nor the manuscripts in which they are copied have any ostensibly musical content. Their existence has thus passed unnoticed by musicologists. Yet the *Manières*' newer emphasis on the oral 'performance' of a learned language seems to have led to the use of songs in that language as part of the pedagogical package. Just as singing had been a fundamental part of second language (or 'father tongue') literacy earlier in the Middle Ages, when boys in choir schools learned 'cantus et grammatica' (i.e. Latin), singing also seems to have been part of the pedagogy of the increasing written vernacular 'father tongue' in late 14th-century England.[12]

The *Manière* of 1396

The earliest of the three *Manières* edited by Kristol dates from 1396 and is preserved in five manuscript sources.[13] All five sources include the text of the rondeau *Tres doulz regart* in the context of the *Manière*'s fourth section. The treatise's manuscript sources and their sigla, taken from Kristol's edition, are as follows:

A Versions

LH London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3988, f.1*r*–26*r*

OA Oxford, All Souls College, Ms. 182, new (pencil) foliation ff.311*r*–322*r* (older ff.305*r*–316*r*)

B Versions

CD Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Dd 12.23, ff.67*v*–87*r*

LA London, British Library, Ms. Add. 1776, ff.106*r*–111*v*

PN Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 699, ff.114*r*–128*v*

The sectional subdivisions that I shall use here in referring to the *Manière* text also correspond to those made editorially by Kristol (detailed in table 1).[14] I have also consulted several manuscript copies of the treatise directly, which are all copied as unbroken prose, without section divisions, markers for direct speech, or poetic lineation.[15] Quite properly Kristol's edition makes a modern presentational distinction between dialogue, prose and lyric poetry; it was his more visually striking modern presentation of the lyrics that drew my attention to the treatise's inclusion of the Modena rondeau.

The treatise opens with a prayer to the Trinity (section 1). Section 2 resembles more formal kinds of language material in being a list of nouns, in this case giving the parts of the human body. Section 3 sees the first instance of dialogue between the protagonist of the *Manière, le seignour*, and his valet Jakyn, whom he instructs in the purchase of a long list of household items, 'lez chocez necessaries a homme', a phrase that gives the same sense as the modern English legal term 'necessaries'.[16]

Section 4—the longest section and the one that shows the most variation between the two different manuscript traditions of the treatise—has Janyn saddle up his master's horse Morel, and set out on a journey.[17] This is where the dialogue format typical of the *Manières* truly gets going. Having made the necessary preparations for the journey (4.1) and had a final meal (4.2), *le seignour* finally sets off. In the third subsection (4.3) he asks for directions, the time, and a rough estimate of how far it is to his destination. The destination he desires is given variously as Paris, Orleans and London in the five sources; using French *en route* to London would perhaps have been more realistic than it might now appear.[18]

Kristol divides the five manuscript copies of this *Manière* into A and B versions.[19] Three of the principal differences between A and B are in the fourth section (see table 1). In subsection 4.2, the B versions have a long enumeration of birds, lacking in the A versions. When the protagonist arrives at the hotel in subsection 4.6 his valet buys poultry in the A versions, fish in the B versions. The third difference involves the last part of section 4, in which the gentleman in the B versions narrates a comic fabliau about a husband who is cuckolded by his servant, then beaten by him

Table 1 The *Manière* of 1396

Section	*Version A*	*Version B*
1. Introduction; prayer to the Trinity	**LH OA**	**CD PN LA**
2. The human body	**LH OA**	**CD PN LA**
3. How to speak of human necessaries	**LH OA**	**CD PN LA**
4. Journeying far from one's own home		
4.1 Preparation for the voyage	**LH OA**	**CD PN LA**
4.2 Final meal; meat, poultry	**LH OA**	**CD PN LA**
4.2.2 List of bird species	–	**CD PN LA**
4.3 En route; how to ask directions, the time and distance	**LH OA**	**CD PN LA**
4.4 a) *Love song* ***Tres doulz regart*** [rondeau]	**LH**	**CD PN LA**
b) Drinking song *Hé, hé, la bone vinee*	**OA**	–
4.5 The servant at the hotel	**LH OA**	–
4.6 a) At the market: poultry	–	**CD PN LA**
b) At the market: fish	**LH OA**	–
4.7 a) Night at the hotel: courtship (includes recited lyrics) *plus* one song:	**LH OA**	–
i) ***Tres doulz regart*** [rondeau]	**OA**	
ii) *Estrainez moy* [rondeau]	**LH**	
b) Evening at the hotel: The tale of the cuckolded, beaten but contented husband	–	**CD PN LA***
4.8 Breakfast; fish; departure	**LH OA**	–
5. How to speak to labourers and workmen	**LH OA**	**CD**
6. Another way of speaking to them: conversation between the baker and his apprentice	**LH OA**	**CD**
7. How to speak to merchants (conversation between draper and his apprentice; market scene)	**LH OA**	**CD**
8. Another way of speaking: getting clothes mended	**LH OA**	**CD**
9. Another way of speaking: conversation between two equerries	**LH OA**	**CD**
10. Another way of speaking: different greetings; asking for news	**LH OA**	**CD**
11. How to speak to a child	**LH OA**	**CD**
12. How to answer a poor man begging	**LH OA**	**CD**
13. How two friends at a hotel speak to each other	–	**CD**
14. How victualers speak to one another	–	**CD**
15. Another way of asking the time and the way	–	**CD**
16. Another way of asking for a room at a hotel	–	**CD**
17. Another way of speaking: requesting the services of a priest	–	**CD**
18. How to ask the way to a knight's house in a town or city	**LH OA**	**CD PN**
19. When you meet people: different forms of greeting (depending on the time of day)	–	**CD PN**
20. Another way of speaking: speaking to the sick; the exemplum of Job. [Includes spoken lyric quatrain]	**LH OA**	**CD PN**
21. How to speak to a foreigner from a far off country	**LH OA**	**CD PN**
22. How two tailors speak to each other	–	**CD**
23. Another way in which two friends at a hotel speak to each other	**LH OA**	**CD** (part) **PN**
24. The author's letter to his patron	**LH OA**	–

Source: Based on the table on p.xxiii of Kristol's Introduction.

* This short section of the 1396 *Manière* B version is also in the manuscript Cambridge, Trinity College B 14.39/40 (Kristol's **CT**), which also contains the 1415 *Manière de language*.

and yet, through the typical fabliau logic warped by disguise and mistaken identity, is convinced that his wife is faithful and his servant loyal.[20]

In both versions of the *Manière 1396* the text describes how, riding on his way to his destination, the gentleman begins to sing 'the noblest and most amorous song that there might be in all the world' (4.4).[21] The text of the song given in four of the five sources at this point is the rondeau *Tres doulz regard amoureusement trait*. A fifth source (**LH**) gives a drinking song, *Hé, hé, la bonne vinee*, although it includes the rondeau *Tres doulz regard* later, in section 4.7, when the protagonist is similarly described as 'speaking or singing most nobly in this way, the noblest and most amorous song that there might be in all the world'.[22] Thus all five copies of the treatise transmit the text of this rondeau with only minor variations, despite there being two principal versions of the treatise, and despite the rondeau's being placed at different points in the text in different copies of the A version.

Before examining this rondeau in more detail it is worth mentioning the other poems in the treatise. Although the B versions include no further lyrics, the two A versions have a more dramatic depiction of the gentleman courting a 'lady' at the hotel, which includes, instead of the fabliau, spoken lyrics and a sung rondeau. The second rondeau is given in the appendix to this article, and is probably the text of a song whose music no longer survives. The A version of the *Manière* also supplies the gentleman with a choice of exemplary wooing poems, as he is described as embracing and kissing the lady on her mouth. The two poems (which are alternatives—the second one is introduced with *vel sic*) are *M'amie doulce et graciouse*, a six-line verse rhyming aabccb, and *Ma dame gentille de pourtraiture*, a quatrain abab. The implication from their introduction is that these are said rather than sung: 'and then he says [*il dit*] to her nobly out of good and fervent love and as a means of arousing her love, the words [*les paroles*] that follow'.[23]

'The noblest and most amorous song . . . in the world'

Poetic text

Although none of the manuscripts of the *Manière* includes musical notation, musicologists already know the song that is present in all five copies because it is also copied, notated in two parts, on the last two staves of f.30*v* in **ModA** (see illus.1 and the transcription in ex.1).[24] The newly identified manuscript sources for the poetic text supply lines 5–6, missing in **ModA**, as well as permitting other better textual readings to be made. A basic comparison of the Modena and *Manière* versions is given in table 2. On the whole the transmission here reflects similar levels of variants in other multipally transmitted *formes fixes* from this period. The two important articulations within each line, the rhyme word and the word at the fourth-syllable caesura typically remain stable in transmission, and the text before the caesura shows least variation. The most variation is typically displayed in places where the meaning is unaffected (line 11 'a mon cuer' in **ModA**, for 'dedens moy' in *Manière*).[25] Where the meaning is affected, the variation concerns pronouns (see below).

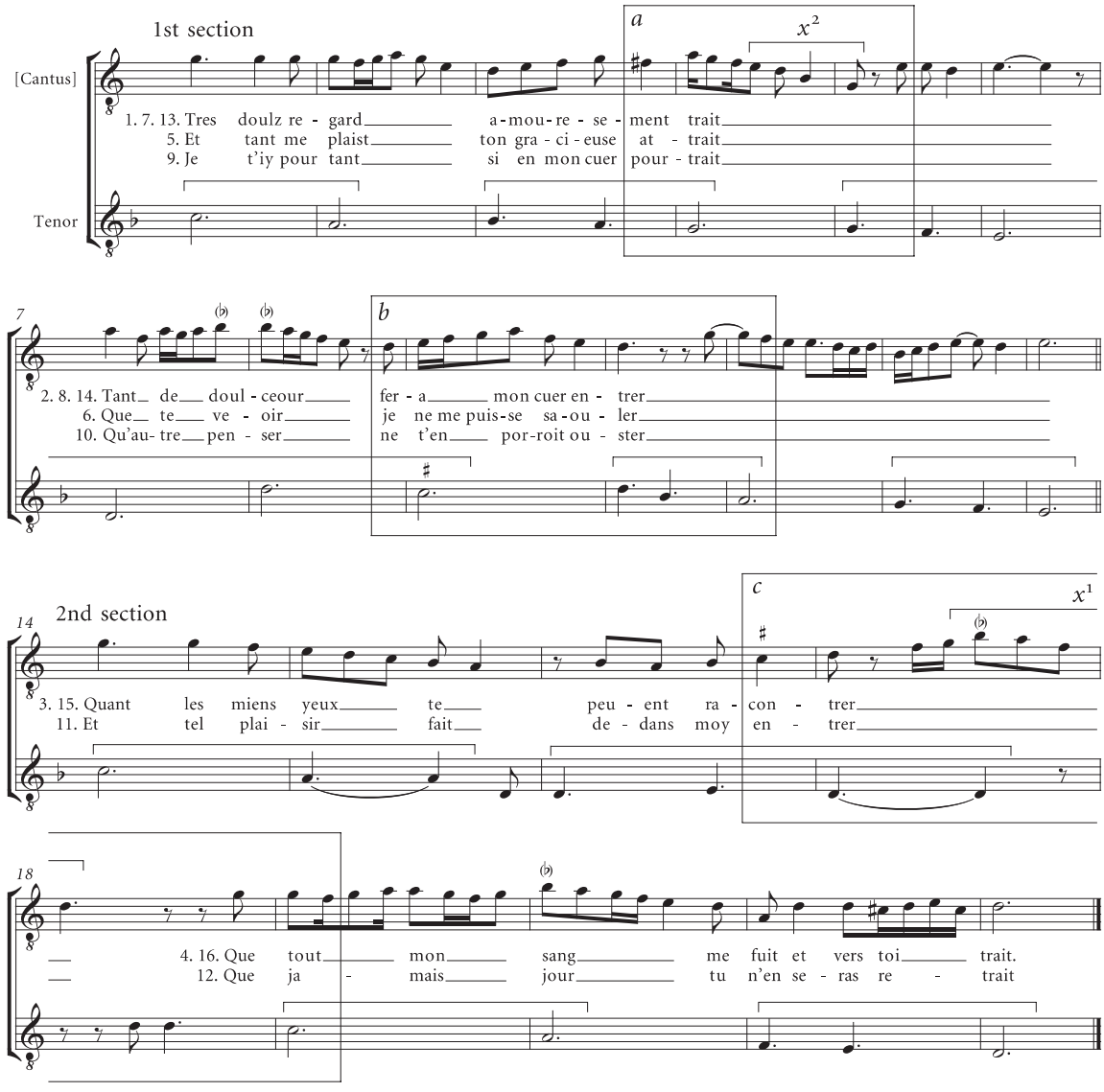
In line 1 the scribe of **ModA**, who is squeezing this piece into a two-stave space at the foot of the folio, uses some abbreviation marks. These are expanded as 'amoureus en moy trait' and 'amoureus m'ont outret' in the editions of Willi Apel and Gordon Greene, respectively.[26] As well as confirming that the first word is, as Apel reads it, 'Tres' (Tre) and not (as Greene has it) 'Tes', the *Manière* text confirms that the correct expansion would be 'amoureusement trait'.[27]

In line 2 the *Manière* texts have 'fera' rather than 'fet a', the latter representing a Continental French substitution (= 'fait a mon cuer entrer') for the Anglo-French construction 'fera mon cuer entrer', in which 'entrer' takes a direct object, much as it does in modern English ('will make enter my heart').

The framing words—the incipit, caesural word and rhyme—of line 3 are stable but the internal expression differs slightly in the two traditions. The *Manière* text implies that 'my own eyes may meet thee again'; **ModA** has the narrator as the subject of the verb—'by my eyes I may meet thee'.[28]

The final line of the refrain (line 4) has the causative 'Que' in the *Manière* text but 'Tres' in **ModA**, causing the two a-rhyme lines also to start with the same word. **ModA** also has the unaccented (and more Italianate?) oblique form of the second person singular personal pronoun 'ti'; the *Manière* text has the more usual accented form 'toy'.

Ex.1 Anonymous, *Trez doulz regard*



The two lines that are missing in **ModA** are present in all copies of the *Manière*, even though none of the *Manière* texts lays them out as poetry, or cues any of the rondeau's repeats. Line 6 is two syllables too long. If 'veoir' is (as usually) two syllables, the easiest way to achieve the correct syllable count is to cut two from after the caesura: 'je ne me puisse saouler' becomes 'ne me puis saouler'. If 'veoir' is monosyllabic, either 'je' or the subjunctive ending 'puis*se*' may remain. And 'puisse' may be monosyllabic and 'saouler' a two-syllable word. However, it is worth noting that there are sufficient notes in the melisma here to take a rogue 12-syllable (Alexandrine) line (as in the editorial underlay given in ex.1).

The text of line 9 seems better in the *Manière* sources, which all have the pre-caesural text 'Je t'ai pour tant', giving the line the sense of 'I have therefore thus depicted thee in my heart'. The 'si' is omitted

Illus.1 Anonymous, *Tres dous regard* (Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.m.5.24 (Lat. 568, *olim* IV.M.5) (**ModA**), fol. 30*v*.

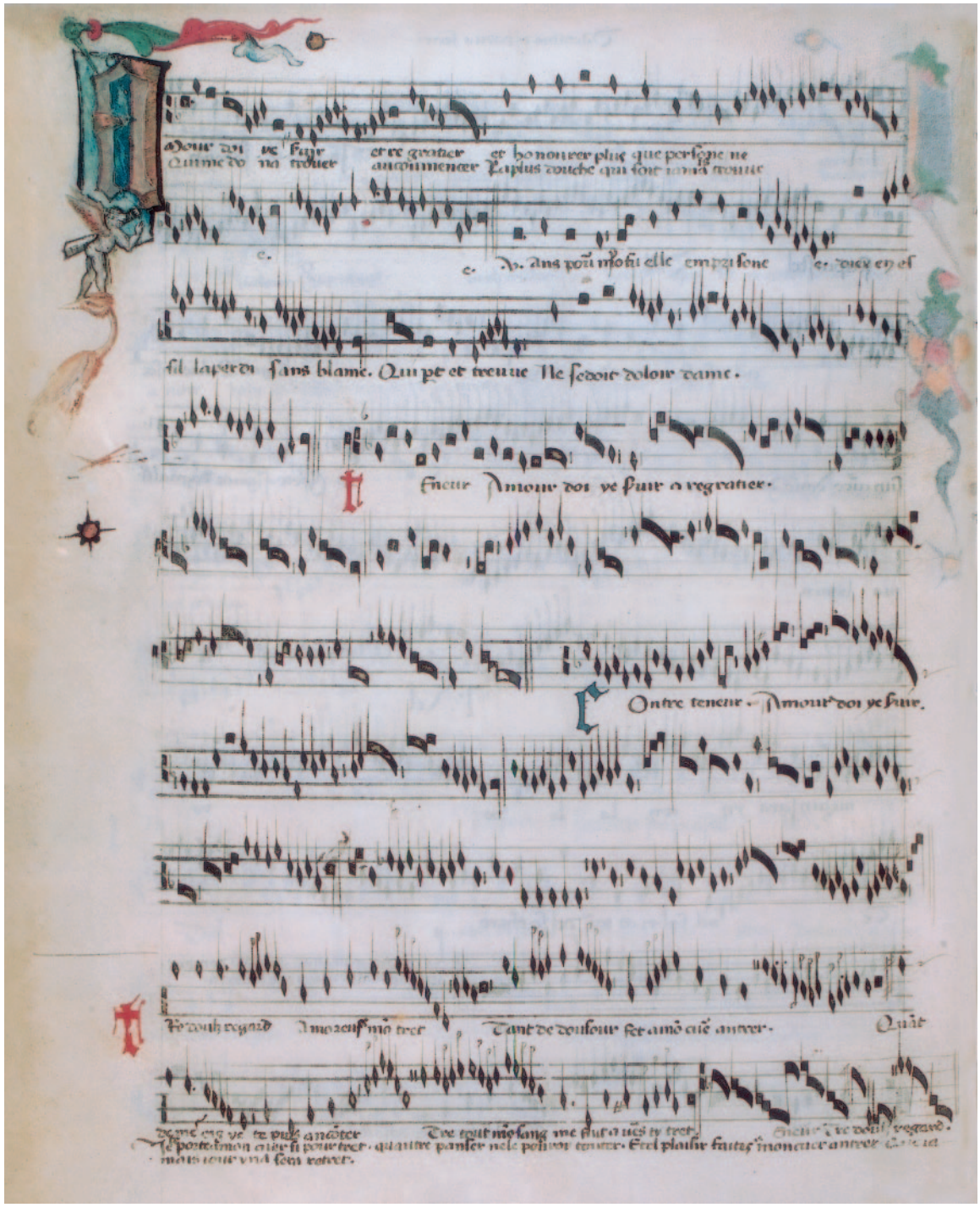


Table 2 The *Manière* and ModA texts compared

Anon, La manière de langage de 1396 **LH**, f.9*v*; **OA**, f.306*v* (312*v*)	*Anon, Tredoulz regard* *I-MOe 5.24* (**ModA**), f.30*v*	*Translation*
[a]Tresdoulz regart amerousement trait	1 Tre doulz regard Amoureusemo*nt* tret	*Very Sweet Look, lovingly carried,*
tant de doulceur fera mon cuer entrer[b]	2 Tant de dousour fet a mo*n* cue*r* antrer.	*will make*[1] *so much sweetness enter my heart*
quant les miens yeulx te pevent racontrer[c]	3 Qua*n*t de me*s* oig ye te puis anco*n*ter	*when my own eyes can meet thee,*[2]
que tout mon sang me fuit et vers toi trait	4 Tre tout mo*n* sang me fuit *et* ver*s* ty tret.	*that all my blood*[3] *flees me and draws towards thee.*
Et tant me plaist ton g*r*acious atrait	5 [missing]	And thy noble attractiveness so pleases me
que de veoir[d] je ne me puisse saouler[e]	6 [missing]	that to see thee might not suffice for me,
[Tresdoulz regart amerousement trait	7 [Tre doulz regard Amoureusemo*nt* tret	[*Very Sweet Look, lovingly carried,*
tant de doulceur fera mon cuer entrer]	8 Tant de dousour fet a mo*n* cue*r* antrer.]	*will make so much sweetness enter my heart.*]
Je tai pour tant si[f] en mon cuer pourtrait	9 Je[te] porte a*n* mon cuer si pour tret	I have therefore depicted thee in my heart[4]
quautre pansee ne ten pourroit ouster	10 quatre panser ne le pourroyt outer.	so that no [other] thought can remove thee[5] thence.
Et tel plaisir fait dedans moy entrer	11 E tel plaisir faites[1] mon cuer antrer	And such pleasure it [the image] makes enter within me
que iamais iour tu nen seras retrait	12 Que iamais iour y na sera retret.	that there will never be a day when thou shalt be withdrawn.[6]
[Tresdoulz regart amerousement trait	13 [Tre doulz regard Amoureusemo*nt* tret	[*Very Sweet Look, lovingly carried,*
tant de doulceur fera mon cuer entrer	14 Tant de dousour fet a mo*n* cue*r* antrer.	*will make so much sweetness enter my heart*
quant les miens yeulx te pevent racontrer	15 Qua*n*t de me*s* oig ye te puis anco*n*ter	*when my own eyes can meet thee,*
que tout mon sang me fuit et vers toi trait]	16 Tre tout mo*n* sang me fuit *et* ver*s* ty tret.]	*that all my blood flees me and draws towards thee.*]
Et sic finitur cantus dulcissimus[g]		

[a] **LH** f.9*v* Marginal note 'cant*us* p*atet*'
[b] **LA** f.109*r* has 'fera mon cuer tout entrer'; Kristol comments that it is corrupt but prints 'fra' rather than 'fera' in text and notes
[c] **CD** has 'poent y acountrer'
[d] **LA** 'que de vos voer'; **CD** 'que te veoir'
[e] **LA** 'je ne me puisse my sasuler'
[f] Kristol's notes imply 'si' is missing in **CD**
[g] Rubric only in **LH**
[1] **ModA**: *makes* (present tense)
[2] **ModA**: *when by my eyes I can meet thee*
[3] **ModA**: *thee. Indeed all my blood*
[4] **ModA**: I have carried thee in my heart thus depicted
[5] **ModA**: it = the depiction of the lady's look
[6] **ModA**: when it shall be withdrawn from there.

in **CD** and is placed earlier in **LH** than in **ModA**. This line would be a syllable short in **ModA**, unless 'porte' at the caesura is read as two syllables—'porté'. If 'te' also represents a written Italian version of aurally dictated 't'ai', this would give a text meaning 'I have carried thee in my heart thus depicted'. Here, it seems very much as if the **ModA** scribe is writing down the sound of the French text so that it represents a phonological rather than grammatical orthography.

Lines 10 and 12 have related differences in the object of their verbs, in which the *Manière* text addresses the Look directly (in the second person singular), and **ModA** uses the third person. Line 10 in **ModA** has the pronoun 'le' (it), referring to the image of the beloved in the speaker's heart, whereas the *Manière* text addresses 'thee' directly: 'no other thought can take it/thee away'. Line 12, which is stable before the caesura and at the rhyme word, addresses his heart's image of the lady's Look directly in the *Manière* text ('thou wilt never be withdrawn'), while the **ModA** version speaks less directly of the pleasure or depiction—'it will never be withdrawn'.

The intimate second-person address in an amorous and noble song voiced by a male narrator is striking. *Fin'amors* typically inverts social hierarchy to give the lady mastery over the lover, and she is thus always addressed as 'vous', even when she addresses an accepted male *ami* as 'tu'. But here the lady is not being addressed directly, but rather metonymically by means of her 'Very Sweet Look', which is personified for the purpose. Several similar lyrics from this period have male speakers using 'tu' to apostrophize aspects of their situation as personifications, such as Fortune, Desire, Fair Welcome, Hope, Love, Envy, Loyalty, and so on. In a balade by Phillippus da Caserta, which occurs a few folios earlier in Modena, for example, the narrator complains, 'Hé, dous rengart, tu m'as mis a la mort' ('Hey, Sweet Look, thou hast put me to death').[29] It is likely that this usage nevertheless created additional amorous frisson: the clear object of the address once the metonym is extrapolated is the lady with whom a 'tu'-level intimacy would be very intimate indeed, yet the personification is named only at the beginning. And while in the musical setting this line is sung three times, the variants in the **ModA** text for lines 10 and 12 reduce the amount of second-person address (see above), perhaps indicating that the ostensible intimacy nevertheless struck someone in the line of transmission as so inappropriate that they fell into using more neutral third-person references as a way of toning it down.

The song presents the idea of recording the lady's Very Sweet Look as an image of the beloved in the speaker's heart. In this the narrator projects a typically medieval form of subjectivity in which the heart acts as a textualized 'book of the self', a book of pictorial memories.[30] Just seeing the beloved is not enough, says the narrator; the image must instead be painted like a physical portrait within the lover's heart so that the lover can then carry it with him (*pourtraire*) when he is not within sight of her. This relies on the functioning of memory as understood in the later Middle Ages, in which sense data was collected as a series of images which could then be subjected to intellectual processing.[31] The use of verbs built on the root *traire*, which derives from the Latin *tractare*—to drag, or draw—intensifies the idea of the compelling nature of the Look's sweetness. The Look draws in (*attraire*) the lover, which he then draws (*pourtraire*) within his heart to carry (*traire*) it so that it cannot be withdrawn (*retraire*). As a sung attestation to the act of recording of the lady's visual appearance in memory this song is appropriate to its *Manière* context of being sung out on the road during a journey (away from sight of the lady).

It is worth noting that the missing couplet (lines 5–6) supplied by the *Manière* treatise makes clear the essentially courtly doctrine of the poem. In stressing that seeing the lady is no longer enough, the couplet explains why the etching of the lady's image in the heart—the active creation of memory—is necessary to the lover's happiness. This idea that a *souvenir* (a memory image) of the lady is *better* than that for which it is originally a surrogate (actual sight of her) is consonant with the similar 14th-century elevation of Hope in place of the *merci* of actual interaction with the *dame*.[32] The mental image (which, in the work of Machaut and contemporary poets, typically nourishes Hope) becomes a sufficiency that replaces actual interaction with the lady as a means of consolation, thereby avoiding love's potential for social disruption. That which is morally better is presented as emotionally better too.

The rondeau as a song

The rondeau structure as sung consists of three musical phrases (bars 1–6, 7–13 and 14–22), each of which is subdivided by an internal cadential articulation. Ex.1 gives a version of the song based on that in **ModA**, but with the text adjusted to take account of the *Manière* text. The boxes marked *a, b* and *c* show the internal cadential articulations. Each of the first two poetic lines has its own musical phrase, which together comprise the first section of the rondeau, the section heard most frequently within its repeating structure. The second musical section, heard only three times but representing the last phrase to be heard in a complete performance of the piece, is a single phrase, slightly longer than either of the phrases in the first section, again, subdivided at the mid-point but here having two poetic lines, one in each half.

The basically plagal melody of the song has a range from *G* to *b*♭, with a final on *d*. In the opening phrase the note *g* starts as a perfect consonance, becomes a dissonance and returns to being a perfect consonance at the resolution of the directed progression in bar 4. The pattern of these four bars is repeated in the B section for the final phrase but with the second part a 4th lower so that the final cadence is to *d*, although the surface play of consonance and dissonance in the rhythmicized counterpoint of the surface in bars 3 and 21 is similar.

All lines except the last have a melismatic tail after the rhyme word—a feature that links this piece to the practice of early 15th-century composers, contemporaries of Du Fay. All lines also have shorter melismas at their caesural words. The sweetness of the lady's sweet Look at the start of the second line (bars 7–8) elicits repeated top *b*♭—the limit of the cantus range—and an upward octave leap *D–d* in the tenor—outlining the twin limits of *its* range.[33] The sweetness is present in the sonority here too, an imperfect consonance, which functions as the antepenultimate for the unison cadence at the end of the text line in bar 10. The penultimate is the similarly sweet imperfect sonority *c*♯*/e* (bar 9). As the sweetness of the Look enters the lover's heart, the soaring melody of bar 9 descends to enter the sonic space of the ascending tenor, as if depicting unification through the cadence to the unison *d/d* in bar 10.

Although in its contrapuntal surface deployment the line 1 cadence to *g* in bar 4 most closely resembles that of the final cadence, the final cadence is a 4th lower, on *d* (line 4, bars 21–2). Cadences to *d* are also present in both lines 2 and 3 as well: to *d/d* in bar 10 for the end of the text of line 2; to *D/d* in bar 17 for the end of the text of the second b-rhyme line, line 3, driven home by the unison *d/d* in bar 18 after an up-down melodic flourish in the cantus.

The abba rhyme-scheme of the poetry is reflected in the tonal layout of the song setting in that the two b-rhymes have cadences to unison *d/d* (bars 10 and 18). However, the first b-rhyme's *d/d* cadence is followed by a melisma cadencing to *E/e* (bar 13). In this way the first b-rhyme line, line 2, negotiates its dual function as the line that, in a performance of the complete rondeau, proceeds three times to the second section and twice returns to the opening. In its cadence to *d/d* (bar 10) it presages the *d/d* (bar 18, allowing continuation to the second section), but in its final *E/e* (bar 13) it balances the *E/e* at the close of the melisma in the opening musical phrase (bar 6, allowing a return to the beginning). While tonally flexible, melodically line 2 is arguably the 'odd line out'. The third line (opening the rondeau's second musical section), is similar to the opening of the first section, with its repeated *g*s (bar 14). And the opening contour from the *g*s of the final line, line 4 (bars 18–20), is even closer to that in line 1. Moreover, the melisma at the middle of the third musical phrase, the end of line 3 (x^1), seems a metrically telescoped version of the contours from the end of bar 3 to the start of bar 5 (*x*) a 5th higher but similarly descending by triadic leaps to a unison. But instead of the further melisma that had followed this in line 1, the third phrase proceeds to the fourth poetic line, which offers another melodic descent—ornamented with pitch and rhythmic subdivisions—from *g*, and another, more final cadence to *d*.

It is possible to view the second half of each musical phrase as progressively more successful attempts to end. The first phrase just clocks straight into a regular cadence to *E/e* (bar 6) from its unison sonority in bar 5. The second phrase follows its unison sonority *d/d* with a descent from *g*, which is only turned away from a *d* cadence by the suspension in bar 12, again to cadence on *E/e*. Finally, the third phrase starts its

'tail' much like the second phrase had in bars 10 (compare bars 10–11 with 18–19) but texts it (with line 4), decorates it with rhythmic subdivisions (semiminims), and recapitulates almost the full pitch range to circle around a successful cadence to *D/d*.

The tenor has the range of an octave and moves almost exclusively in slow note-values, marking only two places with minim upbeats, both on the pitch-class D (*D* in bars 15–16, and *d* in bar 18). The balance, beauty and sheer 'singability' of the melodic line, the neat tonal structure and the rhythmic simplicity of the tenor make it credible that the *Manière* protagonist might be singing this particular melody, perhaps accompanied by his servant, Jakyn (or *vice versa*). The overall range of the two voices is an octave and a 6th, and they are pitched about a 5th apart, making possible various combinations of bass and tenor, two baritones, tenor and countertenor, not to mention treble or soprano.[34]

Kristol draws attention to the way in which the treatise is a written representation of orality, of spoken French. It seems likely that the treatise would have served in the context of conversation practice involving two individuals. If this is the case, it is possible that a student using this treatise might have been taught the sung version of *Tres doulz regart*, despite the lack of music notation in the written copy, assuming that the teacher knew the song himself. Given that basic musical education was part of literacy, it can be assumed that both parties would have knowledge of at least the pitches. If, as the lack of notation suggests, the song was learned orally, no knowledge of mensural notation would be required. In the context of being taught French through the medium of the *Manière* text, then, the melody for the poem could be taught to the student by the master, who could then himself supply the tenor or *vice versa*.

Kristol suggests three types of audience for the *Manières* in general: merchants, who had need of relations with the Continent; clerics, who maintained a tradition of writing in French until the 15th century; and lawyers, for whom French remained the legal language until well after this period.[35] It is possible to gain further insight into the general milieu within which the treatise was used by considering the books of which the *Manière 1396* is part.[36]

The two copies of the A version both suggest that clerics would have used the books of which the treatise was a part. As it currently stands, **OA** is a composite of two manuscripts. In one of the original manuscripts the *Manière* text was copied first, followed by *Le Donoit françois* (a French grammar based on Donatus), a treatise on French language instruction for children, a Latin-French vocabulary of parts of speech, French prose proverbs, a French dialogue comparing love to a castle, French verse proverbs, Walter of Bibbesworth's French textbook *Le Tretiz*, a treatise on orthography (in Latin), letters in French, a treatise on French verb conjugations, another *Manière* (1399) and letters patent of Jean de Montaigu, bishop of Chartres, giving safe conduct to Walter Skirlaw, bishop of Durham, and others to go to France in 1400 to negotiate royal marriages.[37] The manuscript was partly made, and originally owned, by John Stevens, a canon of Exeter. Both A versions sign off with a letter to the dedicatee of the treatise (who is not identified by name). The Harley manuscript (**LH**) adds that it was copied at Bury St Edmunds on the eve of Pentecost 1396 (hence the dating of the treatise). The *Manière* text in **LH** is followed by exemplary letters in French, which give forms for tackling every epistolary eventuality, from addressing the king, to a mother writing to her son at school. As well as giving correct forms of address for various different addressees, this formulary covers the variety of subject positions for which a clerk in a noble household would be expected to draft letters. It was in effect a commercially available textbook by Thomas Sampson, a late 14th-century teacher of Oxford students who were training not for scholarship but as businessmen able to manage agricultural estates and the personal affairs of a landowner's family.[38]

The manuscript context for the B copies is quite similar. The B version in **LA** copies the *Manière* into a small octavo book—whose size probably indicates a book for portable personal use—which would have been of general use to a clerk, similarly containing formulae for letters, and also for charters, as well as a treatise on French grammar. In addition, **LA** has a number of more mathematical, quadrivium treatises: Alexander de Villa Dei's treatise on the motion of the planets, a compotus manual for finding golden numbers, and a treatise on algorithms. Perhaps this

book was a compendium of its owner's learning, containing the texts he had himself studied for use as a personal reference book in the carrying out of his duties, and/or as a teaching handbook. The B version in **CD**, whose text Kristol uses as a base, occurs in the context of a quarto format manuscript whose other contents are either treatises on French or treatises *in* French on legal issues (tenures, pleading, procedure). The physical state of this book and its contents indicates that it saw much use by the Oxford master or student who originally owned it.[39]

An English song?

This French-texted song appears with musical notation only in a 15th-century Italian manuscript. Without the evidence of the *Manière* treatise nothing about it would seem to suggest that it might be English. A French text might be thought to suggest that it was a French song, even if it was clearly circulating in Italy—after all, the increasing presence in Italian sources of French-texted songs by francophone northerners reflects the increasing employment of foreign singer-composers in Italy at this period.[40] Equally, however, French was one of the court languages of Northern Italy at this period. Plenty of Italian composers set French texts, including the only composer suggested for this song—Matteo da Perugia, who set a number of French texts and is intimately connected with the compilation of the manuscript in which it appears. One of the two modern editors of *Tres doulz regart*, Willi Apel, ascribes the song to Matteo da Perugia, on the grounds that it is stylistically similar to other works by him, and shows a mixed French-Italian notation, insofar as it uses semiminims (semiquavers in the transcription). The song's more recent editor, Gordon Greene, disagrees, thinking that it is too simple in its rhythmic style to be by Matteo. In personal communications, Anne Stone and Pedro Memelsdorff offered independent opinions both also rejecting attribution to Matteo. Stone points out that the piece has been crammed, without an illuminated letter, into the foot of the folio, to fill up space, possibly explaining its two-part status in a

period where songs tend to have contratenors.[41] Memelsdorff points out that ascriptions to Matteo in this particular gathering of the Modena manuscript tend to be explicit, which would support the idea that the lack of ascription to Matteo might here be taken as an indication that it is not his.[42]

Is the musicological picture, especially with regard to provenance, altered by the appearance of this poem in five manuscripts of English provenance designed to improve and perfect the Anglo-French of the English? No one has suggested that *Tres doulz regart* is of English provenance, and yet this now seems a distinct possibility. Various hypotheses may be constructed. From the *Manière* text we glean only that by 1396 it was known, as a song, to a cleric of Bury St Edmunds. If the Modena version is a different, later musical setting of a text already known in England as a song, it would be unique among texts from this period in having received two different, closely contemporary settings. The two-stage transmission for the song in this case—a 'de-musicalization' of the text before it gets to Italy and an independent 're-musicalization' of the text once there—strikes me as over-elaborate, although clearly not impossible. It seems preferable to me to argue that if the song text is English, the music is quite likely to be English too.

But *is* the poem English? If it is not, then there would be another alternative: that the song is a non-English setting of a non-English text, which becomes popular in England before 1396. **ModA** transmits other music that was written well before the manuscript's compilation, including pieces from the 1350s. Evidence from the text is slight, though, on account of its being so short. Other than equivocal orthographical features, the use of 'entrer' with a direct object in line 2 is the only noticeably Anglo-French trait ('fera mon cuer entrer').[43] However, **ModA** uses a different tense of the verb so there is room in the syllable count for a preposition ('fait a mon cuer entrer'). It seems difficult to establish priority for either of these versions, since either could be a rationalization of an aurally received version of the other. Certainly in some of its manuscript copies the *Manière* text is earlier than the **ModA** copy of the song, but **ModA** is perhaps just a relatively late copy. And although there are five copies of the *Manière*, all including the same rondeau, their interdependence means that their multiple witness is not necessarily more compelling for matters of provenance. The very fact that the song is used in a treatise designed to teach the language of France might suggest that its author picked up the rondeau on his travels. In a closing letter to the dedicatee (found only in the two A versions, which, according to Kristol, are closest to the now-lost original) the author mentions that he has compiled the treatise using the French he has understood and learned while overseas.[44]

Stylistically, Apel at least implies that the modern style of the song fits with an early 15th-century dating.[45] If such a dating were correct it would mean that that the melody known to the users of the *Manière 1396* is not the same as the early 15th-century melody transmitted in Modena. Such dating is based on the features of the style that seem to augur that of early Du Fay (balance of line, line-end melismas and the 'feel' of the tonality). At this point it is tempting to remember the somewhat later 15th-century account of Johannes Tinctoris, who recognised the English, with Dunstaple at their head, as the fount and origin of the new art of Du Fay and Binchois. If the poem is English, and the Modena setting is the one to which the *Manière* text refers (and these are two large but not insurmountable 'if's), then is it possible that the song is an early example of an English song tradition now all but lost?

Conclusions

Even on the basis of the discovery presented here, definite priority cannot be established for either the Italian or the English circulation of this song. Nor can it be proved beyond any doubt that the same melody was known in both places, although this seems likely. *Tres doulz regart* could be an Italian or French song that circulated later as a song in England. Or it could be an Anglo-French song that later circulated in north Italy. Two broad points may nonetheless be made: the first pertains to the portability of song, the second to the relative places of music in modern and medieval culture.

Song is intrinsically portable. When a song is learned—and then, even more than now, memory

and singing were pedagogically linked—it can travel with an individual person, and be transmitted from person to person without the need for notation. In the social spheres in which language learning was important in 14th-century England, people travelled frequently.[46] Even though the English use French within England, the later 14th century sees its use increasingly focused on merchants, trade and diplomacy. In these relatively élite contexts, polyphonic, measured music is also potentially available. Thus it may not be purely hyperbole to assert that *Tres doulz regart* is 'la plus gracieuse et la plus amoureuse chanson . . . en le monde', since many other western European songs would have been known to the same audience.

Musical pieces may be carried in places that seem fairly unusual to a modern reader, in books whose contents are more obviously legal and/or concerned with language skills, husbandry and management. Visually, none of these manuscripts presents this lyric as a poem, let alone as a song. Music's penetration into culture, learning and pedagogy in the 14th century is much deeper than the constraints of the modern university's disciplinary boundaries allow. Separate from these disciplinary constraints (although they also contributed to their establishment) are the nationalist agendas that animated the scholarship of origins and provenance from the 19th-century inception of many of the humanities as university subjects. Like philology, musicology was also dominated by the 19th century's state-building agendas. For *musicologie*, French as a language was so closely bound up with France as a modern nation-state that attempts to find a 14th-century tradition of secular songs in England have usually fallen back on the circulation of second-hand French songs in England, even to the extent of positing hypothetical *contrafacta*.[47] But cultural connections between England and France in this period are typically fluid and complex.[48] The presence of English and French-texted songs in the same manuscript sources, notably *GB-Cu Add. 5943* and *GB-Ob 381*, seems indicative of a native multilingual tradition. Richard Rastall has long suggested that the pieces in these two English songbooks are probably late-14th rather than early-15th century and offer key evidence of the mélange of English-language and French-language song in England during the 14th century.[49] David Fallows has already noted that the evidence for a tradition of rondeaux in 15th-century England attests to its stylistic inseparability from the rondeaux tradition in France, warning that Continental sources may provide the only evidence for such English traditions. This song perhaps hints that the same claims can be extended back into the 14th century.[50]

Medievalists are well aware that the boundaries of Europe's modern nation-states do not define the boundaries of linguistic areas, either now or then, but this has not necessarily helped musicological scholarship concerned with French language materials in late-medieval England to flourish.[51] Even while fighting the French in Gascony during the Hundred Years War, communication with the English troops was in French or Latin. In 1324 Hugh the Despenser, Edward II's chief minister writes from England that with the help of God 'nous conquerroms des Franceis quanqu'il ont occupez du nostre . . . a grant honour du roi et d'entre vous et de tout nostre langue'. As William Rothwell notes, 'nostre langue' meaning 'the people of our tongue', can signify only the *English* troops.[52] The ideas of nationhood are thus much more to do with owing service to a particular lord, more class-based and both more local and more 'international'. Far from the nation-states that saw the birth of modern university humanities disciplines, musical culture in the later Middle Ages traverses diverse 'composite' dominions in a 'Europe of regions'.[53]

And it is not just on the basis of the inconclusiveness of the evidence that I—a post-colonial Englishwoman—am chary of claiming *Tres doulz regart* as an *English* song. Such a claim would go some way to redressing the perceived lack of English songs from the 14th century just because we lack courtly songs with English language texts that are clearly that early. It may also support an earlier dating of those we do possess. But to the Italians who compiled the Modena codex the language of this rondeau signals not that it is from France per se, but instead that it is a European high art song, an international object of court culture, whose *lingua franca* was various kinds of French.

The A version of the *Maniere 1396* text in **OA** transmits another, unique rondeau in section 4.7: *Estrainez moy de cuer joious*. Kristol presents the B version from **CD** in the main text of his edition and gives the version in the Harley manuscript (**LH**) as an Appendix to exemplify the A version of section 4. The unique rondeau is thus found in Kristol's notes on p. 89, because the **LH** version is the only manuscript that does not use *Tres doulz regart* in section 4.4 (on the road)— substituting instead a drinking song— and using *Tres doulz regart* in section 4.7. By contrast the A version of the text in **OA**—like all the B versions of the text—uses *Tres doulz regart* in section 4.4. It thus needs another song for section 4.7 (wooing). Like *Tres doulz regart, Estrainez moy* is a 16-line rondeau rhyming ABBAabABabbaABBA, although its lines each have eight rather than ten syllables. Although this song is not known from any notated copy, the repetitions of this rondeau form are, as not in any source for *Tres doulz regart*, cued by the refrain incipit text, *Estrainez moy etc*. Like all copies of all the lyrics, the manuscripts present the song in prose layout, undifferentiated from the surrounding prose (the editorial lineation in Kristol's version, p.89, is incorrect). *Estrainez moy* is a New Year's gift poem, a type that became very popular in songs of the 15th century, the most famous one being the opening heart-shaped gift by Baude Cordier, *Belle bonne sage*, now bound into the front of the Chantilly codex (**Ch**). Two other songs from **ModA** are examples of this kind: the rondeau *La grant beaute de vous ma souverayne* (36r) and the virelai *Sans mal penser et sans folour* (f.25*v*). Other examples from the 14th century include the rondeau *Sans jamais faire partement* from the Leiden songbook and a song from Chantilly proper, the virelai *A mon pooir* (f.15*r*, **Ch** no. 7). The phrase 'ce jour de l'an' is also present in three rondeaux and a balade from the Visconti chansonnier *GB-Lbl* add. 15224, as well as in Du Fay pieces later. Work that would elucidate the specific role of music remains to be done on New Year's gift ceremonies in England, France and Italy in this period.

Appendix 1 The second rondeau in OA

1 *Estrainez moy de cuer joious*	*Give me a gift from a joyful heart*
2 *Ma belle certaine souveraine*,	*My beautiful, sure, sovereign lady*
3 *Mon bien m'amour ma plaisance mondaine*,	*My good, my love, my worldly pleasure*
4 *Car en moy n'a revel ne jeux*[a]	*For there is no merriment in me.*
5 En cest jour de l'an gracious	In this noble New Year's Day
6 Pour allegier ma tresgrief paine,	To lighten my most grievous pain
7 *Estrainez moy [de cuer joyous*	*Give me a gift from a joyful heart*
8 *Ma belle certaine souveraine*][b]	*My beautiful, sure, sovereign lady.*
9 Et ce la doulceur de voz yeulx	And if the sweetness of your eyes
10 Ne consente, que j'ai[c] l'estraine,	Does not consent to my having the gift
11 De vostre amour j'averai la mort soudaine,	Of your love, I shall have sudden death
12 Adonques seront finez mes jours.	For thus my days shall be ended.
13 *Estreinez moy [de cuer joious*	*Give me a gift from a joyful heart*
14 *Ma belle certaine souveraine*,	*My beautiful, sure, sovereign lady*
15 *Mon bien m'amour ma plaisance mondaine*,	*My good, my love, my worldly pleasure*
16 *Car en moy n'a revel ne jeux*].[d]	*For there is no merriment in me.*

[a] The MS has 'ris ne vis' (laughter nor life), which makes sense but is a syllable short and does not complete the a-rhyme—eus. This emendation is suggested on the basis of these terms paired in other 14th-century poems (e.g. Machaut's B4 and M16).

[b] MS marks 'etc.' to indicate the repetition.

[c] MS has 'je ai'; punctum after 'consente' may indicate that it is only two syllables, in which case the elision is not necessary.

[d] MS marks 'etc.' to indicate the repetition.

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1 Although the verbs *chanter* ('to sing') and *dire* ('to say, to speak') were often used interchangeably in the Middle Ages to signal performance aloud, whether or not this was intoned musically, the *Manière* is rather careful in distinguishing between its use of these two verbs; see below.

2 *General prologue*, lines 124–6.

3 The implication that the French of France is more authentic is implied in some versions of the Prologue (1) to the *Manière 1396*. After asserting that the treatise is designed to teach its reader to speak and write sweet French (*douce francés*), the A-versions of the text (Kristol's **OA** and **LH**) add 'selon l'usage et la coustume de France' ('according to the usage and custom of France'); **PN** more specifically notes that it is 'selon lusage et la manere de Paris et Aurilians' ('according to the usage and manner of Paris and Orleans'). See *Manières de langage (1396, 1399, 1415)*, ed. A. M. Kristol, Anglo-Norman Texts, liii (London, 1995), p.3 and notes on p.81.

4 W. Rothwell, 'Stratford Atte Bowe and Paris', *Modern language review*, lxxx (1985), p.39. See also W. Rothwell, 'The missing link in English etymology: Anglo-French', *Medium Aevum*, lx (1991), pp.173–96; W. Rothwell, 'Henry of Lancaster and Geoffrey Chaucer: Anglo-French and Middle English in fourteenth-century England', *Modern language review*, xcix/2 (2004), pp.313–47; W. Rothwell, 'The teaching and learning of French in later medieval England', *Zeitschrift für französiche Sprache und Literatur*, cxi (2001), pp.1–18, and W. Rothwell, 'The "Faus franceis d'angleterre": later Anglo-Norman', *Anglo-Norman anniversary essays*, ed. I. Short (London, 1993), pp.309–26. See too the essays in the recent collection *Multilingualism in later medieval Britain*, ed. D. A. Trotter (Cambridge, 2000).

5 See Rothwell, 'Stratford Atte Bowe and Paris': 'a long line of insular writers have little to be ashamed of in their handling of the essential core of the language, its syntax and vocabulary, even if their French was recognizably non-Parisian. There is no suggestion that the living French of England was unable to express with complete adequacy any of the ideas, objects, and shades of meaning required by the civilization it served.' (p.43) 'At the same time as all over northern France writers who had in mind a readership extending beyond the purely local were gradually making their language conform increasingly to the *francien* norm, across the Channel the dialect that was the cause of such merriment became from the early years of the thirteenth century the chief administrative language of the powerful kingdom of England, used for an ever wider range of works.' (p.46).

6 See, however, the pertinent comments in A. Butterfield, 'French culture and the Ricardian court', *Essays on Ricardian literature in honour of J. A. Burrow*, ed. A. J. Minnis, C. C. Morse and T. Turville-Petre (Oxford, 1997), pp.82–120.

7 Walter of Bibbesworth's *Tretiz* is written specifically for a lady involved in 'managery' (domestic or agricultural administration or economy). Although this is a late 13th-century work designed to give grammatical knowledge of written French to someone who has already acquired a colloquial knowledge, the use of spoken French was still very much current among the gentry into the 15th century. See Rothwell, 'The "Faus franceis d'angleterre" ', p.314, and *Walter de Bibbesworth: Le Tretiz*, ed. W. Rothwell (London, 1990).

8 See M. T. Clanchy, *From memory to written record: England, 1066–1307* (Oxford, 2/1993), chap.6; I. Short, 'On bilingualism in Anglo-Norman England', *Romance philology*, xxxiii (1980), pp.467–79.

9 See Rothwell, 'Henry of Lancaster and Geoffrey Chaucer', pp.323–5.

10 Since 1988, when the GCSE replaced the former 'O' Level as the standard qualification at age 16 in England and Wales, the educationalist mantra has

centred much more squarely on the idea of 'getting the message across' orally in modern languages, with a concomitant sidelining of grammar and literature as off-puttingly difficult.

11 *Manières de langage*, ed. Kristol.

12 For Latin sung poetry in anthology manuscripts used pedagogically, see *The Cambridge Songs (Carmina cantabrigiensia)*, ed. J. M. Ziolkowski (Tempe, 1998), pp.xxiii–xxx.

13 Previously published by Meyer (1870) and Gessler (1934); see *Manières de langage*, ed. Kristol, pp.xx–xxi.

14 Based on the table in *Manières de langage*, ed. Kristol, p.xxiii.

15 **LH** and **CD** use red ink to mark more important capitals as well as marginal notes, although the basic appearance is still one of unbroken prose. This is probably how the inset lyrics have escaped musicological notice. I have seen the four sources held in British libraries, though not **PN**; however, nothing leads me to believe that it would be laid out differently.

16 On the treatise's striking use of a nuanced range of social registers, see T. Bonin and J. Wilburn, 'Teaching French conversation: a lesson from the fourteenth century', *The French review*, li/2 (Dec 1977), pp.188–96.

17 David Fallows pointed out (personal communication 19 Aug 2004) that a morel is a dark-brown horse (a chestnut), a term still in use. Here it is used (in a manner again still current) as an actual name, presumably for just such a dark-brown horse.

18 See Clanchy, *From memory to written record*, chap.6.

19 The two different versions of the treatise were noted already in J. Gessler, 'La manière de langage qui enseigne à bien parler et écrire françois', *Leuvensche bijdragen*, xxv (1933), pp.101–34.

20 Kristol lists this as a story from Boccaccio, *Decameron* (VII.7), but the *Decameron* story has an additional first part explaining how the servant, who is really a poor nobleman, came to be serving the lady. The version given in the *Manière* seems closer to the fabliau *La Borgoise d'Orliens*, which is one of Boccaccio's possible analogues for the *second* part of *Decameron* VII.7. For the fabliau see *Selected fabliaux*, ed. B. J. Levy and C. E. Pickford (Hull, 1978), pp.19–27. For the probable sources of Boccaccio's story, see the references in *Giovanni Boccaccio: Decameron*, ed. V. Branca, 2 vols. (Turin, 1980), ii, p.839, n.1.

21 From **CD**: 'la plus graciouce et la plus amerous chaunçon que poet estre en tout le monde', *Manières de langage*, ed. Kristol, p.9. **OA** has only 'Et puis le signour se commence a chanter sur le chemin une tresamoureuse chanson en ceste maniere'.

22 'le plus gracious et le plus amerous chanson qui peut estre en tout le monde, en ce maniere disant ou autrement chantant tresgracieusement', *Manières de langage*, ed. Kristol, p.41 from **LH. OA** has 'la plus' in both places; while non-standard in *francien*, 'le' is acceptable in a number of French dialect forms of this period. Because it has already used *Tres doulz regart* in 4.4, **OA** transmits another, unique rondeau at this point, *Estrainez moy de cuer joious*, given here in appendix 1.

23 'et puis il li dit gracieusement de bon et fervent amour et par maniere d'amourasser les paroles qu'ensuient', *Manières de langage*, ed. Kristol, p.40, **LH** version.

24 David Fallows (personal communication 18 Aug 2004) recalls that the Studio der frühen Musik used to play this piece quite frequently in concerts in a purely instrumental version on organetto and vielle to get round the lack of complete text. However, to my knowledge no commercially available recording exists. Now that the text may be completed, perhaps this lovely little song will appear on disc, so that it might again be heard by those travelling the English (and French) roads, even if Morel is now a car and Janyn the in-car stereo system.

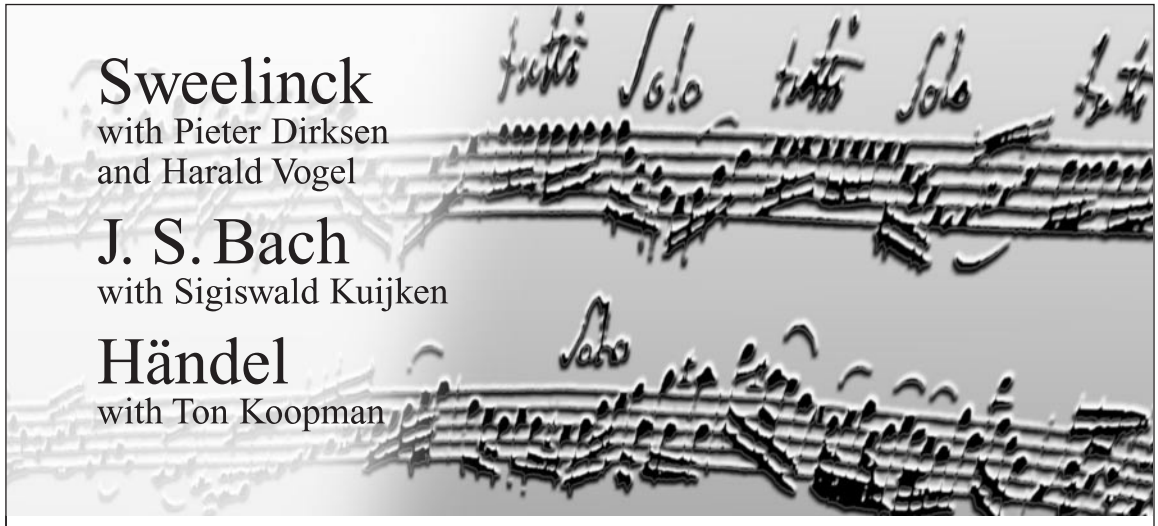
25 Line 11 is stable before the caesura and at the rhyme word. The **ModA** version is a syllable too long and uses the polite form of the second person (*faites*), not used elsewhere in the poem.

26 *French secular compositions of the fourteenth century*, ed. W. Apel, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, liii/3 (American Institute of Musicology, 1972), no.281; *French secular music: rondeaux and miscellaneous pieces*, ed. G. K. Greene, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, xxii (Monaco, 1989), no.75. Samuel N. Rosenberg edits Apel's texts, Terence Scully those of Greene.

27 This correction reveals a close similarity between the opening line and that of the fourth balade inserted into the poem *L'Espinette amoureuse* by Jean Froissart, 'Dun douls regart amoureusement tret': *Jean Froissart: an anthology of narrative and lyric poetry*, ed. K. M. Figg and R. B. Palmer (New York, 2001), p.240, lines 3538–61. Froissart's links with England are well known and his works circulated there in manuscript, but he travelled widely throughout Continental Europe, especially after Queen Philippa's death in 1369.

28 **CD**'s variant for this line with the pronoun 'y' implies that the third-person plural form of the verb 'poent/pevent' is monosyllabic (as it becomes regularly in 15th-century French; in 14th-century French it is usually two syllables in poetry). **CD** shares its otherwise unique use of *acountrer* (rather than the *racontrer* of the other sources) with **ModA**.

29 The balade *De ma dolour*, of which this is line 2.1, is on f.26*v* of **ModA**, and is also in **Ch**. The intimate form of address is also used by a male speaker to address his own heart, or body, a dog or bird, other men (in an advisory role, usually about *largesse*), or when addressing castigation or praise to a rival (for example, Philippe de Vitry on Jean de le Mote, de le Mote on Vitry and Jean Campion, Eustache Deschamps on Geoffrey Chaucer). It is also used when a song addresses its singer (*Si com si gist, Andray soulet* and the explanatory rondeau of *La harpe de melodie*). In the fabliau which forms subsection 4.7 in the B version, when the wife's lover beats the husband who is disguised as his own wife, he abuses her verbally as 'tu' and calls her 'putaigne'. See *Manières de langage*, ed. Kristol, p.15.



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30 For an exploration of this image, see E. Jager, *The book of the heart* (Chicago, 2000).

31 See R. W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: the growth of an English mind in medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1986; 2/1992), pp.40–43. More broadly, see M. Carruthers, *The book of memory: a study of memory in medieval culture* (Cambridge, 1991), M. Carruthers, *The craft of thought: meditation, rhetoric, and the making of images, 400–1200*, (Cambridge, 1998), and the reproduction of a 14th-century map of the brain in L. Bolzoni, *The gallery of memory: literary and iconographic models in the age of the printing press*, trans. J. Parzen (Toronto, 2001), p.135.

32 The classic analysis of this facet of refined loving is found in D. Kelly, *Medieval imagination: rhetoric and the poetry of courtly love* (Madison, 1978). More recently, see also the argument in S. Huot, 'Guillaume de Machaut and the consolation of poetry', *Modern philology*, c (2002), pp.1–10.

33 The sweetness is present in the caesural words, all of which end with the same 'r' that ends the b-rhyme, the last actually being an internal rhyme 'penser'.

34 Given the precedent of Walter of Bibbesworth's *Tretiz* (which is contained in **OA**), a female student may be envisaged. As **OA** also contains treatises designed for teaching children, flexibility of use may be imagined.

35 See the comments on the word *estoppel* in Rothwell, 'The "Faus franceis d'angleterre" ', p.313. More generally, see P. Brand, 'The languages of the law in later medieval England', *Multilingualism in later medieval Britain*, ed. D. A. Trotter (Cambridge, 2000).

36 Kristol suggests that the two versions of the text were designed for slightly different audiences: the A version an earlier text for use by an individual reader, the B text for use in teaching a larger public in which the closing dedication to the patron no longer has a place. *Manières de langage*, ed. Kristol, pp.xxi–xxii.

37 Information from A. G. Watson, *A descriptive catalogue of the medieval manuscripts of All Souls College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1997), pp.210–14.

38 Thomas Sampson was a married teacher of the skills necessary to clerks in a noble household (such as letter writing), whose name appears as a resident of Oxford on a subsidy roll in the 1380s. See H. G. Richardson, 'Business training in medieval Oxford', *American historical review*, xlvi/2 (1941). Richardson claims that the book **LH** belonged to a royal clerk who added the signet letters and privy seal letters, as well as a letter from Charles VI to Richard.

39 Probably originally one 'Mershfeld', at Oxford. See J. H. Baker and J. S. Ringrose, *Catalogue of English legal manuscripts in Cambridge University Library* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp.126–8. Given that students often later became masters, it seems difficult to draw a distinction between a student's textbook and a master's handbook in this case.

40 See D. Fallows, 'French as a courtly language in fifteenth-century Italy: the musical evidence', *Renaissance studies*, iii/4 (1989), pp.429–41.

41 The song occurs below the anonymous balade *Amour doi je*, which is also found in the Reina Manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. *fr. 6771*), f.59*r*.

42 E-mail correspondence 10 May 2004 (Memelsdorff) and 11 May 2004 (Stone). Both also point out that the presence of semiminims—a scribal-notational feature—seems slender evidence for making compositional ascriptions, and is anyway hardly exceptional. This song bears no relation to the music of a 15th-century Italian song by Johannes Martini with the same incipit text. The full text of the Martini song has not been located, however.

43 *Manières de langage*, ed. Kristol, p.83.

44 'Mon treshonuree et tresgentil sire, ore Dieux en soit regraciez, j'ay achevee cest traitis au reverence et instance de vous, et a mon escient je l'ai traitee et compilee sicomme j'ay entendu et apris es parties dela le mer', *Manières de langage*, ed. Kristol, p.45.

45 He cites it as typifying the modern style, which he sees as represented by Matteo, whose known dates of activity include the date of the compilation of **ModA**. *French secular music of the late fourteenth century*, ed. W. Apel (Cambridge, MA, 1950), p.14.

46 A transmission route from Oxford to north Italy can be imagined via Avignon, especially considering the Avignon repertory contained in **ModA** (Philippus da Caserta's balade for autipope Clement VII *Par les bons* is on the facing *recto* from *Tres doulz regart*).

47 See N. Wilkins, *Chaucer songs*, Chaucer Studies, iv (Woodbridge, 1980). See also N. Wilkins, *Music in the age of Chaucer*, Chaucer Studies, i (Cambridge, 2/1995), pp.106–10.

48 See A. Wathey, 'The Peace of 1360–1369 and Anglo-French musical relations', *Early music history*, ix (1989), pp.129–74.

49 See R. Rastall, *Two fifteenth-century song books* (Aberystwyth, 1990).

50 D. Fallows, 'English song repertories of the mid-fifteenth century', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, ciii (1976–7), p.73; D. Fallows, 'Words and music in two English songs of the mid-15th century: Charles d'Orléans and John Lydgate', *Early music*, v (1977), p.42.

51 In making a list of Anglo-Norman songs for an earlier period, John Stevens commented as recently as 1994 that the repertory was partly unpublished and entirely unstudied. See J. Stevens, 'Alphabetical check-list of Anglo-Norman Songs, *c.*1150–*c.*1350', *Plainsong and medieval music*, iii/1 (1994), esp. p.2.

52 Rothwell, 'The "Faus franceis d'angleterre" ', p.309.

53 Concerning the historiographical shift in this regard, see the comments in Malcolm Vale's introduction to the reissue of R. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: the formation of the Burgundian state* (Woodbridge, 1962, 2002), p.xxvi.