

'FUMEUR' POETRY AND MUSIC OF THE CHANTILLY CODEX: A STUDY OF ITS
MEANING AND BACKGROUND

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the humorous poetry and music of two compositions in the late fourteenth-century Chantilly Codex, Musée Condé 564. These works, a two-voiced ballade by Hasprois, Puisque Je Sui Fumeux (no.47), and a three-voiced rondeau by Solage, Fumeux Fume, owe the humour of their texts to a play on the word fumeux. Commentaries on these pieces have associated them with works of the poet Deschamps (1346-c.1406), which describe the strange habits of a group of people called fumeurs, and over whom he was a self-styled 'emperor'. Little is known about this group beyond what is revealed in Deschamps' poems, but no detailed critical examination has been made even of this, either from a literary or a musicological point of view. A broader understanding of the Chantilly poems and music can be gained, by examining the medieval meanings of fumeux, and by taking account of the literary traditions and social background of the fumeur poems. The purpose of this thesis is to make such an examination, and to relate the insights gained to the music poetry of the Chantilly compositions.

Chapter one includes an examination of the late medieval meanings of the word fumeux and its derivatives, a commentary on fumeur works of Deschamps, their place within fourteenth-century literary tradition, and the social background to which they were relevant. The poems are: La Chartre des Fumeux, D'une aultre Commission d'un Chien, Cy Parle d'une Sentence Donnée Contre Aucuns de Vitry pour un Débat Meu Soudainement Entr'Eulx, C'Est la Commission des Loups d'Espargnay sur la Rivière de Marne, and

Ballade 813: Sur sa Nature Mélancolique. Deschamps' possible connections with fourteenth-century patrons and musicians are examined. Finally, the fumeur poems in Chantilly are discussed in the light of what is known of other fumeur works.

Chapter two analyses the fumeur musical settings in Chantilly and discusses possible relationships between them and their texts. For Fumeux Fume, this also involves examining its connection with speculative extensions of the hexachord described in the treatise Berkeley, MS. 744. Chapter three summarizes all preceding findings and speculates on the links between the author of the Berkeley Manuscript and Solage.

The study produces the following conclusions. In the late middle ages, a person who was fumeux had a number of qualities. He was moody, excitable, garrulous, irascible, vague, a pontificator, melancholy, and immoderate in drinking habits, which aggravated the other qualities. These meanings are metaphoric, deriving from fumosus, meaning "smokey", but they also have a physiological basis, related to the concept of the humours. Deschamps' poems describe people who have fumeux qualities, but most of the poems are also dramatic monologues that parody legal documents. They may therefore be linked with the new but growing class of lawyers, the Basochiens, who formed mock hierarchies resembling that of the fumeurs, and who were responsible for the development of French comic theatre. Deschamps' fumeurs were probably based in the Marne region of France, where the poet was a magistrate, between about 1367 and 1388. It is not clear how musicians could have been involved

with the fumeurs, but another poem by Deschamps proves that he was also known as fumeux to members of the nobility, and therefore possibly to the musicians whom they patronized. Some likely patrons include Giangaleazzo Visconti, Valentine Visconti, Louis d'Orléans and Pierre de Navarre. Besides Hasprois and Solage, musicians who can be associated with Deschamps include Andrieu and Ja. de Noyon, known through the Chantilly Codex, and a minstrel, Platiau. Both fumeur compositions of Chantilly have musical settings at variance with their texts: Puisque Je Sui Fumeux, is a pseudo-learned defense of fumosité, while its music has moments of triviality. Perverse dissonances and numerous changes of rhythm within a small time-frame contribute to its mad effect. Fumeux Fume has a cryptic, concentrated text, but a setting that is full of melisma. A mad effect is created by its remorseless sequences, abnormally low range and unusual chromaticism. "New" notes used to achieve this effect conform closely enough to innovations described in the Berkeley Manuscript for it to have been a "test-piece" for theoretical ideas. As such, it could also have been considered "famous".

As apologies for folly, the fumeur poems belong to a tradition of "fooling" whose practices were becoming widespread. Their musical settings should be understood within this context.

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For my parents
and
for Lou Cormor.

I. THE 'FUMEUR' POEMS

Two chansons found in the late fourteenth-century Chantilly Codex owe the humour of their texts to the word-play on the term fumeux: Puisque je suis fumeux, by Hasprois, and Fumeux fume, by Solage.¹ In commentaries on these two pieces, it has become usual to include passing references to the fumeurs described in several poems by the fourteenth-century poet Eustache Deschamps. Given the limitations of space in the editions and anthologies where they occur, such references are usually brief, and at most, mention the mysterious circle or society of people--possibly literary eccentrics, drinkers or even 'smokers'--referred to by Deschamps and over whom he was the leader or self-styled 'emperor'. For example, Willi Apel has written:

From references in the works of Deschamps, it appears that there existed, at least from 1366 to 1381, a group of fumeurs, obviously 'bohemians' who made a point of being 'in a fume' and of openly displaying their whims and humours ... Solage's composition may well have been performed at one of their meetings, evoking merriment over its strange harmonies and low bass register. Hasprois' Puisque je sui fumeux is another example of fumeur poetry.²

- ¹ Puisque je suis fumeux, by Hasprois, and Fumeux fume, by Solage (Chantilly MS, Musée Condé 564, no. 47 (f.34v) and no. 98 (f.59), respectively). For transcriptions of these pieces, see Gordon Greene, French Secular Music: Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 564. Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 18 and 19. (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1982).
- ² Willi Apel, French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century. Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 53 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1970.), p. XLII. Similar statements about the two fumeur chansons are made in: Gilbert Reaney, "The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047", Musica Disciplina 8 (1954):71, Gordon Greene, op. cit., vol. 19, p. 195, and Ursula Günther, "Solage", The New Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians vol. 17, ed. by Stanley Sadie. (London: MacMillan, 1980, p. 448).

Since the texts of the two Chantilly poems, and certainly the music of Solage's work, remain enigmatic even after such information has been provided, a more detailed examination of the fumeur poetry of Deschamps and of the Chantilly Codex appears to be in order, to discover how the fourteenth-century audience would have perceived this poetry and music, and to see if more can possibly be learned about this group of men.

The subject can best be approached by asking the following questions: what meanings were associated with fumer and its derivatives in the late fourteenth-century? In works by Deschamps where fumeur and fumer are used, what can be explained about the content, tone and genre of the poems, and of the writer's intention? What appears to have been his assumed audience? How do the fumeur poems compare with other works by Deschamps, and can they be placed within any literary traditions of the period? The poems by Deschamps and those in the Chantilly Codex are troublesome in terms of answers to these questions, since not all of the poems fall within the same category. Nevertheless, some insight into the nature and identity of the fumeurs is possible with the answers that are forthcoming.

A summary of meanings of the word fumer and its derivatives, with examples of their medieval usage, will make it clear that Deschamps was not inventing any new meanings for the word (nor, for that matter, did Hasprois or Solage, assuming that they were the poets as well as the composers of the Chantilly chansons). It will be seen from the discussion of

Deschamps' works that will follow, that the poet exploited the many meanings attached to words with fum... as their root, deriving comic effect from their ambiguity.

The Latin root, fum ..., from which the French words developed, gave fumus, smoke, fumare, to smoke, fumosus, smokey. From these evolved the medieval French terms that included the following:

fum (masculine noun) and fume (feminine noun), "smoke, vapour, perfume".

fumée (feminine noun), "smoke, vapour, dust, odour, bad odour, day-dream, fantasy, annoyance, anger, argument, foolishness, excessive pride, excitement of the brain through alcohol".

fumer (verb) "to excite the anger of, to smoke"; (reflexive) "to become angry".

fumeus/fumeux (adjective) "angry, carried away, furious, violent, which causes to rise to the brain (alcohol)".

fumeusement (adverb) "with sadness, with grief, quarrelling, with the heat that wine-vapours produce".

fumosité (feminine noun) "vaporiousness, smokiness".

Below are some examples of usage of these words from a variety of late medieval sources:

Par fortune qui souvent si se fume
Votre doulx oeil sa malice rabat,
Ne plus, ne moins, que le vent faict la fume.

Pour une petite fumée, ou quelque desplaissance

Sergens, reslargissiez l'entrée
De ce varlet, c'est un prodom.
- Par la char Dieu, c'est grant fumée!
C'estoit un larron a l'entrée,
Mais en tant d'eure qu'il espart
Faictes d'un larron un papelart.

Ces fumées des Francois sont et ont bien abatus et
descirees en Turquie.

Quant je me fume
 Il n'est homme, tant soit subtil
 Qui s'osast lever le sourcil

La fumeuse liqueur des rouges vins ardans.

Les fumosités ne se pouvans evaporer sont cause du mal de teste.

La froide fumosité qui est eslevée par elle [the moon] de la terre.³

A poet would certainly delight in a word-group such as this, which could evoke the many qualities associated with smoke - - darkness, haziness, intangibility, tending to rise, shifting in shape, easily wafted about or dissipated. The range of application of fume in medieval French goes from the literal, for the description of the physical qualities of smoke and vapour, to the figurative, for describing the volatility of human emotion. The adjective fumeux is an apt qualifier for the violent or changeable human passions that have the insubstantiality of smoke, but it also qualifies very well what was perceived to have been a cause of variable human behaviour. During the middle ages, the bodily fluids, or 'humours', were held to be of prime importance in controlling the well-being of

³ Other words with fum... roots have been omitted from the list because they do not appear to have been exploited by Deschamps. Dictionaries consulted for meanings and examples included: Godefroy, Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe. au Xe. siècle (Paris: F. Vieweg, Libraire-Editeur, 1885), t.4. and Supplément, t.9. (Paris: Libraire Emile Bouillon, Ed., 1898). Oeuvres Complètes de Eustache Deschamps, 11 vols., eds. de Queux de Saint-Hilaire and Gaston Raynaud (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot et Cie., 1876-1904), vol. 10, Glossaire. W. von Wartburg, Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch. Eine Darstellung des galloromanischen Sprachschatzes, Band 3 (Tübingen: J.C.B.Möhr, 1949.)

mind and body. Words in English such as "choleric", "melancholy", "fuming", or "phlegmatic", described the presumed qualities of dryness, moistness, heat or cold in a man's body, qualities which were believed to determine the states of mind that have come to be associated with those descriptive terms. To have called someone fumeux would have been to imply, among other things, that his bodily vapours, or humours, were out of balance.

Having undertaken to translate the fumeur poems into English, it became clear that in many cases a single-word equivalent for fumeux would be inadequate. For example, Deschamps describes, in one poem, a fight that breaks out among drinkers in a tavern, saying of the combattants "[ils] prindrent a compter ensemble/ Fumeusement."⁴ This could be understood, from its context, to mean, "they began to fight angrily", or "drunkenly", or "like idiots", or "as fumeurs do". In such a context, the poet wished to evoke for his listeners or readers all of the possible meanings. In my translations, I have therefore retained the word fumée and used the English equivalents "famous" or "fume" in order not to diminish any intentional ambiguity in the poetry.

There are five fumeur poems by Deschamps:⁵

⁴ Raynaud, Oeuvres Complètes, vol.7, p. 333, l.25-26

⁵ See Raynaud, Oeuvres Complètes. Volume VII has La chartre des Fumeux, pp. 312-321, D'une aultre commission d'un chien, pp. 320- 323, Cy parle d'une sentence donnée contre aucuns de Vitry, pp. 332- 335, C'est la commission des loups d'Eparnay sur la rivière de Marne, pp. 336-342. Vol. IV has Ballade 813, Sur sa nature mélancolique, pp. 331-332.

La chartre des Fumeux (The charter of the fumeux), December 9, 1368.

D'une aultre commission d'un chien (About another commission on a dog).

Cy parle d'une sentence donnée contre aucuns de Vitry pour un débat meu soudainement entr'eulx. (This speaks about a sentence pronounced against some of Vitry for a motion argued impulsively amongst them), May 23 (no year).

C'est la commission des loups d'Espargnay sur la rivière de Marne (This is the commission on the wolves of Epernay on the river Marne), November 4, 1370.

Ballade 813: Sur sa nature mélancolique. (On his melancholy nature).

The first four poems on this list must, for several reasons, be considered as a group: all are burlesque pieces, parodies of royal edicts in their style and content, being the promulgations of Eustace, emperor of the fumeurs, to his officials. All of the poems are in the form of verse-writing known as rimes plates, with lines of a uniform number of syllables arranged in rhyming couplets, at this time a common form for longer poems. In comparison with the shorter lyric pieces in Deschamps' output, these works are relatively long, the shortest, the Commission d'un chien, having ninety lines, the longest having over two hundred.

The compiler of the original manuscript of these works included all four poems under the rubric Chartres et Commissions, along with several other comic works to which I shall refer later on (see page 51). Because of their similarity of tone, form and fumeur content, it is therefore advisable to treat these poems as a group. And yet each of the four works differs sufficiently from its companions to warn against too

facile generalization from its contents. A brief synopsis of each poem will be followed by a discussion of its significance in clarifying the identity of the fumeurs.

La Chartre Des Fumeurs

This is the natural poem with which to begin, since, as the title suggests, it contains an 'official' version of the habits and identity of fumeurs. The charter is introduced with an appropriately imperial salutation, the Emperor of the Fumeurs greeting all ranks of officials in his realm (1-14), and immediately stating his purpose: he will describe the fumeurs so that his lawyers might better defend some men of his who have been accused of a misdemeanour (15-40). The description begins with a list of fumeur qualities (41-141), and continues with an enumeration of all the ranks of men who are fumeurs (141-162). It is then that one realizes that membership of this group appears to extend to every segment of French society above the peasant!⁶ The poem does not end when Eustace's description is complete. The emperor returns to his earlier theme of an impending trial, announcing the date for his own plenary court session that will prepare for it (163-178), and then, warming to his own picture of such a gathering, he begins to fulminate

⁶ This would appear to conflict with the idea commonly held that the fumeurs were a small, elite group. There are certainly ways in which this anomaly can be explained, however, without abandoning the notion of a 'select society'. This matter will be taken up after the summary of this poem.

against the folly of fumeurs at his own court (179-193). Analysing the cause of their stupidity, the emperor concludes that the damp and cold have risen to their heads and frozen their brains (184-193, 240-243)! He passes a decree against uncovered heads (200-239) before signing and sealing the document, using the appropriate official style (244-254).

Fumeurs are described at length, in this poem, and in terms that are not admirable. They are moody and changeable, self-contradictory, quick to anger or melancholy, silly in conduct, envious, lazy, quarrelsome, and with no respect for tradition. Their egotism makes them vainglorious, eager to be right, and vindictive to those who oppose them, full of empty words and prone to deliver lectures to others rather than to listen themselves to wisdom. They are described as great drinkers and chess- and dice-players--at the expense of their religious devotion. Grammatical and mathematical jokes may even have been intended in connection with their sexual appetites:

Ils sont du nombre pluriatif
Et du grant muef infinitif
Car en multiplication
Mettent leur application
(116-119)

They are plural in number
And infinitive in mood,
For in multiplication
They place their application.

In appearance, as in all of their other characteristics, they are unpredictable, some wearing the short skirts of recent (and controversial) fashion, others wearing longer robes. Although impeccably dressed one day, the next they could appear utterly

dishevelled.

Those who may be considered as fumeurs seem to belong to most ranks of contemporary society, although the religious orders are better represented than any other group:

For there are many abbots
 Who are mocked for their great fumées,
 Abbesses, priors, simple monks,
 Cantors, officers, princes, canons
 Cathedral and collegiate,
 Registrars and officials
 And many of the Hospitalers,
 Carmelites, Jacobins, Cordeliers,
 Augustins, converts and convertees
 And a variety of many others,
 Noblemen, bourgeois and knights,
 And people of all walks of life
 Who are subject serfs and in person bound in
 To our law of Rome. [hommage
 (149-162)

Finally, the description of the fumeurs is completed by the emperor's enumeration of courtiers and retainers at his own residence (163-184), located, appropriately enough, "by the sea/ Which always offers us a great deal of fog" (177-178). Nature, too, conspires here to create a fumeuse environment! Among those who "willingly follow Fumée" (181):

There will be there all the musicians
 And many master astronomers,
 Engineers, masons, carpenters
 Who willingly follow Fumée,
 Players of organs and cymbals
 Will do their work ...
 (179-184)

Such are the facts to be learned about the fumeurs in this poem. But one cannot simply take at face value all that is written about these people. This description shows them to be,

in their nature, less than savoury, yet because of its humorous medium, it would surely have been received in a spirit of amused self-mockery by any self-identified fumeurs. The broad scope of the poem suggests, however, that Deschamps' audience was not even expected to identify with every aspect of fumeur nature here described; rather, it was to enjoy the exaggerations, the fulminations, the imperial style. One must understand the fumeurs not as they are described in this poem, but as the type of audience for whom such a poem would have an appeal.

French Comic Verse Tradition And The 'fumeur' Poems

An audience of fumeurs would have heard this work as a poem that belonged within a comic verse tradition. The Charter of the Fumeurs is a dramatic monologue, a genre that was apparently extremely popular with fifteenth-century audiences, but which most literary historians agree must also have been popular in the fourteenth century.⁷ Petit de Juléville describes the dramatic monologue thus:

The monologue is most usually a burlesque recitation ... The monologue sets on the stage an appealing character, who arouses laughter because of what he is, by revealing himself with his vices and his foibles.⁸

According to the classification of Aubailly, there is even a

⁷ See Jean-Claude Aubailly, Le monologue, le dialogue et la sottie (Paris: Editions Honoré Champion, 1976), pp. 3-7, and Edmond Faral, Les jongleurs en France (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, ed., 1910), pp. 236-237.

⁸ Petit de Juléville, La comédie et les mœurs en France au moyen age (Paris: n.p., 1886; reprint ed., Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1968) pp. 74-75.

special type of poem within this genre, which parodies official commands and letters, obviously the category for all of the four fumeur works. Aubailly lists works which date from the middle of the thirteenth century which fall into this category, and a number from the early 1500's, but curiously, does not refer to any of the works by Deschamps.⁹ When one compares extracts from genuine official documents of the Ordonnances des rois de France, with the opening verses in Deschamps' charter, the humorous quality of the latter as parody becomes startlingly clear:

Charles, par la grace de Dieu, Roy de France, a nos amés et féaulx conseillers, les gens de nos cours de parlement, généraulx conseillers sur le fait et gouvernement de noz finances, de la Justice, de noz aydes et de noz monnoyes, Prévost de Paris, baillifz de Vermandois, Vitry, Troyes [enumeration of the towns], et a tous noz autres justiciers, ... salut et dilection.

(Ordonnance du 14

mai, 1487)

(Charles, by the grace of God, King of France, to our beloved and faithful counsellors, to the men of our courts of Parlement, to the general counsellors for the management and government of our finances, of justice, of our security and of our revenues, Prevost of Paris, bailiffs of Vermandois, Vitry, Troyes...and to all our other justices, ...greeting and love)¹⁰

Jehan Fumée, by the grace of the world
Where all falsehood and trickeries abound,
Emperor and lord of the Fumeux,

⁹ Aubailly, Le monologue, pp. 102-107. In an earlier book, Le théâtre médiéval profane et comique (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1975), pp. 55-56, the same author refers to the fumeux as one of many sociétés de buveurs et de joueurs, calling them the Confrérie des Fumeux, but without enlarging on this information.

¹⁰ Aubailly, Le monologue, p. 103.

And palatine of the Melancholy,
 To all bailiffs, prevosts and seneschals,
 Dukes, counts, princes, treasurers, marshals,
 Guardians of towns, gates and entrances,
 To the admirals who guard the shores,
 To the Constable and to all the sergeants
 Of our empire and to all lieutenants;
 Similarly, to all our justices,
 To whom these words will primarily be addressed,
 And to those of every rank,
 Love, greetings with joy!

(La Chartre des Fumeurs 1-14)

This address imitates the style of the most highly placed personage of the realm, but in an absurd context and with comic exaggeration. There is room here to cite only a few more passages that illustrate the comic content of the poem: there is the comedy of inverted values in the poetic world of the fumeurs, for the emperor Jehan Fumee rules not by Divine Right, "by the grace of God", as a real monarch would have stated, but "by the grace of the world" (1). The continuation of the parody throughout the poem produces an accumulation of amusing detail. For example, the allegiance of the fumeurs is expressed in language reminiscent of feudal or religious oaths, these men being:

...under our rule
 In word and deed, in dress, in reputation,
 And whom we hold as subject to la Fumée
 From which they may in no way exempt themselves
 (18-21)

The writing style itself is witty, as when it uses for example, juxtaposed opposites, further set off by rhyme: concerning fumeur wisdom, one learns:

Trop sont saiges après le vin,
 Mais rien ne sçevent au matin.

(57-58)

They are too wise after their wine,
But know nothing in the morning.

and:

Estre veulent saiges tenus;
De vent sont plains et de sens nus.
(53-54)

They wish to be regarded as wise;
They are full of wind and bare of sense.

There is the humour derived from playing with the different meanings of fumer, one example being the emperor's tirade against hat-raising, which is a joke pertaining to fumosit  .¹¹ Complaining of the stupidity of his own courtiers, he says,

... many have become so dull-witted,
Who can be set before you as an example,
From the freezing that they have received at their
Which has risen right up to their brain. [temples
(240-243)]

The emperor himself is a comic figure, having the long-windedness, the tendency to digress and the illogicality that one would expect of any self-respecting fumeur (109-116, 54-60). His ardent description of his court of Fumagor¹² is one digression, to be followed immediately afterward by another: his hat tirade. This tirade is concluded in absurdity, for having forbidden the raising of hats, the emperor declares that if any

¹¹ It was Deschamps' perennial concern to protect his own bald head. He wrote several poems that requested indulgence in retaining his hat, even when in noble company. See Oeuvres Compl  tes, vol.5, pp. 74, 94, 183.

¹² The word "Fumagor" could be a jocular Latin coining; it would mean "I shall be made fumous".

transgressor "has not submitted to death from sickness [from a chilled head]/ Then he must die because he has disobeyed" (236-237).

It would have taken a relatively well-educated and high-ranking audience to appreciate the variety of humour in the poem, and which had some familiarity, too, with the writing conventions of the original serious models, as all parody demands.

A concern of this poem is to demonstrate the folly of its time, like other medieval literature, entertaining while imparting wisdom. Against the Church, for example, the emperor directs this quip:

Car il y a pluseurs abbez
Pour leurs grans fumées gabez.
(149-150)

For there are many abbots
Who are mocked for their great fumées.

And much of the church hierarchy is included among the fumeur number (142-157).

From the beginning, there is a clear indication of the intended moral satire, for the world in which the emperor reigns is described as a place "where all falsehood and trickeries abound" (1-2). The poem also has features in common with other medieval didactic poetry, for example, the long lists of fumeur personnel resemble a similarly all-embracing catalogue from the Roman de Fauvel. In the latter, one reads:

There is there a very great assembly:
You will see kings, dukes and counts

Who have come to stroke Fauvel
 All the temporal lords and princes
 Come there from every province,
 And knights great and small
 Who are very adept at stroking.
 And know that there is not a king nor a count
 Who would be ashamed to stroke Fauvel.
 Viscounts, prevosts, and bailiffs
 Do not neglect to stroke Fauvel;
 Burgers in the towns and cities
 Stroke by many cunning means,
 And villeins of the rough fields
 Are all around Fauvel to pasture him.
 (I, 34-38)¹³

In medieval literature, allegorical figures representing vices or strong spiritual qualities were used for dramatizing the inner struggles of the psyche. A few such figures are mentioned in the Chartre. A comparison of extracts from this poem and from the Roman de Fauvel will show the traditional content of Deschamps' work in connection with allegorical references. In Fauvel, for example, guests at the table of the royal ass include Gloutonnie, Yvresce, Lecherie, and a host of others, some of whom are also mentioned in Deschamps' poem:

Placed next to Fauvel on the left
 I saw Pride was there in grand estate;
 Next to him was Presumption,
 Vain Elegance and then Boastfulness,
 Luxuriousness and Foolish Presumption.
 (II, 1569-1574)

In a similar passage in the Chartre, the fumeurs consort with some of these characters:

They fear neither honour nor shame,

¹³ Arthur Långfors, ed., Le Roman de Fauvel par Gervais de Bus (Paris: Libraire de Firmin Didot et Cie., 1914-1919).

Prelate, emperor, duke nor count,
 Because Dame Presumption
 Leads each one of them in her dance;
 Folly holds them by the hand,
 Pride governs and sustains them
 And dresses them in rich jewels,
 And Youth, who is so handsome,
 Prays, admonishes and importunes them
 That each conduct himself stupidly;
 Pleasant Diversion entertains them in her orchard,
 And Pleasure, with all her box of sweets
 Serves them so well with her spices
 That there is not a single one of them, such great
 Who is not hers when he departs, [fools are they,
 So much has he had a large share of her.

(La chartre des fumeux, 93-108)

Reason, the single improving figure to be named in the Chartre,
 is mentioned only to show his diminished influence. Jehan Fumée
 says of his subjects:

They do not wish to be subject to Reason,
 Nor to enter into his house,
 For they carry their laws in their own hand,
 This one at present, the other tomorrow.

(La chartre des fumeux, 71-74)

One can compare this with another extract from the Roman de Fauvel. Describing his good luck, Fauvel says:

I certainly have the grace of Fortune ...
 She has given me great lordship over many things:
 Over the world, which is her dwelling-place,
 She has made me lord, at the expense of Reason.

(Fauvel II, 1718-1722)

In further illustration of this serious element in the Chartre,
 one can quote Jehan Fumée's summary of fumeur nature:

They are perfect in nothing that there is,
 Not in word, nor thought, nor in deed;
 Accusatory, envious, arrogant,
 Sad without cause, or else mocking,
 With vainglory and with cheating

Are they decorated, and they fight with everyone.
 Now one of them will laugh, the other will cry,
 Not for an instant can they be happy,
 So full of bad-humoured energy* are they,
 And amazing foolishness.

(127-136)

(* "fumeuse vie")

The above quotations have adequately illustrated what the Chartre des fumeurs is: humorous parody with some moralizing content. The mixture of styles should not be surprising, for it is found in other medieval genres such as the morality plays.

Dramatic Entertainment Of The Late Middle Ages And The 'Fumeur' Poems

It is appropriate at this point to describe the context in which this and the other fumeur poems might have been heard. Modern writers most often discuss the dramatic monologue in terms of its affinity with medieval secular drama: during its recitation, the reader of a work such as the Chartre would assume another's personality, hence the connection with a more fully developed dramatic art.¹⁴ The secular drama of the late middle ages was written and performed by an assortment of groups and societies, and it is intriguing to discover that certain details occurring in the fumeur poems conform with the attitudes and practices of some of these groups, such as the Enfants-Sans-Soucy and the Basochiens. A knowledge of the activities and

¹⁴ Aubailly, Le monologue, pp. 5-7, and Le théâtre médiéval, pp. 37-43; also Petit de Juléville, La comédie et les moeurs en France, pp. 73-77.

organisation of these groups also throws light on questions about the fumeurs.

By the fifteenth century, dramatic entertainment was no longer the prerogative solely of the clergy or jongleurs. Instead, there was considerable involvement in theatrical art by bourgeois groups, sometimes formed specifically for this purpose, or sometimes mounting plays as one of the activities of a professional association. There was much interest in the production of comic or satiric works, an interest reflected in the names that the groups chose for themselves. At Lille, for example, at the end of the fifteenth century, there was the troupe of the Evêque des Fous, that of the Pape des Guingans, of the Empereur de la Jeunesse, of the Prince des Coquarts, of the Prince de Peu d'Argent, of the Prince de la Sottrecque, and that of the Prince de Sottye.¹⁵ As can be guessed from the above titles, the chiefs of these groups presided over hierarchies that had been organized in imitation of the contemporary social structure. According to Heather Arden, such groups "were

¹⁵ Aubailly, Le théâtre médiéval, p. 55. Such groups were formed all over the country. Elizabeth Arden, in Fools' Plays: A Study of Satire in the Sotties (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), writes of the important centre of play production at Rouen where the Cornards de Rouen had produced plays since the fourteenth century, and also mentions groups at Lyon (Les Suppôts de la Coquille) Amiens, Arras, Auxerre, Beauvais, Chaumont, Clermont, Compiègne, Laon (the Confrérie des Mauvaises-Bries, the "Bad-Britches-Boys"), Lille, Nancy and Poitiers, although some of these were known of only from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. She points out that names given to leaders of these groups, such as the Evêque des Fous and the Pape des Guignans recall the mock dignitaries elected by the clergy during their celebration of the Feast of Fools. Such secular and religious burlesque manifestations go back ultimately to the Roman Saturnalia (p.24, 15-21).

forming as early as the reign of Charles VI, although their existence was sporadic until the time of Charles VIII".¹⁶

Given such facts, one need not question the existence of a group of men who had called themselves Fumeurs, who had had an 'emperor' and whose charter gave playful indication of a mock administrative hierarchy. Modern discussion of such groups has even included occasional references to the fumeurs, although description of their activities rarely goes beyond acknowledgement of their drinking practices. Aubailly writes:

It is necessary also to add to these many troupes [of bourgeois players] the numerous sociétés de buveurs et de joueurs such as the Confrérie des Fumeux at the head of which one finds E.Deschamps at the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁷

The editor of the 'fumeur poems', Gustave Raynaud, described the fumeurs variously as "fous (confrérie imaginaire)", "confrérie de buveurs", "gens fantasques", and included them among the several "joyeuses confréries" to which Deschamps' poetry alludes.¹⁸ Ernst Hoepffner writes of the fumeurs:

We have here a capricious and individualistic group which made itself highly visible through eccentricities in dress and manners. The frequent mention of these fumeux, and especially the fact that the references cover a stretch of years, leaves little doubt that we are dealing with an actual society, and not with the imaginary, or something that exists only in a writer's imagination. As Gröber has already

¹⁶ Arden, Fools' Plays, p. 23.

¹⁷ Aubailly, Le théâtre médiévale, pp. 55-56. It appears that the term confrérie applied to the fumeurs is of modern origin. In Deschamps' works they are referred to as an ordre or an empire.

¹⁸ Oeuvres Complètes, v.7, p. 312, fn.a; v.10, glossary, p. 63; v.4, p.331, fn.a; v.11, p. 134.

correctly deduced, we are dealing here with a kind of guild of fools (not, as Raynaud proposes, with a confrérie de buveurs), which endeavoured to distinguish itself through extremes of originality.¹⁹

Finally, there is the opinion of Daniel Poirion concerning the fumeurs and Deschamps' role in this group. He argues that the musical items about the fumeurs in the Chantilly Codex do suggest that such a group had really existed, especially since a known fourteenth-century musician, Arnaud le Tapicier, is also mentioned in one of the fumeur poems:

It is in an atmosphere of camaraderie joyeuse that he [Deschamps] seems to have passed the happiest time of his youth. His first literary manifestations were for the evocation, in capricious terms, of a confrérie burlesque, but which calls together real people. The charte [sic] des Fumeux, promulgated in December 1368 . . . is followed by a recitation dated May 24 . . . where we see represented, for example, Arnaud le Tapicier, singer to Charles V. The chansonnier of Chantilly number 1047 contains two chansons on the theme of the fumeux . . . The confrérie was not, indeed, as imaginary as one might have wished to believe. His inspiration makes one think of the sottises of the professional jongleurs.²⁰

These explanations, cautious, half-doubtful and

¹⁹ Ernst Hoepffner, Eustache Deschamps: Leben und Werke (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1904), p. 51. It is this opinion that both Apel and Greene appear to have followed.

²⁰ Daniel Poirion, Le poète et le prince: l'évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965), p. 223. I have not been able to discover whom Poirion has in mind when he refers to Tapicier. The fourteenth-century musician of this name has been identified as Jean de Noiers, dit Tapicier, (c.1370-1410), who worked for Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, between 1391 and 1404, and, at the latter's death, for his son, John the Fearless. This was during the reign of Charles VI, not Charles V. See Craig Wright, "Tapissier and Cordier: New Documents and Conjectures", The Musical Quarterly 59 (1973):177-189.

contradictory as they are, reflect two problems in dealing with the fumeurs: the only information available has to be derived entirely from the contents of the poems themselves, and in attempting to construct a picture using this information, care must be taken not to interpret too literally what is stated in the Chartre des Fumeux. This is a poem of comic exaggeration whose tone can be both audacious and moralising. It therefore consorts uncomfortably with the other fumeur poems which have more intimate, local settings and narrative that appears to describe real people belonging to some sort of group, as both Poirion and Hoepffner say, but who did possibly hold their meetings in taverns and were fond of drinking, as Raynaud suggested. The commentator Gröber, to whom Hoepffner referred does, in fact, regard them as a drinking group, but one that was also some kind of guild of fools, like the Enfants-sans-Soucy.²¹ But more information about the theatrical groups can be drawn upon to explain the scope of the Chartre, and also to account for the preponderance of judicial parodies in the fumeur poems. This information concerns the groups that called themselves the Basochiens and the Enfants-sans-Soucy.

The Basoche was an association of law clerks connected with the high courts of justice at Paris: the Palais de Justice, the Châtelet and the Chambre des Comptes, and who worked for the lawyers, avocats and procureurs, of the Parlement de Paris. The

²¹ Gustav Gröber "Geschichte der lateinischen und französischen Litteratur im Mittelalter", Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie Band 2 (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1902), p. 1200.

association filled a number of functions: it regulated professional standards, it conferred certificates of qualification, and it dealt with disciplinary problems or differences between its members. When such cases were handed over to its jurisdiction from higher legal authorities, Basoche members had the chance to practise courtroom procedure in the ensuing trials.²² Members of the Basoche also took part in lighter activities. Every year, after their elaborate annual parade, members performed plays in the Palais de Justice, and plays were similarly performed at other celebrations, such as at a local fair, or in the period between Christmas and Epiphany known as the Fête des fous, or on certain saints' days.²³ During the time of carnival, they would conduct mock trials, called causes grasses (or, jokingly, causes solennelles), in which ridiculous suits were tried, which sometimes drew inspiration from scandalous real-life cases, or which consisted fictitious material.²⁴ Burlesque invention and social satire were a part of Basoche creativity, both in the mock trials, and in the comic

²² See Adolphe Fabre Les clerks du Palais: Recherches historiques sur les Bazoches des Parlements et les sociétés dramatiques des Bazochiens et des Enfants-Sans-Souci, 2me. éd. (Lyon: N. Schering, Libraire-Editeur, 1875), pp. 10-19, 27, 305. An avocat was equivalent to a modern barrister, a procureur, an attorney-at-law or prosecutor.

²³ Fabre, Les clerks du Palais, pp. 40-42, 60-61, 101-107, 152-153.

²⁴ Fabre, Les clerks du Palais, pp. 58, 162-164. The clerks also held regular meetings in which they debated serious fictitious cases, as modern law students still do. There is always an element of theatre in such proceedings. See Fabre, p. 25.

dramas, the moralités, farces and sotties.²⁵ It is clear that there was much opportunity among Basoche members for convivial gatherings, and that literary activities played a large part in their entertainment.

The Enfants-sans-Soucy were members of a Parisian theatre group that had close links with the Basochiens. It is the opinion of most drama historians that the Enfants were actually a sub-group within the Basoche organization, under its legal jurisdiction, and whose responsibility it was to mount their plays.²⁶ The chief of the Enfants-sans-Soucy was called the Prince des Sots (the Prince of Fools), and was for the law clerks a lay equivalent of the Pape des Fous of young clerics. There were also Basoche organisations in the provinces, wherever there was a town or city important enough to have a Parlement, with its own magistrate or bailli, and along with these, there were the play-groups equivalent to the Enfants, the sociétés joyeuses described above (see p.18), whose membership included many Basochiens.²⁷

Historians have not been able to discover any precise date for the formation of these societies, and the earliest surviving documents that mention them are from no earlier than the end of the fourteenth century. Since I hope to show that some practices of the Basoche groups appear to have been anticipated

²⁵ See Howard Graham Harvey, The Theatre of the Basoche: The Contribution of the Law Societies to French Medieval Comedy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941) and Arden, Fools' Plays, especially pp. 25, 65, 123-127.

²⁶ Fabre, Les clercs du Palais, pp. 233-237, Harvey, The Theatre of the Basoche, pp. 24-27, Arden, Fools' Plays, p. 25.

²⁷ Fabre, Les clercs du Palais, pp. 69-70, Harvey, The Theatre of the Basoche, p.14, fn.9.

or reflected in fumeur activities described by Deschamps, it will be worthwhile to review the dates and arguments commonly put forward to suggest a fourteenth-century existence for the Basoche organization and its co-existing joyous societies. The few early documents give the following information: in 1385, Louis d'Orléans gave money to the Gallans-sans-Soucy of Rouen for having "joué et chanté devant lui par plusieurs fois"; in 1401, account books for the town of Cambrai recorded that, on January 9, the Prince des Fols du Palais was presented with cases of wine at supper;²⁸ in 1424 the clerks of the Châtelet took part in a play given for the entry into Paris of the Duke of Bedford. In 1442, a judgement of the Parlement de Paris condemned to prison, on bread and water, clerks who had played in a show in defiance of its regulations, and ordered them not to perform any satire or comedy in the future without authorization or without taking into account what had been prohibited. This ruling suggests that there was an established tradition, procedure and censorship connected with performing plays, and that abuses had eventually developed. This could well be an argument for an earlier existence for the Basoche. In 1443, the Parlement gave another judgement against the Basochiens, who had apparently exceeded the bounds of their own jurisdiction when punishing some of their members. The court in this instance ruled on three areas: it forbade the payment by

²⁸ Barbara Swain, Fools and Folly in the Middle Ages (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), p. 14. Louis d'Orléans, who patronized the Rouen group, was a long-standing employer and patron of the poet Deschamps.

Béjaune in beuveries and mangeries,²⁹ it again ordered that if the clerks wished to have jeux or ébattements (plays or comedies), they must ask the court's permission, and it forbade the clerks to elevate the status of the Royaume de la Basoche to perform any juridical function without the court's leave.³⁰

To such scant, and rather late evidence from our point of view, one can add information concerning the rapid growth of the legal profession, and the employment of clerks in the high courts of justice. In the fourteenth century, the legal profession was greatly enlarged in order to serve the centralizing interests of the king by weakening the power of the ecclesiastical and seigneurial courts. The Basoche possibly dates from this period. Harvey writes:

It was traditionally believed that the first organization of the law clerks of Paris, and the beginnings of the jurisdiction of the Basoche, went back to the time of Philip the Fair [1285-1314]. The supposed edict has not been found, but the Parlement had then become fixed at Paris, and as a result of the Pragmatic Sanction, cases were accumulating in the royal courts faster than the procureurs could handle them. They began to employ large numbers of clerks, and soon the advocates . . . began to do

²⁹ A bec-jaune was a newly-graduated law student about to become a Basoche clerk, named after fledgling, soft-billed birds that have just left the nest. Payment of entry rights was a standard practice in both the university colleges and the Basoche society. See Fabre, Les clerks du Palais, pp. 36-37.

³⁰ Harvey, The Theatre of the Basoche, p. 23.

³¹ Harvey, The Theatre of the Basoche, p. 17, fn.12. Well-documented descriptions of the legal profession in the fourteenth century occur in: Charles Bataillard Les Origines de l'Histoire des Procureurs et des Avoués depuis le Ve. Siècle jusqu'au XVe. (422?-1483), (Paris: Cotillon, Editeur, Libraire du Conseil d'Etat, 1868), and R. Delachenal Histoire des avocats au Parlement de Paris, 1300-1600 (Paris: Librairie Plon, E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie., imprimeurs-éditeurs, 1885).

likewise.³¹

By 1378, there were so many procureurs in Paris that their number had to be reduced by court order to forty. The "newly-formed intellectual class of judges, lawyers, and law students",³² with their allegiance to the king and the royal courts, established their own companies, like other professional groups of their time. An association of procureurs and avocats, called the Confrérie de St. Nicholas, had developed early in the fourteenth century. In 1342, the members of this community received a royal letter of authorization for their constitution. It is interesting that the members refer to themselves in this document as "les compaignons clerc, et autres procureurs et escripvains fréquentant le Palais et la Court du Roy nostre Sire a Paris et ailleurs" (the company of clerks and other attorneys and writers customarily at the Palais and the Court of the King our Lord at Paris and elsewhere).³³ This would suggest that the clerks were already organized in some kind of association, and that the community already extended beyond the city of Paris. A ruling of 1367 which required lawyers to itemize, for taxation purposes, their cases and the revenues therefrom, included a separate clause for clerks: "Et aussi les clerks mettront en escript ce qu'ils prendront de leurs escriptures, se ils sont aussi requis" (And the clerks will also put in writing what they will have taken with their written documents, since they are

³² Harvey, The Theatre of the Basoche, p. 11.

³³ Bataillard, L'Histoire des Procureurs, p. 422.

also required to do so).³⁴ Whether or not the clerks called themselves Basochiens at this time, these ordinances prove that they held an established place within legal society.

In order to take up a legal career, it was necessary to have earned a law degree and then to have served several years as a clerk. Many of the clerks of the Parlement were of good family, serving their apprenticeship before becoming magistrates or advocates (although it was also possible for the position to be held permanently). The young men within this environment often shared the same qualities as students, and some of the Basoche festivities are similar to those of their university contemporaries. When one considers this group, educated, young, exposed to the dramas of the courtroom and to the contentious side of society, it is not surprising that it is credited with developing secular comedy and satire. It has been observed frequently that the social position, education and experience of the lawyers made them the only possible group through which development of a lay comic theatre could occur.

The creative and legal environment described above was the one in which Deschamps and his colleagues would have worked. An attempt to explain some of the puzzles about the Chartre des Fumeux becomes easier if one takes into account these forces sympathetic to satirical literary thought. The Enfants-sans-Soucy had their Prince of Fools, and other sociétés joyeuses had even more elevated and fanciful names for their leaders; an

³⁴ Bataillard, L'Histoire des Procureurs, p. 435.

Empereur de toute Fumée would not appear unusual in such company. Putting legal knowledge to comic use was certainly one of the Basoche activities, and it would not be hard to imagine young law students enjoying Deschamps' legal parodies. What kind of attitude would have prompted the poet, speaking through Jehan Fumee, to produce a charter for a small group of people, yet to include within it the entire power-structure of medieval France? As soon as one learns that the motto of the Enfants-sans-Soucy was "numerus stultorum est infinitus" (the number of fools is infinite), Jehan Fumée's combination of the particular and the general seems to be more plausible. Whether or not the fumeurs were Basochiens their attitudes and habits resembled those of the law clerks.

Deschamps held a number of administrative positions in his lifetime, but he also had a legal career: he was juré for the Comte de Vertus in 1367, and for much of his adult career he was a royal bailli, first of Valois, in 1375 and then, in 1389, of Senlis in the Brie district.³⁵ It is interesting to note that the Chartre was written only a year after Deschamps was documented as being juré for the Count of Vertus. In the closing formula of this poem, one reads that Jehan Fumée (or Eustace) is in the third year of his reign (253). This would mean that he had been "Emperor" since 1366, when he would have been about twenty years old. Would this have been a suitable age for a law clerk at Vertus? It would not be improbable, but

³⁵ Raynaud, Oeuvres Complètes, v.11, pp. 13, 57.

the questions invite further research on Deschamps' early life.³⁶

There are several passages in the Chartre that seem to look toward Basoche practices. In the poem, Jehan Fumée's hoped-for jurisdiction enabling him to try his own men, and his perceived gravity of the case (16-24), call to mind the very real jurisdiction held by the Basoche over its own members, and some of the troubles it had in maintaining this.³⁷ The emperor's comment that the fumeurs "are plural in number/ And infinitive in their great moods" (117-118) recalls in its sentiment the motto of the Enfants-sans-Soucy, "the number of fools is infinite". It was pointed out by Hoepffner that Jehan Fumée proposed to bring his court together at Fumagor at a time that would have been during the Carnival period, the very occasion when the joyous societies traditionally held their plays, and when the Basochiens conducted their causes grasses.³⁸ Indeed, it

³⁶ It is also interesting to speculate why Deschamps chose to make Jehan Fumée the head of an 'empire' rather than of any other type of realm. There were other 'empires' in the late middle ages: to outdo their colleagues at the Palais, who had a mere kingdom called the Royaume de la Basoche, the clerics at the Chambre des Comptes formed the Empire de Galilée. There was, furthermore, an 'empire' of the Basoche at the University of Orleans, famous for its law school, although this is frustratingly undocumented in modern scholarship. Raynaud has conjectured that Deschamps received his legal training at the University of Orléans, and drew attention to poems proving that his own son went there also to follow a legal career (see Oeuvres Complètes, v.8, pp.96, 187.). A search for information about the Orléans 'empire' and Deschamps' university background might throw light on the identity of some of the fumeurs.

³⁷ One should recall, for example, the judgement of Parlement for 1443 described above (p. 24).

³⁸ Hoepffner, Eustache Deschamps, p. 51. Writing his Chartre on December 9, Jehan Fumée declared, "We intend, within the next three months/ To hold our noble council .../ At Fumagor sur la Perrière" (172-175).

sounds as if the emperor were proposing a meeting resembling a cause grasse, with the present poem functioning somewhat like a cry, the entertaining parade-advertisement with which the law clerks would announce their forthcoming play activities.

Finally, there is a curious passage toward the end of the poem in which the emperor proposes penalties for those who have disobeyed orders to retain their hats during the winter. The penalty appears to include a fine of the very cloak and hood of the offender, and its immediate assignation to someone else, along with certain privileges accruing to it as well as a gift of wine (200-205, 216-230). This might be explained as another of the poem's absurdities, and one would do well to remember the poet's obsession with the dangers of baldness. But there may be yet another explanation for this passage, since the penalty resembles a standard fine paid by Basochiens and qualified lawyers alike: the confiscation of their hats, cloaks, or both. Fabre makes many references to this practice,³⁹ and the rationale behind it is explained by Delachenal:

The chaperons were of very great importance. Without them the advocates could not appear at the bar, and they functioned as a guarantee that the huissier took over whenever an infraction had been committed or a fine incurred.⁴⁰

The Chartre des Fumeurs does therefore seem to express

³⁹ Fabre, Les clercs du Palais, pp. 16, 18, 59, 62-63, 74, 100, 151, 301, 330.

⁴⁰ Delachenal, L'Histoire des Avocats, p. 295. An advocate was always directed to 'cover himself' by the judge before coming to plead at the bar. Without his hat, he could not take part in courtroom procedure.

certain thoughts and attitudes that were developing among creative groups of the time. Barbara Swain has written that it was "the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries when the popularity of the idea of the fool seems to have emerged".⁴¹ She refers to several lists of follies from this period that contain maxims concerned with human error. She states that the contents of one of these lists

almost duplicate in negative form the commands for living the upright life given in the famous collection of manuscripts attributed to Cato. A comparison of the two shows how completely the fool could be described as the exact antithesis of the upright man.⁴²

Comparing Swain's list of fools' characteristics with those of the fumeurs, it becomes easy to conclude that the poem was conceived on a standard theme. Swain's list includes: credulity, faithlessness to promises, meddling, mischievousness, talkativeness, lack of reticence and caution, ready anger, impatience, and the willingness to offer unwanted advice.⁴³

The other three fumeur Commissions narrow the scope of activity, however, for each one is set in a specific locality, and appears to refer to real people. The 'legal' tone of these works is very noticeable, and in their structure they imitate the formal procedure of a judge's summary of evidence and final

⁴¹ Swain, Fools and Folly, p. 15.

⁴² Swain, Fools and Folly, p. 15. Swain also points to the other obvious source of wisdom to be deliberately inverted, the Book of Proverbs.

⁴³ Swain, Fools and Folly, p. 21.

judgement.⁴⁴ It was possibly these works that led Harvey to suggest that the early literary efforts of the Basochiens could have been dramatic monologues. He speculated, from the evidence of these poems, that Deschamps "may have been associated at one time with a society of law students".⁴⁵ He considered that while Deschamps' one legal farce, the Farce de Maistre Trubert, represents only partially the Basoche point of view, it would have appealed only to an audience composed of members of the legal profession.⁴⁶ The poem satirizes both the cocksure type of village lawyer and the too-greedy litigant out to rob his fellow under pretext of the law. Deschamps certainly shows in this work a familiarity with the regular and sharp practices of lawyers as well as with daily abuses of justice that could occur.⁴⁷

D'une Autre Commission D'un Chien

This poem is again a legal letter dictated by Eustace, emperor of the fumeurs. It describes the theft of some meat by a dog, the subsequent insulting action of the animal, and the creature's judging and sentencing. The parody once more uses the language and procedure of a serious model in an absurd context and for an inappropriate subject. As in the Chartre,

⁴⁴ Aubailly, in Le monologue, p. 104, gives the procedure as: "adresse, exposé des motifs qui ont présidé à l'élaboration de l'acte, jugement rendu, ordre d'exécution et exposé des pénitences encourues en cas de non respect de l'ordonnance".

⁴⁵ Harvey, The Theatre of the Basoche, p. 71, fn.3; p. 72, fn.7.

⁴⁶ For the Farce de Maistre Trubert et d'Antrongnart, see Oeuvres Complètes, v.7, p. 155. The rubric before the poem reads: "Comment un homme trova un autre en son jardin cueillant une amende et comment il le fist mettre en prison et du jugement qui en fut fait".

⁴⁷ See Harvey, Theatre of the Basoche, pp. 71-83.

there is a descent into absurdity at the end of the poem.

The short greeting which begins the letter (1-3), is from Eustace to one Robin le Queux. The context of the rest of the poem confirms that "le Queux" should be read as a trade title, "the cook". It appears that we have an emperor sending a judicial order to a cook about a dog that has stolen some meat! Once more, the bathetic world of the fumeurs is invoked, in which normal procedure is satirized.⁴⁸ The emperor's grievance is as follows: first, the dog entered his cellar and stole, tore apart and ate ten pieces of mutton. This alone is sufficient outrage to bring down all sorts of charges on the animal's head, since it was

Committing domestic theft
And the crime of robbery
And of pillage and larceny.
(17-19)

But the second cause for grievance is much worse, for it greatly offends the dignity of the emperor:

What was even worse, the dog,
Full of mischief, on the floor
Went and released his filthy gut,
So that in his tremendous insolence
He pissed in our face
And soiled us and our men
Who were asleep because of the wind outside,
So much that he succeeded in waking us.

⁴⁸ Strange as the story is, Deschamps was not the first to pass judgement on a thieving dog. Raynaud drew attention to the Greek satire on jurists in Aristophanes's, The Wasps, in which a trial-hungry citizen-jurist sets up court in his own home and, in desperation, tries the house-dog. It is not known if Deschamps would have ever come across this classical political satire. See Raynaud, Oeuvres Complètes, v.11, p. 282).

And if we did not know whence this came.
 For the first while, well then we soon knew
 For certain that the dog had done it,
 And what is more, shat on us,
 Holding our empire in little esteem,
 And because of which we have no desire to laugh
 (22-36)

Should the company of men be seen as a group who were sleeping off the effects of drink, and even as the real eaters of the mutton--no less than ten pieces of it--that the dog was alleged to have destroyed? One could imagine them waking to a scene of mutual embarrassment until the dog could be blamed.

Whether the affront is real or not, Eustace orders Robin le Queux to take charge of the punishment. Using once more his best legal style, he says:

And because such wrong-doing
 Comes under the jurisdiction of your office,
 And since all chastisement,
 The fine and the punishment
 For this misdeed is your responsibility
 (39-43)

The punishments are listed in meticulous detail, with Eustace specifying how the dog should be beaten, and with what implement, should it show itself in certain localities (45-66). The list moves into absurdity at the point when Eustace declares that he will banish forever those clerks who do not beat the animal, should it enter their chamber. He launches into a tirade against these new offenders, transferring his outrage now to the potential stupidity of his men. If they hide to escape their punishment of being shorn and then banished, they must be beaten,

... so that in our hostel there is none so deaf
 That he could not easily hear them yell
 From the injuries that we will do to them.
 (82-84)

Eustace signs off as the dignitary that he is, but with a final joke, saying to his secretary, "Given out under our seal at Fymes./ Put a full stop there, Rochet, I've just run out of rhymes" (82-84).

There are several things to note about this poem. It appears to be taken for granted that the audience knows of the fumeurs, since there is no deliberated introduction to them as there was in the Chartre. The only two specific references to the fumeurs are, moreover, quite casually included: in the opening address, one hears of "Eustace, empereur des Fumeux/ A nostre amé Robin le Queux" (1-2), and, following the dog's insult, there is Eustace's complaint that the creature holds his empire as "worth little" (35). It would seem that the idea of the fumeurs was well-established by the time that this poem was written.

One can ask who might be the clers mentioned in line 67 of this work. The emperor says:

And if he [the dog] goes into the clerks' chamber,
 If he does not leave clothed in blue [i.e. bruised]
 From the strength of a sound beating,
 They will be shorn like fools ...
 (67-70)

Since it was normal at this time for church clerics to be tonsured, it is possible that this threat is directed toward legal clerks, who would still have had their hair!

According to the poet, this commission was dictated at Fismes (89; see the map in Appendix A). Deschamps was made chatelain, hence governor there in 1382.⁴⁹ It is possible that this poem was not, therefore, a youthful work like the Chartre, but written when the poet was already a royal bailli, in charge of his own household. In such a case, the poet's writing judicial sentences in parody would have been born of his own experiences as a legal authority of the royal family.

The manuscripts of Deschamps' poems appear not to have been organized chronologically, although several successive poems frequently appear to be related. The title of this poem suggests that there were other similar commissions before it (D'une autre commission ...), and that this work was copied out of order. Of the two following works, the first has no year assigned to it, and the second is dated 1370. This may lend some support to the idea that the present work is fairly late among the fumeur poems.

⁴⁹ Raynaud, Oeuvres Complètes, v.11, pp.32-35, v.1, p. 214. In one poem, Deschamps requested money for renovations to the tour de Fymes, his residence, since its draughts had made his head heavy with colds, or "enfumée" as he termed it (v.2, p. 105).

Cy Parle D'une Sentence Donnée Contre Aucuns De Vitry Pour Un
Debat Meu Soudainement Entr'eulx (May 23 [no Year])

The following events are related in this commission: one night in the tavern, a series of fights breaks out. Each disturbance is catalogued in the commission's report (4-26). When all the arguments are under way, the scene appears to be very heated:

There you might have seen in very great disorder,
Dissension going on in six or seven places
And fighting and arguments starting up ...
(36-38)

Finally, the bailli, who is drinking in the same tavern when the rowdiness occurs before his very eyes (21), requests the offenders to appear before him. The emperor explains that only his imperial court has the authority for such action, has his procureur request his men's return, and after reviewing the 'evidence' for the case, passes the lightest and most agreeable sentence that could be imagined. The summary of the evidence goes thus:

Seeing that this was after supper
And that the action of the wine
Made them begin the fracas
Considering that the morning after,
Each one had more thirst than hunger,
And that as soon as they got up,
They went straight to drinking incontinently,
Because it was the wine they had drunk that evening
Which had caused them most of their grief,
Considering that they could not recall
A half of their arguments,
And that whoever wishes to uphold our order
Should not bear animosity
(76-88)

Lack of memory of the events appears to be an advantage among fumeurs who are not meant to hold grudges! The emperor sentences all concerned to be friends, and to drink together in amity:

Thus we order that a sergent be ready
Who, in order to finish this quarrel,
Should fill the wine-glass completely full,
In carrying out this sentence,
And should tell everyone to begin
To drink.

(106-111.)

Although one does not come across the names Jehan Fumee or Eustace in this work, the empire and the order of the fumeurs is still very present, with its world of contrary values. For example, the emperor expresses disapproval that, at a time when all of the brawlers were upholding the order of la Fumée, his own chief ministers sat quietly, taking no part:

There, from their manner, one could pick out
Those who must be under the banner
Of our empire.
They were all worse than our own men:
Le Poursuigant, our écuyer,
And our fumous chancellor,
Cloart Cathon; these latter shut up
And did not emit one bit of fumée,
Showing in themselves wisdom for no good reason,
And defiling our customs
In a cowardly manner; and this displeases us.
(49-59)

In true contrary fashion, it is the rowdies who gain the emperor's approval, "who showed themselves to be true subjects" (61), through their fumousness, each "conducting himself/ According to the institution of la Fumée/ While fuming strongly in every case" (28-31).

It must have been this poem that convinced Raynaud that the fumeurs were a drinking society. The poem is dictated "en la taverne" (115), which, we are told, is the place "whence our empire makes its regulations" (4). The final scene of this work, peaceful and bibulous, is one of fumeur bliss, as the men undergo their 'sentence',

...their eyes shut,
According to the state of la Fumée,
In peace, the quarreling done with.
(111-113)

There is sufficient legal jargon and parody of legal procedure, however, to suggest that there were yet other mutual conditions which could have drawn the fumeur audience together. In places throughout the poem, phrases occur that were common in the vocabulary of official court rulings. Some of these can be cited as examples: The expression "meu contre quelqu'un" (moved against someone) was commonly used when describing court proceedings being brought by a party. In Le Grand Coutumier, a fourteenth-century compendium of legal definitions and procedure, one reads, for example: "Quant aucun débat de nouvelleté . . . est meu entre" (When an argument of nouvelleté . . . is put forward between . . .).⁵⁰ This is the same phrase that is found in the rubric above the poem: D'une sentence donnée contre aucuns ... pour un débat meu soudainement entr'eulx. Deschamps clearly found a coy way of

⁵⁰ Le Grand Coutumier, ed. Laboulaye and R. Dareste (Paris: Auguste Durand et Pédone-Lauriel, Libraires, 1868), p. 264.

referring to the tavern brawls. The legal style of writing is noted for its exact and often laboured precision. The following is quite typical:

Par bons avis et délibération avons ordonné et
ordonnons de certaine science et auctorité royal par
ces présentes, que de cy en avant n'ait en nostre dit
Chastellet que quarante procureurs générale ...
Lequel nombre ... nous voulons et ordonnons estre
tenu sans enfreindre par quelque personne que ce
soit.⁵¹

One can compare with this the orders given in this poem by
Eustace:

Avons a droit dit et disons
Que toutes les dictes parties
Qui par courroux furent parties
Sont, demeurent et demourront
Bon ami ...

(94-98)

There can be no doubt of the writer's familiarity with the law, and of his intention to amuse, with this knowledge, others who were of similar experience.

Hoepffner has pointed out that two baillis are mentioned in this poem.⁵² The first happened to be drinking at the tavern when the fights broke out; the second is the one who apparently dictated and sealed the letter for the commission:

Under the seal of our bailiff,
Given out in the tavern amid glee,
The twenty-third day of May.

(114-116)

⁵¹ Bataillard, L'Histoire des Procureurs, p. 436. The extract is from an ordinance dated 1378.

⁵² Hoepffner, Eustache Deschamps, p. 52.

In addition, one reads in the poem that the procureur general managed to obtain the return of "our men" to the "bailli au roy" (72). This makes interpretation confusing. Is one dealing with a mock institution, a mock bailli du roy, in imitation of a Basoche organization, or should this poem also be regarded as fairly late, written after Deschamps' appointment as royal bailli? ⁵³

The setting of this poem and the personalities described in it appear to have been real. The town of Vitry was close to Deschamps' home (see the map in Appendix A). Deschamps gives the names of those fighting, and sometimes their status or position, as well as that of his own men: "Gerart, maistre des requestes of our hostel" (6-7), Jehan Deschamps, messire Ogier, Arnault le Tapicier, Robinet, Arnault le clerc (33), "Le Poursuigant, our écuyer" (53), "our fumous chancellor Cloart Cathon" (55), and one "who spoke loudly/ And who is chevaucheur to the king" (35). One can imagine a scenario in which people closely connected with Deschamps' fumeurs (le Poursuigant and Cathon) are involved in a tavern disturbance among friends casually admitted into their company. Of what importance in this poem are the designations écuyer and "chancellor" for Deschamps' two men? Can one assume again a mock hierarchy for

⁵³ One of the jobs of a bailli would have been to hear appeals from seigneurial and village assizes. This overriding of jurisdiction may be what is satirized here. Hoepffner maintains that Vitry was under the direct authority of the king, and therefore not subject to the local bailli, who in this poem claims a jurisdiction that does not exist. His interpretation of the poem is difficult to follow, however. See Hoepffner, Eustache Deschamps, p. 52.

the order of La Fumee similar to that of the Basochiens, or were these appellations ephemeral, and produced merely to round out the fiction?

C'est La Commission Des Loups D'Espargnay Sur La Rivière De Marne (November 4, 1370)

In his index, the compiler of the manuscript called the poem: Commission des loups en cas de nouvelleté contre ceulx d'Espargnay.⁵⁴ Nouvelleté was an important court action in which a claimant tried to prove possession of and reclaim established rights to property and its revenues (called saisine) from a rival alleged to have recently obstructed the enjoyment of such rights.⁵⁵ The many circumstances by which such an action was deemed appropriate are deliberately included in the details of the poem. It is clear that it was intended only for people familiar with the court procedures for this action. The poem follows, often word-for-word, the model letters included in the

⁵⁴ Raynaud, Oeuvres Completes, v.1, p. 62.)

⁵⁵ Property lawsuits were at this time always tried by the Crown jurists, making causes of nouvelleté part of Deschamps' experience as a royal judge. The Grand Coutumier, which deals with nouvelleté at great length, makes it clear that it was concerned with recent challenges to property rights; defining actions réelles, it states:

Elles sont sur nouvel trouble de saisine ou sur vieulx empeschemens Et pour ce, nous parlerons premièrement de celles qui sont sur nouvel trouble. Les aucuns s'appellent: cas de nouvelleté Et les aultres: nouvel trouble et empeschment de saisine (p.494).

See also pp. 231-257, 494-514, 748-756.

Grand Coutumier for commissions on nouvelleté.⁵⁶ That Deschamps was able to produce such legally exact writing within his rhyming, witty poem attests to a comic gift that is not always acknowledged in this poet.

The fumeur connection is established immediately with Eustace's first words:

The emperor of all Fumée
 Who has fumed on many things,
 Always august in strength,
 Continuing to fume strongly ...
 (1-4)

The letter is addressed to two men, the sergent, or police officer Jehan du Gart and another, Guillemin de Nogent. The emperor describes the complainants in this case and their manner when lodging their complaint: clearly, intimidation of the judge has taken place:

At night, grievously have complained
 The old and young
 Of the family of brother Louvel [=wolf],
 Otherwise called Ysangrin,
 Dame Hersant, and their kin,
 Around our house des Champs,
 With cries and awful chanting,
 Yelling, as if out of their minds,
 In a horribly-composed racket
 Of four or five hundred voices together,
 Which made our heart tremble with fear
 (8-18)

If the wolves do not get satisfaction of the judge, they say that they will avenge themselves on his own livestock. The pack

⁵⁶ See Appendix B. The standard commission letter reproduced there has the rubric: Autre forme: Saisine et nouvelleté de saisine. Et premièrement de la commission sur ce requise. See Le Grand Coutumier, p. 497. Portions of Deschamps' poem are included in the appendix for comparison with this standard letter.

complains of violation of its right of access and saisine in the fortress-town of Epernay, after the townsfolk had recently taken it upon themselves to renovate it and make it impregnable to all predators. This newly-developed obstruction to saisine rights is the reason why the wolves wish to bring an action of nouvellet  . The story is certainly satirical, treating as a legal matter the natural efforts of townsfolk to protect themselves, whether from real wolves or from metaphorical ones standing for human agencies of unfair exaction such as routiers, demanding seigneurs or other landowners.

The rapaciousness of the animals is considerable, and they have taken as their customary right:

. . . cows, goats, ewes, pigs,
Horses, and carried them outside,
Killed, eaten and devoured
Around Vinay and around Cuis,
And all around the fortress,
Its length and breadth,
Taken geese, ducks and hens
In full daylight, and great head
Of cattle and other livestock.
(29-37)

The wolves' case, or at least Eustace's reporting of it, is cleverly brought, since the facts included in the report reinforce their strong position as rightful owners under the terms of the law. The Grand Coutumier describes three types of possession that qualify the owner for saisine: possession acquired through occupation, possession acquired through succession, and possession acquired through the fact of

tradition.⁵⁷ The wolves satisfy all three of these qualifications as far as the report of their case goes.

It is emphasized in the poem that the lineage of Ysangrin is involved, and that the predecessors had had the same rights (21) as the present complainants, thus satisfying the inheritance clause for saisine. It is clear that the wolves were never challenged as they helped themselves to food. To qualify for saisine rights, one had to have enjoyed unchallenged ownership, and "not at all ... through force, nor secretly, nor through prayer, but peacefully, publicly, and not with recourse to bribery nor to pressure".⁵⁸ This very freedom and openness seems to have been enjoyed by the wolves, as quotations from the poem will show. They had:

. . . entry and rights to goods
Within the boundaries and enclosure
Of Eparnay, the old fortified town
Where they have been many times
In view of everyone, openly,
Without having any impence
Taken cows . . .
. . . and other livestock
Freely, with little trouble
And all other prey for free . . .
Which those in the town have known about
And always have known, without making opposition.
(23-28, 37-39, 44-45)

There was a minimum time of a year and a day of unchallenged ownership to qualify for right of saisine.⁵⁹ The length of time

⁵⁷ Le Grand Coutumier, p. 231. The entire sentence reads: "Ils sont trois especes de possessions suffisant à saisine; c'est assavoir: possession acquise par occupation, possession acquise par succession, possession acquise par tradition de fait".

⁵⁸ See Le Grand Coutumier, p. 231.

⁵⁹ See Le Grand Coutumier, p. 231.

in which an owner had held such rights also appeared to strengthen his privilege. For example, one reads in a report of a case in the Grand Coutumier:

This possession and saisine he had maintained and continued to do so, as much with his own person as by his own people and predecessors, for which he had reason, for one, two, three, four, five, six, ten, twenty and thirty years or more and for the intervening and latter years, and for such a very long time that it is sufficient and must suffice for having acquired good possession and saisine⁶⁰

The very same wording is used in the poem for describing the length of time that the wolves had enjoyed their rights. Fortunately, the passage above gives the true sense of line 49 of the poem, in which the word "years" had been omitted in the original:

And all that is written above,
The aforementioned possession
And the saisine, they have kept,
During one year, two, three, four,
Ten, twenty, without restoring anything,
And for so long a time that, truly,
There is no record of it being otherwise.
(46-52)

The commission reports that the impediments had been built within the last year, and that since that time, the butchers' dogs had enjoyed the meat that ordinarily would have gone to the wolves (65-67, 110-113). This is again precisely in accord with the action of nouvelleté outlined in the Grand Coutumier, since all complaints had to be of "recent trouble", and brought within

⁶⁰ Le Grand Coutumier, p. 501.

a year of the problem occurring.⁶¹

It is clear that the beleaguered judge has set out a very strong case for the wolves, and on the strength of it, he orders the restoration of their rights. As in the standard letters on nouvelleté, the judge then outlines what must happen should the butchers' dogs choose to appeal this restoration: before anything else, they have to make restitution to the wolf-pack for the profits that had been lost, and then request a court hearing, to occur at the site of the challenged property. Anticipating this, the judge orders an arbitration for the following day, giving an absurdly short period of notice. As prescribed by the judge, this challenge is certain to be violent:

Give them their court assizes tomorrow,
That is to say, to the said dogs,
To Hersant and Ysangrin,
Before Baussant the boar,*
To destroy or kill them
Between Sommesous and Trécon;
And let there be no knife nor stick,
Save for their hide and their teeth,
For lashing out on every side . . .
(164-172)

*In the Roman de Renart, whence come the proper names "Hersant", "Ysangrin" and "Baussant", the boar was traditionally an intermediary in civil cases and disputes.

We have already been told in the poem, however, that the dogs had never dared to confront the wolves before the re-fortification of the town had occurred (61-64, 107-113), and it

⁶¹ See Le Grand Coutumier, p. 238: "Item en ce cas de nouvelleté on se doit complaindre dedans l'an".

may be that they would not dare to appear on this occasion either. It could be just what the judge hopes for, since in medieval law, both parties had to be present at a lawsuit, or else the challenger would lose his cause, the case being decided in favour of the party appearing.⁶²

An expert understanding of medieval French law might provide further insight into the louche direction of a magistrate's power that is described in this poem. With only an elementary understanding of some of the contemporary legal aspects, it is still clear that the poet did not waste lines in this work: every detail contributes to Deschamps' purpose of describing the absurd and prejudiced case in its proper legal context. Such effort could not have been made for the uninitiated.

Also of interest in the poem is the local nature of its setting. The place-names that are mentioned are all within close range of Deschamps' home town of Vertus.⁶³ In the poem, the emperor refers to his own house, des Champs (13), just outside Vertus, as well as to Epernay, Vinay, Cuis, Châlons, Sommesous, Trécon, Saint-Ladre, Mardeuil and Maruelles. In addition, he seems to assume a knowledge of local matters in his audience, since he also refers by name to farm-tenants of the area:

⁶² See Le Grand Coutumier, p. 783. "Et si le demandeur se laisse mettre en deffault audit jour, il pert sa cause."

⁶³ See the map in Appendix A. This map, of the Champagne area, has marked on it the numerous places mentioned both in this poem and in other fumeur and related works.

We, to the said wolves, give leave
 From now on and forever,
 That everywhere, from now on,
 Where they might find animals
 Outside the fortress, to devour them,
 And that they lie in wait
 To take them by surprise, in fact,
 Be it toward Saint Ladre or toward Mardeuil,
 Taking from close by Jehan de Mareuil,
 And the cows of Jehan des Ruelles.
 (184-194)

Like the poem on the tavern-fight at Vertus, this one has a well-known setting, although the area referred to is large enough to suggest a particular area of civil and legal jurisdiction. One can only wonder if some local injustice had prompted the poet to write of the region in this way.

The work ends with a last reference to la Fumée, and another pun on stupidity, head-colds and brain-freezing:

Given at les Champs, our domicile,
 Where all the winds are at their best,
 By the fire in our cold chamber,
 The fourth day of November
 In the year one thousand three hundred and seventy,
 [We] who were stiffened with the cold
 From writing this fumée
 Which has stuffed up our head.
 (203-210)

Information about these four fumeur poems has been summarized in table 1 (see p. 50). The aspects that they have in common are their tone of judicial parody, the assumption of legal knowledge being especially marked in the Commission des loups d'Espargnay. In three of the poems, the local settings and atmosphere of easy camaraderie are also common elements. But disturbingly, names occurring in one poem never reappear in another, and the place of dictation varies.

TITLE OF POEM	PLACE OF DICTATION	DATE	PLACE-NAMES	PERSONS' NAMES	SUMMARY OF POEM
La chartre des fumeux.	"donnée en nostre chambre" (249)	Dec. 9, 1368. "le tiers an de nostre empire" (253)			The emperor of the <u>fumeurs</u> describes the personalities of his subjects, to allow his lawyers to prepare a defense for some who are in legal trouble. The emperor announces a plenary session of his court, and then fulminates against the <u>fumosité</u> of his courtiers, the cause of their stupidity. He passes a law against hat-raising in winter to prevent the freezing of their brains.
D'une aultre commission d'un chien.	"Donnée soubz nostre seel a Fymes" (89)	[no date]	Fismes (89)	Robin le Queux (1) Regnault, nostre hostes (52) Rochet (secretary, 90)	The emperor describes the crime of a dog that stole ten pieces of meat from a cellar and then messed on those men sleeping there. He sentences the dog to a variety of beatings, and threatens those who neglect to carry out the sentence with a number of punishments of their own: being shorn, being beaten, and being banished.
Cy parle d'une sentence donnée contre aucuns de Vitry pour un débat meü soudainement entr'eulx.	"Donnée en la taverne, en glay" (115)	May 23, [no year] .	Vitry (title)	Maistre Gerart/ Des requestes de nostre hostel (6-7) Jehan Deschamps (8) Messire Ogier (23) Arnault le Tapicier (24) Robinet (33) le clerç Arnault (33) un aultre qui parloit hault/ et qui est chevaucheur du Roy (34-35) Le Poursuivant, nostre esculier (53) Nostre fumeux chancelier, / Cloart Cathon (55)	The emperor describes several fights that break out among inebriated drinking companions, his success at removing them from the power of the presiding bailiff, due to his superiority as emperor of the <u>fumeurs</u> , and his subsequent judgement and sentencing of the charged men. Being too drunk to remember their actions, they have not nursed grudges, which is in accordance with <u>fumeur mores</u> . The sentence is to drink together in amity.
C'est la commission des loups d'Espargnay sur la rivière de Marne.	"Donné aux Champs, nostre maison/ ... Au feu de nostre froide chambre" (203-205)	Nov. 4, 1370.	River Marne (title) Epernay (25) Vinay (32) Cuis (32) Châlons-sur Marne (93) "la porte de Jehan Lucas" (95) Sommesous (169) Trecon (169) Saint-Ladre (191) Hardeuil (191) les Champs (203)	Jehan du Gart, nostre sergent (5) Guillemin de Nogent (6) Thibault de Premierfait (69) Jehan de Maruel (192) Jehan des Ruelles (193)	A parody of a legal letter for the <u>Commission on nouvelleté</u> . The emperor "de toute fumée" uses legitimate arguments to protect the privileges of depredation of local wolves. Under the threat of their violence, the emperor makes sure that his rulings will placate the angered wolves for their so-called violated privileges.

Table 1.--The fumeur legal parodies: a summary of their contents.

Two possible contexts can be hypothesized concerning these poems. The first is that the fumeurs were a local group of colleagues who had come together during the poet's youth, while they were students or clerks, in an organization resembling that of the Basochiens, and who subsequently held positions either as administrators or jurists. This would account for the difference of a number of years in the dating of some of the poems. An alternative hypothesis is that Deschamps was the head of la Fumée by virtue of his being a judge, and his fumeurs were the permanent retinue of clerks and sergents who accompanied him on his round of assizes. This would account for the local, although varying settings of these poems, and for the topical nature of the subjects. Such a permanent retinue would have been privy to the experience and frustrations of its judge-employer, and this might also account for references, either direct or oblique, to real events or cases possibly satirized in these poems. As we have seen, there was an impetus at this time for this social group to enjoy such poetic entertainment.

Poems By Deschamps Related In Subject To The 'Fumeur' Works.

Several poems that are not connected with the fumeurs further illustrate the poet's penchant for initiating 'orders' and other groups. Some of these appear to anticipate or echo material already described in the fumeur poems. For example, the Chartre des bons enfants de Vertus en Campagne is a true drinker's charter written for people in Deschamps' home town

(see the map in Appendix A).⁶⁴ It concentrates on the aspects of folly that are cultivated through immoderate drinking, advising excessive imbibing without any balanced living regime, the notching up of credit at taverns, abusive behaviour to innkeepers, equal spending among drinkers, and 'business' conducted in the form of dice-playing. One resemblance to a fumeur poem can be seen in the poet's advised daily regime for tavern-goers, or Fréquentans (frequenters), as he calls them.⁶⁵ This advice recalls the evidence given for the fight at Vitry:

Firstly, as soon as one gets out of bed in the
 One should go to refresh one's mouth [morning
 With the best and dearest wine,
 From the morning until going to bed,
 Without taking leave very often
 And without having, beforehand, made
 Any arrangement for eating,
 Except that of putting wine in the stomach,
 From which the brain is enfumé,
 And many are heady,
 So much so that they cannot say a word,
 Save for railing, mocking or laughing.
 (16-28)

Again in anticipation of the Vitry poem, those who start fights are urged to end them with drinks of friendship:

⁶⁴ Raynaud, Oeuvres Complètes, v.7, pp. 323-331. This poem, as well as most of those now under discussion are also included in the Chartres et Commissions. Two are found in the manuscript in the section that follows this, rubricated Lettres.

⁶⁵ The term fréquenter is possibly used ironically here, since it is often found in official documents. For example, the constitution for the Confrérie de St. Nicholas begins: "C'est l'ordenance de la confrarie que les compaignons clerc, et autres procureurs et escripvains fréquentant le Palais et la Court du Roy ..."; another example, dated 1364, reads: "Nous voulons et commandons ... que tous les advocas et procureurs fréquentans et qui fréquenteront le siège desdites Requestes" See Bataillard, L'Histoire des Procureurs, pp. 422, 432.

If the Frequenters quarrel amongst themselves,
 Have words, riot, or combat each other,
 The bad feeling should not last
 For as long as one can begin to swear,
 "By God's flesh, let's go and drink!"
 Then one of them should take the glass
 And give it to the other in peace,
 And they should not speak of it any more.
 (205-212)

Finally, one discovers that the persona in this work is prone to the same exaggeration as is Jehan Fumée. His name is one of several that Deschamps adopted:

The sovereign of the Frequenters
 Who has used up a hundred years of his life
 In following the tavern-round at Vertus,
 Well-governed and badly dressed,
 To all the enfants of the town
 Who are able at frequenting,
 In the present and future . . .
 (1-7)

Thus the same spirit observed in the fumeur poems also runs through this work. The same can be said of the poem written by Deschamps as the maître de Gillebertine,⁶⁶ with its familiar-sounding opening:

A noz Gilbertins, fréquentans
 A Crespy passé a cent ans.
 (1-2)

and equally familiar complaint of freezing and cold:

...de liqueur nus,
 Buche vert sanz famble, qui fume,
 Et froide chambre qui enreume ...
 (8-10.)

⁶⁶ Raynaud, Oeuvres Complètes, v.8, p. 50-66.

Addressing drinking friends at Crépy-en-Valois, the poet complained in this poem about his present residence, with its lack of convivial company and surroundings. A similar group of drinkers is mentioned as the Ordre de la Baboue,⁶⁷ in another poem, while there are two works, penned by the Prince de Haulte Eloquence, that establish and call members to a Parlement de bourdeurs - a contest for storytellers and poets in which the best wins the crown.⁶⁸ Clearly, this is a group similar to the Cour amoureuse that was set up by Charles VI in 1400, and to other puys of the time. Unlike the latter, however, the subject-matter of Deschamps' rhetoricians is far from being exclusively chivalric. The longer of these two bourdeur poems allows for a wide assortment of topics for the members, and includes two examples, strange tales of local saints' miracles concerning blackened fish. Like the Chartre, it includes a detailed enumeration of officers of the group and a description of punishments for those who do not appear at the meeting.

Finally, there is one poem that again follows the legal form for commissions on nouvelleté. Its rubric, in English, reads: Of some privileges that the clerks of certain baillis and prevosts have to certain gifts of wine, fowl and fruit made to

⁶⁷ Raynaud, Oeuvres Complètes, vol.5, pp. 134-135.

⁶⁸ Raynaud, Oeuvres Complètes, v.7, pp. 347-360: D'un beau dit de ceuls qui contreuent nouvelles bourdes et mensonges (Of a fine dit about those who invent new funny tales and tall stories), October 16 and 17, 1400; pp. 361-362: Convocation d'un parlement burlesque. This work bears the signature "J.Sohier".

⁶⁹ Raynaud, Oeuvres Complètes, v.8, pp.3-11. De aucuns previlleges que les clerks d'aucuns baillis et presvosts ont sur aucuns dons de vins, volilles et fruiz faiz a leurs maistres.

their masters.⁶⁹ It describes the complaints of "office people, assistants, servants, scribes, clerks and pursuers of the assizes" (43-45) in the bailliage of Vitry, at Fismes, Château-Thierry, Sainte-Menehould, and Passavant. This is, therefore, one 'legal' poem which does seem to have a 'legal' audience, and a local one at that (see the map in Appendix A). The complaint is that the assistants are not receiving their accustomed share of gifts of food, their rights of saisine. It was normal, in the middle ages, and considered not at all as bribery, to give judges presents of foodstuffs or wine, called "épices". A judge's wage was not fixed until the end of the fourteenth century, and he had to maintain with his earnings several residences for his work, a retinue and its means of transport. It would seem that clerks also benefited from the gifts.

Raynaud has suggested that Deschamps was really pleading his own cause, in protest against a municipal order of July 19, 1394, from the town of Senlis, which had restricted presents to the bailli to one gift of wine to be presented only on the first day of the assizes.⁷⁰ Nostalgia for a past bounty is certainly expressed by the writer, but the date of the present poem, December 24, and the locality, the bailliage of Vitry and not Senlis, could suggest rather that the piece was a prelude to the presentation, at a festive time, of gifts from Deschamps to his legal retinue. Since the poet also states that "Maillefer of Fismes" was the first to stint on his contributions (117), it is

⁷⁰ Oeuvres Complètes, v.11, pp. 85, 74.

clear that we have, once more, a setting in the poet's home district. For the poem to work as a parody of nouvelleté, the falling-off of gifts would have had to have been within the previous year. Again, this does not agree with the suggestion put forward by Raynaud concerning the motive behind the poem. Raynaud's dating of this poem at 1398, is dependent upon his punctuation of the final line. The poem ends ".XXIIIIe. jours de décembre/ L'an mil .IIIC. .IIII xx. huit/ Dix adjoustez, apres mainnuit" (238-240). Raynaud reads this as "1388, add ten". Were one to read, instead, "1388, add ten [minutes?] after midnight" the dating of the poem would conform with the period of Deschamps' governorship of Fismes; it would also have been written a year before he was bailli at Senlis, which was in 1389, at which time he would have given up his old bailliage in the Vitry area. This suggests that the poem was really written ten years earlier than Raynaud estimated, and that it was the last legal parody written by Deschamps before he moved on to his less pleasant post at Senlis. It is possible that 1388 was the latest date for this type of parody. Although not any kind of "emperor" in this poem, he still assumed in it the comic role of chief legal protector, as

Le conservateur général
 En commun et especial
 Des privileges et usages
 Des baillis, lieutenans et sages
 Fréquantans sièges et assizes.
 (1-5)

issuing orders that remedy the falling-off of gifts.

The language and revealed intention in all of these poems

again recalls the activities of the burlesque societies. The names of the various leaders suggest this: le Prince de Haulte Eloquence, l'Ordre de la Baboue, le Souverain des Fréquentans, Les Gilbertins, Fumeurs, and the enfants and bourdeurs and mock dignitaries so familiar in fifteenth-century theatre are already being mentioned in these works. These poems alone seem to bear out Arden's assertion that such groups were forming in the fourteenth century, although sporadically,⁷¹ for a number of members' names are mentioned in several of these works, but rarely do they recur from one poem to the next. Of those that have so far been identified, a small number were certainly in the legal profession, while others were employed in secretarial or administrative posts for the nobility.⁷² These poems, especially the Virtus drinking charter and the second nouvelleté parody, confirm the probable existence of the fumeurs, if not by overt connection, then by a common spirit.

Possible Connections Between Fourteenth-Century Patrons And Musicians And Deschamps The 'Fumeur'

Can information from the longer fumeur works suggest anything new concerning the identity of the members? Can these legal parodies tie in with the musical items in the Chantilly Codex? It is clear that wherever the fumeurs are mentioned, one should suspect the intervention of Deschamps. It is a fact that

⁷¹ See fn. 16.

⁷² See Raynaud, Oeuvres Complètes, v.10, pp.157-241, "Index des noms propres".

Deschamps is represented in the Chantilly Codex by two poems written on the death of Guillaume de Machaut (of whom he was said to have been a nephew, and who was certainly a mentor of some kind). These poems were set as a double ballade by F.Andrieu (no. 84). Interestingly, there is no ascription to the poet in the manuscript, which raises the question of there being other unascribed pieces also by Deschamps, possibly even the fumeur chansons. Given the coincidence of the two fumeur pieces and Deschamps' works in the same collection, it would be a useful step to examine the political ballades of Chantilly in the light of the poet's own political career. This would involve a comparison of the patrons of known fourteenth-century musicians with those of Deschamps, and investigation of their common presence at important events celebrated in poem and song in the Chantilly Codex. Such a study would not be easy, given the scarcity of information on most composers of this period, and the very busy career of the poet. Deschamps' career took him all over Europe, and he appears to have been present at many of the important events that occurred at the end of the century.

There are, therefore, three known composers with whom to associate Deschamps. To the names Hasprois, Solage and Andrieu, whose music can in some way be connected with this poet, one should add those of two minstrels, Platiau and Jacot de Noyon.⁷³

⁷³ In the Chantilly Codex, the composer, Trebor, incorporated into his own ballade refrain the first line of text and music found in the Andrieu/Deschamps double ballade; see En semeuillant m'avint une vesion, no.20. Trebor's acquaintance with Deschamps' works need not have been involved in this particular borrowing, however.

The connection with Platiau is found in a letter written, under Deschamps' pen, by the young prince, Pierre de Navarre.⁷⁴

Brought up at the French court as hostage for his father's good behaviour, this thirteen-year-old was taken ill during a battle in Normandy, in 1379, and sent to Paris, to recover under Deschamps' care. To distract him in his ennui, Deschamps, acting as secretary, entertainer and probably maître d'hôtel, helped him to write the letter to six-year-old Louis d'Orléans.

The letter describes the prince's tedium and the correspondingly wry state of his secretary:

Apres sachiez qu'a ma venue
A Eustaces ly enfumez
Eu la toux et s'est enrumez,
Qu'à paines puet il dire mot:
Je boy au voirre et il au pot.
(80-84)

Know that since my arrival
Eustace, the enfumé
Has had a cough and is stuffed up with a cold
So that he can hardly say a word.
I drink from the glass, and he from the pot.

It would be just like the chief of fumeurs to have caught a cold, or to use it as an excuse to drink twice as deeply as his young charge! One should ask, in connection with this passage, how well-known Deschamps' nickname, l'enfumé, had become, for the prince to understand the joke behind it in this poem. Did this name travel with the poet throughout his life?

Also residing at this hotel was a musician, important in relieving the prince's boredom:

⁷⁴ Raynaud, Oeuvres Complètes, v.8, pp. 33-37.

Ne je n'y ay phisicien
 Fors Platiau le musicien,
 Qui jeue, quant je l'en requier,
 De la harpe et de l'eschiquier.
 (43-46)

Nor have I seen any doctor there
 Except for Platiau, the musician,
 Who, when I ask, plays
 The harp and the eschiquier.⁷⁵

We know, therefore, that the musician Platiau, at least, could have been aware of Deschamps as "the enfumed one".

In the Chantilly Codex, an ascription to Hasprois is found on the page containing the ballade Puisque je suis fumeux. The ascription is signed by one Ja. de Noyon: "Jo Simon de haspre composuit dictum. Ja. de Noyon." There are four records of a minstrel with this name. The first comes from accounts of the Duke of Anjou, listing him in 1374 as a minstrel of the duke.⁷⁶ The second and third refer to him as a musician in the employ of King John of Aragon; in 1378, he received permission to attend the school of minstrelsy at Bruges, with three others, one of them probably Jacomi de Senleches, the very advanced ars subtilior composer, and in 1379 he was again given permission to go to the escoles with Jacomi.⁷⁷ Finally, in an Italian account book a payment is listed for the year 1383, to Jacoto de Noyono,

⁷⁵ The young prince also declares that he is "Not that sick in my fingernails/ Not to have learned to play/ On the eschiquier and the flageolet/ And when I come to see him [his uncle]/ I will be regarded as a good minstrel" (102-106).

⁷⁶ See Ursula Günther, "Zur biographie einiger Komponisten der Ars subtilior", Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 21(1964):172-199.

⁷⁷ See Wilkins, "The post-Machaut generation", p.59.

rote and vielle player of the Count of Vertus.⁷⁸ At this time, the Count of Virtus was the Italian, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, who had received the title in 1360, on his marriage to Isabelle of France, daughter of King Jean II.⁷⁹ This was the very year in which Deschamps, a Vertus native, was made juré to the Count of Vertus. Raynaud drew attention to a possible visit that Deschamps made to Italy in this year, on the occasion of the marriage, and to the poet's service there under Isabelle.⁸⁰ There is, therefore, a very tenuous connection between the juvenile Deschamps at Galeazzo's court in the 1360's, and the minstrel, who was recorded there thirteen years later and who, at some point in his life, made an ascription to Hasprois concerning the fumeur ballade. Given the movements of this minstrel, it is small wonder that he could have been familiar with the works of poets and composers in a number of places!

When the county of Vertus reverted back to French hands, Deschamps was still in the service of the new count: Gian Galeazzo's daughter, Valentine, brought back the countship to France when she married Louis d'Orléans, in 1387. This was the same Louis who, at six years old, had received Pierre de Navarre's letter, and whom Deschamps later served in a number of

⁷⁸ See Filippo Saraceno, Regesto dei Principi de Casa d'Acaja, (1295-1418). Tratto dai conti de tesoreria (Torino: Paravia, 1881), p. 169. "Iacoto de Noyono, menestrerio de ruta et viola, domini comitis Virtutum ... cuidam iuuanti de tripet in camera Domini, castri Vigoni, presente Domina et Domino Aymone de Sabaudia et pluribus aliis".

⁷⁹ See E.R. Chamberlain, The Count of Virtue: Giangaleazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1965.), p. 31.

⁸⁰ Raynaud, Oeuvres Complètes, v.11, p. 12, v.2, p. 86. In a supplication to King Charles VI, Eustace declared that he served "votre tante en Lombardie aussi".

offices.⁸¹ At her marriage to Louis, Valentine became Deschamps' mistress by double right. The poet wrote a number of works for both Louis and Valentine, championing the latter during her political troubles. Included in Louis d'Orléans' library was a collection of ballades by Deschamps.⁸² Account books show that Louis also took an interest in hearing musicians play, during his gambling parties and other revels held at his residences, and when travelling on royal business.⁸³ Deschamps' close involvement with Louis' household, and his probable connection with Italy, provide some argument for investigating documents concerning the counts of Vertus, both in Italy and later in France.

Deschamps' Ballade 813: 'Je Doy Estre Chancelliers Des Fumeux'
And The Two 'Fumeur' Poems Of The Chantilly Codex.

Deschamps wrote one fumeur poem that has a resemblance to the fumeur chansons in Chantilly. This is a ballade, a much more personal piece than his other fumeur works, which describes the poet's musing on his own bewildering nature. Like the Chantilly ballade, Puisque je suis fumeux, Deschamps' work is

⁸¹ Working for Louis d'Orléans, Deschamps was successively governor of Fismes (1381), bailli of Senlis (1389-1404), and counsellor and maître d'hôtel (1393).

⁸² See F.M.Graves, Deux inventaires de la Maison d'Orléans (1389 et 1408) (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1926) p. 130, item 687.

⁸³ See Aimé Champollion-Figéac, Louis et Charles, Ducs d'Orléans: Leur Influence sur les Arts, la Littérature et l'Esprit de leur Siècle. 2vols. (Paris:[n. p.] 1844; reprint ed., Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1980.), pp. 80-81, 119, and Nigel Wilkins, "The post-Machaut generation", p. 49, fn.54.

written in the first person:

- Je doy estre chancelliers des Fumeux,
 Et en l'office a tousjours demourer,
 Car de l'ordre maintenir sui songneux,
 Si c'on ne puet ma personne trouver
 5 En un estat, ains me voit on muer
 Soudainement mon sçavoir en folye,
 Estre dolens, puis faire chere lye.
 Ainsi me fait fumée, par ma foy,
 Muser souvent et si ne say pourquoy
- 10 De nature sui merencolieux,
 Colerique, voir, me puet l'en trouver
 Si sui enclins a estre merveilleux
 Naturellement donc doi je retourner
 A ma nature, sans moy desnaturer
 15 Et estre plains de grant merencolie;
 Car resister n'est pas de ma partie
 Ains me defuit; ce me fait en requoy
 Muser souvent et si ne say pourquoy.
- 20 Donc je conclus, s'on me voit pou joyeux
 Que je m'en puis par nature excuser
 Car je ne suis pas si ingenieux
 Que je sache contre nature aler.
 Fumeux seray, riens n'y vault le parler,
 Fumeusement menray fumeuse vie,
 25 Demourer doy en ma chancellerie
 Qu'a tousjours maiz me verrez en ce ploy
 Muser souvent et si ne say pourquoy.
- I have to be chancellor of the fumeux
 And to remain in that office for ever,
 For I am careful of maintaining the order
 Since one may not find my personality
 5 In one condition before I am seen to change,
 Suddenly, my wisdom to folly,
 To be miserable, then to have a happy face.
 Thus, by my faith, does fumée cause me
 To wonder often, and yet I do not know why.
- 10 I am melancholy by nature,
 Choleric, truly, one may find me.
 If I am inclined toward being amazed,
 Naturally then, I must return
 To my real nature, without going against nature
 15 And to be full of great melancholy,
 For it is not in my make-up to resist,
 Thus resistance flies from me; this makes me, in
 Wonder often, and yet I do not know why. [return
- Therefore I conclude that if I am seen to be little

- 20 I must be excused because of my nature, [joyous
 For I am not that ingenious
 That I would know how to go against nature.
 I shall be fumous, it is not worth saying any more
 Fumously, I'll lead a fumous life; [about it
 25 I must dwell in my chancellery
 So that forever on you will see me in this
 [occupation,
 To wonder often, and yet I do not know why.

The Chantilly poem attributed to Haprois is more ebullient in tone, but has a similarly involved syntax and specious reasoning. Both poems associate fumée with choler, and both stress that fumée is something that comes naturally to the personality of the writer, claiming, paradoxically, that it would be unnatural to try to suppress such seemingly unnatural behaviour. There are also some differences between the two: the poem by Deschamps is more concerned to describe the changeable state of a fumeur, while that ascribed to Hasprois is an apology for the state of la fumée, includes an extravagance of word-play on fum . . . words, and, with its strings of subjunctives, suggests a mock-learned discourse:

- Puisque je suis fumeux plain de fumée
 Fumer m'estuet, car se je ne fumoye,
 Ceulx qui dient que j'ay teste enfumée
 Par fumée, je les desmentiroie.
 5 Et nonpourquant jamez ne fumeroie
 De fumée qui fut contre raison:
 Se je fume, c'est ma complexion
 Colerique qu'ainsy me fait fumer;
 Je fumeray sans personne grever.
 10 C'est bien fumé, il n'y a point d'oultrage
 Quant on fume sans fere autry damage.
- Fumée n'est a nulli refusée,
 Fume qui veult, tenir ne me'en porroie.
 J'ay mainte chose en fumant rechinée;
 15 Encore sçay que mais ny avenroie
 Se par fumer en fumant n'y pensoye.
 Fumée rent bien consolacion

Aucune foyz toult tribulacion
 On se peut bien en fumant deliter.
 20 Home fumeux peut en fumant trouver
 En lui pluseurs profit et avantage
 Quant on fume sans fere autry damage.

Se j'eusse la cervelle impetrée
 De Socratès, sy con je le vouloye,
 25 J'eusse bien la teste plus attrempée,
 Car onques ne fuma par nulle voye
 Chascun n'est pas çaint de celle courroye.
 Car tel fume que pou s'en perçoit on
 Tant a au cueur plus de confusion
 30 Quant il n'ose sa fumée moustrer
 Ou il n'ose pour paour d'empirer
 Je ne tien pas qu'on ait le cuer volage,
 Quant on fume sans fere autry damage.

Since I am fumous, full of fumée,
 I have to fume, for did I not fume,
 Those who say that I have a head enfumed
 With fumée, I would make out to be liars.
 5 And yet, however, never would I fume
 With a fumée that went against reason:
 If I fume, it is my choleric nature
 That makes me fume thus.
 I shall fume without upsetting anyone.
 10 This is well fumed-on, there is no outrage whatever
 When one fumes without doing harm to anyone else.

Fumée is refused to nobody,
 Let him fume who will, I could not restrain him
 While fuming, I have resolved many things, [from it;
 15 And yet I know that never would it have come about
 Had I not, when fuming with fume, thought on it.
Fumée offers great consolation;
 Every time, one may easily lighten
 All tribulation through fuming.
 20 In fuming, the fumous man can find
 Within himself much of profit and advantage
 When one fumes without doing harm to anyone else.

Had I obtained the brain
 Of Socrates, as I would have liked,
 25 I would certainly have a more regulated head,
 For he never fumed in any manner.
 But not everyone is restrained with such control;
 For however much fuming there is and little divined
 There will be that much confusion in the heart
 30 When he does not dare to show his fumée,
 Or he does not dare to, for fear of getting worse.
 I do not agree that one would have a flighty heart
 When one fumes without doing harm to anyone.

Like the longer fumeur works, absurdity is a feature of this poem. A manifestly unreasoning frame of mind is defended on the grounds that it is natural, and therefore not a fumée that is "contre raison" (6), or "unreasonable"!

This poem also appears in another manuscript (Bibliothèque nationale, f.fr., n.a. 6221) containing written works by a number of poets, including Alain Chartier, Christine de Pisan and Machaut, as well as Deschamps.⁸⁴ In this manuscript is written a rubric above the poem, Puisque je suis fumeux, which calls it: Ballade de maistre fumeux. The title "maistre" tells us that the subject was not an uneducated man, however ironic the intention. But also worth noticing is the form of the name, fumeux which is adjectival. This, I believe, supports a reading for the second of the fumeur poems in Chantilly, the rondeau Fumeux fume, set by Solage.

Fumeux fume par fumée,
Fumeuse spéculation
Qu'antre fum met sa pensée.
Fumeux fume par fumée.

- 5 Quar fumer molt li agréé
Tant qu'il ait son entencion.
Fumeux fume par fumée,
Fumeuse spéculation.

(Mr.) Fumous fumes with fumée,
Fumous speculation
Which places his thought between fum.
Fumous fumes with fumée.

- 5 For it pleases him very much to fume

⁸⁴ See De Queux de St. Hilaire, Oeuvres Complètes, v.2, p. xvii, and Leo Schrade, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century: Commentary to v.II and III, Supplement. (Monaco: Editions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956), p.37.

So much be his mind set on it.
 Fumous fumes with fumée,
 Fumous speculation.

It should be noticed that, where there is a feminine noun in the poem, there is agreement from its associated adjective, as in line 2, fumeuse spéculation. The first words of the poem may therefore be interpreted as a masculine name, "(Mr.) Fumous", followed by a verb, "fumes", a welcome addition in a poem that has so few of them. This reading differs from translations suggested by performing groups that have recorded the work.⁸⁵ Supplying the subject in line one of the poem accords very well with the "third person" in which this poem is written. Given the wholehearted defense of fumée in Puisque je sui fumeux, the present work, with its third-person references, could be interpreted as a riposte to it, whether this is intended as mocking or supportive. Line five, with its reference to the pleasure derived from fuming, and line three, which links thought and fumée, could certainly recall part of the earlier poem. This text, with its riddling, repetitious lines, is typical of the tight construction of rondeau form, and it is likely that many poets could have produced works that were similarly constructed. But it should be pointed out that a number of Deschamps' rondeaux have refrains that are as tightly

⁸⁵ See The Art of Courtly Love, Seraphim, SIC-6092, and Music of the Middle Ages, Vol. IX. The Fourteenth Century: The Ars Nova. (The Musical Heritage Society, 899).

constructed as this one.⁸⁶

Biographical details about Hasprois and Solage do not offer additional help in interpreting the identity of the fumeurs. Hasprois (fl.1378-1428), who came from Arras, worked successively at the royal court at Portugal (1378), for the French king, Charles V (1380), at the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Cambrai (1384), and was in the Pope's chapel at Avignon from before 1393 to 1403. He is recorded as a notary in the curia until his death, in 1428. Little is known of Solage beyond the information provided by some of his ballade texts, although even these provide no conclusive evidence for his biography. Two of his works are dedicated to the Duke of Berry, and two ballades have acrostics that refer to a "Cathelline", possibly Catherine de France, King Charles VI's sister, who, in 1386 married the Duke of Berry's son.⁸⁷

Given the movements of Deschamps, his cultivation of all of the royal family as patrons, and above all, his time spent at the court of Charles V, there would have been opportunity for him to come across both Hasprois and Solage, the former as a musician employed by Charles V, the latter possibly as a musician involved on some occasion with the Duke of Berry. Too little is yet known about the biographies of all three for it to be possible for any further particulars to be provided.

⁸⁶ See for example, Raynaud, Oeuvres Complètes, v.4, p. 3, "Dolens douleur, douloureuse et dolente,/ Me fait désir chascun jour endurer"; p.33, "Joyusement, par un tresdoulx joir,/ En joyssant menray vie joyeuse,/ Comme celui qui se doit resjoir"; p. 149, "En desconfort comme desconfortée/ Desconfortant me desconforteray,/ Se reconfort de mon doulx ami n'ay". See also, pp. 49, 51, 79, 151.

⁸⁷ See "Hasprois" and "Solage", The New Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie,

It seems that one should think of the fumeurs as having been a locally based group of the Marne region, connected in some way with the legal positions held by Deschamps from the 1360's until about the end of the 1380's. How musicians may be associated with such a group is not clear, although it is certain that at this period, a church career, in which most musicians were involved, would have been enhanced by some background in law. The biographies of the Dormans family provide shining examples of successful cleric-lawyers.

Patrons of Deschamps and an important local family, the Dormans produced three generations of men influential in the fourteenth century. Jean de Dormans was a procureur at the Parlement of Paris from 1346. Of his sons, the eldest, Jean, was an avocat, becoming bishop of Lisieux, then Chancellor at the Parlement at Paris, bishop of Beauvais, chancellor and Guardian of the Seals of France, and finally a cardinal, in 1368. In 1370, he founded a college at Paris. His younger brother, Guillaume, also an avocat, took over the chancellorship at Jean's resignation. Both had been counsellors to Louis d'Orléans, and Guillaume was a counsellor to the king. The cardinal had two nephews: Miles de Dormans was bishop of Angers, Bayonne and Beauvais, had been counsellor to the king and the Duke of Anjou, for whom he was subsequently chancellor, and president of the Chambre des Comptes; his brother, Guillaume, was bishop of Meaux and archbishop of Sens.⁸⁸ A number of the

⁸⁸ See Bataillard, L'Histoire des Procureurs, pp.309-313, and Raynaud, Oeuvres Complètes, v.10, p. 184.

late fourteenth-century composers held positions that required clerical skills. While none would have risen as high as any of the Dormans, it is not inconceivable that as part of their training, they would have had some education in law.

One should also remember that Deschamps referred to himself, in 1379, as "ly enfumé", and that he may have used the name as a type of identifying catchword. In such a case, the scope for his interaction with musicians becomes significantly wider.

The 'Fumeurs', Their Nature And Their Identity: A Summary.

The fumeurs must not be thought of as a kind of 'fringe element', a group of literary dope-users indulging in mysterious philosophical debates. This view, first suggested in the early 1970's, depends upon anachronistic readings of the word fumer.⁸⁹ In the introduction to his recording of Fumeux fume, Alejandro Planchart wrote:

In addition to being literary people, it is possible that the fumeurs were also hemp smokers. Hemp was smoked in medieval Europe, and this may not only explain the medieval association of smoke with madness . . . , but also the apparent "madness" of Solage's piece.

Unfortunately, it appears that this view caught the imagination

⁸⁹ This view was expressed in the commentary to a recording of Fumeux fume by the Capella Cordina, led by Alexandro Planchart, Music of the Middle Ages: Vol.IX.: The Fourteenth Century. The Ars Nova. (The Musical Heritage Society, 899).

of the editor of a standard history anthology, the Norton Anthology of Western Music. The rondeau, Fumeux fume, is printed in this anthology with a translation that was offered with Planchart's recording.⁹⁰ The translation of the text begins with the lines: "Smoky fumes through smoke/ smoky speculation". In the companion text-book to this anthology, the same work is referred to by the slightly different incipit "Smoky smokes", and the translation for fumeurs is offered as "the smokers".⁹¹ The meaning, 'to smoke', associated with fumer, originated with the use of tobacco, not known in Europe in the middle ages. The meaning, 'to smoke dope', has become associated with 'to smoke' only in the second half of the twentieth century. A better understanding of the fumeurs and of the fumeur poems of Deschamps and the Chantilly Codex is to be gained by considering the very rich associations evoked by the word fumer in the late middle ages. Such associations had their basis in time-honoured metaphor, and in the popular expression of medieval physiological and psychological knowledge. Vagueness, changeability, garrulousness, and the tendency to quarrel, would all have been regarded as manifestations of 'fumidity', because of their volatility or intangibility. Deschamps' poems show that drinking to excess, an intemperance that was itself an indication of fumosity, was perceived as a way of inducing or

⁹⁰ See Norton Anthology of Western Music, vol. 1, ed. by Claude V. Palisca (New York/London: W. W. Norton and Co. , 1980), pp. 87-88.

⁹¹ See Donald Jay Grout, A History of Western Music, 3rd. ed. , Claude V. Palisca, ed. (New York/London: W. W. Norton and Co. , 1980), p. 138.

aggravating the unattractive qualities of the fumous. This perception also had its physiological explanation, since the vapours caused by alcohol were understood to influence the condition of the humours, and it was the latter that determined a man's personality and changing moods.

The defense of folly is a theme in all of the fumeur works, the legal parodies as well as the short poems. In an age that had seen the division of the Church, the devastation of the Black Death, and the start of the Hundred Years' War, and in a country whose deranged monarch had involved the rest of nobility in a mutual struggle for political power, it would be a natural reaction to view all human activity as folly.

Deschamps wrote many gloomy poems prophetic of doom from this viewpoint. But one can also consider as another symptom of the times a reaction toward folly by indulging it, witness in our own century the excesses of the "roaring twenties", and those of the present punk era. The fumeurs have been described as eccentric, but their habits appear to represent a standard fools' tradition whose practices were becoming more widespread, and which had developed through a sympathetic response to social conditions. This response came from an educated class of people whose background, interests and education provided both the opportunity and the leisure for pursuing literary and dramatic activities. This is the context in which one must place the fumeurs. It would appear that, in Deschamps' time, such activities were only beginning to gather momentum, and that the groups could be fragmentary or ephemeral, as Deschamps' own

poetry suggests. This might also account for the looser nature of the group of fumeurs which could include musicians. One must also consider the possibility that Deschamps became known as the most visible fumeur, and that, in his many travels, he took the appella¹tion with him. Since he served noblemen who were also noted for their musical patronage, the possibility of Deschamps the fumeur being known to composers is high.

II. THE 'FUMEUR' MUSICAL SETTINGS.

Music for the two fumeur poems in the Chantilly Codex, Puisque je sui fumeux, and Fumeux fume, (numbers 47 and 98 respectively), will be analysed in this chapter.⁹² The descriptions of fumeurs offered in Deschamps' poetry show them to have the following qualities: moodiness and changeability, irascibility, the tendency to pontificate, a love of tippling, and a tendency toward excess, in drinking as well as in all other activities. There may be ways in which some of these qualities are reflected in the music for these two poems.

In addition, it is clear that Deschamps' fumeur poems contain much humour, and it is a humour that would have been appreciated by the educated man. Again, one might look for musical expression of such learned humour.

Finally, each poem makes its own special literary effect: Puisque je sui fumeux is an expansive, pseudo-learned argument defending the author's fumosité, while Fumeux fume is a terse, riddling rondeau directed at the fumosité of a third person. How this poetic aspect is reflected in the music, if at all, is another interesting question to be broached in the following analyses.

⁹² See Gordon Greene, French Secular Music: Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 564, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, vols. 18 and 19, (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1980).

The Ballade 'Puisque Je Suis Fumeux'

There are several compositions in the Chantilly Codex whose music was certainly intended to illustrate the text, for example, Borlet's "realistic" virelai, Hé tres doulz roussignol (no.89); and there are others whose music, it has been suggested, was carefully tailored to the syllables of underlaid words, for example, Pykini's virelai, Playsance: Or tost a euz vous assemblés (no. 90).⁹³ Unfortunately, one cannot claim with the same surety a similar correlation between music and text for the majority of compositions in Chantilly. Therefore, in any discussion of the music of the two fumeux texts, it would be all too easy to interpret certain features as illustrations of a humorous subject-matter, even though similar passages are found elsewhere in manifestly non-humorous contexts. Because of this, it is far easier to discuss Solage's rondeau, Fumeux fume, than Hasprois' ballade, since the former has several features which make it outstanding, even among the highly adventurous pieces of the Chantilly repertoire.

Hasprois' composition is in the advanced style similar to a number of Chantilly pieces. While it is possible to consider the text responsible for some of the musical features in this ballade, such guesses cannot be substantiated until far more is known of the fourteenth-century musical aesthetic, especially

⁹³ See Gordon Greene, The Secular Music of Chantilly, Manuscript Musée Condé 564 (olim 1047). (Ph.D. Diss., Indiana University, 1971), p.299.

with respect to ars subtilior musical ideals. ⁹⁴

Interpretation of a ballade such as Puisque je sui fumeux would have involved several stages of activity. The first, of course, would have been the reading of the note-values, taking into account perfection, imperfection and colouration at all levels of note-division. But understanding of the notational symbols would be only the beginning of an intelligent reading of the music, which would be affected by many other musical elements. For example, a section of duple note-divisions could sometimes naturally create groupings of three, under the influence of syncopation, slurs or melodic line. Another stage would involve consideration of the effects of several combined voice-parts, bringing to an already complex musical situation the added interest of richer texture, rhythmic dislocations and harmonic dissonances. Finally, the text could bring about important modifications of the whole. It is believed that poetic texts played a subordinate role in ars subtilior music, but in spite of this, there would surely have been some felt effects in performance: an ongoing drive, for example, created by the poetry through a series of clauses, or a question, or a hiatus produced by attention-catching exclamations. The

⁹⁴ Three of Hasprois' four known compositions have the rhythmic complexity associated with the ars subtilior style. Two of his ballades occur in Chantilly, nos. 46 and 47. A ballade and a rondeau refrain with one incomplete voice-part, are in the MS. Oxford Bodleian, Canonici misc. 213 (O). Some anonymous works have also been ascribed to this musician: one is Médée fu, found in O and Chantilly, there is a further work in O, and finally, there are possibly two chansons from the Leiden fragments. See Gilbert Reaney, Early Fifteenth-Century Music, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 9, vols. 2 and 4, and Ursula Gunther, "Problems of dating in Ars Nova and Ars Subtilior", L'Ars nova italiana del trecento. III (Certaldo: Centro di Studi sull'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento, 1975): p. 296.

commentary below has been undertaken with these considerations in mind.

Rhythmic variety appears to have been a major concern in this two-voiced ballade. From the beginning, phrases include mixtures of duple and triple groupings that are conditioned by the irregular alternation of long and short note-values (see Figure 1 below, p. 79).⁹⁵ In Figure 1a, the dotted quarter-notes A, G, and F, gain emphasis through contrast with the surrounding eighth-notes. The slurred eighth-note pairs D-A, and G-E, are heard as rhythmic units because the articulation of the text falls on the initial note of each pair, strengthening it as the first of a group. Certain intervals in this opening phrase are repeated (see Figure 1a), but this repetition is subtly varied by means of the rhythmic groupings. In Figure 1b, the quarter-notes attract the stress, in contrast with the surrounding eighth-notes. The first eighth-note figure receives emphasis when its effect is extended by the succeeding eighth-note.

At some points, musical accents produced by such grouping of note-values seem to match the underlaid text, as at measures

⁹⁵ In all of the following figures, note-groups have been re-written so that they best illustrate the points of stress, and will not exactly resemble the transcription in Gordon Greene's edition, from which the examples and measure-numbers have been derived. See Gordon Greene, French Secular Music: Manuscript Chantilly, Vol. 18, pp. 131-132.

⁹⁶ Individual notes appear to have been very carefully placed in the original, as if to show the exact syllable to which they were to be sung. Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain a sufficiently clear facsimile of this piece to be able to illustrate this.

33-35, 36, 37-38 (see Figure 2, p. 79).⁹⁶ Each verse is approaching its close at these measures, and the lines here receive appropriate emphasis from the matching of melodic, rhythmic and textual stress. Especially felicitous is the setting of the word "quolerique", in measure 33. This is an important word in the first verse, since it is part of the poet's reason for his fumosity, but it is an odd one for a lyric poet to have had to set -- indeed, the whole subject is strange for a ballade. This strangeness is exaggerated by the drawing-out of "quolerique" through having melody and rhythm create a stress on the syllable 'i'. The result is certainly amusing.

Syncopation, introduced by the interpolation of one or two small note-values, is a noticeable feature of this work. Measures 37-38 provide one example, with the sixteenth-note displacement occurring toward the beginning of measure 37, finally being resolved at the end of the musical phrase, late in measure 38 (see Figure 3, p. 81). Significantly, such syncopated passages often contain a series of like note-values. But this kind of passage also creates a rhetorical effect that can be quite suitable for the text that is sung; measures 37-38 certainly illustrate this point. In all three verses, the poet is making an assertion at these measures: "This is well fumed-on, there is no outrage whatsoever"(verse 1), " the fumous man can find/ Within himself much of profit and advantage" (verse 2), "I do not agree that one would have a flighty heart" (verse 3). These assertions are all the more emphatic for their setting in steadily iterated but syncopated notes.

2 or 3

⏟ indicates duple or triple note-groupings.

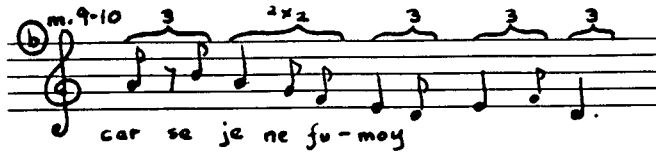
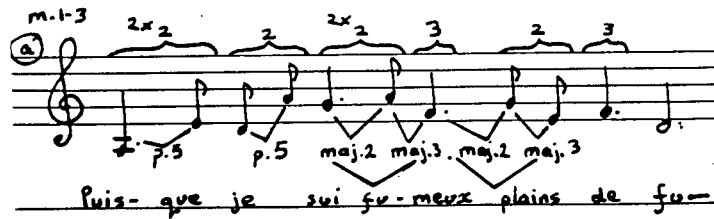


Fig. 1. Mixing of duple and triple note-groups produced by alternating long and short note-values (Puisque je sui fumeux).



Fig. 2. Matching of melodic, rhythmic and textual accents (Puisque je sui fumeux).

Even where there is no syncopation, a similar rhetorical impression is made by any series of like-valued notes, because of the strong contrast it makes with the surrounding, more fluid rhythmic texture. At measures 7-9, for example, a series of long notes of equal length is introduced after the first internal cadence-melisma (see Figure 4, p. 81). Consequently, each note is very clearly defined, and lends considerable emphasis to whatever words are sung at this point. This emphasis is further increased by the longer note-values heard simultaneously in the lower line.

There are points in the work where a more static lower voice focuses attention dramatically upon upper-voice articulation, as in measures 16 and 36 (see Figure 5, p. 82). At measure 16, the melody of the upper voice moves gracefully down toward the note E, in the next measure. This passage has the effect of introducing the rest of the section because this purposeful descent to a strong point is all that is happening here: all activity has been suspended in the lower voice. Like a pedal-point or a drone, the static D of the tenor increases the impact of the upper voice without being intrusive. In measure 36, the contrast between the very short note-values of the cantus and those of the much slower tenor, in combination with their rhythmic dislocation, produces a similar effect. The static quality at measure 36 is also increased by the repetition, in the upper voice, of a small musical figure (see Figure 5b). In view of the forward drive created in the succeeding measures, both by the upper-voice syncopation and the



Fig. 3. Syncopation: a) Passage as transcribed by Greene. b) Passage notated to show points at which syncopation begins and ends. (Puisque je sui fumeux)

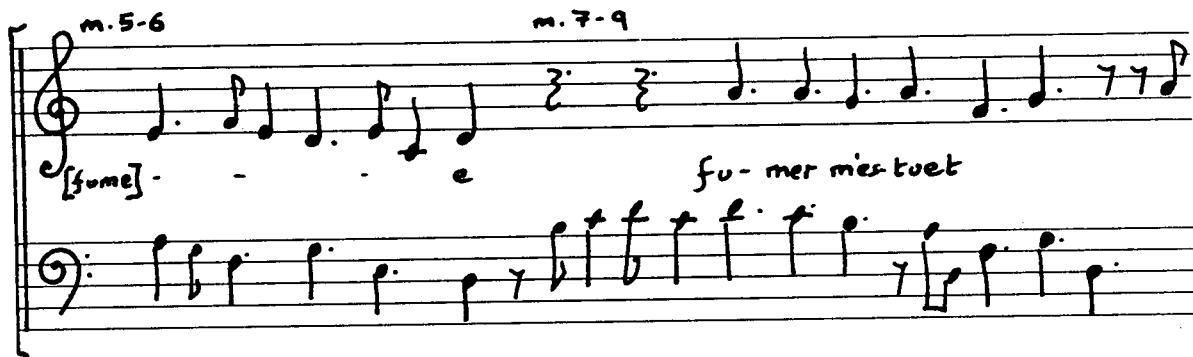


Fig. 4. Rhetorical effect produced by a series of like-valued notes in contrast with surrounding texture (Puisque je sui fumeux).

Fig. 5. Musical score for "Puisque je suis fumeux".

Part (a) shows the vocal line (treble clef) and the lower voice line (bass clef). The vocal line features a melodic line with repetitions (y) and a slowly moving lower voice dislocated rhythmically from the upper voice. The lyrics are: "je fu-me-ray sans per-son-ne gra-ver c'est bien fu-me il n'i a point d'ou-ve-ray".

Part (b) shows the vocal line (treble clef) and the lower voice line (bass clef). The vocal line features a melodic line with repetitions (y) and a slowly moving lower voice dislocated rhythmically from the upper voice. The lyrics are: "je fu-me-ray sans per-son-ne gra-ver c'est bien fu-me il n'i a point d'ou-ve-ray".

x indicates accent falling on note.

Fig. 5. Repetition in melodic line (y), and slowly-moving lower voice dislocated rhythmically from upper voice, resulting in static musical effect (Puisque je suis fumeux).

Fig. 6. Musical score for "Puisque je suis fumeux".

Part (a) shows the vocal line (treble clef) and the lower voice line (bass clef). The vocal line features a melodic line with repetitions (y) and a slowly moving lower voice dislocated rhythmically from the upper voice. The lyrics are: "je fu-me-ray sans per-son-ne gra-ver c'est bien fu-me il n'i a point d'ou-ve-ray".

Part (b) shows the vocal line (treble clef) and the lower voice line (bass clef). The vocal line features a melodic line with repetitions (y) and a slowly moving lower voice dislocated rhythmically from the upper voice. The lyrics are: "je fu-me-ray sans per-son-ne gra-ver c'est bien fu-me il n'i a point d'ou-ve-ray".

Fig. 6. Dissonances produced through note-displacement:
a) Greene's transcription. b) Recreation of passage with syncopation removed (Puisque je suis fumeux).

increased activity of the lower voice, one can view the present passage as a slow opening that gradually evolves into a drive toward the cadence. When one considers the patter-like enunciation at measure 36, (see Figure 5b), that heralds this dramatic effect, and the words that would have been sung here, one can certainly begin to suspect a comic intention.

Finally, the work has a series of perverse dissonances produced by syncopation. These occur between measures 29 and 32 (see Figure 6, p. 82). The upper and lower voices are 'out' here by two eighth-notes, creating dissonances of major and minor sevenths and ninths, both at strong points as well as through escape-tones. Figure 6b presents a simpler version of the passage as it might have been conceived before syncopation. The dissonances heard in these measures could be interpreted as a musical joke that is intended to match the text, the perversity of the passage being 'famous' from a musical point of view.

The total effect of this work is one of rhythmic fluidity and constant change. There are occasional points of rhetorical strength, but these are always brief. Indeed, a most striking aspect of the piece is its concentration of varying musical features within such a small time-frame: a rapid succession of new mensurations, varied note-groupings, and complex musical styles and effects makes certain that performers and listeners would have to have been very alert during its performance. Perhaps the constant change and perverse dissonances would have produced an aura of madness that a fourteenth-century audience

could have considered appropriate for a poem that was a (mock?-) defense of fumosit  .

The Rondeau 'Fumeux Fume'.

Nothing is known of Solage, beyond what can be gathered from his music and the information suggested by its texts. Of his ten works in Chantilly, the largest number in this collection by one composer, one ballade praises the Duke of Berry (S'aincy estoit, number 50), and two more are believed to have celebrated the wedding that took place in 1386, between the duke's son and Catherine de France, sister to Charles VI (Corps femenin and Calextone, numbers 24 and 80.) Solage is regarded as a composer who is stylistically close to Machaut, but who also acquired considerable skill in the more complex ars subtilior writing, as is certainly evident in the ballade S'aincy estoit.⁹⁷

The rondeau Fumeux fume is remarkable for a number of musical features. The extremely low tessitura in which the piece is written allows for the transcription of all three voices to be made comfortably within the modern bass clef. This is not the only composition in the fourteenth-century repertoire to use low notes: Matheus de Perusio's virelai, Heylas que feray, has a comparable tessitura : the E and D below   occur in both Contra

⁹⁷ For a discussion of Solage and his background, see Ursula G  nther, "Die musiker des Herzogs von Berry", Musica Disciplina 17 (1963):79-95.

and Tenor voices, and all three voices have a low range.⁹⁸ In the present work, there appears to be conscious exploitation of the lower, flat pitches. The lowest notes used in the contra and tenor lines are often ^fF and even E-flat, both situated below the bottom pitch Γ-ut of the gamut (see for example, measures 7, contra and 8, tenor, and measures 22, contra, and 23, tenor).⁹⁹

Also unusual are manuscript accidentals applied to notes that one is not accustomed to seeing altered at this period, and, through the presence of these accidentals, the implied addition of yet more "unlikely" ficta notes. For example between measures 16 and 22, the cantus seems to move through a tonal sequence that includes the notes A-flat (m.16), G-flat (m.17), E-flat (m.18), D-flat (mm.19 and 20), low B-flat (m.20 and 21), none of which had a place in the Guidonian hand.

Unusual for the music of this repertoire are the chains of sequences that occur in the work (at measures 16-22, and 27-34; see the sections marked in Figure 16 below, p.107). The use of sequence has been noted as characteristic of Solage's style,¹⁰⁰ but here it is featured prominently, receiving far more

⁹⁸ This work, containing as ficta notes only F-, C- and G-sharps, appears to be exploring or requiring a transposed recta gamut, with the hexachords on E, A and D (see p.93 for further explanation of gamut extensions). The virelai, which occurs in the Modena manuscript, has been transcribed in: French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century, vol. 1, ed. Willi Apel and Samuel N. Rosenberg (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1970), pp.113-115, no.58.

⁹⁹ See the transcription by Gordon Greene, in French Secular Music: The Manuscript Chantilly, pp.165-166.

¹⁰⁰ See Gordon Greene, French Secular Music: The Manuscript Chantilly, no.13, Très gentil cuer and no.17, En l'amoureux vergier, and the commentary to these pieces, pp. 149-150, 151.

attention than is customary in works of this period. Rhythmic sequences are matched by an intriguing series of tonal sequences which take the music on unusual harmonic excursions, such as the one that occurs at measures 16-22 (see Figure 7 below, p. 87). Strange prefigurations of modern harmony appear to catch the ear at these measures, such as the drive toward what we would term a B-flat minor chord, in measure 19, the diminished seventh chords at measures 17 and 20 (only the second of these resolves in a 'modern' way), and the 'dominant' sound of the chord on F at measure 20. But the 'six-three' harmonies associated with music both of this period and that of the following decades, is also represented in this passage (see Figure 7, measure 16-17), and there is also, at measures 21-22, a final cadence that uses a standard progression, a six-three resolving to a five-eight chord, with its doubly-raised leading-tones. One can guess that the composer used these sequences as a way to explore unusual tonal areas not hitherto known to music theory, and that this musical experimentation was, for the composer, a fumeuse spéculation, as the text declares.

The sequential imitation in all voices may have carried further implications of fumosit  for a medieval musician. It has been shown that similar musical passages, called fantasia, were referred to in some music publications, as well as in certain treatises concerned with improvisation, written between the early 1500's and 1700's. In their sources, the examples of sequential imitation are used to illustrate how short, repeatable harmonic and contrapuntal structures could be used as

a-16-22

[f.-] - me par fo - - - me - e.

b

cantus 16 17 18 19 20 21 22

contrabasso and basso

F 1 3 5 C Bmin. Bmin. F 1 3 5

V of F IV of C III of Bmin. II of Bmin. V of F

Fig. 7. Sequence patterns: a) Greene's transcription.
b) Harmonic reduction (Fumeux fume).

memory-cues for improvising part-music. The use of such mechanical formulae was apparently linked to a branch of rhetoric, the ars mnemonica, taught as an elementary part of all education, and it is clear that such formulae, like the conjured images placed in loci in the mind to aid memorisation, were regarded as unreal and artificial. The conception of the fantasia by theorists has been summarized as:

something which is imaginary, something unreal and intangible. Because of its mechanisitic regularity, it is looked on as a purely artificial contrivance, an inherently unnatural progression springing directly from the imagination.¹⁰¹

Given this conception of the sequential element implied by fantasia, so appropriate a description of fumosity, it could be justifiable to consider the sequences of Fumeux Fume as musical metaphors for fumosité. Since medieval education included instruction in the ars mnemonica, it might have been possible that a musical application of its processes was being made in this work at the suggestion of its text. There are a number of possible motivations for this work: it could have been intended as irony, mocking those who indulge in such musically speculative matters, its comic text could have provided the composer with an excuse for indulging his musical curiosity, or finally, it could have been the appropriate contribution for a composer to make who was present at a gathering of fumeurs, a

¹⁰¹ See Gregory Butler, "The fantasia as musical image", The Musical Quarterly, 60 (1974):602-615. I am grateful to Dr. Butler for drawing my attention to this significant information.

teasing piece with its lurching chromatic shifts, its over-extended sequences, and its "roaring bass line".¹⁰²

But was fourteenth-century music theory completely unable to explain such music? It may be more than just coincidence that there was one theorist, the author of the so-called Berkeley Manuscript (Berkeley, MS. 744), who in 1375 had discussed extensions of the system of hexachords, setting down all that was current at the time of writing, but also adding the fruits of his own speculation.¹⁰³ The "new" notes used in Fumeux fume are the very same new notes described by the Berkeley theorist when discussing extensions to the hexachord system, his own ideas as well as those of others. One could possibly view Fumeux fume as a test piece for new ideas connected with those that the Berkeley theorist was propounding, a truly avant-garde work.

In order to illustrate the speculations of the Berkeley author, it will be necessary to describe briefly the regular hexachord system, and then to discuss his innovative ideas in the light of other commonly accepted late medieval extensions to the system that were recorded by his closest known contemporaries.

¹⁰² See Willi Apel, French Secular Music of the Fourteenth Century (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1950), p. 30, no.40.

¹⁰³ See Oliver Ellsworth, "The Berkeley Manuscript (olim Phillipps 4450): A Compendium of Fourteenth-Century Music Theory" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1969) 2 vols.

The Regular Hexachords And Their Properties

Medieval theorists had evolved a method for reading and naming the pitches used in Gregorian chant, a diatonic, monophonic repertoire. They appear to have used the system for pedagogical purposes, in order to teach students how to sing chant, in order to learn new pieces, and to help them to categorize the different modes. The standard method described in medieval treatises made use of a working 'scale' unit, or hexachord, consisting of six ascending pitches, arranged in the tone-semitone pattern: t t s t t. In addition, each pitch was assigned a syllable which identified its degree within the hexachord, this being the process of 'solmization'. Figure 8, below (see p.90), illustrates the uninflected, natura, hexachord (henceforth to be referred to as N), and its solmized pitches.

intervals:	t	t	s	t	t	
pitches:	C	D	E	F	G	A
solmization syllables:	ut	re	mi	fa	sol	la

Fig. 8. The natural hexachord (N)

Two further hexachords were used to allow for the solmization of the pitches B-flat and B-natural: the "soft" hexachord, so-named after the pitch B-flat used in it, B-mollis (to be referred to as M), and the "hard" hexachord, named after the pitch B-

natural, B-durum (to be referred to as D). The cardinal point about the system was that whatever hexachord one was using, the semitone could always be recognized between the solmization syllables *mi* and *fa*. The features that differentiated each of the three hexachords, such as the *mi-fa* placement and pitch-range, were referred to as their 'properties'. Figure 9 (see p. 95), illustrates the proper application of the syllables of each hexachord to a chant melody. The entire range of available hexachords allowed the system to extend from G up to e'', giving a total number of seven possible starting-points, or deductiones (see Figure 10 below, p. 95).

Figure 11 (see p. 96), shows the process known as "mutation", in which a pitch common to two hexachords was used as a pivot-note in order to allow solmization to continue, should the melody go outside the range of its initial hexachord, or introduce pitches foreign to it. Although it is not known how it was done in practice, theory treatises show that mutation occurred at the last possible point, with the appropriate syllables from both the old and the new hexachord being applied to the common pitch. This point was termed coniunctio. Figure 11 below is derived from the fifteenth-century treatise by Anonymous XI of Coussemaker (to be referred to henceforth as A.XI.).¹⁰⁴ The entire gamut is represented below (see Figure 12, p. 97), showing the overlapping of the hexachord pitches and

¹⁰⁴ See Edmond de Coussemaker, Scriptorum de musica medii aevi novam seriem a Gerbertina alteram. (Paris: A.Durand, 1864-1876), Anonymous XI, vol.3, p. 421b.

their solmization syllables. In this system, it is possible to indicate the exact pitch of any note, as medieval theorists did; for example, F below middle c is 'F fa ut'. Where the same designation would reoccur at a higher octave, the terms acuta and superacuta were used to indicate that part of the range.

While the system described above was suitable for the majority of chant melodies, there were always some exceptions, including notes such as f-sharp or e-flat, that were 'outside' the repertoire of available pitches and which could not be solmized according to the current theory. The number of such examples increased with the growing use of polyphonic counterpoint, since such compositions often required adjustment of pitches to create vertical consonances. Such adjusted notes were termed by the theorists musica ficta or musica falsa, since in theory they were imaginary, and had to be 'feigned'. The medieval explanation of ficta notes reflects the singer's concern to locate the semitone correctly, a concern which had also influenced the nomenclature of the regular hexachords. A ficta note was produced by the creation of a semitone out of a tone, where previously there had existed none.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ See Oliver Ellsworth, "The origin of the *coniuncta*: a reappraisal", Journal of Music Theory 17 (1973): 91. Ellsworth cites the definition of Johannes de Garlandia.

The Coniuncta

It would seem that by the fourteenth century, the use of these feigned notes was so familiar that they had acquired a new name, coniunctae; as they are described in the Berkeley treatise of 1375, it is clear that these pitches, which in earlier times would have been considered unusual, now have some theoretical justification, and are no longer considered as absolutely foreign.¹⁰⁶ The Berkeley theorist discusses the formation of these pitches as an aspect related to regular hexachords and their normal mutation process. He links the latter to the topic of the coniuncta in the following manner:

If you consider these matters carefully, together with the examples below, you will be able to inspect every syllable of any song and determine its proper place in the system, unless by chance some unusual progression should turn up, which some incorrectly call *musica falsa*, others *musica ficta*. Still others properly call them *coniunctae*, because, like conjunctions, they take place by the regular properties mentioned above. And so these *coniunctae* were invented so that a song formerly called irregular could be brought into regularity by them in some manner. For the *coniuncta* is the attribute, realized in actual singing, of making a semitone out of a tone at any point, and vice versa. Or, rather, a *coniuncta* is the mental transposition of any property or hexachord from its own location to another above or below.¹⁰⁷

There are three points that are especially noteworthy in

¹⁰⁶ Ellsworth, in "The Berkeley Manuscript", pp. 28-30, draws attention to an operation similar to the coniuncta that was discussed by Jerome of Moravia, writing between 1272 and 1304. Transposing the intervallic patterns of the tetrachord rather than the hexachord, this theorist described how to produce flats on the pitches A, B, D, E, and G. According to Ellsworth, this may suggest that the development of hexachord transposition occurred early in the fourteenth century.

¹⁰⁷ See Oliver Ellsworth, "The Berkeley Manuscript", vol.1, pp. 90-91.

this passage. Firstly, the coniuncta is treated as a more appropriate synonym for musica ficta, secondly, coniunctae are spoken of as a means of legitimizing somewhat the formerly irregular notes, and are referred to as if they had already existed for some time ("And so these coniunctae were invented so that a song formerly called irregular could be brought into regularity by them in some manner"), and finally, this legitimizing is done through the transposition of the properties of normal hexachords to another location. This last point shows clearly that the traditional theory had expanded to take into account new performing practices. But the Berkeley theorist does not merely describe this expansion of the theory in its current state; he also extends it, occasionally pointing out what is the accepted understanding of the operation of the coniuncta and what is his own view of the matter.

The coniuncta is best understood as the process used for creating a new semitone. At the point at which this must occur (or at which the coniuncta is to be "taken", as the Berkeley theorist likes to refer to it), between the pitches C and D, for example, one can either lower the upper pitch, calling this note fa, or raise the lower one, calling it mi (see Figure 13a and b, p. 97). The theorist states that the signs for B mollis and B durum (♭ and ♯) are used, respectively, to indicate each of these operations. On the basis of the syllables mi and fa of these semitone intervals, a new hexachord starting on the pitch A-ut could be produced. If the coniuncta had required a flat, the hexachord would begin on A-flat, and presumably

Handwritten musical score for three voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor) with Latin lyrics. The score is divided into three systems, each starting with a circled letter (a, b, c) and a hexachord symbol (N, D, M). The lyrics are: "N re ut fa sol la", "Pan - ge lin - gua glo - ri - o - si", "ut fa mi sa re fa sol mi re", "Chris - tus tus re - sor - gens ex ...", "M mi re fa mi re mi ut mi sol mi re mi re mi", and "Haec di - - - es."

Fig. 9. The application of the hexachords.

Handwritten musical score showing the seven deductions of the hexachord system. It consists of three staves, each showing a hexachord (D, N, M) and its corresponding Roman numeral (I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII). The notes are written on a five-line staff, and the Roman numerals are written below the staff.

Fig. 10. The seven deductiones of the hexachord system.

The figure displays three staves of musical notation, each representing a different hexachord mutation. The notation is written on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The time signature is common time (C). The notes are represented by dots on the staff lines, with solfège syllables (re, fa, mi, sol, ut) written below them. Brackets and slurs are used to group notes and indicate mutations.

Staff 1: The first staff shows a sequence of notes: re, fa, mi, sol, re, fa, mi, re, ut, re, sol, re, sol, fa, sol, ut, mi, re, ut, ut. The Latin labels N, M, and D are written vertically below the first three notes. The mutations are indicated by brackets and slurs: sol to re, re to sol, sol to ut, and ut to sol.

Staff 2: The second staff shows a sequence of notes: mi, re, fa, sol, ut, fa, sol, fa, mi, re, ut, re, mi, fa, ut, re, fa, mi. The Latin labels N, M, and D are written vertically below the first three notes. The mutations are indicated by brackets and slurs: sol to re, re to ut, and ut to re.

Staff 3: The third staff shows a sequence of notes: re, re, fa, sol, re, ut, re. The Latin labels N, M, and D are written vertically below the first three notes. The mutations are indicated by brackets and slurs: ut to re, re to ut, and ut to re.

Fig. 11. Mutations for natura, mollis and durum hexachords.

The figure shows a musical staff with three regions: *graves*, *acutae*, and *superacutae*. The *graves* region (bass clef) contains notes I, II, III, and IV. The *acutae* region (treble clef) contains notes V, VI, and VII. The *superacutae* region continues the scale. Below the staff, the following solfège names and syllables are listed for each degree:

D I	ut re mi fa sol la
N II	ut re mi fa sol la
M III	ut re mi fa sol la
P IV	ut re mi fa sol la
N V	ut re mi fa sol la
M VI	ut re mi fa sol la
D VII	ut re mi fa sol la

Below these, the full scale is written with letter names and accidentals: C, D, E, F, G, A, B, C', D', E', F', G', A', B', C'', D'', E''.

Fig. 12. The gamut and the deductions of its hexachords.

(a) Create new semitone between C and D.

(b) interval gives: mi-fa or: mi fa

(c) Hexachords built on the basis of newly-assigned solmization

Fig. 13. The operation of the coniuncta.

include whatever other flats were necessary to produce a normal hexachord pattern. If the coniuncta had employed a sharp, the hexachord would have to start on A, and include the sharps necessary for the construction of its hexachord. This operation is illustrated above (see Figure 13).

The Berkeley theorist is thorough in his description of each coniuncta: he mentions the point at which it is taken, the sign that must be used, the solmization syllable assigned to the changed pitch, the new deduction to which this gives rise, and its property. According to this theorist, the property of a hexachord thus formed depends not on the nature of the accidental that has just been applied, but on its proximity to another traditional hexachord and the latter's defining semitone pitches, since the coniuncta is considered as being but a transposition. Thus, a coniuncta taken at D-E and signed with B-mollis (*b*), would produce a D- E-flat semitone, and yet give rise to a hexachord on B-flat that had the property of natura, because of its closeness to the C hexachord. In the same way, the unlikely-looking hexachord beginning on D-flat (created through the sign B-mollis being applied at the point F-mi-G-fa), would also be natura. Figure 14 below (see p. 99), illustrates all the coniunctae, their hexachords, properties and the direction of their transposition, as described by this theorist.

When the Berkeley theorist discusses the number of coniunctae that are available, his originality becomes quite apparent. It is shown in two ways: firstly, his own words indicate it; and secondly, when his own examples of the

<u>Diplomatic rendering of deductions from coniunctae in Berkeley (ascending form reproduced only)</u>	<u>Hexachords that may be derived from the examples in Berkeley.</u>	<u>Direction of transposition and property.</u>
1 	(1st: coniuncta "according to art") secundum artem	Down from F. <u>Mollis</u>
1 	(1st: coniuncta whose syllables are sung by b according to tradition) secundum usum	Down from F. <u>Durum</u>
2 		Up from F. <u>Durum</u>
3 		Down from C. <u>Natura</u>
4 		Up from C. <u>Natura</u>
5 		Down from F. <u>Mollis</u>
6 		Up from G. <u>Durum</u>
7 		Down from c <u>Natura</u>
8 		Up from c. <u>Natura</u>
9 		Down from f. <u>Mollis</u>
10 		Up from g. <u>Durum</u>

Fig. 14. Coniunctae presented in the Berkeley treatise, and their derived hexachords.

coniuncta are compared with those of the closest choronologically surviving treatises, it is obvious that a greater variety and a larger number of accidentals are introduced by the Berkeley theorist than by the two slightly later sources: the Libellus musicus, Vat. lat. 5129 (henceforth to be referred to as Vl.), which Albert Seay dated around 1400,¹⁰⁸ and the treatise by Anonymous XI in Coussemaker (A.XI.), dated around 1450.¹⁰⁹

We can deal with the Berkeley author's own words first. He declares that, although current opinions give the number of coniunctae as seven, eight or more, he himself puts the number at ten. In effect, his contemporaries would have been justified in saying that his treatise really described eleven, since he refuses to consider as a new coniuncta the semitone which introduced into the graves area of the gamut the pitch B-flat, and which other theorists called coniuncta number one (see Figure 15 below, p. 104). A hexachord built around this inflected pitch would begin its deduction on F below Γ -ut, one note lower than the traditionally lowest pitch of the gamut.

¹⁰⁸ Albert Seay, ed., Libellus musicae, Corpus scriptorum de musica, 9 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1964)p. 15. The coniuncta is mentioned on pages 27, 32, and 46-47.

¹⁰⁹ See CS. vol.3, pp. 426-430. Ugolino of Orvieto, writing around 1430, constructed hexachords on the pitches F, B-flat and E-flat, essentially creating a transposed gamut beginning on F below Γ . He also tabulated hexachords on B-natural, E-natural, D, and C below Γ , and mentioned a hexachord on A, to account for the pitch C-sharp. He did not use the term coniuncta, discussing the above in the context of musica ficta. See Ellsworth, "The Berkeley Manuscript", vol.2, p.23, and Andrew Hughes, Manuscript Accidentals: Ficta in Focus, 1350-1450. (Musicological Studies and Documents 27, Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), pp. 21-39.

Earlier in his treatise, the Berkeley theorist had already added this new pitch "by art" (secundum artem) to those that could be reckoned on the Guidonian hand,¹¹⁰ and so he claimed that, secundum artem, a hexachord built on this note was quite logically acceptable:

According to common practice the first coniuncta is taken between A and B graves; it is signed on A [read: B] with the accidental \flat , and its hexachord begins (they say) further below under Γ , so that fa is sung on B gravis But I, beginning the hand or palm according to art (below on F gravis), say that there is no coniuncta on B gravis; for where tradition says B-mi, I say B-fa-B-mi, as I stated above.¹¹¹

The Berkeley theorist claims for himself another departure from the common practice of his time: his first coniuncta is taken between Γ and A gravis, giving an A-flat fa that initiates a hexachord on the very low pitch E-flat below Γ -ut. Calling this a transposition downward of the hexachord on F below Γ , he says of this example, " But common practice does not use this coniuncta, because it does not reckon the letter F with the other letters of the hand."

The other innovations of the Berkeley theorist come to light through comparison with Vl. and A.XI., the two chronologically successive sources that provide comprehensive treatment of coniunctae. There appears to have been a common source of information for all three treatises, since the musical

¹¹⁰ See Ellsworth, "The Berkeley Manuscript", p. 84: "Now one of the letters outside the hand, F, is not in common use, but according to art it may be placed at the first joint of the middle finger outside the hand."

¹¹¹ Ellsworth, "The Berkeley Manuscript", p. 92.

examples cited in illustration of coniunctae are often the same for all three, and there are even close resemblances between the wording of definitions of the coniuncta in Berkeley and in A.XI.¹¹² Figure 15 and Table 2 (see p. 105), allow comparison of the material on coniunctae presented in each of the three treatises. Figure 15 presents the information on the formation of coniunctae and their solmization that is provided in each treatise. Table 2 compares in detail all of the practical examples cited in the three treatises for illustrating the use of coniunctae in chant. The common practice of the period is clearly best reflected in the later two sources, with their more conservative presentation of the coniuncta. The number of coniunctae mentioned in both of these treatises is eight, a number which seems to bear out the Berkeley theorist's assertion that writers usually gave the number as "seven, eight or more". Figure 15 below, shows that the Berkeley theorist developed the coniuncta in three areas: firstly, he extended its use downward into the very low range of the gamut, in this process providing a hexachordal basis for the "new" note E-flat (see Figure 15, B.1.); secondly, he realized the theoretical possibility of lowering fa at the coniuncta points where common practice had only applied raised mi (between C-D and F-G), thereby creating the possibility of hexachords which included E-flat, A-flat, D-flat and G-flat (see Figure 15, B.2, B.4, B.6, B.8, and B.10.); and, finally, he made provision for the coniuncta producing C-

¹¹² See Ellsworth, "The Berkeley Manuscript", vol.2, p. 24

sharp/D-flat to occur throughout the gamut, whereas in the other treatises this had been placed only in the acutae (see Figure 15, B.2, B.10.). It is significant that the Berkeley theorist provides no examples that illustrate this new material, even though he does include musical examples for the coniunctae that would represent common practice, and which match those of Vl. and A.XI (see table 2). This lends further support to the belief that he was using material known from other sources, and adding the fruit of his own speculation.

'Fumeux Fume' And Innovations Of The Berkely Theorist.

Considering the rondeau Fumeux fume in the light of these innovations, one is struck by the correspondence between the truly new suggestions of the Berkeley theorist and the unusual pitches of this work. The low F, B-flat and E-flat, and the A-, D- and G-flats asked for in this piece, are accounted for by the hexachords created through the Berkeley theorist's examples. A hexachordal analysis of this rondeau does not work out easily in all voices, and occasionally disjunctions, the violent crossing over from one hexachord to another, are the only way to continue the solmization of the voice-part. This occurs more frequently in the lower voices, but only once does it appear to be necessary in the triplum (see appendix C). Of the two causes for mutation, exceeding the ambitus of one's hexachord and requiring appropriate syllables for a semitone, the latter reason is, of course, the dominant one for much of the mutation

The figure displays four systems of musical notation, each consisting of two staves. The notation includes solmization syllables (mi, fa, ut) and pitch alterations indicated by accidentals (sharps, flats, and naturals) and numbered deductions (1., 2., 3., 4., 5., 6., 7., 8., 9., 10.).

System 1:

- Staff B:** Labeled "(secundum artem)" and "secundum usom". It shows a sequence of notes with accidentals and deductions: 1. b, 1. b usom, 2. #arb, 3. b, 4. #arb, 5. b. The solmization syllables are: mi-fa ut mi-fa ut mi-fa ut ut mi-fa ut mi-fa ut ut mi-fa ut.
- Staff VI:** Shows a sequence of notes with deductions: 1., 2., 3., 4., 5.

System 2:

- Staff AXI:** Shows a sequence of notes with deductions: 1. b, 2. b, 3. #, 4. b. The solmization syllables are: fa, fa, mi, fa.

System 3:

- Staff B:** Shows a sequence of notes with deductions: 6. #arb, 7. b, 8. #arb, 9. b, 10. #arb. The solmization syllables are: mi-fa ut ut mi-fa ut mi-fa ut ut mi-fa ut mi-fa ut ut.
- Staff VI:** Shows a sequence of notes with deductions: 5., 6., 7., 8., 9.

System 4:

- Staff B:** Shows a sequence of notes with deductions: 5. #, 6. b, 7. #, 8. b. The solmization syllables are: mi, fa, mi, fa.

Fig. 15. Coniunctae described in Berkeley, Vat. lat. 5129, and Anon. XI., showing points at which coniunctae are taken, the direction of the altered pitches, new solmization, and (in Berkeley), new deductions.

CONIUNCTA	SIGN	PROPERTY	CONIUNCTA NUMBER	EXAMPLES CITED BY THEORISTS	CONIUNCTA OCCURS AT:	TREATISES B. VI. A.XI.			NOTATED INCIPITS B. VI. A.XI.			NOTATED CONIUNCTAE B. VI. A.XI.			TRANSPOSED ALTERNATIVES
┐-A gravis	bA	M	I B. (secundum artem)												
A-B gravis	bB	M	I B. (secundum usum) VI., A.XI.	Resp. Sancta et immaculata " " Emendemus in melius " " Fuerunt sine querela Ant. A timore"	non poterant et miserere calicem domini eripe Domine animam meam	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	
C-D gravis	#C bD	D D	II B.	All. Vidimus stellam eius in oriente	in oriente	✓						✓			
D-E gravis	bE	N	III B., II VI., A.XI.	Resp. Gaude Maria virgo Ant. Gloriosa sanctissimi " O crux gloriosa	interemisti et precibus et mirabile signum	✓		✓			✓			✓	
F-G gravis	#F bG	N N	IV B., III VI., A.XI. (B. only)	Comm. Beatus servus Gloria in excelsis deo	invenerit vigilantem Missus est angelus	✓		✓			✓	✓		✓	A.XI.
Ggr.-a acuta	ba	M	V B., IV VI., A.XI.	Comm. Fidelis servus Resp. Concluit vias meas Resp. Jesum tradidit impius	in tempore lapidem contra me "in several places"	✓		✓		✓				✓	A.XI.
c-d acuta	#c bd	D D	VI B., V VI., A.XI. (B. only)	All. Assumpta es Maria in caelum Resp. Ave (Comm. Beatus servus)	jubilus of Alleluia triclina (invenerit vigilantem)	✓		✓			✓	✓		✓	A.XI. (at 5th.)
d-e acuta	be	N	VII B., VI VI., A.XI.	Ant. Immutemur Int. Adorate deum All. Multipharie	jejunemus (same as incipit) nobis	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
f-g acuta	#f bg	N N	VIII B., VII VI., A.XI. (B. only)	Ant. Hodie Maria virgo Comm. Si consurrexistis Ant. Liberavit Caro mea (not discussed in B.)	Maria (in incipit) que sursum est (same as incipit)	✓		✓			✓			✓	A.XI.
g acuta- a superacuta	ba	M	IX B., VIII VI., A.XI.												
c-d super- acuta	#c bd	D D	X B.												

Table 2.--Information on coniunctae in Berkeley, Vat. lat. 5129, and Anon. XI.

that must occur in this piece.

It is not easy to tell, in the original manuscript, precisely which pitch an accidental is governing. For example, in Figure 16 below (see, p. 107) the first flat in the cantus is on the line for the pitch c, although there is no such pitch notated anywhere on the cantus line. Should such accidentals be interpreted as rough indications, applying to the note that is most near or that is most logically suitable? This appears to be the interpretation applied by both Greene and Apel.¹¹³ The task of applying hexachord syllables in such a case is made doubly difficult. One can never be quite sure, for example, if all the accidentals were added by the same hand; if they were not, they might fail to agree with each other. Certainly, in the tenor part, the one flat and the 'true' sharp sign appear to be in a hand different from that of the other accidentals (see Figure 16), and both \flat and \sharp signs are used in this work to indicate mi. This may suggest that we are dealing with more than one layer of accidental applications, a possibility that is not unlikely.¹¹⁴ In addition, some of the accidentals may be cancelling earlier ones, rather than affecting notes that will follow. For the sake of the exercise, then, the top line of Fumeux fume as transcribed by Greene, has been analysed according to possible hexachordal mutations involving coniunctae. What emerges is a means of singing this vocal line

¹¹³ See Willi Apel and Samuel Rosenberg, eds., French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century, no.103, and Greene, The Secular Music of Chantilly, no.98.

¹¹⁴ See Andrew Hughes, Ficta in Focus, p. 40, item 14.

Solige :-

Fumeux fume

Par hi me e :-

Fumeux fume

Fumeux fume

Fumeux fume

* ————— * indicates sequential passages.
 r ————— indicates red notation in original.

Fig. 16. Facsimile of Fumeux fume, Chantilly,
 Musée Condé, MS. 564, fol. 59, no. 98.

according to what may have been a contemporary practice of solmization. That passages in this song have flats going as far as G-flat would seem to indicate that experimentation in musica ficta and the use of the hexachord was being undertaken.

The Musical Structure Of 'Fumeux Fume'

The musical structure of this work contradicts the poetic structure, in a way, for where the latter is concise, the former is often extended by melismas that take sequences to absurd lengths. The first musical phrase of the rondeau is very brief, consisting of four notes, G-E-G-A (measures 1-3), but then begins a long melisma, centred around the note F (see Figure 17a, b, and c, p. 111). Three short passages in turn lead toward this note, each increasing in length when compared with its predecessor. These move to the first internal cadence, at measures 14-15. This first melisma terminated, another is immediately initiated, this time built on one of the inexorable sequence passages of this work (measures 16-22), repeating the same melodic cell to the final B-flat that ends section one (measure 22). This first part of the rondeau has a cantus part that therefore consists almost entirely of melisma, with constantly-changing tonal areas and too-long sequences. The result sounds like a musical caricature that one might imagine to be a musical type of fumosit  .

The same observation holds for the second section of this piece: the first phrase (measures 23 to the beginning of measure

26), followed by yet another melisma composed of descending chromatic sequences. There might be some comically absurd significance in the cantus line's going so low below the other two parts at this point in order to complete its sequence-pattern (see measure 34), and also in the musical 'tag' that rounds off this passage once and for all (measure 35). A final portion of the melisma, this time a rising chromatic sequence, leads to the final cadence, on F.

Attention should be drawn toward the small groups of syncopations that occur in the cantus, between measures 29 and 34, in a series of four-note units: ♯ ♯ ♯ ♯. Each group receives similar chromatic treatment, clearly to be seen in the original manuscript (see Figure 16, system two). The final long note of each group is raised by a ♯ or ♯ sign placed before it. This pitch alteration is then cancelled in the succeeding melodic unit with a ♭ sign. Such swift chromatic change could be deemed appropriate for the setting of a poem concerned with fumosity: no sooner does the note change to one pitch than it is changed back again. This is exactly how Deschamps described his fumous moods in ballade 813. Would composers have wished to be as literal as this?

More examples of strange or wayward composition occur during these measures. At each half-note pause, the vertical sonorities are unexpected and startling: one hears the effect of triads, C-sharp minor (measure 28), E minor, (measure 30), F-sharp minor (measure 32), and A minor (measure 34), hardly standard in fourteenth-century works. Clashes from false

relations are produced between the notes of these chords and those of the preceding measures. Finally, the contra voice must be mentioned, for its strange melodic configurations between measures 27 and 32 (see Figure 18 below, p. 111). Twice, the melody outlines an ascending tritone, and then this is followed by an ascending major sixth by way of an augmented fifth! A joke must surely have been intended by such perversity.

This examination of Solage's rondeau and Hasprois' ballade was undertaken to discover possible relationships between the text concerning fumeurs and the musical setting. It has been possible to point to several passages that strongly suggest that this was indeed the case in both compositions.

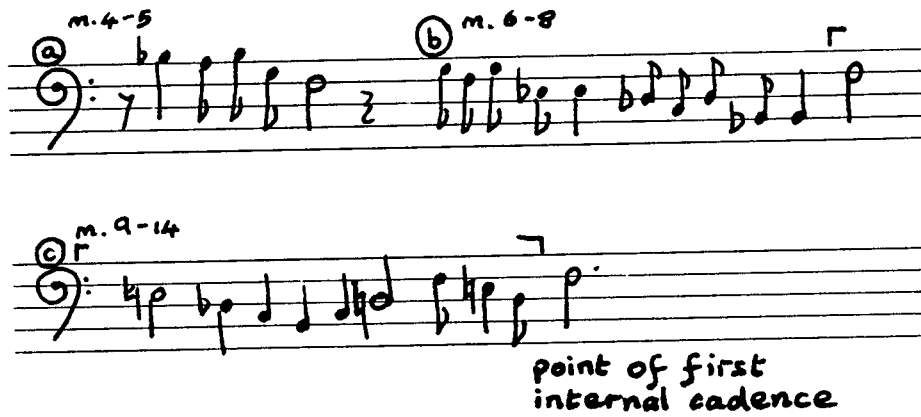


Fig. 17. Passages leading toward the pitch F, and ultimately toward the first cadence in Fumeux fume, showing their gradually increasing length.

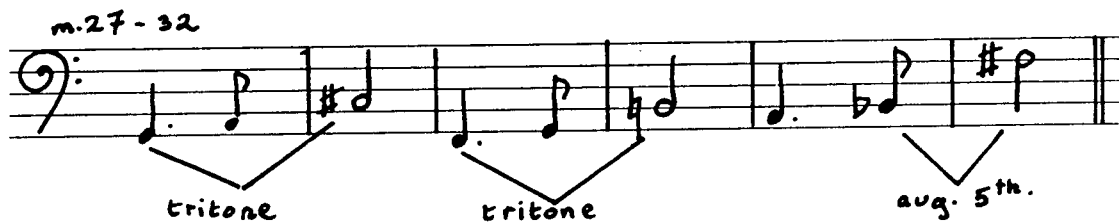


Fig. 18. Melodic intervals outlined in contra-tenor voice between measures 27 and 32 (Fumeux fume).

III. A SUMMARY OF INFORMATION CONCERNING 'FUMEUR' MUSIC AND
POETRY, AND SOME SPECULATIONS CONCERNING SOLAGE AND THE AUTHOR
OF THE BERKELEY TREATISE, AND THEIR IDENTITIES.

A Summary Of Information Concerning F u m e u r Music And
Poetry

Puisque je sui fumeux is characterized by frequent musical changes and a textual underlay that produces a recitative-like patter. In contrast with this, Fumeux fume is full of melismas and contains sequences that strain crediblity through their chromaticism and their degree of repetition. Hasprois' ballade, with its learned tone, has a musical setting that at times could be said to approach the trivial and the bathetic. The rondeau by Solage is economical in its text, but has a setting that makes its point through too much repetition, an excess of chromatic material, and through the use of pitches that could be called speculative. It may therefore be possible to regard text and setting as being at variance in each case, and a cause of humour in these works; there are certainly purely musical aspects of these works that are a cause for humour, independently of the text, but the latter gives them their raison d'être. Fumeux fume, with its "new" notes and even a reference to "fumeuse spéculation", may be connected with the innovative ideas of the Berkely theorist, and certainly could be regarded as illustrating their application. It is possible that such theoretical invention itself would have also deserved the

description of "famous". Both compositions may therefore be viewed as musical illustrations of the concept of fumosit , with all of its meanings.

A link has yet to be established between the composers of the two fumeur settings and the fumeurs described by Deschamps. It has now been shown that Deschamps regarded all stupidity in all sections of society as "famous", although the poems describing his observation and judgement of such fumosit  tend to have a local nature and date from the period in which he was engaged as a judge at Vertus and its environs, from 1366 to around 1388. The majority of Deschamps' fumeur poems are parodies of legal judgements and ordinances, suggesting that their audience would have been sympathetic to the poet's humorous criticism and conversant with the forms being parodied. Such men constituted a new but growing intellectual group in the fourteenth century, satisfying their literary interests by developing existing poetic traditions.

This information must be considered in any future attempt to explain the poet's connection with the musicians Hasprois and Solage. Musicians were usually trained by the Church, and would have had some education. In addition, it is known that they sometimes fulfilled other secretarial and administrative functions, both within the church organisation and under more secular conditions, for private patrons. A good education and some grounding in law would have been an asset, and certain prominent churchmen of the time were highly regarded for such background. It could have been possible, therefore, that

musicians would have been included among a fumeur group, and this would account for their compositions. At the same time, it must be recognized that Deschamps may have been known in many courts as the most visible of fumeurs; there is certainly proof that at Paris, he referred to himself as "the fumous one", in 1379, in a letter read by two young princes. There are a number of people who were patrons of Deschamps and who were also noted patrons of musicians. One can mention as the most important, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, his daughter Valentine Visconti, and her husband, Louis d'Orléans, brother to king Charles VI. Only further research will show if any more connections may be made between these people or other patrons, and Deschamps, Hasprois, Solage, and the fumeurs.

Some Speculations Concerning Possible Connections Between Solage And The Berkeley Theorist.

It may be worthwhile, finally, to call attention to some suggestions concerning the identities of Solage and the author of the Berkeley manuscript. Gilbert Reaney offered the thought that "Solage" was the original name from which was derived the German-sounding anagram Goscalch; the latter name appears as the ascription for the complicated ballade, En nul estat, number 58 in the Chantilly Codex.¹¹⁵ This was challenged by Suzanne Clercx and Richard Hoppin, who pointed out that since there were

¹¹⁵ See Reaney, "The Manuscript Chantilly", p. 71.

records of two clerics with this German name, one of whom was a "cantor", it was not necessary to resort to anagrams.¹¹⁶ That a real Goscalch may have been mentioned in historical documents does not, however, preclude his using a second name, and what better name for a musician to adopt than one which would also suggest solace! If the "real" man was a Goscalch, the anagram might then be "Solage". The adoption or assigning of extra names was certainly a conceit among certain classes of fourteenth-century society: examples include the musician, Jean de Noiers, dit Tapissier, our poet, Eustace Morel, dit Deschamps, and the name Phoebus, adopted in 1360 by Count Gaston of Foix and Bearn. One must admit, however, that the proposed anagram does require considerable adjustment, the omission of some letters and the addition of others, when one uses the spelling of the name as it occurs in Chantilly. The anagram becomes more likely if one considers the spellings for the names of the two known Goscalchs recorded in the documents cited by Clercx and Hoppin: Gotschalcus Wolenspeet and Wulgero Goetschalc. The latter Goscalch, the "Goetschalc", was judged by Nigel Wilkins as more likely to be the composer of En nul estat, although he does not state his reasons.¹¹⁷ This form of the spelling certainly supplies all the letters required to form an anagram "Solage".

¹¹⁶ See Suzanne Clercx and Richard Hoppin, "Notes biographiques sur quelques musiciens français du XIV^e. siècle", in Les Colloques de Wégimont II: L'Ars Nova (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1959), p. 78.

¹¹⁷ See Nigel Wilkins, "The Post-Machaut generation of poet-musicians", p. 56.

The possibility behind the anagram is attractive because of the connection that may exist between the Berkeley manuscript and Goscalch. Ellsworth drew attention to a theory treatise dating from the fifteenth century, Catania, Bibl. Civice D.39, whose chapter incipits and explicitis appear to conform so closely with the first three books of the Berkeley treatise that they could be a direct copy. The only apparent difference was that Catania included an ascription to a "Gostaltus", which Ellsworth reads as a version of the German name Gottschalk.¹¹⁸ We have now to deal with a chain of suppositions: that the "Gostaltus" of Catania is indeed a Gottschalk, that he is also the author or compiler of the Berkeley treatise, that this Gottschalk is also the composer represented in Chantilly, that Gostaltus/Goscalch/Goetschalc may in some anagrammatical way be connected with the name of Solage, and that the latter is closely connected with the writer of the Berkeley treatise or its ideas through his music! The Catania manuscript was not available for Ellsworth to be able to pursue further the identity of the Berkeley author, and there is certainly far more that needs to be found out in connection with all of these hypotheses. Certainly one could hope to find no more appropriate way to close an enquiry on the fumeur works than with such "famous speculation".

¹¹⁸ See Ellsworth, "The Berkeley Theory Manuscript", vol.2, p. 214.

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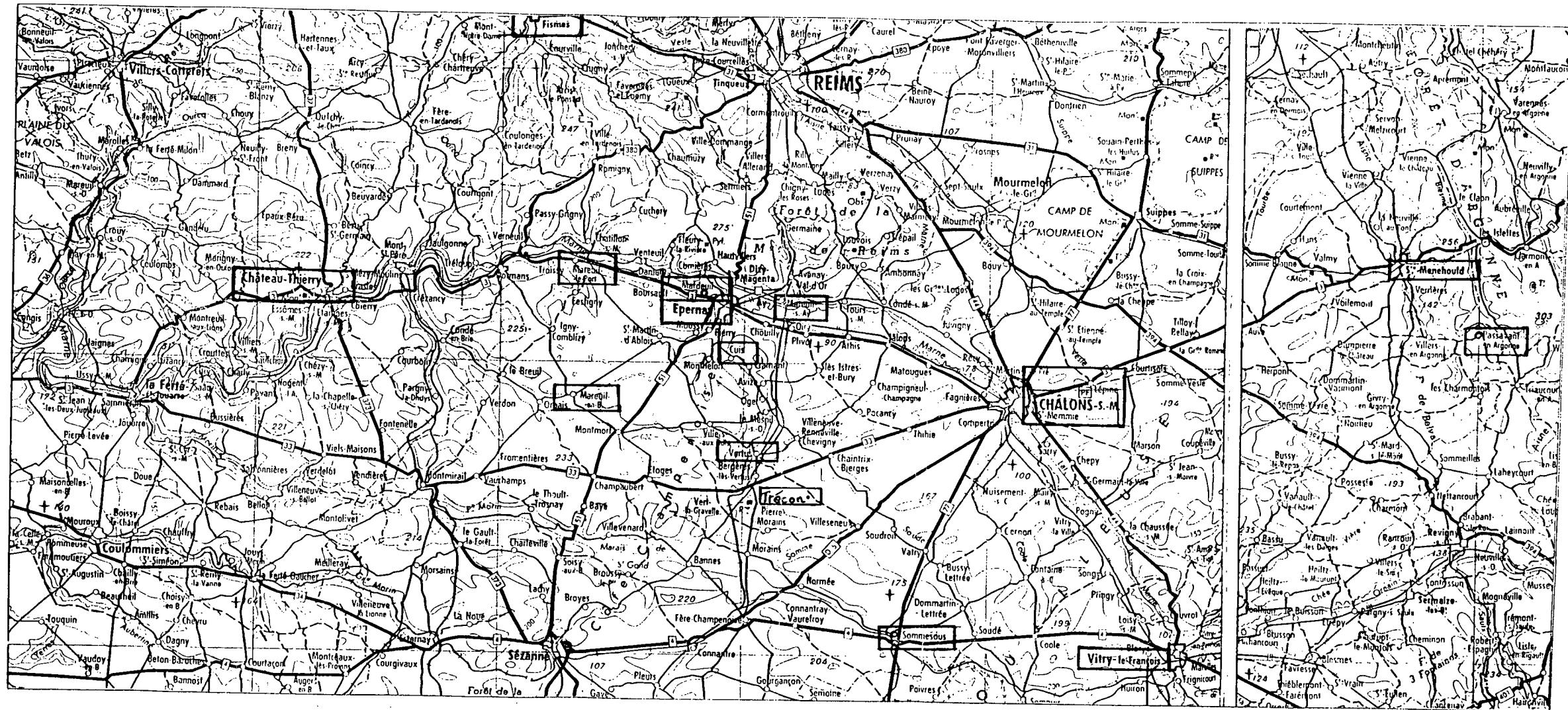
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APPENDIX A - MAP OF THE CHAMPAGNE AREA, SHOWING PLACES REFERRED
TO IN POETRY BY DESCHAMPS.¹¹⁹



Appendix A. Map of the Champagne area, showing places referred to in Deschamps' poetry.

¹¹⁹ Map derived from R. Hardy and Jacques Mercier, Grand Atlas de la France, (n.p.: Le Département d'Édition de Sélection du Reader's Digest, 1969), p.39.

APPENDIX B - A COMPARISON BETWEEN A STANDARD LETTER FOR A
'COMMISSION' ON 'NOUVELLETE' FROM THE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY 'GRAND
COUTUMIER', AND DESCHAMPS' POEM 'C'EST LA COMMISSION DES LOUPS
D'ESPARGNAY'.

Autre Forme: Saisine Et Nouvellete De Saisine. Et Premièrement
De La Commission Sur Ce Requite.

Charles, etc., a tel huyssier ou sergent salut. Complaint
s'est à nous Pierre d'Anjou que comme il soit en possession et
saisine paisible, et ait esté par luy ou par ses prédécesseurs,
par tel et si long temps qu'il n'est mémoire du contraire, ou a
tout le moins qu'il doit souffire à bonne possession et saisine
avoir requise et retenir de telle chose, etc., néantmoins Robert
du Molin a faict telle chose par luy ou par aultre pour luy, et
dont il a eu le faict pour agréable, en troublant icelluy
exposant en sa dicte possession et saisine, à tort et sans
cause, indeuement et de nouvel, si comme il dict, pourquoy nous
te mandons et commettons que se, appelés les parties sur le
lieu, il te appert estre ainsi, tu tiegues et gardes ledict
Pierre en sadicte possession et saisine en ostant ledict
empeschement qui par ledict Robert luy a esté mis. Et se le
dict Robert ou aultres se veulent opposer au contraire, lesdicts
empeschemens ou nouvelletés premièrement ostés, et la chose
remise. Et si, par manière de restitution et de restablissement
a son premier estat, réallement et de faict, le débat et la
chose contencieuse prinse et mise en nostre main comme
souveraine, donnez et assignez jour ausdictes parties par
devant, etc., au jour de leur bailliage de nostre prochain
parlement pour aller avant, etc., en certifiant nous ou nostre
court de tout exploict souffisamment donne, etc.

C'est La Commission Des Loups D'Espargnay Sur La Riviere De
Marne

L'empereur de toute Fumée
Qui a mainte chose fumée
Tousjours augustes en effort
Continuans de fumer fort,
A Jehan du Gart, nostre sergent,
Et a Guillemin de Nogent,
Et a chascun par soy, salut!
A nous griefment se sont dolut
Par nuit, de viez et de nouvel
La lignie frere Louvel

- 19
Disans entour nostre maison
Que ils sont en possession
Par eulx et leur predecesseurs
Comme bons et vraiz possesseurs,
D'avoir entrée et d'avoir prinse
Dedens l'enclos et la pourprinse
D'Espargnay . . . ,

- 39 Et tout autre proÿ a delivre,
Paisiblement, pour leurs corps vivre
- 46 Et tout ce que dessus est dit
Le possession prenommée
Et la saisine ont ilz gardée
Par .I., par deux, par .III., par quatre,
Par dix, par vint sanz rien rabatre
Et par un si long temps que voire
N'est il du contraire memoire,
Tant qu'il suffist et doit suffire
A tout droit de chose parscipre
A possession maintenir,
Continuer et retenir;
- 65 Neantmois, puis en an en ença
Que la forteresse encommença
A estre reedifiée ,
- 97 Et encor y vont breteschant,
En troublant et en empeschant
Ysangrin et sa nascion
En leur dicte possession
Et dame Hersant la deschausse
A tort, sanz raison et sanz cause,
Indeuement et de nouvel.
- 121 Si vous commandons, commettons
Et estroicement enjoignons
Et a chascun sur ce requis
Qui premiers de dit fait enquis,
Parties estans ou presentes
Sur les lieux ou l'en prant les rentes
Pardevant nous pour ce appelez,
Tenez, gardez et maintenez
Ysangrin et sa nascion
En saisine et possession
De la franchise dessus dicte.
- 134 En faisant demolir la voye
De par nous, se il est mestiers
Ainsi comme elle estoit premiers;
Faictes cesser l'empeschement
Mis a yceuls nouvellement
- 151 Et que realment et de fait
Le restablissement soit fait
Ou cas qu'ilz ne s'opposeront:
Ou quel cas, et qu'ilz se voudront
Opposer, le lieu restabli
De ce qu'ilz l'avront dessaisi
Tantost, realment et de fait,
Le cas nouvel par eulx deffait,

Tous premiers et avant tout euvre
 Le debat et la nouvelle euvre
 Et la chose contempcieuse
 Prinse comme larrecineuse
 En nostre souveraine main,
 Donnex leur jour d'uy a demain

163 Par devant Baussant le sangler

173 Aler avant et proceder
 Sans nos mandemens exceder

178 En rescripvant, s'il le couvient,
 Par devers nous de vostre exploit.

APPENDIX C - CANTUS OF 'FUMEUX FUME', SHOWING HEXACHORD
MUTATIONS INVOLVING 'RECTA' NOTES AND 'CONIUNCTAE'

Hexachord shifts:

N A to M M to B^b B^b to A^b

solmization

Hexachord shifts:

A^b to N disjunctio A^b to D D to N

solmization

Hexachord shifts:

N to E^b E^b to D^b D^b to A^b

solmization

Hexachord shifts:

A^b to M M to D

solmization

Hexachord shifts:

D to E^{*} E to N N to B^b B^b to A A to M[†]

solmization

Hexachord shifts:

M to D D to N N to D D to E^b E^b to N

solmization

* requires a conjuncta not mentioned in the Berkeley treatise.