

Adam de la Halle's Monophonic Songs Revisited:
The Reference to Dedalus in *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint*

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Contents

Manuscript sigla	3
Introduction	4
1. Adam de la Halle's monophonic songs: musicological overview	6
2. The construction of Adam de la Halle's authorial persona	10
3. Case study: Adam de la Halle's <i>Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint</i>	13
3.1. Dedalus in fourteenth-century songs	14
3.2. Adam de la Halle's <i>Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint</i>	17
Conclusion.....	24
Appendices	
1. Adam de la Halle, <i>Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint</i>	25
2. Musical and poetic structure of Adam de la Halle's <i>Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint</i> ..	27
Bibliography.....	28

Manuscript sigla

Trouvère manuscripts (trouv.)

- A* Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale 657
I Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308
O Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 846
P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 847
Q Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 1109
R Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 1591
T Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 12615
V Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 24406
W Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 25566
a Vatican City (Rome), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1490

Other manuscripts

- F-CH 564 Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château, Musée Condé 564
F-Pa 3101 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3101
F-Pn fr. 12610 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 12610
F-Pn lat. 3343 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 3343
US-BEm 744 Berkeley, Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library, University of California, MS
0744

Introduction

One of the most well-known trouvères of the thirteenth century is Adam de la Halle (1245-50 – 1285-8 or after 1306).¹ However, his works are mainly studied either as case studies in a general discussion of the trouvère tradition in the thirteenth century, or as the starting point of a musical and poetic development that aims to present Guillaume de Machaut as the culmination and endpoint of a trouvère tradition in the fourteenth century. Furthermore, a book completely devoted to Adam as a poet-composer, comparable to Elizabeth Eva Leach's *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (2011), or an Adam de la Halle research guide similar to Lawrence Earp's comprehensive guide to Machaut (1995) does not exist.² This is surprising since his musical and poetic output covers practically every genre known in late thirteenth-century Northern France and has long been recognized as the most significant contribution to the trouvère tradition.³

In order to learn how Adam was viewed as a poet(-composer) in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Arras, scholars have turned to texts by his contemporaries and direct successors. Quotations of Adam's rondeaux and monophonic songs in works by Nicole de Margival and Guillaume de Machaut indicate that he was perceived as an *auctor*, as a figure with authority, in the fourteenth century.⁴ Adam obtained this authorial status not only through quotations of his works by others, but also through the "careful construction" of an authorial persona, which is the figure of the author as implied by his works.⁵ Although Nicole de Margival attributes authority to Adam by citing from nine of his monophonic songs, musicologists assign Adam's monophonic songs to a secondary position within his oeuvre

¹ Adam de la Halle is also known as Adam le Boçu or Adam d'Arras. Robert Falck, "Adam de la Halle," in *Grove Music Online: Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed June 21, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/00163>. Carol Symes remarks that the "timing and location of Adam's death are notoriously problematic." Carol Symes, "The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays: Forms, Functions, and the Future of Medieval Theater," *Speculum* 77 (2002): 819n128.

² Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011); Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (New York: Garland, 1995).

³ His oeuvre encompasses thirty-six monophonic *chansons*, eighteen *jeux-partis*, sixteen polyphonic rondeaux, five motets, two plays containing musical interpolations, one *congé* and one incomplete *chanson de geste*, called *Roi de Sezile*. Judith A. Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 131. Even though these *chansons* and *jeux-partis* are both monophonic songs, I reserve the terms "monophonic song" and "song" for the thirty-six monophonic *chansons*. To refer to his *jeux-partis*, I use the French term "jeux-partis."

⁴ Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 283.

⁵ Jennifer Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer), 115; Glossary of literary terms to *The Norton Anthology of World Literature*, vol. C, 3rd ed., ed. Martin Puchner et al. (New York: Norton, 2012), s.v. "author," accessed June 20, 2016, <http://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nawol3/literaryterms.aspx>.

and generally exclude these compositions from any discussions of his authorial persona.⁶ Only Sylvia Huot considers these songs when dealing with the transformation of the lyric persona in Adam's musical and dramatic works. However, as a literary scholar, Huot focuses exclusively on the poetic texts and does not refer to the musical aspects of the songs at all.⁷

My thesis shows that Adam de la Halle's monophonic songs have unjustly been overlooked in musicological scholarship so far and should be (re)considered in the context of the late-medieval French song tradition. In demonstrating this, I present the monophonic song *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint* as a case study. Chapter one first provides a historiographical survey of the research that has been done on Adam's monophonic songs since the 1970s. Then, it examines how musicologists positioned these compositions within his oeuvre. In chapter two, which deals with the main scholarly discussions on the construction of Adam's authorial persona, Adam's usage of the technique of refrain quotation, and the presentation of his works in the only manuscript transmitting his complete oeuvre, *trouv. W*, are addressed.⁸ In chapter three, the song *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint*, which mentions the myth of Dedalus and Icarus, is discussed as a case study. Until now, musicologists have focused exclusively on how this myth is referred to in four late fourteenth-century ballades and have never taken Adam's song into account.⁹ Chapter three first gives an overview of how Dedalus is mentioned in these four ballades. Thereafter, it provides a close examination of the textual and musical content of Adam's song *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint*. Since the relationships between textual and musical elements show that this monophonic composition effectively contributes to the construction of Adam de la Halle's authorial persona as a cleric-trouvère, this study opens up the path for future research on Adam's monophonic songs within the late-medieval song tradition.

⁶ Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 283; Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love*, 132.

⁷ Sylvia Huot, "Transformations of Lyric Voice in the Songs, Motets, and Plays of Adam de la Halle," *Romanic Review* 78, no. 2 (1987): 148–164.

⁸ *Trouv. W* is also known as the "Adam de la Halle *chansonnier*."

⁹ These four ballades are Philipoctus da Caserta's *Par le grant senz* (F-CH 564, fol. 37v), Taillandier's *Se Dedalus an se gaye mestrie* (F-CH 564, fol. 42v), Jehan de Le Mote's *Dyodonas a ses cleres buisines* (F-Pn lat. 3343, fol. 109v), and the anonymous canonic ballade *En la maison Dedalus* (US-BEm 744, fol. 31v).

1. Adam de la Halle's monophonic songs: musicological overview

One of the first musicologists working on Adam de la Halle's monophonic songs was John Stevens. His three studies (published between 1974 and 1986) deal strictly with formal elements, such as notation and poetic and melodic structure.¹⁰ Stevens (1974) argues that the text and music of Adam's monophonic songs are "essentially unrelated" since Adam did not set meaningful words, but just a general pattern of stanzas, lines and syllables to music.¹¹ For him, words and music thus are related only through a common "numerical Idea."¹² Stevens (1986) elaborates further on this idea in an attempt to prove "numeral disposition" in "high-style courtly chansons."¹³ Using Adam's monophonic song *D'amourous cuer* as the only case study of Adam's songs, he unconvincingly argues that it was Adam's "sole business [...] to create an *armonia*" that served as "a beautiful object in its own right."¹⁴ By this he means a pattern of specific numbers (mainly multiples of three or six) that are found in the metrical pattern, the number of lines per stanza and the count of pitches.¹⁵

Stevens (1974) understands Adam's monophonic songs as representative examples of music in the "high style."¹⁶ More recently, Elizabeth Aubrey (2008) has rightly pointed out that this "high style/low style" dichotomy is untenable because it is a modern circular

¹⁰ John Stevens, "'La Grande Chanson Courtoise': The Chansons of Adam de la Halle," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 101 (1974–1975): 11–30; John Stevens, "The Manuscript Presentation and Notation of Adam de la Halle's Courtly Chansons," in *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. Ian Bent (London: Stainer & Bell, 1981), 29–64; John Stevens, "The Courtly Chanson," chap. 1 in *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 13–47.

¹¹ Stevens remarks that this pattern preceded both the poem and the music. Stevens, "'La Grande Chanson Courtoise'," 27–29.

¹² *Ibid.*, 27.

¹³ Stevens uses the term "numeral disposition" to denote the use of numbers "for their own sake." He argues that this numeral disposition not necessarily has a symbolical meaning but "surely exist[s] in and for itself." Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 17, 36.

¹⁴ Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 38. He defines *armonia* as "harmoniousness, concord" or a "positive balanced structural accord in sound." Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 20, 22.

¹⁵ His argument is unconvincing because it relies heavily on assumptions without any evidence. He states, for example, that "[n]umbers are 'certain good' and do not have to be justified." And although he remarks that "not all assertions about number patterns are certainly right" and that number disposition, therefore, "needs careful handling," he loses himself in arbitrary syllable counting. For example, in *D'amourous cuer* he leaves out the weak syllables in instances where they mess up a harmonious pattern of multiples of three. When doing this, he comes to the following resulting pattern of sixty lines grouped in six stanzas, which all have sixty syllables and contain three different line-lengths. Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 36.

¹⁶ According to Stevens, this "high-style" music to which the genre of the *grande chansons courtoise* belongs is "restrained, traditional, and devoid of personal idiosyncrasy." Stevens, "'La Grande Chanson Courtoise,'" 30. The case study in chapter three demonstrates that Adam's monophonic songs are not in all respects "devoid of personal idiosyncrasy." Even though the song *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint* relies on conventional *topoi* of the *fin'amor*, the song includes learned elements that foreground its maker, Adam de la Halle, as an erudite cleric-trouvère.

construct in which features derived from a group of compositions are used to determine the style of individual compositions.¹⁷ Aubrey further points out that 1) scholars do not agree on the features defining these styles, and many songs do not affirm the suggested characteristics;¹⁸ 2) manuscript evidence shows that composers, scribes and theorists were unfamiliar with this distinction; and 3) it is unclear whether medieval musicians recognized, and if so, how they perceived the musical features assigned to these styles.¹⁹

Both Stevens (1981 and 1986) and Dorothy Keyser (1993) examine the notation of Adam's monophonic songs.²⁰ Stevens (1981) lists the notational variation of these songs as copied in ten trouvère manuscripts transmitting them.²¹ Drawing upon his findings, he claims in 1986 that "the diversity of trouvère notations represents a style of singing which, grafted on to the *apparent* bleakness of a single line of melody, would have given it imaginative life and subtle creativeness."²² However, just as other arguments he presents, this general claim is rather speculative.²³ Keyser (1993) examines the ligatures used in Adam's music as transmitted in *trouv. W* and demonstrates the structural relationships between his melodic and poetic formulas. She draws the conclusion that Adam's monophonic songs reflect an oral tradition.²⁴ Mary O'Neill's (2006) formal analysis of the rhyme schemes, metrical and melodic structures, and melodic style of Adam's monophonic songs confirms Keyser's conclusion.²⁵ O'Neill argues that Adam's organicist compositional technique based on short melodic ideas, and the overall formal structure (AAB) of many of these songs "are compatible

¹⁷ Elizabeth Aubrey, "Reconsidering 'High Style' and 'Low Style' in Medieval Song," *Journal of Music Theory* 52, no. 1 (2008): 77. Within this dichotomy, "high style" refers to monophonic trouvère songs, and "low style" includes dances and *pastourelles*. See Aubrey, "Reconsidering 'High Style' and 'Low Style'," 75.

¹⁸ The suggested characteristics distinguishing between "high-style" and "low-style" songs rely on both internal and external features. These internal features are, among others, based on theme, language, rhetoric, melodic range, intervals, contour, and texture. The external features rely on contrasting notions such as "courtly" versus "popular," and "aristocratic" or "learned" versus "jongleuresque." See Aubrey, "Reconsidering 'High Style' and 'Low Style'," 76–77.

¹⁹ Aubrey, "Reconsidering 'High Style' and 'Low Style'," 117.

²⁰ Stevens, "The Manuscript Presentation and Notation," 29–64; Dorothy Keyser, "Literacy and Orality in the Secular Music of Thirteenth Century France: The Evidence of the 'Adam de la Halle' Manuscript," *Revista de Musicología* 16, no. 4 (1993): 2367–2389.

²¹ The manuscripts Stevens considers are *trouv. A, a, O, P, Q, R, T, V, and W*. He discusses the first section (fols. 2r–9v) and the main section of *trouv. W* as two distinct manuscripts. See Stevens, "The Manuscript Presentation and Notation," 29–64.

²² Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 442–443.

²³ Stevens presents it, for example, explicitly as a "fact" that the manuscripts transmitting Adam de la Halle's songs are "closer to the original poet-composer" than they are in the case of many other trouvères, and that this "assures us" that these songs "may well be presented in the style which he himself envisaged." Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 443. Probably he meant that these manuscripts are closer to Adam in terms of time or geographical proximity, or that Adam was involved in their compilation. However, this cannot be stated as firmly as Stevens presents it because there is no clear-cut evidence for these interpretations.

²⁴ Keyser, "Literacy and Orality," 2367–2389.

²⁵ Mary O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 181–198.

with the role of memory in an oral-based tradition,” in the sense that these elements made the songs easy to memorize and reproduce.²⁶

Judith A. Peraino (2011) investigates the formal melodic and poetic design of Adam’s monophonic songs and their transmission in a comparison of discrete *libelli* of monophonic songs by Thibaut de Champagne (1201–1253) and Adam which are transmitted at either end of *trouv. T*.²⁷ Peraino argues that the way in which the authorial voices of Thibaut and Adam are assembled in this manuscript creates a “genealogical line” between them and influences how these songs are perceived as a group.²⁸ She claims that Adam’s songs in *trouv. T* (copied in the last section, fols. 224r-233v) “seem to conclude the *trouvère* tradition with suspect imitation,” while the same songs in *trouv. W* (copied in the first section of Adam’s works, fols. 10r-23v) “seem to initiate, with (mock?) solemnity, a display of diverse musical and narrative genres.”²⁹

In introductions to several music and text editions of his works, Adam’s monophonic songs are treated as a group in comparison with other monophonic songs in the *trouvère* tradition. The conclusion of such comparisons is often the same: his songs are neither musically nor poetically innovative.³⁰ For instance, John Henry Marshall (1971) notes that these songs express conventional *topoi* of the *fin’amor*.³¹ He also remarks that Adam emphasizes certain themes typical to this register in order to build up different *personae*, but he does not elaborate further than just mentioning them.³² Huot’s (1987) analysis of the lyric persona in Adam’s monophonic songs is more detailed.³³ Drawing upon three examples, she argues that this persona of *trouvère* lover and singer explores the boundaries of the expression of private experiences within a courtly-love model, and shifts between the voice of a singer

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 194.

²⁷ *Libelli* are separate booklets with “collected works.” Peraino remarks that these two *libelli* by Thibaut de Champagne and Adam de la Halle “foreground the author as both the creative agent and lyric subject of the songs.” Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love*, 128.

²⁸ Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love*, 31.

²⁹ The parentheses and question mark are Peraino’s. See *Giving Voice to Love*, 154.

³⁰ For example, Hendrik van der Werf states that Adam “does not seem to have been an innovator” in these monophonic songs. But he contradicts himself when saying that “one can justify the conclusion that Adam de la Halle was one of several *trouvères* to have had his own melodic style.” Since Van der Werf does not elucidate these statements and Adam’s *jeux-partis* and *rondeaux* are considered “chansons,” too, it is unclear whether both claims refer to the same set of songs. See Hendrik van der Werf, musical introduction to *The Lyrics and Melodies of Adam de la Halle*, eds. Deborah Hubbard Nelson and Hendrik van der Werf (New York: Garland, 1985), xxx. Deborah Hubbard Nelson remarks that the poetic texts of Adam’s monophonic songs also “contain little that is original or innovative,” and do not show any “trace of individuality.” Deborah Hubbard Nelson, literary introduction to *The Lyrics and Melodies of Adam de la Halle*, xix.

³¹ John Henry Marshall, introduction to *The Chansons of Adam de la Halle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), 1–21.

³² Marshall identifies the *personae* of “the humble and diffident suitor of an unheeding lady,” “the courtly moralist,” and “the courtly poet.” Marshall, introduction, 5–6.

³³ Huot, “Transformations of Lyric Voice,” 148–153.

addressing his audience and a lover addressing his lady.³⁴ This is indeed a very interesting starting point for further research on these songs, as I shall demonstrate in the following chapters.

Musicologists view Adam de la Halle and his works differently; they regard him as a “‘link’ figure” standing “at a pivotal point between two great eras of music.”³⁵ Nigel Wilkins (1967), for example, remarks that Adam’s monophonic songs and *jeux-partis* are grounded firmly in the courtly *trouvère* tradition, while his *rondeaux* and *motets* “display a mastery of more involved musical thought and point forward towards *Ars Nova* [...]”³⁶ Marshall (1971) and Robert Falck (n.d.) similarly note in terms of both text and music that Adam’s *motets*, *rondeaux* and interpolated plays are “forward-looking” while his monophonic songs “look back.”³⁷ This, again, shows that Adam’s monophonic songs are more traditional than his polyphonic works, which are viewed as “more developed” and as a transitional stage towards *Ars Nova*. A similar view is presented by Peraino (2011), who more recently states that Adam’s monophonic songs are to be understood as “museum pieces” within his oeuvre, while his interpolated plays and polyphonic compositions figure “as cutting edge or even avant-garde.”³⁸ Her words imply that these monophonic pieces must have had an antiquated flavor within the *trouvère* repertoire.

Altogether, musicological research to Adam’s monophonic songs mainly deals with formal elements of these songs, leaving poetic themes and references in individual songs and their contribution to Adam’s authorial persona unmentioned. The widespread tendency among musicologists to contrast and even value Adam’s works according to the progressive- and conservativeness of their genres, moreover, does not do justice to the contents of individual monophonic songs, as I will demonstrate in chapter three.

³⁴ Ibid., 148–153. The songs Huot refers to are *Se li maus c’amours envoie*, *On demande mout souvent qu’est amours*, and *Pour coi se plaint d’amours nus*.

³⁵ Nigel Wilkins, foreword to *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle: Chansons, Jeux-Partis, Rondeaux, Motets*, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 44, ed. Nigel Wilkins (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1967), v; O’Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 181.

³⁶ Wilkins, foreword, v.

³⁷ Marshall, introduction, 3. Falck contrasts Adam’s monophonic songs, which would characterize him as “a composer of the past, a masterly representative of a dying tradition,” with his polyphonic *rondeaux* and interpolated plays, which Falck understands as pointing “to the immediate future” and showing Adam to be “distinctly progressive and [...] far ahead of his time.” Falck, “Adam de la Halle,” accessed June 13, 2016. A characterization of “looking forward” or “looking back” is in general rather slippery because it implies a deliberate musical or poetic focus which could not have been completely intentional because Adam de la Halle could not have known how monophonic songs, *formes fixes* songs, and *motets* would develop over the course of the fourteenth century. Therefore, such characterizations should be treated with caution and can only be understood as imposed on his music in retrospect by modern scholars.

³⁸ Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love*, 132. Peraino also claims that Adam’s songs “are in fact outnumbered by his other lyric and non-lyric genres” (ibid., 132). This is indeed true if we weight the number of monophonic songs against all his other works, but if we consider these songs in relation to his other musical compositions only, then the monophonic song appear as the most representative music genre within his oeuvre.

2. The construction of Adam de la Halle's authorial persona

The reception of Adam de la Halle's works in fourteenth-century texts indicates that Adam was perceived as an *auctor*, as a writer and authority who was to be believed and respected and whose works could be quoted as *autoritates*, which held "strong connotations of veracity and sagacity."³⁹ Jennifer Saltzstein explains Adam's elevation to a vernacular *auctor* by his "creative exploitation of clerical literary techniques" contributing to the construction of his authorial persona of cleric-trouvère.⁴⁰ This authorial persona is the "vision of the author's personality and outlook" as implied by his works.⁴¹ Since the transmission of Adam's works is also taken into account in discussions of his authorial persona, I use a broader definition of this term that both includes factors that Adam could control, such as his appearance as a character or lyric subject in his works,⁴² and factors he most probably did not influence, such as the transmission of his works in *trouv. W*.⁴³

Studies to Adam's output lent *trouv. W* authority above other manuscripts transmitting his works since it is the only codex preserving his complete oeuvre, and because the presentation of his works in this manuscript contributes to Adam's authorial persona and thus provides a framework to interpret individual texts. The order of his works in this manuscript is: monophonic songs (fols. 10r-23v), *jeux-partis* (fols. 23v-32v), polyphonic rondeaux (32v-34v), motets (fols. 34v-37r), the anonymous *Jeu du pèlerin* (fols. 37v-39r),⁴⁴ Adam's plays (fols. 39r-59v), his narrative poem *Roi de Sezile* (fols. 59v-65r), a *vers d'amour* (fols. 65r-66v), and his *congé* (66v-67v). This careful arrangement of Adam's works by genre in

³⁹ Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. with a new preface (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 10. As noted in the introduction, authors such as Nicole de Margival and Guillaume Machaut used quotations of Adam's works as vernacular *autoritates*.

⁴⁰ Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, 7, 114–148.

⁴¹ Glossary of literary terms, s.v. "author," accessed June 20, 2016.

⁴² Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, 7.

⁴³ There exists no consensus on Adam's responsibility for the gathering of his works in *trouv. W*. For example, John Haines suggests that Adam had some influence, but Huot states that "Adam's personal responsibility for this compilation [...] must remain a hypothesis." And even though Peraino notes that there is no concrete evidence that Adam supervised the compilation of his songs in manuscripts transmitting them, she remarks on the other hand that "his temporal and geographical proximity to the sources for his compositions, coupled with his compositional expansion in polyphonic and narrative forms, increases the possibility of his input." Yet, Carol Symes notes that the memorial tone of *trouv. W* suggests that it was compiled posthumously. Altogether, it is clear that Adam's involvement in the compilation of *trouv. W* is at least doubtful. See John Haines, *Medieval Song in Romance Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 144–145; Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 67; Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love*, 128; and Symes, "The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays," 819.

⁴⁴ Although the *Jeu du pèlerin* is preserved only in the section transmitting Adam's works in *trouv. W*, this play is understood not to be written by Adam. Huot, *From Song to Book*, 70–71.

ascending order of complexity, or “highness” of subject is rather exceptional in trouvère manuscripts and thus contributes to his image as a cleric.⁴⁵

The inscription “Chi comencent les chanchons maistre Adan de le Hale” in *trouv. W* contributes to Adam’s image as a cleric as well.⁴⁶ The medieval title *maistre* indicated that someone completed his university studies and received a *licentia docendi*.⁴⁷ Regardless whether Adam indeed studied at a university and received this degree, the fact that he is referred to as *maistre* in several works contributes to his authorial persona as someone with a certain intellectual level and authority.⁴⁸ This authorial image is also actively constructed in his *jeux-partis* and motets.⁴⁹ For example, in Adam’s *jeux-partis*, the poetic character of Jehan Bretel, another trouvère with an established career in the Puy of Arras at the time, seems to validate the scholarly side of Adam’s persona by using a “rhetoric of humility” when addressing him.⁵⁰ Since this would have certainly been recognized as such by a late thirteenth-century Arrageois audience, this evidence is highly valuable to demonstrate Adam’s construction of this authorial persona as a particularly well-educated cleric.

Saltzstein provides several examples showing that Adam exploits the common technique of refrain quotation more cleverly than his contemporaries, and that this stresses his clerical status significantly. The literary quotation technique was commonly a clerical practice embedded in the Latinate commentary tradition associated with notions of *autoritas*; to use this practice to comment upon one’s own vernacular works was quite exceptional.⁵¹ Yet,

⁴⁵ O’Neill indicates that *trouv. W* and *a* are the only trouvère manuscripts containing both music and text that group compositions under “generic” titles. O’Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 20; The ascending order of “highness” of subject” is apparent in the order of Adam’s dramatic and poetic texts: first appears his pastourelle *Jeu de Robin et Marion* (fols. 39r–48v), thereafter his *Jeu de la feuillée*, which has a bourgeois setting (fols. 49r–59v), and after the anonymous *Jeu du pèlerin*, his narrative poem *Roi de Sezile* (fols. 59v–65r), which has a courtly theme. Mark Everist, “The Polyphonic Rondeau c.1300: Repertory and Context,” *Early Music History* 15 (1996): 69–71.

⁴⁶ *Trouv. W*, fol. 1v. “Here begin Master Adam de la Halle’s songs.” Huot, *From Song to Book*, 67.

⁴⁷ This *licentia docendi* did not only designate one’s mastery of a particular subject taught at the university but served also as a license allowing him to teach on this subject. Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, 117.

⁴⁸ For instance, the pilgrim in the anonymous *Jeu du pèlerin*, in which Adam appears as a character, calls him “a sharp, eminent cleric, gracious and noble” and refers to him as “*maistre* Adam who knows how to compose songs and poems.” See Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, 117.

⁴⁹ Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, 115.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* The poetic character of Jehan de Bretel says in lines 3–4 of *Adan, a moi respondés*, for instance, that Adam is “bien letrés,” which implies that he knew Latin, whereas he indicates himself to be “ignorant of grammar.” As another example, Jehan de Bretel complains in line 29 of *jeu-parti* no. 10, *Adan, amis, je vous dis une fois*, that Adam speaks only in clerical jargon. Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, 115. Saltzstein does not make a clear distinction between the lyric *personae* or voices in the *jeux-partis* and real historical persons. Consequently, she seems to assume that Jehan Bretel who is identified (but never explicitly named) as Adam’s debate partner in several *jeux-partis* indeed wrote or sang parts of the poetic texts of these compositions himself and identified himself with the text. However, there is no clear-cut evidence affirming this assumption.

⁵¹ Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, 7, 125–126.

Adam quotes refrains from his own oeuvre and thus reinterprets sections of his own compositions.⁵² The interpretative networks arising from these intertextual refrain quotations highlight themes that are particularly important to his authorial persona.⁵³ Equally important, Adam's erudition is also testified by polyphonic self-quotations in his rondeaux and motets, for they display his knowledge of counterpoint.⁵⁴

⁵² Jennifer Saltzstein, "Refrains in the 'Jeu de Robin et Marion': History of a Citation," in *Poetry, Knowledge and Community in Late Medieval France*, ed. Rebecca Dixon and Finn E. Sinclair (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2008), 183; Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, 126.

⁵³ Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, 116.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 135–147.

3. Case study: Adam de la Halle's *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint*

The ancient Greek myth of Dedalus must have been rather well known in the fourteenth century since Latin and vernacular translations and adaptations of Classical myths were readily available, and Dedalus and his labyrinth functioned as *topoi* in erotic poetry of this time.⁵⁵ At least four songs from the fourteenth century addressing Dedalus survive today. These compositions, which have been discussed or only briefly referred to by musicologists, are all ballades: the three-part ballades *Par le grant senz* by Philipoctus da Caserta and *Se Dedalus an se gaye mestrie* by Taillandier, which are transmitted as compositions no. 54 and 65 in F-CH 564 (fols. 37v and 42v); Jehan de Le Mote's *Dyodonas a ses cleres buisines*, which is preserved without music in F-Pn lat. 3343 (fol. 109v); and the anonymous three-part ballade *En la maison Dedalus*, which is transmitted in US-BEm 744 (fol. 31v).

Although not yet researched in the context of thirteenth-century vernacular poetry and music, Dedalus may well have been known among *litterates* in the thirteenth century too. Ovid's poetic works were so popular throughout the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries that this period is referred to as *aetas Ovidiana*. Furthermore, illuminated copies of the early twelfth-century encyclopedia *Liber floridus*, which were widely read, contained a folio-covering drawing of Dedalus's labyrinth.⁵⁶ In this chapter, I consider a thirteenth-century monophonic song referring to Dedalus: Adam de la Halle's *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint*. After an overview of the existing research on Dedalus references in the fourteenth-century ballades, I examine how *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint*, and especially its reference to Dedalus, contributes to Adam's authorial persona as a cleric-trouvère.

⁵⁵ Luminita Florea, "Virtus Scriptoris: Steps Towards a Typology of Illustration Borrowing in Music Theory Treatises of the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance," *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation* 6 (2008), 84. The myth of Dedalus, which is primarily passed down through Book VIII of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, tells the story of Theseus, a young man who manages to escape a dreadful death by following an unwound clew of yarn back to the entrance of the labyrinth he is enclosed in. An essential figure in this myth is the architect Dedalus, who designed this confusing and deceitful labyrinth and was locked up in it himself after Theseus had escaped. However, Dedalus ingeniously designed wings that enabled him and his son Icarus to fly out of his own creation. Craig Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 7–8.

⁵⁶ Florea, "Virtus Scriptoris," 84–85.

3.1. Dedalus in fourteenth-century songs

Philipoctus da Caserta, *Par le grant senz*

Philipoctus da Caserta's ballade *Par le grant senz* includes several references to the myth of Dedalus and mentions the architect in line 4 of the first stanza in a reference to the labyrinth he created.⁵⁷

Par le grant senz d'Ardriane le sage fu Theseus gardés de periller qant a son tour li convient le voyage en la maison Dedalus essaier;	By the great intelligence of wise Ariana was Theseus kept from being in danger when in his turn he made the voyage into the house of Dedalus
5 puis la trahi et la vost essillier: fortrait li a un jouel de grant pris <i>qu'avoir ne puet sanz o couvert de lis.</i>	thus he betrayed her and wanted to exile her she was separated from a jewel of great worth <i>that one cannot have without O covered by the lily</i> [or: "O" covered by "lis" = Lo[u]is]

Figure 1. First stanza of Philipoctus da Caserta's *Par le grant senz* as cited with translation into English in Upton, "The Chantilly Codex," 268.

Elizabeth Randell Upton and Wilkins both discuss this ballade as an allegory alluding to fourteenth-century events regarding the inheritance of the Kingdom of Naples.⁵⁸ Drawing upon Wilkins's suggestion that the ballade's refrain line is a rebus spelling out "Lois,"⁵⁹ Upton suggests that the ballade honors Louis d'Anjou (1339–1384) for the help he brought Queen Joanna I of Naples in 1380–1381. Upton thus regards the reference to Dedalus's labyrinth only as one of many elements invoking the Classical myth worked out as a mythological allegory in the rest of the ballade.

⁵⁷ The expression "en la maison Dedalus" was understood as referring to this labyrinth. Florea, "Virtus Scriptoris," 84.

⁵⁸ Upton and Wilkins both understand "Ariadne le sage" (line 1) as representing Queen Joanna I of Naples and Sicily, and Theseus, who "betrayed her and wanted to exile her" (line 5), as embodying the usurper Charles Durazzo. Nigel Wilkins, "Some Notes on Philipoctus de Caserta (c.1360?–c.1435) with the Ballade Texts and an Edition of the Regule Contrapuncti," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 8 (1964), 85; and Elizabeth Randell Upton, "The Chantilly Codex (F-CH 564): The Manuscript, Its Music, Its Scholarly Reception," (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 2001), 269.

⁵⁹ Wilkins, "Some Notes on Philipoctus de Caserta," 86.

Jehan de Le Mote, *Dyodonas a ses cleres buisines*

Jehan de Le Mote's *Dyodonas a ses cleres buisines* invokes Dedalus and his craftsmanship in the first stanza as part of an enumeration of mythical figures associated with music that cannot comfort the poetic *je*.

Dyodonas a ses cleres buisines,	Neither Dyodonas with his clear trumpets
Ne Orpheüs li dieux de melodie,	Nor Orpheus, god of melody,
Ne Musicans a ses chansons divines,	Nor Music with his divine songs
Ne Dedalus od sa gaye maistrie,	Nor Dedalus with his joyful craftsmanship.
5 [line missing]	[...]
Ne li reaus quadrans que Achirons paire,	Nor the royal coins that Archeron prepares
N'ont pas pouvoir de moy a confort traire,	--None of these has the power to comfort me,
N'envers moy n'ont fors joye enluminee	And for me only a signal joy do possess
Ras, Tysbe, Helainne, Elye, Lucidaire,	Pyramus, Thisbe, Helle, Ilithyia,
Flore, Yde, Edee, Asse ne Tholomee.	Chloris, Idothea, Medea [?], Asse [?] or Ptolemy.

Figure 2. First stanza of Jehan de Le Mote's *Dyodonas a ses cleres buisines* as cited with translation into English in Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 271–272.

Plumley considers this ballade as part of a set of six *ballades mythologiques* by Le Mote, Philippe de Vitry and Jehan Champion, which are preserved without music in F-Pn lat. 3343.⁶⁰ She remarks that it is “especially intriguing” that some lines from these songs are echoed in ballades with classical references that are preserved with music notation in F-CH 564.⁶¹ It is particularly fascinating that the line mentioning Dedalus in Le Mote's song (line 4) is “clearly evoke[d]” in the incipit of Taillandier's *Se Dedalus an sa gaye mestrie*, which I discuss next.⁶²

⁶⁰ Plumley argues that that these six ballades “may have been the catalyst for a new fashion for intertextual sequences and for the ‘mythological’ ballade that became popular from the late fourteenth century onwards.” She remarks that Jehan Le Mote, Philippe de Vitry and Jehan Champion were all three both poets and musicians, and that these six *ballades mythologiques* are “imbued with references of a musical nature that project the musician identities of their authors.” It is interesting to note that, even though these songs only survive without music, all three authors address each other's qualities as musician in their lyrics. Yolanda Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 251, 253, 268.

⁶¹ Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 268.

⁶² Ibid.

Taillandier, *Se Dedalus an sa gaye mestrie*

Se Dedalus an sa gaye mestrie
et Jupiter avec tout son effort
et Zephirus an sa douçor flourie
et Orpheüson maint tristout deport
5 enprenoent de moy tourner en joie,
il ne saroient nullement trouver voye,
si tres griefs sont li mal que je reçoÿ
quant ma dame simple et coye ne voy.

Figure 3. First stanza of Taillandier’s *Se Dedalus an sa gaye mestrie* as cited in “Je chante ung chant: An Archive of Late-Medieval French Lyrics,” Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Exeter, accessed June 14, 2016, <http://jechante.exeter.ac.uk/archive/text.xq?id=SeMiB107ca&wit=base&view=ms>.

Taillandier’s three-part ballade *Se Dedalus an sa gaye mestrie* presents Dedalus in its incipit at the top of a list of several mythological figures. This Dedalus reference has not been discussed yet, but several scholars devote a sentence (at most) to the song. Luminita Florea indicates that the ballade belongs to the fourteenth-century tradition of references to Classical mythology;⁶³ Upton remarks that it reads about suffering and provides mythological *exempla*;⁶⁴ and Plumley mentions without any further indications about what she means by this that its incipit is very closely related to line 4 of Jehan Le Mote’s *Dyodonas a ses cleres buisines*.⁶⁵

Anonymous, *En la maison Dedalus*

The anonymous canonic ballade *En la maison Dedalus*, uniquely transmitted in US-BEm 744 (fol. 31v), is the most famous of these four ballades. It has been discussed as reprising and manipulating the theme of Dedalus, and as an early composition that combines “visual pictorialism with an enigmatic notation.”⁶⁶

⁶³ Florea, “Virtus Scriptori,” 84.

⁶⁴ Upton, “The Chantilly Codex,” 346.

⁶⁵ Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 268.

⁶⁶ Katelijne Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 281. See also Florea, “Virtus Scriptoris,” 82–84; Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior*, 239–242; Elizabeth Eva Leach, “The Fourteenth Century,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 100–102.

<p>En la maison Dedalus enfermee Est ma dame, vers qui ne puis aler, Car je n'i voi issue ni entree Par ou je puisse a son gent corps parler;</p>	<p>My lady is enclosed in the house of Daedalus where I cannot go, for I see no exit or entry by means of which I may commune with her comely form.</p>
<p>5 Don't maint souspir me convient estrangler Et en tourment me convendra languir; <i>Se ne la voy, briefment m'estuet morir.</i></p>	<p>And thus I am compelled to stifle many a sigh, and languish in torment; <i>if I do not see her soon I must die.</i></p>

Figure 4. First stanza of the anonymous *En la maison Dedalus* as cited in *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 53, vol. 2 “Anonymous Ballades,” eds. Willi Apel and Samuel N. Rosenberg (Rome, American Institute of Musicology, 1971), 37–38; English translation as provided in Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior*, 242.

Dedalus’s labyrinth, to which the incipit refers, serves as a metaphor for the quest of a lover for his lady, and is visually depicted by the staves notated as a labyrinth. Craig Wright and Leach compare the canon, which has to be realized by the tenor and contratenor, to the pair of compasses that an architect uses to draw labyrinths.⁶⁷ Since both the labyrinth and the canonic technique are symbols of “complex artistry, super-human craftsmanship,” Wright argues that the composer of the ballade was “no less than a musical Daedalus.”⁶⁸

3.2. Adam de la Halle’s *Helas! Il n’est mais nus qui aint*

Adam de la Halle’s monophonic song *Helas! Il n’est mais nus qui aint* (appendix 1), which has five stanzas set to the same music and an *envoi* of four lines, has been preserved in the following nine trouvère manuscripts dating from the thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries: trouv. A (fols. 144r–v); trouv. I (fol. 169r), only the text of the first stanza without music; trouv. O (fols. 57r–v), only the first three stanzas; trouv. P (fols. 213r–v); trouv. Q (fol. 314r); trouv. R (fols. 167r–v); trouv. T (fol. 226v); trouv. W (fols. 4r–v, 11v); and trouv. a (fols. 48r–v).⁶⁹ A peculiar feature in the song’s transmission is that it is copied twice in trouv. W: first, in non-mensural notation on fols. 4r–v, and second, in Franconian mensural notation on fol. 11v.

⁶⁷ See Leach, “The Fourteenth Century,” 102 and Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior*, 241–242. The canon in the lower voices is indicated by the enigmatic inscription “Tenor faciens contratenorem alter alterum fugando” (“The tenor creates the contratenor, one chasing after the other”).

⁶⁸ Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior*, 241–242.

⁶⁹ Other manuscripts transmitting *Helas! Il n’est mais nus qui aint* are F-Pa 3101 (fol. 99r–v), and F-Pn fr. 12610 (217–218) which contains no music and transmits the first three stanzas only. These manuscripts are eighteenth-century copies of respectively trouv. a and O. Nigel Wilkins, “Table of Manuscript Sources of the Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle,” in *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle: Chansons, Jeux-Partis, Rondeaux, Motets*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 44, ed. Nigel Wilkins (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1967), viii.

The first version on fols. 4r–v is part of a discrete *libellus* that seems to have been added later.⁷⁰

Although no thorough research has been conducted on the content of *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint*, several scholars briefly refer to the song. Keyser mentions this song because its musical setting reflects a common characteristic of vernacular French poetry, namely a caesura after the fourth syllable in lines of eight or ten syllables.⁷¹ O'Neill and Saltzstein mention the song solely because Adam used the same melodic and metrical structure for another monophonic song, *Helas, il n'est mais nus qui n'aint*, with which it shares a very similar opening line.⁷² And Marshall remarks that the song is “an attack on false love,” and that “[t]he comparison with Daedalus and Icarus [in lines 4.5-4.8] has only a loose relevance in that it is merely used as an example of excessive aspirations [...] leading to disaster.”⁷³ However, I will demonstrate that the reference to the myth of Dedalus and Icarus is not loose at all; on the contrary, it shapes the meaning of the entire song.

Adam de la Halle's monophonic song *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint* is a strophic song consisting of five stanzas of eight lines each and one envoi of four lines at the end that takes the melodic and poetic structure of the *cauda*. The musical and poetic structures are given in table 1, and with music notation in appendix 2.

Table 1. Musical and poetic structure of *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint*

	<i>Frons</i>				<i>Cauda</i>				
	A	A'	A	A'	B	C	D	A'	
Melody									
Rhymes	a	b	a	b	b	c	c	b	a = -aint / b = -er / c = -ie
Syllable count	8	8	8	8	8	4	8	8	

⁷⁰ This *libellus*, which consists of fols. 2r–9v, is often referred to as *Wa* in modern scholarship. It duplicates the songs transmitted on fols. 10r–15v, and measures 207 x 135 millimetres while the remaining part of *trouv. W* measures 255 x 165 millimetres. The songs in the *libellus* are copied in non-mensural notation on red four-line staves, whereas Adam's monophonic songs in main *trouv. W* are transmitted in Franconian mensural notation on red five-line staves. For a further discussion of this *libellus* see Huot, *From Song to Book*, 66–67 and Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music. *Description of F-PN fonds français 25566*, accessed June 19, 2016, <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=896>.

⁷¹ Keyser points out that “the musical figure setting the fourth syllable in verses of this length is [in Adam de la Halle's monophonic songs] most often a ligature or a long, even when there is no caesura in the poetry.” Keyser, “Literacy and Orality,” 2378.

⁷² O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 180–181n22; Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, 125n54. *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint* and *Helas, il n'est mais nus qui n'aint* are transmitted one after the other as songs no. 5 and 6 in *trouv. W*. Although interesting, further research on this pair of songs goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

⁷³ Marshall, *The Chansons of Adam de la Halle*, 7, 114.

The rhyme scheme ababbccb only includes masculine rhyme and is repeated in every stanza (*coblas unissonans*).⁷⁴ Apart from line 6, which consists of four syllables, all lines are made up of eight syllables. The melodic structure of the *frons*, AA'AA', is matched in the poetic text by the rhyme scheme abab, and the BCDA' melodic structure of the *cauda* occurs in connection with the rhyme scheme bccb. The ambitus of the melody spans one octave with B-mi as its lowest and b-mi as its highest pitch. Whereas B-mi occurs six times in every stanza (in the lines marked as A, A' and C in the music scheme), b-mi is reached only once: at the beginning of the cauda, on the sixth syllable of line 5 (in the scheme marked as B). The b-mi appears as a clear melodic climax since it is a longa and is reached stepwise by breves and another longa (figure 5). The entire song is set in *musica recta* with an alternation of *naturale* and *durum* hexachords.



Figure 5. Melodic climax of *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint*.

The poetic male voice sets the scene in the first stanza by complaining that there are nowadays no true lovers anymore. He clarifies that no one loves as he ought to and everyone just “pretends to be a lover” and “wants to have pleasure without suffering.”⁷⁵ This goes against the ideals of the *fin'amor*, in which true love necessarily involves suffering. The transition from *frons* to *cauda* coincides with a turn in the text from a general complaint about false lovers to the consequence of this situation for the lady. Whereas the word order of line 1.5 emphasizes that *this* situation is the reason that a lady has to protect herself carefully since she is esteemed only “as long as she remains beyond reproach,”⁷⁶ the melodic setting stresses the text: the word “bien” receives the climactic longa b-mi which stresses that she should protect herself very well.⁷⁷

In the first line of stanza II the focus shifts to the lover, whereby presenting him to be in danger as long as the lady he loves remains desirable. Next, starting with line 2.3, the poetic voice criticizes the lover and pities the lady. He states that when the lover overcomes the lady and, consequently, she is no longer esteemed, the lover will complain of her

⁷⁴ O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 4.

⁷⁵ Translation in English by Deborah Hubbard Nelson as provided in *The Lyrics and Melodies of Adam de la Halle*, 19.

⁷⁶ Translation Nelson, 19. Line 1.5 starts with “et pour chou” [And for that reason].

⁷⁷ “Et pour chou se doit bien garder/Chele qu'on prie” [And for that reason the lady whom one implores/Must protect herself carefully], lines 1.5–1.6.

arrogance. This “haussage” [arrogance] appears as the first word of line 2.4 and is set musically to the ascending line E-mi, F-fa, G-sol (figure 6).⁷⁸ The poetic voice presents himself for the first time in the first person in line 2.7, where he states that he feels mercy toward the lady whose gift (“don”) is used so basely that she only dares to speak when her lover tells her to do so. The stepwise, syllabic placement of the words “n’osera” [will not dare] on the melodic climax emphasizes her fear to speak (figure 7).



Figure 6. Musical setting of “haussage,” line 2.4 of *Helas! Il n’est mais nus qui aint*.

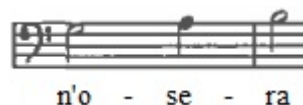


Figure 7. Musical setting of “n’osera,” line 2.5 of *Helas! Il n’est mais nus qui aint*.

Stanza III reads that a lady must be aware of people with “a viaire taint” [a pale countenance] who would know how to make good sermons. Since the word “sermonner” in line 3.2 implies a clerical term and people have a pale countenance if they spend much time inside, for example in a clerical environment and in the library, the poetic voice seems to refer to a cleric or preacher. This is confirmed by lines 3.3–3.4, which provide the reason for the advised caution: although these people lament and give generously, they do not love. In lines 3.5–3.6, the poetic voice shows to be a good judge of human nature by providing the wise lesson that many men boasting of a lady friend have, in fact, none at all. The stanza ends with the general advice that a lady hence has to test her suitor’s skills in his oeuvre before she grants him a favor. Since “oeuvre” [oeuvre] can refer to various kinds of output, for instance poetry without music read aloud to an audience or read in silence privately, songs performed in front of an audience or only read, or speeches and sermons in general, it does not exclude either cleric or preacher; rather, it opens up various interpretations.

The poetic voice argues in lines 4.1–4.4 that it is “proper to act moderately” if the suitor of a lady “compromises her honor” and should be blamed because of too many pride torments.⁷⁹ The word “moiennement” [moderately] is a key term because it establishes a link between the first half of the stanza and the second half, which refers to the myth of Dedalus. The word is stressed by its placement at the beginning of line 4.4, and its meaning is

⁷⁸ “Et quant avient qu’il seurvaint/Haussage en li vaurra clamer” [And when it happens that he overcomes her/He will complain of her arrogance], lines 2.3–2.4.

⁷⁹ Translation Nelson, 19. “Cele qui par fierté destraint/Trop son ami, fait a blamer/Et chiex, s’il l’onneur de li fraint/Moiennement convient aler” [The lady who because of pride torments/Her suitor too much should be blamed/And if he compromises her honor/It is proper to act moderately], lines 4.1–4.4.

musically reflected by its setting on a melodic line that first ascends and, subsequently, descends (figure 8). Although this melodic line ends on a lower pitch than it begins with, the equal duration of its parts (three breves) enhances the idea of moderation.



Figure 8. Musical setting of “moiennement,” line 4.4 of *Helas! Il n’est mais nus qui aint*.

The reference to the excellent architect Dedalus not only serves to present this mythological figure as a good *exemplum*, but also draws the attention to the composition itself and the craftsmanship of its composer. For example, Dedalus’s proper, moderate way of working as mentioned in lines 4.4–4.6 is musically stressed by the climactic b-mi on “vaut” [in that way] which is approached by step from F-fa to a-la/re on the words “(De-da)-lus,” and “qu’ensi” in the line “Dedalus, qu’ensi vaut ouvrer” [Daedalus, who works in that way].⁸⁰

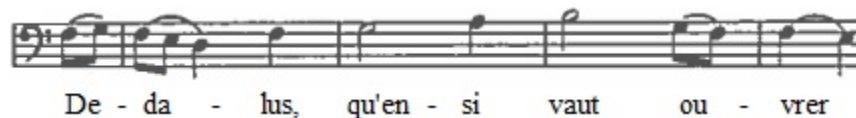


Figure 9. Musical setting of line 4.5 of *Helas! Il n’est mais nus qui aint*.

Icarus, who totally burned himself because he flew too close to the sun when escaping the labyrinth, by contrast serves as an example of what may happen if one acts immoderately. His foolishness and sudden descend are musically enhanced by the setting of “folie” [foolishness] to a descending musical line (figure 10). The idea of height and non-moderateness is emphasized further on the words “trop haut” [too high], when the melody ascends from B-mi to F-fa over the course of four notes (figure 11).

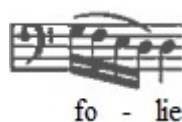


Figure 10. Musical setting of “folie,” line 4.7 of *Helas! Il n’est mais nus qui aint*.



Figure 11. Musical setting of “trop haut,” line 4.8 of *Helas! Il n’est mais nus qui aint*.

⁸⁰ “Moiennement convient aler!/Dedalus, qu’ensi vaut ouvrer/Le senefie” [It is proper to act moderately/Daedalus, who works in that way/Proves it], lines 4.4–4.6.

In stanza V, the poetic *je* presents himself as engaged more personally with the song's topic. He differentiates himself from false lovers and adds that he has never attained anything in love nor dares to ask or beg a lady for favors, but that his heart, nevertheless, "does not kill [him]."⁸¹ In other words, he is fairly content with the state he is in. In contrast to false lovers, he holds on to the ideals of the *fin'amor* for he is content with just looking at his lady, desiring and hoping. After speaking about himself in the first person in lines 5.1–5.6, he articulates a general truth in the third-person singular in lines 5.7–5.8. With the expression "[h]e who does not wish to be content with that [looking, desiring, and hoping] pursues only deception,"⁸² he shows he complies with the general expectations within the norms of the *fin'amor*.

After stanza V follows an *envoi* of four lines in which the poetic *je* explicitly appeals to the lady. He addresses her with "[m]a douce dame" [my sweet Lady], warns her to fear people with "a persuasive tongue," and presents himself to be fearful of such people too.⁸³ In agreement with the content of stanza III, the expression "langue polie" [persuasive tongue] implies that he warns her, and any readers of or listeners to the song, for people trained and very good in rhetoric, such as preachers or clerics.

The song *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint* contributes in different ways to Adam de la Halle's authorial persona of cleric-trouvère. The structure of the song, monophonic and strophic without refrains, and the elevation of ideas of the *fin'amor*, such as suffering for love and longing for a lady, shows his attachment to the trouvère tradition. In contrast with Adam's use of refrain quotations and reinterpretations in his polyphonic works, this song does not articulate "his disenchantment with the trouvère tradition;"⁸⁴ instead, the song appears to display loyalty to this tradition, and presents Adam as knowledgeable of how to embed clerical skills in a song in this tradition. Adam further presents his persona via the poetic *je* as someone who possesses insight into human character. More specifically, he presents himself to be familiar enough with clerics, preachers, and other learned people that he is able to make general claims about them and warn others for them.⁸⁵ In this way, he stages himself as an authority.

Adam de la Halle shows his own erudition in *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint* by

⁸¹ Translation Nelson, 21. "Pour se li cuers pas ne m'estraint," line 5.3.

⁸² "Chiex ne cache fors vilenie/Qui ne s'en veut a tant passer," lines 5.7–5.8.

⁸³ Translation Nelson, 21. "Ma douche dame, on doit douter/Langue polie/Pour teus gens sui en jalousie/Qu'il ne vous puissent enganer" [My sweet Lady, one must fear/A persuasive tongue/I am fearful of such people/For they can deceive you], lines E.1–E.4.

⁸⁴ Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, 123.

⁸⁵ However, I do not want to suggest that the historical person Adam de la Halle was really a cleric and was able to judge these people. I strictly speak about his authorial persona.

cleverly displaying his knowledge of Classical mythology. Instead of having “only a loose relevance,” as scholars have previously stated, the reference to Dedalus and Icarus, in fact, shapes this whole song.⁸⁶ Adam exploits the ideas of height and aspiration to higher levels, which are connected to Icarus’s descend and death, in both poetry and musical setting. Yet, to distance himself from Icarus’s foolishness and immoderate behavior, Adam appears to adopt moderation in the melodic setting. The highest pitch is reached only once and forms a clear melodic climax that specifically in stanzas I, II and V emphasizes important words. Likewise, words that indicate motion upwards or a point placed high up, such as “haussage” and “trop haut,” are set musically to ascending melodic lines, whereas the key word “folie,” which encapsulates Icarus’s fall and violent death, is set to a descending melody. The display of knowledge of *fin’ amor topoi* and Classical mythology, the denigration of learned people who deceive by means of rhetorical techniques, the text-music relationships, the way significant words are linked to ascend to the musical climax, and the relationship between the reference to the myth of Dedalus and the use of musical height, all relate to each other and contribute to the construction of Adam de la Halle’s authorial persona of a particularly well-educated cleric-trouvère.

⁸⁶ Marshall, *The Chansons of Adam de la Halle*, 114.

Conclusion

Musicologists and literary scholars have defined Adam de la Halle's authorial persona as a cleric and half-hearted trouvère who wants to return to his studies. They based this characterization on the transmission of Adam's works in *trouv. W*, his appearance as a character or lyric subject in his own works and in the anonymous *Jeu du pèlerin*, and his learned use of the technique of refrain quotation. Yet, Adam's monophonic songs are almost entirely ignored in these discussions of his authorial persona, for they are considered as either an antiquated view on music and poetry, or as simply a secondary type of output within his oeuvre. The limited research that has been conducted on these songs mainly deals with formal aspects such as notation, and poetic and melodic structure without further discussion of the poetic themes and references in the text. The selected case study *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint* proves that these monophonic songs have unjustly been overlooked and, in fact, effectively contribute to the understanding of Adam's authorial persona, and of how his contemporaries and successors perceived his oeuvre.

The song *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint* is an example that presents a proud trouvère who elevates ideals of the *fin'amor*. Drawing upon the mythological figures of Dedalus and Icarus, the song strengthens the clerical character of Adam's authorial persona. Similarly to three later songs from the fourteenth-century, these references in Adam's song use the craftsmanship of Dedalus to stress the composer's own exquisite compositional skills. Adam uses the idea of height central to the foolishness of Icarus in the text and music of this song, and thus presents the poetic *je* as a particularly well-educated cleric-trouvère. Since musicologists addressing the presence of the myth of Dedalus in late-medieval music, until now, have focused exclusively on the fourteenth-century song tradition, this case study not only invites further research on the importance of Adam de la Halle's monophonic songs in the context of his own works and in the larger context of the trouvère tradition, but also demonstrates that mythological references and their purposes should be considered within a broader repertoire that includes the music of both the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries.

Appendix 1.

Adam de la Halle, *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint*

1. He - las! il n'est mais nus qui aint 2. Ain - sint c'on de - ve - roit a -
3. Chas - cuns a - mant o - ren - droit faint 4. Et veut go - ïr sans en - du -
mer; 5. Et pour chou se doit bien gar - der 6. Che - le qu'on pri - e, 7. Car
tant est le fem - me proi - si - e 8. C'on ne li set que re - prou - ver.


- | | | |
|------------|---|---|
| I | <p>Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint
Ainsint c'on deveroit amer;
Chascuns amant orendroit faint
Et veut goïr snas endurer!
5 Et pour chou se doit bien garder
Chele qu'on prie,
Car tant est le femme proisie
C'on ne li set que reprouver.</p> | <p>Alas! There is no longer anyone who loves
As one ought to love:
Nowadays everyone pretends to be a lover
And wants to have pleasure without suffering,
And for that reason the lady whom one implores
Must protect herself carefully,
For a lady is esteemed
As long as she remains beyond reproach.</p> |
| II | <p>Et tant amans en dangier maint
Com ele se fait desirrer;
Et quant avient qu'il seurvaint,
Haussage en li vaurra clamer.
5 Et chele n'osera parler
Qu'il ne li die;
Elas! Con je plaing don d'amie
Pour si vilainement user!</p> | <p>A lover remains in danger
As long as the beloved remains desirable;
And when it happens that he overcomes her,
He will complain of her arrogance.
She will not dare to speak
Unless he tells her to.
Alas, how I pity the lady
Whose gift is used so basely.</p> |
| III | <p>Chascuns qui a viaire taint,
Ne qui saroit bel sermonner,
N'aime pas pour chou s'il se plaint,
Ne s'il est larges de donner!
5 D'amie voit on maint vanter
Qui ne l'a mie.
Pour chou doit dame, ains qu'ele otrie,
Son ami par oeuvre esprouver.</p> | <p>Everyone who has a pale countenance
And who would know how to make fine speeches
Does not love even though he laments
And gives generously.
One sees many a man boast of a lady friend,
Who has none at all;
Therefore, a lady must, before she grants a favor,
Test her suitor.</p> |
| IV | <p>Chele qui par fierté destraint
Trop son ami, fait a blamer,
Et chiex, s'il l'onneur de li fraint;
Moiennement convient aler!</p> | <p>The lady who because of pride torments
Her suitor too much should be blamed,
And if he compromises her honor,
It is proper to act moderately.</p> |

5	Dedalus, qu'ensi vaut ouvrer, Le senefie, Et ses fiex, qui par se folie Fu tous ars par trop haut voler.		Daedalus, who works in that way, Proves it, And also his son, who through his foolishness Was totally burned by flying too high.
V	Je n'ai nient en amour ataint Ne je n'os proier ne rouver; Pour se li cuers pas ne m'estraint, Ains vif de me dame esgarder.	5	I have attained nothing in love Nor do I dare to ask or beg for favors; Despite that, my heart does not kill me; Thus, I live from looking at my lady, From desiring and from hoping— Such is my life: He who does not wish to be content with that Pursues only deception.
E	Ma douche dame, on doit douter Langue polie; Pour teus gens sui en jalousie, Qu'il ne vous puissent enganer.		My sweet Lady, one must fear A persuasive tongue. I am fearful of such people For they can deceive you.

Adam de la Halle, *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint*, music and text from *trouv.* W, fol. 11v as provided in *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle: Chansons, Jeux-Partis, Rondeaux, Motets*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 44, ed. Nigel Wilkins (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1967), 6; English translation by Deborah Hubbard Nelson as provided in Deborah Hubbard Nelson and Hendrik van der Werf, eds. *The Lyrics and Melodies of Adam de la Halle* (New York: Garland, 1985), 19–21.

Appendix 2.

Musical and poetic structure of Adam de la Halle's *Helas! Il n'est mais nus qui aint*

	rhymes	melody	
	a	A	} <i>frons</i>
1. He - las! il n'est mais nus qui aint			
	b	A'	
2. Ain-sint c'on de - ve - roit a - mer;			
	a	A	} <i>cauda</i>
3. Chas-cuns a - mant o - ren - droit faint			
	b	A'	
4. Et veut go - ir sans en - du - rer!			
	b	B	} <i>cauda</i>
5. Et pour chou se doit bien gar - der			
	c	C	
6. Che - le qu'on pri - e,			
	c	D	} <i>cauda</i>
7. Car tant est le fem - me proi - si - e			
	b	A'	
8. C'on ne li set que re - prou - ver.			

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