The carole: a study of a Medieval French dance

Mullally, Robert Desmond Gerard

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Robert Desmond Gerard Mullally

The Carole: A Study of a Medieval French Dance

Thesis Submitted for the Degree

of

PhD

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Abstract

The carole was the dominant social dance in France from c.1100 to c.1400. The present study aims to identify the characteristics of the dance in all its aspects. Firstly, the etymology of the term itself is reassessed, and its relation to the Latin words chorus and chorea is examined. Theories about the choreography are then reviewed. The evidence, both of literary and of non-literary texts is analysed, and, on the basis of this analysis, a reconstruction of the choreography is undertaken. The lyrics and the music of the songs that accompanied the dance are identified and investigated, and relevant iconography is also surveyed. The term carole is considered in collocation and in isolation in order to refine its meaning, and to distinguish it from other dance terms. The dance itself is thereby situated more accurately in the context of French social dances of the period. Attention is paid to cognates (real and supposed), and the question of the existence of the dance in Italy and in England is evaluated in some detail. Hence not only is the choreographic aspect of the subject explored, but in doing so, the linguistic and literary dimensions are re-evaluated, and new light is shed on medieval dance lyrics and music.
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Acknowledgements

The writing of an extensive work inevitably involves the help and co-operation of others. This is particularly true of a work such as this, which, because of its interdisciplinary nature, crosses many boundaries. It is therefore an agreeable task to record here my indebtedness to the individuals and institutions that made the completion of my project possible. In particular I should like to thank my sister Evelyn for her support and encouragement throughout the years that I have been engaged in writing this thesis.

I should also like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the advice and suggestions of those who have helped to make my contribution to the study of medieval dance more accurate and informative than it otherwise might have been. Firstly I wish to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Karen Pratt, of the Department of French, King's College London, for her keen observations and watchfulness as the work progressed (or did not!). Readers will be aware that my investigation entailed the examination of texts in several languages, and I would want to record here the advice and suggestions of Carlotta Dionisotti of the Department of Classics at King's who read some of my translations from Latin. Likewise I would like to thank Janet Cowen of the Department of English who read a draft of my last chapter and gave me some pointers. The palaeography of medieval music is a field of research where resources do not abound. I was particularly grateful, therefore, to be able to enlist the help of several distinguished scholars: Daniel Leech-Wilkinson of the Department of Music at King's who read an early draft of Chapter VIII, and made some
interesting comments and also Mark Everist of the Department of Music at the University of Southampton who read a later draft of the same chapter, and returned it to me with the expected magisterial observations. My thanks are also due to Nicolas Bell, Curator, Music Collections at the British Library, who checked my transcriptions of a number of medieval dance tunes. In connexion with this chapter too, I would like to thank Daphne J. Harvey, who performed the indispensable function of répétitrice at a session when I tested the practicalities of performing the carole with a number of her fellow music students at King’s rounded up for the occasion, and whose help I acknowledge here. In the almost wholly uncharted waters of the iconography of the medieval dance, I am especially grateful to Susie Nash of the Courtauld Institute of Art (University of London), for her copious suggestions on possible sources of information. This is also the place to acknowledge the assistance of those people, too many to mention by name, who answered my diverse queries.

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An undertaking such as this inevitably necessitates visits to libraries away from home with the consequent additional expenses. In my case such trips were facilitated by a number of small grants. I would like, therefore, to thank those funding bodies who made them: the University of London Central Research Fund for a grant for a short stay in Paris while I studied manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale; the Humanities Research Committee of King’s College, London for a grant for the same purpose at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Finally I would also like to thank the School of Advanced Studies of the University of London for bursaries to attend one-day seminars on aspects of palaeography.
List of Abbreviations

Battaglia  

FEW  
*Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch.* Ed. Walther von Wartburg. Bonn, 1928-

Godefroy  
*Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IX\textsuperscript{e} siècle au XV\textsuperscript{e} siècle.* Ed. Frédéric Godefroy. 10 vols. Paris, 1880-1902

Huguet  

Index  

LBL  
London, the British Library.

MED  

MGG 2  

New Grove 1  

New Grove 2  

OBL  
Oxford, the Bodleian Library.
**OED**

*The Oxford English Dictionary.* 2nd Ed.  
J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner. 20 vols.  
Oxford, 1989

**PBN**

Paris, la Bibliothèque Nationale de France

**Sahlin**


**Tobler-Lommatzsch**

Berlin, 1925-2002
Introduction

In the vast corpus of medieval French literature, we frequently encounter the dance term carole. One explanation of its frequent occurrence is that dancing provides a device for social interaction in literary works. Another, no doubt, is the popularity of the carole as a dance. We find it being performed by all classes of society—kings and nobles, shepherds and servant girls. It is described as taking place both indoors and outdoors. Its central position in the life of the people is underlined by references not only in what we might call fictional texts, but also in historical (or quasi-historical) writings, in moral treatises and even in a work on astronomy. Yet in spite of this centrality we do not know precisely what kind of dance the carole was. That is not to say that commentators have ignored the dance. Indeed the contrary is true, and a considerable literature has accumulated over the centuries, as we shall see (Chapter I). But the attention devoted to the subject by generations of scholars has failed to produce a definitive answer about any aspect of the carole—about the etymology of the word itself, about the general form of its choreography (not to mention any details of that choreography), about its music, or about its iconography.

Much of the scholarly interest in the carole, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, concentrated on the etymology, and although by that time the dance had passed into oblivion, the term was revived as an archaism in the sixteenth century, and, perhaps for this reason, attracted the attention of lexicographers. This philological aspect continued to engage academic interest into the twentieth century. The topic, nevertheless, has remained one of great controversy. I set out the competing theories and, while I do not offer a new one,
I endeavour to reassess those already advanced, and attempt to arrive at a conclusion, not on the basis of speculation or theoretical reconstruction, which too often has bedevilled the subject in the past, but on the basis of attested forms (Chapter II).

The etymology of the word *carole* lies, in a sense, partly outside the main concern of the present study, which has as its principal aim to establish the characteristics of the *carole* itself. Yet the etymology has provoked much speculation and debate especially in the last century, and consideration of it therefore cannot be ignored. Moreover in their quest for the true derivation of the word, scholars, while pursuing the etymological aspect, have not disregarded the semantic dimension. Thus some have sought to derive the French term from a Latin one for dance. The question has also been raised whether the term *carole*, which patently refers to a dance, could be derived from an etymon that is unconnected with dance. These are problems that are pertinent to my argument (Chapter II also).

The fact that the term *carole* so frequently occurs in medieval French literature might invite a critical approach. No doubt such an approach may seem not only valid, but also attractive. My view, however, is that a prerequisite of any such discussion is a knowledge of the dance itself. In other words what is required in the first instance is a historical study that attempts to establish the choreography and other aspects related to it; hence my attention is drawn to the evidence of choreographic detail offered by the primary sources. Implicit in my strategy is the need to clarify the chronology of the dance. Previous studies have, of course, cited early sources, but have not established a clear chronological sequence. In our search for the earliest citation of the word *carole* we need to re-
examine the dating of the manuscripts in which the term occurs, and some recent scholarly investigations help us in this respect (Chapter III).

A discussion of the linguistic aspects of the *carole*, from its etymological origins to its earliest occurrence in French, brings us to a discussion of the features of the dance itself. Theories about the general form of the dance have not been lacking. One might have expected this aspect to be the province of dance historians initially. Yet this has not been the case. In fact some of the earliest pronouncements on the choreography were made by French literary historians. Their statements about medieval French dance in general, and about the *carole* in particular, have had a profound influence on the subsequent understanding of the dance. Yet the conclusions of such critics, when they were not based on mere speculation, were derived from features of much later dances. Dance historians have mostly been content to follow the literary historians. Inevitably the uncertainty about the choreography has resulted in different views (Chapter IV).

Logically, then, if we are to arrive at firmer conclusions we must return to the primary sources. As no treatise or manual exists about the manner in which the *carole* was performed, we have to seek out such information as can be gleaned from a wide variety of texts. We need to study these texts from the point of view of the information that they might yield about the choreography, and judge whether or not such results as we obtain form a coherent view of the dance. An extensive search is necessary not only to affirm the accuracy of our findings, but also to discover the scarce details that might complete the picture. As will become evident, such details are sometimes to be found in a single text or even in a single manuscript of a text. Having undertaken such a survey, we realize that it
is not only possible to identify many aspects of the choreography, it is also possible to reconstruct the dance (Chapter V).

Carole is not the only dance term found in medieval French literature. In attempting to define its nature it is incumbent on us to examine the term in the context of others such as bal, tresche and even danse itself in order to ascertain whether these are synonyms of carole or discrete terms; whether, indeed, two or more of the terms overlap in meaning, or whether any difference is discernible in their usage (Chapter VI).

A dance cannot exist without music to accompany it. It has long been recognized that the carole involved the singing of the dancers themselves. The singing of songs first of all implies the existence of lyrics. Indeed it was the appearance of dance lyrics, or what scholars believed to be dance lyrics, as insertions in longer texts (usually in narratives) that originally drew commentators to a consideration of the choreography of the carole, as I have already stated. Yet their conclusions as to what constituted a dance lyric were subjective. No attempt was made to relate the lyrics found as insertions in literary sources to specific dance types; thus the decision of what was termed a dance lyric was, more often than not, arbitrary. Indeed the failure to identify what were actually dance lyrics goes beyond mere identification of such pieces; it extends to a lack of appreciation of their form as is too often evidenced in the editing of such lyrics. Perhaps because editors have been content to be more faithful to the scribe than to the author, lyrics are presented in such a way that the form of the piece is sometimes lost. Too often, one suspects, the editor has not understood the form. In confining myself to lyrics that are designated in the sources as lyrics for dance, and more particularly lyrics for the carole, I hope to
provide a radically new perspective on the development of such verse (Chapter VII).

As for the music, it is acknowledged that no piece of music exists called a carole. This has presented a serious problem for some commentators. Nevertheless the problem can be solved. To do so, however, involves ignoring what has often been designated as dance music, and instead concentrating on musical insertions in literary sources that are actually identified in those sources as dance music. This methodology gives us a very different perception of what constitutes music of this kind. Moreover these literary contexts indicate ways in which such music was performed. Even when authentic music has been identified, attention needs to be paid to its transcription, as the original notation is susceptible of different interpretations, and we must perforce adopt one that accords with the choreographic demands of medieval dance as established by the literary evidence (Chapter VIII).

This literary evidence, which provides a coherent view of the carole, is particularly helpful when we consider the iconography. Iconography can play an influential role in one’s understanding of a subject, and aspects of a depiction can be taken as evidence of the thing itself rather than as an artist’s conception. A detailed examination of the numerous depictions of the carole in early miniatures affords quite a different perspective on the dance from that suggested by the literary sources, and raises the question of how much we can depend on the iconography for reliable information on the choreography. This is an area of research that has not hitherto been thoroughly investigated, and the conclusions drawn in this study, based on a large sample, are revealing (Chapter IX).
Implicit in defining the *carole* is the necessity of setting temporal and geographical boundaries to the application of the term. Terminal dates for the period when the dance was performed are fixed by the earliest occurrence of the term (Chapter III) and by the eventual demise of the *carole* as a dance (Chapter V). The term itself, as has been stated, was in common use. How long and how widely the dance was practised depends on how strictly one defines the word *carole*. If one merely considers the term to cover a variety of vaguely similar dances, the extent and period of its dissemination is very wide indeed. If, however, one confines oneself to a closer scrutiny of the etymology and the semantics, then the range is somewhat more restricted (Chapters III and V). The most notable appearance of cognates during the period when the dance was in vogue is as the term *carola* in Italian and as *carole* in Middle English. Hence these are given special attention (Chapters X and XI respectively).

The purpose of this study, then, is to define the *carole*, the origin of the term, the features of its choreography, and its appropriate music, and to arrive at conclusions not based on theory, speculation or hypothesis, but based on evidence provided by the primary sources. This is in the widest sense an interdisciplinary study. Such an approach involves greater attention to the technical aspects of these various elements. It leads one to a closer examination of the terms used in discussing verse, dance and music. It necessitates an exploration, not only of these aspects in isolation, but also in relation to one another so that a coherent view of the dance can be formed.
Chapter I: The History of the Term Carole since c. 1400

The term carole, as a reference to a dance still performed, disappears from French writing about 1400.¹ The characteristics of the carole, while it was still in vogue, will be the subject of the following chapters. Meanwhile we may note that a new dance, the basse danse, is first cited about 1416, and it is this dance that was to dominate the social scene throughout the rest of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth.² Hence the designation basse danse or the simple term danse is generally employed by fifteenth-century authors for social dances of that period. But although the word carole no longer referred to a contemporary choreographic form, it survived, if in rare instances, as an archaism.

One circumstance that ensured its continued use was the enduring popularity of the Roman de la Rose, of which there are numerous fifteenth-century manuscripts. This celebrated poem, composed in the thirteenth century,

¹ In 'Le Miroir de contentement', published in 1619, 'des Bretons la drue carole' is cited among dance music of the time such as 'les voltes de toutes façons', 'les courantes', 'la sarabande', 'des branles' and 'la pavane à l'Espagnole'. As these are named as types of dance music, and the carole was not a kind of dance tune (see Chapter VIII), the use of carole here is probably figurative. The poem is published in Variétés historiques et littéraires: recueil de pièces volantes rares et curieuses en prose et en vers, ed. Edouard Fournier, II (Paris, 1855), 13-26, especially 15-16. This edition quotes the details of the original title page where the date of publication appears as CIC IC XIX (i.e. 1519). This date, however, is obviously a misprint for 1619 because, with the exception of the carole, all the dances named date from much later than the early 16th century. For the correct dating from a bibliographical perspective, see L'Ere baroque en France: répertoire chronologique des éditions de textes littéraires, ed. Roméo Arbour, II (Geneva, 1979), No 9404.

² For this citation see 'Le Livre des Quatre Dames' (ll. 2399-2402) in The Poetical Works of Alain Chartier, ed. J. C. Laidlaw (London, 1974). A versa by Raimon Cornet (b. c. 1300) cites 'bassas dansas' (l. 237), but this reference to dansa is to an Occitan vocal form not a choreographic form. Moreover the music for the French basse danse was instrumental. For Raimon Cornet's versa, see Les Troubadours, ed. and trans. René Lavaud and René Nelli, II (Bruges, 1966), pp. 778-79.
includes a lengthy description of allegorical figures dancing a *carole*. In these later manuscripts, as in the earlier ones, the term *carole* is still found although the word *danse* is very occasionally substituted. Citations are also found, if infrequently, in works actually composed in the fifteenth century. For instance in the biography of Jacques Lalaing we read:

Puis quand ce vint après souper et que les tables furent levées, danses et carolles encommencèrent par la grande salle du chasteau de Lalaing ; trompettes et ménestrels commencèrent à jouer de leur mestier. Là y avoit qui jouoient de plusieurs instrumens mélodieux; chacun d'iceux s'y acquittoit au mieux qu'il pouvoit. Après toutes danses et esbattemens faits, l'heure vint que tous s'en allèrent coucher... ³

Then when the moment arrived after supper, and the tables were removed, dances and *caroles* began in the great hall of the chateau of Lalaing, trumpeters and minstrels began to ply their trade. There were some there who played several melodious instruments, and each of them acquitted himself in the best possible manner. After all the dances and entertainments had finished, the time came when everyone went to bed...

At first sight the reference here to 'danses et carolles' might be interpreted as indicating an actual performance of *caroles* and other dances, but in fact it simply repeats a collocation found earlier, for example, in Froissart and later in Moreau, which was something of a stock phrase, and is probably a general

³ 'Le Livre des faits du bon chevalier messire Jacques de Lalaing' in *Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain*, ed. Baron Joseph Kervyn de Lettenhove, (Brussels, 1866), VIII, 8. This biography is now considered to be mainly by Jean Le Fevre (1395/96-1468).
reference to dancing. The poet Charles d'Orléans entitles four of his compositions (three in French and one in Latin) 'caroles', and his particular usage will be examined later. In 1442, Murad II, the Sultan of Turkey, gave a reception for Wlad of Wallachia, whose territory Murad hoped to seize. This event was later described by the chronicler, Jean Wavrin:

Et audehors dudit pavillon estoit assis a terre sur coussins et tapis de drap dor le dit seigneur de la Valaquie a la dextre dudit Turcq et a sa senestre estoit assis son bellarbay, qui vault autant a dire comme seigneur des seigneurs, et tous les autres nobles furent assis comme en une grant carolle partant de la main dextre et senestre en tele maniere que le Grant Turcq les povoit tous veoir mengier.

And outside the said tent the said Lord of Wallachia was seated on cushions and a carpet of cloth of gold with the said Turk on his right and his bellarbay, which can be translated approximately as lord of lords, seated on his left, and all the other nobles were seated as in a great carole to the left and to the right so that the Great Turk could see them all eating.

Here obviously there is no question of dancing, as carole is used in a simile in this context, and clearly means that those present were placed in a circle. Yet a choreographic sense seems likely in the following poem composed sometime in

4 Some examples from Froissart are to be found in *Chroniques de J. Froissart*, ed. Siméon Luce et al. (Paris, 1869-1975): I, 76; XIII, 161; XIV, 133. The other reference is to Sébastien Moreau, *La Prise et délivrance du roy* [etc.], ed. L. Cimber and F. Danjou, Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France depuis Louis XI jusqu'à Louis XVIII, 1ère série, (Paris, 1835), II, 323-24.


the late fifteenth century, although one should note that the word is used to form a rhyme, and may therefore represent nothing more than a useful archaism:

Fille, quant serez en karolle,
Dansez gentiment par mesure,
Car, quant fille se desmesure,
Tel la voit qui la tient pour folle.  

Girls when you are in a carole, dance modestly and with decorum, for, when a girl behaves without decorum, there will be some who think her wanton.

It is as an archaism that carole is used by sixteenth-century authors. Late in that century the term is defined by Maurice de la Porte thus: 'douce, mesuree, trepignante, amoureuse. C'est un viel mot françois lequel signifie danse, auquel tu auras recours pour t'aider des epithetes qui lui sont attribués' (gentle, measured, lively, tender. It is an old French word, which means dance, to which you will have recourse to help you with the [foregoing] epithets that are attributed to it). Du Bellay employs carollant for dansant in his translation of two books of the Aeneid, in order to avoid words in common usage and to achieve a more elevated style:

C'est pourquoy ne voulant tousjours contraindre l'escriture au commun usage de parler, je ne crains d'usurper quelquefois en mes vers certains

---

8 See Huguet, 'Carole', for an extensive list of 16th-century citations.
9 Maurice de la Porte, Les Epithetes de M de la Porte, Parisien (Paris, 1571), fol. 47v, 'Carole'.
mots, et locutions dont ailleurs je ne voudroy user, et ne pourroy sans affectation, et mauvaise grace. Pour ceste mesme raison, j'ay usé de gallees, pour galleres, endementiers, pour en ce pendant: isnel, pour leger: carrolant, pour dansant, et autres, dont antiquité (suyvant l'exemple de mon aucteur Virgile) me semble donner quelque majesté au vers, principalement en un long poëme, pourveu toutefois que l'usage n'en soit immodéré. 10

That is why, not always wishing to restrict my style to the usage of common speech, I have not been reluctant to import sometimes certain words and locutions into my verses that otherwise I would not and could not use without affectation or disagreeable effect. For this same reason I have used gallees for galleres, endementiers for en ce pendant, isnel for leger, carollant for dansant, and other words whose antiquity (following the example of my author Virgil) seem to me to impart some majesty to the verse especially in a long poem, provided that the use of such words is not excessive.

The word carole, then, had generally fallen out of use. It was to be employed only for specific purposes, and then only occasionally.

Yet in spite of its unusualness, carole as a choreographic term was starting to appear about this time as a lemma in the emerging field of lexicography. The senses that dictionaries attributed to the term at the time, and in the centuries that followed, will be examined more closely in Chapter II. Suffice it to say here that at least from Nicot's dictionary of 1573 onwards the term is frequently included in dictionaries published in France whether these are French-Latin publications,

10 Deux Livres de l'Eneide de Virgile, a scavoir le quatrieme et sixieme traduicts en vers franfois par J. du Bellay, Angevin (Paris, 1560), fols. 3°-4°.
where obviously the French term is explained in Latin, or French-French dictionaries. Many of the French-Latin dictionaries attempt an etymological explanation of the French. Preoccupation with the etymology continued to be a subject for debate well into the twentieth century. Nevertheless the lexicographers are also concerned with the choreographic sense of the term, although their understanding is limited to stating or implying that it is an obsolete term for danse.

With La Curne de Sainte-Palaye not only was the etymology of the word carole re-examined, but its semantics were also re-assessed. In his historical dictionary of the French language, completed in 1762, but not published until more than a century later, he rejects Nicot’s derivation. La Curne de Sainte-Palaye was in a position to reconsider obsolete terms and their meaning as a result of his extensive knowledge of Old French literature, in which study he was in advance of his time. Indeed his dictionary, when eventually published, provided the basis for Godefroy’s dictionary of Old French (1880-1902), which numbered among the ever-growing number of lexicographical works published from the late nineteenth century in which carole is included among the entries. As might be expected, definitions in more general dictionaries were followed by more specialized compilations of dance terms of which Aeppli’s study is particularly relevant. The closing decades of the twentieth century brought the

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12 Dictionnaire historique de l’ancien langage français ou glossaire de la langue française depuis son origine jusqu’au siècle de Louis XIV, compiled by Jean-Baptiste de la Curne de Sainte-Palaye, ed. L. Favre and M. Pajot (Niort, 1875-82), ‘Carole’.
13 Godefroy, ‘Carole’.
14 Fritz Aeppli, ‘Die wichtigsten Ausdrücke für das Tanzen in den romanischen Sprachen’, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 75 (1925), 33-36; see also 90-95.
publication of dictionaries specifically devoted to dance, the *Tanz Lexikon* and the *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, both of which cite the *carole*.\(^{15}\)

The late nineteenth century saw not only continued preoccupation with terms such as *carole* from a purely lexicographical perspective, but also an increased interest in the social life of the Middle Ages. Exploration of aspects of everyday life led to a consideration of medieval arts and pastimes, including dance. An early entrant into this field was Czerwinski’s *Geschichte der Tanzkunst*, which, however, does not mention the *carole*.\(^{16}\) But the term *carole*, and how it might be differentiated from *danse*, became the focus of attention of Germanic writers from Liliencron onwards.\(^{17}\) Yet observations on the *carole* have often relied on the work of people working in other disciplines. Social historians, linguists, musicologists and literary historians have all contributed. It has been literary historians in particular, rather than dance historians (who have generally been content to follow them) who have helped to foster theories about the *carole*, although such pronouncements are often based on an inadequate knowledge of dance history.

Nevertheless it has been the writers on French literature who formulated such theories. This situation came about because it was immediately evident that the *carole* was always accompanied by singing, and that the lyrics of the songs that accompanied this dance provided the earliest examples of lyrics of a popular nature. In this context Jeanroy’s *Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*


\(^{16}\) Albert Czerwinski, *Geschichte der Tanzkunst bei den cultiven Völkern von den ersten Anfängen bis auf die gegenwärtige Zeit* (Leipzig, 1862).

was seminal. It was first published in 1889, and this was followed by two further editions. Jeanroy’s extensive study was the subject of a comprehensive review by Gaston Paris, which addressed at greater length the etymology and choreography of the carole. This review was also reprinted. These two works were, in turn, cited as authorities on the carole in a more general survey of dance in thirteenth-century verse by Bédier in his article ‘Les Plus Anciennes Danses françaises’. This essay, together with the two studies already mentioned, has continued to influence thinking about the nature of medieval dance in general, and about the carole in particular. A further addition to studies of this kind was Verrier’s Le Vers français. Verrier had much to say on every aspect of the carole, including the precise nature of its choreography and, as he saw it, its dissemination throughout Europe. He also claimed to have discovered the earliest citation of the term, setting out his views at some length in an article to which reference has since often been made: ‘La Plus Vieille Citation de carole’.

The etymology of the term remained, however, the main area of debate. Further histories of French poetry have appeared since Verrier’s, but these have added nothing new to our knowledge of the carole or, indeed, its lyrics.

The French term carole also passed into English, where it became associated with particular kinds of song. Greene in Early English Carols, an

18 Alfred Jeanroy, Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au Moyen Âge (Paris, 1889). The later editions were published in 1904 and in 1925 (the one used in this study). On the lyrics see especially pp. 102-13 and 387-438.
22 Paul Verrier, ‘La Plus Vieille Citation de carole’, Romania, 58 (1932), 380-421 and 61(1935), 95-97.
anthology with an extensive introduction, first published in 1935, confidently traces the origin of the English carol to the dance.\textsuperscript{23} His statements on the dance, however, are derived from secondary sources, especially from Jeanroy. A somewhat different view of the origin of the English carol was taken by another specialist in this field, Robbins, particularly in his article, ‘Middle English Carols as Processional Hymns’ in which he finds the origin of the song form in the English liturgy.\textsuperscript{24}

If literary studies, such as those by Jeanroy, Gaston Paris and Bédier, formed the basis of much of the later comment on the nature of the carole, a radically different view of the dance was provided by Margit Sahlin’s \textit{Etude sur la carole médiévale}. This work was originally submitted as a doctoral thesis to the University of Uppsala, and is the only major study of the carole to date. Sahlin differed from her predecessors, both regarding the etymology of the word itself and also regarding the general form of the choreography. Her monograph was the subject of a dozen reviews during the 1940s. While acknowledging the originality of her work, her critics were generally agreed in rejecting her arguments. Nevertheless her study has continued to be cited. Sahlin’s \textit{Etude} is fairly wide-ranging in its survey of the carole from a linguistic and literary perspective. Yet her investigation does not discuss, for example, the choreography in any detail or the accompanying lyrics, music or iconography.

A dance must perforce be accompanied by music and, indeed, the carole has been mentioned in studies of medieval dance music beginning with Aubry’s

\textsuperscript{24} Rossell Hope Robbins, ‘Middle English Carols as Processional Hymns’, \textit{Studies in Philology}, 56 (1959), 559-82.
'La Danse au Moyen Age'. 25 Most of these studies are in fact concerned with medieval instrumental music and few with music for the carole. Exceptions, however, are the two histories of medieval music by Gérold, in which he strives to relate known dances of the time to extant music. 26 Stevens and Page, in their respective books on medieval music published in the 1980s, have also given some attention to the carole. 27 As for standard music reference works, the Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie has no entry for 'Carole' as it is not a musical term. 28 'Carole' or 'Carola', however, appears as a headword in other music dictionaries in English, French, and Italian, including both editions of The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. 29 In the standard German dictionary on the subject, Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, the carole is treated in the general context of dance and dance music. 30 Inevitably most of these contributions rely on the earlier studies mentioned above, or do little to relate the music cited to any dance. Although no specific piece of music called the carole exists, musical insertions in literary works can now be shown to be tunes for this dance, and these pieces, while they have not hitherto been considered in relation to the carole, have, nevertheless, been discussed and edited, most notably in the volumes of Friedrich Gennrich’s Rondeaux, Virelais

29 See John Stevens 'Carole', New Grove 1, but for a different view see Robert Mullally, 'Carole', New Grove 2.
He was qualified both as a linguist and a musicologist to undertake an examination of the lyric interpolations, but this fact notwithstanding, his emendations of the lyric texts in particular have been questioned. A more recent and valuable contribution to the musical aspect of the subject has been Maria Vedder Fowler’s unpublished dissertation, ‘Musical Interpolations in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century French Narratives’, although she does not relate the tunes to dance either.

Finally the evidence that might be provided by depictions of the *carole* in works of art of the time cannot be neglected. Iconographical studies that have a direct bearing on the *carole* are few in number. Nevertheless the few contributions in this field prove to be particularly useful. Alfred Kuhn’s *Die Illustration des Rosenromans*, although not exhaustive, provides an indispensable general guide to illuminations in the manuscripts of that text. John Fleming’s study on the *Roman de la Rose* deals with the illustration of the *carole* within the context of the work as a whole. The only monograph, however, to deal with medieval representations of the *carole* (or *Reige*, to use his exact term) is Walter Salmen’s article ‘Ikonographie des Reigens im Mittelalter’. But his interpretation of the term and its depiction, it must be said, is far too generalized.

In the centuries since its demise as a dominant social dance, the *carole*, at least as an term of linguistic interest, has never been entirely absent from public

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31 Of the three volumes of *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen*, ed. Friedrich Gennrich, those particularly relevant to the present study are the first two published in *Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur*, namely 43 (1921) and 47 (1927).
33 Alfred Kuhn, *Die Illustration des Rosenromans*, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, (Vienna, 1912), XXXI/1.
consciousness, even if this was only sustained in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by its citation as an archaism in dictionaries. Continued attention to the etymology of the term from the sixteenth century, and the realization that no generally accepted solution as to its derivation has yet been found to date must argue for further examination of this aspect of the subject. To this must be added the fact that, apart from Sahlin’s controversial interpretation of Old French texts, ideas about the choreography depend on the assumptions of earlier literary historians. There is clearly a need for a comprehensive review of all the facets of the carole.
Chapter II: The Etymology of the Word Carole

Discussion about the origin of the word carole has been of special concern to scholars. Its etymology is not immediately obvious, and therefore any attempted exposition of it presents a particular difficulty. Speculation on the subject can be traced back as far as the thirteenth century, but scholarly interest in the origin of the word developed only with the growth of lexicography in the sixteenth century and, more especially, with closer attention to phonology in the later nineteenth century. The publication of Sahlin’s monograph in 1940, with her extensive examination of theories of the etymology of the word, evoked, in the many reviews of her work, a renewed interest in the subject. Indeed the etymology has been investigated both from a semantic and from a phonological point of view, and clearly an examination of the topic must take into account these two aspects. In the case of every etymon that has been seriously proposed there have been arguments and counter-arguments without any one derivation being generally accepted. The views of these various scholars will be examined here in order to evaluate their diverse theories and to attempt to reach a solution.

Conjectures by Wolf and, following him, by Böhme that the word might be derived from the Latin words carrus, ‘a cart’, or from Carolus, ‘Charles’ as suggested by Grandcolas, Pignol de la Force and Bárcia, were rightly dismissed by Sahlin as unsupported by any evidence or reasoning.¹ A hypothesis unique to Lacroix-Novaro is that the word has its origins in *charagula, a diminutive of

¹ Sahlin, pp. 72-73.
charagus.² According to this theory, an oriental cult of magic reached the West in the fourth century A.D. This cult involved the construction of a circular palisade within which a dance was performed led by a magician called a charagus from which the name of the dance itself, charagula, was derived, and this word subsequently developed into carole. Sahlin remarks that the writer based his evidence on sixteenth-century poets with hardly any reference to medieval texts.³ She concludes, therefore, that this hypothesis cannot be sustained. In fact no other scholar has pursued this highly speculative theory. The etymologies that have attracted greater attention may, therefore, be reduced to six, with derivations from three languages, namely Breton, Latin or Greek.

(1) Middle Breton, coroll (Modern Breton, koroll)

The choice of this etymon (meaning ‘dance’) was probably influenced by a passage (to be discussed in the next chapter) in Wace’s Roman de Brut (dated 1155):

E Merlin les pieres dreça,

En lur ordre les raloa;

Bretun les suelent en bretanz

Apeler carole as gaianz,

Stanhenges unt nun en engleis,

Pieres pendues en francéis.⁴

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³ Sahlin, pp. 77-78.
⁴ Le Roman de Brut de Wace, ed. Ivor Arnold (Paris, 1938-40), ii.8173-78. The date of composition is given in ii. 14859-66.
And Merlin set up the stones, returning them to their original order. The Bretons in the Breton language usually call them the Giants Carole. They are known as Stonehenge in English or Hanging Stones in French.

The etymon, together with other Celtic analogues, was noted in the form of a possible lost verb, *koralla, by Diez in his etymological dictionary. Skeat asserts that ‘the word is clearly Celtic [in derivation]’. Holmes, while not wholeheartedly accepting a Breton source, nevertheless admits some influence from this quarter: ‘in conclusion I shall state again that the Breton coroll doubtless had something to do with the history of OF caroler’. Fleuriot, while remarking on an exchange between Holmes and Förster on a possible Celtic origin, also argues that a Breton root is possible.

Nevertheless Nigra rejects Skeat’s derivation, and maintains that a French provenance is clearly evident. Förster also argues that any Celtic form must be derived directly or indirectly from the French; Jordan concurs. The FEW gives the headword ‘Choraula’ and states categorically that the Breton is derived from the French. Meyer-Lübke also does not consider that a Breton etymon is the source. On Meyer-Lübke’s authority, and that of the New English Dictionary (now the OED), Sahlin also rejects Celtic etyma in general and a Breton one in

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9 C. Nigra, ‘Notes étymologiques et lexicales’, _Romantia_, 31 (1902), 519, n. 2.
particular. It will be noted that no evidence has been advanced for how or when this supposed development from Breton to French took place. Indeed any support for the proposition would appear to be vitiated by the fact that a Breton source for coroll cannot be traced back further than the second half of the fifteenth century, whereas, as we shall see in my next chapter, Old French carole is attested centuries earlier. It is therefore much more likely, as several scholars mentioned above have stated, that the Breton is derived from the French.

It would seem more plausible to seek an etymon for a French word from a Latin source even if this were not the ultimate one. This indeed is what other scholars have done.

(2) Latin, chorus or *chorulus

In an anonymous commentary in a thirteenth-century manuscript of the Dictionarius of Johannes de Garlandia, the text of which was written between 1218 and 1229, we find the following explanation: 'choream, Gallice charole, ab hoc nomine chorus' (Chorea, in French carole. Chorus comes from this noun [i.e. from chorea]). This commentary on Johannes de Garlandia, then, provides us with the earliest suggested etymology. The word chorus itself, however, cannot be the etymon, since it does not account for the ending in French, and thus, even if it were to be the ultimate source, must necessarily have passed through a diminutive form. Consequently Diez, in addition to a possible Breton origin, also gives the form chorulus as a possible etymon in the first edition of

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12 Sahlin, p. 73.

13 See Roparz Hemon (ed.), Geriadur istorel ar brezhoneg [etc.]: Dictionnaire historique du breton (2nd ed., Quimper, 1979—), 'Koroll', where the earliest attestation given is a Breton-French-Latin manuscript vocabulary of 1464.

his dictionary, although he omits it from later ones. Halberl also considers the diminutive, but concludes by not accepting it. Much more recently Dauzat and, following him, Imbs, see a possible influence of *chorus* itself, while Greimas and Kane give it as the only etymon. Otherwise this theory has gained little acceptance, and Sahlin does not deal specifically with it. In fact *chorulus* (Accusative Case, *chorulum*) would give *chorle* through the effacement of the unstressed penultimate syllable (c.f. *HOMINEM* > *homme*).

(3) Latin, *chorea* or *choreola* (*choriola*)

Another Latin word for dance, *chorea*, has also been proposed as an etymon. Borel in 1655 defined *carole* as ‘c. danse, de *chorea*’, and Richelet in 1732 defined it as ‘ancien mot qui signifioit danse . . . Borel le dérive de *chorea*’ (an old word meaning *dance* . . . Borel derives it from *chorea*). But as with *chorus*, the French word could only be derived from a diminutive, not from the root form itself. As early as 1573 Nicot appears to acknowledge this fact in his definition: ‘carolle’: ‘chorea, chorus, saltatio, videtur dici quasi *choreola*’ (*carole*, in Latin *chorea* or *chorus*, a dance. It seems to be derived from *choreola*). This derivation is repeated verbatim by Ranconnet. Förster adopts *choreola* as his preferred etymon, and Meyer-Lübke gives it as a lemma in his

15 Diez, 1st ed. (Bonn, 1853), 2nd ed. (Bonn, 1861-62) and 5th ed., ‘Carole’.
Halberl chooses a slightly different graph, *choriola*, positing a hypothetical intermediary Italian form *caruola*. He sees the change of countertonic /o:/ to /a/ as a plausible if unusual development. The etymon *choriola* was revived as a possibility by Jud, who cites such analogies as *caveola* > OF *jaiole*. Spanke believes that the root word, *chorea*, might have had some influence.

Yet W. Förster dismisses *choriola* on the grounds that it would not produce the desired derivative. Neither does Holmes find the derivation plausible, and Jordan agrees with Holmes. The *FEW* disapproves of Halberl's use of two hypothetical forms, that is to say the development *choriola* > *caruola* > *carole*. Sahlin, noting that the form *choriola* (*choreola*) was not attested, also finds the Italian dimension unconvincing. Lerch repeats this objection, and expresses some surprise since the hypothesis would render *carole* a term of courtly poetry borrowed from Italian. In addition he notes, as Diez had done, the difficulty of the unexplained lost /j/ of *choreola*. As early as 1853, however, Diez had cast doubt on the transition from *choreola* to *carole*, and suggested that the etymon would produce *careule*. Alternatively one might suggest *choireule*. In any case the etymon is unacceptable.

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21 Förster, p. 201; Meyer-Lübke, *Choreola*.
22 Halberl, *ibid*.
26 Holmes (p. 202) in reply to Förster; Jordan, *Der Reigentanz*, p. 335.
27 *FEW*, *Choraula*.
28 Sahlin, pp. 74-75.
30 Diez (*2nd ed.*), *Carole*.
31 Diez (*1st ed.*), *Carole*.
If an etymon cannot be found in a Latin dance term, there remains the possibility that a Latin word with a different meaning, namely *corolla*, ‘a little garland’, could provide one.

(4) Latin, *corolla*

La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, in his dictionary completed in 1762, defined the *carole* as ‘danse en rond’ (round dance), and having considered the ‘diverses significations’ (several meanings) of the term, rejected Nicot’s etymon ‘*choreola*’ (cited above), in favour of *corolla* (a little garland). La Curne de Sainte-Palaye seems to imply that, although *carole* could not be directly traced to a Latin word for a dance, an indirect connexion might be established since *corolla* refers to a circular object, and he had already concluded that the *carole* was a circular dance. W. Foerster maintains that *corona* could mean a circle of people in Classical Latin, and that therefore the transference of the sense of its diminutive to round dance would be quite natural. Gröber gives it as the only etymon. Körting also considers the word as a possible candidate. Sachs pronounces it to be the only possible one, and one for which he claims (incorrectly as it now seems) the discovery.

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33 W. Foerster, p. 110. Forster is commenting on Diez (see below).
35 Gustav Körting (ed.) *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch (Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Hauptsprachen)* (1890; 3rd ed. Paderborn, 1907), No 2525; see also No 2545.
Semantic objections to this etymology, however, had already been raised. Diez, in the fifth edition of his dictionary, maintains that, while *corolla* is acceptable from the point of view of form, it is unacceptable from the point of view of meaning, and he implies that the transition from ‘garland’ to ‘dance’ is too radical.37 Nigra also categorically rejects the form.38 Halberl considers that the progression from ‘garland’ to ‘dance song’ is not entirely clear.39 Jordan underlines the different senses of ‘garland’ and ‘dance’.40 Sahlin rejects the development *coronula* > *corolla* as being non-attested.41 Spanke discards *coronula* because it does not signify a round dance.42

From a phonological point of view, *corolla* is rejected by the *FEW* and by Meyer-Lübke without further explanation.43 Sahlin discounts the etymology not only on semantic grounds, but also on phonological grounds, and cites the *FEW*, Meyer-Lübke etc.44 Lerch likewise finds the etymon unsatisfactory, both on phonological and semantic grounds.45 Gaston Paris, reviewing W. Foerster's note, points out that *corolla* would produce *coroule* in French.46 Indeed this is the principal objection to the proposed etymon.

*Chorus* and *chorea* are ultimately of Greek origin, and if their use in Latin failed to provide a convincing etymon, there remained the possibility that *carole* might actually be derived from a Greek phrase or term. This is the solution proposed by other scholars, including Sahlin.

37 Diez (5th ed.), ‘Carole’.
38 Nigra, pp. 519-20.
39 Halberl, p. 309.
41 Sahlin, pp. 73-74.
42 Spanke, col. 107.
43 *FEW*, ‘Choraula’; Meyer-Lübke, ‘*Choreola*’.
44 Sahlin, p. 74.
45 Lerch, p. 236.
According to Sahlin, the *carole* was a processional dance in which the participants exclaimed the refrain ‘Kyrie eleison’ (Lord have mercy), and that it was from this Greek phrase that the French term is derived: *KYRIELEISON > kyrielle > karielle > kariole > karole*.47 Lerch agrees with Sahlin on the etymon, but explains its passage to *carole* differently.48 According to his explanation, ‘Kyrie eleison’ was a popular expression of joy in north-eastern France as the cart (*cairole*) bringing the last of the harvest arrived. Thus it was probable that the harvesters danced around this cart making this exclamation. *Kyrie eleison*, therefore, passed through the intermediary stages of *cairole* and *kerole*. Lerch cites analogies such as *VARIOLA > vairole > vérole* for the transition here of counter tonic /a/ to /e/. All other reviewers of Sahlin’s thesis, however, are united in rejecting her etymology. Roques, Zumthor and Guiter express the general feeling of scepticism.49 Others advance the following more detailed criticisms.

First there are objections on semantic grounds. Jud comments on the lack of documentary evidence for Sahlin’s theory that the *carole* was a processional couple dance, thus undermining her conception of the dance and its etymology.50 Indeed to counter her argument, Falk cites texts to support the view that *carole* signifies a circular formation.51 Rheinfelder seems to reach a similar

47 Sahlin sets out her etymological argument on pp. 82-94. The filiation summarizing her findings appears on p. 91.
48 See Lerch, pp. 237-43, for what follows.
50 Jud, p. 303.
Suchier cannot find any evidence that would relate the supposed etymon to the carole. He observes that there was little evidence in French for Kyrie eleison as a song and none for a refrain, and that in any case the phrase has no connexion with a dance. Spanke also draws attention to the fact that, for Sahlin’s theory to be acceptable, Kyrie eleison would first to have been a kind of song and then a dance derived from this song, but that the French carole, as Sahlin herself admitted, was always a dance and never a song.

Turning to the phonological aspect of Sahlin’s theory, Jud notes the difficulty posed by the change of the countertonic /i/ to /a/ in KYRIELEISON > carole. Jud and Falk are both perplexed by the change in the suffix (-elle to -ole). Falk points out that /j/ in hiatus was always retained, and that in any case words containing such forms are modern. Both Falk and Suchier cast doubt on Sahlin’s explanation of the change of tonic /e/ to /ɔ/. Falk, citing Schuchardt, adds that this change generally takes place outside the tonic, and that moreover such substitutions are transitory assimilations and are, on the whole, short lived. Spitzer queries a host of her etymological deductions. More generally Falk observes that Sahlin herself admitted that her etymology ‘ne suit pas strictement les “lois phonétiques”’ (does not strictly follow the ‘rules of phonetics’), which is, perhaps, the main reason for disregarding her hypothesis.

The weight of scholarly opinion has clearly been against Sahlin’s exposition of the etymology, and her sole supporter, Lerch, is obliged to rely on a hypothetical
intermediary stage in order to avoid phonological difficulties. It must be added, however, that Sahlin’s etymology has been widely noted in various studies.

Sahlin, however, is not the only advocate of a Greek etymon: long before her very original solution, the following alternative had been proposed.

(6) **Greek, χοραυλής**

A Greek verb χοραυλέω, meaning ‘to accompany the chorus on the aulos’, is found in Strabo’s *Geography* (written between 20 and 7 B.C.).

This verb is considered by Gaston Paris, who, nevertheless, notes that the word ‘n’existe pas dans le grec populaire’ (does not exist in popular Greek). Diez mentions a Latin equivalent, coraulare, but Halberl remarks that the noun occurs more frequently than the verb. Sahlin rejects both the Greek and the Latin; she cites Haberl’s objection, and points out that, in any case, the form, *choraulare*, is not attested. A verb source for the French noun seems highly improbable, and conjectures in that direction can therefore safely be dismissed. There remains, however, the possibility of a derivation from the noun.

According to this etymology, the OF carole is ultimately derived from the Greek noun χοραυλής (‘one who accompanies a chorus on the aulos’). The derivation appears to have been first made by Diefenbach, who records not only

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61 I have taken the definition from Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott (eds Sir Henry Stuart Jones et al.), *A Greek-English Lexicon* (1843; 9th ed., Oxford, 1940), ‘Χοραυλέω’, but have substituted the word *aulos* for flute. Aulos is frequently mistranslated as flute, but was, in fact, a double reed instrument. The reference to Strabo is to his *Geography*, XVII. 1. 11.


63 Diez (5th ed.), 'Carole'; Halberl, p. 309.

64 Sahlin, p. 75.

65 The definition is from Liddell and Scott, ‘Χοραυλέω’, but once again I have substituted *aulos* for flute.
the Greek, but also the Latin form *choraula, which has been defined as 'a player on a reed pipe'. Diez takes the Latin form as the etymon. Nigra, following Diez, also makes it his point of departure, positing an intermediary form *caurôla. Although Köring cites Diez and Nigra for the verbal form, it is from the noun that he traces the Romance derivation. Brüll takes up Nigra's hypothesis as a possibility. Jordan, referring to two citations in Venantius Fortunatus (discussed below), asserts that c(h)oraula itself is the intermediary. For the FEW it is the Latin form that provides the basis for the etymology. The Greek form is transliterated as choraules, and Holmes supports the transition CHORAULES > coraula, although he admits the influence of the Breton, coroll, and also a further development by way of a verb, *coraulare, which is essentially the same etymology that was to be rejected by Sahlin. Falk finds no obstacle phonologically to the etymon choraula. Dauzat, and later Imbs, while they consider carole as connected in some unspecified way to the Latin chorus, nevertheless see it as a possible derivative of choraules (Dauzat) or choraula (Imbs). These arguments notwithstanding, a number of scholars have rejected the etymology.

As an objection to the etymology in general, Lerch observes that it is not obvious how a learned word became a term for a folk dance, or how the Latin

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66 Laurentius Diefenbach (ed.), Glossarium Latino-Germanicum Mediae et Infimae Aetatis (Frankfurt-on-Main, 1857), 'Cho-'. The definition is from the Oxford Latin Dictionary (Oxford, 1968-82), 'Choraules -ae m. Also -a -ae'.
67 Diez (5th ed.), Carole'.
68 Nigra, pp. 519-20.
69 Köring, 'Choraulo, -are'.
70 Hugo Brüll (ed.), Untergangene und veraltete Worte des französischen im heutigen englisch (Halle, 1913), 'Charole'.
72 FEW, 'Choraula'.
73 Holmes, pp. 29-30; Sahlin, p. 75.
74 Falk, p. 138.
75 Dauzat, 'Carole'; Imbs, 'Carole'.

masculine noun, *choraula*, became the Old French feminine noun, *carole*.\(^{76}\) Several scholars raise objections on the grounds of the change in meaning required by acceptance of this particular etymology. W. Foerster dismisses it for this reason.\(^{77}\) Gaston Paris not only expresses misgivings about the verb (as already stated), but also expresses doubts about the noun. He argues that a word that did not exist in colloquial Greek and that referred to a dance accompanied instrumentally could not be the etymon of *carole*, a dance that was generally unaccompanied.\(^{78}\) Sahlin notes that the etymon did not refer to dance.\(^{79}\) Lerch argues that the word always meant a person, and never an instrument or a dance.\(^{80}\) Rheinfelder states that *choraula* is a Late Latin word, and opines that instances where it signifies a dance have not survived; consequently he rejects this etymon.\(^{81}\) Spanke, too, is of the opinion that the word signifies 'Flötenspieler zum Reigentanz' (a flute player who accompanies a round dance) and not the dance itself.\(^{82}\)

Objections have also been raised on phonological grounds. W. Foerster casts doubt on the transition from *choraula* to *carole*.\(^{83}\) Halberl objects that one would have to construct an intermediary form, *choraulare* for the derivation to be acceptable.\(^{84}\) Nigra, however, proposes a metathesis, *choraula* > *cauröla*, in which argument he is tentatively followed by Brüll, but this explanation is rightly found unsatisfactory by the FEW, especially with regard to the development from the hypothetical Latin /ka-/ to French /ka-/ instead of the normal development to

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\(^{76}\) Lerch, p. 237. Lerch overstates the case when he says that *choraula* is a learned word.
\(^{77}\) W. Foerster, p. 110.
\(^{78}\) Gaston Paris, rev. of Jeanroy, 591.
\(^{79}\) Sahlin, pp. 76-77.
\(^{80}\) Lerch, p. 237.
\(^{81}\) Rheinfelder, p. 186.
\(^{82}\) Spanke, col. 107.
\(^{83}\) W. Foerster, p. 110.
\(^{84}\) Halberl, p. 310.
/tʃa-/ and thence to modern /ʃa-. As for the etymology in question (choraula > carole), Lerch remarks that the transition from /ko:-/ to /ka-/ remains unexplained.

A particular argument has centred on two passages in Venantius Fortunatus (530-609 A.D.) quoted by Jordan in support of the etymology. The first is a passage from the life of St Radegund which, in a manuscript in the British Library, reads as follows:

Sancta respondit: ‘Teste Deo, nihil me audire modo seculare de cantico’.
Unde manifestum est ut carne licet in seculo, mente tamen esset in caelo.

On a certain occasion, when the darkness of night was already casting its shadow, and the saint with two other nuns was finishing her tasks for the day, the din of flute-players and lyre-players was heard around the convent. One of the

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85 Nigra, pp. 519-20; Brüll, ‘Charole’; FEW, ‘Choraula’.
86 Lerch, p. 237
88 LBL, Additional MS 11880 (s. ix
), fol. 84v. The text in Venanti Honorii Clementiani Fortunati Presbyteri Italici, Opera Pedestria, ed. Bruno Krusch, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctorum Antiquissimorum Tomi IV Pars Posterior (Berlin, 1885), pp. 47-48, differs somewhat from that offered by the manuscript used here. In particular, for corollas he gives coraulas, and for psallentibus (musicians) he gives saltantibus (dancers).
nuns said brightly, 'My lady, I heard the musicians playing one of my favourite pieces'. The saint replied, 'It's a fine thing that you, a person in religion, like to listen to such worldly rubbish'. But the sister still asserted, 'Really my lady, I've just heard two or three tunes I know'. To which the saint answered, 'As God is my witness, I heard no profane songs'. From this it can be clearly seen that although her body was in the world, her mind was in heaven.

Jordan declares that, in the foregoing extract, coraulas (the form found in the source that he is quoting) passed from signifying a player of an instrument to meaning the instrument itself and thence to meaning a dance. He also cites the following lines from a poem by Venantius Fortunatus addressed to Bishop Felix on the dedication of his church:

Hinc te pontifices circumdant, inde ministri,

cingit te totum hinc honor, inde fauor.

Clericus ecce choris resonat, plebs inde coraulis:

quisque tuum uotum qua ualet arte cant

Here bishops encircle you, there priests; here honour enfolds you, there goodwill. Lo! The clergy resounds in choirs, the people in song. Each sings the praises of your dedication as best he knows how.

Jordan maintains that, in the above lines, there is again a change of meaning from instrument to dance and that the sense is 'Reigentanz mit Gesang'

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(round dance with singing). Sahlin objects to the form coraulas in the passage on St Radegund as conjectural, as indeed it is, and to coraulis in the poem as an editorial emendation (which it is not); she therefore finds Jordan's conclusion drawn from the poem 'un peu trop subtile' (a little too subtle). In fact it is possible that in the prose text, the collocation of corollas with cytharas signifies instruments in both cases, and that in the poem, coraulis implies singing alone rather than dancing and singing as Jordan maintains.

It is apparent that the derivation from χόραυλης or choraula, like the others, has involved much argument both from a semantic and from a phonological point of view. Indeed it might appear that no single one of the theories considered above is more acceptable than another. I would contend, however, that this last has a better claim, and that the objections raised against it can be satisfactorily answered.

Firstly the carole cannot be called a folk dance for, as will become evident in later chapters, it was a social dance performed by people of every class. The semantic and grammatical changes involved in the transition from χόραυλης to choraula and thence to carole are no hindrance to the acceptance of the etymology either. Arguments on the grounds of change in gender can be rejected immediately. One might note in passing that Probus gives choraula as being of common gender: hic et haec choraula. As for changes as words passed from Latin to French, one need only cite such examples as flos (Accusative Case, florem) which is masculine in Latin, but gives the feminine French fleur, and dens (Accusative Case, dentem), which is also masculine in Latin, but its

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91 Jordan, 'Der Reigentanz', p. 337.
92 Sahlin, p. 76. On the manuscript readings, see below.
93 pace Lerch, p. 237 cited above in my text.
derivative *dent* is both masculine and feminine in Old French and feminine in Modern French.\(^95\) As for changes in meaning, Falk views these as evolutionary: ‘joueur de flute’, ‘coryphée’, ‘jongleur’, ‘chanteur’ ‘danseur’ (flute player, leader of the dance, entertainer, singer, dancer).\(^96\) But here one might be tempted to concede to Lerch that the sense remains that of a person not of a musical instrument or a dance.\(^97\) Yet even a radical change in meaning (in this case from instrumentalist in Greek or Latin to dance in French), noted with reference to this and other etyma, accords with a normal linguistic process. Thus, for instance, Classical Latin, *cohortem*, which can mean ‘a space surrounded by farm-buildings, farmyard’ becomes *cour* (court) in French, signifying not only the place but also the people in it.\(^98\) More relevant to our present purpose, since it indicates the shift in meaning from people to an inanimate object is the Classical Latin *collegium*, which refers to people; for example ‘a guild, club, society fraternity’, and is the etymon of the French *collège* ‘college’.\(^99\) It is therefore possible, as Falk suggests, to accept a change in meaning from a singer of dance songs to the dance itself.

The phonology, too, is acceptable. The noun, *χοραυλής* is first found in an epigram of Lucillius, who lived in the reign of Nero (54–68 A.D). It then occurs in Plutarch’s *Lives* composed between 105 and 120 A.D.\(^100\) Pauly records examples in memorial inscriptions in Greek.\(^101\) Transliterated into the roman

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\(^95\) For these and other examples of changes in gender, see Alfred Ewert, *The French Language* (1933; rpt London, 1969), pp. 136-42.

\(^96\) Falk, pp. 138-39.

\(^97\) Lerch, p. 237.


alphabet as *choraules*, the form is recorded in the works of Petronius (d. 66 A.D.), and later in Pliny the Elder, Martial and Juvenal. Pauly also notes the Latin inscription: ‘L. AXIVS DAPHVVS CHORAVLES’. The existence of epigraphs such as this anticipates any possible objection that the form, either in Greek or in Latin, might have been introduced into texts by later scribes. A native Latin form, *choraula*, which shows the normal substitution of the Greek ending

_\eta_ by Latin _-a_ (c.f. *nautē* > *nauta*), is also used by Petronius as well as by Martial, Suetonius and many later writers. Although the Greek and Latin forms appear more or less contemporaneously, the Latin obviously derives from the Greek. The form *coraula* with the loss of the strong aspiration, is found in glosses (in manuscripts of the seventh to the tenth centuries). The form *coraulem* is found in a manuscript reading of the tenth century in the works of Pliny the Elder. It is also to be found in manuscript readings dating from the ninth to the eleventh centuries in the works of Apuleius and Servius.

There are two phonological points to be considered with regard to both quotations cited above from the works of Venantius Fortunatus. The first concerns the change from tonic /au/ to /\v/ . Although the form *coraula*, is found in eleven manuscripts of the thirteen (dating from the ninth to the eleventh

\[\text{\footnotesize 102 Petronius, Satyricon, 53; Pline l'Ancien, histoire naturelle, ed. and trans. E. de Saint Denis (Paris, 1972), XXVII, 3.6; Martial, Epigrams, V, 56, 9, IX, 77, 6, XI, 75, 3; Juvenal, Satires, 6, 77.}
\[\text{\footnotesize 103 Pauly, 'Choraules'.}
\[\text{\footnotesize 104 For the development of Gk._\eta_ > Lat. _-a_, see C. H. Grandgent, An Introduction to Vulgar Latin (1934; rpt New York, 1962), p. 22; for examples of the Latin ending, see Petronius, 69; Martial, VI, 39, 19; Suetonius, Lives, Nero, 54 and Galba, 12. An extensive, though by no means complete, list of citations will be found in Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (Leipzig, 1900–), 'Choraules'.}
\[\text{\footnotesize 105 Georg Goetz et al (eds), De Glossariorum Latinorum Origine et Fatis (1888-1923; rpt, Amsterdam, 1965), III, 84, 172, IV, 44, 325, V, 594, 596.}
\[\text{\footnotesize 106 Pline l'Ancien, XXXVII, 3.6 (in the Codex Bambergensis, M.V.10).}
centuries) of the poem addressed to Bishop Felix, the other two (the first dating from the eighth or ninth centuries and the second dating from the tenth century) have coralla. In other words here we see the development of the diphthong /au/ to an open back monophthong, /o/, which is represented by the graph o or a. This levelling is, of course, normal in the development of the sound from Classical to Vulgar Latin, and is, for example, the monophthong found in the earliest Old French texts: CAUSA(M) > cose in the Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie (of which the unicum dates from the end of the ninth century), and CAUSA(M) > cosa in the Strasbourg Oaths (of which the unicum dates from the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century). The Modern French form with a later pronunciation of the stressed vowel is, of course, chose. The phonological development from Latin through Old French and Middle French to Modern French can be represented thus: [kauza(m) > tǝsa > fǝsa > fo:za].

The second point concerns the change of countertonic /o:/ to /a/ or possibly /a:/ C(h)ORAULA or COROLLA> carole. Fourché attempts to solve the problem as follows: CHORAULA > *corole and then by a process of dissimilation > carole. Thus to support his argument he is obliged to have recourse to a hypothetical intermediary form. Lerch is unconvinced by such an argument, declaring that a dissimilated form is a defective form, and must in most cases be abandoned. I believe, however, that a different explanation can account for the change. Although five of the six manuscripts of the Life of St Radegund cited by Krusch

108 The dates of the MSS of these two sources reverse their dates of composition: the Strasbourg Oaths were composed in 842 and St Eulalia at the end of the 9th Century. The development of au > o is treated in Grandgent, pp. 89-90 and in M. K. Pope, From Latin to Modern French with Especial Consideration of Anglo-Norman, Publications of the University of Manchester, No 229 (1934; rpt Manchester, 1966), p. 191.
109 See Pope, p. 254, for this development.
111 Lerch, p. 236.
have *corolla*, the remaining one has *carolla*. A ninth-century manuscript of the Tironian *notae* transcribes the symbol for *choreuontes* as *chareontes*; three other manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries have *careontes*, one (also of the ninth century) has *careuntes*. We also find an attestation in a tenth-century gloss in which the Latin equivalent of the Greek χοραύλη is given as *charaulē*. These instances are ample evidence of the shift of the countertonic /oː/ to /a/ or /ə/ represented by the graph *a*. An alternative graph in French representing the same shift is exemplified by the development *coluculum > quenouille* (c.f. *querole*, a variant spelling of *carole*). The change, therefore, rather than being ascribed to assimilation, can be more satisfactorily explained by the reduction of /oː:/ to an indeterminate central vowel /ə/ under the influence of increased tonic stress in the Gallo-Roman period as outlined by Pope. Pope gives no example of this reduction of the countertonic vowel, but in another context she provides instances that illustrate the point made here. We have, then, sufficient evidence of the reduction of the countertonic. The shift from countertonic /koː-/ to /ka-/ or /ka/, is (pace Lerch) easily demonstrated without having recourse to late examples such as those drawn from a twelfth-century manuscript of the life of St Ouen’s Life of St Eloi in which we find the phrase ‘vel saltationes aut caraulas’ (either dances or ? caroles) or to Guibert de Nogent who refers to tombs being arranged ‘in modum caraulae’ (in the manner of a *carole*). Sahlin suspects

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112 Guilelmus Schmitz (ed.), *Comentarii Notarum Tironianarum cum Prolegomenis Adnotationibus Criticis et Exegeticis* [etc] (Leipzig, 1893), Tab[ula] 106, [No] 17. Jud (p. 303) refers to this source as cited in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latiniae*, ‘Choreuontes’, although he accepts *choreola* as the etymon.

113 Goetz, III, 10.

114 The development *coluculum > quenouille* is cited as an example by Pope (p. 251) in another context.

115 Pope, p. 112.

that both of these examples might be retranslations from the French. Still less
we need to resort to the hypothetical forms invoked by Halberl and Nigra
(cited above).

The filiation, therefore, that I propose is drawn from attested forms:

\[\text{xopayai} > \text{choraules} > \text{choraula} > \text{coraula} > \text{coralla/corolla/carolla} > \text{carole}\]

[\text{khoraules} > \text{khoraula} > \text{karula} > \text{ka'rol} or \text{ka'rol}]. It will, of
course, be realized that \text{corolla} here is not the etymon rejected above, but an
intermediary form. It will also be recognized that my suggested filiation differs
from the one drawn up by Holmes and accepted by Falk, although I take the
same Greek etymon as my point of departure.

Sahlin and others also refer to supposed cognates, but this line of research
has not proved helpful. Celtic forms, Breton in particular, are almost certainly
borrowings from the French, as a number of scholars mentioned above have
stated. Sahlin admits that Occitan forms, such as the noun, \text{corola}, or the verb
\text{corola}, are rare. For example, as a dance term the word \text{corola} occurs once as
the equivalent of \text{baltz} in a discussion of rhymes in the \text{Donatz Poensals}. But
the term is unknown to dictionaries of the language so that any attestations are
also likely to be borrowings from the French. As for Spanish or Portuguese
cognates, Bataillon and Lapesa, in contrast to Sahlin, find no evidence for

\begin{flushright}
Edmond-René Labande, Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age, No 34 (Paris,
\end{flushright}

117 See Sahlin, p. 79 for her rejection of these citations.
118 Halberl, p. 309; Nigra, pp. 519-20.
119 Holmes, p. 29; Falk, p. 139.
120 Sahlin, pp. 59-71.
121 For this statement and for further examples, see Sahlin, pp. 59-61.
123 The Occitan dictionaries are François Renouard (ed.), Lexique roman ou dictionnaire de la
langue des troubadours [etc] (Paris, 1838-44), 6 vols and Emil Levy et al (eds.), Provenzalisches
Supplement-Wörterbuch: Berichtigungen und Ergänzungen zu Raynouards Lexique roman
(Leipzig, 1894-1924), 8 Vols.
these.\textsuperscript{124} Certainly Italian writers, for example Dante and Boccaccio, employed \textit{carola}, and, as Sahlin states, the only language in which the word has survived is Modern English where it exists in the form \textit{carol}.\textsuperscript{125} The Italian and English forms will be considered in later chapters, but otherwise it would appear that any search for cognates not derived from French has proved unfruitful.

The protracted debate over the origin of the word \textit{carole} has involved much conjecture and speculation. Doubts and assertions have been expressed about the competing theories. In some of the cases surveyed above, it is clear that the suggested etyma have simply been adopted, with or without acknowledgment, from earlier lexicographical endeavours. Even where original and more formal linguistic investigation has been undertaken, the methodology employed and forms proposed prove to be semantically or phonologically unsound, and, although the positing of hypothetical forms may be a legitimate linguistic procedure, its use in the present instance has been arbitrary and, in the event, unnecessary.

\textsuperscript{125} Sahlin, p. 54.
Chapter III: The Earliest Citations of the Term Carole and the Relationship of Carole to Chorus and Chorea

Some of the earliest citations of the word carole occur as translations of Latin terms for dance: chorus and chorea. We saw in the last chapter that neither of these words can plausibly be accepted as the etymon of the French; a relationship, nevertheless, exists between them and carole. Yet there remains the problem of establishing a date (albeit an approximate one) for the first appearance of the word in French, and also of determining whether chorus and chorea can invariably be translated as carole.

Verner claimed that the earliest citation of carole was in the form chorolla found in Theodoric’s account of the legend of the dancers of Kölbigk.¹ This is the tale of a supposed miracle that took place in Saxony in the second decade of the eleventh century. It relates how a group of men and women who, in spite of the protests of the priest, insisted on dancing around a churchyard while Mass was being celebrated on Christmas Eve, and were consequently condemned to continuing their dance for a whole year. There are three versions of this narrative, one by Othbert, one by Theoderic and one anonymous. All three are in Latin. The version that concerns us is Theoderic’s, the earliest extant copy of which is a manuscript transcribed by Ordericus Vitalis (fl. 1124-42).² The word

¹ Paul Verrier, ‘La Plus Vieille Citation de carole’, Romania, 58 (1932), 380-421, 622-23 and Romania, 61 (1935), 95-97.
² The full text of Theoderic and of the other two versions will be found in Ernst Erich Metzner, Zur frühesten Geschichte der europäischen Balladendichtung: der Tanz in Kölbigk [etc.].
used for ‘dance’ throughout this text is, with two exceptions, chorus. The two exceptions appear in the following passage:

Mittimus geminas puellas, Mersuinden et Vuibecynam, que similes similem de ecclesia allactarent ad iniquitatis nostre choream, quam uenabamur predam. Quid hoc aucupio facilius? Adducitur Aua ut auicula irretita, colligitque aduenientes Bouo, tam etate prior quam stulticia. Conserimus manus et chorollam confusionis in atrio ordinamus.³

As if hunting prey, we send the twin girls, Mersuinden and Vuibecyna, so that the like-minded might entice the like-minded from the church to take part in our iniquitous dance. What snare could be easier? Ava is led forth like a bird in a net, and Bovo, being the more advanced in age and stupidity, gathers together all those who have assembled. We join hands, and begin the dance of our confusion in the churchyard.

Here chorea and chorolla are synonymous with chorus employed elsewhere in the text. Chorolla is a diminutive form of chorus rather than, as we saw in the last chapter, an intermediary Latin form in the development of the

³ PBN, fonds lat. 6503 (between 1124 and 1142), fol. 61’. The relevant passage is reproduced in facsimile in Matériaux pour l’édition de Guillaume de Jumilèges, ed. Jules Lair with a preface and notes by Léopold Delisle (n.p., 1910), Appendix [No] 3. The manuscript has colligitque and stulticia where Metzner (p.43) has the readings colligit and stultitia respectively. Verrier (‘La Plus Vieille Citation’, p. 381-82, passim), incorrectly states that the text was composed by Ordericus Vitalis, not merely copied by him (see Metzner, pp. 40-41).
etymology of carole. It is not a form of carole, which never has the graph o in the first syllable.

A more likely candidate for a French word, ‘affublé . . . en latin’ (disguised in Latin), to use Verrier’s phrase, is caraula, which appears in the autobiography of Guibert de Nogent. The composition of this work dates from between 1114 and 1117, although the text is preserved only in a sixteenth-century copy. Guibert speculates on the antiquity of his monastery of Nogent-sous-Coucy, and concludes that the site is probably of pre-Christian origin because the tombs are arranged in a circular fashion unlike Christian burials:

Quia enim non in morem nostrorum ordo disponitur sepulchrorum, sed circulatim in modum caraulae sepulchrum unius multa ambiunt, in quibus quaedam reperiuntur vasa, quorum causam nesciunt christiana tempora, non possumus aliiu credere, nisi quod fuerunt gentilium, aut antiquissima christianorum, sed facta gentili more.

The graves are not arranged according to our custom, but in a circle in the manner of a carole, with many graves encompassing a single one in the middle. Some urns have been found buried in them, the purpose of which is unknown to

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5 Sahlin, p. 79, also believes that chorolla has been influenced by chorus. The author of the later recension (composed between 1328 and 1342) of Le Roman de Renart le Contrefait, in a summary in French of Othbert’s version of the legend (for the original text of which, see Metzner, pp. 38-39), actually translates chorus (the term for dance in the original) as karolles. The French term, however, is merely the translator’s equivalent; it does not mean that the original Latin signified a carole. For an edition of the French text, see Le Roman de Renart le Contrefait, ed. Gaston Raynaud and Henri Lemaître (Paris, 1914), I, 275.
us Christians. I can find no other explanation but that either they are of pagan or of very ancient Christian origin continued according to pagan custom.

Sahlin seems to suggest that *caroula* might be one of number of retranslations from the French. 7 Certainly Bourgin, in his edition, writes of Guibert, 'latinisant les mots de la langue vulgaire' (Latinizing words in the vernacular). 8 It is indeed possible that the Latin form is derived from the French, but in this instance the contrary is also possible. What we do not have, either in Theoderic's version of the legend of Kölbigk or in Guibert's autobiography, is a word that is indisputably French. No dating, therefore, can be based on either of these citations, and one must therefore look elsewhere for the earliest citation of the term *carole*.

There exists a considerable number of manuscripts of biblical texts dating from the twelfth century in which the Latin word *chorus* is translated by the French word *carole*. Among such sources the earliest is now considered to be the *Oxford Psalter*.

The *Oxford Psalter*, now in the Bodleian Library, is also known as the *Montebourg Psalter* from its earlier location. It is written in the Anglo-Norman dialect of Old French. Some have considered this manuscript to date from the second half or even from the end of the twelfth century, but others (including more recent studies) place it in the first half of the twelfth century. 9 The citation that concerns us is Psalm 149, verse 3, which in the Vulgate reads:

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7 Sahlin, p. 79.
Laudent nomen eius in choro, in tympano et psalterio psallant ei.

Let them praise his name in the dance, let them play to him on drum and harp.

The Oxford Psalter does not give the Latin text, but its translation of this verse runs as follows:

Lódent le num de lui en carôle; en týmpane é saltier cántent a lúi.¹⁰

Let them praise his name in caroles; let them play to him on drum and harp.

There are half a dozen other manuscripts related to the Oxford Psalter dating from the twelfth or the first half of the thirteenth century, but this manuscript is the earliest.¹¹

Another Psalter, also in Anglo-Norman, is the Cambridge Psalter, again named after its present location. It is alternatively known as the Canterbury Psalter, from the place where it was written, or the Eadwine Psalter, from its


¹⁰ OBL, MS Douce 320 (s. xii), fol. 73v. The significance of the diacritics in this and other Anglo-Norman texts remains unexplained. The manuscript has been published under the title, Libri Psalmorum Versio Antiqua Gallica e Cod. MS. in Bibl. Bodleiana Asservato una cum Versione Metrica aliisque Monumentis Perpetuis, ed. Francisque Michel (Oxford, 1860), where the line quoted can be found on p. 230.

¹¹ The MSS are listed in Woledge and Clive, p. 98.
traditional association with the scribe of that name. The manuscript consists of the three versions of the Psalter, all three in Latin: the Roman, the Gallican and the Hebrew, of which the first is anonymous, the latter two are by St Jerome. The Gallican became the official version, and is the text on which the translation in the *Oxford Psalter*, mentioned above, is based. In the *Cambridge Psalter*, the Gallican version is copied in a larger hand, and is provided with a commentary. The Roman text is accompanied by a translation in Old English, the Hebrew (the version with which we are concerned) with a translation, as I have said, in Anglo-Norman. This text, however, is incomplete, as a number of the psalms have not been translated. Furthermore the translation was not made specifically for this manuscript, which implies that the vernacular text could actually be earlier than the copy of the Latin text to which it has been joined here. A date in the first half of the twelfth century (but not before 1120) has been proposed, but Legge gives the date as 'about 1160. More recently Webber has suggested that the Latin texts were copied in the 1150s. Markey states that the translations were copied immediately afterwards.

Two psalms in the Hebrew version, differing from the Gallican, are relevant here. They are not numbered in the manuscript, but are now numbered

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12 Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1 (s. xii


14 Psalm 149, included in the *Oxford Psalter*, is not found here.

15 Short, p. 232.


as Psalm 19 (20 in the Vulgate) and Psalm 86 (87). Psalm 19 (20) is a prayer for the king, of which verse 5 in the Hebrew text reads:

Laudabimur in salutari tuo, et in nomine dei nostri ducemus choros (fol. 34').

We shall be praised in thy salvation, and in the name of our God we shall lead dances.

This is translated as follows:

Nus serums loet el tuen saluable, e el num del nostre deu merrums charoles (fol 34').

We shall be praised in thy salvation, and in the name of our God we shall lead caroles.

Psalm 86 (87), extolling Zion as the mother of nations, concludes in the same source thus:

Et cantabant quasi in choris omnes fortes mei in te (fol. 154')

And they sang as in dances, all my men strong in thee.

This is rendered:
E chantoent sicume en charoles tuit li mien fort en tei (fol.154').

And they sang as in caroles, all my men strong in thee.

The French translations, both in the one citation from the Oxford Psalter and in the two from the Cambridge Psalter, are indisputable attestations of the word carole.

Yet another psalm where chorus occurs is to be found is Psalm 150 (all versions), verse 4, quoted in a sermon by St Bernard of Clairvaux (b. c. 1090—d. 1153): ‘laudate Dominum in typanum et choro’ (praise the Lord on the drum and in dancing). A translation of this sermon in the Lorraine dialect, made c. 1208, renders this quotation as ‘loez nostre signor en tabor et en kerolle’ (praise our Lord on the drum and in caroles).

Apart from the Psalters, we possess another biblical text in which carole appears as the equivalent of the chorus of the Vulgate: an Anglo-Norman translation of I Samuel, of which the earliest and best manuscript dates from the late twelfth century. Two attestations are to be found in the narrative of Saul and David of which the following is the first:

Cume David repeirad ápres la bele victorie que Deu li dunad é á Jerusalem le chief Goliath portad, les femmes é les meschines vindrent

19 Sancti Bernardi Primi Abbatis Claravallensis Sermones de Tempore, de Sanctis, de Diversis, ad Tertiam Editionem Mabilloniam cum Codicibus Austriacis, Bohemicis, Styriacis Collatam (Vienna, 1891), I, 197.
20 Li Sermon Saint Bernart: älteste französische Übersetzung der lateinischen Predigten Bernhards von Clairvaux [etc], ed. Wendelin Foerster (Erlangen, 1885) p. 142.
When David returned after the great victory that God had given him, and brought the head of Goliath to Jerusalem, the women and girls approached King Saul with drums and panpipes, carolling and playing, singing that Saul had killed a thousand, but that David had killed ten thousand.

Later, David flees from the jealous Saul to King Achish of Gath, and Achish’s men recall to him what had been said of David:

David left there, and fled King Saul on that day, and came to Achish, the King of Gath. When King Achish’s men saw David, they said among themselves, ‘Is not this David, the King of the land of Israel? Is it not of him that people sang his praises in caroles, singing “Saul killed thousands, but David killed ten thousand?”’

The preponderance of Anglo-Norman texts in the foregoing quotations has been ascribed to the long tradition of biblical glosses in England, which was

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21 I Samuel, 18, 6-7. The manuscript has been edited as Li Quatre Livre des reis; die Bücher Samuels und der Könige in einer französische Bearbeitung des 12. Jahrhunderts nach der ältesten Handschrift unter Benutzung der neu aufgefundenen Handschriften, ed. Ernst Robert Curtius, Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 26 (Dresden, 1911), p. 36. There is a brief discussion of the text of this and of other manuscripts in Legge, pp. 176-79.

22 I Samuel, 21, 11-12; Li Quatre Livre, p. 43.
carried over in the new official language after the Conquest. But the dominance of this dialect of French in the culture of the period must also have played a part.

These texts do not clarify the precise choreographic significance either of the Latin *chorus* or of the French *carole*. The accepted interpretation of *chorus*, in Psalms 149 and 150 and in the passages from Samuel, is ‘dance’, and consequently *carole* in these Anglo-Norman translations must mean *dance*. Such a conclusion is evident in the Latin rendering of the Hebrew versions of the two psalms, where in No 19 ‘ducemus chorus’ and ‘merrums charoles’ implies some physical movement.

Although *chorus* in biblical Latin indicates dancing, and is employed in this sense in Theoderic’s version of the legend of the dancers of Kölbigk as we have seen, by the time the medieval translations, such as those quoted above, were being made, the meaning of the word was apparently already shifting to ‘choir’. The relationship between the earlier and the later meanings is recognized by Honoré of Autun (b. 1080/90-d. 1156):

*Chorus psallentium a chorea canentium exordium sumpsit, quam antiquitas idolis ibi constituit, ut videlicet decepti deos suos et voce laudarent, et toto corpore eis servirent.*

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23 Short, p. 232.
Chorus as it relates to choirs had its origin in the dancing of singers, which the ancients established for the worship of idols so that those infidels might praise their gods with their voices, and serve them with their whole bodies.

This passage brings us to a discussion of the other Latin word for ‘dance’, chorea, which is the usual one found in late medieval texts, and is frequently translated into French as carole.

The earliest citation of chorea relevant to our purpose is to be found in the Historia Regum Britannie composed by Geoffrey of Monmouth between 1135 and 1138. At one point he relates how Merlin advises that a circle of huge stones should be brought from Ireland, and set up as a memorial to those whom the warmonger (‘bellator’) Hengist had killed in battle: ‘si perpetuo opere sepulturam uirorum decorare uolueris, mitte pro chorea gigantum que est in Killarae monte Hybernie’ (if you wish to adorn the graves of these men with an everlasting monument, send for the Giants’ Dance, which is on Killaraus, a mountain in Ireland). The transportation of the stones, with the help of Merlin’s magic, is duly accomplished, and they are re-erected in a circle according to the narrative, ‘in montem Ambriii’ (on the mount of Amesbury). The designation of Stonehenge as the ‘chorea gigantum’ is subsequently repeated several times in the text.

The great success of Geoffrey’s ‘history’ probably accounts for the occurrence of the epithet referring to this incident in the works of other authors in

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26 Historia, I, 93, 94, 100.
Geoffrey’s wake writing in Latin. In a twelfth-century manuscript of an anonymous poem on St Thomas à Becket (apparently composed shortly after his death) there is an allusion to Salisbury as being ‘de confinio choreae Gigantum’ (in the vicinity of the Giants’ Dance). A passage in a poem by Alexander Neckam recounts Geoffrey’s story beginning, ‘Nobilis est lapidum structura Chorea Gigantum’ (The stone structure, the Giants’ Dance, is a noble one). As late as 1307 William Rishanger notes ‘Anno Gratia quingentesimo sexto-decimo, coronatio victoriosi Regis Arthuri, infra Choraeam Gigantum, regnantis septemdecim annis. Qui Glastoniae tumulatur’. (In the year of grace five hundred and sixteen the coronation of the victorious King Arthur took place within the Giants’ Dance. He reigned for seventeen years, and lies buried at Glastonbury.). The epithet Chorea Gigantum had clearly become a commonplace. Most important among these allusions to the Historia Regum Britannie is Gervase of Tilbury’s repetition of the tale. In his Otia Imperialia, composed during the years from c. 1209 to 1214, he paraphrases Geoffrey’s description when he speaks of Aurelius Ambrosius:

\[
\text{fecitque ad memoriam nobilium, qui pridem in prodizione Saxonum per Vortigernum fuerant peremti, lapides olim in Childardo monte Yberniae}
\]

collocatos, ad Ambresbiriam per Merlinum locari in modum choreae,
sicut a gigantibus fuerant dispositi.30

... and, as a memorial to the nobles who long since had perished through
Vortigern's betrayal of the Saxons, he had the stones, which were formerly on
Mount Killaraus in Ireland, gathered together, and arranged in the form of a
dance by Merlin just as they had been set up by the giants.

Geoffrey's Historia was the subject of several translations into French,
most notably Wace's Roman de Brut completed in 1155, which includes the
statement about of Stonehenge quoted in Chapter II.

An interpolation into Wace's Brut underlines the origin of the monument
and its circular form:

Pert encore el quadreduble cerne
De la charole que fus ad jaianz
Des bis rochiers e merveillus e granz.31

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30 Gervasii Tilberiensis Otia Imperialia ad Ottonem IV Imperatorem, in Scriptores Rerum
Brunsvicensium Illustrationi Inservientes, ed. Godfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (Hannover, 1707),
I, 935. The manuscript tradition of this work is discussed in three articles by James R. Caldwell.
In 'The Autograph Manuscript of Gervase of Tilbury (Vatican, Vat. Lat. 933)', Scriptorium,
11 (1957), 87-98, he examines this MS and twenty-six others, and provides (p. 87) the date given
in my text. In the same article he concludes that the Vatican MS contains Gervase's holograph
corrections. In 'Manuscripts of Gervase of Tilbury's Otia Imperialia', Scriptorium, 16 (1962),
28-45, he gives brief descriptions of twenty-nine MSS including Wolfenbüttel, MS Helms 481
(s. xiii or xiv) that Leibnitz used as the base manuscript for his edition, while in 'The
Interrelationship of the Manuscripts of Gervase of Tilbury's Otia Imperialia', Scriptorum,
16 (1962), 246-74, he establishes stemmata for four groups of MSS, but notes evidence of
contamination (p. 274).

31 For this interpolation together with the Harley fragments and the Bekker fragment (both quoted
below in my text), see Sylvie Lefevre, 'Le Fragment Bekker et les anciennes versions françaises
de l'Historia Regum Britanniae', Romania, 109 (1988), 225-46. The lines quoted appear on
It is still seen in the quadruple circle of the *carole* that the giants made of grey-brown slabs, both great and marvellous.

Likewise the Harley fragments refer to Stonehenge as follows:

*Al munt de Cillarau sicome trouom lisant*  
*La ad une karole que firent li geant.*

On Mount Killaraus, as we find in books, there is a *carole* made by giants.

The Bekker fragment in the same vein designates the structure as the ‘carole des jëans’ (the Giants’ *Carole*).  

There were also two French translations of Gervase of Tilbury’s *Otia Imperialia*. The first was made at the end of the thirteenth century by Jean d’Antioche, in which Merlin’s magical achievement is recounted as follows:

*Et de ces pierces fist Merlin ung merveilleux edifice en la Grant Bretaigne a Mont Ambre pres de Salesbiere; et les fist par grant engin et par grant soutileté et est durable a tousjours mays et l’appelle l’on la*

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p. 234 of her article. She refers (pp. 231-32) to the Harley fragments, but does not quote from this source.

32 LBL, Harley MS 1605 (s. xiii<sup>med</sup>), fol. 28<sup>r</sup>.

33 Quoted in Lefèvre, p. 227, where the location without a shelfmark is given (p. 225) as ‘Cracow, Bibl, Jagellone’.
Querole des Geans et illecq gist le dit Aurelius qui mourut par poyssons de venin.34
And with these stones Merlin made a wonderful construction in Great Britain at Mount Amesbury near Salisbury. He made it with great skill and ingenuity, and it will last for evermore. It is called the Giants' Carole, and the said Aurelius, who died from poisoning, lies buried there.

The other translation of Gervase was made by Jean de Vignay about 1330 in which, speaking of 'Aurelien filz Ambroise' (Aurelius, son of Ambrose), he says in phraseology that more closely follows Gervase's original:

... et fist mettre grans pierres que Merlin avoit pieça mis en la montaingne de Childart en Yllande en manere d'une karolle si comme les jaians les avoient ordences . . .35

... and he had the great stones, which Merlin had long since placed [sic] on Mount Killaraus in Ireland, placed in the manner of a carole just as the giants had arranged them . . .

In all the foregoing Latin texts referring to Stonehenge, chorea is clearly a circle. Geoffrey implies this when he writes of Aurelius that 'precepit Merlino lapides circa sepulturas erigere quos ex Hybernia asportauerat' (he ordered Merlin to set

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34 Gervase of Tilbury, 'Le Livre de grant delict', trans. Jean d'Antioche, nicknamed Harent d'Antioche, PBN, fonds fr. 9113 (s. xiii[s]), fol. 52v. There is no complete edition of the manuscript from which I have transcribed the quotation given here.

35 Gervase of Tilbury, 'Le Livre des oisivetez des emperieres', trans. Jean de Vignay, PBN, MS Rothschild 3085. IV. 1. 5 (c. 1330), Ch. 59 (there is no foliation or pagination). This work also remains unedited; consequently I have transcribed the relevant passage from the manuscript.
up the stones that he had brought from Ireland around the graves). Likewise Gervase speaks of Aurelius Ambrosius being buried ‘in ejusdem choreae medio’ (in the middle of the same dance). Chorea is rendered in all the translations as carole. Moreover, as Gervase’s original and Jean de Vignay’s translation show, the circular arrangement of the stones is compared to a dance, which also implies that, in these contexts at least, both chorea and carole signify a circular dance.

It is not only in connexion with the origin of Stonehenge in the aforementioned translations of that chorea is rendered into French as carole. In Ralph Bocking’s life of St Richard of Chichester, dating from the end of the thirteenth century, the author speaks of the saintliness of Richard in his youth, ‘unde coreas, tripudia et vana consimilium spectaculorum genera sic detestando fugiebat, . . .’ (.... whence he fled caroles and tresches and other worthless performances of the kind detesting them all. . . ). Shortly afterwards Pierre d’Abernon of Fetcham made a verse translation in Anglo-Norman in which the foregoing quotation is rendered as follows:

En despit

Aveit caroles e vein delit

Des tresches, e de tel folie

Ke veer, son voil, ne le voleit mie.

36 Historia, I, 92.
37 Gervase, p. 935.
39 La Vie, ii. 186-88. Russell, in his edition, prints d’estresches, and, in a note (p. 119), explains that ‘this is a form of estrete ’street [here he cites the Anglo-Norman Dictionary, ‘Estrete’].
He held caroles in contempt and the vain pleasure of tresches to be such folly that he never wished to see them.

Johannes de Garlandia, in his Dictionarius, written between 1218 and 1229, describes virtuous women honouring the Virgin Mary in a dance:

In loco delicioso vidi virgines cum nuptis et viduis castis coream laudis divinae celebrantes cum modulis et ymnis et canticis, quae beatam virginem Mariam matrem Dei in suis vocabant tripudiis.40

In a delightful place I saw virgins with wives and chaste widows performing a dance in divine praise with melodies and hymns and songs, and they called on the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, in their dances.

Coream here is glossed as carole in a manuscript of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. A thirteenth-century commentary on Johannes de Garlandia’s Dictionarius explains ‘choream, Gallice charole, ab hoc nomine

adding that ‘the translation stresses the public nature of these diversions by explicitly mentioning the street as the site of these amusements.’ It is clear, however, following tripudia of the Latin text that the reading should be ‘des tresches’, signifying a kind of dance. I have consequently emended the reading. I am indebted to my sister, Dr Evelyn Mullally, Department of French, Queen’s University Belfast, for pointing out this edition and its anomaly to me.

chorus' (chorea, in French carole. Chorus comes from this noun). A glossary of a later date gives the equivalent of corea as 'querole, dance'.

In the Lamentationes Matheoli, composed c. 1298, Matheolus is invited by a company of 'bigames' to join them:

Surrexit quedam legio sedis venerande

Uxoratorum, michi dicens: 'O, peramande,
O, felix socie, bene veneris. Ecce Mathee,
Nostre conjungi jam dignus es ipse choree.'

A sort of legion of wedded men of the venerable seat rose up saying to me, 'O dearest friend, O fortunate associate, welcome. Behold Matthew, you indeed are now worthy to join our dance.'

The corresponding lines in Jean Lefevre’s translation of the 1380s read:

De la celeste region

Vint vers moy une legion

De mariés et de bigames,

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42 'Das zweitälteste unedirte altfranzösische Glossar', Sitzungberichte der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, I (Munich, 1868), ed. (...) Hofman, 129. The editor dates the manuscript to the beginning of the 14th Century.
43 Les Lamentations de Matheolus et le Livre de Léesce de Jehan Le Fevre de Resson, ed. Anton Gérard Van Hamel (Paris, 1892-1905), II. 3555-58. The editor gives a lengthy, if not wholly enlightening, commentary on the dance (pp. 212-13) as described both in the Latin and in the French versions.
Don't en paradis sont les ames,

Qui de leurs sieges se leverent

Et doulcement me saluerent.

Tous disoient, grans et menus:

'Amis, bien soyés vous venus!

Venés sca a nostre carole!' (III, ll. 2911-19)

From the heavenly sphere a legion of married men and bigames, whose souls are in paradise, rose from their seats, and greeted me pleasantly. Every one of them, both high and low, said, 'Friend, welcome! Come here and join in our carole!'

The foregoing texts and translations ranging from those of Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Lamentationes Matheoli, that is to say, citations dating from the middle of the twelfth to the late fourteenth century, might lead one to conclude that chorea in Latin could invariably be translated as carole, and that furthermore, since in many of these cases chorea signified a circular dance, this must be the interpretation both of the Latin and of the French. We have not only the example of the circular arrangement of stones at Stonehenge to testify to this configuration of the chorea. Antonio da Tempo, in his treatise on verse dated 1332, mentions songs being sung 'in rotunditate correhae sive balli, et maxime per ultramontanos' (in circular rounds (?) or dances, especially by the French).44

44 Antonio da Tempo, Summa Artis Rithimici Vulgaris Dictaminis, ed. Richard Andrews, Collezione di opere inedite o rare pubblicata dalla Commissione per i Testi di Lingua, No 136 (Bologna, 1977), p. 66. Caroles might seem to be the most appropriate translation here of 'rotunditate correhae' here.
The clearest, if somewhat prejudiced, view of chorea had already been enunciated in the well-known definition by Jacques de Vitry:

Chorea enim circulus est cuius centrum est diabolus; et omnes uergunt in sinistram, quia omnes tendunt ad mortem eternam. Dum autem pes pede comprimitur uel manus mulieris manu uiri tangitur, ignis dyaboli succenditur.\(^{45}\)

The chorea is a circle whose centre is the Devil. In it all turn to the left, because all are heading towards eternal death. When foot is joined to foot, or the hand of a woman is touched by the hand of a man, there the fire of the Devil is kindled.

The equivalence of chorea and carole is implied by Sachs when he classes them together in a list of dance terms.\(^{46}\) Falk is explicit and emphatic that the two terms are synonymous:

Quand les gens du moyen âge écrivaient en latin, ils employaient le mot chorea pour désigner la carole. C'est un fait avéré. Les quatre dictionnaires latin-français les plus anciens du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle, p. p. M. Roques, rendent tous chorea par carole.\(^{47}\)

\(^{45}\) I have transcribed the passage from Jacques de Vitry, ‘Sermones Vulgares’, FBN, fonds lat. 17509 (s.xiii), fol. 146. The quotation will also be found in Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues tirés du recueil inédit d’Etienne de Bourbon, ed. Richard Albert Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1877), p. 162, n. 1.


\(^{47}\) Falk, rev. of Sahlin, Studia Neophilologica, 13 (1940-41), 137, n. 1.
When people in the Middle Ages wrote in Latin, they used the word *chorea* to signify the *carole*. This is an established fact. The four earliest Latin-French dictionaries, dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as cited by Roques, all give the equivalent for *chorea* as *carole*.

Page, and following him, McGee, also both take it as axiomatic that the two words are identical in meaning. Sach’s assembly of dance terms, in which *chorea* and *carole* are also treated as identical, is extended by Salmen. In the last decade or so some encyclopedias have also taken it for granted that the two terms are equivalent. Before accepting that this is the case, however, one needs to look further than translations such as those cited above and the assumptions that are evidently based on them.

If, for Jacques de Vitry, the *chorea* involves men and women holding hands and dancing in a circle as stated in his definition given above, the same word for the author of the *Lamentationes Matheoli* means something quite different. The participants perform a wide variety of movements and gestures in which they advance and retire, rise and lower themselves while bending

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backwards, chase one another, and are chased—actions which are by no means made clear in Jean Le Fevre’s translation.\textsuperscript{51}

In a sermon by Pierre de Bar-sur-Aube a linear dance seems to be implied:

Cum novi magistri, in principio suo, magnas faciant solemnitates et permittant socios suos choreas ducere per vicos et plateas, eis compatiendum est quia, qui scire debebant et alios docere... ipso die incoptionis suae insaniunt.\textsuperscript{52}

One must regret, at a time when newly-graduated masters at their commencement indulge in great feasting, and allow their fellows to lead \textit{choreas} through streets and squares, that those people who ought to have known better, and are to teach others, go wild on the very day of their inception.

Among his many tales of the evil of dancing, Etienne de Bourbon relates how certain youths were accustomed to enter a churchyard, and even the church itself: ‘et super equum ligneum ascendere, et larvati et parati choreas ducere’ (and masked and dressed up mount wooden horses, and lead \textit{choreas}).\textsuperscript{53} This performance, too, is clearly to be distinguished from the circular \textit{chorea} as understood by Jacques de Vitry.

\textsuperscript{51} \textit{Lamentations}, II. 3559-70. The equivalent passage in the translation is contained in II. 2920—31, which, as van Hamel notes (p. 212), is very loose, and alters the original.

\textsuperscript{52} Quoted in Jean Barthélemy Hauréau, \textit{ Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale} (Paris, 1893), VI, 243-44.

\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Anecdotes historiques}, p. 168.
The description of the incident known as the ‘Bal des Ardents’ (the Dance of the Burning Men), which took place in 1393, tells how King Charles VI of France and five young nobles disguised in hairy costumes and masks entered the royal hall:

.. et gestus deformiores hue illucque discurrendo ceperunt exercere, et tandem more lupino horrissonis vocibus ululantes. Nec absoni a voce deinde motus fuerunt; sed tripudiando choreas sarracenicas inceperunt, et, ut firmiter creditur instinctu dyabolico agitati. 54

... and, running hither and thither, they began to make even more horrible gestures, and then to howl like wolves. Nor were their movements any different. They began to dance Saracen choreas acting, as people firmly believe, through the incitement of the Devil.

The costumes caught fire and, although the king and one of the nobles escaped, the other four were burnt to death, hence the title of the event. In this entertainment, the dancers did not form a circle, but ran hither and thither; their performance is not simply described as a chorea but a chorea sarracenica again implying that the word chorea alone is a general term for dance.

Nor is chorea always simply defined as carole. If in a commentary on the Dictionarius of Johannes de Garlandia corea is given as the equivalent of the French charole as cited above, in another work also by Johannes de Garlandia,

the *Unum Omnium*, ‘corea’ is glossed by ‘thesche’ (*recte, tresche*), which is a different dance term. Both ‘tresches’ and ‘quaroles’ seem to cover the Latin *chorea* in the description by Guillaume de Nangis of the festivities following the coronation of King Philip III of France in 1271:

...mandavit comes Attrebati omnes dominas et domicellas illius patriae, ut cum uxoribus burgensium urbis choreas ducentes, et laetitiae et exultationi intendentes, totam laetificarent civitatem.  

... the Count of Artois ordered all the ladies of that region (both young and old) to lead *choreas* with the citizens’ wives, and, by devoting themselves to joy and exultation, bring happiness to the whole city.

In what appears to be a contemporary translation, we read:

Le conte d’Artois manda les dames et les demoiselles du pays pour faire tresches et quaroles avec fames aux bourgois, qui s’estudioient en toutes les manieres de danser et d’esplinger et se demenoient en toutes les manieres qu’elles pouoient qui deust plaire au roy.  

The Count of Artois ordered the ladies of that region (both young and old) to perform *tresches* and *caroles* with the citizen’s wives, and they strove in every

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57 Guillaume de Nangis, p. 469. I have added apostrophes to the edition.
way to dance, and behave in a lively manner in every way that they could that might please the king.

The relationship of carole to tresche and to other dance terms will be discussed in Chapter VI, but from the evidence already cited we can conclude that chorea signified many different types of dance one of which might be a carole, and consequently, although the Latin term could frequently be translated as carole, this was not invariably the case. Therefore in Medieval Latin, as in Classical Latin, the term is generally best translated as simply ‘dance’.

Carole, as considered so far, has been exclusively examined as a translation of the Latin chorus or chorea. Citations of the French word in texts not based on a Latin original and dating from before c. 1200 are more difficult to find. Possibly the earliest citation occurs in the Roman de Troie by Benoît de Sainte-Maure, a work composed about 1165, and of which the first complete manuscript citing the verb form caroler dates from the end of the twelfth century. But this poem depends heavily on Latin works. Thus perhaps we should look to Chrétien de Troyes, who mentions the carole in three of his romances. In Erec et Enide (composed at the earliest c. 1170), we are told ‘puceles querolent et dancent’ (girls carol and dance). This may well be the earliest citation of the term in an original French text. Reference is made to ‘baules, et quaroles et dances’ in Le Chevalier de la Charette (possibly

58 Benoît de Sainte-Maure, Le Roman de Troie, ed. Léopold Constans Paris, 1904-12), ‘qui la furent i querolerent’ (l. 29161). The manuscripts with their datings are described in VI, 1-57.
composed c.1177-81). Chrétiens last romance, the *Conte du Graal* (called *Perceval* by later scribes) was probably begun in 1181, but in any case remained unfinished at the poets death sometime before 1190. In this romance the queen's young ladies 'chantent et querolent et dancent' (they sing and carol and dance). Manuscripts of these three works by Chrétiens, however, all date from the thirteenth century. It is possible, therefore, that the copies are not free from scribal intervention. Not much detail about the choreography, however, can be gleaned from these poems. Indeed it is not until we encounter texts composed in the thirteenth century that we have more specific information on the dance and how it was performed.

The earliest attestations of the word *carole*, then, are to be found in translations of the biblical term *chorus*. First of these texts chronologically seems to be the *Oxford Psalter* copied in the first half of the twelfth century. In Psalters such as this one, and in the later *Cambridge Psalter*, the full significance of *chorus* as a dance is not clear from the context. *Chorus* in these Scriptural copies is invariably translated into French as *carole*. On the other hand, especially in later Medieval Latin writings, the preferred term for *dance* is *chorea*. The sense here is not always specific either. It, too, is often translated into French as *carole*. Sometimes both in the Latin text and in the French translation a circular dance is designated or implied. Sometimes the Latin term is clearly a general word for *dance*. As for the earliest citation, *carole* in original

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62 Apart from one manuscript of *Cligès*, which may possibly date from the end of the 12th Century, all the manuscripts of Chrétiens romances are later, for which see Terry Nixon, 'Romance Collections and the Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes', *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes: The Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. Keith Busby et al, Etudes de la Langue et Littérature Françaises, No 72 (Amsterdam, 1993), p. 17.
French texts not derived from Latin, one may tentatively suggest that it occurs in Benoît de Sainte-Maure’s *Roman de Troie* or in Chrétien’s *Erec et Enide*. 
In examining the etymology of the word carole we saw in Chapter II that, where the etymon did not signify dance, the proponents of a theory drew upon semantics to support their individual argument for a particular etymon. Thus Sahlin, for example, strove to reinforce her case that the word carole was derived from Kyrie eleison by arguing that this was an exclamation used in processions, and that the carole was a processional dance. In contrast La Curne de Sainte-Palaye concluded that since his preferred etymon, coronula, implied a circular form, the carole must therefore have been a circular dance. Those who did not accept either of these etyma also appealed to semantics. Falk, in the course of arguing against Sahlin’s derivation, cited Geoffrey of Monmouth’s chorea gigantum, and Wace’s translation of this epithet as carole as gaianz, to prove that the dance was circular. Although, in fact, the meaning of a word is often not closely allied to its etymology, these contrasting views about the form of the carole, namely that it is a couple or a round dance, are two of several that, taken together, reveal uncertainty about the nature of the dance itself. It is these views that I now propose to examine.

As we saw in Chapter I, lexicographers since the Renaissance have noted that carole signified a dance although they are not specific about the characteristics that such a dance might have. Some however have claimed that the term might adumbrate such a diversity of forms that it is impossible to define
the carole more precisely. This appears to be the view of Godefroy, who concludes his entry with the words 'divertissement dont la danse fait partie' (an entertainment of which dancing forms a part). Brüll is similarly all-inclusive: 'ronde, danse, réjouissance, cercle, réunion' (round, dance, rejoicing, circle, meeting). Not surprisingly, therefore, we find that a dictionary of Middle French can explain the term as 'danse en rond, danse en général' (a round dance, dance in general). This conclusion finds its most interesting expression in Stevens's study of medieval music: 'the carole must surely have been not a single form but a potential form, a dance-idea waiting to be realized in various forms' (his italics).

Other scholars are somewhat more specific. A few are of the opinion that the term might include a theatrical kind of dance, that is to say one containing steps or movements specific to an individual choreography, as well as designating a purely social kind of dance. According to Jeanroy the carole might on occasion be a figure dance. Bédier follows Jeanroy in believing that it might incorporate a dramatic episode, which he calls a balerie; he cites the detail of the two girls who dance in the middle of the carole in the Roman de la Rose. Berman, in her study of early French dance terms, agrees that the carole might

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1 Godefroy, 'Carole'.
2 Hugo Brüll, Untergangene und veraltete Worte des französischen im heutigen englisch, (Halle, 1913), 'Charole'.
3 Julien Algirdas Greimas and Teresa Mary Kane, (eds), Dictionnaire du moyen français; la Renaissance (Paris, 1992), 'Carole'.
4 John Stevens, Words and Music in the Middle Age: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350 (Cambridge, 1986), p. 175.
involve an element of *balerie*. While Stevens in a later work considers the nature of the dance indefinable, as noted above, in an earlier article he states that while it could be 'circular or processional' 'in its more elaborate forms the *carole* became a little dramatic scene'. This view, as he acknowledges, is derived from Bédier, who maintained that such dramatic scenes on their own could also be denominated *caroles*. Sahlin likewise accepts Bédier's interpretation might, on occasion, be possible. It should be observed, however, that Bédier's *baleries* are not designated in their sources as *caroles*. And while the performance of the two girls takes place in the middle of what is undoubtedly a *carole*, no evidence has been adduced to show that such dramatic involvement is an essential, or even a commonly occurring feature in the *carole*, which may account for Stevens's change of mind.

Most scholars, however, are of the opinion that the *carole* was exclusively a social dance; but even then ideas on what form the dance took vary. Some understand it to be a couple dance. Schneider defines it thus: 'mit diesem Namen bezeichneten die französischen Minnegesänger den bei den mittelalterlichen Tanzpaaren üblichen geschrittenen Vortanz. (French trouvères used this name to indicate the medieval foredance for couples, which was normally walked). He adds that it contrasted with the ensuing hopped dance, the *espringle*. He does not however, provide any textual authority for these statements. A more prominent exponent of the theory of the *carole* as a couple

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8 Stevens, *Carole*, *New Grove I*. The entry in *New Grove 2* is by the present author.
9 Sahlin, p. 33
10 Otto Schneider, *Tanz Lexikon* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1985), *Carole*. The foredance is the first of a pair of dances, but the concept does not appear to have evolved before the pair of the hove dance followed by the *carole*—a pairing that takes place in the second half of the 14th century.
dance is, of course, Sahlin, who actually draws on medieval French sources to support her concept of the dance. While acknowledging that there is some evidence for a formation in a circle or a chain, she concludes that 'ce que suggèrent cependant la plupart des textes, c'est plutôt l'idée d'un cortège de personnes marchant cérémonieusement deux à deux ou trois à trois' (what most of the texts suggest, however, is rather the idea of a procession of people walking ceremoniously two by two or three by three). She points out that in some instances one person takes another by the hand, that in others the word *procession* is used, although she concedes that in still others it is rather a line of people—but not a circle—that is implied, such as is suggested by the word *encontre*. Nevertheless her evidence is far from being conclusive.

Undoubtedly one can cite many texts where the dancers take hands. Sahlin's other deductions, however, are certainly open to question. She sometimes misinterprets the quoted text. For example, there is no mention of dancing in the passages that she cites from Bartsch's anthology, *Guillaume de Dole* (ll. 2508-27), *Blancandin* (ll. 6147-54), or the *Tournoi de Chauvency* (l. 4130). In this last work we certainly have a description of a carole 'tres noble', but it is to be found earlier in the poem (ll. 3094-128) where it is explicitly described as a circle in which the ladies hold hands, and are surrounded by the young men: 'ainsi s'en vont faisant le tor, / et bacheler lour vont entor' (thus they make their round, and the young men encircle them). Moreover, as

11 Sahlin, pp. 23-36.
12 Sahlin, p. 25.
Falk remarks, the fact that one man takes one woman by the hand does not preclude the couple from then joining other dancers to form a circle.14

As for the use of the word procession in some texts, Sahlin cites the following lines from Guillaume de Dole: ‘le petit passet, dui et dui, / come moine a procession’ (ll. 2510-11, the less important followed two by two like monks in a procession). As noted above no dancing takes place in this passage. She also quotes the following lines from Guillaume le Maréchal:

A granz processions venci[e]nt;

Veil e giembles [e] si chantei[e]nt:

‘Dex est venuz o sa puissance;

Or s’en ira li reis de France!’ (ll. 10449-52)

They came in great processions, young and old, and they sang ‘God has come with his might, now the King of France will go away!’

Again in the immediate context there is no dancing, although ‘beles dances, beles karoles’ had been mentioned earlier (l. 10436). Indeed there is nothing in the entire passage (ll.10429-52) to rule out the interpretation that young and old come ‘a granz processes’ to greet King Richard I of England and then perform caroles. In fact the circular nature of the dance is emphasized by the phrase ‘entor lui’ used twice in the context. Nevertheless processions is to be found in the following passage in the Mireour du monde:

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14 Paul Falk, rev. of Sahlin, Studia Neophilologica, 13 (1940-41), 137.
Après, ceus qui carolent font contre les commandemens et les sacremens de Sainte Eglyse, en molt de manières.

Premièrement il font contre le sacrement de baptesme; quer il trespascent les convenances que leurs parrains eurent en convenant à Dieu en baptesme. Quer leurs parains distrent pour eus ‘qu’il renonchoient au déable et à toutes ses euvres, et à toutes ses processions’.

Les processions au déable sont caroles; et ceus et celes qui les mainent sont moines et nonnains au déable; et ceus et celes qui les regardent et qui sont entour, sont aussi comme les convers et les converses au déable, et partent à tous les maus que ceus font qui les caroles mainent; et tel fois est, font il pis.15

Then those who take part in caroles do so contrary to the commandments and sacraments of Holy Church in many ways.

First they do so against the sacrament of baptism, because they transgress the covenant that their godparents made to God at their baptism. For their godparents said on their behalf ‘that they renounce the Devil and all his works and all his processions’.

Caroles are processions to the Devil. Those who lead them are the monks and nuns of the Devil. Those men and women who watch them, and stand around them are also the lay bothers and sisters of the Devil, and share all the evils of those who lead caroles, and the more often they do so, the worse they are.

‘Procession’ here is the equivalent of the Latin pompa (derived ultimately, of course, from the Greek, πομπή) both words being translated into English as ‘procession’. Godefroy defines the French procession as ‘marche, suite’ (march, following) and Tobler-Lommatzsch as ‘Verfahren, feierlicher Zug’ (process, ceremonious procession) giving many citations including the one from Blancandin cited above.

But the word processions in the Mireour does not literally mean ‘processions’. The author says that firstly those who carol reject the promises that their godparents made on their behalf at baptism when they promised ‘qu’il renonchoient au déable et à toutes ses œuvres, et à toutes ses processions’ (that they renounce the Devil and all his works and all his processions). The last phrase in the French is a translation of the Latin ‘et pompis ejus’. Here the Latin pompa has a particular meaning. The thirteenth-century canonist, Durandus, states that the significance of this rejection is that the recipient of the sacrament is instructed in the rule of life when he is taught to ‘abrenunciare diabolo, et omnis pompis, sive operibus ejus’ (to renounce the Devil and all his pomps and all his works). This meaning of pompa is explained by Du Cange: ‘in Baptismatis solemnibus Abrenutias Satanae et Pompis ejus, id est ambitioni, jactantiae, etc.’ (in the ceremony of Baptism, ‘Do you renounce Satan and his

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pomps', that is his vanity and boasting, etc.). 17 Processions is therefore used in the Mireour in a figurative sense.

We then come to sources that have been interpreted to mean that the dance was linear, rather than circular. This is particularly the case where words such as contre or encontre are used. Thus in Chrétien's Conte du Graal (Perceval), the girls go to meet Gauvain 'contre lui grant joie comancent, / chantent et querolent et dancent' (ll. 8721-22, they rejoice in his honour, they sing and carol and dance). Again in Méraugis de Portlesguez, as Méraugis and Lidoine approach the 'Cité sans nom' (the City without a Name) the people come out to greet them, and Méraugis remarks 'or m'est avis / que cist viennent encontre nos.' (ll. 2896-97, now it seems that they are coming to greet us). Similarly in one manuscript of Blancandin 'les puceles facent caroles / encontre mon ami qui vient' (MS. C, ll. 4266-67, let the girls make caroles in honour of my friend who is coming). A line, however, is not necessarily suggested in the foregoing passages nor in the Roman des sept sages:

Li jougleour vont vielant

Et les borjoises karolant;

Grant joie font por le signor

Tout revertera a doulour. (ll. 697-700)

The minstrels go playing the vielle, and the citizens go carolling; great joy they make on account of their lord, but all will turn back to grief.

What some have considered the most telling suggestion of a linear dance, however, is to be found in *La Manekine*: ‘tel carole ne fu veûe, / pres du quart dure d’une liue’ (ll. 2305-06, such a *carole* was not seen, it lasted a quarter of an hour). The allusion here is not to a dance that stretched out a quarter of a league in length, but to the time that the dance took. Moreover, as Falk points out, while Sahlin is willing to admit to there being only a single example of the *carole* as a round dance, she unwittingly quotes throughout her thesis a large number of examples where the dance takes just such a form. 18

Sahlin is almost alone in her belief that the *carole* was a couple dance; others who have concluded that it was a social dance with a particular form or forms consider that, in some circumstances at least, the dance was circular. For instance the dancers could arrange themselves in a circle or a chain. Thus Jeanroy, in addition to thinking that the *carole* might be a figure dance, also holds that it could be performed in one or other of these two ways. 19 Bédier follows Jeanroy. 20 Gérol, in the earlier of his two histories of medieval music, states categorically that the *carole* was a round or chain: ‘les caroles étaient, comme l’on sait, des rondes ou des chaînes, composées soit de femmes seules, soit d’hommes et de femmes, les danseurs se tenant par la main’ (*caroles* were, as is well known, rounds or chains, composed either of women alone or of men and women, with the dancers holding one another by the hand). 21 This notion of the dual form of the dance became widely accepted in the lexicography, and we find phrases such as ‘en ronde ou en chaîne’ (in a round or in a chain), ‘Reigen

18 Falk, p. 136.
19 Jeanroy, p. 394, n. 1.
20 Bédier, pp. 398-401.
oder Kettentanz' (round or chain dance), 'in tondo o a catena' (in a round or chain), 'line and circle group dances'.

A particular variation of this theory is that in its linear form it resembled the farandole. This view seems to have originated with a misinterpretation of a passage in a review by Gaston Paris of Jeanroy. Paris surmises that it is not the carole but the tresque (i.e. tresche) that had the form of a chain:

toutefois il semble que la chaîne non fermée et suivant un conducteur s'appelât proprement tresque. Aux Faeroes, il ne paraît pas que la chaîne soit close. Dans nos rondes de paysans de l'Ouest, si je ne me trompe, elle l'est toujours; mais l'ancienne tresque paraît subsister dans la farandole provençale.

Nevertheless it seems that an open chain following a leader might properly be called a tresque. In the Faeroes, it does not appear that the chain was closed. In our [folk-dance] rounds of the west [of France], if I am not mistaken, it still is; but the old tresque seems to be still extant in the Provencal farandole.

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Thus it is the *tresche* and not the *carole* that Paris associates with this southern French folkdance. The idea that the *tresche* was a farandole is accepted by Guy. The belief that the *carole* is associated with the farandole has also found favour with many historians of the dance.

The farandole is a folk dance of southern France. Some have claimed that its ancestry can be traced back to ancient Greece. Yet it seems to have been unknown in the Middle Ages; the term is not found in dictionaries of Old French or of Old Occitan (Old Provençal). Alford, in her article on the farandole, does not mention the *carole*. It is first recorded in the French form *farandoule* in 1776 as being derived from Occitan *farandoulo*, a word of uncertain origin. The earliest appearance of the term in English is in 1876, when it is described in a musical dictionary in the following terms: 'a dance popular among the peasants of the South of France and the neighbouring part of Italy. It is performed by men and women taking hands, and forming a long line, and winding in and out with a waving motion'. This dictionary adds that 'the figures of the *Farandola* by the name of the "Spanish dance"', were well known in English ball-rooms thirty

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26 Baumel, p. 65, cites Mistral and Maurice Emmanuel.
years since. There is no evidence, therefore, that the farandole resembled any kind of medieval dance.

In the opinion of others the *carole* was exclusively a circular dance and, for some, it contrasted in this respect with a couple dance. This theory has been particularly favoured by German scholars. In his article on Neidhart von Reuenthal's poems, Liliencron notes the juxtaposition of the verbs *tanzen* and *reien*, and infers that this indicated opposing types:

Die ausdrücke *tanz tanzen*, *den tanz treten* kommen den bezeichnungen *reie reien*, *den reien springen* gegenüber in zweifacher oder gar dreifacher stellung und bedeutung bei den mhd. dichtern vor; erstens nämlich als gegensatz, so dass *tanz* eine von dem reien verschiedene gattung des tanzens in weitem sinn bezeichnet.  

The terms *tanz tanzen* are juxtaposed with the terms *reie reien*, *den reien springen* in double or triple citations, and are contrasted by Middle High German poets, above all so that *tanz* as distinct from *reie* indicates dancing in the wider sense.

This opposition was then transferred to the interpretation of the French terms, *danse* and *carole*. Alwin Schultz cites Chrétien de Troyes' 'puceles querolent et dancent' (*Erec et Enide*, I. 1993. girls carol and dance). His namesake Oscar Schultz provides another example: 'desa karolent et cis dancent' (here they carol,

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30 J. Stainer and W. A. Barrett (eds), *A Dictionary of Musical Terms* (London, [1876]), 'Farandola'. This is the earliest citation given by the OED.
and there they dance, *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, l. 2955). He also cites two other texts to support the view that *danse* indicated couple dance as opposed to a communal one. Bertoni, in his monograph on the Germanic influence on the Italian language, offers yet a further example: 'li uns dance, l'autre querolle' (some dance, others carol, Herbert, *Dolopathos*, l. 2809), and concludes that 'fra dancier et caroler la differenza era grande' (the difference between *dancier* and *caroler* was great). His interpretation of two contrasting types differs from others holding an essentially similar view that *carole* and *danse* represent two contrasting forms. The distinction that he draws was that the *danse* was circular, but that in the *carole* one turned around oneself ('girando su se stessi'). Aeppli declares emphatically in favour of the distinction between a circle and a couple dance citing not only the *Tournoi* and *Dolopathos*, just mentioned, but also many other juxtapositions of the two terms. Sachs also cites the two aforementioned French texts, and is categorical: 'kein Zweifel, dass es sich hier um je zwei getrennte, ja gegensätzliche, sich ergänzende Begriffe handelt' (there is no doubt that we have here two separate, indeed opposed, concepts, which supplement each other). The contrast between *carole* and *danse* and their supposed cognates in various European languages is an idea expanded by Salmen. This theory has more recently been restated in an article in *MGG* 2.
the seemingly plausible evidence in support of this view, the notion has been challenged more recently.

Harding, in her study of medieval German dance terms, while she approvingly quotes Sahlin to the effect that the *carole* was a procession of couples, adds that 'again in the case of French material there is no evidence that a circling action is involved in the 13th and 14th centuries'.\(^{39}\) She is equally adamant that there was no circular dance in Germany before about 1450.\(^{40}\) Contrary to the deductions of the other scholars cited above, she states that the *reie* (or *reige*) was 'a lively processional dance'.\(^{41}\) At the same time, she affirms that 'throughout the [medieval] period *tanz* is used as a general term for courtly merry-making ("dancing"), rather than as the name of a specific dance or type of dancing'.\(^{42}\) Consequently she concludes that 'there is no evidence to suggest that *reien* and *tanzen* were ever regarded as contrasting styles of dancing'.\(^{43}\)

Harding's conclusions, as stated above, about medieval German dance terms, if correct, demolish the theory of contrasting styles, at least as far as German dance is concerned. Her acceptance of Sahlin's theory is, however, questionable, as will be seen in the next chapter. The possibility of some other difference between *carole* and *danse*, however, remains. I shall discuss this relationship of *danse* to *carole*, and also the relationship of *bal* and of *tresche* to *carole* in Chapter VI.


\(^{40}\) Harding, p. 6.

\(^{41}\) Harding, p. 155.

\(^{42}\) Harding, p. 274.

\(^{43}\) Harding, p. 180.
Among those who have considered the *carole* to be exclusively a circular dance, some have interpreted the term in a very particular way—one that associates the medieval dance with a Renaissance *branle*. The collocation had already been made in the sixteenth century by, for example, Jacques Yver:

> ... car les gentilshommes, ayant quelque temps branlé à la lourdesque (qu’ils appellent à Tholose la pageoise), prièrent les damoiselles de se mettre de la partie; lesquelles, ayant agrandi la ronde carole, commencerent à dire force branles autour du bouquet, desquels je dirai quelques-uns que j’ai mieux retenus.  

... for the noblemen, having for a time danced a ‘Branle à la lourdesque’ (which in Toulouse they call ‘La Pageoise’) asked the young ladies to join the party, and they, having enlarged the round *carole*, began to perform many *branles* around the bouquet, of which I shall quote those that I have best remembered.

He then quotes several lyrics that he calls *branles*.

Godefroy gives ‘branle’ as his first definition of *carole*. Gaston Paris believes that the *carole* is like the *branles* described in Arbeau’s sixteenth-century dance manual, *Orchesographie*, or a dance from the Faeroe Islands, the choreography of which he describes as follows:

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45 Godefroy, ‘Carole’.
hommes et femmes se prennent par les mains et forment une chaîne; le
mouvement consiste simplement en ce que l'on fait en mesure trois pas
vers la gauche, puis on se balance un peu, on rapproche le pied droit du
gauche, ensuite on détache le gauche, et ainsi de suite.46

Men and women take hands and make a chain; the steps are simply performed in
time with three steps to the left, then you balance a little; you join your right foot
to the left, next you separate your left [from your right] and so on.

Although Paris describes a chain here, he subsequently states that the figure
could be a circle. Bédier gives an approximation of the foregoing description of
what he calls ‘cette sorte de branle’ (this kind of branle).47 Bédier is cited both
by Faral and by Bec.48 Paris, as I have already said, also asserts that the steps of
the carole are those found in the dance manual of Thoinot Arbeau (a pseudonym
of Jehan Tabourot):

les branles du Poitou, si célèbres au moyen âge, étaient des danses
pareilles; Jehan Tabourot, qui les décrit dans son Orchesographie,
remarque que le mouvement en est toujours dirigé de droite à gauche

47 Bédier, p. 398.
48 Edmond Faral, La Vie quotidienne au temps de Saint Louis (1938; rpt [Paris], 1956), p. 211;
Pierre Bec, La Lyrique française au Moyen-Âge (XIIe-XIIIe siècles): contribution à une typologie
des genres poétiques médiévaux, Publications d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale de
l'Université de Poitiers, No 6 (Paris, 1977), I, 222-23.
the 'Branles de Poitou', so famous in the Middle Ages, were similar dances. Jean Tabourot who describes them in his *Orchesographie*, notes that the movement is always from right to left. 49

Verrier considers the steps of the *carole* to be the same as those of Arbeau's 'Branle double' of whose choreography he gives a paraphrase. 50 Rimmer asserts that 'among dances of much later origin in both areas [Faeroe Islands and southern Brittany], there are some of the type known in medieval western Europe as *carole*, in the fifteenth century as *branle* and from the sixteenth century onwards as specific kinds of *branle' 51 The specific *branles* that she has in mind are Arbeau's 'Branle double', 'the Branle simple' and the mixed branle 'Cassandra'.

Contrary to the statements of Paris and Rimmer, there was no medieval dance called the *branle*. In the late fifteenth century the steps of the *basse danse* included one called a *branle*. 52 No dance type of that name, however, existed until the early sixteenth century. Late in the same century, a large number of *branles* are described by Arbeau. 53 His 'Branle double', his 'Branle simple' and

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49 Paris, of Jeanroy, 594.
52 The steps of the *basse danse* are described in the introduction to a collection of such dances contained in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9085 (s. xv) and in a less correct version of this introduction to an almost identical but printed collection published by Michel Toulouze under the title *L'Art et instruction de bien dancer* (Paris, [1488-96]). For more on the Brussels manuscript and Toulouze see *Materials for the Study of the Fifteenth Century Basse Danse*, ed. Frederick Crane, Musicological Studies, 16 (New York, 1968), where these two sources are collated (pp. 36-38). In both texts, the *branle* step is explained in the following vague terms: 'le branle se doit commencer du pie senestre, et se doit finer du pie dextre, et s'appelle branle pour ce que on le fait en branlant [Brussels, branle] d'un pie sur l'autre' (p. 37).
53 The dance type is defined in Jean Nicot et al. (eds), *Le Grand Dictionnaire français-latin augmenté* (Paris, 1573), as follows: 'Branle, m. C'est balancement d'un costé à aultre, *Nutatio, Vacillatio*. Il se prent aussi pour une maniere de danse, ou plusieurs hommes et femmes s'entretenans par les mains ores en cerne, ores en long vont dansant de flanc à aultre, et non de
his ‘Branle coupé nommé Cassandre’ moved both to the left and to the right, whereas authors such as Jacques de Vitry and the author of the *Mireour* write of a dance that moved only to the left.\(^{54}\) Their strictures about the supposed evils of the dance would be pointless if the dance moved to the right as well as to the left. Arbeau gives the choreography for just one ‘Branle de Poictou’; it indeed moves only to the left, but consists entirely of *pieds en l’air*.\(^{55}\) No evidence exists, as we shall see in the next chapter, that these steps were used in the *carole*.

Finally some have considered the *carole* simply as a round dance. After his researches into medieval French literature, La Curne de Sainte-Palaye defined it as ‘*danse en rond*’ (round dance), and the phrase is repeated by Godefroy, Huguet and the *FEW*, albeit with additions and qualifications.\(^{56}\) Other approximations are ‘*ronde accompagnée de chants*’ (a round accompanied by singing) and ‘*danse populaire exécutée en cercle*’ (a folk dance performed in a circle), ‘*danse ancienne en forme de ronde accompagnée de chants*’ (an old circular dance accompanied by singing).\(^{57}\) Translated into German as ‘*Reigentanz mit Gesang*’ (round dance with singing), into Italian as ‘*danza popolare in tondo* (round folk dance)’, or into English as ‘*round dance*’, it

droict flu de derriere en avant, comme on faict és basses danses, pavanes et gaillardes, A cause duquel danser de costé à aultre, ceste dicte maniere de danser est appelee bransle, de bransler, qui signifie proprement balancer d’un costé à aultre: et moins proprement, vaciller en quelque maniere que ce soit’.

\(^{54}\) *Orchesographie par Thoinot Arbeau: réimpression précédée d’une notice sur les danses du XVIe siècle par Laure Fonta* [facsimile of the edition of 1589], Biblioteca Musica Bononiensis II, No 102 (Bologna, 1981), fols 68*-71*, 71*"*, 74*"-75*". Arbeau explains (fol. 70*) that because steps called *double à droit* are made with smaller steps than the *doubles à gauche* the dance itself moves to the left. This fact does not counter the objection that the dance makes some movement to the right. *The Mireour du monde* states ‘que les caroles sont les processions au démon, il aperce que par en tourne au sensestre costé’ (it is evident that *caroles* are processions to the Devil because they turn to the left, p. 163).

\(^{55}\) Arbeau, fol. 79*"*.

\(^{56}\) La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *‘Carole’*; Godefroy, *‘Carole’*; Huguet, *‘Carole’*; *FEW*, *‘Choraula’*.

remains in these terms essentially a circular dance. Jordan, too, is convinced that the dance is circular and, in discussing the ‘Carole als Reigentanz’, draws his evidence principally from Geoffrey of Monmouth’s and from Wace’s references to Stonehenge. Gérold, who had earlier confidently asserted that the form of the dance could either be a circle or a chain, later decided on a circular form alone: ‘c’était une sorte de ronde dont les pas et les mouvements des danseurs étaient plus ou moins réglés et guidés par le chant’ (it was a kind of round in which the steps and the movement of the dancers were more or less regulated and guided by the singing). For Greene, ‘the essential elements’ of the dance consist of its ‘circular motion’. Two reviews of Sahlin’s study challenge her argument that the carole was a couple dance rather than a communal round dance. Lerch, in a general way, casts doubt on her theory. More specifically, Falk, as I have already mentioned, objects to Sahlin’s proposition by remarking that the examples that she cites to support her case are not incompatible with the idea of a round dance, and that even where couples arrange themselves in pairs, there is nothing to prevent them from subsequently forming a circle. Falk cites a number of texts as evidence that the dance was circular: the Roman de la Rose, the Prose Lancelot, the legend of the dancers of Kölbigk, Jacques de Vitry, Guibert de Nogent and Wace. Although one might, strictly speaking, query

60 Théodore Gérold, Histoire de la musique des origines à la fin du XIVe siècle (Paris, 1936), p. 304. Conversely Christopher Page, in his earlier book, Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100-1300 (London, 1987), described the dancers who, having linked hands, ‘began to move in a circle to the left’ (p. 79); but later, as noted above, he revised his view of the formation of the dance to that of a line, ring or chain.
62 Eugen Lerch, rev. of Sahlin, Cultura Neolatina, 1 (1941), 239.
63 Falk, pp. 136-8.
Falk’s citation of the authors writing in Latin (e.g. Jacques de Vitry and Guibert de Nogent) since they do not specifically use the word *carole*, he is clearly on firmer ground with the French sources (e.g. the Prose *Lancelot* and Wace).

One statement about the *carole*, made in connexion with some of the foregoing comments, is that the dance was widespread. Two instances were noted above. First Paris states that the steps of the *carole* are the same as those used in dances of the Faeroe Islands which, he maintains, have preserved medieval traditions intact. Greene writes of ‘its wide dissemination in various countries of Europe’. Likewise Rimmer associates the *carole* not only with the dances of the Faeroe Islands, but also with those of southern Brittany. But Verrier sees the locations in which the *carole* was performed as covering an even wider field:

Dès le XIIe siècle, au plus tard, notre carole avait passé à l’étranger, la chanson comme la danse, d’abord dans l’aristocratie, et bientôt dans toutes les classes. Ce n’est pas seulement dans les autres contrées gallo-romanes, --Wallonie, Suisse romande et Suisse roumanche, Piémont, Catalogne (y compris la province de Valence), Galice et Portugal, --qui forment bloc à ce point de vue, comme à d’autres, avec la France d’ouï et d’oc: c’est aussi dans le reste de l’Italie et de l’Espagne, dans la Gaule germanisée, en Hollande, en Angleterre, en Scandinavie, en Allemagne.

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64 Paris, pp. 593-94.  
65 *The Early English Carols*, p. xlviii.  
By the twelfth century, at the latest, our carole (both the song and the dance) had spread abroad, first among the aristocracy, and soon after among people of every class. This happened not only in other lands of the Romance languages—Wallonia, French-speaking Switzerland and Romansh-speaking Switzerland, Piedmont, Catalonia (including the province of Valencia), Galicia and Portugal—which, from this point of view, form a block with the France of the Langue d'Oïl and the Langue d'Oc. It is the same in the rest of Italy and Spain in German-speaking Gaul, in Holland, in England, in Scandinavia, and in Germany.

Stevens summarizes this view by saying that the carole was 'the principal dance form of courtly societies in western Europe during the 12th and 13th centuries'. 68 Salmen not only implies the extensive dissemination of the carole by grouping together the terms chorea, carole, carolo, quirola, kirola, carola, chorella, corola, rey, querolle, ronde, but he also infers that this same dance was practised over a period stretching from the early thirteenth to the late sixteenth century. 69

Two objections can be raised against this broad interpretation of the term carole. Firstly, the belief that the carole resembles more recent folk dances rests on the assumption that the author of such a statement has a precise knowledge of both the old dance and the new. Yet advocates of the theory have not set forth any precise choreography for the carole. Secondly, the conviction that the carole was widely diffused throughout Europe relies on the resemblance between cognates and the French word; but no evidence has been adduced for the dance being performed outside the French-speaking areas during the Middle Ages. The

68 Stevens, 'Carole'.
69 Salmen, 'Ikonographie', pp. 15-16.
cognates, in fact, appear to be borrowings from the French, as we have already seen.\textsuperscript{70}

Several differing views, then, not only on the general form of the carole, but also on the details of the choreography have been advanced, and they reveal much uncertainty. Most of the statements made about the dance are derivative, so that comments offered by later researchers about the choreography can often be traced to the speculation of earlier historians of French verse. Assumptions that the carole can be identified with dances of the sixteenth century or later folk dances rest on very insecure foundations. Even where scholars have had recourse to medieval texts, their use of the sources has proved to be biased or flawed. A re-examination of the sources is plainly required and is therefore the subject of the following chapter.

\textsuperscript{70} Salmen's terms, quoted above, add up to little. As we saw in Chapter III, chorea is simply the Latin for dance. Theoderic's chorolla (not chorella as quoted by Salmen), which he cites from Verrier, is not a form of carole, and there is little or no evidence for an Occitan form corolla. Querolle is simply a variant spelling of carole. Ronde is not specifically a dance term. As we have seen, there is no reason to assume that reie or reige or rey are exact equivalents of carole. No citations are given for the other forms which all seem to derive from the French.
Chapter V: A Reconstruction of the Choreography

Some of the doubts and conflicting views about the choreography of the carole might have been avoided if it were the kind of dance that is recorded in a dance manual or a treatise, but no such writings on dancing exist from before the middle of the fifteenth century. The earliest French dance manuals are the Brussels manuscript and the book printed by Toulouze, both dating from the late fifteenth century as mentioned in the last chapter. Nevertheless references to the carole abound in medieval texts in writings of many kinds—prose and verse, fiction and non-fiction—although the last two categories can merge in medieval writing. Indeed the carole is possibly one of the most frequently mentioned dances in literature. Unfortunately, from the point of view of the present enquiry, many of these citations are merely passing references. Yet I believe sufficient evidence exists to enable us to reconstruct the dance.

Much of the discussion about the carole has concentrated on its general form and its relation to other dances. Even where a particular formation of the dancers has been proposed, commentators, apart from those who believe that the carole was identical to the sixteenth-century branle, seem to have felt unable to proceed further by giving full details about the choreography. This lacuna can, of course, be explained by the lack of readily available information, as already stated. Yet a close examination of the sources reveals much that is not immediately evident, as I propose to demonstrate, by considering the different elements of the dance.
The first question to be addressed is the composition of the sexes and their arrangement in the dance. Even if one excludes anthropomorphic characters such as those in *Renart le Nouvel*, or personifications such as those in the *Roman de la Rose*, on the grounds that these may not reflect accurately the manner in which humans participate in the dance, there remains sufficient illustrative material to attempt a reconstruction.¹

Firstly one must consider the distribution of the sexes. A *carole* consisting entirely of men is possible, but is all but unknown. In *Gaydon*, the warriors stand around the wounded Gaydon holding hands just as if they had been carolling: ‘as mains se tiennent li baron alosé / tout autressi com aient carolé’ (the bold worthies hold hands just as if they had been carolling).² Of course the language here is figurative; but even in a literal sense the only *carole* to consist entirely of men is the second *carole* in *Guillaume de Dole*.³

Much more usual, however, is a *carole* comprising exclusively female dancers. In the *Conte du Graal*, the queen has her girls dance: ‘ses puceles avoit fet prendre / . . . chantent et querolent et dancent’ (she ordered her girls to take hands . . . they sing and carol and dance).⁴ If the girls here both carol and dance, there are other instances where the verb employed is *carole* alone: ‘et les dames se deportoient, / a Chauvenci, joieusement / et karolent mout cointement / une karole si tres noble’ (and the ladies disport themselves joyfully at Chauvency,

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² *Gaydon*: chanson de geste, ed. F. Guessard and S. Luce (Paris, 1862), ll. 1889-90.
and carol very elegantly in a very noble carole). Likewise in Blancandin: ‘les puceles facent caroles’ (let the girls dance caroles). The participants in a carole are not necessarily upper class: ‘ches meskines siervans et toutes ches garcettes / voellent . . . karoler par les rues as tamburs, as musettes’ (these serving wenches and all these young girls . . . want to carol throughout the streets with drums and bagpipes). In a work that may be described as fictional, La Prison amoureuse, Froissart draws a comparison between the picture of an imagined entertainment involving dancing and an actual historical event, namely the celebrations provided at Chambéry in 1368 by Amadeus VI, Count of Savoy, in honour of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, of which occasion the poet says ‘les dames pas ne se lassoient / ains caroloient main a main’ (the ladies did not tire, but carolled hand in hand). What appears to be unusual in the composition of dancers, because there is only one man in a dance otherwise consisting entirely of girls, is the carole in Méraugis de Portlesguez:

Avoit puceles qui chantoient
As caroles qu’eles fesoient
N’avoit qu’un tot sol chevalier.

There were girls singing for the caroles that they were performing, but there was only one knight.

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Frequently, as one might expect, what we find in descriptions of dancing is the mingling of the sexes. Indeed this is one of the evils of dancing cited by Jacques de Vitry:

Chorea enim circulus est, cuius centrum est diabolus; omnes uergunt in sinistram, quia omnes tendunt ad mortem eternam. Dum autem pes pede comprimitur uel manus mulieris manu uiri tangitur, ignis dyaboli succenditur.10

The chorea is a circle whose centre is the Devil. In it all turn to the left, because all are heading towards everlasting death. When foot is pressed to foot or the hand of a woman is touched by the hand of a man, there the fire of the Devil is kindled.

In particular the same objection is raised against the carole. The anonymous author of the Mireour du monde repeatedly refers to the participation of both sexes, as, for instance, when he denounces the dancers ‘quer tous ceus et toutes celes qui carolent font péché de tous leurs membres’ (because all those men and women who carol sin with every member of their bodies).11 The carole in Guillaume de Dole mentioned above is composed entirely of men, but another carole takes place in the same poem, and consists of both men and women (ll. 505-50). Likewise in the Prison amoureuse, one carole is composed entirely of ladies (ll. 402-60), but another is mixed: ‘chil et chelles qui s’ebatoient danser,

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10 Jacques de Vitry, 'Sermones Vulgares', PBN, fonds lat. 17509 (s. xiii), fol. 146v. The quotation will be found in Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apalogues tirés du recueil inédit d'Étienne de Bourbon, ed. Richard Albert Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1877), p. 162, n. 1.
sans gaires atendre / commencherent leurs mains a tendre / pour caroller' (ll. 360-63) (those men and women who took pleasure in dancing with little delay, / began to hold hands to carol). Knights joining ladies in carolling is commonplace in romances.

The fact that both men and women could take part in the same carole raises the question of their relative number and disposition within the dance. Each lady takes a knight in the Roman de la Violette: ‘chascune prent un chevalier’ (each lady takes a knight), which implies an equal number of men and women. In the Roman de Laurin, Dyogenne directs the knights to take the ladies: ‘Seigneur chevaliers, venez avant, et faites prendre ces dames et ces damoiselles toutes a la querolle, et les commençons de par Dieu en santé et en joie’ (Gentle knights, come forward, and invite all these ladies to join in a carole, and let us begin, in Heaven’s name, in joy and happiness). Again this suggests that the sexes are more or less evenly divided. Indeed a situation in which this is not the case seems to call for comment. In the lines from Méraugis de Portlesguez (quoted above), it is emphasized that among the girls there was only one knight. Attention is also drawn to the unequal number of sexes in the carole in the Prose Lancelot: ‘et teuls y ot qui ne tenoit ne dame ne damoisele . ains tenoient cheualiers dont il y auoit asses plus que de dames ne de damoiseles’ (and there were those who did not hold a lady young or old, but held another knight of whom there were rather more than the number of ladies). It is from citations

14 Le Livre de Lancelot del Lac, ed. H. Oscar Sommer, The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances, V, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication No 74 (Washington, 1912), p. 123. Sommer uses as his base manuscript, LBL, Additional MS 10293 (c. 1316), where the
such as these that we may infer that the purpose of the dancers forming couples is that the sexes may alternate in the formation of the dance.

As to the general positioning of the dancers, most commentators, as we saw in the last chapter, are of the opinion that the dance was circular in form. Undoubtedly a circular dance was current in French in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Whether Guibert de Nogent’s *caraula* is a form of the word *carole* or, as Sahlin would have us believe, derived from it, the referent seems in either case to be a circular dance.\(^\text{15}\) The object of Jacques de Vitry’s condemnation, cited above, is indisputably a circular dance. Antonio da Tempo sees songs, which he calls *rotundelli*, possibly being so named because they are sung in round dances: ‘possunt etiam appellari *rotundelli* quia plerumque cantantur in rotunditate correhae sive balli, et maxime per ultramontanos’ (they may also be called *rotundelli* because they are generally sung in round *correhae* or dances, and especially by the French).\(^\text{16}\)

While such Latin citations do not explicitly refer to the *carole*, there is ample evidence, nevertheless, that this dance was circular. Firstly a number of sources use the word *tour*; ‘meint biau tor sor l’erbe fresche’ (many a fair round on the fresh grass); ‘alons .i. tour a la querole’ (come let us make a round in the *carole*); ‘Yde vient carolant au tour’ (Yde comes carolling in a round); ‘ainsi s’en vont faisant le tor (thus they go making a round).\(^\text{17}\) This notion is further

\(^{17}\) *Roman de la Rose*, I. 744; *Laurin*, p. 94; *Sone von Nausay*, ed. Moritz Goldschmidt, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, No 216 (Tübingen, 1899), I. 10545; *Tournoi de Chauvency*, I. 3105.
emphasized by the dance being performed around an object: ‘entor le pin por
caroler’ (to carol around the pine); ‘et tout entour lez pins auoit cheualiers &
dames’ (and all around the pines were knights and ladies); ‘en carolant tout
autour vont / de la fontainne’ (they go right around the spring carolling).\textsuperscript{18}

Possibly the same idea is conveyed by the term \textit{rondel}, which is also to be found,
even if in rare instances: ‘karolle font et reondeiz’ (they make \textit{caroles} and
rounds); ‘la sont li rondel, les caroles’ (there are rounds and \textit{caroles} there).\textsuperscript{19}

From such statements it might be inferred that the dance was sometimes, or
even frequently, executed in a circle, but that on other occasions, as some have
maintained, it could be performed in a chain. Certain texts, however, make it
clear that this not so; the circular form was not simply a typical feature of the
dance, it was its defining element. Objects or persons forming a circle are
considered to be arranged in the manner of a \textit{carole}. If Guibert’s \textit{caraula}
signifies a \textit{carole}, then ‘circulatim in modum caraule’ (in a circle in the manner
of a \textit{carole}) means that the dance to which reference is made is characteristically
circular. Geoffrey of Monmouth refers to Stonehenge as the \textit{chorea gigantum}
(the giants’ dance), which Wace translates as ‘carole as gaianz’ (the giants’
\textit{carole}), thus underlining the essentially circular form of the dance, as Jordan and
Falk have noted.\textsuperscript{20} Gervase of Tilbury, summarizing Geoffrey, refers to the
stones being brought from Ireland, and being re-erected at Amesbury ‘in modum
choreae' (in the manner of a dance). Jean d'Antioche, in his translation of Gervase, states 'et l'appelle l'on la Querole des Geans' (and it is called the Giants' Carole), and Jean de Vignay, in turn, translates the phrase in the original more closely as 'en manere d'une karolle' (in the manner of a carole). In a phrase quoted above, the warriors in Gaydon surround the hero 'tout autressi com aient carolé' (as if they had been carolling). Nicole Oresme, in a work expounding heliocentric motion, Le Livre du ciel et du monde, written between 1370 and 1377, compares the movement of the earth to a wheel, which is 'comme des personnes en une carole' (like people in a carole). Again he says 'item, pour ce miex entendre, je pose que une carole de hommes torne en circuite selon le mouvement journal, car ainsi va elle naturelment', p. 342) (to understand this more readily, I posit that a carole made up of men is turning in a circle in the same direction [from east to west] as the daily motion of the heavens, which is the natural order, p. 343).

The idea of the carole as a kind of wheel is one that had been taken up by Dante. Postponing until a later chapter the question of whether the dance itself was actually performed in Italy, an Italian form of the word (carola, pl. carole) appears to have been introduced into Italian by Dante in his Divine Comedy. Dance had long been considered in Italy as symbolic of happiness, as we shall see in Chapter X. In addition to this concept, Dante wished to evoke the idea of

2 Jean d'Antioche, also known as Harent d'Antioche, 'Le Livre de grant delict', PBN, f. fr. 9113 (s. xiii), fol. 52' (unpublished work); Jean de Vignay, 'Le Livre des oisivetez des emperieres', PBN, MS Rothschild 3085 iv. 1.5 (s. xiv), Chapter 59 (unfoliated) (unpublished work).
2 Nicole Oresme, Le Livre du ciel et du monde, ed. Albert D. Menut and Alexander J. Denomy, CSB, and trans. Albert D. Menut (Milwaukee, WI, 1968), pp. 340-41. In all the quoted translations from this edition, I have retained 'carole' of the original text for Menut's 'round dance' or 'dance'.

the eternal happiness of the blessed in Heaven. A ring is the symbol of eternity.

The poet therefore conjures up the image of a circular dance—the *carola*:

E come cerchi in tempera d'orîoli
si giran si, che'l primo a chi pon mente
quiêto pare, e l'ultimo che voli;
cosi quelle carole, differente-
mente danzando, della sua richezza
mi facieno stimar, veloci e lente.24

And as wheels in the structure of a clock revolve so that, to one watching them, the first seems at rest and the last to fly, so those choirs, dancing [*carole*] severally fast and slow, made me gauge their wealth.

The blessed in Heaven revolve in circles of different speeds in their *carole* like the wheels of a clock. Francesco da Buti, in his commentary on Dante, has the following note: *'quelle carole: cioè quelli beati spiriti, che seguitavano come fanno le persone nel ballo tondo'* (those *carole*, that is those blessed spirits who followed as people do in the round dance).25 He adds succinctly, *'carole [sic] è ballo tondo'* (the *carole* is a round dance). The simile of the blessed in Heaven as dancers of a *carola* returns as a metaphor in the next canto where, however, there is a shift in meaning of the word *carole*: they are no longer primarily a group of dancers but a choir:

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25 See Commento di Francesco da Buti sopra la Divina Comedia di Dante Alighieri, ed. Crescentino Giannini (Pisa, 1862), III, 631, for this and the following quotation. Of course Buti may have derived his knowledge, not from the dance itself, but from Dante's description.
E prima, appresso al fin d'este parole,

'Sperent in te' di sopr'a noi s'udi;

a che rispuoser tutte le carole.\textsuperscript{26}

And first, immediately I had finished speaking, \textit{Sperent in te} [Let them hope in thee] was heard above us, to which all the choirs [carole] responded.

\textit{Rispuoser tutte le carole: cioè tutti li cerchi de' beati}' ('all the choirs responded that is all the circles of the blessed' as Buti explains (III, 679). These two passages in Dante are rich in symbolism, but the point at issue here, however, is that in these passages, as in the preceding French ones, the \textit{carole} is established as a closed circle. Citations, therefore, that appear to indicate that it was also a linear dance will be reviewed in the next chapter.

The circle is not an arc of couples, or circle of couples radiating from a central point, although Sahlin was misled by a number of texts into thinking that this, on occasion, could be the case.\textsuperscript{27} The following citations might seem most clearly to support the idea of couples: ‘si prent le premiere damoisele que il encontre’ (he takes the first young lady whom he meets); ‘son ami par le main enpoigne’ (she takes her young man by the hand); ‘Synador la tint par la main’ (Synador held her by the hand); ‘Cascuns prist par la main s’amie / S’ont la carole commenchie’ (each man took his girl by the hand, and they began the carole); “je prenc Fouqueree” / “et jou Sarre” (I’ll take Fouqueree . . . and I Sarre).\textsuperscript{28} But, let it be repeated, there is nothing to prevent the dancers from

\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Paradiso}, 25, ll. 97-99. The biblical quotation in Latin, which Sinclair identifies, is from Psalm 9: 10.
\textsuperscript{27} Sahlin, pp. 23-28.
gathering in couples and then forming a circle. It is not a procession of couples that is depicted in the Roman de la Rose but rather a number of individuals linked together: Deduit stands between Leesce and the Dieu d'Amours; beside him is Douz Regard. The poem continues with descriptions of other personifications, as mentioned above. The formation, however, is not a straight line since two girls are said 'en mi la querole baler' (l. 761, to dance in the middle of the carole). As I already suggested, the purpose of forming couples before dancing a carole seems to be that when the dancers form a circle the sexes will alternate.

The impression given by other sources is, in fact, of the dancers holding hands as a group and not in couples. In Gaydon (as noted above) the warriors hold one another by the hand in a circle as if in a carole. Likewise in the Tournoi de Chauvency: 'les dames main a main se tienent' (l. 3101, the ladies hold one another by the hand); and in La Prison amoureuse, 'les dames pas ne se lassoient, / ains caroloient main a main / tout le soir jusqu'a l'endemain' (l. 402-04, the ladies did not tire, but carolled hand in hand all night until the following day). In none of these cases is there a suggestion of couples. Even where the sexes are mixed, the implication is of all taking hands together: 'main a main . . . ront la carole commencie' (Guillaume de Dole, ll. 507-10, hand in hand they began to dance the carole). The communal nature of this holding of hands is explicit in other texts, as, for example, in Guillaume le Maréchal: 'lors s'entrepristrent par les mains' (then they took one another by the hand).

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29 Falk, p. 137.
Occasionally citations refer to the dancers holding fingers rather than hands. In the *Roman de la Rose*, for instance, ‘Deduiz la [Leesce] tint par mi le doi / a la querole’ (Pleasure held her [Joy] by the fingers in the *carole*) and ‘tout en carolant par le doy’ (holding fingers while carolling).\(^{31}\) It is unlikely that a different manner of holding hands is indicated by these variants; more probably we are dealing with examples of synecdoche. Furthermore in the *Roman de la Rose*, variation in description is characteristic of the literary style of the work. In any case, in both these citations *doi* is used to form a rhyme.

The dancers, therefore, took hands, and formed a circle. The question then arises as to whether the circle moved to the left or to the right. The answer to this question is not to be found in fictional texts, but the anonymous author of the *Mireour du monde* supplies this essential information. He condemns *caroles* as processions to the Devil, because the dancers turned to the left:

\begin{quote}
Que les caroles sont les processions au déable, il apert parceque on tourne au senestre costé. De quoy la Sainte Escription dist: ‘Les voies qui tournent à destre connoist Dieu; celes qui tournent à senestre sont perverses et mauvaises, et les het Dieu’.
\end{quote}

It is obvious that *caroles* are processions to the Devil, because they turn to the left. Of which Holy Scripture says: ‘God approves the ways that turn to the right; those that turn to the left are perverse and bad, and God hates them’.


\(^{32}\) *Mireour*, p. 163. The biblical reference is apparently to Proverbs, 4: 27.
The author condemns the *carole* for moving to the left on theological grounds, and cites the Old Testament in support. Similarly Thomas de Cantimpré denounces the *chorea*, which seems to mean *carole* in this context, because it also moves to the left. Thomas, however, alludes to the reference to the Last Judgement in the New Testament:

Signum in choreis est evidentissime manifestum quod ad sinistram circumeuntes in qua parte die maledicti ponentur regnum perdituri sunt quod benedictis ad dexteram a Iudice conferetur.⁹³

Most obviously in dances the performers move to the left, on which side on the day of the damned those who are about to lose the kingdom [of Heaven] will be placed, because the Judge will place the blessed on the right.

And to return to a passage quoted earlier in this chapter, the moralist Jacques de Vitry also evidently had in mind this symbolism of a dance that turned to the left.

We do not, however, need to rely entirely on the evidence of moralists to ascertain the direction that the dance took. Nicole Oresme, writing about heliocentric motion, makes the following statement in the course of explaining the movements of the planets:

mais chacune des autres .iii. differences peut estre signee equalment et samblablement par toute la circunference de la roe sans quelconque difference fors en relation de l'une a l'autre et quant au mouvement, car

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⁹³ Thomas de Cantimpré, *Liber Qui Dicitur Bonum Universale de Proprietatibus Apum* [Cologne, 1480?], fol. N1'. This work was composed between 1256 and 1261. The biblical reference is to Matthew, 25: 33-34.
la partie qui va devant <est senestre et devant> ou resgart de celle qui vient apres elle, aussi comme des personnes en une carole (pp. 340-41)

and each of the other four positional differences can be assigned equally in the same manner throughout the entire circumference of the wheel with no distinction, save with relation to one another and to the motion of the wheel, because the part that moves forward is left and in front with regard to the part that follows, just like people in a *carole*.

If, in the *carole*, the person on the left is in front and moving (so to speak) forward and the person on his or her right follows, then the dance is moving to the left. Nicole later returns to this analogy:

> Item, pour ce miex entendre, je pose que une carole de honmes tome en circuite selon le mouvement journal, car ainsi va elle naturelment. Et donques chacun de la carole va devant celui qui est a sa destre et derriere celui qui est a sa senestre (p. 342).

To understand this more readily, I posit that a *carole* made up of men is turning in a circle in the same direction [from east to west] as the daily motion of the heavens, which is the natural order. Thus, each member of the *carole* goes ahead of the person on his right and behind the person on his left (p. 343).

The fact that each member of the dance goes ahead of the person to his right and behind the person on his left, means that the circle of the daily motion of the heavens, like the circle of the *carole*, moves to the left.
If, for moralists, right and left have a theological significance, for Nicole Oresme, the two sides also have a social significance:

Item, il appert en exemple de ceulz qui sont assis a une table ronde, car se celui qui est a ma destre est en plus noble lieu que je ne sui et ainsi ensuinament des autres, donques, en procedant, il s'ensuit que je sui plus noblement assis que je meisme ne sui assis. Et donques touz sont assis equalment quant a ce. Et il est samblablement en nostre propos (p. 348).

The example of people seated at a round table is pertinent here. If the person on my right is in a nobler position than I am and if the same is true of all the others, then as we go completely around the table, it will follow that I am more nobly seated than I actually am. In such a case all are equally nobly seated, and it is the same in our present discussion (p. 349).

At a circular table no one is more nobly seated, but the author implies that this would not be the case if the table were not circular. From the point of view of the choreography of the carole, however, the foregoing citations not only establish once more that the dance is formed of a closed circle of people holding hands, but also that this circle moves to the left.

If the circle moves to the left, then the dancers must be stepping to the left. Very few texts mention the steps, and in all but one of these, as we shall see, no mention is made of how these steps are executed. In so far as movement of the feet is implied the verb most frequently used is ferir (to strike). When Méraugis joins the enchanted carole 'il chante avant et fiert dou pié' (Méraugis, l. 3744, he leads the singing, and strikes with his foot). Of Leesce, in the Roman de la Rose,
it is said ‘ainz se savoit bien debrizer, / ferir dou pié et envoisier’ (ll. 735-36, thus she knew well how to sing agreeably, strike with her foot, and be lively). From citations such as these it is impossible to know in what sense the dancers ‘strike’ with their feet. Neither can we judge the significance of *pietiant* when Elyot sings for the *carole* in Jean Brisebarre’s *Restor du Paon*:

Dedens sa feste entra li rois et si sivant  
A renc porestendu vont le liu comprendant,  
A force et [a] vertu vont la feste fendant.  
La charole s’ouvri, si les vont ataignant.  
E1yos par accort aloit par dedevant,  
L’aigle en haut paraument poroit desor .i. gant.  
Emenidus l’aloit de molt pres costiant.  
D’autre part Martiens qu’on apele Persant,  
Qui affaitiement l’aloient adestrant,  
Et por li alegier le keute susportant.  
Les trompes font taisir, si vont en haut cantant:  
[Elyot’s song is inserted here]  
En ce point qu’E1yos aloit la pietiant  
Et cascuns a son chant hautement respondant,  
Griu et Macedonois s’aloient merveillant  
A quoi ciex fais servoit qui ert en apparant.34

Into the festivity came the king and his followers. They encircled the place, and broke into the festivity. The *carole* opened up, and the newcomers joined in. By

general agreement Elyot went first, holding the eagle steadily on her glove. Emenidus went closely on one side of her. On the other was Marcien called Persant. Both of these were placed very close to her as she danced gracefully. To ease her, he supported her elbow. They make the trumpets fall silent, and they move singing aloud. . . At that point when Elyot was dancing with a lively step, and everyone was very approving of her singing, the Greeks and the Macedonians wondered greatly what was the point of all this activity that they were witnessing.

If such citations do not clarify how the steps were performed, we do, however, possess one citation that resolves the problem. It occurs in the Prose Lancelot. In the late thirteenth-century manuscript used by Micha for his edition, in the passage on the magic carole cited above, it is said of the eponymous character, ‘. . . et se prent a la premiere damoisele qu’il encontre. Et lors conmance a chanter et a ferir del pie aussi comme li autre’ (and he takes the first young lady whom he meets. And then he begins to sing and strike with his foot like the others).35 Thus we have once again the term ferir. The corresponding passage in the manuscript used by Sommer, however, reads ‘si prent le premiere damoisele que il encontre. & lors commence a canter & a ferir lun pie encontre lautre’ (he takes the first young lady whom he meets, and then he begins to sing and to strike one foot against the other (Prose Lancelot, ed. Sommer, p. 123)). It is not a question here of the relative textual merits of different manuscripts or editions but rather of the choreographic detail provided by a source. The reading of Sommer’s later manuscript gives more choreographic information than Micha’s;

the dancers hold hands in a circle, which moves to the left. It is quite natural that they should strike one foot against the other or, in dance terminology, make *pas simples* to the left. Indeed this kind of step seems to be confirmed by Jacques de Vitry in the passage quoted above when he states of the *chorea* that ‘pes pede comprimitur’ (foot is pressed to foot). There remains the question of whether these steps were performed à terre, which seems more likely, or on the toes, which is never suggested.

Information about the general character and style of the dance is also hard to find. We have, nevertheless, a few indications. Marcien in the *Restor du Paon* moves gracefully (*affaitiement*) in the passage quoted above. In the *Tournoi de Chauvency*, it is said of the ladies ‘ét karolent mout cointement’ (l. 3096, and they carol very elegantly). The *Mireour du monde* seize on the manner of performance, and expatiates on this elegant character as being an example of the performers sinning in all their bodies: ‘quer tous ceus et toutes celes qui carolent font péchié de tous leurs membres: en passer cointement, en bras démener et hochier, en chanter, en parler deshonètement . . .’ (p. 164, because all those men and women who carol sin in every member of their bodies by turning elegantly and by moving and shaking their arms, by singing, and by speaking dishonourably). The latter part of this quotation probably refers to the dancers’ arms moving up and down as they step sideways. From such references we may take it that the dance was performed gracefully and elegantly.

We may conclude, then, from details garnered from texts extending over three centuries, that the features of the *carole* can be described quite precisely. For each element of the dance we can cite fictional and non-fictional sources to establish its choreography. The dancers held hands in a closed circle, and they
stepped to the left with the left foot, and then joined the right foot to the left. Nothing suggests that this extremely simple dance contained other elements or that it changed in any way in the course of its existence as a dance in fashion. It is a circular dance for Wace in the middle of the twelfth century as it is for Nicole Oresme in the late fourteenth century. The dancers hold hands in Chrétien de Troyes as they do in Froissart. Early in the thirteenth century Jacques de Vitry’s *chorea* (which in this context seems to be the *carole*) moves to the left as it does for Nicole Oresme. The very simplicity of the dance explains why no written choreography or dance manual was required.

It may seem strange that such a simple dance as the *carole* could have survived so long, and apparently remain unchanged; yet this seems to be the inevitable conclusion to be drawn from the sources. It was the dominant social dance in France from the early twelfth to the early fourteenth century. In the second half of the fourteenth century, however, it was joined by another dance—the hove dance. This dance was possibly of Dutch origin (*hof dans*), but the phrase more probably derives from German (*hof tanz*). In either case the term means ‘court dance’. Although Dutch, German and English writers refer to it, we find only a single citation in French. Froissart describes musicians playing for this dance, and then stopping while the gentlemen and ladies join hands to dance a *carole* (*La Prison amoureuse*, ll 354-63). This reminds the poet of the entertainment given at Chambéry in 1368, to which I referred earlier in this chapter. On that occasion the assembled company dance to their hearts’ content, and when they finish the *danse*, the ladies perform a *carole*:

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Cure n’avoient de seoir,
Mes de danser a l’estrivee.
Toute joie y ert arivee.
Et quant li menestrel cessoient,
Les dame pas ne se lassoient,
Ains caroloient main a main
Tout le soir jusqu’a l’endemain. (ll. 398-404)

They had no desire to sit down but to dance to their hearts’ content. Everyone was full of joy, and when the minstrels stopped, the ladies were not tired, but carolled hand in hand all night until the following day.

The danse here seems to be contrasted with the carole as a choreographic type both in the fictional narrative and in the historical event. Instruments play for the danse, the instruments then stop playing, and the dancers join hands for the carole, which is performed to unaccompanied singing. The implication that all the dancers hold hands in the carole also implies that it is a communal dance. On the other hand the text leaves open the possibility that the hove dance was a couple dance. This dance, however, was relatively short-lived; by the second decade of the fifteenth century it had been replace by the basse danse, which we know was a couple dance accompanied by instruments. What appears to have happened is that in the second half of the fourteenth century a couple dance accompanied by instruments at first shares its popularity with the carole, but by the beginning of the fifteenth century both the carole and the hove dance had fallen out of fashion. The hove dance may or may not have been a more sophisticated dance than the carole. Certainly it made additional musical
demands since it required, not the singing of the dancers themselves, but an instrumentalist or instrumentalists. The adoption in France of a couple dance, accompanied by instrumental music reflects, perhaps, an increased sophistication in art and other diversions, that developed at this period.

Thus the carole was not a vague term for dance, or one that might cover a variety of choreographic forms, including dances with elements of a more theatrical kind, as has been stated. It was a social dance performed by a group of people, either men and women or women alone, not in a chain but in a closed circle that moved only to the left with pas simples. It therefore had a specific choreography, and hence differed from other kinds of communal dance, to which it has been compared, notably the branle. Whether the carole (essentially a circular dance) might, on occasion, also be a linear dance, and what relationship it might have had to other dances of the period will be discussed in the next chapter.
Chapter VI: Carole, Bal, Danse, Tresche

The term carole is frequently found in collocation with other terms for dance, almost invariably bal, tresche, or danse as, for example, in Aucassin et Nicolette:

`Sire rois de Torelore,
ce dist la bele Nichole,
vostre gens me tient por fole: 
quant mes dox amis m’acole
et il me sent grasse et mole,
dont sui jou a tele escole,
baus ne tresce ne carole,
harpe, gigle ne viole,
ne deduis de la nimpole
n 'i vauroit mie.'

'Sire, King of Torelore', said the fair Nicole, 'your people take me for a fool. When my sweet love takes me in his arms, and feels me soft against him, then I am in such a state of happiness that neither bal nor tresche nor carole, nor harp nor rebec nor vielle nor the game of nimpole gives me the least pleasure'.

Enumerations of the names of musical instruments, often more extensive than in the above quotation, occur in many of the longer French poems of the period

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under review. Enumerations of the names of dances, however, are limited to two or three. For the purposes of this study I shall consider only those collocations of the dance terms that include the term, carole.

The collocation of carole in the same general context as bal and tresche is found not only in Aucassin et Nicolette, cited above, but also in Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun’s Roman de la Rose (ll. 725-44). All three terms are likewise found with danser in Christine de Pizan. The number of such combinations is, however, meagre.

Slightly more common is the juxtaposition of carole, danse, and tresche. These three terms are loosely associated in the anonymous French version of the account of the celebrations following the coronation of King Philip III of France in 1271 quoted in Chapter III in which we have in the French translation the collocation ‘tresches et quaroles’ and ‘manieres de danser’. They are also juxtaposed in Floriant et Florete:

Ces dames et ses damoiseles

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3 ‘Le Dit de la Pastoure’, ll. 160-68, in Oeuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan, ed. Maurice Roy (Paris, 1891), II.

Courtoises, avenanz et beles,
Ces varlés et cil bacheler
Dancier, treschier et caroler;
Tuit se poinent de joie fere,
Nus n'i a anui ne contrere,
Li .i. tumbent, li autre saillent,
De joie fere se travaillent.⁵

These ladies, noble, charming and beautiful; these young men and squires are all eager to perform danses, tresches and caroles, and to enjoy themselves. There is no one who is troubled or upset. Some hop, some leap, and all are bent on merry-making.

The same terms, with the addition of festier, are found in Gilles le Muisit: ‘caroler, et danser, treskier et festyer’ (to perform caroles and danses and tresches and to celebrate).⁶ Jean Froissart likewise writes of an entertainment with musical instruments and ‘danses, tresques, carolles, / entremes de belles paroles’ (danses, tresches, caroles and well-composed diversions).⁷ The three terms are once again loosely connected in Jean Le Fevre’s French translation of the Lamentationes Matheoli: ‘Venés sca a nostre carole! . . . Ceux de la danse. . . faisoient leur treche et leur dance. . . ’ (Come join in our carole. . . those in the danse performed their tresche and their danse).⁸

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⁵ Floriant et Florete, ed. Harry F. Williams, University of Michigan Publications; Language and Literature, No 23 (Ann Arbor, MI, 1947), ll. 6055-62.
⁷ ‘Le Trésor amoureux’ ll. 655-56, in Oeuvres de Froissart: poésies, ed. Auguste Scheler, (Brussels, 1872), III.
When we consider the collocation *carole, bal, danse*, the somewhat arbitrary nature of such juxtapositions becomes evident. This enumeration appears as early as Chrétien de Troyes' *Chevalier de la charrette*:

Li autre, qui iluec estoient,

redemenoit lor anfances,

baules et quaroles et dances;

et chantent et tunbent et saillent

et au luitier se retravaillent.⁹

The others who were there relived the *bals and caroles* and *danses* of their youth, and sing and hop and leap and engage in wrestling.

The same terms are merely re-ordered in the *Chastelaine de Vergi*:

Més ses amis ne le set mie

Qui se deduisoit en la sale

A la carole et dansse et bale.¹⁰

Now her lover, who was enjoying himself in the hall in *caroles, danses*, and *bals*, knew nothing of this.

The collocation *danses, baus, and caroles* is found in both *Berte* (l. 302) and, with the addition of *ju* (games), in *Cléomadès*. A similar association of the terms also occurs in *Escanor*:

aprez mangier, sanz pluz atendre,

commencierent a karoler

et a dansser et a baler

et a faire joie et deduit.\(^{12}\)

After eating, without more ado, they begin to perform *caroles* and *danses* and *bals*, and to enjoy themselves, and have a good time.

The same terms also appear in Guillaume de Machaut:

S’en y avoit qui renoier

Le jouster, ne le tournoier,

Le dancier, ne le caroler

Ne pooient, ne le baler.\(^{13}\)

There were those who refused to take part in jousting, in the tournament, and could not perform *danses, caroles* or *bals*.

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\(^{11}\) ‘Berte au grans piés’, l. 302, in *Les Œuvres d’Adenet le Roi*, ed. Albert Henry, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Travaux de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, Nos 45 and 46 (Brussels, 1963-71); ‘Cléomadès’, l. 17525, in *Les Œuvres d’Adenet le Roi* (1975), V.


The point at issue in the collocations of these three names of dances is whether the names included represent discrete terms or whether they are employed as synonyms. Now it is probably safe to assume that in the enumerations of musical instruments the items are discrete terms since we can be fairly confident that, in most cases, the instruments mentioned are different. But the question of whether carole, bal, danse, and tresche denominate several distinct dances, or whether two or more are synonyms, has not hitherto been satisfactorily answered.

The problem is not resolved when the number of terms is reduced to two. Beginning with carole and tresche, one may cite an early collocation from the vast Roman de Renart: ‘les damoiseles font caroles / et treshent envoisement’ (the young ladies perform caroles and tresches enthusiastically), or the equally ambiguous line in Les Mervelles de Rigomer: ‘Li autre tresquent et carolent’ (the others perform tresches and caroles)--both texts dating from the middle of the thirteenth century.¹⁴ A century later we encounter the same pairing in Li Romans de Bauduin de Sebourc: ‘mais dames et puchelles aloient souvent / caroler et tréchier et canter doucement’ (but ladies and girls often went to take part in caroles and tresches and in singing sweetly).¹⁵

We saw in Chapter IV that a tradition of German scholarship contrasts carole and danse, the carole being considered as a communal dance, the danse being considered as a dance for couples. It will be recalled that advocates of the theory cited phrases such as ‘puceles querolent et dancent’ and ‘li uns dance,

l'autre querolle'. A definition in the Lexicon latino-gallicum equates corea with ‘querole dance’. But we cannot tell from these examples whether we are to understand that two different dances are involved, or whether the two terms are synonymous. Yet authors ranging from Chrétien de Troyes to Jean Froissart and Eustache Deschamps can be cited in which the juxtaposition occurs; so much so that the phrase *danse et carole* becomes something of a set phrase. It is found not only in verse, but also in prose in Jean Le Bel’s description of the marriage of Edward III to Philippa of Hainault incorporated into Froissart’s chronicles. Froissart himself uses the phrase several times, as in the following remark made in the context of the Hundred Years War:

Les Anglois souloient dire que nous savions mieulx danser et caroler que mener guerre. Or est le temps retourné; ilz se reposeront et caroleront, et nous garderons noz marches et noz frontieres, tellement que n’y prenderons point de dommaige. (Chroniques, XIV, 133).

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17 The 13th-century manuscript is edited by (...) Hofman under the title ‘Das zweitälteste unedirte altfranzösische Glossar’, Sitzungberichte der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, I (Munich, 1868), 129. Sahlin, p. 7, seems to believe that the two French terms are synonymous.
18 Apart from the above citations in my text, collocations of carole and danse will be found in our period, for example, in the following works: Le Poème moral: tralte de vie chrétienne écrit dans la region wallonme vers l’an 1200, ed. Alphonse Bayot (Brussels, 1929), ll. 3136, 3138; L’Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, comte de Striguel et de Pembroke, regent d’Angleterre de 1216 à 1219, ed. Paul Meyer (Paris, 1891-1901), I. 10436-37; L’Art d’amours: traduction et commentaire de l’Ars amatoria d’Ovide, ed. Bruno Roy (Leiden, 1974), I, 80; Méliador par Jean Froissart, ed. Auguste Longnon (Paris, 1895-99), II, 305 and Oeuvres complete de Eustache Deschamps (1887), V, 35. For the later use of the phrase danses et carolles, see p. 18.
19 Chronique de Jean Le Bel, ed. Jules Viard and Eugène Déprez (Paris, 1904), I, 80. The marriage took place on 8 October 1327. The event was recorded in Jean Le Bel’s chronicle composed between 1352 and 1356, although the unicum manuscript of the work (Châlons-sur-Marne, MS 81) dates from the first half of the 15th century. See also Chroniques de J. Froissart, ed. Siméon Luce et al. (Paris, 1869), I, 76.
The English were accustomed to saying that we knew better how to perform *danses* and *caroles* than to conduct a war. Now times have changed, and they will rest and perform *caroles*, and we shall defend our confines and boundaries so much so that we shall suffer no harm.

Even a construction such as *danser une carole* is possible, as we discover in *Renart le Contrefait*, where we find the phrase `an une querole dancier'.

Likewise in the translation of the *Lamentationes Matheoli* we find the expressions `dancer a tele karole' (l. 175) and `dancer a sa karole' (l. 1836).

All these juxtapositions add nothing to our understanding of the dance terms. There is no significance in their number, in the choice of names, or in their order. The purpose of the enumeration in threes is undoubtedly the literary effect that such an accumulation provides. It should be noted, however, that *bal* almost never appears in such reduplications. It does, however, occur in triple denominations. It is found with *carole* and *tresche*. On the other hand, *carole*, *danse*, *tresche* are sometimes collocated. If the names placed together yield nothing semantically, then obviously they need to be examined as single items within a context, albeit at times in relation to the other items.

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22 *Aucassin et Nicolette*, Laisse 33 (quoted at the beginning of this chapter); *Roman de la Rose*, ll. 741-43; Christine de Pizan, `Le Dit de la pastoure' in *Oeuvres poétiques*, II, 160-61.
23 Guillaume de Nangis, *Gesta*, XX, 469; *Floriant et Florete*, l. 6058; Gilles le Muisit, *Poesies*, II, 32, for example.
If *bal* is less frequently found in collocation with the other terms, it is because it is less common.\(^{24}\) It seems to have appeared as early as 1135-40 in Gaimar's *L'Estoire de Engleis*: ‘Wlstanet un naim aveit / Ki [baler] e trescher saveit’ (Wulstanet had a dwarf who knew how to perform *bals* and *tresches*).\(^{25}\) It is certainly found a century later, for example in the *Art d'amours*: ‘quant elle balera, si di que tu es tout emerveillé de la beauté de ses bras’ (I, 187, when she performs *bals* and you say that you are struck with the beauty of her arms). The implication here is of the girl dancing on her own. This sense is more evident in one of the *pastourelles* in the Douce lyrics: ‘e Marot par cortoisie je ferai une estampie si jolie: / balle un petit, je t'an proi’ (and Marion as a favour, I'll play a nice *estampie*, so please perform a *bal*).\(^{26}\) The same sense of an individual female performer is present in Deschamps: ‘fille joliete / qui scet baler du talon’ (*Oeuvres complètes*, IV, 233, a lively girl who knows how to perform a *bal* with her heel). The idea of appropriate footwork signalled here is also explicit, together with other special movements, in *Renart le Contrefait*, where nevertheless the suggestion is of dancers of both sexes either in a group or in couples:

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\(^{24}\) For the relative frequency of the terms *carole*, *bal*, *danse*, and *tresche* in the 14\(^{th}\) century, see Robert Mullally, ‘Dance Terminology in the Works of Machaut and Froissart’, *Medium Aevum*, 59 (1990), 248-59.

\(^{25}\) Gaimar (Geffrei), *L'Estoire des Engleis*, ed. Alexander Bell, Anglo-Norman Texts, 14-15 (Oxford, 1960), ll. 3985-86. *Baler*, in the edition, is supplied from two 13\(^{th}\) manuscripts. As for the graph w, E. J. Dobson explains that it was introduced into England in the 13\(^{th}\) century replacing the native English graph *wynn*. There was at first some uncertainty about its use. As it is a ‘double u’ it was at first thought unnecessary to write another *u* after it (see *Medieval English Songs*, ed. E. J. Dobson and F. Ll. Harrison, London, 1979, p. 145). The name, therefore, in the early 13\(^{th}\) century manuscript of Gaimar's Anglo-Norman text on which Bell's edition is based, although written 'Wlstanet', is, in fact, 'Wulstanet'.

\(^{26}\) *Romances et pastourelles françaises des XII\(^{e}\) et XIII\(^{e}\) siècles* (*altfranzösische romanzen und Pastourellen*, ed. Karl Bartsch (Leipzig, 1870), p. 153. The source of the *pastourelle*, from which the lines quoted come, is OBL, Douce 308 (s. xiv\(^{1}\) ).
Sur la pointe du piet aller,

Les dois remevoir et baller,

Faire le tour et le touret,

Et mettre la main au huvet,

Et puis prendre par les aissielles

Ces dames et ces damoiselles,

Mettre la main a la chainture:

En telle oeuvre mettent leur cure. (II, 176)

To go on tiptoe, to move their fingers and perform a *bal*, make turns large and small, to put their hands to their headgear and then take ladies young and old by their armpits, put their hand in their belts, that is their whole business.

The singular gestures involved in a *bal* are further underlined in Guillaume de Machaut:

Le dos li tournast et l'espaule

Et s'en alast penre a la baule,

Pour li moustre comme il baloit

Et comment contremont il saloit.\(^{27}\)

He turned his back and his shoulder away from her, went and took part in the *bal* to show her how well he danced, and how high he could jump.

\(^{27}\) Guillaume de Machaut, ‘Le Dit dou Lyon’, ll 1567-70.
The above citations, dating mostly from the fourteenth century, represent comprehensively the isolated uses of bal. In an earlier text (Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion), both eponymous characters use the verb baler to refer to the tresche that ends the play. The usual sense of baler, however, seems to indicate a more theatrical kind of dance with movements and steps quite distinct from those of the carole as described in the last chapter.

The term danse is commonly found, and increasingly so, as we move into the fourteenth century. Indisputably it means a choreographic entertainment in the Tournoi de Chauvency where the ‘Dance Robardoise’ is clearly of a theatrical nature. Elsewhere, however, in the Tournoi (ll. 4181-92), gieu and tour are used of such performances, one of which, the ‘Tour du Chapelet’, is described in some detail (ll. 4190-300). Furthermore a similar diversion, which Robin and Marion perform earlier in the play, is called ‘un poi de feste’ (Robin et Marion, ll. 183-210). Deschamps employs dancier and dancerie, for the performance of the daughter of Herodias, when she requests the head of John the Baptist (Oeuvres complètes, IX, 93). Some kind of social dance is, however, implied by danse in Guillaume d’Angleterre: ‘chevaliers, dames et pucelles / toute nuit dancent et anvoisent’ (knights, ladies and young girls dance all night and enjoy themselves). This sense is explicit in a passage in the Tournoi where the ladies dance a carole ‘tres noble’ (l. 3097), but are interrupted by a herald arriving on a

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30 Jacques Bretel, Le Tournoi de Chauvency, ed. Maurice Delbouille, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, No 49 (Liège, 1932), ll. 2557-602
31 The biblical account is given in Matthew, 14: 3-12.
32 Guillaume d'Angleterre, ed. A. J. Holden (Geneva, 1988), ll. 1304-05. This work is doubtfully attributed to Chrétien de Troyes.
horse, who dismounts and shouts 'Laciez! Laciez!' The poet comments 'tantost fu li dansiers laissiez' (ll. 3123-24, Stop! Stop! The dancing was stopped at once). Here dansiers is synonymous with carole. The same is probably true of the dance in Machaut's Remède de Fortune (ll. 3401-516) where, although only the word danse is used throughout the passage, reference is made to a 'demi tour', which suggests the circular form of the carole. Indeed Froissart collocates both terms in recording in his chronicles the festivities given in 1368 in honour of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, by Amadeus VI, Count of Savoy:

Et passa li dessus dis dus parmi le royaume de France et vint en Savoie, où li gentilz contes de Savoie le rechut très honnerablement en Chamberi, et fu là deux jours en très grans reviaus de danses, de caroles, de tous esbatemens.\(^{33}\)

And the aforementioned duke passed through the kingdom of France, and came to Savoy where the noble Count of Savoy received him very honourably at Chambéry, and he spent two days there with great rejoicing and danses and caroles and entertainments of every kind.

There is nothing here to assist us in differentiating the terms danses and caroles. It might be inferred, then, that danses et caroles found in so many sources, as previously mentioned, are unequivocally used as synonyms or at least without much differentiation. Such a conclusion, however, does not necessarily follow.

In recalling the same event at Chambéry in La Prison amoureuse, Froissart, as

\(^{33}\) Chroniques, ed. Luce (1869), VII, 64.
previously noted (Chapter V), clearly distinguishes between the two terms. The *danse*, to which reference is made in the poem, is the hove dance and is accompanied by instrumental music. It is contrasted with the *carole* accompanied solely by the singing of the dancers themselves. It is the term *danse* that is most commonly found at the end of our period in the poetry of Deschamps and Christine de Pizan, with citations occasionally suggesting that instrumental accompaniment is the norm in such instances. Deschamps writes a ballade of which the refrain is ‘la ne voit on sens, raison ne mesure: / c’est de dancier au son des chalemiaux’ (there is neither reason nor good sense in dancing to the sound of shawms, *Oeuvres complètes*, V, 127-28). Christine mentions dancing to wind music in *Le Livre du duc des Vrais Amans*:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Après espices nous beumes;} \\
\text{Puis menestrelz s’avancierent} \\
\text{Et a corner commencierent} \\
\text{Par gracieuse accordance.} \\
\text{Adonc commençay la dance,} \\
\text{Nouvelle, joyeuse et gaye,} \\
\text{Et la tout homme s’égaye} \\
\text{La belle feste esgardant.}^{34}
\end{align*}
\]

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34 'Le Livre du duc des Vrais Amans', ll. 768-75, in *Oeuvres poétiques*, III.
After the spices, we drank; then minstrels came forth and, with pleasing accord, began to play wind music. Then I began the new, joyful and happy dance, and every man took delight in watching the fine entertainment.

The relationship between danse and instruments, specifically 'loud instruments'\textsuperscript{35} is explicit in Les Echecs amoureux:

\begin{quote}
Et quant il vouloient danser
Et faire grans esbattemens,
On sonnoit lez haulz instrumens,
Qui mieulx aux dansez plaisoient
Pour la grant noise qu'ilz faisoient.
La peuist on oir briefment
Sonner moult de renuoisement
Trompez, tabours, tymbrez, naquaires,
Cymballes (dont il n'est mes guaires),
Cornemusez et chalemelles
Et cornes de fachon moult belles.\textsuperscript{36}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{35} 'Loud instruments' and 'soft instruments' ('hauts instruments' and 'bas instruments' in French), in the context of Medieval and Renaissance music, refer, not to the volume of sound, but to the classification of musical instruments: 'loud instruments' were the wind and the percussion; 'soft instruments' were the strings, but flutes could belong to either category.

\textsuperscript{36} Quoted in Abert, 'Die Musikästhetik', p. 355. It seems unlikely that any of the instruments named, other than the shawms (chalemelles), accompanied dances in the late 14\textsuperscript{th} century, for which see Robert Mullally, 'Houses Danse', Neophilologus, 76 (1992), 32. Once again the extensive enumeration seems to aim at an impressive literary effect rather than at musicological accuracy.
And when they wanted to dance, and make a great entertainment, the loud instruments were played, which are most suitable for dances because of the big sound that they make. There one could soon hear much rejoicing: trumpets, drums, tambourines [?], nakers, cymbals (which hardly exist today), bagpipes, shawms, and well-made horns.

In the fourteenth century the word *danse* was beginning to replace other terms, which perhaps explains Machaut's use of the word in the *Remède de Fortune*, for what is, in all probability, a *carole*. *Danse*, then, can be a synonym for *carole*, but in the second half of the fourteenth century, especially in the poetry of Froissart, the word also has the more specific meaning of a couple dance, accompanied by instruments. The idea that the communal *carole* contrasts with the couple dance, a theory held by some as stated in the last chapter, holds good, therefore, only for the later part of the period under consideration. Otherwise, the fact that it can, on occasion, cover theatrical as well as social dancing, and that *danser une carole* can be synonymous with *caroller*, indicates that *danse* should probably be viewed more as a general choreographic term.

As for *carole* and *tresche*, these two terms are closely related. The word *tresche* is found as early as the passage in Gaimar quoted above. But the date of this citation cannot be ascribed to later than the beginning of the thirteenth century—the date of the earliest manuscript. Another Anglo-Norman writer, Walter de Bibbesworth in *Le Trâtiz*, a guide to French vocabulary composed for an English lady, opines 'quant povre femme mene la tresche, / plus la vaudreit en
mein la besche' (when a poor woman leads the tresche, it would be better if she had a spade in her hand). 37 A contemporary English gloss of 'tresche' in the manuscript is 'ring'. 38 The Nominale of c. 1340 provides an identical translation of the word: ‘F[emme] treche mene pur deduyt / W[oman] the ryng leduth for ioye [a woman leads the ring for joy]. 39 The glossing of tresche by 'ring' might suggest that tresche, here too, might be a synonym of carole. 40 This interpretation seems to gain support from Jean Le Fevre's translation of Matheolus, where we find that the carole (l. 2919) of the bigames is subsequently called a 'dance' (l. 2930) and a 'treche' (l. 2933). Indeed, as Sahlin observes, carole and tresche are clearly employed synonymously in Meraugis de Portlesguez, when the poet writes of his hero:

Einsi li covient oblier

S'amie; lors vet caroler

L'escu au col et chante avant.

Li autre qui chantoit devant

Guerpi la tresche, si monta

Sor son cheval, lors s'en ala

38 The MS that Rothwell uses for his edition is Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg 1.1, (s. xiv1), which includes the interlinear Middle English glosses.
40 in any case the two words are collocated elsewhere. Apart from citations in my text, see also Pierre d'Abernon, La Vie de Seint Richard, evesque de Cycestre, ed. D. W. Russell, Anglo-Norman Text Society, No 51 (London, 1995), ll. 186-87; La Mort Aymeri de Narbonne: chanson de geste, ed. J. Couraye du Parc (Paris, 1884), ll. 2750-51; Jakemes, Le Roman du Castelain de Couci et de la Dame de Fayel, ed. from notes by John E. Matzke by Maurice Delbouille (Paris, 1936), ll. 3877- 879; Gilles Le Muisit, Poésies, II, 6. See also p. 239 below.
So he must forget his love. Then, with his shield slung around his neck, he goes to take part in the carole, where he leads the singing. The other man, who had been singing previously, leaves the tresche, mounts his horse, and departs through the gate.

To this we can add an instance of the same usage in the Mireour du monde:

Et ceus et celes qui en tex chans et tex caroles se mettent du tout, il font proprement le servise au Déable. Et grant vaine gloire ont ceux qui miex sévent servir en tresques et en chançons.42

And those men and women who in any way perform such songs and caroles really serve the Devil. And they are truly vainglorious who best know how to perform this service with tresches and songs.

All the foregoing citations seem to add weight to the idea that tresche is a synonym of carole. Other texts, however, suggest that it would be wrong to draw this conclusion. The Poème moral condemns caroles in the following manner:

Esgardeis, qui ce font, cui tes folie agreie,
Quant il ont tote jour la charole meneie
Ne partir ne s’en puelent descì qu’a la vespree.
Ont il bien Deu servit et sa feste gardee?43

Look at those who do this, and to whom such folly gives pleasure, when they spend every day leading caroles, and cannot quit them until evening. Have they served God well, and kept his holy day?

Now although the phrase la charole meneie is used here, the verb mener is otherwise normally employed with tresche rather than with carole, as it is in the lines from the Trétiz quoted above. This collocation occurs more than once in Robin et Marion, emphasizing the close link between verb and noun. Firstly Marion asks ‘Robin sès-tu mener le treske?’ (l. 211, Robin do you know how to lead the tresche?). He makes excuses at this point for not performing the dance. Near the end of the play, however, Perrete suggests

Par amours, faisons
Le tresque, et Robins le menra
S’il veut, et Huars musera,
Et chil doi autre corneront. (ll. 736-39)

43 Le Poème moral: traité de vie chrétienne écrit dans la région wallonne vers l’an 1200, ed. Alphonse Bayot (Brussels, 1929), ll. 3137-40.
Please let's dance the tresche, and Robin will lead it if he wants, and Huars will play the bagpipe, and these other two other will play their horns.

When Robin finally agrees to perform the dance, he says 'Or voeil-jou le treske mener' (l. 754, Now I want to lead the tresche), which he then leads 'le sentele lès le bos' (l. 763, along the path by the wood). The verb mener similarly occurs in the anonymous Suite to Matthieu le Poirier's Le Court d'amours:

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Toute nuit le feste dura

tant que l'aube du jour creva

qui plus ne pooit demourer.

Mais a le feste desevrer

on fist une treske moult gente

que le princhesse de Tarente

menoit avec i. chevalier.44
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The feast lasted all night until dawn, which could not delay any longer. As the feast was breaking up, they performed a very noble tresche, which the Princess of Taranto led with a knight.

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44 *Le Court d'Amours de Mahieu le Poirier et la Suite anonyme de la Court d'Amours*, ed. Terence Scully (Waterloo, Ontario, 1976), ll. 3646-52.
The expression is also found in Deschamps (‘des malheureux doit bien mener la tresche’, Oeuvres completes, VII, 126, ‘the unfortunate ought indeed to lead the tresche’) and in Christine de Pizan:

Et en place bien parée et ounie,

Grant et large nette, non pas honnie,

Menoient tresche

Joyeusement par dessus l’erbe fresche.45

In a place well prepared and level, broad and wide and pretty and not unworthy, they led a tresche joyfully on the fresh grass.

The verb mener, used in such contexts, suggests a line rather than a circle since no one can be said to lead in a circle notwithstanding the translations of ‘tresche’ in the Trétiz and in the Nominale as ‘ring’.

This impression of a line of dancers is supported by the prepositional phrases used in conjunction with tresche. Although Gilles le Muisit uses the phrase ‘karoler par les rues’ (Poésies, II, 193, to dance a carole through the streets), this and other prepositions are more commonly found with tresche. Robin, as we have just seen, leads the tresche ‘le sentele lès le bos’. Watriquet de Couvin has a character say ‘s’irons treschier parmi la rue’ (and we shall dance a tresche through the street).46 This kind of construction occurs even when

45 ‘Le Debat de deux amans’, ll. 110-13, in Oeuvres poétiques, II.
tresche is collocated with carole, but not when it is joined with bal or danse. Thus in Jean Renart’s L’Escoufle we find ‘après mangiers, fu grans la tresce / par la maison, et les karoles’ (after eating there were great tresches and caroles performed through the house). In the Livre d’Artus ‘ces dames & ces puceles comencent les queroles & les tresches parmi les rues de ioie & font la plus grant feste que il onques poeent’ (these ladies and young girls begin the caroles and tresches through the streets for joy, and celebrate as much as they can). Finally we find in Christine de Pizan, ‘lors veissiez tresches mener / par la sale, et chacun pener de dancer en gaye guise’ (then you might see tresches led through the hall, and everyone devoting themselves to dancing happily).

We saw in the last chapter that persons or objects arranged in a circle are described as being in the form of a carole, and that this formation is characteristic of this dance. On the other hand, the tresche is led along by a wood, through a house, through streets or through a hall, and therefore must be linear in form. The tresche, unlike the carole, is never described as being circular. The implication, therefore, is that the name refers essentially to a linear dance as Paris surmised.

At the same time we are confronted with the fact that tresche can appear to be a synonym of carole, and that carole itself can, on occasion, be described as a linear dance, examples of which were cited in Chapter IV. The little information that we have about the tresche comes from Robin et Marion where the holding of

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49 ‘Le Livre du duc des Vrais Amans’, II. 1189-91, in Oeuvres poétiques (1896), III.
hands is clearly implied, since Marion says 'or, alons; / et si tien le main au costé' (ll.748-49, now let's go, and hold your hand to your side).\textsuperscript{51} A close resemblance between of the two dances would explain why both names can be used synonymously in such contexts as Meraugis or the Mireour du monde, why a linear dance can be called a carole, why, conversely, tresche can be translated into English as 'ring', and possibly why tresche and carole can both translate choreas, as in the account of the coronation of Philip III cited at the beginning of this chapter. What the evidence taken as a whole seems to suggest is that, while the carole was strictly speaking a circular dance, and the tresche a linear one, in all other respects they were identical; that is to say the dancers held hands, made pas simples to the left, and that both dances moved to the left. The two dances, therefore, although essentially distinct, resemble each other so closely that their names can be used synonymously.

Thus the names of dances, like the names of musical instruments found in French literature of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, have distinct meanings. Danse is a general term for choreographic performance, except when it signifies the late fourteenth century hove dance. Bal designates an activity of a more theatrical nature. Carole and tresche refer to social dances, but the former is essentially circular, the latter linear. Yet clearly some latitude is observable in the use of these two terms.

Unquestionably when two or three of them are applied to one individual performance, as in some enumerations, they cannot mean different things. In fact it seems likely that in the enumeration of the names of dances, as no doubt in

\textsuperscript{51} In this instance a glove also seems to have been involved since Robin says 'Marote, prestemoi gant— / s'irai de plus grant volenté' (ll. 758-59).
the enumeration of musical instruments, nothing more is intended than a very
generalized reference to dancing or to music-making. It is the poetic effect
created by the accumulation of such terms that is important to the poet. The
synonymous use of carole and tresche in Meraugis or of carole, bal and tresche
in the Roman de la Rose may be ascribed to elegant variation. It is possible that
in verse the difference in the number of syllables and the requirements of rhyme
might have determined the poet’s choice of either carole or tresche. In the prose
Mireour du monde, however, the use of the two terms may be due to the author’s
wish to condemn two similar dances.
Chapter VII: The Lyrics

Whatever differences of opinion there have been about the nature and general form of the *carole*, commentators do not dispute the fact that the dance was always accompanied by singing. As songs constituted an integral part of the performance, it seems appropriate that an examination of them should be included in any comprehensive study of the dance. Clearly the songs can be viewed under two aspects: their lyrics and their music. Leaving aside the music for consideration in the next chapter, let us examine the lyrics.

The lyrics of the *carole* have often been considered in the general context of the early French lyric.¹ These studies, however, do not directly relate the forms that they discuss to particular dances such as the *carole*. The first notable study of the medieval French lyric was by Jeanroy. He claimed that the shorter pieces were extracts and were of aristocratic rather than of popular origin.²

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² Jeanroy, pp. 102-22.
Gaston Paris, in a lengthy review of Jeanroy’s study, agreed that the lyrics were fragments. Jeanroy, however, had been rather selective in his choice of quotations most of which are drawn from pastourelles. His examples are indeed extracts, and may well have been aristocratic in origin. Bédier, however, disagreed with Jeanroy, arguing that the insertions in the Tournoi de Chauvency, for example, were not fragments because they occurred as insertions in other works and were, in any case, complete in themselves. Doss-Quinby has drawn the same conclusion. Indeed, as far as the dance lyrics are concerned, there is no evidence to suggest that they are extracts. As to whether the shorter lyrics were of aristocratic origin but popular in style—popularisant rather than popular—it is impossible to say. Certainly they are popular in character. The question that needs to be examined here, however, is whether or not songs sung for caroles manifest any specific characteristics. In investigating this aspect of the dance lyric I restrict, as usual, myself to a consideration of pieces cited as dance lyrics (and more especially as lyrics for caroles) in the sources.

Lyrics for the carole take two forms: the first consists of a number of lines (not more than four) that assonate or rhyme; the second consists of a larger number of lines in the more formal arrangement of a stanza or stanzas with more complex rhyming schemes. The earliest text to include lyric insertions is Jean

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4 Bédier, p. 406. Nevertheless Michel Zink, ‘Suspension and Fall: The Fragmentation and Linkage of Lyric Insertions in Le Roman de la Rose (Guillaume de Dole) and Le Roman de la Violette’, in Jean Renart, pp. 110-111 and 119, and Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, ‘Jacquemart Gielée et la lyrique de son temps’, in Alain de Lille, p. 334, continue to uphold the opinion that the brief insertions are extracts, although there is no evidence to support this view.
6 Hans Spanke, ‘Volks tümliches in der altfranzösischen Lyrik’, Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 53 (1933), 258-86, maintains that even though such songs are sung by aristocratic persons in the texts, they were, at least in origin, popular compositions.
complex rhyming schemes. The earliest text to include lyric insertions is Jean Renart's *Roman de Guillaume de Dole*. Various dates have been proposed for its composition—possibly as early as 1199 or as late as 1228. The single manuscript of the poem (without music), however, dates from the end of the thirteenth century. It contains nearly four dozen lyrics of many different kinds, including seven songs for two *caroles*, four for the first *carole* and three for the second. The shortest of the dance lyrics is the third of the second group, which is set out in the manuscript as follows:

Renaus & samie cheuauche par
vn pre.totenuit cheuauche ius
qau ior cler.ja naurai mes ioie de
vos amer

The pointing indicates that the form of this insertion is in three assonating lines, which, when edited, reads as follows:

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8 Lecoy (ed.), p. iii.

9 A facsimile of the page of the manuscript containing the four lyrics for the second *carole* will be found in Hendrik van der Werf, p. 161, fig. 4. The lyrics in the layout in which they appear in the manuscript are conveniently reproduced together in an appendix to Psaki's edition of *Guillaume de Dole*, pp. 269-80.
Renaus and his lady friend ride through a meadow. All night they ride until the break of day. I shall never have the joy of loving you.

The foregoing lineation follows Lecoy's, and indeed the arrangement of the lines offers no difficulty. A lyric comprising a few rhymed lines is found elsewhere in the romance. For example, after a picnic the ladies and a knight sing a lyric consisting of a rhymed couplet; then a girl sings another (Il. 291-92, 304-05). Gennrich's reconstruction of 'Renaus' in six lines seems, therefore, to be a task of supererogation.

In fact lyrics of no more than three lines make up the seven pieces for a carole in what is chronologically the next romance to contain lyric insertions,
Gerbert de Montreuil's *Roman de la Violette*. Similarly lyrics comprising two, three, or four rhymed or unrhymed lines are specifically designated as accompanying the performance of *caroles* in *L'Art d'Amours, Li Prison d'Amours, Sone de Nausay, Le Tournoi de Chauvency, Renart le Nouvel*, as well as performances of *tresches* in *Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, and *Le Court d'Amours: Suite*. The citation of these last two examples tends to support the view (expressed in the previous chapter) that the *carole* and the *tresche* were similar dances.

Jeanroy and others have called such short lyrics 'refrains'. Yet the word, either in French or in English, is more properly applied to the repetition of the same words and, where it exists, of the same music, within the same piece. I am therefore calling such brief lyrics 'carol dance lyrics'. The word mostly commonly used in the sources for such pieces is simply *chanson*, or occasionally *chansonette*. Where no dancing actually takes place in the immediate context, such pieces can nevertheless be specifically mentioned as being associated with the *carole*. Thus in *Li Prisons d'Amours*, we have a lyric followed by a defining comment:

'Sa biele boucete, par un très douc ris

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A mon cuer en sa prizon mis.'

Ceste prizons dont ci parole

Iceste cançon de carolle,

C'est la prizons d'amors sans doute.16

'Her beautiful little mouth with her very sweet laugh has put my heart in prison'.

The prison of which this carole song speaks is without doubt the prison of love.

Likewise in Renart le Nouvel, in a context where again there is no dancing, the lyric is explicitly related to the dance:

Lors une canchon a carole

Le roïne dist et canta:

'J'ai pensee a tel i a,

Se Dieu plaist, mieux m'en venra.' (ll. 4410-13)

Then the queen sang a carole song: 'I've thought there's such a one. If God wills, I'll profit by it'.

Such short pieces, then, were clearly related to the carole although, of course, as the foregoing passages passages testify, they could also be performed without dancing.

If the word used in the sources to designate these lyrics is overwhelmingly chanson, we must not overlook the fact that other terms are occasionally employed. One of these is rondet. If Baudouin de Condé, in the passage cited above, calls his lyric a 'cançon de carolle' he had, in the line immediately

16 Baudouin de Condé, 'Li Prisons d'Amours', ll. 126-30, in Dits et contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Condé, ed. Auguste Scheler (Brussels, 1866), I.
preceding those quoted above, called the same piece a ‘rondet’ (l. 125) so that the two terms are synonymous. Again in *Renart le Nouvel*, we find a similar usage: a lyric comprising a single couplet is described as ‘che rondet joli’: ‘Hé, Dieus, chele m’a traï / qui m’a tolu mon ami’ (ll. 2554-57, this merry *rondet*: ‘Oh Heavens, she has betrayed me by taking away my friend’). Here it is used to accompany the description of the dancing of a *carole*. But even where there is no dancing, the term *rondet* still occurs, as it does later in this satirical poem:

Contre li [Dame Brune] vint ses maris,
Pour ce cant liés, non esmaris
Dont le descent et si l’acole,
En haut ce rondet a carole
Dist, oiant tous, par grant dosnoi:
‘Vous ne l’i sariës mener,
La brunete les l’aunoi,
La brunete les l’aunoi.’ (ll. 6881ff)

Towards her came her husband because of this joyous song. He helps her dismount, and embraces her, and sings loudly this *rondet à carole*, while all listen with great enthusiasm: ‘You shall not lead her there, the brunette along the grove of alders, the brunette along the grove of alders’.

The word *rondet*, then, can indicate a song for a *carole*. Baudouin de Condé appears to have been the first to use the term *rondet*, which was later to take the

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17 Another couplet later in the poem (ll. 169-70) is also called a ‘rondés’.
forms *rondel* and *rondiaus* in a manuscript of Adam de la Halle’s works. In other words it is an early form of the word *rondeau*. These ‘rondets’, however, do not exhibit the structure of a rondeau. It is possible that the appellation as used here may derive from the fact that they accompany a round dance. This, at any rate, is an explanation of the Latin term *rotundellus* (the Latin for *rondeau*) given much later by Antonio da Tempo: ‘Possunt etiam appellari *rotundelli* quia plerumque cantatur in rotunditate correhae sive balli, et maxime per ultramontanos’ (they may also be called *rotundelli* because they are frequently sung in round dances or dances and especially by the French). This explanation of the term *rondeau* is not the only one, however, as we shall see.

Another unusual term is *motet*, which is found in the *Art d’Amours*:

> Et pour ce dient elles en leurs chançons et en leurs karoles ce motet:
> `Chappel de hous ne d’ortie
> Ne point tant comme jalousie.’ (I, 108)

And for this reason they sing in their songs and in their *caroles* this *motet*: ‘A chaplet of holly or nettle does not sting as much as jealousy’.

The word *motet* here evidently means ‘motto’; pithy phrases are common in the short lyrics such as I have been discussing. *Motet* is collocated with *conduit* and *chançonnete* in the later part of the *Roman de la Rose* when Genius speaks of the blessed in heaven:

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18 The citation from Baudouin de Condé is the earliest according to Tobler-Lommatzsch, ‘Réondet’, which also cites Herbert, *Dolopathos*, ‘Quereoles font et reondès’; but this citation is probably a synonym of *carole*. PBN, f. fr. 25566 includes in the list of contents of Adam’s works ‘ses rondiaus’, and on fol. 32”, the heading ‘li rondel adan’ precedes these songs.

chantant en pardurableté
motez, conduiz et chançonnetes,
par l’erbe vert, seur les floretes,
souz l’olivete querolant.\textsuperscript{20}

Singing throughout eternity motets, conducti and little songs, on the green grass, on the flowerlets, carolling under the olive tree.

\textit{Chançonnette}, as we have seen, is occasionally used of songs for \textit{caroles}. The \textit{conductus} was a purely musical form, and was never associated with secular dancing.\textsuperscript{21} What we seem to have here is simply three synonyms for \textit{song}. Jean de Meun may be alternating terms in a kind of elegant variation, or he may wish to impart a sublime vision of a heavenly dance.

The second type of lyric associated with the \textit{carole} is one that consists, not of an arbitrary number of lines, but one in which the lines are ordered in the predetermined form of a stanza. To return to the second of the two \textit{caroles} in \textit{Guillaume de Dole}, the second lyric of the group is set out in the manuscript as follows:

\begin{quote}
Mauberion sest main leuee.dioree.

buer i vig.a la fontaine est alee or

en ai dol.Diex diex or demeure.mau
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{21} Janet Knapp, ‘Conductus’, \textit{New Grove} 2, defines the term as ‘a medieval song with a serious, usually sacred, text in Latin verse’.
berions a leue trop\textsuperscript{22}

The text as it stands is without either meaning or form. The lyric is clearly intended to have at least one rhyme in ‘ee’. Gennrich’s emendation of the piece, therefore, seems plausible:

Mauberjon s’est main levée,
buer i vig... diorée,
A la fontaine est alée:
or en ai dol.

Dieus, Dieus or est demeurée

a l’eve trop.\textsuperscript{23}

Mauberjon got up in the morning to wash a decorated [vig...]. She went to the spring. Now I am sorry for it. Good Heavens, she stayed too long at the water!

The piece can thus be seen as a development of ‘Renaus’, the last lyric for the second carole discussed above. In ‘Renaus’ there are three assonating lines. In the version of ‘Mauberjon’, as edited, the lyric begins with three rhyming lines, which are extended by the addition of three more lines. This extension does not simply add three further lines with a new rhyme or assonance, which would, in effect, constitute a second stanza, but retains the original rhyme in a line enclosed by two lines having another rhyme. Thus the whole presents an

\textsuperscript{22} Van der Werf, p. 161, fig. 4; Psaki, p. 275.
\textsuperscript{23} Gennrich, No 12. Lecoy’s edition (ll. 2379-85) follows the layout indicated by the manuscript.
integrated stanza, with readily recognizable rhyming or assonating scheme
(aaabab).

The remaining lyric for this carole, the first of the three, is written in the
manuscript without any punctuation but with *litterae notabiliores*:

La ius desouz loliue
Ne vos repentez mie
Fontaine i sourt serie puceles carolez
Nevos repentez mie deloiaument amer.\(^\text{24}\)

At first sight this presentation in four lines might seem acceptable; yet such a
form cannot be correct as it involves internal rhymes in the last two lines, which
seems improbable in this context. Again Gennrich provides a solution:

La jus desouz l’olive,

-ne vos repentez mie!-

fontaine i sourt serie.

Puceles, carolez!

*Nv os repentez mie*

de loiaument amer.\(^\text{25}\)

Down there under the olive tree, *do not repent*. There the clear spring rises.

Girls, dance the *carole!* *Do not repent* of loving faithfully.

\(^{24}\) Van der Werf, 161, fig. 4; Psaki, p. 275.

\(^{25}\) Gennrich, No 11; Lecoy (ll. 2369-74) has the same layout.
This rhyming scheme will be seen as a logical development of the one proposed by Gennrich for 'Mauberjon'. The form is developed by making the second and fifth lines identical, thereby introducing the concept of a refrain in the sense in which I have defined it above. Thus the pattern of this lyric is aAabAb.

Turning to the first carole in *Guillaume de Dole*, four lyrics are allotted to it, as I have already mentioned. The manuscript layout of the first is in four lines, but again its form is only revealed when set out in six:

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C'est tot la gius, enmi les prez,
Vos ne sentez mie les maus d'amer!
Dames i vont por caroler.
Remirez vos braz!

Vos ne sentez mie les maus d'amer
ausi com ge faz.26
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It's all a game there in the meadows. *You do not feel the pains of love*. Ladies go there to dance the *carole*. Look at your arms! *You do not feel the pains of love* as I do!

The rhyming scheme here shows that Gennrich's conjecture for 'La jus dessous l'olive' is more likely to be correct, and furthermore it can be seen as part of an emerging form for such lyrics.

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26 The reading of the lines here is mainly that of Lecoy's edition, II, 514-19. The original disposition of the lines is set out in Psaki, pp. 269-70. Gennrich (No 5), however, alters the reading of the first line to 'C'est desoz l'olivé en mi les prés' on the grounds that the line requires nine syllables (*Rondeaux*, 47, p.3); but such irregularities are not uncommon. In the last line, I have accepted Gennrich's reading *ausi* for *si* in the manuscript of *Guillaume de Dole*, as the line requires five syllables. In this case, however, where the last two lines appear as an insertion in other texts, there is manuscript authority for *ausi* (*Rondeaux*, 47, p. 4); for references to these other sources, see also Nico H. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe*, Bibliothèque Française et Romane, Série D. No 3 (Paris, 1969), Refrain No 1865.
The second lyric is also written in the manuscript as four lines:

C'est la jus desoz lolive
robin enmaine samie
la fontaine i sort serie desoz lolivete
Enondeu robin enmaine bele mariete

Again as arranged here in four lines we have the problem of an unlikely internal rhyme. Even if the four lines are rearranged as six, the prosody of this text is unsatisfactory, since the new fifth line ending in 'enmaine' would not rhyme or assonate with those of ll. 1-3 ('l'olive', 's'amie', 'serie') of the rearranged stanza. This difficulty is obviated if one accepts Gennrich's emendation making l. 5 identical to l. 2, on the model of the two previous examples:

C'est la jus desoz l'olive,
Robins enmaine s'amie;
la fontaine i sort serie
desoz l'olivete.
Robins enmaine s'amie,
bele Mariete.

It's the game under the olive tree. Robin leads his lady love. There the clear spring rises under the olive tree. Robin leads his lady love, the fair Marion.

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27 Psaki, p. 270.
28 Gennrich, No 6. The corresponding lines in Lecoy are ll. 522-27. Lines 1-3 of the manuscript version indicate the formal pattern that the piece is intended to have. Gennrich's emendation of l. 4 posits that the repetition of the refrain has been corrupted, and that the scribe or his source have recast what was originally two lines (ll. 5-6 in Gennrich's version) at the same time supplying the nonce phrase 'enondeu' (i.e. en non Dieu) to make a version that is at least metrically satisfactory having two lines (manuscript ll. 3-4) of thirteen syllables each.
Leaving aside the third lyric for the moment, the fourth is actually set out in six lines:

main se leva la bien fete aeliz
par ci passe li bruns li biaus robins
biause para et plus biause vesti
marchiez la foille et ge qieudrai la flor
parci passe robins li amorous
Encor enest li herbage plusdouz

As far as the disposition in six lines is concerned, this follows the six-line pattern by now established. The rhyming scheme (aaabbb), however, makes no sense, as lines 4-6 are completely detached by their different rhyme from ll. 1-3, and yet, as the syntax reveals, these lines do not seem to form a separate stanza. The verse form is clearly intended, as in Gennrich’s anthology, to follow the more recognizable form aAabAb:

Main se leva la bien fete Aëliz,

--Par ci passe li bruns, li biaus Robins--
biau se para et plus biau se vesti.
Marchiéz la foille, et ge qieudrai la flor;

par ci passe li bruns, li biaus Robin;
encor en est li herbage plus douz.

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29 Psaki, p. 270. It is possible that a scribe did not understand the form, and therefore recomposed the fifth line.
The lovely Aelis got up in the morning—*this way passes the dark, the handsome Robin*—beautifully she adorned herself, and more beautifully she dressed herself.

Step on the leaf, and I'll gather the flower. *This way passes the dark, the handsome Robin.* The grass is sweeter still because of it.

To return to the third lyric for the first *carole*, this is set out in three lines in the manuscript:

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main selevoit aaliz.iai non enmelot
biau se para et vesti soz la rocheuguion
cui lairai ge mes amors amie sa vosnon
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Aelis got up one morning. My name is Emmelot. Beautifully she adorned and dressed herself under Roche Guyon. To whom shall I give my love if not to you?

As with many lyrics for which *Guillaume de Dole* is the sole source, the text of this lyric is undoubtedly corrupt. Semantically it may make some sort of sense, although the reference to Emmelot seems out of place. The prosody, however, is highly questionable. As Gaston Paris and Delbouille point out, *-ot* cannot assonate with *-on.* Gennrich, as one might expect, reconstructs the lyric as a six-line stanza (No 7), but his solution is unsatisfactory, as it produces a rhyming scheme (aBacBc) that, in effect, divides what obviously should be a single stanza into two stanzas, and has all the appearance of being a form of his own invention.

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30 Gennrich, No 8. Gennrich, however, has *herbages* in the last line. The corresponding lines in Lecoy are ll. 542-47. Line 5 is clearly intended to be a repetition of l. 2, and should rhyme in A. Gennrich has therefore emended the line accordingly.

31 Psaki, p. 270. The corresponding lines in Lecoy's edition are ll. 532-3.

There seems to be, then, no way of reconstructing the piece. As for the reference to Emmelot, Lejeune plausibly suggests that this may be the result of contamination with another source in which Emmelot is also named.\(^{33}\)

In dealing with the lyrics in *Guillaume de Dole*, I have accepted many of Gennrich's emendations. His editorial approach, however, has not met with universal critical approval. Spanke considers that it is possible for lyric forms to diverge.\(^{34}\) Le Gentil, while admitting that the manuscript does not always present the lyrics in an intelligible way, questions Gennrich's emendations, and argues in respect of the divergent forms in which the lyrics are found in the manuscript that 'elles montrent simplement que les trouvères entendaient jouer de la forme avec le maximum de souplesse' (they simply show that the trouvères were intending to play with the form with the greatest possible flexibility).\(^{35}\) Van den Boogaard opposes the uniformity of Gennrich's rhyming schemes, and opines

\[
\text{notre but est au contraire de faire voir la richesse des formes, de montrer que beaucoup de poètes du XIIIᵉ siècle ont essayé de rompre le cadre trop rigide du rondeau où les règles n'étaient pas encore aussi strictes qu'au XIVᵉ siècle et que le rondeau était une forme expérimentale vivante.} \(^{36}\)
\]

My aim, on the contrary, is to reveal the richness of the forms, to show that many thirteenth-century poets tried to break the all too rigid structure of the rondeau at

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\(^{33}\) Lejeune, in her edition (p. 137); see also Gennrich, No 19.

\(^{34}\) Spanke, "Zum Thema "Mittelalterliche Tanzlieder"", pp. 18-19.

\(^{35}\) Le Gentil, 'A propos de Guillaume de Dole', pp. 91-392.

\(^{36}\) van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains*, p. 12.
a time when the rules were not yet as strict as in the fourteenth century, and the rondeau was still a living and experimental form.

Thus the tendency has been to stress the diversity of poetic composition.

Such a viewpoint, however, seems to overlook the nature of the pieces under review. The dance lyrics are not the inspired work of poets or trouvères, but rather lyrics of a popular nature in which stereotyped phrases are strung together to achieve some kind of meaning. There is no evidence of a striving for originality, but rather of numerous scribal errors. Some lyrics as set out in the manuscript imply no formal pattern, and some even fail to make sense. Those who have paid careful attention to the texts have been obliged to concede the inadequacies of the source. This fact is tacitly accepted by editors who, while rejecting most of Gennrich’s emendations, nevertheless choose to accept some of them in a purely arbitrary way. It must also be remembered that the lyrics under consideration are intended as dance songs, and in dance music conventionality and adherence to a set form are to be expected; indeed predictability is a requirement.

It will have been noticed that van den Boogaard calls the six-line pieces with a refrain as found in Guillaume de Dole ‘rondeaux’—a designation for such pieces commonly used by commentators on French verse. This appellation is not used in the sources where, in fact, the word, chanson or chansonette is generally employed. Indeed the term rondeau in the form rondiaus and rondel seems to have been first applied to a form of verse in the late thirteenth-century

37 The imperfect state of the texts of many of the lyrics for the caroles in Guillaume de Dole contrasts with the rather better transmission of the quotations from trouvères such as Gace Brulé in the same romance, for references to which see Lecoy’s edition, pp. xxiii-xxiv.
manuscript of the works of Adam de la Halle already mentioned. An early, if not
the earliest, appearance of the form itself appears to be in the Roman de Laurin,
composed, according to Thorpe, the editor of this text, in the 1250s or 1260s. The
narrative involves the performance of two caroles, for which two lyrics are
provided for the first carole, and one for the second. Each piece is simply called
a ‘chançon’ in the narrative. According to the editor, the manuscripts agree on
the text of the lyric for the second carole:

Se j’ai amours servie loiaument,
Il est bien droiz que j’aie mon ami:
Pour ce fait bon exploitier sagement.
Se j’ai amour servie loiaument,
Elle est si large qu’elle a cent doubles rent
Celui qui sert de loial cuer ami.
Se j’ai amours servie loiaument,
Il est bien drois que j’aie mon ami. (pp. 134-35)

If I have served love faithfully, it is right that I should have my friend. To this
end it is good to act prudently. If I have served love faithfully, it has been so
generous that it repays him twice who serves his love with a true heart. If I have
served love faithfully, it is right that I should have my friend.

Here the six-line insertions of Guillaume de Dole are developed further. The
fifth and the sixth line of the earlier form become the refrain, and are added to
the beginning of the piece, making a total of eight lines rhyming ABaAaabAB.

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38 Le Roman de Laurin, fils de Marques le Sénéchal, ed. Lewis Thorpe, University of Nottingham
This is the form adopted by Adam de la Halle in eight of the sixteen of his ‘rondel’ or ‘rondiaus’ (I shall discuss the other eight presently).\(^{39}\) It is also the form of the ‘rotundellus’ described by the early fourteenth-century music theorist, Johannes de Grocheo, who cites the eight-line rondeau, ‘Toute seule passerai le vert boscage’.\(^{40}\) The *rotundellus*, he explains, is given this name by many because it bends back on itself like a circle, and begins and ends in the same way; thus he provides an alternative explanation for the origin of the word to that given by Antonio da Tempo cited above. Adam de la Halle’s and Johannes de Grocheo’s understanding of the nature of the rondeau clearly differs from that implied by earlier writers’ use of the word *rondet*, when they applied the term to two-line lyrics. If the two forms are related, then we must conclude that there was a change in the meaning of the term. In any case, in discussing lyrics consisting of a stanza with an internal partial repetition of the refrain, it would seem better to distinguish between those consisting of six lines with an internal refrain only, and those consisting of eight lines with a complete statement of the refrain both at the beginning and at the end of the piece. In other words it would be better to adhere to medieval usage by considering the term *rondeau* as essentially applying to the eight-line form. The six-line pieces such as those found in *Guillaume de Dole* should then be called ‘proto-rondeaux’.

\(^{39}\) *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle*, ed. Nigel Wilkins, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, No 44 (n. p., 1967), Nos 2, 3, 6, 10, 11, 13, 14 and 15. Subsequent references in my text are to this edition.

The two rondeaux for the first carole in the Roman de Laurin present the kind of editorial dilemma that confronted us with the pieces from Guillaume de Dole. The first of the two ought to read:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\textit{Se j'ai grant joie enz enz mon cuer} \\
&\textit{Ne demandez dont elle vient!} \\
&\text{Gallyenne, tres douce suer,} \\
&\textit{Se j'ai grant joie ens enz mon cuer} \\
&\text{Ne veul que nuls en sache fuer!} \\
&\text{Que j'aing du cuer, vous savés bien.} \\
&\textit{Se j'ai grant joie enz enz mon cuer} \\
&[\textit{Ne demandez dont elle vient!} ] \quad \text{(p. 94)}
\end{align*}
\]

If I have great joy in my heart, do not ask whence it comes! Galyenne, my sweet sister, \textit{if I have joy in my heart}, I do not want anyone at all to know about it! That I love with all my heart, you know it well. \textit{If I have joy in my heart, [do not ask whence it comes!].}

But this is not, it seems, how the lyric appears in the manuscript sources, nor, indeed, how it appears in the edition. The editor has emended the patently incorrect manuscript reading \textit{suer} to \textit{fuer} in l. 5. He has not, however, inverted the phrases in l. 6, as required by the rhyming scheme, or noted the omission of the eighth line, which the form demands. The curtailment of the repetition of the
refrain is a scribal convention, but some indication of this should appear in editing the piece, which will otherwise appear to be defective.\footnote{One might add, however, that from the beginning of the 15th century, after the initial full statement, the refrain was frequently reduced, on subsequent repetitions, to its first line or even to its opening words ('rentrement'), as is clear from the syntax and the sense. On this later form of the rondeau, see Daniel Calvet, 'La Structure du rondeau: mise au point', \textit{The French Review}, 55 (1982), 461-70.}

Bearing such strictures in mind, an emended version of the second rondeau would read:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Amis, on me destraint pour vous}

\textit{Mais ne m'en chaut quant vous m'avez:}

Celui avez mis au dessous.

\textit{Amis, on me destraint por vous!}

Si est bien drois que moi et vous

Aienz joie a nos volentez.

\textit{Amis, on me destraint por vous,}

[\textit{Mais ne m'en chaut quant vous m'avez.} (p. 95)]
\end{quote}

\textit{My love, they torment me because of you, but I am not worried since I am yours.}

You have vanquished that fellow. \textit{My love, they torment me because of you! It is right that you and I should have all the happiness we want. My love they torment me because of you, [but I am not worried since I am yours].}

Here the editor has restored \textit{m'en} in l. 2, for the \textit{vous} found in four manuscripts, but he retains a redundant line after l. 4, and again omits the eighth line.

The composers of rondeaux clearly understood that it had a basic rhyming scheme—a form that was to become the standard one. In particular the same eight-line form with the same rhyming scheme was subsequently specified as...
accompanying the dancing of *caroles* in, for example, *Le Castelain de Couci*, *Li Restor du Paon*, and *Méliador*.\(^{42}\) The omissions and departures from the form, such as I have noted above, cannot be attributed to a poet striving for an individual voice, but are unquestionably attributable to scribal convention or to scribal error. The rondeau for a second *carole* in *Le Castelain de Couci*, however, is exceptional as it manifests a clear deviation from the standard form and has, or rather was intended to have, eleven lines:

*Toute nostre gent*
*Sont li plus joli*
*Dou tournoiement.*
*S’aimment loiaument.*
*Toute nostre gent.*

*.................*

*Et pour cou le di*
*Qu’il ont maintien gent.*
*Toute nostre gent*
*Sont li plus joli*
*Dou tournoiement.* (ll. 989-99)

*All our people are the happiest at the tournament.* They love one another faithfully, *all our people*. [...] And for that I say that they have a noble bearing. *All our people are the happiest at the tournament.*

The number of lines in the refrain has been increased to three, resulting in a rondeau consisting of eleven lines, although one line is missing in both manuscript sources. The word missing should have a rhyme in a, since the lines between the partial internal repetition of the refrain and the final full repetition always anticipate the rhyming scheme of the full final repetition of the refrain. The rhyming scheme of the foregoing piece is therefore: ABAA4[a]baABA. It must be emphasized, however, that in this variation a predetermined form is clearly discernable, and, moreover, this is the sole example of an extended form of a rondeau for a carole.

The rondeaux considered so far are designated in the sources as accompanying practical performances—*Gebrauchsmusik*. The form, however, had an independent development as art music and as poetry. As mentioned above, Adam de la Halle composed sixteen pieces, which are entitled as ‘rondel’ or ‘rondiaus’ in their chief source. Half of these are in the standard form (Nos 2, 3, 6, 10, 11, 13, 14 and 15). No 8, although in eight lines, is in monorhyme. Nos 7 and 12 have eleven lines (the latter having the rhyming scheme that I conjecture is that of ‘Toute nostre gent’). No 5 has thirteen lines, Nos 1 and 9 have fourteen lines, No 16 has eighteen lines, and No 4 twenty-four. Adam achieves this development by increasing the number both of the refrain lines and of the non-refrain lines. Furthermore, in Nos 16 and 4 he radically alters the structure. No 16 has the rhyming scheme AAbcbccAAAbcbbccaAA, and No 4 the rhyming scheme ABAbcccaABAddaABAeeeaABA. All repetitions of the refrain are now complete repetitions, and the non-repeated lines form complete ‘stanzas’, which are linked to the refrain only by their last line. It must be added that, unlike music for dancing of the period, which, as we shall see in the next
chapter, was monophonic, all Adam’s rondeaux are for three voices. In short, here indeed we see the poet and composer at work. The changes that are wrought in the form are demonstrably intentional, not pointless deviations that destroy rather than create any semblance of an artistic form.\textsuperscript{43}

Adam’s two longest rondeaux relate the form to the virelai in a broad sense, since they are divided into ‘stanzas’ with the refrain stated at the beginning of the piece and after each of these ‘stanzas’, with the rhyme of the last line of each connecting it to the refrain. The virelai proper, with each stanza divided into \textit{ouvert}, \textit{clos} and \textit{tierce}, is to be found among the ‘ballettes’ in the \textit{Oxford Chansonnier}, whose contents are contemporary with Adam’s work.\textsuperscript{44}

The virelai is an extension of the rondeau. Like the rondeau, it begins and ends with the refrain. In the rondeau, as already stated, the rhyming scheme of the lines between the internal partial statement of the refrain and the full final statement of the refrain anticipate the rhyming scheme of that full statement which immediately follows. Thus, for example, in the standard form, A\textipa{BaA}b\textipa{A}B, ab is followed by the final statement of the refrain, AB. This is reflected in the virelai, where the rhyming scheme of the \textit{tierce} anticipates that of the repeat of the refrain, which immediately follows it, and which ends each of its two or three stanzas. The ‘rondeaux’ of Jehannot de l’Escurel include three

\textsuperscript{43} Another development was that of the Latin proto-rondeau and rondeau. These were multi-stanza, and were clerical and literary. For examples of the proto-rondeau, see \textit{Noire Dame and Related Conductus, Opera Omnia}, Collected Works, Vol. X, [Part] 8: Conductus—the Latin Rondeau Repertoire, ed. Gordon A. Anderson (Henryville, UT, 1979); for an example of a rondeau of three stanzas, see ‘Nobilitas ornata moribus’, a ‘cantilena de chorea’, in Adam de la Bassée, \textit{Lucus super Anticleadiamum}, ed. Abbé Paul Bayart (Tourcoing, 1930), p. 147. There is no evidence that these pieces with Latin texts were used for dancing as asserted by Hans Spanke, ‘Tanzmusik in der Kirche des Mittelalters’, \textit{Neuphilologische Mitteilungen}, 31 (1930), 154.

pieces that are actually virelais of this type. The term virelai, although it existed in the thirteenth century, was not, however, applied to the form until the fourteenth century, when Guillaume de Machaut appears to have been the first to use it in this sense.

These compositions of Adam de la Halle and Jehannot de l'Escuré represent an art music development of the rondeau. But dance music itself was to become more sophisticated in the fourteenth century, or so the sources would seem to suggest. Pieces consisting of short groups of lines are no longer found. The rondeau, however, is still associated with the carole, as stated above, where it is performed by the upper echelons of society. It may have been the case, however, that people in the upper strata of society normally preferred the virelai. Johannes de Grocheo does not mention the rotundellus (rondeau) as a dance song, but rather the vocal ductia, which, from his description, seems to be the virelai. Another music theorist, Robertus de Handlo, writing in 1326, also seems to differentiate between rondeaux, ballades and dance songs when he makes a passing reference to 'rundelli, balade, coree'. Machaut, in his Remede de Fortune, employs a virelai (which he would rather call a 'chançon balladée') to accompany a 'danse', which seems to be a carole. Froissart inserts a virelai for a carole in his Prison amoureuse.

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45 The Works of Jehan de Lescure!, ed. Nigel Wilkins, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicæ, No 30 (n.p., 1966), Nos 20, 21, and 29. Nos 10 and 32, which Wilkins regards as virelais, do not have the same form, and therefore cannot be regarded as true virelais. The author is also known as Jehannot de l'Escuré.

46 Die Quellenhandschriften, pp. 132-34.


If the rondeau and the virelai were lyrics associated with the *carole*, one might assume that the other *forme fixe*, the ballade, was also related to the dance. This, however, does not seem to have been the case. Only one source links the two—*Le Romans de la Dame a la Lycorne et du biau Chevalier au Lyon*:

> Apres disner sont en la voie
> De dansser et de karoler.
> Lors doucement prist a chanter
> La Dame a la Lycome et dist
> Unne canchon et li souvint.50

After dining they are off to dance and carol. Then the Lady of the Unicorn began to perform sweetly a song that she remembered.

These lines are followed by the rubric ‘Conment la Dame a la Lycorne chante et mainne la dansce et y est son ami’ (after l. 5271, How the Lady of the Unicorn sings and leads the dance, and takes part in it with her friend). A lyric in the form of a ballade follows. The exceptional inclusion of this form as a dance lyric may possibly be due to the fact that most of the twenty-six lyric insertions in this romance are ballades, and are sometimes named as such in the text.

By giving closer attention to what are called dance lyrics in the sources we can gain a more precise idea of their form. We discover that even such a simple grouping of a few lines into a motto-like statement, which developed into a

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50 *Le Romans de la Dame a la Lycorne et du biau Chevalier au Lyon; ein Abenteuerroman aus dem ersten Drittel des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Friedrich Gennrich, Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, No 18 (Dresden, 1908), ll. 5267-71. In one manuscript of Geoffrey Chaucer’s *Legend of Good Women*, the ladies sing a ballade ‘carole-wyse’, but ‘carole’ in this context refers to the manner of singing rather than to the song that the ladies sang. For the text, see Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Legend of Good Women*, ed. Janet Cowen and George Kane, Medieval Texts and Studies, No 16 (East Lansing, MI, 1995), ll. 199-202. Further to this lyric, see pp. 248-49 below.
second, more formal, and perhaps more aristocratic, arrangements of the rondeau and the virelai, can both be linked with the *carole* while not being inseparable from it. Indeed the rondeau and the virelai can achieve an independent development as art music and as poetry. Other forms, such as the ballade, appear to have had no connexion with dancing, at least not during the period in question. Lyrics for the dance, however (no doubt because they were less valued), have been subject to more scribal vagaries in their transmission than their artistic counterparts. That is not to say that the development of the lyric for the *carole* has been arbitrary or haphazard. Rather, by striving to see beyond such scribal lapses, we can find a logical and coherent evolution. Yet with the changes of form and fashion, a sense of predictability is the essence of dance music and dance lyrics, which conflicts with the notions of creative individuality that some would ascribe to such forms.
Chapter VIII: The Music

The second aspect of the songs that accompanied the carole is, of course, the music. Ideas about what might have constituted medieval dance music have not been lacking among musicians and musicologists, and there have been a few monographs on the subject. In particular Wolf, in an early contribution on the general subject, examined a few polyphonic pieces as well as the monophonic 'Kalenda Maya' and a number of tunes without words including the monophonic estampies of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 844. Jammers reviewed this material, and tried to draw choreographic inferences from it. Similarly the entry in the latest edition of Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart uses the same sources. In an article by McGee, references are more general. None of the repertoire discussed in these studies, however, is demonstrably dance music, and they say nothing specific about the music of the carole.

The fact that there is no medieval piece of music called a carole has led some to conclude that no music for this dance exists. Gerold, for example, writing about 'les caroles et les tresques' laments that 'malheureusement, pour cette époque comme pour la précédente, les documents musicaux manquent' (unfortunately for this period, as for the previous one, documented music is

3 See Sybille Dahms' brief treatment of the music in MGG 2, 'Tanz. C. Gesellschaftstanz: 1, Mittelalter (4)'.
lacking). Indeed it has been asserted that neither lyrics nor music for the carole is extant. Stevens, in his entry in an earlier edition of the standard English dictionary of music, opines that ‘no single carole, so designated, survives as a complete text, literary or musical’. In a later study on medieval music, he concludes that ‘the carole must surely have been not a single form but a potential form, a dance-idea, waiting to be realized in various forms’ (his italics). It is true that no lyric or piece of music with this name is extant. But the term carole in French refers exclusively to the choreography. Furthermore lyrics exist but, as we saw in the last chapter, other terms were used to designate them. Music for the songs has also survived, often in the same sources as the lyrics. Consequently, just as in the last chapter my purpose was to examine the lyrics associated in the sources with the carole, my aim here is similar, namely to study the music specifically linked in the sources to this dance.

As no polyphonic music of the period is named in the sources as dance music, then clearly the music must be monophonic. While it is now generally agreed that the monophonic songs of the trouvère repertoire, for example, were regularly non-mensural, opinion is divided as to whether this implies an isosyllabic or an equal-note interpretation. It is obvious, however, that dance music must be mensural. The context of the music of the thirteenth century (the earliest date from which relevant music survives) implies that it must be in one of the rhythmic modes. Fowler states that ‘it is my contention that all the dance

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5 Théodore Gérold, La Musique au Moyen Âge (Paris, 1932), p. 301.
6 John Stevens, New Grove 1, ‘Carole’. The article in New Grove 2 is by the present writer.
7 John Stevens, Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama 1050-1350 (Cambridge, 1986), p. 175.
songs of the thirteenth century are also intended to be performed in fixed (modal) rhythm, thus the higher incidence of modal rhythm among trouvère chansons with dance-song refrains'. This does not mean, however, that all tunes associated with dancing are mensurally notated.

As I stated in the last chapter, the sole manuscript of Jean Renart’s *Roman de Guillaume de Dole* does not contain any music for its lyrics, and therefore no music for its *caroles*. The same is true of the manuscripts of its successor, Gerbert de Montreuil’s *Roman de la Violette*. This notwithstanding, music for the phrase ‘ne vos repentez mie / de loiaument amer’ (do not repent of having loved faithfully), which occurs in the lyric ‘La jus desouz l’olive’ (*Guillaume de Dole*, ll. 2373-74), is quoted in a song in the ‘Chansonnier de Noailles’ among other sources. As this lyric is similar in form to a rondeau, the music for these two lines contains all that is required for this song; thus Gennrich and Fowler have been able to make reconstructions of the whole piece. The ‘Chansonnier de Noailles’ also contains songs that quote all the required music for the lyrics ‘Ja ne mi marcerai’ (*Violette*, ll. 119-20) and ‘Se j’aicn par amors’ (*Violette*, ll. 126-28). Unfortunately the notation of all these sources is non-mensural, so that any transcription depends on the transcriber’s own rhythmic interpretation.

Other dance tunes exist in mensural notation, which means, as I stated above, that they are notated in one of the rhythmic modes. These modes are

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9 Fowler, p. 54.
12 PBN, fonds fr. 12615 (1270s-80s), fol. 122v. For this source and others, see Fowler, p. 359.
14 Fols 191 and 122v respectively. Transcriptions of these two pieces and of ‘Aprendés a valoir maris’ (*Violette*, ll. 141-42), together with additional source references will be found in Fowler (p. 374).
usually counted as being six, and, as we shall see, dance music is in Mode 1. In this mode a long is twice the length of the breve that follows it. This long-short measure is the equivalent of trocaic metre in verse. Music in Mode 1 is provided for the ‘cantilena de chorea’, ‘Nobilitas ornata moribus’ in the Ludus super Anticludianum (No 154). This rhythm is, in fact, found in music specified for dances as, for example, in the most important source for such pieces--the La Vallière manuscript. In this source we find the music for ‘A ma dame servir’, which is considered appropriate ‘es dances’ by the anonymous writer of the Art d’Amours. We also find in La Vallière other music specifically mentioned as being for caroles, for example: ‘Ja ne lairai’ (Violette, ll. 152-53); ‘An si bone compaignie’ (Tournoi de Chauvency) and for the ‘canchon a carole’ ‘J’ai pensee a tel i a’ (Renart le Nouvel). More importantly, it provides the four tunes for a carole that is actually performed in Renart le Nouvel (ll. 2544-56ff). We can be more confident, therefore, that the tunes presented here are to be understood as dance music.

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15 Adam de la Bassée, Ludus super Anticludianum, ed. Abbé Paul Bayart (Tourcoing, 1930), with a facsimile of the music on p. 250 and an edition of it on p. 323. Editions are also to be found elsewhere, for example, in Gennrich, No 345 and in Fowler, p. 523.
16 PBN, fonds fr. 25566 (1291-97). This manuscript has also been given the siglum W.
17 L’Art d’Amours: traduction et commentaire de l’Ars amatoria d’Ovide, ed. Bruno Roy (Leiden, 1974), I, 88. The source for this and the other tunes cited in this paragraph is PBN, fonds fr. 25566, fols 166v, 167r, 146v, 128v-129r respectively. Transcriptions (apart from mine cited below in the notes) of all the tunes mentioned in this paragraph from La Vallière and the other less good manuscripts containing the tunes will be found in Fowler (pp. 481, 375, 442, 468, 465-67 respectively). Transcriptions of individual tunes will be found in Friedrich Gennrich, Rondeaux Virelais und Balladen, Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 47 (1927), 156-57 and Stevens, Words and Music, p. 195. Fowler points out (p. 331) that ‘Manuscript W... is the most reliable source for the melodies of Renart le Nouvel’. The other two manuscripts with music of Renart le Nouvel are PBN, fonds fr. 372 (MS Cangé, s. xiv52) and PBN, fonds fr. 1593 (MS Fauchet, s. xii54 or s. xiv55). For the dating of these manuscripts, see Jacquemart Gielée, Renart le Nouvel, ed. Henri Roussel (Paris, 1961), pp. 7-12. For a study of the relationship between all the tunes in the three manuscripts, see Anne Ibos-Augé, ‘Les Insertions lyriques dans le roman de Renart le Nouvel: éléments de recherche musicale’, Romania, 118 (2000), 375-93.
18 Jacques Brelet, Le Tournoi de Chauvency, ed. Maurice Delbouille, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, No 49 (Liège, 1932), l. 3118; Renart le Nouvel, l. 4412ff.
19 The music on fols 128v and 129r is reproduced in Plates I and II, and is transcribed in Appendix A, Ex. 1, a-d.
The melody of ‘Je tien par la main m’amie’, of which it is said ‘chantent li sage jouvencel es karoles’ (wise young men sing in caroles, Art d’Amours, II, 161), is found incorporated into a polyphonic motet in the Montpellier Codex. The same source also furnishes us with one of the two tunes named for tresches, ‘Fui te, gaite’ (Court d’Amour: Suite anonyme, 33). ‘Fui te, gaite’ is in Mode 1. The other tresche tune is ‘Venés après moi’ (Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion). The main source for the play is once again the La Vallière manuscript. ‘Venés après moi’, however, even as copied in the good La Vallière manuscript, presents us with a problem. It divides the tune into two sections. The second section is in Mode 1, but the mode of the first is unclear. It is unlikely that this was Adam’s intention; more probably it is a scribal lapse in an otherwise carefully written manuscript. Music for the second section of ‘Venés après moi’ is concordant with ‘Vous ne li saréis’ as Fowler notes. But now we can add that the music for the former is for a tresche, and that for the latter is for a carole. Thus the music for the tresche appears to be identical to that of the carole, which lends

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20 See Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, MS H 196, fols. 256r and 313v, for this and the next song. Both appear in facsimile in Polyphonies du XIIe siècle: le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier, ed. Yvonne Rokseth (Paris, 1935), I, with editions in III, (Paris, 1936), 150 and 140-41, respectively. This source is also edited in The Montpellier Codex, ed. Hans Tischler, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, (Madison, WI, 1978), III, 40 and 115 respectively.


22 ‘Venés apres moi’ is on fol. 48r.

23 Nevertheless this would not be the only example of a medieval French dance tune associated with a composer where the rhythm seems to be inconsistent with the normal trochaic rhythm of such music. For other examples, see ‘Onques mais n’amai’, one of the songs for dancing in Le Tournai (I. 2462), the music for which appears in Jean de L’Escur, The Works of Jehan de Lescurel, ed. Nigel Wilkins, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, No 30 (n.p. 1960) facsimile and p. 30 and ‘Dame a vous sans retollir’, the song for the ‘danse’, in Guillaume de Machaut’s Remede de Fortune, II. 3451-96, in Le Jugement du Roy de Behaigne and Remede de Fortune, ed. James I. Wimsatt and William W. Kibler, mus. ed. Rebecca Baltzer (Athens, GA, 1988). It is possible that in all these instances interest was directed towards the music itself rather than to the requirements of the choreography.

24 Fowler, p. 335. For her transcriptions, see pp. 463 and 488.
that of the carole, which lends further support to the view, advanced in Chapter VI, that the two dances were almost identical.

Some of the pieces already mentioned are in what Roesner calls 'mode 1 with an upbeat'; that is to say, there is evidence of anacrusis. Examples of this include the already mentioned 'cantilena de chorea', 'Nobilitas ornata moribus', but also 'A ma dame servir', and one of the songs for the carole in Renart le Nouvel, 'Vous n'alés mie' (l. 2544ff, transcribed in Appendix A, ex. 1a) also mentioned above.

The lyrics of all the pieces considered so far, whether for carole or tresche (with the exception of 'Nobilitas ornata moribus'), consist of a few lines of text—the kind of short insertions discussed in the last chapter. One of the sixteen manuscripts of Jean Brisebarre's Li Restor du Paon, however, contains the music, fully notated, for the rondeau that accompanies its carole. It appears to be the only rondeau specified for dancing, apart from the Latin contrafactum, 'Nobilitas ornate moribus', for which the music survives.

A dance form must be in a particular rhythm. The songs for the carole and the tresche are in Mode 1. A problem arises, however, when the modes are transcribed into modern notation, as any one mode may be transcribed in

26 For the text and music of this rondeau, see Appendix A, Ex. 2. The manuscripts of the poem are described both in Jean Brisebarre, Le Restor du Paon, ed. Richard J. Carey (Geneva, 1966), pp. 17-20 and in Jean Brisebarre, Jean Brisebarre: Li Restor du Paon, ed. Enid Donkin (London, 1980), pp. 10-24. Carey's base manuscript is PBN, f. fr. 12565, but he also reproduces in facsimile (p. 210) the music from OBL 264, fol. 181' (the only manuscript of the work to contain the music). He also provides a transcription, different from mine, in modern notation (p. 212). Donkin actually uses the Bodleian copy as her base manuscript, but does not reproduce or transcribe the music. The unnamed scribe of this manuscript (which includes The Romance of Alexander) finished his work on 18 December 1338, and the illuminator, Jean de Grise, finished his on 18 April 1344. For a facsimile of the whole manuscript and details of its execution, see The Romance of Alexander: A Collotype Facsimile of MS Bodley 264, with an introduction by M. R. James (Oxford, 1933).
different time signatures. Musicologists have generally transcribed the long-breve rhythm of Mode 1 as a basic minim-crochet, that is to say in 3/4 time. Gennrich, with some exceptions, uses this triple time in his transcriptions and reconstructions of dance songs. Stevens approves of this: ‘subsequent discussion will show, I think, that Gennrich’s triple-time transcription is more likely to be right than transcription based on the isosyllabic principle’. 27 Certainly an isosyllabic transcription can be ruled out because, obviously, it is non-rhythmic. Fowler adopts 3/4 time for almost all the dance pieces in mensural notation. Transcription in triple time, however, even if widely used, is not invariable. Indeed Van de Werf doubts whether any mensural transcription is appropriate: ‘furthermore since nothing is known about the meter of medieval dances, there is no reason to take it for granted that all dancing songs were performed in a ternary meter’. 28 He therefore transcribes the famous Occitan song, ‘A l’entrada del tens clar’, which he, in common with others, believes to be a dance song, although there is no evidence for this, in non-mensural notation. 29 This procedure may be correct for an art song, but a non-rhythmic interpretation is impossible for a dance song as I have already said. Hence Rimmer comments on the foregoing statement by Van der Werf, ‘while his conclusion is undoubtedly true, the premise on which it was based is not’. 30

Sometimes, in fact, the same dance song has been transcribed with different time signatures. ‘Nobilitas ornata moribus’ appears in 3/4 but also in

27 Stevens, Words and Music, p. 188.
29 The Chansons, pp. 98-99.
30 Joan Rimmer, ‘Dance Elements in Trouvère Repertory’, Dance Research, 3/2 (1985), p. 26. The ‘premise’ that we know nothing about the meter of medieval dances is indeed not correct, as she states, but I do not agree with her inference that the dance tunes were in triple time.
6/8.\textsuperscript{31} In transcribing the motet that incorporates the \textit{carole} song 'Je tiens', Rokseth chooses 3/8, but Tischler 6/8.\textsuperscript{32} Likewise with other \textit{carole} songs: Gennrich has a time signature of 3/8 for 'Vous n'alés mie'; Stevens and Fowler have it in 3/4.\textsuperscript{33} Gennrich employs 6/8 for the rondeau, 'Ensi va', which Carey transcribes in 12/8.\textsuperscript{34} It is a similar situation with the \textit{tresche} pieces. Rokseth puts the motet that quotes 'Fui te, gaite' in 3/4 time, but Tischler puts it in 6/4.\textsuperscript{35} The problematic tune for the \textit{tresche} in \textit{Robin et Marion} is found both in 3/4 and in 6/4 time.\textsuperscript{36}

While editors may reasonably differ in their transcriptions of such pieces in non-dance contexts, this obviously cannot be valid when if affects the interpretation of a specific dance rhythm, as in the case of the music for the \textit{carole}. As we saw in Chapter V, the choreography of the \textit{carole} consists entirely of \textit{pas simples} to the left--a step with the left foot to the left, followed by the joining of the right foot to it. This movement requires the music to be in duple time, which, taking into account the trochaic rhythm of Mode 1, means that tunes for the \textit{carole} and the \textit{tresche} should be transcribed in 6/8 time.

If one major question concerning the music of the \textit{carole} is its rhythmic interpretation, the other is the performance of the music--\textit{Aufführungspraxis} in German or performance practice in English. Here literary texts are also rather more helpful than exclusively musical manuscripts.

\textsuperscript{32} Rokseth, III, 50; Tischler, III, 40.
\textsuperscript{33} Gennrich, II, 156; Stevens, p. 195; Fowler, p. 465.
\textsuperscript{34} Gennrich, I, 287-88; \textit{Le Restor du Paon}, ed. Carey, p. 212.
\textsuperscript{35} Rokseth, III, 140-41; Tischler, III, 115
As we saw in the last chapter, the *carole* and the *tresche* were always accompanied by songs sung by the dancers themselves. Our first task therefore is to discover who sang these songs, how many songs were sung, and how they were distributed among the performers. A man is occasionally named as the sole singer. In the description of the performance of the *carole* in *Guillaume le Maréchal*, Guillaume himself is named as a singer, and he is followed by a herald. The singing in *Bauduin de Sebourc* is also provided by one singer. No lyrics, however, are quoted in these texts, and we do not know how many songs might have been sung. Three men sing one song each for the second *carole* in *Guillaume de Dole* (ll. 2360-94). Where a single singer is named, however, it is usually a woman (*Sone de Nansay; Le Roman du Castelain de Couci; Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, ll. 3094-3128; *Li Restor du Paon*, ll. 1159-77). The singers of the seven songs for the *carole* in the *Roman de la Violette* (ll. 92-154) are all women, although men are evidently taking part in the dance (l. 96). Where the dancers are all of one sex (as in the exceptional instance of the all-male *carole* in *Guillaume de Dole* mentioned above), the sex of the singers is perforce predetermined. Of course the sexes are often mixed as in the first *carole* in *Guillaume de Dole* (ll. 492-550), and in the unspecified dance in *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* (ll. 2438-2532). In mixed groups, singers do not seem to have sung in any particular order; for example the sexes do not necessarily sing alternately.

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38 *Li Romans de Bauduin de Sebourc, IIf roy de Jhérusalem: poème du XIV* siècle, [ed. Louis-Napoléon Bocal] (Valenciennes, 1841), ll. 1042-46.
The number of songs sung for a carole varied. In some descriptions, the writer simply states that singing took place. In other accounts, it would appear that a single song was sung. Such a brief performance may be due to the demands of the narrative. In a second carole in the Tournoi de Chauvency (ll. 3094-128), the dancing is cut short when a herald enters the hall, and orders the dancers to stop, which probably means that the number of songs intended to be sung is curtailed. It is likely that the interests of the narrative, rather than those of choreographic verisimilitude, account for the lone singer in the Roman de la Rose by Guillaume de Lorris, and in the lines cited above from Li Restor du Paon.\(^40\) On the other hand, many narratives suggest the involvement of a succession of singers, each singing one song, as in the case of some of the caroles previously mentioned. Individuals also sing the several songs for both the caroles in Guillaume de Dole and the seven songs (the largest number of songs quoted for singing in a dance) for the carole in the Roman de la Violette, for the unspecified dance in the Tournoi de Chauvency, and for the carole in Renart le Nouvel (ll. 2510-61). Even where all the songs are not quoted, a succession of songs is indicated. In the Roman de Laurin, Dyogenne sings a rondeau for the first carole, and then Galyenne sings one; while for the second carole, Dyogenne sings another rondeau, and all these are quoted in the text; but a number of unquoted songs follow: `la querolle si dura moult longuement et si y ot moult dites de chançons' (the carole lasted a very long time, and many songs were sung).\(^41\) Similarly after `Ma dame de Faiiel' has sung her rondeau for a carole in the Castelain de Couci, another lady sings, and the author adds `dire ne

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\(^40\) Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, Le Roman de la Rose, ed. Félix Lecoy (Paris, 1965-70), ll. 725-40.

\(^41\) Le Roman de Laurin, fils de Marques le Sénéchal, ed. Lewis Thorpe, University of Nottingham Research Publication, No 2 (Cambridge, 1960), pp. 94-95 and 134-35.
compter ne vous sai / les cancons que on y canta’ (I cannot tell you the number of songs that were sung there). The conclusion, to which this evidence seems to point, is that several songs were usually sung in the performance of a carole.

The fact that one singer at a time sang supports the evidence provided by the music that the songs were monophonic.

A theory, favoured by Jeanroy, and generally favoured since, is that in songs with a refrain, such as the rondeau, one singer sang the non-repeated lines, and that the other participants in the dance joined in the refrain as a chorus. The fact that the phrase chant avant, occurs in Raoul de Houdenc’s Méraugis de Portlesguez has been taken as evidence of this:

Entor le pin por caroler
Avoit puceles qui chantoient.
As caroles qu’eles fesoient
N’avoit qu’un tot sol chevalier.
Iluec por la joie esforcier

42 Le Roman du Castelain de Couci, ll. 3869-70.
43 Méliador par Jean Froissart, ed. Auguste Longnon (Paris, 1895-99), mentions two girls singing for a carole who ‘canterent de i.ii. doubles vois’ (sang with double voices, l. 22891). This does not necessarily imply that they sang in parts. It is much more likely that they sang in unison. The practice of singing monophonic songs in unison had been long established; see, for instance, Guillaume de Dole, ll. 844-52, where the Emperor Conrad and his musician Jouglés sing a monophonic song by Gace Brulé while they are riding. Similarly, two young noblemen sing songs of a more popular kind (which are therefore certain to be monophonic) elsewhere in the romance, (ll. 2519-27 and 4163-69).
Chantoit avant. (ll. 3674-79)

There were girls singing around the pine for a carole. In the caroles that they were performing, there was only a single knight. There, to add to the enjoyment, he led the singing.

Avant here simply means that first Outredotez sang, and then the girls sang after him. Later, Méraugis joins the dance: 'lors vet caroler / l’escu au col et chante avant' (then he joins the carole with his shield slung around his neck, and he leads the singing, ll. 3702-03). The implication is that Méraugis takes up the singing again. A somewhat more ambiguous reference occurs in Guillaume le Maréchal:

Aucuns a dit: 'Kar carolomes
Dementiers que ci atendomes,
Si nos en ennuie[n]ra mains.'
Lors s’entrepristrent par les mains
Alcun[s] demande: 'Qui sera
Si corteis qu’il nos chantera?'
Li Marischa[l]s qui bien chantout
E qui de riens ne se vantout
Lors commensa une chansun

45 Tobler-Lommatzsch, "Avant", adv- praep.; adv. temp. zuvor, zuerst."
O simple voiz & o doz son.

Molt lor plout a toz cels qu'i érent

E bonement o lui chantérent.

E quant il out sa chanson dite

Qui molt lor pleist e lor delite,

Lors commensa un[s] chantereals

Qui ert hirauz d'armes nov[e]als,

E chanta novele chanson:

Ne sai qui louot ne que non,

Mais el refreit out: 'Mareschal,

Kar me donez un boen cheval!' (ll. 3471-90)

Someone said 'Let us carol while we are waiting, and we shall be less bored.' Then they joined hands. Someone asked 'Who will be kind enough to sing for us?' The Marshal who sang well, and who never boasted, then began a song with a clear voice and a sweet sound. It pleased everyone who was there very much, and they sang willingly with him. And when he had performed his song, which pleased and delighted them very much, then a young singer who was a new herald at arms sang another song. I do not know whether it was praised or not, but the burden of it was, 'Marshal, give me a good horse'.

These lines might well be construed to mean that, when both men sang their respective songs, the others joined in with a choral refrain. The fact that others
sang with the Marshal could be interpreted to mean that they sang in unison with him or that the writer is considering the singing of individuals collectively. There is no evidence of songs with refrains at this early period, and ‘refreit’ in this context possibly refers to the theme of the song. Yet one could plausibly draw the conclusion that the dancers sang the chorus from the use of the word *respondant* in *Li Restor du Paon* when Elyot sings her rondeau:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{En ce point qu’Elyos aloit la pietiant} \\
\text{Et cascuns a son chant hautement respondant,} \\
\text{Griu et Macedonois s’aloient merveillant} \\
\text{A quoi ciex fais servoit qui ert en apparant. (l. 1174-77)}
\end{align*}
\]

At that moment when Elyot was dancing with a lively step, with everyone loudly ‘answering’, the Greeks and Macedonians wondered greatly what was the point of all this activity that they were witnessing.

Tobler-Lommatzsch defines *respondre* in contexts in which singing takes place as follows: ‘den Refrän zum Liede eines anderen singen’ (to sing the refrain to another’s song), and gives citations from seven texts dating mainly from the thirteenth century. None of the contexts cited involves dancing, but it is instructive to consider them nonetheless. In three cases (*Trouvères belges* No

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46 Tobler-Lommatzsch defines ‘*Refrain*’ as *Kehrreim*. It cites *Méraugis*, ll. 2974-2976 and the *Roman de la Rose* (l. 731) as early examples of this meaning. It is not clear, however, that the word in these two instances had the same sense of repeated lines of a lyric that it had later, as for example in *Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, ed. Auguste Henri Edouard, marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire and Gaston Raynaud (Paris, 1891), VII, 270, another citation given in this dictionary.

47 Tobler-Lommatzsch, ‘*Respondre*’. For the citations and references, see the relevant part of this entry.
12, *Jehan et Blonde, Tournoi de Chauvency*) there is no lyric insertion in the passage cited, and therefore no specific meaning for *respondre* can be inferred from them. The remaining four texts do indeed contain lyric insertions. The passage from *Renart le Nouvel*, however, quotes a ‘canchon’ of four lines but with no refrain to which ‘cheus qu chi sont’ (those who are here) ‘respondront’ (will answer). If those present were to ‘answer’ by singing they could only do so by singing some or all of the song, which they would have to have known beforehand. This comment is also relevant in the case of what may be a refrain, ‘ensi va’, from the one-line lyric in the *Roman de la Violette*: ‘Ensi va ki bien aimme, ensi va’ (thus he goes who loves well, thus he goes). The same observation applies to refrains of the three eight-line rondeaux in *Cleomadés*. If others present join in as a chorus in these and similar songs, what is implied is that they must always know in advance any song about to be sung, both the music and lyrics, which is most improbable especially as the songs are sometimes described as being new. Furthermore in the case of the standard eight-line rondeau, it would mean that the chorus sang five out of the eight lines leaving the soloist to sing a mere three lines. Yet numerous texts emphasize the fact that one individual sings the song. On the other hand, if this supposed chorus does not already know the song, then (again in the case of the rondeau) they would have to learn the refrain having heard it only once, and be ready to join in almost immediately with the partial repetition of this refrain, which is absurd. Yet instances appearing to support the idea of choral intervention might be drawn from the use of the Future Tense in two of the examples cited by Tobler-Lommatzsch: ‘il respondront (they will answer, *Renart le Nouvel*) and ‘li rois dist qu’il respondera, / et il et tout cil qui sont la’ (the king said that he will
answer, and he and all who are there, Cleomadés). But the sense of verb respondre here seems to suggest someone being ready to answer for the response of those present. In other words the speaker is reassuring the singer that he or she will obtain a favourable reception. Finally we have the citation from the Castelain de Couci. A lady sings to entertain the company. She sings a song with a lyric of eleven lines that includes a three-line refrain that begins and ends the piece. This is followed by the lines 'a ceste canchon hautement / Cantérent tout et respondirent' (to this song everyone sang aloud, and answered). Here it is explicitly stated that those present did join in the singing. The verb canter is used, but it is differentiated from respondre. The two verbs cannot be synonyms since respondre does not mean to sing. The conclusion to be drawn from these examples is not that respondre indicates choral participation, but rather, as many of the contexts state or imply, the favourable response that those present are encouraged to give or have given to the singing of an individual.

The examples cited by Tobler-Lommatzsch do not involve dancing. But apart from my earlier citation in Le Restor du Paon, we encounter further examples from the late thirteenth century of the verb respondre in the context of singing for a carole. In passage in Le Tournoi de Chauvency, one lady sings and 'trestuit ont respondu la dame' (everyone 'answered' the lady, l. 2465). Yet shortly afterwards in the same performance, after another lady sings, 'Jehans d'Oiseler' holds her by the hand:

Jehans d'Oiseler la menoit,

Qui cortoiselement la tenoit.
En chantant li a respondu,

Si haut que tuit l’ont entendu,

A clere vois, cette chanson:

‘Améz moi blondete, améz,

Et je n’ameraï se vos non! (ll. 2485-90)

Jean D’Oiseler led her and courteously held her by the hand. He ‘answered’ her by singing so loudly, in a clear voice that everyone could hear him, the following song: ‘Love me, my sweet blonde, love me, and I shall not love anyone but you’.

Here quite obviously one person ‘answers’ simply by singing another song; there is no choral participation. The idea of a song being well received seems to be the sense of liement respondue in Jean Froissart’s Méliador:

On ne fu mies longement

En sejour que la Luciienne

Ala ossi dire le sienne,

Qui fu liement respondue,

Car elle fu bien entendue. (ll. 22876-80)

One had not to wait long before Lucienne also began her [song], which was joyfully received, because she was heard with great attention.

The clearest exposition of the inter-relationship between one who sings for a carole and the other dancers is, perhaps, that given by Jean Froissart in his
Prison amoureuse, when he describes the performance of a carole at Chambéry in 1368 in honour of Lionel, Duke of Clarence. One virelai was hardly finished when another was begun (ll. 401-09). ‘Mainte canchon bonne et nouvelle / on y chanta et respondi’ (many a good, new song was sung, and ‘answered’, ll. 410-11), and ‘L’une apriés l’autre sans detri / chantoient sicom par estri’ (one sang after the other without a pause, and they sang to their hearts’ content, ll. 417-18). Here again chanta and respondi are differentiated. After the singing of Froissart’s virelai, ‘Je ne sui onques si lie’,

Tout chil et chelles qui oïrent

Che virelay s’en resjoïrent,

Et fu moult grandement prisiés. (ll. 461-63)

All those men and women who heard this virelai were delighted by it, and it was greatly appreciated.

The singers sing one after the other; they do not join in, even in the refrain of a virelai, but respond enthusiastically to it. All these examples make choral participation generally seem highly unlikely. Rather the implication is of a succession of solo singers, and respondre means ‘to respond’, and denotes the reaction of the others dancers, and it is this reaction that is constantly emphasized.

48 A similar interpretation should be put on ‘chascun lez respont liement’ (everyone responds joyfully) when there is singing for a carole in Jean Maillart, Le Roman du comte d’Anjou, ed. Mario Roques (Paris, 1931), l. 2880.
The observation made by several medieval French authors on the favourable reception of the singing of a song suggests, perhaps, that it was the singing of these songs that constituted the chief pleasure in a performance of a carole, which, after all, was the simplest of dances.

As with the lyrics, dance songs be found in contexts where there is no dancing. They can also be incorporated into both monophonic and polyphonic motets. Even as ordinary monophonic songs, they can be performed in different ways. 'Une dame de Normendie' sings 'Ja ne lairai' for the carole in the Roman de la Violette (ll. 152-54), but a female character also sings it when there is no dancing in Renart le Nouvel (l. 6846ff).49 Most notably 'An si bone compaignie', is sung by 'madame de Lucembour' for the carole in Le Tournoi de Chauvency (l. 3118), but it reappears as a song sung in its own right by 'li rois' in Renart le Nouvel (l. 6631ff), and as a monophonic choral number (the only choral number in the play) in Robin et Marion (ll. 421-22).50 The 'princesse de Tarente,' sings 'Fui te, gaité' for the 'treske' in the Court d'Amours: Suite (ll. 3646-56 and No 33).51 Several young gentlemen ('bacheliers') sing it, slightly varied and obviously in unison, in Le Tournoi de Chauvency (l. 2350). These examples show not only that a song sung in one context for a carole or a tresche can be sung in another without dancing, but also that it can be sung by a singer of a different sex or by a group of people in a unison chorus again without dancing.

The carole, then, like the tresche, was invariably accompanied by the singing of the dancers themselves. The question arises, however, whether

49 For these and another concordant version, see Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe siècle au début XIVe siècle, Bibliothèque française et romane, Série D. No 3 (Paris, 1969), Refrain No 1004.
50 See van den Boogaard, Refrain No 200, for these and another concordance.
51 See van den Boogaard, Refrain No 765, for a complete list of concordances.
instruments were also involved, even if only on some occasions, in the performance of these two dances. Some commentators incline to the view that instruments could occasionally be used. Gérold concludes that ‘un instrument marquant le rythme, tel que le tambour, accompagnait parfois le chant’ (an instrument marking the rhythm, such as a drum, sometimes accompanied the singing). Sahlin tentatively arrives at the same conclusion: ‘il arrivait aussi, mais rarement, qu’on s’accompagnait d’instruments aux caroles’ (it also happened, although rarely, that caroles were accompanied by instruments), and she quotes lines from the Roman de la Rose (l.l. 741-48) as a possible instance. Fowler, while agreeing about the use of instruments for dancing in general, is more circumspect about their use in the carole. ‘Dancing’ she affirms, ‘is very frequently accompanied by instruments’, but she later points out, in relation to a passage in Froissart’s Méliador, that ‘it would seem here that the caroling was not accompanied, or at least did not need to be accompanied’.

The problem with some of the instances cited in support of the employment of instruments is that carolling appears to be only one of a number of activities taking place in the passages cited. Gérold, in support of instrumental involvement, quotes a couplet from the Roman des sept sages, ‘li jougleour vont violant / et les borjoises karolant’ (l.l. 697-98, the minstrels go about playing the vielle, and the citizens go carolling); but there is no reason to assume that, in passages like this one, the jongleurs are accompanying the dancing rather than that the instrumental music and the dancing are two separate activities. Sahlin,

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52 Gérold, La Musique, p. 299.
53 Sahlin, pp. 20-21.
54 Fowler, pp. 214-16.
55 Gérold, La Musique, p. 299. Neither is there any reason to assume that the ‘dance a viele’ (Tournoi de Chauvency, l. 2403) is a carole. Other passages in which the dancing of caroles and
as stated above, quotes some lines from the *Roman de la Rose*. It seems to me, however, that four separate activities are taking place in the whole passage in question (ll. 741-74). First there is the *carole* for which Leesce sings. Next there is the music of the ‘fleûteors’ and other instrumentalists. Then there are the ‘tableteresses’ and the ‘timberesses’ who juggle with their ‘timbres’. Finally there are the two girls whom Deduit makes ‘em mi la querole baler’ (dance in the middle of the *carole*). The performance of the two girls is explicitly not part of the *carole*. Neither is juggling essential to a *carole*. It cannot be assumed, therefore, that the instrumentalists are necessarily involved in it either. Indeed, the *carole* and the instrumental music seem to be separated by the rhetorical effect of the syntax: ‘Lors veissiez quarole aler ... La veïssiez fleûteors / et menestreus et jugleors’ (there you might see a *carole* being performed ... there you might see minstrels and jugglers). It is significant that Gui de Mori in his *remaniement* (completed in 1290) of Guillaume de Lorris apparently includes the *carole*, but omits all reference to the ‘menêstrels’ and the ‘jongleurs’.

As for the other passages cited by Sahlin and by Fowler, these are discussed below.

In fact in descriptions of the *carole*, instruments, with few exceptions, are entirely absent. In the second half of the fourteenth century, however, as explained in Chapter V, two quite different dances were performed at festivities. First there was the hove dance accompanied by instruments alone—shawms as it seems. Then there were the *caroles* with unaccompanied singing. The different

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56 ‘This version of the *Roman de la Rose* remains unedited. Marc-René Jung, ‘Gui de Mori et Guillaume de Lorris’, *Vox Romanica*, 27 (1968), 106, describes the manuscripts, and notes departures from the original version, in particular the omission of ‘le passage sur les ménêstrels et les jongleurs’ (the passage on the minstrels and jugglers, p. 117).
manner of performance of different music for different dances is explicit in Froissart’s *La Prison amoureuse*:

La estoient li menestrel,

Qui s’acquitoient bien et bel

A piper, et tout de nouvel,

Hoves danses teles qu’il sceurent.

Et si trestost que cessé eurent

Les estampies qu’il batoient,

Chil et chelles que s’esbatoient

Au danser, sans gaires atendre,

Commencierent leurs mains a tendre

Pour caroler (ll. 354-63). 57

There were minstrels there who acquitted themselves well and truly in piping the latest hove dances such as they knew. And as soon as they had finished marking the rhythm of the *estampies*, those men and women who loved to dance, without hardly waiting, began to join hands to dance the *carole*.

The musicians play pieces of music (*estampies*) for the hove dances, they then stop playing, and the dancers start carolling to their own singing. An important point here is that even when instruments are available, it is implied that they are

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57 I have emended ‘houes danses’ (l. 357) in Fourrier’s edition to ‘hoves danses’; see Robert Mullally, ‘Houes Danses’, *Neophilologus*, 76 (1992), 29, where this passage is discussed.
inappropriate for accompanying a carole. Froissart follows this account of a fictional celebration with an account of the historical one given at Chambéry already cited. Exactly the same procedure for the performance of the music is observed (ll. 363-460). The same sequence of danses accompanied by wind music followed by caroles accompanied by singing is suggested in Méliador (ll. 29137-79), as Fowler notes. In fact the collocation of the word danse as a single choreographic term with terms such as ménestrel, is particularly observable throughout this monumental poem (e.g. ll. 13263-75, 13369-77, 29913-20). The author of Les Echecs amoureux is quite clear about the association between instruments and danses:

Et quant il vouloient danser
Et faire grans esbattemens,
On sonnoit lez haulz instrumens,
Qui mieulx aux dansez plaisoient.
Pour la grant noise qu’ilz faisoient.
La peuist on oir briefment
Sonner moult de renuoisement
Trompez, tabours, tymbrez, naquaires,
Cymballes (dont il n’est mes guaires),
Cornemusez et chalemelles

58 Fowler, pp. 215-16.
And when they wanted to dance, and make a great entertainment, the loud instruments sounded, which are most suitable for dances because of the big sound that they make. There one could hear much rejoicing: trumpets, drums, tambourines [?], nakers, cymbals (which hardly exist today), bagpipes, shawms and well-made horns.

It would seem that in the late fourteenth century instruments, specifically 'loud instruments' ('haulz instrumens') became associated with 'danse'.

Normally, then, the carole and the tresche were accompanied by singing alone; the hove dance, when it arrived in the second half of the fourteenth century, was accompanied by instruments alone. As for dances other than the hove dance being instrumentally accompanied, there are indeed instances in which the carole and the tresche are unambiguously represented as being accompanied by instruments. In the thirteenth-century poem La Court de Paradis, one of the inserted lyrics refers to dancing (l. 413). The narrative itself, however, does not actually describe any dancing. Yet the four evangelists play horns, and in one of the three manuscripts of the poem, a rubric reads ‘La Feste de Touz Sainz et la Querole de Paradis’ (ll. 409-505, The Feast of All Saints and the Carole in Paradise). But this rubric appears only in the latest of the three manuscripts, and is therefore possibly an interpolation by a scribe who, hastily

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59 This text remains unedited. The passage here is from a quotation in Herman Abert, 'Die Musikästhetik der Echecs Amoureux', Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, 6 (1904-05), 355.

60 For 'loud' and 'soft' instruments in the context of Medieval and Renaissance music, see p. 134, n. 35.
perusing the text, assumed that a dance was taking place. In Jean Le Fèvre’s French version of the *Lamentationes Matheoli*, the narrator is invited to join the *carole* of the *bigames* in paradise:

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`Amis bien soyés vous venus!
Venés sça a nostre carole!`
Illec avoit mainte citole,
Mainte vièle et mainte harpe,
Qu’aucuns portoient en escharpe. (Ii. 2918-22)
```
Welcome friend, come here, and join our *carole*! There was many a citole there, many a vielle and many a harp, which some of them supported with a sling.

This *carole* is not clearly described (Ii. 2923-39). The description in the Latin version on which the French is based (Ii. 3561-70) is quite unlike any other description of the dance. The dancers advance and retire, rise and fall, their necks bending backwards towards their heels. No inference about the dance, therefore, can be drawn from the descriptions in this work. It is probably wise to assume that these dubious examples of celestial *caroles* can be safely disregarded as accurate descriptions of the dance.

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61 See *La Court de Paradis: poème anonyme du XIIe siècle*, ed. Eva Vilamo-Pentti, Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, Series B, No 79, 1 (1953), p. 20, for the manuscripts. Of MS C (the latest and the one cited here) the editor says (p. 24) ‘le texte que ce manuscrit donne de notre poème est le moins soigné de tous’ (the text that this manuscript provides is the least correct of all).
Nevertheless there are accounts of more mundane caroles where instrumental involvement is to be found. In addition to the passage in the Roman de la Rose where instrumental accompaniment can almost certainly be ruled out, Sahlin cites other texts where there can be no doubt but that instruments are taking part.\(^62\) She refers to the thirteenth-century ‘Flabel d’Aloul’ in which it is said of a cowherd:

\[
\text{C’est cil qui porte le tabor} \\
\text{Le Diemenche à la carole.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{63}}
\]

It is he who carries the tabor on Sundays for the carole.

Another fable tells of a woman who marries a thief, and their neighbours celebrate:

\[
\text{Il chantent et moinnent queroles} \\
\text{Sonant tabours, sonant violes.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{64}}
\]

They sing and lead caroles, playing tambourines and vielles.

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\(^{62}\) See Sahlin, p. 21, for the texts cited by her as indicating instrumental participation in the carole.

\(^{63}\) ‘Le Flabel d’Aloul’ in Recueil général et complet des fabliaux des XIII\textsuperscript{e} et XIV\textsuperscript{e} siècles imprimés ou inédits, ed. Anatole de Montaiglon and Gaston Raynaud (Paris, 1872), I, 276.

\(^{64}\) ‘De la fame qui prist a mari larron’, in the Ysopet de Lyon, reproduced in facsimile in Bibliothèque de la Ville de Lyon: documents paléographiques, typographiques, iconographiques, ed. R. Cantinelli (Lyon, 1923), II/1, Plate V. The poem is edited by Wendelin Foerster, Lyoner Ysopet: altfranzösische Übersetzung des XIII. Jahrhunderts in der Mundart der Franche-Comté, Altfranzösische Bibliothek, No 5 (Heilbronn, 1882), p. 10, but with the Present Participles in the second line of my quotation incorrectly transcribed by the Present Tense, ‘sonent’.
An equally unambiguous reference comes from Gilles le Muisit, who condemns servant girls and others who ape their betters:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ches meskines siervans et toutes ches garcettes} \\
\text{Voellent iestre trechies et porter ches haucettes} \\
\text{Ossi bien que les rikes, sorleriaus sans caucettes,} \\
\text{Karoler par les rues as tamburs, as musettes.}^{65}
\end{align*}
\]

These servant girls and all these wenches want to wear their hair in plaits (?), and have it done up (?) just like the rich, and wear shoes without stockings, to carol through the streets with drums and bagpipes.

To these examples of the carole being accompanied by instruments, one can add that of the tresche in Robin et Marion, which one of the characters, a shepherdess, introduces with these words:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Par amours, faisons} \\
\text{Le tresque, et Robins le menra} \\
\text{S’il veut, et Huars musera,} \\
\text{Et chil doi autre corneront. (ll. 736-39)}
\end{align*}
\]

\footnote{\textit{Poésies de Gilles Li Muisis}, ed. Baron Joseph Kervyn de Lettenhove (Louvain, 1882), II, 192-93.}
Please, let us dance the tresche, and Robin will lead it if he wants, and Huart will play the bagpipes, and these other two will play their horns.

Sahlin does not comment on the fact that in all these cases the participants, both in the caroles and in the tresche, are of low social status, and quite unlike the courtly dancers described in most texts.

Nevertheless a few sources actually describe courtly performances of caroles with instruments. The Chevalier du Papagau, yet another text cited by Sahlin, is explicit on this point:

Quant ilz orent mengé a leur voulenté, a grant aise et a grant solas, et les tables furent levees, ilz ont commensé par la sale grant karoles et merveilleuses a son de vièles et de arpes et d’autres estrumens que les jogleurs sonnoyent par le palais moult douceinent.66

When they had eaten all they wanted to their great pleasure and satisfaction, and the tables were removed, they began great and wonderful caroles throughout the hall to the sound of vielles and harps and other instruments that the musicians played very sweetly through the palace.

An identical situation is found in Perceforest:

They talked so much among themselves about this and the marvels that they had seen until it was time to remove the tables. And when they were removed the young knights and the young girls began to dance the carole, and the minstrels who had been trained in the skill of music, began to play their instruments to lead the carole.

The Chevalier du Papagau was originally written in the late fourteenth century, Perceforest was begun 1327 and completed sometime after 1344. However the one manuscript of the former, and all four manuscripts of the latter, date from the fifteenth century, and the language in all of them has been 'modernized'. The collocation of 'vielles' and the 'arpes' in the Chevalier is something of a stereotyped phrase in this work, and is repeated at other points in the text (pp. 7, 12, 23). The mention of string instruments here with reference to dancing is highly unusual. In the case of Perceforest, as Flutre points out, all the sources are corrupt. In the fifteenth century the carole was replaced as the dance most in request by the basse danse, which was accompanied instrumentally. The

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69 Louis-Ferdinand Flutre, 'Etudes sur le Roman de Perceforest: première article', Romania, 70 (1948), 475.
revisers of these two texts, therefore, were probably influenced by the practice of their time. My conclusion, therefore, is that there was no instrumental involvement in the carole except when the dance was performed by the lowest stratum of society.\textsuperscript{70}

In sum, then, we may say that music specifically associated with the carole and the tresche exists, and that it had a typical manner of performance. This music has identifiable features, which seem to have been the same for both dances. It can be defined as songs in Mode 1, with a characteristic trochaic rhythm, and sometimes with anacrusis. The choreographic requirements of both dances mean that transcriptions should be in 6/8 time. The songs were sung successively in performance of both dances by individual singers and, except in the case of low status performances, never involved the use of instruments. But although songs with particular characteristics provided music for these dances, this does not necessarily mean that such songs were sung only for dancing.

Chapter IX: The Iconography

When studying a visual form, such as the dance, it would seem obvious that we should turn to iconography to discover whether or not it confirms the physical features of the choreography gleaned from the literary evidence; yet the iconography of the *carole* has received scant attention. Fleming and Stones, in their separate studies, have commented briefly on the *carole* in the iconography of the *Roman de la Rose* and the *Prose Lancelot* respectively.¹ More specifically in regard to dancing, Sachs and Sahlin, in their separate studies, refer in passing to individual works of art.² Salmen’s essay, the one monograph that ostensibly examines the iconography of the *Reigen* or *carole*, is, in effect, a broad study of circular dances and, in its choice of examples, ranges in place from England to Serbia and in time from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.³ For the purposes of the present investigation, however, I am, of course, confining myself to


² Curt Sachs, *Eine Weltgeschichte des Tanzes* (Berlin, 1933), p. 183, refers to Ambrogio Lorenzetti’s fresco, ‘Il buon governo’ as ‘das schönste Bild eines solchen Reigens’, which Bessie Schönberg (*World History of the Dance*, London, 1938, p. 272) translates as ‘the most beautiful picture of a choral dance of this type’. The possibility that this fresco might depict a *carole* is discussed in the next chapter. Sahlin, p. 27, cites the miniature in LBL, Harley 4425 (c. 1500), fol. 14⁴, as evidence of the processional form of the *carole*. This is a late manuscript of the *Roman de la Rose*, and indeed the miniature ostensibly shows the *carole*, the term used in this revised text (fols 14⁴-15⁵). The circular procession of couples, however, more probably represents a *basse danse*, a dance fashionable at the time that this manuscript was executed. The miniature is reproduced in Joseph Bédier and Paul Hazard, *Histoire de la litterature francaise illustrée* (Paris, 1923), I, 73.

representations specifically associated with the *carole*, and then only to those that date from the late thirteenth century (the earliest examples available) to c. 1400 (the end of the period under review). I propose to examine a sufficiently representative number of these examples in order to discover whether or not such representations of the *carole* confirm, or contradict, our findings on the dance gathered so far.

Some narratives in which a *carole* is performed are provided with a depiction of the *carole* itself. In all but one of the examples that I study, these depictions are from manuscript illuminations. The exception is an ivory carving. The illustrator, of course, does not have to vouch for the historical accuracy of his work. Yet my purpose here is to examine how certain medieval artists represented the *carole*.

Representations of the *carole* are particularly numerous. It is perhaps one of the most widely illustrated of dances thanks to the fact that a performance of the *carole* takes place in two of the most popular and most frequently illuminated French texts of the Middle Ages—the Prose *Lancelot* and the *Roman de la Rose*. I have taken as a basis for examination a total of fifty illustrations, all of which are related to specific textual citations of the dance in question. The whole sample can be divided into four categories. The first is a miscellaneous group of miniatures in three manuscripts illustrating three different works. The second is a carving depicting *La Châtelaine de Vergy*, which appears in a very similar form on a number of small ivory caskets. The third category consists of six miniatures from six manuscripts of the prose *Lancelot*, one of the earliest

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4 Nos 1-3. These numbers in the notes refer to the primary sources of the iconography cited in Appendix B.
5 No 4.
illustrated secular texts. Finally I have included a sample of forty miniatures from the vast number of illuminated manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*.7

Of the isolated depictions of the *carole* in my first group, one of the earliest illustrates an incident in *Le Conte du Graal* by Chrétien de Troyes, and is found in a manuscript dating from the end of the thirteenth century.8 The queen orders her girls to welcome Gauvain, and they dance: `contre lui grande joie comancent, / chantent et querolent et dancent' (They rejoice in his honour. They sing and carol and dance). Gauvain arrives on his horse, and dismounts among them. The miniature shows four girls close together facing forward, and holding their raised forearms so that their joined hands are at chin height. This representation fills the entire space of the miniature. Dating from slightly later is the miniature of a *carole* illustrating a fable in the *Ysopet de Lyon* in which a woman marries a thief, and her neighbours celebrate: `il chantent et moinnent queroles / sonant tambours, sonant violes' (they sing and lead *caroles*, playing tambourines and vielles).9 Here a woman holds hands at shoulder height with a man on either side of her. All three are facing the viewer. On the viewer's left a third man uses a stick to beat a tambourine with a snare. Again the figures fill almost the entire space. The last of these miscellaneous illuminations comes from a Bodleian manuscript of *Li Restor du Paon* (completed in 1344).10 In the

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6 Nos 5-10.
7 Nos 11-50.
8 No 1. For the text, see *Le Conte du Graal (Perceval)*, Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes, V, ed. Félix Lecoy (Paris, 1972-75), II. 8716-23.
9 No 2. A facsimile of the text together with the miniature will be found in *Bibliothèque de la Ville de Lyon: documents paléographiques, typographiques, iconographiques*, ed. R. Cantinelli (Lyon, 1923), II/I, Pl. V.
episode in question (ll. 1159-77) the king enters in a line with his followers. The *carole*, which is in progress, opens up, and the newcomers join in with Elyot (the heroine) holding an eagle on her gloved hand. She is placed between two male characters: Emenidus on one side and Marcien on the other supporting her elbow (presumably the elbow of the arm holding the eagle). The trumpets fall silent and Elyot sings for the *carole*. This episode is illustrated by two juxtaposed miniatures. The first shows a group of nine well-dressed people in a circle facing inwards, and holding hands at hip level. They are placed against a chequered background, with the whole surmounted by a castellated arcade. The second miniature has a diamond-patterned background, and shows six people—a man between two ladies and a lady between two men all facing the viewer. The lady between the two men is holding a bird on her right hand, which is supported by the hand of the man on her right.

These few examples demonstrate that the iconography does not always give a coherent view of the dance. The first two examples, from the *Conte du Graal* and the *Ysopet*, do not even attempt to show the *carole* as a circle—the formation indicated by the texts. It might be argued that the straight line of dancers represents a related dance, the *tresche*, and that that the artistic technique of most early artists was not equal to representing people in a circle. It is more likely, however, that the illuminator was merely concerned with depicting a dance of some kind, and was more anxious to complete his task of executing a large number of miniatures rather than to attend to choreographic verisimilitude.\(^\text{11}\) Of these miniatures only the first of the two in *Li Restor* depicts the dancers in a circle. The different position in which the hands are held in the

\(^{11}\) The first of these two points is noted by Fleming (p. 84), and touched upon by Stones (244, n. 47).
three miniatures is probably due to artistic licence. An even greater discrepancy exists between text and illustration in the manuscript of the fable: the ‘violes’ (vielles) mentioned in the poem are not shown in the accompanying miniature. Perhaps the artist realized that a stringed instrument was inappropriate in a low status and amateur performance. The illuminator of *Li Restor* seems to have separated the performance of the *carole* from the detail of carrying the eagle, since he presents each activity in two different miniatures. Again the artist may have been struck by the implausibility of the people dancing while one of them is holding a large bird. He therefore decided to employ a little artistic licence.

My second category of illustrations is to be found in a number of small ivory caskets illustrating the *Châtelaine de Vergy*. This anonymous tale was probably composed about 1240; the caskets, however, date from the second quarter of the fourteenth century. There are five complete caskets and one almost complete. Fragments of three other caskets have also been located. The representation on each of the six complete ones is almost identical. These ivory caskets appear to be unique in that they are the only *objets d’art* to illustrate an

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12 No 4. An early study of this depiction is Karl Borinski’s, ‘La Chastelaine de Vergy in der Kunst des Mittelalters’, *Monatshefte fuer Kunstwissenschaft*, 2 (1909), 58-63. In the course of his examination of the caskets, he gives a brief description of the *carole* scene (p. 61). The caskets are extensively discussed in Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann, ‘La Chastelaine de Vergy auf Pariser Elfenbein-Kästchen des 14. Jahrhunderts’, *Romanistisches Jahrbuch*, 27 (1976), 52-76, in which she points out (p. 62) that although the caskets are not completely identical, they have the same basic design. In her detailed account of the episodes illustrated, she describes the *carole* scene, noting that the artist has altered the setting of the tragic climax from that named in the text (p. 65). Laila Gross, ‘“La Chastelaine de Vergi” Carved in Ivory’, *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 10 (1979), 311-21, covers much the same ground as regards the depiction of the *carole*, but supplies a more detailed list of the locations of the six more or less complete caskets and the three fragments (p. 312, n. 7). Gross states that one of the fragments is in the Museo Nazionale [del Bargello] in Florence. This fragment is an end panel showing the *carole*. Gross also notes (p. 312) that there is a series of frescoes illustrating the *Châtelaine de Vergy* in the Palazzo Davanzati, also in Florence. This Italian series of depictions does not, however, show the dance. All three of the foregoing studies focus on the British Museum casket, which is reproduced in Borinski (p. 61), Schmolke-Hasselmann (Abb. 4) and Gross (Fig. 3). Quotation and citation below in my text are from *La Châtelaine de Vergy*, ed. and trans. Jean Dufournet and Liliane Dulac (Paris, 1994).
entire narrative, and are also the only art works in ivory that unquestionably depict a *carole.* In the poem the chatelaine is lying dead in her chamber:

> Més ses amis ne le set mie
> Qui se deduisoit en la sale
> A la carole et dansse et bale. (ll. 840–42)

Now her lover, who was enjoying himself in the hall in *caroles, danses* and *bals* knew nothing at all about this.

Although three terms are used for dancing in the foregoing quotation, only *carole* is used in later references to the performance (ll. 849, 851). The dancing is not described in detail.

As the caskets are more or less identical, I have concentrated on the exemplar in the British Museum. Here the left end panel shows a double row of dancers facing forwards and holding hands at hip level. At both the extreme right and at the extreme left, a trumpeter stands on a rostrum roughly indicated in the carving. Both musicians play long trumpets, which extend over the heads of the dancers. The whole is surmounted by a blind Gothic arcade.

The double line of dancers is undoubtedly intended to represent a circle. But a double line rather constrains an artist to show some (in this case all) the dancers facing the viewer when in fact they should be facing inwards. As for the presence of trumpets, they do not signify instrumental accompaniment. Instruments, as I argued in the last chapter, would not have taken part in a courtly

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13 Raimond van Marle, *Iconographie de l’art profane au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance et la décoration des demeures: la vie quotidienne* (The Hague, 1931), reproduces a 14th-century ivory in the Louvre (Fig. 70) which he entitles ‘La ronde’, but which cannot, however, be identified as a *carole*. It shows a line of people making exaggerated movements. A portative organ is seen on the viewer’s right.
performance of the carole. As noted above, the trumpets fall silent for the performance of the carole in Li Restor. They may have been included in the representation on the casket as being proper to aristocratic festivities in general or simply as being emblematic of music.

For the two remaining texts, the Prose Lancelot and the Roman de la Rose, as several illustrations of the carole are available for each of them, it is possible to make more detailed comparative studies than was possible for the previous examples. I intend, therefore, to examine the representation of the carole in the manuscripts under six heads: (a) the formation of the dancers; (b) the distribution of the sexes; (c) the position of the dancers' hands; (d) the position of their feet; (e) the presence or absence of musicians within the miniature; (f) the presence or absence of musicians outside the border of the miniature. As the illuminations are in some cases very small and in others unclear, allowance must be made for a margin of error. Nevertheless the following discussion aims to elucidate the features of the carole as depicted in the art of that period when the dance was still being performed.

The Prose Lancelot was composed about 1214, and illustrated manuscripts begin to appear within a decade of its composition. The earliest example that I consider, however, dates from the end of the thirteenth century. In the episode involving the carole, as described in Sommer’s manuscript, Lancelot and his squire come upon a field in which stands a tower and thirty tents. In the middle of the tents are four large pines, and in the middle of these is an ivory chair

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14 No 5. Two miniatures depicting the carole in the Prose Lancelot are reproduced in Stones, Figs 8.2 and 8.3 (Nos 10 and 7 respectively). The manuscript that she cites for Fig. 8.4 mentions the carole, but does not depict it.

15 I refer here again to Sommer's edition (p. 123) rather than to the more recent Lancelot: roman en prose du XIIIe siècle, ed. Alexandre Micha (Paris, 1979), IV, 234-35. Sommer's base manuscript is LBL, Additional MS 10293 (c. 1316), which contains my No 6. Micha's base manuscript is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, MS 45 (f. xiii²).
covered in red samite with a heavy gold crown upon it. Knights (some armed) and ladies are carolling around the pines. Lancelot is mysteriously compelled to join in this enchanted carole, from which the dancers will be released only when someone is found whom the crown fits. Lancelot, giving his horse to his squire, throws his lance and shield to the ground, and joins in the dance. Later it transpires that Lancelot is the person for whom the crown is intended.

Of the six illuminations of this text available to me, three show a single line of dancers, two a double line, one a circle. The sexes do not alternate in any of the representations, but are distributed arbitrarily with two or three men or women together. The hands are held at shoulder height in one example, at chest height in another, at waist level in two, at hip level in one and at various levels in the remaining picture. The feet are more or less in second position in three depictions, that is to say the figures stand with their feet apart and the toes pointing outwards. In two, the dancers stand with their feet apart in a less precise manner. In one the feet are not clearly visible. No instrumentalists are seen either inside or immediately outside the border in any of the miniatures.

Once again we do not find agreement on any aspect of the dance other than the total absence of musicians, which, in any case, are not mentioned in the text. The double line may be taken, as in examples previously discussed, as a substitute for a circle. The various representations of the position of the hands, taken together, offer no indication of how they were held in actual performance. The outwardly turned feet suggest an artist’s interpretation, rather than the

16 Single line, Nos 5, 8 and 10; double line, Nos 6 and 7; circle, No 9.
17 Shoulder, No 10; chest No 7; waist, Nos 5 and 9; hip, No 6; various, No 8.
18 Nos 6, 8 and 9.
19 Nos 5 and 10.
20 No 7.
parallel feet as implied in Sommer's base manuscript. On the other hand, the miniatures indicate, with varying degrees of detail, features actually described in the narrative; for example the trees and the crowning of Lancelot are evident in some examples. This suggests, as one might expect, that it was details of the narrative, rather than those of the choreography, that engaged the attention of the miniaturist.

The *carole* in the *Roman de la Rose* takes place in the first part of the poem—the part written by Guillaume de Lorris between 1225 and 1230. The narrator is invited to join allegorical characters representing aspects of courtly love. These characters are dancing a *carole* in the garden of Deduit, accompanied by the singing of Leesce (ll. 725-40). There are also 'fleütéors', 'menestreus' and 'jugleors' as well as female jugglers and two young girls who dance in the middle of the *carole* (ll. 741-74).

Although some illustrators have depicted other aspects of the scene, most have concentrated on the *carole* itself, and for the present study I have made a representative selection of miniatures depicting this *carole* dating from the end of the thirteenth century to the end of the fourteenth century.

An examination of these gives slightly more positive results than the impression given by the examples discussed thus far, no doubt because more examples are available. Of the forty miniatures surveyed, the formation of the

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21 This is the text that accompanies my No 6.

22 A comprehensive, but not complete, survey of manuscripts with miniatures of the *Roman de la Rose* is offered by Alfred Kuhn, *Die Illustration des Rosenromans* in Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerköhnten Kaiserhauses, No 31/1 (Vienna, 1912). Reproductions of such miniatures dating from before the 15th century can be seen in Fleming, Figs 16, 19, 20 and 21 (Nos 38, 12, 42 and 23); Salmen, Abb 2, 4 and 8 (Nos 14, 25 and 45); Kuhn, Fig 6 and Pl. III (Nos 35 and 43); Bédier and Hazard, I, 50 and 51 (Nos 26 and 38); Edmund A. Bowles 'Instrumente des 15 Jahrhunderts und Ikongraphie', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* [vol. for 1984], 8 (1985), Abb 6, 7, 8 and 9 (Nos 34, 38, 44 and 45); Lucien Fourez, *Le Roman de la Rose* de la Bibliothèque de la Ville de Tournai*, Scriptorium: Revue Internationale des Etudes Relatives aux Manuscrits / International Review of Manuscript Studies*, 1 (1946-47), Pl. 21 (No 24).
dancers is shown as a straight line in thirty-two of them; as an irregular line in one; as a double line in four and as a circle facing inwards in three. The dancers are all men in three of the miniatures and possibly all women in one. The sexes are unidentifiable in two. In one of these two, it is impossible to distinguish the composition of the dancers because the *carole* is merely a small detail in the picture. The sexes are mixed in the remaining thirty-four: of these men and women in no particular order are found in eight: men and women alternate in the remaining twenty-six. Hands are held shoulder high in five miniatures; at chest level in two, at waist level in eight and at hip level in sixteen. In seven the position of the hands varies. In the case of two miniatures, this detail is unclear. As for the feet, seven of the miniatures have the dancers with their feet more or less in second position, eight show the feet apart in a less easily defined way, five have the feet parallel, eleven represent the carollers with their feet in various positions while in nine of the miniatures the feet are not clearly visible.

Turning to the musicians, I argued in the last chapter that, although they are mentioned in the passage describing the *carole*, they constitute a separate activity. In fact twenty-one of the forty miniatures show no musicians at all.

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23 Straight line, Nos 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49 and 50; irregular line, No 24; double line, Nos 23, 25, 26 and 42; circle facing inwards, Nos 31, 46 and 47.
24 All men in Nos, 17 and 46; possibly all women in No 30.
25 Nos 22 and 24.
26 No 24.
27 In no particular order in Nos 13, 20, 23, 27, 31, 42, 47 and 48; alternating in 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 25, 26, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 49 and 50.
28 Shoulder, Nos 11, 12, 18, 23 and 33; chest, Nos 16 and 29; waist, Nos 14, 15, 25, 27, 30, 40, 41 and 44; hip, Nos 13, 20, 28, 31, 32, 36, 37, 38, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49 and 50.
29 Nos 19, 21, 24, 26, 34, 35 and 39.
30 Nos 17 and 22.
31 Second position in Nos 11, 19, 32, 36, 41, 42 and 45; apart in Nos 14, 16, 25, 27, 29, 37, 47 and 49; parallel in Nos 28, 33, 34, 43 and 44; various in Nos 15, 21, 23, 26, 31, 35, 38, 39, 40, 48 and 50; not visible in Nos 12, 13, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24, 30 and 46. There is no significant difference in the placing of the feet in any of the non-dance miniatures in a sample selected (Nos 3, 6, 11, 48 and Plates IV, V, VI, VII).
within their borders. This absence of instrumentalists is especially noticeable in manuscripts dating from the first half of the fourteenth century. Of the other nineteen representations that include musicians inside the border, nine simply show a single instrumentalist, three of these show a pipe and tabor, one depicts a long trumpet, one a shawm, two a bagpipe and two a vielle. Where more than one instrument is shown, two of the same kind are found in six instances: two long trumpets in four examples, two shawms in one, two bagpipes in another. Two different instrumentalists can be seen in three: a vielle and an unidentifiable wind instrument in one, a shawm and a bagpipe in a second, a pipe and tabor and a vielle in the third.

The same variety of instrumentalists is reflected when we turn to the area outside the border. Twenty-eight out of the sample of forty show no musicians. Seven, however, include them. In six of these we find one showing two shawms, one a pipe and tabor with a bagpipe, one two long trumpets, one a single bagpipe, one a pair of nakers, a bagpipe and a shawm, one a bagpipe and two shawms. The seventh depiction brings together an ensemble of five instrumentalists: a bagpipe, a harp, a pair of nakers, and two players of what are probably some kind of wind instrument and a vielle, although these last two are not clearly visible.

No conclusions can be drawn about the remaining five illuminations from the Roman de la Rose included in my sample as only reproductions of the miniatures.

32 Nos 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 40, 41, 45, 46 and 49.
33 Pipe-and-tabor in Nos 30, 31, and 42; long trumpet in No 16; shawm in No 19; bagpipe in Nos 25 and 48; vielle in Nos 13 and 37.
34 Two trumpets in Nos 15, 35, 36 and 43; two shawms in No 47; two bagpipes in No 38.
35 Vielle and an unidentifiable wind instrument in No 22; shawm and bagpipe in No 39; vielle and pipe and tabor in No 50.
36 Nos 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49 and 50.
37 Two shawms, No 21; pipe-and-tabor and a bagpipe, No 23; two long trumpets, No 26; one bagpipe No 32; nakers, bagpipe and shawm, No 34; bagpipe and two shawms, No 45.
38 No 35.
themselves were available to me for examination, and consequently the whole page is not shown.\textsuperscript{39}

The reference in the text to 'fleüteors' may account for the predominance of wind instruments in those representations that include musicians. Otherwise the random choice of instruments, which can include a combination of wind and strings, seems to suggest artistic preference rather than reflect actual musical practice where one might expect to see either 'loud' or 'soft' instruments but not a combination of both.\textsuperscript{40}

In illustrating the dance in the \textit{Roman de la Rose} certain features recur in the presentation. There is a preference for showing the \textit{carole} as a straight line, contrary to the textual evidence, which establishes that the dance was characteristically circular in form. Yet taken as a whole, there are some aspects of the miniatures that seem to reflect actual details of the choreography. Where the sexes are mixed, they are often seen to alternate in the way that one might assume reflects actual practice. The hands are often seen held at hip level, which also seems probable. The feet are generally set apart, although here the artists frequently appear to have decided on a conventional representation of feet turned out rather than what seems to have been the choreographically more accurate one of parallel feet. The absence of musicians, especially in earlier miniatures, may be an indication that artists were aware that instruments did not normally accompany the dance in high status performance. On the other hand, their presence, notably in the \textit{Roman de la Rose}, may be seen as the miniaturists' endeavouring to give a more general representation of the garden scene. It may

\textsuperscript{39} Nos 14, 25, 33, 38 and 43.

\textsuperscript{40} For the difference between 'loud' and 'soft' instruments in the context of medieval and Renaissance music, see p. 134, n. 35.
be, of course, that the presence of instruments, once again, is intended to be emblematic of music rather than provide a realistic depiction of a performance of a carole.

Thus the iconographic evidence when compared to the literary evidence generally appears less coherent and less consistent. It is only in the most lavish and artistically accomplished depictions, such as the Bodleian Restor du Paon or in the miniature of the 'danse' (probably a carole) in a famous manuscript of Guillaume de Machaut's Remède de Fortune, that the miniaturists agree with textual descriptions in presenting the dance as a circle. It is the uniformity of conception as presented in the texts, essential for the realization of a dance, which encourages one to rely more on the literary sources rather than on the diverse interpretations of the artists.

Chapter X: Carola in Italian

As stated in Chapter II, little evidence exists for cognates of carole in most European languages. Such instances as occur tend to be late, and are therefore more likely to be borrowings from French. One language, however, in which a cognate is, in fact, found, contemporaneously with the performance of the carole in France, is Italian. We saw in Chapter V how Dante used its circular form to represent the dance of the blessed spirits in Heaven. The use of the word, carola in the Divine Comedy might lead one to suppose that the French dance itself had migrated to Italy. If this were the case, then it is possible, as has been suggested, that the French carole is also represented in Italian art. Thus two questions arise: firstly whether and to what extent the French carole was known and practised in Italy, and secondly, if this is true, whether the dance is also represented in Italian art. To resolve these questions, we need to examine Italian dance terms in use before the fifteenth century.

Discussion of Italian dance is rendered more difficult by the fact that, unlike in French sources, references are fewer in number, and, even where found, rarely give details about the choreography. It is not surprising, therefore, that there has been little or no commentary on Italian dance of this period, and what exists is not based on an extensive examination of the primary sources.¹ A survey of such evidence is not only necessary, but also provides a context, and

¹ The sources cited by Bruno Bernabei, 'Riddare', Enciclopedia dantesca (1970; 2nd ed. Rome, 1984), including Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis, Le origini della poesia drammatica italiana (Bologna, 1924), p. 79 and Maurice A-L. Louis, Le Folklore et la danse (Paris, 1963), pp. 51-71 and 347-71, derive their material from secondary sources, such as Jeanroy and Bédier, and are almost entirely speculative.
hence, as we shall see, a better understanding of the significance of carola in Italian.

The most frequent citation of Italian dance terms occurs in verse, where by far the commonest term is danza. The word appears at the beginning of Italian literature, and is found throughout our period and, of course, later. An early citation is in a discordo (descort) of Re Giovanni:

chi no lo sa fare,
non si face[ili]a blasmare
di trarersi a danza. (ll. 44-46)²

He who does not know how to do it, let him not be blamed for withdrawing from the dance.

Danza is used here as a general term, as it is by Rinaldo d’Aquino:

In quell’ora ch’eo vi vidu
danzar gioiosamente;
ed eo con voi danzando . . .³

² Jean de Brienne (b c. 1148–d. 1234) acquired the title of King of Jerusalem, hence the soubriquet ‘Re Giovanni’. The quotation is from his discordo, ‘Donna audite como’ in Le rime della scuola siciliana, ed. Bruno Panvini, Biblioteca dell’Archivum Romanicum, Serie 1, No 65 (Florence 1962), p. 86.
³ Rinaldo d’Aquino (fl. 1240–50), ‘In amoroso pensare’ in Le rime della scuola siciliana, p. 115.
In that moment when I saw you dancing joyfully, and I dancing with you...

The word, *danza*, is employed in the same general way by, for example, Jacopone da Todi, Franco Sacchetti and Federico Frezzi.\textsuperscript{4}

The non-specific nature of the term is also evident in sonnets by Francesco Ismera and Folgore da San Gimignano, since both poets qualify the word *danza*.\textsuperscript{5} Thus Francesco has the line `donna et donzelle in danza gire a tresca' (ladies and girls dancing a round *tresca*). Folgore, in his series of sonnets on the months of the year, enumerates among the joys of April `cantar, danzar a la provenzale / con istormenti novi della Magna' (singing, dancing in the Provençal manner with new instruments from Germany). The significance of *tresca* here will be examined later; the import of `danzar a la provenzale', however, remains unexplained.

The connotation of this poetic use of *danza*, however, is clear. Dancing is the physical manifestation of joy. Rinaldo alludes to this in his phrase `danzar gioiosamente' in the lines quoted above. Dancing as emblematic of the joy of divine love finds its expression in the `Secreto spirituale' attributed to Jacopone da Todi:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Nol mi pensai giamai}
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{5} The sonnet by Francesco Ismera is quoted in \textit{Le rime di Folgore da San Gimignano e di Cene da la Chitarra d'Arezzo}, ed. Giulio Navone (Bologna, 1880), p. cxv. Iacobo di Michele, better known as Folgore da San Gimignano, composed his series of sonnets on the months between 1309 and 1317. The quotation from `D'Aprile' appears on p. 11 of this edition.
Di danzar alla danza;
Ma la tua innamoranza
Jesu lo mi fe fare.

...che vegnamo a le prese
De la superna vita.

Dove si trova unita
Danza per li Beati
Tanto sono infiammati;
Lingua nol puo cantare.  

I never thought to dance in the dance; but your love, Jesus, made me do it. ... so that we may come to the possession of the life hereafter, where one finds oneself joined to the dance of the blessed, who are so inflamed [with divine love] that language cannot express it.

This notion of the dance as symbolic of the joy of the blessed in heaven encountered here anticipates this connotation in Dante's Divine Comedy (Paradiso 24, 16 quoted in Chapter V).

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Danza seems to have remained predominantly a poetic term. Its several appearances in the prose of Boccaccio’s Decameron, therefore, is exceptional, and reflects the more recondite use of language in this work. As with the poets, he employs the term in a non-specific sense. In the following passage, for example, danza refers to the music:

E levate le tavole, con ciò fosse cosa che tutte le donne carolar sapessero e similmente i giovani e parte di loro ottimamente e sonare e cantare, comandò la reina che gli strumenti venissero; e per comandamento di lei, Dioneo preso un liuto e la Fiammetta una viuola, cominciarono soavemente una danza a sonare; per che la reina con l’altre donne insieme co’ due giovani presa una carola, con lento passo, mandati i famigliari a mangiare, a carolar cominciarono; e quella finita, canzoni vaghette e liete cominciarono a cantare. (Giornata 1, Introduzione)\(^8\)

Having removed the tables, since it was a fact that all the ladies knew how to dance carole, and likewise the young men, and that some of them knew how to sing and play very well indeed, the queen ordered the instruments to be summoned, and at her command, Dioneo took a lute and Fiammetta a vielle, and they began to play a dance gracefully; for which the queen with the other ladies, together with two young men, began a carola with a slow step, having sent the servants to eat; and having finished that dance they began to sing delightful and joyful songs.

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In the next citation in the Decameron, however, the term quite definitely applies to the choreography:

E appressandosi l'ora della cena, verso il palagio tornatesi con diletto cenarono; dopo la qual cena, fatti venir gli strumenti, comandò la reina che una danza fosse presa e, quella menando la Lauretta, Emilia cantasse una canzone da' leuto di Dioneo aiutata. Per lo qual comandamento Lauretta prestamente prese una danza e quella menò, cantando Emilia la seguente canzone amorosamente [the lyric follows].

(Giornata 1, Conclusione)

And with supper-time approaching, having returned to the elegant villa they supped with pleasure; after which, having summoned instruments, the queen ordered that a dance should begin with Lauretta leading it, and that Emilia should sing a song accompanied on the lute by Dioneo. At this command, Lauretta promptly began a dance, and led it with Emilia singing the following song in an amorous manner.

In this, as in other passages in the Decameron, danza seems to be, as in verse, a general reference to dance.

Another commonly used term, both in prose and in verse, is ballo. An early citation is to be found in reference to the arrival in Prato of the Cardinal of
Florence on 9 May 1304, an event mentioned in the chronicle of Dino Compagni (c.1260-1324). It is the only dance term employed by Francesco Barberino in his *Reggimento e costume di donna*, a work partly in verse and partly in prose, in which, among other topics, the author is preoccupied with the morality of women who dance. Dante, however, does not use the noun *ballo* at all, and rarely uses the verb *ballare*. The following instance is, therefore, unusual:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Come si volge con le piante strette} \\
\text{a terra ed intra sè donna che balli,} \\
\text{e piede innanzi piede a pena mette . . .} \\
\text{(*Purgatorio* 28, 52-54)}
\end{align*}
\]

As a lady turns in the dance with feet close together on the ground, and hardly puts one foot before the other.

Boccaccio employs *ballo* only once in the *Decameron*, where it is synonymous with *una danza* (*Giornata 6, Conclusione*). In his commentary on part of the *Divine Comedy*, however, Boccaccio uses *ballo* exclusively as does Buti, with rare exceptions, in his commentary on the entire work. If Sacchetti and Frezzi

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11 Giovanni Boccaccio commenting on *Inferno* 7, 23-25 explains that 'la gente riddi, cioè balli, e, volgendo, come i ballatori, in cerchio, vengano impetuosamente a percuotersi, come fanno l'onde predette' (people dance the *ridda*, that is they dance, and, turning round like dancers in a circle,
use the term *danza*, they both have even more frequent recourse to *ballo*. Thus we may conclude that *ballo* was the usual Italian term for *dance* in the fourteenth century.

A word of more specific import is *tresca*, which is already found in the early thirteenth century in the prose of Guido Faba: ‘ma per noi e la nostra gente se fa belli canti e tresche’ (but for us and our people beautiful songs and *tresche* are performed). This citation, however, sheds little light on the sense of the term. Francesco Ismera’s phrase (cited above) ‘donna e donzelle in danza gire a tresca’ (ladies and girls dancing in the manner of a round *tresca*) indicates that *tresca* has a more restricted meaning than *danza*, as it possibly does in the following lines from an anonymous lyric:

```
In verde prato a padiglione tenduti
danzar vidi, cantando, dolze tresca
donne e amanti su per l’erba fresca.
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clash impetuously against one another like the aforesaid waves). This quotation will be found in *Esposizioni sopra la comedia di Dante*, ed. Giorgio Padoan, in Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio, ed. Vittore Branca (Milan, 1965), VI, 385-86. For a discussion of the *ridda* and for the other citation from Boccaccio commenting on *Inferno*, 14, 40-42, see below in my text. For citations of *ballo* in the commentary by Francesco da Buti, see *Commento di Francesco da Buti sopra la Divina Comedia di Dante Allighieri*, ed. Crescentino Giannini (Pisa, 1858-62), I, 550, II, 676, III, 226, 320, 651, 680.

12 Sacchetti, I, 68, 100, 106, 118, 121, 281, 326, 334, 345, 350; II, 20, 41, 45; Frezzi, pp. 9, 26, 61, 79, 80, 125, 189, 297, 383.
In a green meadow where richly adorned tents had been set up, I saw ladies and lovers dancing and singing a sweet *tresca* on the fresh grass.

*Tresca* is also found in Dante and, in their commentaries on the relevant passage, the two fourteenth-century authors already mentioned, Boccaccio and Francesco da Buti, provide additional information. Dante is describing the suffering of those in Hell:

\[
\text{Sanza riposo mai era la tresca} \\
\text{delle misere mani, or quindi or quinci} \\
\text{escotendo da sè l'arsura fresca (Inferno, 14, 40-42).}
\]

There was no pause in the dance [*tresca*] of the wretched hands, now here, now there, beating off from them the fresh burning.

Boccaccio defines the dance in these lines thus: ‘è la “tresca” una maniera di ballare, la quale si fa di mani e di piedi’ (the *tresca* is a manner of dancing, which is performed with the hands and the feet). Buti is somewhat more helpful in elucidating the meaning of this passage generally, and of the *tresca* in particular: ‘tresca si chiama uno ballo saltiereccio, ove sia grande e veloce movimento e di molti inviluppat’ (*tresca* is the name of a hopping dance in

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which there is much fast movement involving many). Barberino considered hopping unsuitable for ladies, and Dante seems to imply that the tresca is a less decorous dance more suitable for the inhabitants of the infernal regions. Buti’s hopping dance would appear to be quite different from the French tresche, in descriptions of which no mention is made of hopping steps. This fact raises the question whether some distinction might also be drawn between the significance of the Italian word carola and the French word carole.

Apart from a citation in a sonnet doubtfully attributed to Dante, the word carola is found during our period in only two works: Dante’s Divine Comedy and, no doubt under Dante’s influence, in Boccaccio’s Decameron. Dante cites the dance in two cantos of the Paradiso. Although the second reference is to the singing of a choir, the first is explicitly to dancing. The assembly of the blessed in Heaven dancing in a carola at different speeds are compared to the wheels of clocks. This comparison shows that Dante is aware of the circular form of the French carole. The passage also introduces us to another feature not mentioned by French writers, namely of a dance that could be performed at more than one tempo. This aspect seems to be confirmed by the phrase in Boccaccio ‘una carola con lento passo’ (a carola with a slow step) in the first passage from the Decameron quoted above (Giornata 1, Introduzione). The references to different tempi in Dante and Boccaccio seem to be these authors’ own interpretations. In the passage from Boccaccio carolar and carola refer to the

16 Buti, I, 380. ‘Tresa’ and ‘Trescare’ are not clearly defined from a choreographic point of view in Battaglia.
17 Barberino, p. 25; Dante in the above quotation.
18 The exception is in the sixteen-line sonnet, ‘Jacopo, i’ fui nelle nevicate alpi’ (Jacopo, I was in the snowy Alps) which has the line, ‘Donde non nacquer canti né carole’ (where neither songs nor carole were born). This sonnet will be found in Dante Alighieri: rime, 3. testi, ed. Domenico de Robertis, Rime dubbie, (Florence, 2002), 516-17. For a comment on this sonnet, see Marco A. Cavallo, ‘Carola’, Enciclopedia dantesca (1970; 2nd ed. Rome 1984).
19 Canto 24, 1.16 and Canto 25, ll. 97-99. See above pp. 107-08.
choreography since there is no music called a *carola*, whereas *danza* can refer to the music that accompanied the dancing.

In a second extract from the same work, also quoted above (*Giornata 1, Conclusione*), and introducing more dancing, the word *danza* is used twice. Immediately afterwards, however, we find the phrase ‘dopo alcune altre carolette fatte’ (after performing some more little *carole*). This raises the question whether *danza* is a general term for a dance in this context, which is then particularized as *caroletta* or whether *danza* and *caroletta* are synonyms. The first might seem to be the more obvious explanation, but later in the text (*Giornata 2, Conclusione*) when Emilia leads a *carola* (‘menando Emilia la *carola*’) to a song sung by Pampinea, we are told ‘appresso questa, più altre se ne cantarono e più danze si fecero e sonarono diversi suoni’ (after this, other [songs] were sung, and other dances performed, and several tunes were played). Thus the terms here are interchangeable, which seems to indicate that, in effect, *danza* and *carola* are synonymous. This impression appears to be confirmed by further references to dancing (*Giornata 6, Conclusione*) where Boccaccio passes from *carola* to *ballare* to *danza* without any obvious distinction being made between them. The interchangeability of the terms *danza* and *carola* also seems likely when we next encounter them (*Giornata 7, Conclusione*):

*Dove con freschissimi vini e con confetti la fatica del picciol cammin cacciata via, intorno della bella fontana di presente furono in sul danzare, quando al suono della cornamusa di Tindaro e quando d’altri suon carolando.*
Where with the coolest of wines and with sweetmeats, the fatigue of the short walk was chased away, and around a beautiful fountain they began at once to dance, sometimes to the music of Tindaro’s bagpipe, and sometimes dancing carole to other kinds of music.

Similarly carolare seems to be a general term for dance in the phrase carolare e giostrare (to dance and to joust, Giornata 8, Novella 7).

Thus, although Dante may have been conscious of the fact that the carole was a circular French dance, and Boccaccio likewise (since he refers in the extract above to a dance around a fountain) for neither author does carola have the fixed meaning of a technical term. For Dante it can indeed signify a circular dance, but the word can also be used of the singing of a choir. Boccaccio, with one exception, avoids the usual word for dance, ballo, in his Decameron, preferring instead the poetic danza or the rare term carola. This adds to the impression that he is not using these two words as precise choreographic terms, but rather more loosely as elegant synonyms for dance.

Nevertheless it has been implied that the French carole was known and practised in Italy, and is represented in Italian art, most notably in Ambrogio Lorenzetti’s fresco of Il buon governo (Good Government) painted in the years 1338-39 on a wall of the Sala della Pace in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena.20 In

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20 The painting, a detail of which is reproduced in Plate VIII, is discussed in George Rowley, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Princeton Monograph in Art and Archaeology, No 32 (Princeton, NJ, 1958), I, 99-122, with particular reference to the dance on pp. 110-111. The dates for the fresco given here are on p. 127. Rowley reproduces the detail in II, Plate 218. De Bartholomaeis, p. 74, calls the dance a ‘ruota’, which he equates with the ridda, carola, tresca, ronda and rigoletto, but his statements (p. 79) on the carola are derived from Jeanroy and Bédier (whose pronouncements
the detail of the painting in question, seven girls form an S-shaped chain by holding hands. Two others face each other and make an arch, the girl on the viewer's left by raising her right arm, the girl on the viewer's right by raising her left arm. The girl at the head of the line of dancers has already passed under the arch, and is facing the viewer. The girl next to her is lowering her head ready to pass under the arch. The music is provided by yet another girl, who is evidently singing (since she is the only one with her mouth open) while at the same time beating a tambourine with jingles.

This depiction is certainly not the *carole* as described by French writers. The formation is not that of a circle. An arch is not mentioned as a constituent of the French dance. In the French *carole* music is supplied by the singing of the dancers themselves not by another person. Moreover instruments are never involved in performances of this dance when executed by persons of good social position as these young ladies evidently are. A representation more closely corresponding to French representations can be seen in the detail of another fresco, one painted (c. 1365) by Andrea di Bonaiuto and his assistants in the Cappellone degli Spagnoli of Santa Maria Novella in Florence.²¹ It shows four girls holding hands in a circle. All four, however, have their mouths closed.

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²¹ Andrea di Bonaiuto is also known as Andrea da Firenze. This painting, a detail of which is reproduced in Plate IX, is variously entitled by commentators. It can also be seen in Rowley, II, Plate 221, Besseler, Fig. 89 ("Tanzgruppen"), and van Marle, Plate 45, where the painting is improbably entitled 'Les divertissements d'une journée passée à la campagne' (the recreations of a day spent in the country). Brainard (*ibid*) also includes this depiction as illustrating 'line dances of the *carole* type'.

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Rather than being a carole, this detail, if it represents a dance, could be a round ridda examined below. The fresco also shows three girls in a line with a fourth with her mouth open beating a tambourine. This line of girls and their accompanist is somewhat reminiscent of Ambrogio's painting. As for the Siena fresco, we might be inclined to dismiss it as showing the French dance on the grounds that it does not correspond in any of its particulars to the carole as described by French authors. The features of the carole, however, as portrayed in French miniatures generally do not correspond to those of literary descriptions either. As we saw in the last chapter, the carole is most commonly represented as a straight line with only a few artists suggesting a circle. The depiction of the courtly carole in the Roman de la Rose, discussed in the previous chapter, shows instruments in close proximity in a number of miniatures accompanying the text even though, as I have argued, the instrumental music in this passage of the romance is a separate activity. The Siena fresco, then, could be the artist's interpretation of the dance in which he chose to make several departures from choreographic reality in the interests of art. Yet there are reasons for doubting that this is the correct explanation.

The detail of two persons forming an arch is also seen in a Lombard drawing of the fourteenth century in which two couples hold hands together. In this depiction the pair on the viewer's right face each other and form an arch, the man (on the viewer's right) with his right arm, the woman (on the viewer's left) with her left. The other couple are about to pass under the arch. On the viewer's left, a young man plays a lute using a plectrum. The existence of a

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22 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library. Van Marle reproduces the drawing (Fig. 71), but gives no catalogue number and, as with so many of this author's captions, the picture is merely entitled a 'ronde'.
second picture showing the same detail as in the Siena fresco suggests that this
detail is not peculiar to one artist, but is likely to have been a characteristic of a
particular Italian dance of the period, which prompts one to question the
assumption that Ambrogio's painting illustrates a French carole.

In fact Rowley, in his monograph on Ambrogio Lorenzetti, calls the dance
in the Siena fresco a ridda, but without giving any reason for his choice of
designation. The earliest occurrence of this term seems to be found elsewhere
in the same discorde by Re Giovanni already quoted ('Or venga a rid[d]are, / chi
ci sa [ben] andare', ll. 37-38, Now let him come and dance a ridda who can
perform it well) where it seems likely that ridda is synonymous with danza. Yet
Ser Gorello appears to differentiate between the two: 'con danze e con rida /
giovani, donne con strumenti e canti' (with dances and with the ridda young
men, ladies with instruments and songs). Giovanni delle Celle similarly
distinguishes the term from ballo, when he asks rhetorically 'peccano
mortalmente coloro che menano il ballo e la ridda non lecita? (Do those who lead
a dance and the forbidden ridda commit a mortal sin?). The inference that the
ridda did not meet with universal approval can also be drawn from a further
reference to dancing in the Inferno of the Divine Comedy:

Come fa l'onda là sovra Cariddi,

che si frange con quella in cui s'intoppa,

cosi convien che qui la gente riddi.

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23 Rowley, I, 110.
24 Citation in Battaglia, 'Ridda'. Battaglia's definitions, both of the noun ridda and of the verb
riddare, however, do not accord with literary descriptions of the dance.
25 Citation in Battaglia, 'Ridda'.
As do the waves there above Charybdis, one breaking against another when they meet, so must the souls here dance their *ridda*.²⁶

Dante compares the avaricious and the profligate in Hell to two halves of the same circle of waves eddying around the legendary whirlpool, and then changing places. Both Boccaccio and Buti, commenting on these lines, explain the simile in terms of two waves of two different seas (Boccaccio) or the ends of a broken circle of dancers (Buti), which, in both cases, rush against each other; yet Dante's comparison can only be intended to indicate vigorous movement since it is obvious that dancers must do more than rush against one another.²⁷ Nevertheless madrigal lyrics also associate the dance with a circular form, with one of them specifically referring to a 'tonda ridda' (round *ridda*).²⁸ On the other hand, Fazio degli Uberti, in his universal history in verse, *Il dittamondo*, likens the *ridda* to a river. In the passage in question, the poet and his companion, Solino, are travelling in Greece. They come upon a river, and Fazio asks Solino where it rises. He replies that it rises in Mount Ida, flows through Macedonia and from there into the Aegean:

> A volte, come l'uom la ridda guida,

²⁶ I have substituted *ridda* for the 'round' of Sinclair's translation.
²⁷ Boccaccio, *Esposizioni*, pp. 385-86; Buti, I, 204. The usual interpretation is that *riddi* here is from the verb *riddare*. On this verb, and also on M. D'Andria's dissenting view that dancing is not intended here, see Bernabei 'Riddare'. Bernabei refutes D'Andria's argument, although Bernabei's choreographic evidence, derived from secondary sources, is of extremely dubious value as mentioned above (n. 1).
²⁸ *Poesie*, pp. 19, 99.
passando se ne vien per Macedonia,
in fino che nel mar Egeo s'annida.

Partus ha nome, del qual si ragiona
che Io, per li poeti, fu sua figlia,
per la quale Argus perdeo la persona.²⁹

By turns, as one guides the ridda, it passes through Macedonia, and at last sinks into the Aegean Sea. Partus is its name, whose daughter, according to the poets, was Io by whom Argus met his end.

The strange conception of geography and the myth that the poet presents here are irrelevant to our purpose except for the river named. Fazio adopts the name Partus for the River Inachus, so called from the King of Argos, who was, according to some writers of the ancient world, the father of Io. The Inachus is in the Peloponnese.³⁰ It rises in the region of Lyrkia, and flows westwards and then south to the west of Argos, and enters the Gulf of Argolis near Nea Kios. It follows a serpentine course. By comparing the river to the ridda, Fazio implies that the dance in this case meandered, and did not form a circle or a straight line.

²⁹ Fazio degli Uberti, Il ditamondo e le rime, ed. Giuseppe Corsi, Scrittori d'Italia, Nos 206 and 207 (Bari, 1952), IV, 5, ll. 28-33. The poem was begun in 1345, but remained unfinished at the poet's death in 1367.
³⁰ Corsi, in his edition of Il ditamondo (pp. 304-05), discusses the identification of the Partus at length. He suggests, inter alia, that the Inachus, to which Fazio makes allusion, is another river of the same name, a tributary of the Spercheios in southern Thessaly, which the poet mentions elsewhere in the poem. The text itself and the mythological context here, however, clearly place the river in the Peloponnese.
In another citation of the dance, Armannino Giudice recalls the story in Greek mythology when Achilles hid himself among women, but was discovered to be male by Ulysses in the way that he danced:

Lycomedes ordered them to dance, and entertain the Greek lords. He had the usual instruments summoned: small cymbals, drums and flutes. Then the ladies began to play, and the girls to perform their ridda; then Ulysses noticed particularly from the movements of his arms and feet that Achilles was slower than the other girls, and because of this, and many other gestures that he saw him make, that he was in fact male. He pointed this out covertly to Diomedes who looked at Achilles, and it seemed to him that this indeed was true.

In sum, then, in the ridda we have a dance that is not a broken circle, but can be a complete circle as in the examples from the madrigals cited above. It

31 Armannino Giudice, ‘La Fiorita’ in Testi inediti di storia trojana [etc.], ed. Egidio Gorra, Biblioteca di testi inediti e rari, No 1 (Turin, 1887), pp. 545-46. According to the mythology, Achilles was nine years old when this incident took place, thus making the myth seem more plausible.
can also, however, wind about, and, led by one person, be a dance in which movement of the arms is involved. These characteristics correspond better with those of the Siena and Florentine frescoes than those of the French carole, although we cannot know for certain that the ridda is the dance represented in these paintings.

There appears to be a difference in the way in which French artists and Italian artists, or at least those considered in the present study, viewed dancing. The depictions of French artist generally do not reflect choreographic features. That is because they are more interested in illustrating a narrative, and consider any plausible representation of a dance acceptable. They are less attentive to the choreographic detail of any particular dance mentioned in their accompanying text. Italian artists, on the other hand, such as Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Andrea di Bonaiuto, were concerned with the realities of daily life namely good government and good behaviour. Thus the French representations of the carole do not correspond with the coherent notion of the dance as presented by the contemporary French writers, whereas in the frescoes of the two Italian painters we have depictions that accord with descriptions of the ridda by contemporary Italian writers.

The relationship between dancing and singing, dominant in French citations is also frequent in Italian texts, and singing is collocated with every dance term: ‘danza . . . canzone’ (Boccaccio); ‘belli canti e tresche (Faba); ‘balli e canti’ (Sacchetti) ‘trescavan . . . cantando’ (Poesie); ‘carola . . . canzone’ (Boccaccio); ‘ridda . . . con dolce canto’ (Poesie). In some of these contexts it is impossible

32 Decameron, Giornata 1, Conclusione; Faba, p. 16; Sachetti, I, 68, 100, 106, 118, 121, 281, 334, 350, II, 20; Poesie, p. 56; Decameron, Giornata 2, Conclusione; Poesie, p. 99, respectively.
to say whether or not the dancing and the singing are separate activities. What differentiates Italian descriptions from the French, however, is the occasional mention in the Italian texts, even in elegant social circles, of instruments. Singing for dancing is sometimes instrumentally accompanied, as in the quotations cited above from Folgòre da San Gemignano concerning the danza and from Ser Gorello concerning the ridda. Instruments are also named in collocation with ballo: ‘con balli e con stormenti’ (with dances and instruments), ‘ballare al suono d’uno mezzo cannone’ (to dance to the sound of a mi-canon).33

In the minority of cases where instruments are named, the one most frequently mentioned is the lute.34

A point to note, however, is the association of a specific lyric form and musical instruments with particular dances. Now the tresca seems to have been accompanied by singing alone. The same is true in the case of two of Boccaccio’s carole. Elissa sings for a ladies’ carola (Giornata 6, Conclusione). Earlier in the Decameron (Giornata 2, Conclusione), we are told that ‘menando Emilia la carola la seguente canzone da Pampinea, rispondendo l’altre, fu cantata: “Qual donna canterà, s’io non canto io / che son contenta d’ogni mio disio?”’ (with Emilia leading the carola the following song was sung by Pampinea with the other ladies responding: “Which lady will sing if I do not sing / I who am satisfied in all my desires?”). The lyric is in the form of a ballata (a form explained below) of three stanzas. Notable here is that for Boccaccio’s carole, as for all his dances, it is invariably one lady who sings, with possible choral participation (as I suggest below), and the songs are always in the form of a ballata. For the French carole, on the other hand, several individuals sing,

33 Compagni, p 135 and Barberino, p. 13 respectively.
34 Decameron, Giornata 1, Introduzione and Conclusione; Sacchetti, II, 45; Frezzi, p. 125.
either men or women, choral involvement seems highly unlikely, and the songs are not confined to a single form. Thus a ballata can accompany a carola or a danza (Giornata 3, Conclusione) so that no discernable difference, as regards musical accompaniment, can be drawn between two dances named in this way.

The ballata (at least in the Decameron) is similar in form to the virelai, but it is not identical to it. The most obvious similarity is that in both the stanza is divided into three sections. The most notable difference is that in the ballata, the refrain (ripresa), which begins the piece, and is repeated after every stanza (although this is not indicated in Branca’s edition), is generally shorter than that in the virelai, and consists of only two or three lines. Furthermore the rhyming scheme of the refrain is not repeated in the third section of the stanza (the volta) unlike the third section of the virelai (the tierce), which always has the same rhyming scheme as the refrain. A typical rhyming scheme of the initial statement of the refrain, the first stanza and the first repeat of the refrain of a ballata is ABA|cd|cd|dba|ABA (‘Amor, s’io posso uscir de’ tuoi artigli’, Giornata 6, Conclusione).

In Giornata 2, Conclusione, cited above, the other ladies ‘respond’ to Pampinea’s song. The verb rispondere does not seem to be used here as respondre is used in relation to the French carole. The French verb, as I argued in Chapter VIII, has rather the sense of to respond to someone’s singing. In the passage cited above (Giornata 2, Conclusione), however, the syntax seems to indicate that after Pampinea had sung the refrain and the first stanza, the other ladies then repeated the refrain and, by implication, did so again after each of the subsequent two stanzas. Similarly, when Lauretta sings for a danza we are told: ‘la Lauretta allora, con voce assai soave ma con maniera alquanto pietosa,
Lauretta then with a very sweet voice, but in a rather melancholy manner, with the others answering, began thus). Admittedly the significance of risposto is ambiguous when Emilia sings for a danza to the accompaniment of a lute, Boccaccio adds `questa ballatetta finita, alla qual tutti lietamente avean risposto' (when this little ballata was finished, to which all had responded joyfully (Giornata 1, Conclusione). Concerning the possible difference between French and Italian practice, it must be remembered that in French contexts the dancers are often coming together for the first time, and quite possibly do not know what songs that are to be sung, whereas in the Decameron we are dealing with a group of people who leave Florence to escape the plague of 1348, and are living together in a villa. Thus they are a closed community more likely to know or to learn the songs that will be sung.

A more striking contrast with the French practice of the carole is that, even in polite society, instruments can participate. In the passage cited above, Emilia sings for a danza accompanied by Dioneo on the lute. Even more remarkably, a lute and a vielle take the place of singing for a carola (Giornata 1, Introduzione). The instruments mentioned so far in connexion with dancing in the Decameron are all 'soft instruments' (lute, vielle), as is the case in some other texts already cited, which indicates the generally intimate nature of the dances performed in the upper eschelons of Italian society. Nevertheless Boccaccio also describes dancing by the same people to a 'loud instrument' (cornamusa, a bagpipe, Giornata 7, Conclusione). This can be explained here by the fact that the dancing

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35 On 'loud' and 'soft' instruments in the context of medieval and Renaissance music, see p. 134, n. 35.
in this context is taking place outdoors. It is less easy to account for the same instrument where the location is not clearly defined (Giornata 6, Conclusione).

The *ridda* was always, it seems, accompanied by singing. This singing is apparently unaccompanied in one madrigal lyric. Instrumental accompaniment, however, seems to have been more usual. In the quotation from Armannino Giudice, cited above, the *ridda* is danced to the accompaniment of small cymbals, drums and flutes. Singing and dancing with instrumental accompaniment are performed in the following reference to a certain Belcore in the *Decameron*: ‘e oltre a ciò era quella che meglio sapeva sonare il cembalo e cantare “L’acqua corre la borrana” e menar la ridda e il ballonchio, quando bisogno faceva’ (and besides that, she was the one who knew how best to beat the tambourine and sing ‘The Water Runs Down the Ditch’, and lead the *ridda* and the *ballonchio* when need be. Giornata 8, Novella 2). From both these references we may conclude that this dance is associated with ‘loud instruments’ and particularly with percussion. Belcore’s tambourine is precisely the instrument seen in the painting of *Il buon governo*, which lends some weight to Rowley’s statement that the *ridda* is the dance depicted in Ambrogio Lorenzetti’s fresco.

To summarize, then, we have no evidence of the existence of the *carole* in Italy or even of an Italian version of it. Certainly Dante’s description of a circular dance corresponds with those in French. On the other hand, he also uses the term for a choir of blessed spirits. Boccaccio’s predilection for a recherché vocabulary of dance terms, combined with the lack of differentiation between *danza* and *carola* in his *Decameron*, lead one to suspect that *carola* in both

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36 *Poesie*, p. 99.
Dante and Boccaccio is nothing more than an elegant literary borrowing from the French. Additional support for this conclusion comes from the fact that these two Italian authors are the only ones in our period to use the term *carola*, which must mean that even the very word was not in general use in Italy. Neither is there is any convincing evidence for the French *carole* in Italian art, so that it would appear that the dance in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco is more likely to be a *ridda*, although there appears to be no means of proving this.
Chapter XI: Carole in Middle English

The French word, carole, it seems, is first attested in the Oxford Psalms, which were copied in England in the first half of the twelfth century. The term is subsequently found in other Anglo-Norman translations of the Psalter and in other French translations of Latin texts. There is no evidence that the word appeared in continental French before the late twelfth century, when the earliest attestations seem to be in the romances of Chrétien de Troyes or possibly in Benoît de Sainte-Maure. As extant copies of most of the earliest French writings were, in fact, made in England, the foregoing statements mean that the term carole is first recorded in England. Thus the word was current and widely disseminated in England in the twelfth century. As the Anglo-Norman texts are translations of biblical texts in which the word carole is used, but the dance is not described, we cannot ascertain from such evidence whether carole is a new dance or merely a new term for an old dance. From one source, however (Wace’s translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth), we infer that a dance called a carole, circular in form, certainly existed by the mid twelfth century and was probably known in England.

French was the official language of England after the Norman Conquest. English did not start to regain its position as a spoken language and in literature

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1 In this chapter I have tried as far as possible to retain the spelling carole for the dance and carol for the English song or its lyric.
2 See Chapter III for what follows in this paragraph.
until the middle of the thirteenth century. It is not surprising, therefore, that
dance terms in English do not occur with any frequency until that time, when we
find the dance term, *ring*. Walter de Bibbesworth, writing a guide to the French
language, censures the dancing of poor women: ‘quant povre femme mene la
tresche, / plus la vaudreit en main la besche’ (when a poor woman leads the
tresche, it would be better if she had a spade in her hand). A contemporary
gloss in English gives the equivalent of *tресhе* as *ring*. A sermon of the same
period as Walter’s text comments on a song sung by ‘wilde wimmen & gol me[n]
i mi contereie wan he gon o the ring’ (wild women and lustful men in my region
when they go into the ring). Later, Richard Rolle (c. 1300-49) employs the term
in a verse translation of his own Latin prose: ‘sed uerum dicitur quia amor preit
in tripudio, et coream ducit’ (but truly it is said that love goes forward, and leads
the dance), ‘bot suth than es it sayde that lufe ledes the ryng’ (but truly then it is
said then that love leads the ring). We may conclude that *ring* implies a circular
dance, but no more information can be gleaned on the subject.

As for dance songs in English, very few genuine examples are extant, and
then only the lyrics without their music have been preserved. Four of the seven
citations of medieval English dance lyrics made by Greene and by Robbins can
be disregarded, as there is no indication of dancing in their respective contexts.8

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Texts Series, No 6 (London, 1990), ll. 297-98, for this quotation, and for what follows in my text.
6 The complete sermon is quoted in Carleton Brown, ‘Texts and the Man: Presidential Address
Association*, 2 (1928), 106-07. In my quotations throughout this chapter, both from manuscripts
and from editions, I have substituted *th* for thorn and, as the context demands, *y* or *gh* for yogh.
7 *The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole*, ed. Margaret Deanesly, Publications of the
University of Manchester, Historical Series No 26 (Manchester, 1915), p. 276. The translation
will be found in *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole*, ed. Hope Emily Allen
8 *The Early English Carols*, ed. Richard Leighton Greene (1935; 2nd ed, Oxford, 1977), pp. xlii-x, cites (1) King Canute’s song, ‘Merie sunghe the muneches binnen Ely’, (2) a citation from
In the case of the remaining three, however, the reference to dancing is explicit. The first of these citations is from Giraldus Cambrensis who relates, in his *Gemma Ecclesiastica* composed about 1197, how a priest in the district of Worcester had often heard the refrain or theme (‘refectoriam seu refractoriam’) of a particular song. On one occasion he heard it sung during the whole of one night as an accompaniment to dancing around his church: ‘quia tota id nocte in choreis circiter ecclesiam ductis audierat’ (because he had heard it sung all night for dancing led around his church). The following day, as he stood at the altar, instead of giving the blessing in Latin ‘Dominus vobiscum’ (the Lord be with you), he exclaimed in English *Swete lamman dhin are* (Sweet love, thy mercy).

The second and third genuine examples of dance songs cited by Greene and Robbins, come from works written in the second half of the thirteenth century.

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William Fitzstephen consisting of tags from Horace, *Odes*, I, 4, I. 5 and *Odes*, I, 37, II. 1-2, (3) ‘Hoppe, hoppe, Wilekin’ and (4) ‘Atte wrastlinge’. While (3) and (4) are, in fact, dance lyrics in English (1) and (2) are not. Greene’s acceptance of Canute’s song is untenable. For the text and context of this lyric, see the *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake, Camden Third Series, No 92 (London, 1962), pp. 153-54. Both Louise Pound, ‘King Cnut’s Song and Ballad Origins’, *Modern Language Notes*, 34 (1919), 163 and F. Liebermann, ‘Zu Liedrefrain und Tanz im englischen Mittelalter’, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 140 (1920), 262, have plausibly argued that in *choris*, in this context refers to choral singing not to dancing; see also R. E. Latham (ed.), *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (London, 1975-), ‘Chorus’. As for the quotations from Horace, they can hardly be claimed as having much to do with English dance songs. Roswell Hope Robbins, ‘Middle English Carols as Processional Hymns’, *Studies in Philology*, 56 (1959), p. 576, refers to ‘early descriptions of dances’ and their lyrics, and cites (1) a song title from Giraldus Cambrensis, (2) Matthew Paris’s quotation of ‘Hoppe, hoppe, Wilekin’, (3) the *Brut* and (4) Fabyan’s *Chronicle*. While (1) and (2) indeed refer to dancing (for which see below) there is no dancing or lyric in the passage of the *Brut* that he cites (*The Brut or The Chronicles of England*, ed. Friedrich W. D. Brie, The Early English Text Society, Original Series, 131, London, 1906, p. 200) and, although lyric insertions are included in the text on pp. 191 and 208, there is no mention of dancing in these contexts either. As for Robbins’ citation of *The New Chronicles of England and France in Two Parts* by Robert Fabyan, ed. Henry Ellis (London, 1811), p. 398, the earliest edition of this work was printed in 1516, which is clearly too late to be of any use, and, once again, there is no dancing in the context of the two lyrics quoted. The statement by G. V. Smithers in *Early Middle English Verse and Prose*, ed. J. A. W. Bennett and G. V. Smithers (1966; rpt Oxford, 1974), p 109, that the three pieces printed on p. 128 of their anthology ‘are refrains of dance-songs which have evidently been detached from their original setting’ is unsupported by any evidence.

9 See ‘Gemma Ecclesiastica’ in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer (London 1862), II, 120, for this anecdote. The idea of a refrain is not evident at this early date.
The second is from Matthew Paris and refers to events that took place in 1173. It tells how Robert, Earl of Leicester, invades England with his band of Flemings:

Qui etiam, quando ad aliquam planitiem gratia pausandi diverterant, choreas ducentes patria lingua saltitando cantatabant,

'Hoppe, hoppe, Wilekin, hoppe, Wilekin,
Engelond is min ant tin.'

Who, when they had turned off onto some plain to rest, sang in their native language while hopping up and down in a dance, 'Hop, hop Wilkin, hop, Wilkin, / England is mine and thine'.

There can be no doubt that this is a dance song, although it is unclear why Matthew should quote the lyric in English rather than in the original Flemish or in a Latin translation, and there is the possiblility that the song itself was originally English, and could be an interpolation by Matthew. The third example from the group is one that provides the unlikely text for a sermon since it comes from a popular song dating from the mid-to-late thirteenth century, and is the one to which I referred above: 'Atte wrastlinge mi lemman i ches, / and atte ston kasting i him for-les' (At wrestling I chose my lover, and at stone-casting I abandoned him).

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10 Greene's source for this anecdote is William Lambarde's *Dictionarium Angliae Topographicum & Historicum* (London, 1730) p. ii, where Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, published in 1576, is cited. For the original source, however, see *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani Historia Anglorum*, ed. Sir Frederic Madden (London, 1866), I, 381.

Both this lyric and the 'Flemish' one are identical in form to many French dance songs dating from the thirteenth century, in that they consist of a single couplet. It is impossible to tell, however, whether the dances that such songs accompanied, and the 'ring' in particular, were, in fact, identical to the French carole. On the one hand the 'ring' may be a distinct dance that coincidentally shared a song form with the carole. On the other, ring may be the English equivalent of the French carole, a term that later largely replaced the English one.

In any case, the word, carole, like the word dance itself, first appears in English writings composed about 1300, but which are preserved in manuscripts dating from the fourteenth century. In The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester:

After mete as right was, the menestraus eode aboute,

& knightes & swaines, in karole gret route,

So that the kinges nueva, & the erles nueva of kent,

The tueie yonge bachelers, that noble were & gent

In that noble tresche, strif bigonne arere,

So that the herles nueva, then other slou right there. After eating, as was fitting, the minstrels went about with knights and their attendants in a great company to dance a carole, and it happened that the king's nephew and the Earl of Kent's nephew, the two young gentlemen who were

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12 See OED, 'Dance', rather than MED, 'Daunce', in which the earliest citation given dates from shortly before 1375.
noble and well-born, began to struggle in that noble tresche so that the Earl’s nephew killed the other right there.

The use of *karole* and *tresche* here may be figurative, but a literal meaning of *carole* is evident in other compositions of a similar date. The dance in Robert Mannyng’s retelling of the legend of the dancers of Kölbigk in his *Handlyng Synne*, is twice named as a *carole*, although, as I argued in Chapter III, it is extremely unlikely that this particular dance was the one envisaged in Theodoric’s original Latin account.

These wommen yede & tolled here oute
Wyth hem to karolle the cherche aboute.
Beune ordeyned here karollynge:
Gerleu endytted what they shuld synge.¹⁴

These women went and enticed them out to *carole* with them around the church. Beune directed their carolling. Gerleu composed what they should sing.

The scribe of the Cotton manuscript of *Cursor Mundi* plainly understands in the following passage that the term, ‘karol’ indicates a dance:

To iursalem that heued bar thai,
Thai karold wimmen be the wai,

¹⁴ Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne*, ed. Idelle Sullens, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, No 14 (New York, 1983), ll. 9045-48. On the original Latin versions of the legend of the dancers of Kölbigk, see p. 51, n. 2. In a French retelling of the legend, found in the second recension of *Le Roman de Renart le Contrefait*, ed. Gaston Raynaud and Henri Lemaître (Paris, 1914), l. 275, it is also said of the dancers that they ‘menoient les karolles’ (led *caroles*). This work was composed between 1328 and 1342.
O thair karol suilk was the sang,
That thai for ioi tham sang a-mang,
‘Saul has smitten a thousand,
Ten thousand fel in dauid hand.\(^{15}\)

To Jerusalem they carried that head. The women carolled on the way. Of their *carole* this was the song that they sang for joy among themselves: ‘Saul has killed a thousand, but ten thousand fell at David’s hand’.

The Cotton manuscript dates from the first quarter of the fourteenth century.\(^{16}\) Other manuscripts, some later, refer to ‘dance’.

That *carole* had a choreographic significance for some writers even at the end of the fourteenth century is evidenced by John Trevisa’s translation of Ranulph Higden’s *Polychronicon* where, in a biographical account of Robert, Duke of Normandy, father of William the Conqueror, the Latin ‘in chorea tripudiantem’ is rendered as ‘daunsynge in a caroll’:

Transiens aliquando iste Robertus per Phalesiam urbem Normanniae, vidit puella Arlet nomine, pelliparii filiam, inter caeteras in chorea tripudiantem.

This Robert somtyme passyinge thorugh Phalesiam, a citee of Normandy, he saw a mayden, Arlek by name, the daughter of a skynner, daunsynge in a caroll among other maydouns. . .\(^{17}\)


This Robert passing on a certain occasion through Falaise, a city in Normandy, saw a young girl, Arlek [i.e. Arlette] by name, the daughter of a skinner, dancing in a carole with other young girls.

The same translation of the Latin word is found in the anonymous Stanzaic Life of Christ:

Thow in tho ryng of carolyng
Spredis thin armes furth from the,
And I on croice have hom spredyng
Schamely, as men movn see.  

Thou stretchest thy arms out in the ring of the carole, and I have stretched them on a cross shamefully as anyone may see.

These lines are a versification of a meditation on the Crucifixion in the Legenda Aurea by Jacobus de Voragine (1228/30-1298): ‘tu in choreis brachia extendis in modum crucis in gaudium et ego ea in cruce extensa habui in obprobium’ (thou stretchest thy arms as if on a cross joyfully in dances, but I have truly stretched

them on a cross in shame). The particular interest of the English passage in the context of the present study is that the author clearly understands carolyng to refer to a circular dance.

The word, carole in English contexts, however, not only, on occasion translates the Latin chorea, it can also be a direct borrowing from the French, as is frequently exemplified in Chaucer’s version of the dance passage in the Roman de la Rose:

Tho myghtist thou karoles sen,
And folk daunce and mery ben,
And made many a fair tournyng
Upon the grene gras springyng.20

There mightest thou see caroles, and people dancing and being happy, and they made many a graceful turn stepping in a lively manner on the green grass.

Chaucer’s usage, however, does not seem to have the same choreographic significance as the French carole, which does not involve ‘springyng’. Possibly for the English poet the term is a vague equivalent of daunce. Indeed, at two points later in the passage he actually translates the French carole as daunce (ll. 802 and 808). Thus it is questionable whether the word had any more precise sense when it makes a rare appearance in one of his original works (The

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19 The Latin quotation in A Stanzacic Life of Christ is attributed in this text (l. 5937) to St Bernard, but is actually by Jacobus de Voragine; see Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea Vulgo Historia Lombardica Dicta, ed. Theodor Graesse (Dresden, 1846), p. 227.
Canterbury Tales) where, among other depictions on the wall in the temple of Diana, could be seen 'festes, instrumentz, caroles, daunces' ("The Knight's Tale", l. 1931).

As carole, meaning dance, is found in fewer English contexts than the French carole, and then mainly as the equivalent of Latin or French terms, it could be argued that it represents a foreign concept. This circumstance arises from the fact that much of the English literature of the time is derived from sources not originally composed in English. Even if the French and the English forms of the word signified an identical choreography, one way in which the usage of the two languages differed markedly is that, whereas in French, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the term applied exclusively to the choreography, in English it could also be used of the song accompanying the dance, or even of the song alone.21 In Handlyng Synne, in the passage cited above, the word carole bears a choreographic sense. Yet in the same context of the 'Colbek' (Kölbigk) passage we also find it used in reference to songs in the phrase 'karolles to synge & rede rymes' (l. 9004, to sing carols and recite rhymes) and likewise in the following lines:

Thys ys the karol that they sunge,

As telleth the latyne tunge:

Equibat Beuo [etc.](ll. 9049-51)

21 In some contexts it is unclear whether the reference is to a song or to a dance or to both, for example, 'Knijf-pleyeyng and syngyng, / carolyng and turneieyng', Kyng Alisaunder, ed. G. V. Smithers, The Early English Text Society, Original Series, Nos 227 and 237 (London, 1952-57), Laud MS, ll. 1042-43. The sense is also unclear in 'many carrals and grete dansyng', 'Sir Cleges', l. 103, in Middle English Humorous Tales in Verse, ed. George H. McKnight (Boston, MA, 1913).
This is the carol that they sang as the Latin language tells: *Beuo rode* [etc.].

A song of some particular kind seems to be implied in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* of which both the composition and the unicam manuscript have been dated to c. 1400: 'at the soper and after, mony athel songez, / as coundutes of Krystmasse and carolez newe' (ll. 1654-55, at the supper and after, many noble songs, such as Christmas conducti and new carols). Chaucer, too, uses 'karole' both in the sense of a dance, as we have seen, but also to mean singing a song to accompany that dance, as in the following passage from his version of the *Roman de la Rose*:

This folk, of which I telle you soo,

Upon a karole wenten thoo.

A lady karolede hem that hyghte

Gladnesse, [the] blissful and the lighte. (ll. 743-46)

These people, about whom I am speaking, performed a *carole* there. A lady, called Gladness, cheerful and happy, sang a carol for them.

If the allusion in *Sir Gawain* hints at songs of some special type or for some special occasion, notably Christmas, the interpretation of references in an interpolation in Chaucer and in citations in Gower, as we shall see, imply more clearly that the carol as a lyric had a specific form. In the unique reading of MS
G, now widely regarded as a scribal intervention, of Chaucer’s *Legend of Good Women*, ladies sing a ballade ‘carolewyse’ as they dance around a daisy:

And aftyr that they wentyn in cumpas
Daunsynyge aboute this flour an esy pas,
And songyn as it were in carolewyse
This balade whiche that I schal yow deuyse.\(^{22}\)

And afterwards they went dancing around this flower with a slow step, and sang in the manner of a carol this ballade, which I shall set out for you.

The ballade is then quoted. The ballade was not normally a lyric form that accompanied dancing (see Chapter VII). The point at issue here, however, is that a lyric with a refrain is stated to have been sung ‘carolewyse’ implying that the term *carol* in this context refers to a kind of song. A clearer indication that it was a form of song emerges from Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*, where the context makes no reference to dancing: ‘and ek he can carolles make, / rondeal, balade and virelai’ (and he can also compose carols, rondeaux, ballades and virelais).\(^{23}\) The collocation of ‘carolles’ with the three French *formes fixes* suggests that, for Gower, too, the carol in this sense is a specific lyric form with a refrain. This prompts the question what that form was.

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What appears to be the earliest extant lyric in English that is actually called a ‘karolle’ is the one quoted in Handlyng Synne. This, however, is simply a translation of the Latin, and may therefore be discounted as an example of an English carol lyric. For an original example we must turn to one of a number of lyrics contained in volume of collected manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. The text of the piece in question, ‘Maiden in the Mor Lay’, is well nigh impossible to unscramble in the incomplete state in which it is preserved in the source. Nevertheless it can be reconstituted from a Latin contrafactum contained in The Red Book of Ossory assumed to have been compiled by Richard of Leatherhead, who was Bishop of Ossory in Ireland between 1317 and 1360. His Latin version, ‘Peperit Virgo,’ bears a rather illegible marginal note identifying its original. Greene, however, has deciphered this note as ‘[m]ayde y[n] the moore [l]ay’. Thus with the aid of the complete Latin version, the English one can be restored. Neither in the English source nor in the Latin is the lyric called a carol. But Wenzel has drawn attention to a manuscript of a sermon preserved in Worcester Cathedral Library, referring to the drink of mankind in the Golden Age, which clearly alludes to the ‘Maiden in the Mor Lay’: ‘Et quis potus? Responditur in quodam cantico, viz. karole: “the mayde be wode lay”’ (And what was their drink? The answer appears in a certain song,}

24 OBL, Rawlinson, D. 913 (s. xiv), fol. 1*.
26 My edition of this lyric appears in Appendix C. The lyric has been published in many anthologies, for example in Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, ed. Roswell Hope Robbins (1952; 2nd ed. Oxford, 1955), pp. 12-13. My edition of the lyric, however, differs from that printed by Robbins and by other editors. The Latin contrafactum confirms that every stanza of the original English lyric consists of nine lines having two stresses to every line, with l. 4 being a repetition of l. 3 and l. 8 being a repetition of l. 7. Moreover this transcription reveals that, with two pas simples (see Chapter V) to every line, the lyric could very well accompany a carole.
namely a *karole* that is called ‘the mayde lay by a wood’). Although the text of
the sermon refers to a wood rather than to a moor, a marginal note in English in
the manuscript refers to ‘the cold water of the well spryng’, and thus identifies
the piece in question as referring to the lyric of the Moor Maiden. Greene
states that ‘it is in rondel verse-form which is not found elsewhere in Middle
English, nor does it occur, to my knowledge, in any other Medieval Latin
verse’. While it is true that the form of the lyric is unique, it cannot be called a
*rondel* (an early form of the word *rondeau*), as it does not follow the verse form
as explained in Chapter VII.

Although the ‘Maiden in the Mor Lay’ involves much repetition, unlike the
rondeau, it has no refrain. Yet a refrain was apparently a characteristic of the
carol as a song form by the end of the fourteenth century, as implied by the
quotation above from Gower. As we possess only this one song named in a
fourteenth-century source as a ‘karole’, numerous other examples of carol songs,
and in particular ones appropriate for dancing, but now lost, must also have
existed. There are many attestations referring to the carol as song. It is therefore
possible that these songs took other forms, which may well have included those
with a refrain.

In fact, such a form with a refrain existed in the fourteenth century,
although not as a dance lyric. It consisted of several stanzas and a refrain of
several lines (called a burden by commentators) with which the piece began, and
which was repeated after every stanza. Thus it broadly resembled the virelai or
the ballata, although its origin was almost certainly different from both, as can be

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28 Wenzel, p. 72.
29 *Red Book*, p. x.
seen from what follows below. Therefore the similarity between the English form and the Continental ones is entirely fortuitous. I shall refer to the English one as burden-and-stanza form.

This form has been traced back by Robbins to a processional hymn in Latin liturgy for Palm Sunday found in The Sarum Missal, and of which the earliest manuscript dates from about 1264. At a certain point in the Palm Sunday service, seven boys are directed to sing the following response: ‘Gloria laus et honor tibi sit rex christe redemptor / cui puerile decus prompsit osanna pium’. (Glory, praise and honour be to thee Christ, King and Redeemer, to whom virtuous boys proclaim a pious hosanna). The choir repeats this response, the boys sing a versicle of two lines, and the choir then repeats the response. The boys sing two further versicles with the choir repeating the response after them. Such evidence seems to support Robbins’s argument that, in England, this kind of lyric with a refrain had a liturgical origin. This possibility notwithstanding, the two earliest extant vernacular examples are unambiguously secular love lyrics. One of these, ‘Blow, Northern Wind’, belongs to the second half of the thirteenth century or the first two decades of the fourteenth century, and consists

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30 In fact, the poet Charles d’Orléans (1394-1465) composed four virelais (three in French and one in Latin), which he called ‘caroles’. These are included in Charles d’Orléans: poésies, ed. Pierre Champion (Paris, 1923), I, 287-90. The pieces are actually in two stanzas, but are not presented as such in this edition. Charles is among the exceptional French authors who apply the term carole to a lyric. He was probably influenced by the English use of the word carol, and in fact he lived in England from 1415 until 1440 while he was held here as a prisoner.

31 Rossell Hope Robbins, ‘Friar Herebert and the Carol’, Anglia, 75 (1957), 194-98. Robbins (pp. 195-96) cites the Processionale ad Usum Insignis ac Praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum, ed. W. G. Henderson (1882; rpt Leeds, 1969), p. 52, for the Sarum hymn. This edition, however, is itself a reprint of the processional printed by Morin of Rouen in 1508. I have preferred to use The Sarum Missal Edited from Three Early Manuscripts, ed. J. Wickham Legg (Oxford, 1916), p. 96, of which the base manuscript, dating from c. 1264, is now in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. There are differences between the two texts, and the earlier one is obviously more relevant.

of ten stanzas with a burden.\textsuperscript{33} The other, 'Now Springs the Spray', has been dated on manuscript evidence of the folio on which it is written to before 1303, and comprises a more modest three stanzas with a burden.\textsuperscript{34} At least seven more fourteenth-century lyrics in this form, either complete or incomplete, have been cited in anthologies, and these are all religious.\textsuperscript{35} The first of these chronologically is a version in English verse by Friar Herebert of the hymn cited above, 'Gloria, laus et honor' beginning 'Wele, heriyying, and worshype boe to crist that doere ous bouhte' (Glory, praise and worship be to Christ who dearly redeemed us).\textsuperscript{36} Four of the remaining six pieces in the form are preserved in John Grimestone's commonplace book of 1372, although two of these lyrics are also to be found in other manuscripts.\textsuperscript{37} None of them, however, appears to be called a carol in the sources. It is not until the fifteenth century with the poems of John Audelay together with a piece in the 'Thornton Miscellany', that we have unambiguous evidence of the term carol being applied to the burden-and-stanza form.\textsuperscript{38} Audelay's \textit{oeuvre} contains twenty-five such pieces with four references

\textsuperscript{33} LBL, Harley MS 2253(s. xiv'), fols 72v-73v (Index, No. 1345). The lyric has been edited several times, most notably in \textit{The Harley Lyrics: The Middle English Lyrics of MS. Harley 2253}, ed. G. L. Brook (1948; 3\textsuperscript{rd} ed. Manchester, 1964), No 14, where (p. 3) a date of c. 1314 -25 is suggested for the manuscript. N. Ker, in his introduction to \textit{Facsimile of British Museum Harley 2253}, Early English Text Society, No 255 (Oxford, 1965), p. xxi, states that the manuscript was copied in the 1340s.

\textsuperscript{34} London, Lincoln's Inn, MS Hale 135, fol. 137' (Index, No. 360). This is another popular anthology piece. It can be found, for example, in \textit{English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century}, ed. Carleton Brown (Oxford, 1932), No 62. A note on p. 214 of this edition explains the dating.

\textsuperscript{35} Index, Nos 3872, 2241, 352, 2024, 1372 are to be found in \textit{Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century}, ed. Carleton Brown (1924; 2\textsuperscript{nd} ed. rev. G. V. Smithers, Oxford, 1952), as Nos 14, 15, 56, 59 and 69 respectively. Index No 29 is included in \textit{The Early English Carols} as No 12, and Index No 162 in Rossell Hope Robbins, 'The Earliest Carols and the Franciscans', \textit{Modern Language Notes}, 53 (1938), 244.

\textsuperscript{36} LBL, Additional MS 46,919 (formerly Phillipps 8336) (s. xiv), fol. 205'. The lyric is edited in \textit{Religious Lyrics}, No 14. The manuscript repeats the opening word of the burden after each stanza, but this repetition is not indicated in the edition.

\textsuperscript{37} Index, Nos 352, 2024, 162 and 3961.

\textsuperscript{38} OBL, MS Douce 302 (s. xvii'), fols 27'-32', printed in \textit{The Poems of John Audelay}, ed. Ella Keats Whiting, Early English Text Society, Original Series, No 184 (London, 1931), pp.181-214, where (p. vii) the manuscript is dated to the 'second quarter of the 15\textsuperscript{th} century'.

either to ‘these caroles’ or to ‘this carol’. It should noted, however, that in the manuscript of his poems there is no break between the stanzas and no indication of a repeated burden, but incomplete repetition of a refrain, or even total omission of this repeat is commonplace in the copying of medieval poetry. The piece in the ‘Thornton Miscellany’ entitled ‘A Carolle For crystynmesse; the Rose of Ryse’ has three six-line stanzas with a four-line burden, but is incomplete.

The earliest known record of burden-and-stanza lyric, then, is a Latin liturgical hymn, and seven of nine most frequently cited fourteenth-century examples are religious. The subject of three of these is the Nativity of Christ. Thus the relationship between the form that was later to be called a carol and the feast of Christmas was already established at an early date. The ‘Thornton Miscellany’ links the two by name in one instance. Audelay associates the carol song and Christmas more generally by prefacing his collection with the couplet ‘I pray yow, syrus, bothe moore and las, / syng these caroles in Cristemas’ (I ask you, sirs, both high and low, sing these carols at Christmas). Such references indicate the direction that the term carol as song was to take in English by associating the term with the feast of the Nativity. Yet, at the same time, it must be acknowledged that the two earliest vernacular pieces are secular, and, as Greene is at pains to point out, a large number of non-religious pieces in burden-

39 See No 39 (l. 60), No 51 (l. 33) and No 52(l. 53) in Whiting’s edition.
40 LBL, Additional MS 31042 (s. xv'), fol. 110’. The poem and the dating of the manuscript are discussed in Karen Stern, ‘The London “Thornton Miscellany”: A New Description of British Museum Additional Manuscript 31042’, Scriptorium, 30 (1976), 26-37 and 201-18. A catalogue of the contents is included in this article where (p. 217) the ‘carolle’ is described as ‘being in 3 stanzas plus a four-line burden’, although this is not obvious in the continuous text of the lyric in the manuscript.
and-stanza form on a wide number of topics exists, although apart from the two pieces mentioned above such secular lyrics date from after c. 1400.\[42\]

Although English poets of the late fourteenth century allude to a lyric form similar to the French formes fixes, we have, in fact such a form in burden-and-stanza pieces. Robbins notes that the seven fourteenth-century examples are all found in Franciscan manuscripts, although one must add that some of them are also found elsewhere.\[43\] The fact remains, however, that no obvious relationship is discernable between the carole as dance and the carol as a burden-and-stanza form. It may have been that carol was applied to any English song that involved much repetition whether this repetition consisted of a refrain or not. In any case the formes fixes with their characteristic refrains are extremely rare in English at this period.\[44\] If my deduction is correct, then the term, carol, was applied both to songs that were intended for dancing as well as to burden-and-stanza lyrics that were not.

To conclude, the term, carole, first appeared in England in the first half of the twelfth century, not in texts written in English, but in texts written in French. Yet the earliest dance term found in Middle English is ring, and the French word carole is not borrowed until c. 1300. It may well be that the French carole and the English ring referred to the same dance, and that after this date the French term became more common. Since, however, evidence in English concerning details of the choreography is all but non-existant, any definitive statement

\[42\] See Greene's definition (The Early English Carols, pp. xxxii-xxxiii) of carol lyrics composed before 1550: 'a song on any subject, composed of uniform stanzas and provided with a burden'. Greene stresses the variety of subject matter throughout his introduction.

\[43\] Robbins, 'Middle English Carols', pp. 576-77

\[44\] Obvious exceptions are the rondeau at the conclusion of Chaucer's Parliament of Fowls, ll. 680-92, and the ballade in the interpolated lines in his Legend of Good Women cited above in this chapter.
comparing the English understanding of the term *carole* as dance, as opposed to the French, would be speculative. One point, however, is clear: the French term referred solely to the dance, whereas the English one referred at first either to the dance or to its song or to both. Towards the end of the fourteenth century it came to be applied to a specific lyric form with a refrain, which was unrelated to dancing. The theme of such pieces was frequently the Nativity, and it is as a hymn or song associated with Christmas that the word *carol* is still current in English.
Medieval dance, where it has not been ignored, has been the subject of much speculation. Scholars have been aware, of course, that dances existed, and even that there was one called the carole. But the particularities of this dance, although much debated, were largely unknown. Now, however, it can be shown that it had precise characteristics even to the extent that it can be reconstructed, making it the earliest performable social dance in Western Europe.

The uncertainty about the carole has even extended to the etymology of the word itself, although now that the weaknesses in arguments for other etyma have been exposed, the case for the etymon χοραλής seems particularly strong.

The extent of the existence of the carole in time and place can, as a result of further investigation can also be more narrowly defined.

Research into the characteristics of the dance has a bearing on other areas of cultural endeavour, notably literary history, musicology and iconography. In the case of the first two of these, as with dance history, what emerges is the need for a more precise use of terminology. At the very least it calls for a more selective use of such phrases ‘dance lyric’ and ‘dance music’. Moreover it demands a more careful consideration of dance terms themselves and their application.

To a certain extent, dance lyric and dance music, properly so called, can be seen as distinct from their art forms. They are often simpler. More critically their transmission is less accurate. In this sense they can be seen as something apart. Yet at the same time the association of such lyric forms as the rondeau and the virelai with the carole may well have strengthened the popularity of these two forms. But this connexion can only have been only indirect. As no lyric or musical form named the carole existed, and the dance itself went out of fashion about 1400, we cannot speak of its possible influence in other areas.

Finally, in discussion of visual form such as dance, whatever may be the methodology of art historians, iconography is frequently taken as evidence of the thing itself. Examination of the iconography of the carole, however, clearly demonstrates that representation of the dance appears to be extremely unreliable when compared to the textual evidence.

Viewed as a whole this study of the carole might appear too confined. If so, this partly results from the necessarily transient nature of a dance, which has therefore little bearing on developments in others fields. Furthermore it has been my aim not to indulge in speculation, but to restrict my discussion to an attempt to establish what can be ascertained from extant evidence.
Appendix A: Musical Examples

Example I:

Jacquemart Gielée, *Renart le Nouvel*
(PBN, fonds fr. 25566, fols 128°-129°)

a) ‘Vous n’ales mie’ [l. 2544 ff]
‘Rois Nobles (male)

You do not go the way I do, nor will you go that way.

b) ‘Ja ne serai sans amour’ [l. 2548 ff]
‘La roine’ (female)

I shall certainly never be without love all my life.
c) 'Tres douche dame jolie' [l. 2552 ff]

'Renars' (male)

My very sweet lively lady, listen to my heart beseeching you.

d) 'Hé, Dieus' [l. 2556 ff]

'Hersens' (female)

Oh, Heavens, she has betrayed me by taking away my friend.
Example 2:

Jean Brisebarre, *Li Restor du Paon*  
(OBL, MS Bodley 264, fol. 181')

'Ensi va' [ll. 1170-73] (Rondeau)  
'Elyot' (female)

Thus he goes whom Love leads at his command. Suffer who may, thus he goes whom Love. To the bad, our good is ill, but nonetheless, thus he goes whom Love leads at his command.
Appendix B: Manuscripts Cited in Chapter IX

Chretien de Troyes, Le Conte du Graal (Perceval)

1. Montpellier, Bibliotheque de la Faculte de Medecine, MS 249 (s. xiii\textsuperscript{ex}), fol. no. not known; reproduction held in London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Conway Library, Box 28

Ysopet de Lyon

2. Lyon, Bibliotheque de l'Academie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts, MS 57 (s. xiii\textsuperscript{ex} / s. xiv\textsuperscript{int}), fol. 9\textsuperscript{v}

Jean Brisebarre, Li Restor du Paon

3. OBL, MS Bodley 264 (text finished 18 December 1338, but illuminations not completed until 18 April 1334), fol. 181\textsuperscript{v}

La Chatelaine de Vergy

4. London, British Museum, Ivories 367, ivory casket (s. xiv\textsuperscript{2/4}), left panel

Prose Lancelot

5. PBN, fonds fr. 110 (s. xiii\textsuperscript{ex}), fol. 358\textsuperscript{v}
6. LBL, Additional MS 10293 (c. 1316), fol. 292\textsuperscript{v}
7. LBL, MS Royal 20 D IV (1310-20), fol. 237\textsuperscript{v}
8. OBL, MS Douce 199 (1325-30), fol. 99\textsuperscript{v}
9. PBN, fonds fr. 333 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{int}), fol. 51\textsuperscript{v}
10. New Haven, Yale University, MS 229 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{int}), fol. 66\textsuperscript{v}

Guillaume de Lorris Le Roman de la Rose (first part)

11. OBL, MS Additional A. 22 (c. 1300), fol.15\textsuperscript{f}
12. LBL, MS Stowe 947 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{int}), fol. 7\textsuperscript{f}
13. Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 23 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{int}), fol. 7\textsuperscript{f}
14. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 372 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{int}), fol. 6\textsuperscript{v}
15. Princeton, Princeton University, Medieval and Renaissance MSS Garnett 126 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{int}), fol. 7\textsuperscript{f}
16. PBN, fonds fr. 1569 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{int}), fol. 6\textsuperscript{v}
17. PBN, fonds fr. 24388 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{e}), fol. 8\textsuperscript{r}
18. PBN, fonds fr. 9345 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{e}), fol. 4\textsuperscript{v}
19. PBN, fonds fr. 1560 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{e}), fol. 6\textsuperscript{v}
20. PBN, fonds fr. 1565 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{e}), [fol. 6\textsuperscript{r}]
21. OBL, MS Selden supra 57 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{e}), fol. 6\textsuperscript{v}
22. PBN, fonds fr. 1558 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{f}), fol. 7\textsuperscript{v}
23. LBL, MS Royal 20 A XVII (s. xiv\textsuperscript{f}), fol. 9\textsuperscript{r}
24. Tournai, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS C1 (dated 1330), p. 30
25. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 503 (c. 1340), fol. 6\textsuperscript{v}
26. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5209 (c.1340), fol. no. not known
27. LBL, MS Royal 19 B XIII (s. xiv\textsuperscript{d}), fol. 10\textsuperscript{r}
28. PBN, fonds fr. 1567 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{d}), fol. 7\textsuperscript{r}
29. PBN, fonds fr. 19156 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{d}), fol. 6\textsuperscript{r}
30. PBN, fonds fr. 1564 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{d}), fol. 4\textsuperscript{r}
31. PBN, fonds fr. 12588 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{d}), fol. 5\textsuperscript{r}
32. Germany, Private Collection (MS formerly on loan to OBL, where it had the pressmark MS Astor A 12), (c. 1350), fol. 9\textsuperscript{r}
33. (Same MS), fol. 11\textsuperscript{r}
34. (Same MS), fol. 12\textsuperscript{r}
35. Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 1480 (c. 1350), fol. 13\textsuperscript{r}
36. PBN, fonds fr. 12593 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{p}, p. xiii
37. PBN, fonds fr. 25526 (s.xiv\textsuperscript{p}), fol.7\textsuperscript{r}
38. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 11187 (c. 1360), fol. 1\textsuperscript{r}
39. LBL, MS Yates Thompson 21 (c.1360), fol. 8\textsuperscript{r}
40. PBN, fonds fr. 24390 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{c}), fol. 7\textsuperscript{r} [recte fol. 6\textsuperscript{r}]
41. PBN, fonds fr. 24389 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{c}), fol. 6\textsuperscript{r}
42. LBL, MS Additional 31840 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{c}), fol.11\textsuperscript{r}
43. Vienna, Hofbibliothek, Codex 2592 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{c}), fol. 6\textsuperscript{v}
44. OBL, MS e Museo 65 (c.1380), fol. 3\textsuperscript{r}
45. PBN, fonds fr. 1665 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{e}), fol. 7\textsuperscript{r}
46. PBN, fonds fr. 1570 (s. xiv\textsuperscript{e}), fol. 8\textsuperscript{r}
47. Amsterdam, MS (s. xiv\textsuperscript{e}) sold on 3 April 1906, fol. no. not known; reproduction in London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Conway Library, Box 37
48. LBL, MS Additional 12042 (c. 1400), fol. 7\textsuperscript{r}
49. PBN, fonds fr. 380 (c. 1400), [fol. 7\textsuperscript{r}]
50. PBN, fonds fr. 1563 (c. 1400), fol. 7\textsuperscript{r}
Appendix C: 'Maiden in the Mor Lay'

(OBL, Rawlinson MS, D. 913, fol. 1")

Maiden in the mor lay--

In the mor lay

Sevenyght[es] fulle-- sevenyght[es] MS: seuenyst

Maiden in the mor lay--

In the mor lay

Sevenightes fulle-- sevenightes MS: seuenistes

[Sevenightes fulle]

Ant a day.

Welle was hire mete. welle MS: wat

Wat was hire mete?

The primerole ant the--

The primerole ant the--

Welle was hire mete

Wat was hire mete?

The primerole and the--

[The primerole ant the]

Violet.
Welle [was hire dryng.]

Wat was hire dryng?
The chelde water of the--
[The chelde water of the--
Welle was hire dryng.
Wat was hire dryng?
The chelde water of the--
The chelde water of the]
Welle-spring.

Welle was hire bour.
Wat was hire bour?
The rede rose ant the--
[The rede rose ant the--
Welle was hire bour.
Wat was hire bour?
The rede rose ant the--
The rede rose ant the]
Lilie flour.

A maiden lay in the moor, lay in the moor, full seven nights, full seven nights.
A maiden lay in the moor, lay in the moor, full seven nights, full seven nights and a day.
Her food was good. What was her food? The primrose and the--, the primrose and the--. Her food was good. What was her food? The primrose and the--, the primrose and the violet.

Her drink was good. What was her drink? The cold water of the--, the cold water of the--. Her drink was good. What was her drink? The cold water of the--, the cold water of the wellspring.

Her chamber was good. What was her chamber? The red rose and the--, the red rose and the--. Her chamber was good. What was her chamber? The red rose and the--, the red rose and the lily flower.
Plate II. PBN, f. fr. 25566(1291-97), fol. 129'. Renart le Nouvel. The Three remaining songs for the carole.
Plate III. OBL., MS Bodley 264(1338-44), fol. 181°. Le Restor du Paon. The song for the carole.
Plate IV. OBL, MS Additional A22 (c. 1300), fol. 15'. Le Roman de la Rose. The carole.

Plate V. LBL, Additional MS 10293 (c. 1316), fol. 292'. The Prose Lancelot. The carole.

Plate VII. LBL, Additional MS 12042 (c.1400), fol. 7. *Le Roman de la Rose.* The carole.

Plate IX. Andrea di Bonaiuto (Andrea da Firenze). Fresco (c. 1365). Florence, Santa Maria Novella. Detail showing girls dancing.
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