

Attributing Another Song to Maroie de Diergnau de Lille

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ABSTRACT

Maroie de Diergnau is a recognized thirteenth-century woman trouvère to whom one song has been attributed. This article argues that another Old French lyric, Jherusalem grant damage (RS 191, L 265–939), found in the Chansonnier du roi (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 844, known as trouvère chansonnier M) should also be attributed to the songstress.

DAME MAROIE OR MAROIE DE DIERGNAU WAS A WOMAN TROUVÈRE, identified by Petersen Dyggve (1973, 82, 176) as from Diergnau, formerly a suburb of Lille with a feudal castle (see also GUESNON 1902, 160). She is named by Andrieu Contredit d'Arras in his song, *Bonne, belle et avenant* (RS 262, L 7–4),¹ which ends with these words:

Chancon, va t'en! sans retraire
Vers Dergan soiez errans!
Di Marote, la vaillans,
Qu'elle pent² de joie faire.
(SCHMIDT 1903, 49)

[Song, go off without delay / toward Diergnau, set out immediately! / Tell
the valiant Marote, / that she can rejoice.]

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1. In the pages that follow, the following abbreviations are used: RS, to represent Raynaud-Spanke number presented in SPANKE 1955; L, to represent Linker number, presented in LINKER 1979; MW, to represent Molk and Wolfzettel number, presented in MÖLK and WOLFZETTEL 1972; PC to represent Pillet-Carstens number presented in PILLET and CARSTENS 1933.
 2. *Pent* is Schmidt's reading; the intended word is *peut*.

Andrieu probably died in 1248; scholars assume that Maroie was his contemporary and that she flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century.

In *Songs of the Women Trouveres*, the editors were happy to attribute to Maroie de Diergnau one lyric, *Mout m'abelist quant je voi revenir* (RS 1451, L 178–1, MW 964), included in the Paris manuscript Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 844 (henceforth BnF fr. 844), known as the *Chansonnier du roi* (trouvère manuscript M, also known as troubadour manuscript W and motet manuscript R). This attribution comes from the rubricator of the text, who identified Maroie as the author of this song³; the text appears in another manuscript, the *Chansonnier de Noailles* (Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 12615, trouvère manuscript T f. 169r), whose scribe also gave Maroie credit in the rubric.

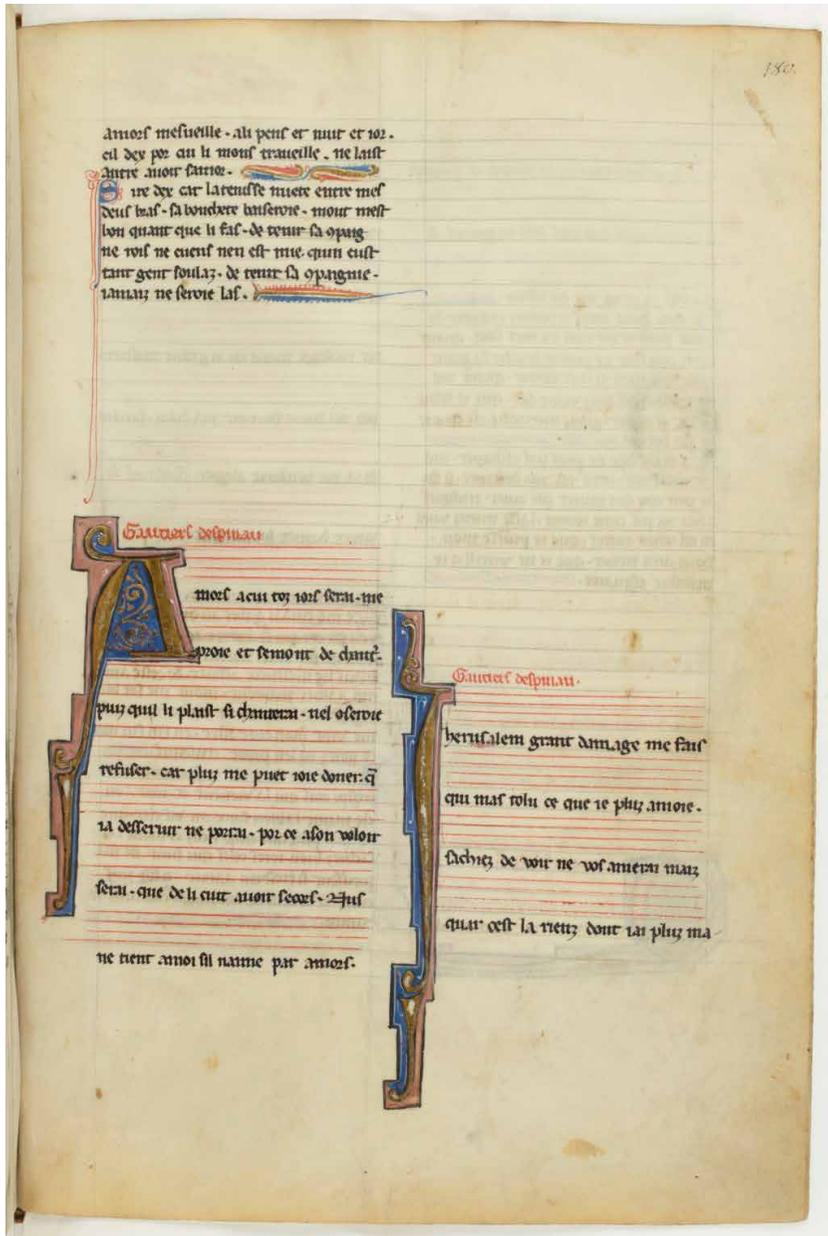
The *Chansonnier du roi* contains another text, *Jherusalem, grant damage me fais* (RS 191, L 265–939, MW 596), more often labeled anonymous but recently attributed to Jehan de Nuevile by Anna Radaelli (2016). In this article, I suggest that this second lyric, a crusade song, should be attributed to Maroie instead of to Jehan. Here is the text:

Jherusalem, grant damage me fais, Qui m'as tolu ce que je pluz amoie. Sachiez de voir ne vos amerai maiz, Quar c'est la rienz dont j'ai pluz male joie;	4
Et bien sovent en souspir et pantais, Si qu'a bien pou que vers Deu ne m'irais, Qui m'a osté de grant joie ou j'estoie.	
 Biauz dous amis, com porroiz endurer	8
La grant painne por moi en mer salee, Quant rienz qui soit ne porroit deviser La grant dolor qui m'est el cuer entree?	
Quant me remembre del douz viaire cler	12
Que je soloie baisier et acoler, Granz merveille est que je ne sui dervee.	

3. See HAINES 1998, 105 for a brief discussion of the several rubricators of the *Chansonnier du roi*.

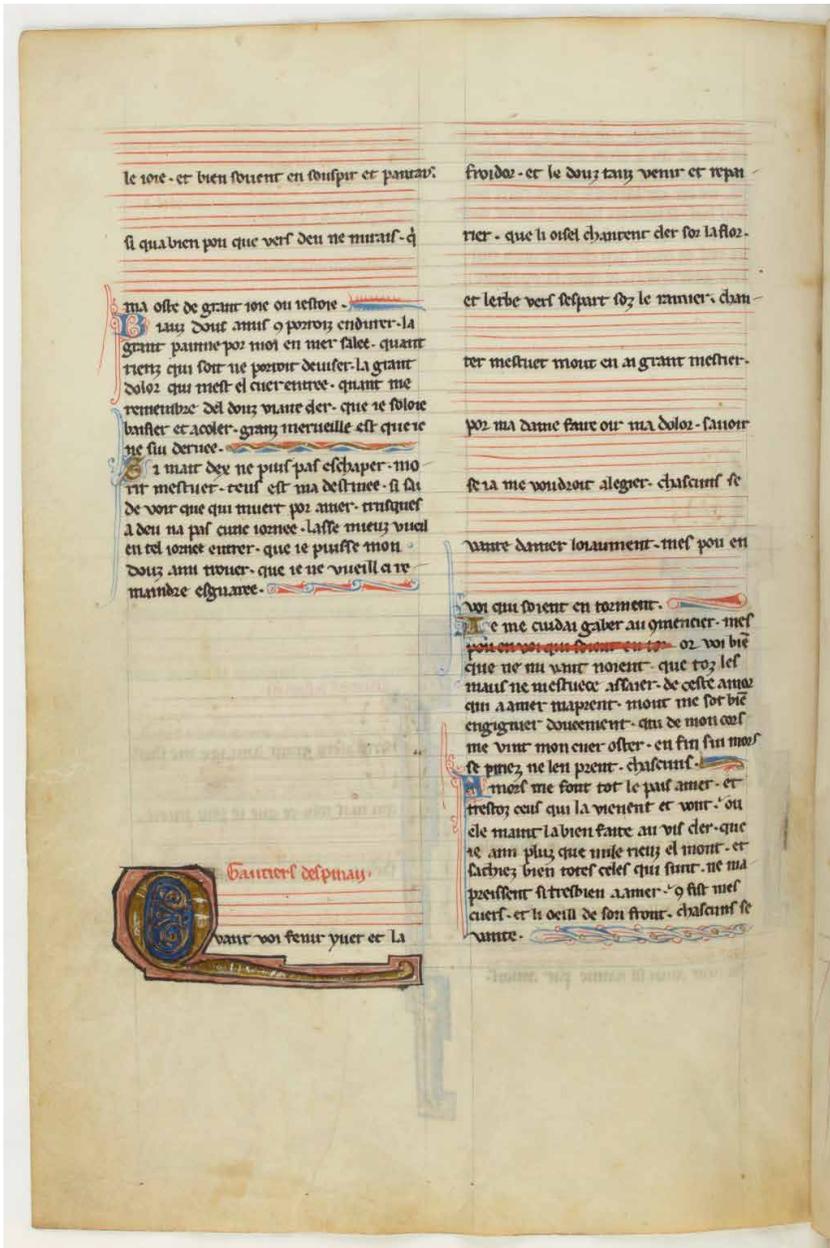
Si m'aït Dex, ne puis pas eschaper:
Morir m'estuet, teus est ma destinee; 16
Si sai de voir que qui muert por amer
Trusques a Deu n'a pas c'une jornee.
Lasse! mieuz vueil en tel jornee entrer
Que je puisse mon douz ami trover, 20
Que je ne vueill ci remaindre esguaree.

[Jerusalem, you cause me great harm, / taking from me what I loved most. / Know in truth that I will no longer love you, / for that is what brings me the most doleful joy; / often I sigh and am so short of breath / that I am on the verge of turning against God, / who has deprived me of the great joy I had. // Dear sweet beloved, how can you endure / such great pain for my sake on the salty sea, / when nothing in this world could ever express / the great sorrow that has entered my heart? / When I recall the sweet, radiant face / I used to kiss and caress, / it is truly a wonder I do not go mad. // So help me God, I cannot escape: / Die I must, such is my fate; / yet I know truly that whoever dies for love / has more than one day's journey to God. / Alas! I would rather embark on such a journey / to find my dear beloved / than remain here forsaken.]



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Français 844

Figure 1. BnF f.fr. 844 f. 180r, source: Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Français 844

Figure 2. BnF f.fr. 844 f. 180v, source: Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

As scholars have long observed, the song appears to be a fragment, composed in *coblas doblas* with the first or second stanza missing (see, for example, BÉDIER and AUBRY 1909, 275). In the *Chansonnier du roi*, sufficient space was left after the text to insert another two strophes (see DOSS-QUINBY ET AL. 2001, 147), with the implication that the scribe recognized the fragmentary nature of this text. Although incomplete in this sole witness, the poem's extant stanzas convey a complete message, the despair of a woman whose love has left, or plans to leave, on crusade.⁴ There can be no doubt as to the female voice.

The creation of the *Chansonnier du roi* (BnF fr. 844, manuscript M) has been described by John Haines in these terms:

This [. . .] deluxe songbook *M-trouv*. [was] apparently made for William of Villehardouin, Prince of the Morea (Frankish Greece). This outstanding *chansonnier*, [. . .] was likely produced in Arras as a wedding gift, perhaps by order of Charles of Anjou, quite possibly for the occasion of William's wedding to his third wife Anna Doukaina of Epiros in late 1258 or early 1259. [. . .] Probably during the chaotic 1260s or early 1270s, when the nearly finished *chansonnier* was likely repossessed by Charles of Anjou, Charles's chancery scribes added some songs to its empty chartae, including a piece praising Charles, *Ki de bons est*.

(HAINES 2013, *passim*; HAINES 2019, 108; 119)

The manuscript's contents show clear elements of accrual. As Gill Page notes, the song book is "an unfinished work, a work in progress, [. . .] [to which] additional material was added over a lengthy period to form the book as we now have it" (2014, 297). John Haines, generally recognized as the expert on the volume, and Page suggest that the *chansonnier* grew in this fashion:

- 1) The initial selection of material is made and the process begins to find exemplars.
- 2) An index is created detailing the works to be included.
- 3) The copying of text from the gathered exemplars is begun and staves are drawn up for music to be added later.

4. See GALVEZ 2020, 98–99 and 108 for a recent discussion of the woman's expression of feeling in this song. Galvez notes Radaelli's attribution (274n20); in her discussion of *Jherusalem*, Galvez finesses the question of authorship.

- 4) It is decided to add a new selection of 60 works by the trouvère Thibaut of Navarre, and the whole collection is reordered as a result.
- 5) The text is copied from exemplars (although in many cases blank spaces are left for verses to be added later).
- 6) Music from exemplars is added into most but not all of the vacant staves.

(PAGE 2014, 297; HAINES, 1998–2002, *passim*)

It has long been noted that the Index or Table of Contents of BnF fr. 844, M (which carries its own siglum, Mi [HAINES 1998, 48]) does not always provide the same information as the rubrics themselves (see LINDELÖF and WALLENSKÖLD 1901, 26). As John Haines noted, “most of the MS (25 gatherings) only agrees in part with Mi. Thirty-eight of Mi’s 79 poets, or 48%, follow the MS’s order [. . .] and just 48 poets, or 60% have poems identical in number and order to 844” (1998, 48; 1998–2002, 23). Haines himself quoted Brakelmann, noting that the Table of Contents was “une liste des pièces que le scribe se proposait de copier dans les différents recueils qu’il mettait à contribution” [a list of works that the scribe planned to copy from the different collections he had at disposal] (BRAKELMANN 1974, 67). We would be well advised to accept the information in the Table of Contents cautiously.

It is the folios of gathering xxv that are of most interest to my argument.⁵ First, we observe that Gautier d’Espinal was slated, per the Table of Contents, to appear earlier in the codex.⁶ Here are the texts that were initially proposed for what would become gathering xxv, in the order presented in the Table of Contents (f. Dv), a diplomatic transcription (see also Fig. 3):

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5. I follow Haines’s understanding of the volume, not that presented by BECK and BECK 1938.
 6. Earlier in the Table (f. Dr), Gautier is listed immediately after Guillebers de Berneville, whose lyrics are largely grouped in folios 131–134; the exceptions are wrongly attributed to Gillebert. These are the titles listed under “Gautiers despinau” on f. Dr:

Comencement de douce saison bele (RS 590, L 77–6), copied on f. 178r;
Aymans fins et vrais (RS 199, L 77–2), copied on f. 178v;
Tout efforciez autrui chanter (RS 728, L 77–22), copied on f. 179r;
Outre quiers et ma fole pensee (RS 542, L 77–11), copied on f. 179v;
Desconforte et de ioie parti (RS 1816, L 77–7), copied on f. 181r.

The plan for gathering xxv presented on folio Dv

author name in red	Incipit	ID	current location in MS
Guios de digon [L 106]	<i>Quant je voi plus felons rire</i>	RS 1503, L106-9	176r
	<i>Amors m'ont si enseignie</i>	RS 1088, L 106-2	176v
	<i>Bien cuidai toute ma vie</i>	RS 1232, L 65-11	173r
	<i>Contre le dous tans nouvel</i>	RS 578, L 132-1	99r
	<i>Uns maus c'ainc mais ne senti</i>	RS 1079, L 106-11	173v
	<i>Li dous tans nouviaux</i>	RS 1246, L 106-8	174r
	<i>Chanterai por mon courage</i>	RS 21, L 106-4	174v
	<i>Amors ma assise rente [sic]*</i>	RS 1088, L 106-2	176v
	<i>D'amors me doit souvenir</i>	RS 1468, L 184-1	168v
	<i>De moi dolereus vous chant</i>	RS 317, L 84-10	174v
	<i>Ma bone fois et loiautez</i>	RS 544, L 155-2	183v
	<i>Penser ne doit vilanie</i>	RS 1240, L 154-21	176v
	<i>He, las qu'ai forfait a la</i>	RS 681, L 106-7	177r
	<i>Quant li dous estez decline</i>	RS 1380, L 68-2	177r
	<i>Joie ne guerredons d'amors</i>	RS 2020, L 261-2	177v
	Jehans de Nuevile [L 145]	<i>Desore mais est raisons</i>	RS 1885, L 215-2
<i>Quant voi la flor bouton</i>		RS 771, L 106-10	178r
<i>Quant je voi par le con[tree]</i>		RS 501, L 77-16	178r
<i>Amors a qui tous jors s[erai]</i>		RS 104, L 77-3	180r
<i>Jherusalem grant damage</i>		RS 191, L 265-939	180r
<i>Quant voi fenir yver</i>		RS 1988, L 77-17	180v
<i>En tout le mont ne truis</i>		RS 1816, L 77-8	181r
<i>A tous amans**</i>		RS 671=1823, L 38-10	19v & 53r
<i>Mout m'abelist</i>		RS 1451, L 178-1	181r
<i>La doucor d'este est</i>		RS 588, L 145-2	181v
<i>L'an que la froidure faut</i>		RS 393, L 145-3	181v
<i>Mout ai estre longement</i>		RS 709, L 145-6	182r
<i>Gautrier de formeseles</i>		RS 1822, L 31-1	182r
<i>D'amors me plain ne sai a cui</i>		RS 1036=2072b, L 145-1	182v
<i>Li dous tans de pascor</i>		RS 2003, L 145-5	182v
<i>Quant li boscages retentist</i>		RS 1649, L 145-8	183r
<i>Puis qu'ensi l'as entrepris</i>		RS 1531, L 145-7	183r
<i>Guillaumes li viniens amis</i>	RS 1520, L 7-20		

*On f. 176r, the song begins “Mout mont si enseigne”, recognized as a variant reading. This and other alternate readings are the topic of a different article.

**These are actually the initial words of the third stanza of the Chastelain de Coucy's *Merci clamans de mon fol errement* (LEROND 1964, 82-8).

<p>Hardif sui en la coratme. E legier encrepuf Mourf douz ie me quidone Pre ne verge ne lofe. Rouhinf de coëbe x 170 R^o Mame et mon coif Sauualf colles. Amorf qui fut demoi Ardouf de croiffes. Mar vir raifon d Rogierf danduf x Par quel foifur La pour ce fe d'ami Oudarf de laey. Amour qui fe fait z x 171 Amorf et deduf de l. Romouf caupamf De lamour cel fu efp Quant toi chamef cel ouf. Poffelinf de digon. 166. x Par une marnee e Aleure dun douz o. Direuf de bel marcaf. Douce dame ce fou f. 173. x Mabuf de gant. x De faire chamef enuouf Le frf amorf amon p Atemel li vimef. De loal amoz iohf Douay amorf d en Direuf li bozgnel de lille. Elouffignof que toi Mamef de lair deuf. x 173. Emondieu ce efr la r. Mabuf li iuf. x Par grant franchife Pour auru mouira Li kieuex de vimef. x 175. Du bien veur amorf d Lamaf poz tant q lame Duof de digon. x x</p>	<p>Quant ie voi plus felonf r Amorf mont fi enfaigne. Bien cuida rouze ma vie. Ontre le douf tant nouuel. Vif mauf cane maif ne f. Li douf tant nouuay Chaureuf poz mon coiff Amorf ma affe rere Damour me doit fouueur. E moi dolereuf vouf chaf. Abone fouf er loauz Enfef ne doit vil E Laf qua foifur al Quant li douf etre deef Loie ne guerredouf d'ami. Chauf de maufle. Efoze maif efr raifonf Quant voi la floz bououf. Quant ie voi par la o Amorf agu touf touf f. Berufalem grant d. Quant voi fleur yuer En touf le mouf ne muif Atouf amant Qour mabeluf Adoucoz deke e Pan que la foudure fuf Pour ai efr longent Chauref de foumelele Damour me plam ne fu acuf Li douf tant de paf. Quant li bofagef recent. Vif quent li encrepuf. Guillf li vimef amif. Chauf frumant. De loal amoz vimef e. Abone fouf er mal. Quand ne chamef fait. Par al aif. 184. Dom amant en defpance. Ame amorf meuoie</p>
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Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Français 844

Figure 3. BnF f.fr. 844, Table of Contents, f. Dv, source: Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The authors and texts of gathering xxv

folio	scribal attribution	incipit	ID	current attribution
177r	Guios de digon	<i>Helas qu'ai forfait a la gent</i>	RS 681, L 106–7	Guiot de Dijon
	Guios de digon	<i>Quant li dous estez deduit</i>	RS 1380, L 68–2	Garnier d'Arches
177v	Guios de digon	<i>Joie ne gueridons d'amors</i>	RS 2020, L 261–2	le Tresorier de Lille
	Guios de digon	<i>Desoremais est raisons</i>	RS 1885, L 215–2	Raoul de Soissons
178r	Guios de digon	<i>Quant voi la flor boutoner</i>	RS 771, L 106–10	Guiot de Dijon
	[missing]*	<i>Comencement de douce saison bele</i>	RS 590, L 77–7	Gautier d'Espinal
178v	Gautiers despinau	<i>Desconforte et de ioie parti</i>	RS 1073, L 77–7	Gautier d'Espinal
	Gautiers despinau	<i>Aymans fins et verais</i>	RS 199, L 77–2	Gautier d'Espinal
179r	Gautiers despinau	<i>Touz efforciez aurai chante souvent</i>	RS 728, L 77–22	Gautier d'Espinal
179v	Gautiers despinau	<i>Outrecludiers et ma fole pensee</i>	RS 542, L 77–11	Gautier d'Espinal
	Gautiers despinau	<i>Quant je voi par la contree</i>	RS 501, L 77–16	Gautier d'Espinal
180r	Gautiers despinau	<i>Amors a cui toz jors serai</i>	RS 104, L 77–3	Gautier d'Espinal
	Gautier despinau	<i>Jherusalem grant damage me fais</i>	RS 191, L 265–939	Anonymous
180v	Gautiers despinau	<i>Quant voi fenir yver et la froidor</i>	RS 1988, L 77–17	Gautier d'Espinal
181r	Gautiers despinau	<i>En tot le mont ne truis point de savoir</i>	RS 1816, L 77–8	Gautier d'Espinal
	Maroie de dregnau de lille	<i>Mout m'abelist quant je vois revenir</i>	RS 1451, L 178–1	Maroie de Diergnau
181v	Jehans de nuevile	<i>La doucor d'este est vele</i>	RS 588, L 145–2	Jehan de Neuville
	Jehan de nuevile	<i>L'an que la froidure faut</i>	RS 393, L 145–3	Jehan de Neuville
182r	Jehans de nuevile	<i>Mout ai este longement</i>	RS 709, L 145–6	Jehan de Neuville
	Jehans de nuevile	<i>Gautrier de formeseles voir</i>	RS 1822, L 31–1	Cardon
182v	Jehans de nuevile	<i>D'amors me plaig ne sai a cui</i>	RS 1036, L 145–1	Jehan de Neuville
	Jehans de nuevile	<i>Li douz tanz de pascor</i>	RS 2003, L 145–5	Jehan de Neuville
183r	Jehans de nuevile	<i>Quant li boschages retentist</i>	RS 1649, L 145–8	Jehan de Neuville
	Jehans de nuevile	<i>Quis qu'ensi l'ai entrepris</i>	RS 1531, L 145–7	Jehan de Neuville
183v	Jehans fremaus de lille	<i>De loial amor vueill chanter</i>	RS 832, L 155–1	Jehan Frumel
	Jehans fremaus li courouce	<i>Ma bone fois et ma loiaus pensee</i>	RS 544, L 155–2	Jehan Frumel
184r	Jehans fremaus	<i>Onques ne chantai faintement</i>	RS 674, L 155–3	Jehan Frumel
184v	Car as aus,	<i>Com amans en desesperance</i>	RS 213, L 30–1	Carasau
185r	Car as aus	<i>Fine amors m'envoie</i>	RS 1716, L 30–2	Carasau
		[different hand and ink]		
185r		<i>Qui la ve en ditz [Qui la vi en ditz]</i>	PC 10,45	Aimeric de Peguilhan

*When the illustrated initial was cut from this folio, the authorial attribution was lost.

folio	scribal attribution	incipit	ID	current attribution
185v		(<i>Qui la ve en ditz,</i> continued)		
186r		<i>Ben volgra s'esser poges</i> [Be <i>volgra s'esser pogues</i>]	PC 244, la	Guiraut d'Espagne
186v		<i>Sens alegrage</i> [Ses <i>alegratge</i>]	PC 205,5	Guilhem Augier Novella
187r		(<i>Sens alegrage,</i> continued)		
187v		<i>Amors m'art con fuoc am</i> <i>flama</i>	PC 461,20a	Anonymous

We can see that in the Table of Contents, *Jherusalem* is attributed to Jehan de Nuevile (L 145) and that eleven of the eighteen songs attributed to him on this list are now assigned to other poets (an accuracy rate of 38.8%).⁷

In the volume itself, the order of presentation is somewhat different (see above). The rubrics and incipits on the folios of the gathering, which HAINES describes as a quaternion (ff. 177–84) to which a single sheet (f. 185) and a bifolium (ff. 186–7) have been added, for a total of eleven chartae (1998, 75). The appended sheets contain Occitan rather than Old French material, content added later (see HAINES 1998, 51 and 75) and included in this chart but not relevant to my subsequent discussion. For the record, folios 180 and 181 form a bifolium within gathering xxv (HATZIKIRIAKOS and RACHETTA 2019, 148).

Of the twenty-nine Old French songs copied, twenty-eight include an attribution (an excision has removed the rubric and opening of Gautier de Dijon's *Comencement de douce saison bele*); of these twenty-eight, only five are no longer attributed to the trouvère named, a rate of accuracy of 82.1%. The attributions in the chartae of gathering xxv are demonstrably more trustworthy than those of the Table of Contents, but still leave room for doubt.

Radaelli (2016) described this section of the manuscript in these terms:

[The manuscript] presents the corpus of the nine songs attributed to Gautier d'Espinal (ff. 178v–181r) immediately after the last section devoted to Guios de Digon (ff. 176r–178r); after the insertion into f. 181r

7. In the order of the Table, Raoul de Soissons (L 215), Guiot de Dijon (L 106), Anonymous (L 265), Chastelain de Coucy (L 38), Maroie de Dregnaun (L 178), Cardon (L 31), and Andieu Contredit (L 7).

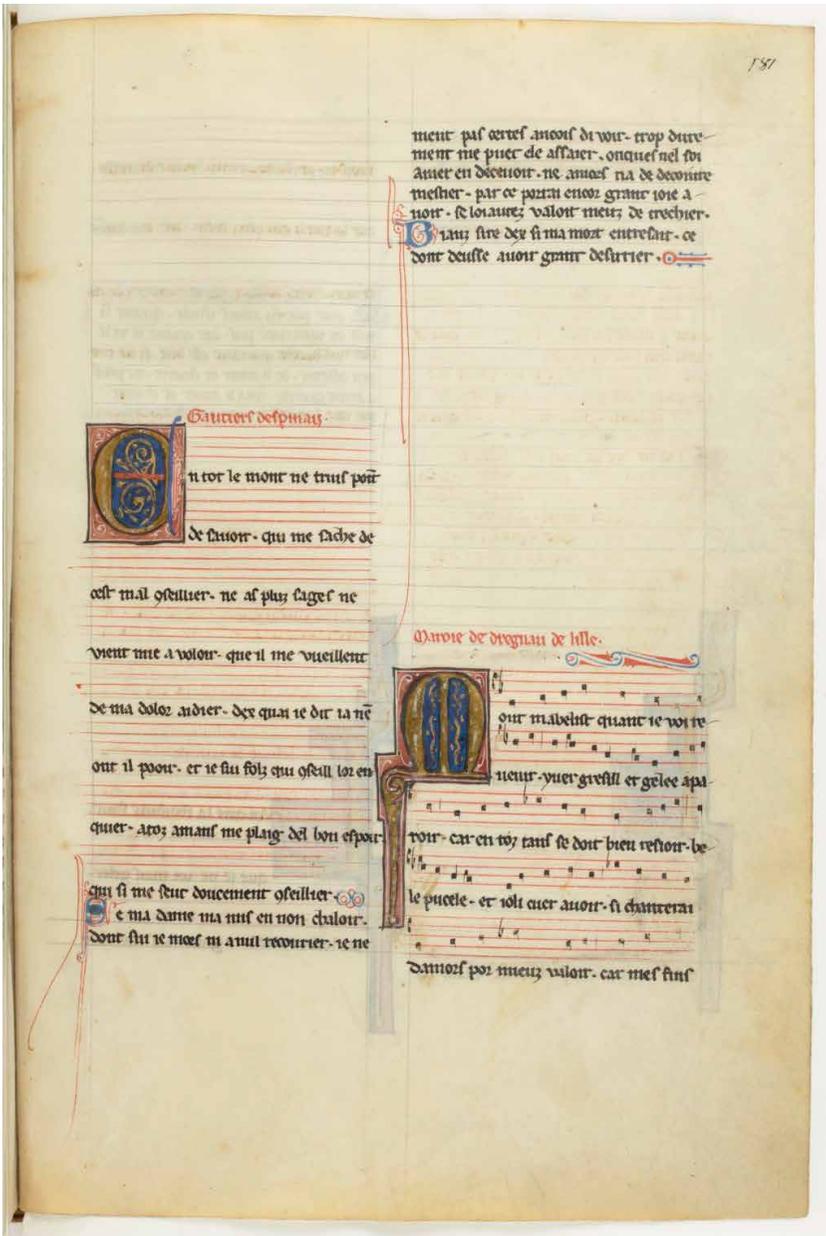
of the stanza with musical notation *Mout m'abelist quant ie voi revenir* (RS 1451), attributed to the *trouveresse* Maroie de Dregnau de Lille and not recorded in the Table, the sequence continues with the transcription of the corpus of the eight songs attributed to Jehan de Nueville.

(ff. 181v–183v)

As I have shown in detail above, *Mout m'abelist* is listed in the Table of Contents; it is highly unlikely that the song was added at a later date as the table was an early element of the production process. While additions were made to the manuscript at several points over its history, gathering xxv, planned as including mostly non-Artesian authors (HAINES 1998, 55), is largely in the hand of the original scribe, certainly insofar as *Jherusalem* and *Mout m'abelist* are concerned. Unlike the Occitan texts on folios 185r–7v, *Jherusalem*, on the central bifolium, was not a later addition.

Scholars accept the attribution to Maroie of *Mout m'abelist*, a song in a woman's voice, attributed to her in both witnesses, the *Chansonnier du roi* and the *Chansonnier de Noailles* (see Fig. 4). *Jherusalem grant damage me fais* is also, clearly, in the woman's voice — there is no doubting the feminine adjectives in its lines 15 and 22. Doss-Quinby et al. included *Jherusalem* in their anthology (2001, 146–47) for this very reason (2001, 6); they followed earlier scholars in calling it anonymous. I propose that we attribute *Jherusalem* to Maroie as well.

One of the general organizing principles of the *Chansonnier du roi* is to put works by the same author close together. Following this principle, it would be logical to place a second song by Maroie close to the one clearly attributed to her. I concede that this argument would be stronger if the two songs, *Jherusalem* and *Mout m'abelist*, were contiguous, rather than separated by two songs attributed to Gautier d'Espinal by the rubricator and by modern scholars. However, the two songs in a woman's voice were copied on the same bifolium, the center section in the initial gathering of four sheets. John Haines remarked that the original compilers of the *Chansonnier du roi* paid remarkable attention to the presentation of texts at the middle of the first two gatherings of the book; opening the book in these locations would make these the first elements seen (1998, 83). He limited his observations to the first two gatherings, which highlight William of Villehardouin, prince of Morea, the initial intended recipient of the volume, and the Emperor John of Constantinople, in whose realm Morea lay (HAINES 1998, 83). Haines described this layout as “an unusual but not isolated phenomenon” (1998, 83). I would suggest we extend this observation to gathering xxv, whose original central element forms folios 180 and



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Français 844

Figure 4. BnF f.fr. 844 f. 181r, source: Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

181. It is on this sheet that Maroie de Diergnau's lyrics appear, one song properly rubricated on f. 181r, the other, on f. 180r, misattributed. Again, as Haines noted, "erratic rubrication partly explains the manuscript's characteristic misattributions" (1998, 105–6; 1998–2002, 30).

In their edition of the songs of Gautier d'Espinal, Lindelöf and Wallensköld assigned *Jherusalem* "probably" to Jehan de Nuevile, based on its presentation in the manuscript (1901, 26). The editors considered Gautier d'Espinal's authorship as "very doubtful", "très douteuse" (LINDELÖF and WALLENSKÖLD 1901, 26), indeed, "more than doubtful", "plus que douteuse" (1901, 60). They suggest that a scribe had inserted Maroie's *Mout m'abelist* into the set of songs by Jehan de Nuevile and that the copyist of the *Chansonnier du roi* assigned authorship to Gautier d'Espinal, the trouvère whose works came before these (LINDELÖF and WALLENSKÖLD 1901, 26). In discussing *Jherusalem*, the two scholars offer an additional argument against crediting Gautier d'Espinal with the song: it is the only Crusade song connected to this trouvère (LINDELÖF and WALLENSKÖLD 1901, 31). Lindelöf and Wallensköld published *Jherusalem* in an Appendix to their edition, along with other texts they did not think Gautier had composed (1901, 98).

In his edition of Jehan de Nuevile, Max Richter called attribution of *Jherusalem* to Jehan as doubtful, *Zweifelhafte* (1904, 17; 72). He declined even to print the poem, pointing readers to its publication with the works of Gautier d'Espinal. Subsequent editors have declined to assign an author to *Jherusalem* (see DOSS-QUINBY et al., 2001, 147 for a list of editions to that date), adding the song to the long list of Old French anonyma.⁸

Anna Radaelli reminds readers that "The song is now generally regarded as anonymous, with recent editors taking this view" (2016). However, she offers this interpretation of the text as presented in the *Chansonnier du roi*:

If the Table [of Contents] is to be believed, the five texts which conclude Gautier's corpus (including RS 191) should be ascribed to Jehan de Nuevile, adding to the substantial group of eight texts belonging to this trouvère. Since the ordering of the texts may have been influenced by material factors such as a change of source, their displacement with respect to the order in the Table would have occurred at the time of compilation, giving rise to the divergence of attributions (cfr. BATTELLI

8. I have questioned the tendency to assign medieval anonymous works to men, asking pointed questions as to why a medieval male would chose to assume the woman's voice (see PFEFFER 2003, 125).

1993, 287, n. 17). I am therefore inclined to rescue from anonymity this woman's lament for her departed lover (a «planh d'une femme» for Bédier [and Aubrey] 1909 [277]) and to legitimise its assignment in the Table to the repertory of Jehan de Nuevile, an exponent of the municipal poetic school of Arras of the second half of the XIIIth c., whose collection of songs contains numerous unica preserved by M from an individual source.

(2016)

Radaelli based her attribution largely on the Table of Contents, which we have shown cannot be trusted. She discounts the observation of Lindelöf and Wallensköld that *Jherusalem* incorporates “two epic caesuras in vv. 12 and 13, these being the only examples in the Lorraine trouvère's [i.e. Jehan de Neuville's] corpus” (RADAELLI 2016, citing LINDELÖF and WALLENSKÖLD 1901, 39), another reason that Jehan's editors and many others have rejected the attribution of this song in woman's voice to him (DOSS-QUINBY et al., 2001, 147). Maria Carla Battelli's observations about the *Chansonnier du roi* (1993), cited by Radaelli (2016), have now been superseded by those of John Haines, whose landmark study of the *Chansonnier du roi* formalized the scholarly discipline of musicography (see HAINES 1998).

I turn now to versification and poetic style.⁹ Comparing *Jherusalem* and *Mout m'abelist*, we observe that both songs are composed in stanzas of seven-line decasyllables. They both use fairly restrained rhyme schemes: *Mout m'abelist* = ababbaa and *Jherusalem* = ababaab followed by cdcdccd. Jehan de Nuevile much preferred the shorter, heptasyllabic line, used in six of his nine firmly attributed songs. The rhyme scheme of Maroie's songs is simpler than any used by Jehan; in Maroie's individual stanzas we have only two rhymes, whereas Jehan frequently inserted a third rhyme sound if not more in his verse (see RICHTER 1904, 34–41). Significantly, one of the most interesting structural features of *Jherusalem* is that it appears to be composed in *coblas doblas*, a technique that links stanzas in groups of two (consider stanzas two and three). Jehan never used *coblas doblas* in any of the lyrics firmly attributed to him. Lindelöf and Wallensköld observed that Gautier d'Espinal tended not to “change rhymes” in his lyrics (1901, 29), such that we do not see examples of *coblas doblas* in his oeuvre either.

9. I would like to thank Daniel E. O'Sullivan for his suggestions on this point.

For this and other reasons,¹⁰ these editors attributed *Jherusalem* to Jehan de Nuevile (1901, 26).

Richter noted further that Jehan rarely if ever used alliterative techniques (1904, 40), whereas *Jherusalem* has multiple examples of alliteration and sound repetition for emphasis, from the very first line ('Jherusalem' and 'damage'), where the iteration of /dʒ/ connects the city with its effect, to the first lines of the last stanza, filled with repeated m's (marked in italics below) that emphasize the speaker, death, and love:

Si m'ait Dex, ne puis pas eschaper:
 Morir m'estuet, teus est ma destinee;
 Si sai de voir que qui muert por amer
 (ll. 15–17)

Gautier d'Espinal also used alliteration (consider his *Aimanz fins et verais*, R 199 L 77–2), but other arguments eliminate him as an author of *Jherusalem*.

Doss-Quinby, Grimbert, Pfeffer, and Aubrey made a clear case why *Jherusalem* should be assigned neither to Gautier nor to Jehan (2001, 147). They had no doubt that the author was female but declined to attribute the song to any named woman trouvère. These editors had four criteria which they used to assign female authorship:

- (1) a woman is named within the poem as the author [. . .];
- (2) a woman is referred to, by name or not, as the interlocutor in a debate poem [. . .];
- (3) a woman is named in the rubric or table of contents of a manuscript;
- (4) a woman is the speaking subject — the lyric "I" — of the poem (féminité textuelle).

(DOSS-QUINBY et al., 2001, 6)

Jherusalem, responding only to criterion 4, was included as an anonymous song in their anthology.

Jherusalem was certainly not composed by Jehan de Nuevile, as Radaelli has recently proposed. Rather than accept this text as anonymous, I suggest we assign it to a recognized woman trouvère, Maroie de Diergnau. The *Chansonniier du roi's* gathering xxv includes only one song currently with-

10. Lindelöf and Wallensköld speak of the epic caesura, falling after the fifth beat, in line 12 of *Jherusalem* as further proof that the song is not by Gautier d'Espinal, though they admit it may simply represent a scribal error (1901, 39).

out a named attribution; there is a logic to assigning this song, clearly in a woman's voice, to the only woman trouvère included in the entire manuscript and whose attributed song appears on the following folio. Maroie was active in thirteenth-century poetic circles; she is recognized as the author of one song by two different manuscript rubricators and by modern scholars. Let us add to her corpus and attribute *Jherusalem, grant damage* to this talented medieval poet and composer.

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*This research is part of the "Women's Song in Gallo-Romance and German Lyrics" project led by Merixtell Simó, PID2019-108910GB-C21.