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Distance

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My exploration of distance in medieval culture begins with a unit of space: thirty leagues. It is the distance cited in the heat of battle in the *Chanson de Roland*, as that separating the failing rearguard army of Roland, at Rencesvals, and the troops of his uncle, Charlemagne – and so as the distance that the Emperor and his forces will need to traverse to bring assistance to Roland's beleaguered cohort (too late, as it will turn out). While the space estimated by the epic's author was likely exaggerated – intended to signal the vastness of the gulf separating uncle and nephew – it is nonetheless possible to offer a precise calibration. In the period of the *Chanson*'s creation and early circulation at the end of the eleventh century, as in the historical period on which the epic is based (768-814), the unit of the league, or *lieue*, was a standard measurement of distance. In an earlier classical usage, it codified a temporal measurement of physical exertion: the linear space that could be comfortably traversed on foot in an hour, reckoned to be around 2.2 km. According to Ronald Zupko, this estimate had doubled by the eighth century to 4.4km.[1] Thirty leagues, then, would have been reckoned at roughly 132 kilometres by the epic's creators and early audiences or, if understood as a unit of time, at around thirty two hours of foot travel (shorter, of course, on horseback).

In the context of the *Chanson de Roland*, however, thirty leagues is not defined by geography or terrain, nor as the movement of troops, nor as the distance covered by a messenger urging Charlemagne to bring help. It is rather a distance traversable at a greater speed through the medium of sound. News of Roland's far-away struggle reaches Charlemagne in mere moments by means of a sonic summons from the much-anticipated blast of Roland's crystal and gold-encrusted ivory oliphant.

> Rollant ad mis l'olifan a sa buche,
> empeint le ben, par grant vertut le sunet.

> Halt sunt li pui e la voiz est mult lunge:
> Granz trente liwes l'oïrent il respundre.
> Karles l'oït e ses cumpaignes tutes.
> Ço dit li reis: "Bataille funt nostre hume!"
>
> Roland has placed the Oliphant to his lips.
> He clasps it tightly and blows it as hard as he can.
> The mountains are high, the sound travels far:
> Its echo was heard over a good thirty leagues.
> Charles heard it as did all the men with him.[2]
> *Chanson de Roland*, Laisse 133, vv. 1753-1758

Roland's oliphant is one of a number of sonic signals in the *Chanson de Roland*, dominating a soundscape constituted by the racket of trumpets, drums, war cries, weeping, and occasional bursts of liturgical chanting. As well as serving as an aural cue the poem's detailed account of the oliphant may also have prompted association with a range of non-sonorous uses and meanings attached to such instruments. While ivory horns were rare in western Europe in the period of the *Chanson*'s creation, those extant from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries bear a striking resemblance to that described in the epic.[3] Like Roland's instrument, oliphants were frequently luxuriously carved and decorated, and inventoried as treasure.[4] Their ivory, supplied by the tusks of elephants (or walrus, when elephant ivory was in short supply), would itself have been resonant with associations to places far away, and of distances travelled: ivory entered European markets largely through Genoese and Venetian agents, who received it from their networks with merchants trading out of North African ports, who in turn sourced tusks from traders in the trans-Saharan caravans moving from the West of Africa, and from Swahili traders from the East, each of whom harvested their tusks from sub-Saharan elephants.[5] Some of their decorations also witness the interactive and collaborative efforts required to move ivory across such distances. Scholars of this artistic medium have noted, for example, their display of decorative styles and techniques common to Fatimid Egyptian workshops, styles which were eventually interchangeable with those

practiced by Southern Italian carvers.[6] Perhaps on account of their economic and symbolic value, their carving and jewelled adornments, as well as for the strength and power of their sound, oliphants were often commissioned – and recommissioned – for use in Christian ecclesiastical settings, and as reliquary-hosts to precious relics. Roland's horn was subsequently repurposed when it was filled with gold and mangons, and set on the altar dedicated to Saint Seurin in Bordeaux, for pilgrims to see.[7] IMAGE = http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O93335/horn/

The oliphant's central role in *Roland* has not surprisingly drawn much critical attention. Particularly pertinent here is Michelle Warren's account, which engages with the horn and its sound within a broader context of communication within the epic.[8] Here, I take up Warren's invitation to attend more closely to the diverse uses of sound as a communicator across distances and to the meanings attached to sound: both its audible acoustic effects and the materials associated with its production, transmission, and preservation (in this case, exotic ivory). It is also emblematic of how the phenomenon of sound was invariably embedded in a complex of signifiers, both material and immaterial, sounding and non-sounding. Sound is thus better categorized as the product of a plural media environment, not a single medium, to borrow from Martin Foys' discussion of 'media' in his recent account of Anglo-Saxon textual culture.[9] As with the written artefacts that are the subject of Foys' study, sound was also subject to remediation, and thus 'needs … to be understood not through straightforward linearity, but as a densely resonating network of carefully differentiated media forms.'[10] Reconstructing sonic media networks must attend not only to the audible 'stuff' of sound, but also to a diverse range of contexts that produce and maintain its presence.

If Roland's oliphant hints at the complexity of the media networks that constituted and reconstituted sound, it is also exemplary of a fundamental ontological principle

governing accounts of sonic media in the Middle Ages: that the conceptualization and practice of sound in this period was synonymous with the conceptualization of distance. As later portions of this essay will illustrate, sound is the means through which messages are transmitted and so delimits an acoustic space between sender and receiver; and it can also transcend that space when it is made portable and mobile in the bodies and voices of heralds and messengers, singers and instrumentalists, and in later centuries through adjunct technologies of notation and recording. Furthermore, generations of theorists in the tradition of *musica speculativa* explained its substance and perception in terms of physical space: as the conveyance of immaterial airwaves from an energetic source to an ear-inclining recipient.

Before proceeding further, it will be helpful to take brief soundings from two authors whose work first forged the epistemological bonds between sound and distance. In his study of sound and perception in the Middle Ages, Charles Burnett traces the dominant medieval conception of sound's dynamic properties back to the authority of Aristotle, particularly as set out in his *De anima*, II.8 (and, to a lesser extent, his *De sensu et sensate*, a text with which *De anima* was frequently paired).[11] Sound perception in Aristotle's account is broken down into the energetic act of production (the striking of two sonorous bodies and the expulsion of air between them), conveyance ('the movement of sound through the medium of air to the ear'), and then encounter with the ear. In the *Chanson*, for instance, it is the impact of Roland's breath on the ivory that instigates the expulsion of air, which in turn is conveyed through airspace to the ears of Charlemagne's army. (Indeed, the sheer effort Roland exerts in that primary generation of sound-energy proves fatal, causing blood vessels to burst as he forces his breath through the oliphant.) This entire process is distinct from the interpretative processing of sound, and sound's assembly with other sounds, by the brain and soul.

Aristotle's theory of sound perception entered into in the Latin Western tradition of music theory in mid-twelfth century, when it was transmitted through translation of, and

commentary, on Arabic intermediaries, notably that of Avicenna (Ibn Sina c. 980-1037). While these and later translations of the original Greek subsequently influenced writers on music, the more familiar authority – one strongly inflected by antique epistemologies for sound and music, and also most frequently cited in the speculative tradition – was that set out in *De institutione musica* of Boethius (480-524).[12] In this crucial reference text, Boethius set out a phenomenology for sound creation and perception similar to the process articulated by Aristotle, but with an important distinction: namely, a focus on sound as sustained pitch (Burnett, 1991, 54). For Boethius, the conception of sound as covering spatial area – as distance – is most eloquently realized in a passage where he compares sound's transmission with the ripples cast by a stone in a puddle. As the stone's impact is visible in the progression of ripples from the centre, so does the source of sound impact the air around it, as it 'ripples' out to listeners.

> Ita igitur cum aër pulsus fecerit sonum, pellit alium proximum et quodammodo rotundum fluctum aeris ciet, itque diffunditur et omnium circum stantium simul ferit auditum. Atque illi est obscurior vox, qui longius steterit, quoniam ad eum debilior pulsi aëris unda pervenit.
>
> In the same way, then, when air that is struck creates sound, it affects other air nearby and in this way sets in motion a circular wave of air; and so it is diffused and reaches the hearing of all standing around at the same time. The sound is fainter to someone standing at a distance, since the wave of activated air approaches him more weakly.[13] (Boethius, *De institutione musica*, I: 14)

Although Boethius was writing centuries before the invention of graphic systems designed to record sound, the ripple of those watery waves offers a startling visual analogue to the immaterial movement of airwaves. It points to the natural inclination of sound to cross media, into systems of graphic representation, to establish a material counterpart to sound's essential ephemerality.

As an early example of mixed media, Boethius's sound-ripples are further encouragement to attend to sound in the context of media networks supported by a variety of means for its production and representation. Moreover, while Aristotle and Boethius

established a template for sound's capacity to cover physical distance that was the touchstone for medieval theorists, it also enabled the conceptualisation of celestial distance: the ratios governing the motion of planetary bodies were the same as those organizing musical sound in the human environment – the cosmos, too, was musical. In his recent study of twelfth-century neo-Platonic conceptions of *musica*, and particularly the relationship of harmony and cosmology, Andrew Hicks notes the startling affinity between the detection of a 'transient gravitational-wave signal' by LIGO (Laser Interferometer Gravity Observatory), in 2015, and earlier medieval ideas about the sonorous universe.[14] Like the pioneers of medieval cosmology, the scientists of the LIGO project used the vocabulary of sound to manifest their detection of cosmic events that occurred at a vast remove in time as well as space. While the 'waves' created by the billion-year-old collision of black holes are not actually audible to the ear, much like Boethius's watery ripples, they can be remediated or transduced as sound for listeners to 'hear' again (in this case, as a suitably eerie, sci-fi-inflected blip).This reflects not just an affinity with medieval thought but the timeless capacity of sound to mediate the unimaginable, connecting listeners to places and pasts from which they are removed by an otherwise unbridgeable gap. Sound is always an expressive means with which to engage with – at times endure – separation.

The rest of this essay explores the mediating power of sound, particularly musical sound, to define, bridge, create, and imagine distance during the Middle Ages. Distance is treated here in two senses: first, as a geographical reality – a space to be traversed, measured, and represented when out of ear-shot. Here, I examine examples of sound's capabilities as a regulator of space, notably in the context of the urban soundscape; and the range of sonic media developed to instrumentalize sound, thereby extending its capabilities across distances that exceed the limits of the soundwave (that is, beyond the reach of that oliphant's cry). In the second part of the essay, I consider how music-makers deployed distance as a topic for

their songs: as the pretext for singing and as a powerful metaphor for longing and desire. Focusing on the early vernacular repertories of the troubadours and trouvères, I will consider, too, the extent to which the cultural experience of distance among these song-makers might have informed the themes of separation that permeate the poetics of the song-act. This in turn invites reflection on the ways in which distance itself might serve as a productive critical framework though which to explore medieval conceptions of sound, and in particular a series of persistent ontological queries concerning the source of sound, what happens to it after its decay, and how it was possible to maintain its presence beyond voiced performance – preoccupations for theorists, composers, scribes, and listeners across the period.

Finally, a brief word about the range of sonic evidence explored here. Perhaps of all the media represented in the present volume, sound is the trickiest to capture and represent on account of its essential ephemerality. Its elusive qualities may even account for why its study has, until recently, fallen largely to music-orientated disciplines. However, that picture is changing rapidly. Fuelled by burgeoning interest in sensory-based histories and inspired by the emerging field of sound studies, sound is currently a topic of cross-disciplinary inquiry as never before.[15] As interest in historicized sound expands, so, too, do the types of sounds that present themselves for study diversify and multiply, along with the media networks that produced, transmitted, and recorded sound. The examples in this essay try to reflect some of the range of sonic categories present in the historical record, from the uncomposed urban soundscape, to highly crafted examples of musical composition. Within categories of musical sound, I have likewise sought to offer some sense of the variety of traditions, and of traditions which were varied, too, in their configuration of media networks. These include the chant repertories as practiced in the age of Charlemagne (that is, the historical Charlemagne, rather than his epic counterpart); troubadour and trouvère songs of the twelfth century; and the music and poetry of Guillaume de Machaut from the mid-fourteenth century. In all cases,

we shall see that the possibility of identifying musical repertories exclusively by reference to a place of creation and use is unsettled, and indeed, the lens of distance encourages an approach that constantly decentres long-standing historiographical conventions that have sought to tether them to a single point of origin. Distance, then, is a mobilising force in more than one sense, as it encourages a shift of emphasis towards a historical approach that privileges the mobility of music, sometimes across vast geographical terrains, and its role in mediating all manner of relationships – antagonistic, sympathetic, and collaborative.

How sound travels: sonic media in medieval culture

Soundscapes

The sound of an oliphant, blown with full force would have been among the loudest sounds on the instrumental spectrum in the Middle Ages; the recording of medieval oliphants supplied with the Avinoam Shalem's recent study offers a sense of their expansive resonance and timbre.[16] Yet the possibility that the sound of Roland's horn could carry across 130 kilometers is the stuff of literary license.[17] Moreover, most oliphants were unlikely to have been sounded at all, as their symbolic and religious functions, not to say their material values, increasingly surpassed their sonic potential.[18] But if the sounds imagined in *Roland* were in reality rarely audible to most medieval audiences, the success of this crucial element of the epic's plot hinges on the author's ability to take for granted sound's quotidian presence in the world, and his audience's understanding of sound's capacity to regulate action and communication across space.

Sound was a vital medium for defining and governing spaces as diverse as pilgrimage trails, the urban environment, the gated court, and the cloistered quiet of the devout. Sound is uniquely well-placed to serve such a function: it needs little work to decipher – it is a non-verbal sign in an often sophisticated system of sonic communication, yet one easy to learn and deploy, transcending linguistic barriers. Moreover, for those who could hear, its all-

encompassing quality – it is heard 'derere et devant', as the narrator of *Roland* describes it – leant it unique power: short of blocking up the ears, it was impossible to evade sound's reach. Indeed, the terrifying possibility of sound's potential to overwhelm, by filling up the aural horizon, contributed to Dante's depiction of hell which, in *Inferno*, canto III, is marked not only by affronts to the eyes but also resounds with a soundscape so ghastly, filled with such wailing, lament, hand-beating and tumult, that the pilgrim Dante, trapped in the starless dark and with no escape from the sounds that swirl round him, is reduced to tears.[19]

A closer look at the varied uses of sound in the urban setting will illustrate the effective and complex uses to which sound's bridging capabilities could be put, particularly as a tool for effective governance of human activity in a communal context. Interest in the soundscape of the medieval urban environment has intensified in recent years, building on the foundational work of historians such as Johan Huizinga and Jacques Le Goff and on the role of sound– particularly that of bells – in regulating time in medieval culture, as well as R. Murray Schafer's seminal study of the contemporary soundscape and 'acoustic ecology.'[20] We are now in a position to know a good deal not only about the kinds of sound effects common in the urban setting, but also more about the human, architectural, legislative, and ritual infrastructures that regulated them. In her account of the role of music and musicians in medieval French cities, Gretchen Peters illuminates the extraordinary variety of ways in which sound 'organized and gave meaning to life' in the urban environment, from trumpets, bells, and drums, to communal song and the calls of merchants and town criers; as well as their range of functions, from festal entertainment to defensive signals of oncoming attack.[21] Matthew Champion's recent study of temporality in the Low Countries is similarly attuned to the myriad ways in which sound determined the 'temporal *cursus* of a human life,' pointing to numerous examples in which civic and ecclesiastical communities within the urban environment articulated their identities through sound.[22] In his analysis of royal entries in

fifteenth-century Leuven, for example, the rituals of procession are not only visual spectacles, but contingent on liturgical song for mobilising and coordinating movement, in symphony with visual and oratorical displays.[23] Carol Symes likewise attends to performative and sonic traces in the documentary archive for medieval Arras, revealing the central role of sound in the creation of a 'public sphere,' and particularly in the tense negotiation of civic and ecclesiastical spaces within that city.[24] In Arras, moreover, the regulation of the scale of bells and bell towers was implemented to increase or decrease an institution's capacity to communicate.[25] Acoustic priorities had a role, too, in shaping the built environment, as Niall Atkinson shows in his account of the acoustic implications of the architectural design of medieval Florence (for example, the height and placement of towers, and the impact of open space on the movement of sound).[26] In that city, space and sound collaborate to create an 'intricate syntax' of the city's bells, re-articulated by Atkinson's detailed analysis of the urban archive to reveal the 'acoustic strategies and sonic imagination' of the Florentine population.[27]

All these studies offer insight into how sound's most basic feature – its rapid movement through air – was harnessed for regulatory ends. In their studies of Arras and Florence, Symes and Atkinson also reflect on the modes of remediation sound is subject to in the historical record, and thus to the kinds of evidence through which modern historians might fruitfully reconstitute sonic history. Their sources– ranging from literary records to architectural sites, civic statues, as well as to more recognizably musical records – were not media formats intended to record sound for purposes of re-sounding. Symes observes that while documentary accounts of urban sound cannot be re-heard, the 'textual residue' nonetheless speaks of the 'pervasive orality' of urban communities, in which 'meaning [was] made and contested through noise, cries, bells;' but though vivid reminders of the sound-act, the written records 'were not the things themselves.'[28] Reflecting on the status of his

Florentine sources, Atkinson argues that, while such accounts have potential to be recreated in some fashion, for the purposes of producing a modern 'immersive experience,' they offer more intriguing opportunities as 'new forms of historical knowledge,' revealing the 'deeply ingrained ways in which sound structured urban life, one of the least understood but most important aspects of premodern space.'[29] The sounds evoked in these studies are not accessible as acoustic realities, yet attention to these accounts as part of that 'dense resonating network' (of Foys' formulation) helps to trace the acoustic environments of the past, in which sound had a potent purpose, in the instilling of order and, at times, inciting disorder in the rhythms of daily life.

Transmitting Sound: Before Notation

Among the vast cast of civic musicians documented in Peters' study, tower trumpeters feature prominently as a sonic staple in the urban soundscape. Like the bells that often rang in those towers, eventually to be joined by city clocks, trumpets kept time for the citizens, sounding the liturgical hours, and signalling for the opening and shutting of the city gates.[30] But they also, crucially, acted as 'watch,' to give audible articulation of what not all eyes could not see: as a signal of warning (fire, approaching enemies), the sharp sound of the trumpet was a means to bring what was distant very close. What, though, of sound's acoustic limits? What happened when sound could travel no further? Was it possible for sound to surmount the limits of its own acoustic reality, and for it to persist outside the range of the ear?

An answer to that inquiry takes us back again to the earlier pioneers of sound studies, and to another philosopher who, like Boethius, was grappling with the fundamental properties of musical sound. Writing several decades after Boethius, Isidore of Seville (560-636), in his *Etymologies*, frames the issue of sound's mobility in rather different terms. He opens up his definition of musical sound by way of *musica*'s etymological links to the Muses,

a connection familiar from older antique discourse on music: notably as rehearsed by the statesman and monastic pioneer Cassiodorus (c. 485-c. 585), a major influence on Isidore. He adds to this a reflection on what became of sound after its energetic production and movement, or 'flow,' at its point of decay.

> Quarum sonus, quia sensibilis res est, et praeterfluit in praeteritum tempus inprimiturque memoriae. Inde a poetis Iovis et Memoriae filias Musas esse confictum est. Nisi enim ab homine memoria teneantur soni, pereunt, quia scribi non possunt.
>
> The sound of the Muses, since it is a perceptible thing, flows by in a passing moment of time and is impressed upon the memory. Whence the poets wrote that the Muses were daughters to Jupiter and Memory. Unless sounds are held in a person's memory they perish, because they cannot be written down.[31]
> Isidore, *Etymologies*, III, 15.2

Writing in a period in which there was no graphic system for notating music, it is unlikely that Isidore here imagines a nascent notation that might one day facilitate melodic inscription. Rather, as Blair Sullivan explains, Isidore is concerned with the contrast between musical sound and the sounds of words, as construed by antique and contemporary grammarians in the context of discussion of 'vox.'[32] For unlike the spoken word, musical sound 'cannot be decomposed into sounds of individual letters.'[33] Categorically distinct from the sound of spoken words, which can be represented as written letters, musical sounds may not be reducible to inked signs, but can make a sensory impression and be 'held' (tenere) in the memory: that most fundamental medium of storage, recall, and composition in all premodern cultures.[34] Sonic memory is represented as an interiorisation of sound, which enters the ear and impresses itself on the memory – conceived variously as a store-house, a wax tablet, or recording instrument. As well as permitting its storage for recall and re-performance, memory affords sound a silent, inner life: a dimension that has recently been elaborated on by Beth Williamson.[35] That evocation of a sound heard within also finds extravagant elaboration in many traditions of mystical writing, for example in the richly dense conception of 'canor'

(song) in the writings of the fourteenth-century hermit Richard Rolle: an ineffable heavenly symphony perceived by the inner ear by the most devout.[36]

Two centuries or so after the *Etymologies*, Isidore's assumption of music's resistance to writing would require revision with the emergence of notational systems capable of doing what he had supposed impossible: capturing not only letters but also the musical sounds that might attach to them. But even then, memory maintained a crucial node in the media networks supporting the transmission of music. For example, almost eight hundred years after Isidore, the poet-composer Guillaume de Machaut (1300-1377) – creator of music so rhythmically complex as to be virtually dependent on writing – depicted the experience of listening as simultaneously one of memorisation: to learn a song by ear was still idealised as an intensive act of memorisation. Thus, in his Old French *dit*, *Remede de Fortune* ("Complaint against Fortune"), which is interpolated with several illustrative songs, Machaut presents a scene of intensive musical instruction – in which the Lady Hope appears to the story's protagonist, Amant (Lover), to teach him the art of love and song via the performance of a baladelle – as one of mental inscription. As he listens, entranced, to the music so sweet and 'agreeable to [his] ears and in [his] heart,' he learns it 'so quickly that before she'd left the place or even finished,' he has the entire thing memorised.[37] (Machaut, *RF*, vv. 2901-2906) Later, he describes the commitment of Hope's lessons to his memory as an inscription on his heart, truer and more accurate than anything that could be written on parchment or wax: again rehearsing centuries-old tropes of memory.

> Et par maniere de memoire
> Tout le fait de li et l'ystoire,
> Si com je l'ay devant escript,
> Estoit en mon cuer en escript
> Par vray certain entendement
> Mieus .c. foys et plus proprement
> Que clers ne le porroit escripre
> De main en parchemin ne en cire.

> And to fix the memory of everything about her and her story, just as I've written it out above, it was inscribed in my heart by true and certain understanding a hundred times more accurately and exactly than any clerk could write it out by hand on parchment or wax tablet.
> (Machaut, *Remede de Fortune,* 2939-946)

Machaut's proclamation here about the power and authority of the memory is made doubly vivid in one early manuscript context for the text, which includes a visible depiction of the scene, permitting the reader to 'see' the sounds that impress themselves so deeply in the intangible realm of memory, in the form of swirling song-scroll that shows Machaut at work, and notated song beneath him [see figure x]

While memory thus served multiple functions in the musical media networks of the Middle Ages, perhaps its most significant and enduring function was its role in mobilizing sound and making it portable across considerable distances. Memory determined not only how and where music could move: in permitting music a longer reach than the airwave, it was also instrumental in coordinating or connecting activity across musical communities separated by space and time. The liturgical traditions associated with the early Latin Christian church bear vivid witness to the power of musical memory, particularly prior to the development of notational systems that enabled the coordination of music-making across vast geographical terrains an increasingly alluring prospect. As scholars of the Carolingian empire have emphasized, the efforts to assert and consolidate political power were manifested in changes in practices of governance, and notably in changes in the technologies of preserving and transmitting voice and word.[38] The emergence of musical notation in the ninth century, as we shall see, must be situated within that enterprise: part of what Susan Rankin describes as the 'drive towards correct expression.'[39] But before notation assumed a widespread role in the mechanisms of transmission and preservation, efforts to coordinate liturgical practice, and especially melodic practice, relied heavily on the portability of musical information as conveyed by living musicians.

Texts dating from the ninth century, but recording events several decades earlier, offer some insight into the function of these mobile musical emissaries and their role in the wider political aspirations of the Carolingian rulers. Shared musical traditions helped to ensure continuity in systems of governance and religious ritual, but it required specialized knowledge and skills to hold a prodigious amount of musical data in the memory. As Christopher Page's comprehensive study of singers in the early Christian West has shown, that world was alive with versatile, creative, and learned singers whose roles were as much archival and pedagogical as performative.[40] Two accounts of the instigation of musical reforms across the Frankish kingdom will suffice to offer fascinating, if at times fantastical, accounts of the power of the musical missionaries' contributions to the formation of a regularized liturgical praxis in the Carolingian Empire. Their authors' goals were more hagiographical than documentary, intended in part to strengthen contemporary musical practices by retroactively assigning authority for their creation to earlier musicians, popes, and rulers who were credited with systematizing chant's teaching and transmission. Yet through them emerge glimpse the circulation of musical information around religious institutions across the vast territories of the Empire.

Vital to both accounts was the authority imbued in the traditions of the ancient *schola cantorum* of Pope Gregory the Great (r. 590-604) who, according to these later mythologies, had learned his melodies directly from the Holy Spirit, in form of a singing dove. To reform the 'debased' Frankish practices of the eighth and ninth centuries, then, required a return to this divine source of musical revelation: that is, a return to the 'authentic' chants of the Roman rites. Hence John the Deacon (d. c. 882), in his life of Gregory the Great, describes the corrective measures necessary to reform 'barbarian' practices that had developed after the time of Gregory and that persisted up to his own time.

LATIN

> Hence it was that in the time of Gregory [the Great] … cantors of the Roman school were dispersed throughout the West and instructed the barbarians with distinction. After they died the Western churches so corrupted the received body of chant that a certain John, a Roman cantor… was sent … to Britain by way of Gaul; and John recalled the children of the churches in every place to the pristine sweetness of the chant…[41]

A few decades later, Notker Balbulus (840-912), known later as 'the monk of St. Gall,' Notker's home base, likewise recounts the importance of dispatching musicians to school degenerate singers into a consistent practice, again in line with that originating in Gregory's Rome. In his life of Charlemagne, though, we glimpse just how much power was vested in the human carriers and archivists of music, who were neither systematic or even trustworthy. Notker's satirical text famously recounts a dastardly act of memorial subterfuge whereby Charlemagne's concerted efforts to unify the melodic practices of his kingdom were temporarily derailed.

> Igitur indefessus divine servitutis amator Karolus, voti sui compotem quantum fieri potuit in lirarum scientia effectum se gratulatus, sed adhuc omnes provintias immo regiones vel civitates in laudibus divinis hoc est in cantilene modulationibus, ad invicem dissonare perdolens, a beate memorie Stephano papa … aliquos carminum divinorum preitissimos clericos impetrare curavit. Qui bone illius voluntati et studiis divinitus inspiratis assensum praebens, secundum numerum XII apostolorum de sede apostolica XII clericos doctissimos cantilene ad eum direxit in Franciam.
>
> [Charlemagne] was greatly grieved by the fact that all his provinces, and indeed his cities and even smaller localities, continued to differ in the way they worshipped God, and particularly in the rhythm of their chanting. He therefore asked Pope Stephen III … to send him some monks who were highly skilled in church singing. The Pope … dispatched to him, in the land of the Franks, from his own apostolic see, a dozen monks well trained in chanting.[42]
> Notker, *Vita Karoli*, I, 10

These sly envoys, however, 'greatly envious of the glory of the Franks' ('invidia Francorum glorie carpebantur'), determined to withhold their knowledge by varying 'the ways of singing' ('cantum variare ptouissent'), thereby preventing 'the Franks in the kingdom and territory of Charlemagne from ever achieving uniformity' ('ut numque unitas et cononantia eius in regno et provincial non sua leraretur').[43] Eventually, Charlemagne himself detects the plot as he listens to the newly-trained choirs of his kingdom OVER SEVERAL YEARS and

hears the same liturgical texts delivered with radically different melodies. To redress the problem, the pope requests that Charlemagne send his own singers to Rome, so that they may learn the music and then transmit it throughout the kingdom – thus making the Franks equal partners with Rome in the dissemination of Gregorian chant. Indeed, Notker reports that one of the Frankish song-schools subsequently set up in Metz was effectively the new Rome, so authoritative was the chant taught there, 'to the extent that in our time church singing is called Metz chant' ('ut nunc usque apud eos, quie in his regionibus latino sermone utuntur, ecclesiastica cantilena dicatur Mettensis').[44]

Ways of Conveying Sound in Writing

John and Notker were writing histories with emphatically contemporary agendas, reflecting the initiatives of contemporary religious authorities by recourse to the authentic origins of the chant traditions. However questionable the specifics of these stories may be, they reveal the general mechanisms by which how music travelled and offer insight too, into the authority vested in the human agents within the media network. The endurance of music, then, had a time-limit – that of a human life-span. In John's account, the death of singers in certain Gallican churches, schooled in the Roman practice, meant the death of the tradition. In Notker's, the EMPEROR had to return to the source once again (on that occasion, to acquire musical knowledge from papal singers). But at the same time, both of these chroniclers were living through a musical revolution of which they were well aware, and which made the sounds of song visible on parchment: chant's memory no longer ended with the singer.

The invention of musical notation, in the form of neumes, has been dated to the late eighth or early ninth century,[45] with the earliest extant sources dating from between 820-840.[46] Before attending to its impact on the transmission of musical information, it will be helpful to consider *what* these early systems communicate. In the first instance, it is helpful to

place them in the earlier grammatical context of Isidore's comments (see above), within a system profoundly rooted in the sound of words and thus not emerging in isolation from verbal systems, but as an aspect or expansion of them.[47] The signs, in their earliest incarnation, did not express precise pitch or intervallic information, but rather indicated melodic direction, up or down, and were clustered to indicate to which parts of words they are attached. These written signs are not the sounds themselves, nor can they replace or serve as equivalence for the sound-act (or in this instance, the song-act). Rather, the system interacted with other components of the sonic media network, and in particular, with memory: to decipher them requires previous knowledge, or memory of a melody. As Rankin states, 'neumes should remind him [the singer] of that memory.'[48] **Example one**, from a Gradual (containing Proper chants for the Mass) from the abbey of Einsiedlen (now in Switzerland) is dated 960-70 and illustrates the earliest form of neumatic writing extant, a system associated at this time with sources at St. Gall (modern St Gallen, Switzerland), a major centre of chant manuscript production. This folio displays chants for the Proper of the Mass on the Feast of the Nativity, including the *Alleluia: Dies sanctificatus*. The neumes occupy a text-line above the written words, and while their internal inflections, up and down, indicate the direction of melodic cells, the pitch relationships between them are not evident, and they are generally laid out along a 'flat' horizontal axis. (The opening melisma on 'Alleluia' is a case in point: the neumes are evenly deployed at the same level across the invisible text-line.)

In time, neumes came to co-opt vertical parchment space to signal more precise pitch relations. In a crucial adaptation of the graphic organisation, made around 1020, the use of a grid (staff notation) marking fixed pitches made it possible to position neumes in precise pitch relations to one another.[49] **Example two** shows the same set of chants as **example one**, but in a much later source, dating to the end of the thirteenth century, from a Franciscan

monastery at Fribourg (Switzerland), with note clusters positioned on red staff lines: notes now occupy distinctly different spaces on the vertical axis. A crucial consequence of this system was that a singer could come to the folio 'cold' and decipher a melody at sight. The radical nature this development is captured by Guido of Arezzo (c. 991-1033), pioneer of the staff (one of several innovations in the techniques for representing melody). In the Prologue to his *Micrologus* (c. 1025), evidently dating earlier than the advances in notation set out in his *Antiphoner* and *Epistola de ignoto cantu*, he announces his intention of creating written sources that could assist with training choir boys. He describes a situation in which singers, after a month of practice with the new systems of notation and teaching, were able to perform unfamiliar music, sight unseen, merely by reading from notation('ante inius mensis spatium invisios et inauditos cantus ita primo intuit indubitanter cantabat'). It was a phenomenon so startling to the uninitiated that it was a 'great wonder to many people' ('ut maximum plurimis spectaculum praeberetur').[50]

As with the persistence of memorial techniques, which continued well beyond the emergence of notation, so staff notation co-existed with the older unheightened systems of neumes. Modifications in any medium, indeed, cannot be understood to move in a single trajectory, towards an ever-perfecting system for recording and prescribing musical sounds. Rather, these innovations are best understood as constantly diversifying capabilities, or affordances, adapting to the habits of a particular scribe or scriptorium, and to needs of a community --which in some cases required continuity of practice rather than change and, at other times, cultivated the reform of older habits. Nonetheless, the widespread use of music writing as a corollary to performance is one of the most startling interventions for increasing the accessibility and reach of music in history, and one with clear ramifications for musical practice today. As such, it can be situated within a broader context history of technological changes in music and sound recording more generally. In his account of the history of the

mp3 format -- another, more recent radical expansion of music's capabilities, but on the same technological spectrum as notation-- Jonathan Sterne notes that early notation is one of the 'landmarks' contributing to significant ontological changes in the perception of sound – in this case, to permit it an autonomy, or 'thing'-status.[51]

To what ends were these early systems put? What happened when music exteriorized itself and could exist apart from the human voice and memory? Let me return to notation's impact on the distribution of liturgy in the early Carolingian empire as a case in point. As noted above, notation's function has often been linked to writing's role in promoting the agendas of political, religious, and social unification in the early Carolingian empire: writing, including music writing, is a medium capable of enforcing continuity and uniformity of practices by virtue of its perceived fixity. The story, however, is much more complicated; recent interventions by musicologists and historians have challenged both the assumption of the Carolingian ambition (and power) to unify, and also writing's prescriptive purpose. In particular, the view that Carolingian rulers sought unification through standardization of political, social, and religious ritual has been significantly refined, notably by the work of Jennifer Davis.[52] According to Davis, the Carolingians were motivated less by a rigid and systematic ideology, and with an infrastructure to support it, than by 'guiding forces … [which] were much more pragmatic than ideological. …What Charlemagne and his men did was create the territorial structure of empire, and then elaborate a practice of empire based on response to immediate concerns and to political challenges.'[53]

With respect to communication over distance – musical communication included – that 'practice of empire' amounted to a 'rerouting' of media networks to position Charlemagne and his court as the 'hub.'[54] The dissemination of notation, then, combined with the movement of singers, were mechanisms through which that hub could communicate with its many parts. What notation transmitted, in the early decades of its usage, was not a singular

musical ‘urtext’ or ideology, but rather a system of learning music and formed part of a practice of vocal training. Susan Rankin explains that music fits within a broader Carolingian insistence on correct expression (a point Davis also underlines) so that ‘under Charlemagne’s rule, the need for Christian people to be able to use language to address the Christian God effectively and to understand the meaning of the scriptures sat at the heart of imperial policy.’[55] In practical terms, neumes permitted just that: they are carefully placed signs to show how musical sounds fit precisely to the words of the liturgy. Close attention to the graphic language of neumes supports that view, revealing, on the one hand, significant consistency with respect to how the neume shapes operated in relation to words and, on the other, a considerable degree of variation in the individual melodies they encoded. While different institutions and regions might agree on what purpose notation might serve in liturgical performance practice, notation did not necessarily seek to prescribe melodies.

Codex

Discussion of innovations in music writing leads inevitably to the material contexts of its storage. As with other forms of writing in the period, the dominant formats for collating notated records of music were the roll and codex.[56] Both, in different ways, facilitated the portability, utility, and endurance of music. Most fundamentally, the forms themselves had economic ramifications for who wrote and kept music, and why. Thus, a *rotulus* might be designed to contain just a handful of songs, easy and inexpensive to produce, and light to transport, suitable, then, for use by a mobile performer. By contrast, a hefty, large-format liturgical manuscript was designed to remain in situ, as a daily reference tool for institutional practice. The format and organisation of musical texts within books – what Malcolm Parkes famously termed the *ordinatio* and *compilatio* of the text – are further evidence of practical efforts to organise large quantities of music for easy access and use.[57] But they also reflect

broader intellectual and ritual practices as applied to music: to organise songs by genre, as many vernacular songbooks came to do, or chronologically, as is the case in certain thirteenth-century motet compendia, points to how formatting written music was simultaneously a critical activity. Manuscript-makers thus exploited the medium of the codex to impose order and meaning in the act of copying, to offer commentary on musical traditions. Books not only have a practical purpose in permitting music to endure longer than the life-span of the singer's memory. They also have a material value, as reliquaries of institutional performance and compositional tradition; as a symbol of cultural stature of their owner; or as a daily resource for singers of liturgy, whose job it was to sustain mastery of a vast musical corpus.

Not surprisingly, manuscripts have long had a haloed status in the field of musicology, from the outset a discipline of philology, grounded in the study of the material medium, as well as in the study of musical works. There is not space here to do justice to the many veins of work on the physical contexts of music that have and continue to sustain the discipline.[58] Here, though, I offer reflection on the potential for new directions and emphasis in medieval music studies (and beyond), that might come about by placing the familiar manuscript medium, and methodologies for its study, in dialogue with discourses of distance, geography and networks – all areas of vigorous innovation and debate within the wider arena of medieval studies, notably within the context of the 'global turn' in much recent work.[59] Philology's forensic capabilities, which can reveal how, where, and when manuscripts were copied, are ideally suited to the task of tracing patterns of transmission and distribution of musical traditions. Yet surprisingly, these avenues of inquiry generally remain secondary to narratives of the European musical traditions dominated by reportorial priority, and in turn, focused on centres of production, rather than on patterns of transmission.[60] To reorientate accounts of musical traditions away from their points of origin, and towards the wider terrain

of their practice, would encourage a view of the identity of song as a more broadly social endeavour, interactive with other forms of cultural expression, and connected to a richer and more varied array of agents involved in fostering its movement and sustenance. Distance, then, as a critical tool, encourages a scrutiny of the geographical contexts in which we traditionally 'place' medieval musical repertories. By the same token, such a model of music history would have potential to contribute to new efforts to reckon with a global middle ages.

Some models emerge for such a historical reorientation. One possibility is sketched out by Christopher Page in his 2011 essay 'Geographies of Medieval Song,' where, indebted to seminal works by historians such as Janet Abu-Lughod and Robert Bartlett, he proposes a history of medieval music sources which locates them within geographical 'circuits.'[61] These are areas defined by systems of 'communication and long-term political history.'[62] They work against the grain of nation states, and in turn cut against reportorial-focused accounts which remain rooted to single institutions or places, or in activities of individual composers, and also, sympathetic to similar moves within literary studies, undermine an approach to vocal traditions which are demarked by linguistic boundaries. As Page acknowledges, these alternative histories of medieval music traditions are limited to the Latin West, and are rooted in the material evidence of the manuscript sources, such that there is 'a slippage between the notational record and major currents in the social, political and ecclesiastical history of the Middle Ages, to say nothing of musical life in the broader sense of all music making, regardless of whether it has left a deposit in notation or not.'[63] But the picture painted is already in marked contrast to standardized accounts. One might mitigate against such a circumscription by expanding the geographical reach, as well as extending the evidential trace, to include literary accounts of music (and of music books now lost), such as those of Notker and John discussed above, and also the non-written materialities of sound, such as the ivory of Roland's oliphant. Recent revisionist accounts of medieval literary traditions offer

further inspiration for such a reorientation to the musical canon. One such example would be to trace music's transmission along the political and mercantile lines of movement, along the sorts of itineraries mapped in David Wallace's recent *Literary History*.[64] Another would be to follow the lead of projects such as the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council funded project, *Medieval Francophone Literary Culture outside France*, which similarly seeks to work against narratives of national literature delimited by language, in pursuit of linguistic traditions forged across vastly more diverse linguistic and geographical terrains.[65]

To re-envision the study of music manuscripts through the lens of distance would not only unsettle the status quo of the familiar trajectory of the historical survey of medieval music, by widening the geographical terrain of its study. Reckoning with music as media, in the terms defined in this volume, also invites an ontological shift, away from works, fixed and finite in their creative act, and focused equally on their capabilities as media – to be transmitted, heard across distance, to move, and to mobilise and inspire others to acts of performance and creation. The encouragement away from musical works as 'works' – fixed, singular, privileging compositional act – might be expanded by complementary histories, which chart music's role in acts of interaction or resistance. Here, then, musical evidence has potential to adds a new voice to the historical record, and to contribute new perspectives in cultural histories of the Middle Ages.

The final part of this essay will attempt to take up that line of inquiry – of a history of music's mobility – with a case study of song repertories whose very core thematics was bound to perceptions of distance, separation, and the desire to bridge gaps, created by song-writers who themselves were far from static.

Song as distance

Lanquand li jorn son lonc en mai
M'es bels douz chans d'auzels de loing,

E qand me sui partitz de lai
Remembra.m d'un amor de loing.

When the days are long in May,
I like the sweet song of the birds from afar
And when I have departed from there
I remember a love from afar.
Jaufre Rudel, *Lanquand li jorn son lonc en mai*, I, 1-4 (PC 262: 2)[84]

Ahi! Amors, com dure departie
Me convendra faire de la maillour
Qui onques fust amee ne servie!
Deus me remaint a li par sa douçour
Si voirement que m'en part a dolour.
Las, qu'ai-je dit ? Ja ne m'en part je mie!
Se li cors vait servir nostre seignour,
Li cuers remaint de tout en sa baillie.

Ah, Love, how hard it will be for me to part
From the best lady
who was ever loved and served!
May God bring me back to her in his sweetness,
As truly as I leave her in sorrow.
Alas! What have I said? I will not leave her!
If my body goes to serve Our Lord,
The heart remains entirely at her service.
Conon de Béthune, *Ahi! Amors, com dure departie*, I (RS 1125; T 647, 1)[85]

Treschiers sires et vrais amis. Je me recommande a vous tan come ie puis . et de tout mon cuer . et vous envoie ce Rondel . et se il ya aucune chose a faire . je vous pri que cous le me mandez . et quil vous plaise a faire un virelay seur ceste matere . et le vous plaise a mon envoier note . avec ce rondel yci . avec les .ij. autres: celi que ieu vous envoiay . et celi que vous mavez envoie par li meismes.

Most dear lord and true friend, I commend myself to you, to the full extent of my ability and with all my heart, sending you this rondel. And if it needs any work, I beg you tell me, and, if it pleases you, compose a virelay on this same theme; and, should you like, send it to me set to music, and do the same for this rondel and the other two pieces, the one I sent you and the other you sent back by the same man.

…

Mon tresdous cuer ie vous prie pour dieu . que wous me weilliez tenir pour excuse se ie nay envoie vers vous puis que vous partistes de moy . car dieus scet que ce nest pas par deffaut damour ne de bonne volente … Et mon tresdous cuer . vous ne devez mie penser que ce que ien fais . le face pour vous eslongier . car de meschies et de toutes les peinnes qui en lamoureuse vie sont . sans estre escondis . cest li plus grans . que demourer loing de cu que on aimme.

> My very sweet heart, I beg you for God's sake please excuse me for not communicating with you since you left my side, for God knows it has not been because of any lack of love or good intention. … And my very sweet heart, you must not think that what I do is meant to distance you from me. For of the mischances and all the painful aspects of a lover's life that there are, except for being sent away, this is the greatest – to remain far from the one you love.
>
> (Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Live dou Voir Dit*, L1 and L 11)[86]

The three examples above offer soundings from medieval song's most pervasive and enduring themes: the connection between love and separation and (either by implication or explicit declaration) an understanding that singing and song-making were the expressive consequence of the distance between lover and beloved – and yet also, potentially, the vehicle to bridge the gap separating them. Versions of these metaphors of separation, distance, love, and singing reside at the heart of the vernacular lyric traditions whose earliest recorded traces are the songs of the troubadours, singer-songwriters composing in the Occitan vernacular of southern Francia and Catalonia in the early twelfth century. The topic of love from afar is embodied in the first song quoted, that of Jaufre Rudel (fl. 1130-1148), an early generation troubadour famous, in his lyrics and in the later sensationalizing *vida* recording his life story, for expressing the travails of love from afar. Jaufre, who is said to have been a lord of Blaye (now southwestern France), is purported to have had first-hand experience of this thanks to his participation in the crusade of 1147-48. *Lanquand li jorn*, then, is not only a love-song but, like many others in this tradition, one subtly merged with the narrative of crusade. The object of affections is thus located not only at a psychological distance, but at a geographical remove 'el renc dels Sarrazis' (in the kingdom of the Saracens) (*Lanquand li jorn*, II, 6). A much later thirteenth-century prose biography of Jaufre identifies that lady as the Countess of Tripoli. While there is little external evidence to support this narrative, *Lanquand li jorn* offers an eloquent demonstration of the entwined associations of distance, love, and singing. The key phrase 'amor de loing' in line 2 of the song– a phrase that echoes

across the vernacular repertory – becomes a vital structural and sonic device in the poem's versification and rhyme scheme. Each verse follows the same format, with the rhyme 'loing', twice repeated, recurring across all stanzas. The sonorous hook of the song, then, is tied to its semantic heart: the conditions of loving at a distance.

Jaufre is one voice in a chorus of song-makers to organise love around the theme of distance. The second example, by the Northern French trouvère, Conon de Béthune (fl. 1180-1219/20), dates several decades after Jaufre's. Though written in a northern French dialect, familiarity with the Occitan tradition is apparent and hardly surprising given, as we shall see, that Conon engaged in a number of creative dialogues with contemporary Occitan poets. Conon opens his *chanson* with the theme of separation, with anticipation of departure, once again in the service of Crusade (strophe two continues 'Pour li m'en vois souspirant en Surie': I sigh for her as I leave for Syria, a reference to the Third Crusade). Conon's separation is, moreover, intensified as he envisions how he might leave his heart behind him, with his lady, while he travels. That theme, too, would become a commonplace in medieval poetry and prose literature, and also in material culture and the visual arts, as one of a range of metaphors for the separation from one's beloved.

Song's increasing manifestation as a *material* presence, a written thing separable from its sonorous source, may well have made Conon's proposition. In addition to the conceptualisation of love and song as a detachable heart, it was common in the early traditions of the troubadours and trouvères to 'sign off' songs in a *tornada* or *envoi*: an act of dispatch, sending the song onward and outward to its intended recipient. As the physical media for conveying music yielded evermore concrete and prescriptive systems of inscription, that metaphor mingled with the reality in which such transmission was possible. Thus, by the time of Guillaume de Machaut, composing over a century and a half later, the theme of love-as-separation remains a lyric pretext but is supplemented by an ever-widening

range of material manifestations of song as something that can bridge distance while also endure beyond voice and memory through recourse to writing. In Machaut's interpolated *Voir Dit* ("True Story"), the separation of lovers is bridged by songs which are sent in letters, and indeed are visualised a such in the illuminations that support copies of the *dit* as well as in manuscripts often containing fully notated and singable versions of his songs (see **example three** which depicts Machaut-Lover receiving a sealed letter addressed 'a Guillame'). Yet despite the possibilities afforded by the physical media permitting songs to move back and forth between the lovers, separation remains the defining feature of their love. So much so that, in Letter 11 (quoted above), Machaut reiterates the classic topos that distance is indeed the ideal state for lovers -- and, as it will turn out, for the creative environment that ensures the thousands of lines and songs that follow.

In all these examples, the increasing materialisation of love – as a lyric dispatch, as the heart-proxy for the lover, and then as a tangible epistolary correspondence – is one further effect of the changing media networks for sound and song outlined in this essay, whereby music acquires increasing autonomy as an object both practically and ontologically independent of a maker or performer. It is within that thickening network of sonic media that song resides, itself a kind of technology for navigating distance. Its 'thingness', to borrow from theorists such as Bill Brown,[87] is simultaneously practical (supported by a growing autonomy permissible through writing) and also metaphorical, whereby the medium itself is ideally suited to reflect on its capacity to bridge and thus articulate spaces between a song's production and intended audience. But the theme of distance in song also serves as crucial witness to the elusive aspects of all sound: the encounter – emotional, psychological, even physical – of distance as it was experienced by those who made and listened to these songs. To pursue the theme of separation as it pertains to a lived reality of those who engage with

song has potential, then, to shed light on what Barbara Rosenwein has eloquently written about the 'invisible' histories of the affective past.[88]

Consider, for example, the historical events and places implied in Conon de Béthune's songs. Unlike Jaufre Rudel, a certain amount of evidence survives for Conon, permitting us to situate songs about distance and separation in the context of a life of lived on the move, and of social relations conducted from afar.[89] Conon is documented in charters pertaining to the seigneurs of Béthune in the county of Flanders and Hainaut: he appears, for example, in letters relating to his father, Robert V; and later in records of his own property transactions and donations to local churches, charters sent thousands of miles from Constantinople to Flanders. Conon is also recorded in chronicles and papal letters as a key diplomat during the Fourth Crusade. The contemporary crusader and chronicler Geoffrey of Villehardouin offers the most detailed account of his role as one of the four envoys who negotiated initial terms of support for the crusaders with the Doge and his council in Venice; he also confirms Conon's residence in Constantinople.[90] These are just some of the retrievable contexts of the trouvère's 'other' life, which was not, of course, separable from his creative engagement with the medium of song.

How, then, might one juxtapose the scenarios of his songs with the evidence for his peregrinations? Certainly, they cannot be read as straightforwardly biographical. But real places and sometimes people (named associates in the songs) all feature in extraordinary ways in his corpus, prompting us to hear the songs 'on location', as it were. Attending to those cues, perhaps a more productive and interesting way to hear distance in the songs is to consider what they say to and about *other* songs, by other composers, songs that at times fall very far outside the linguistic and cultural milieu we imagine a trouvère song to occupy. For if songs may not offer transcriptions of the specific experiences of different places, or the psychology or emotional landscape of the mobile trouvère, they are still products and

witnesses to distance, and to the social networks that might develop as a consequence. A little like the oliphants discussed above, which accrued decorations and styles –sometimes hybrid, mixing different effects, as Sharon Kinoshita shows – so, too, is song capable of recording and staging interactions of various kinds in the medium of musical and poetic sound.[91] Distance, then, is a lens through which to observe human encounters (welcome and unwelcome), and in turn offers new ways to illuminate facets of musical practice so fundamental as to be taken for granted.

Let me elaborate with another song from Conon's lyric corpus. *Bele douce dame chiere* (RS 1131; T, 748) is part of a lyric network forged through encounters far from the lands of Béthune that were integral to Conon's social identity (see **figure six**). As in *Ahi! Amors*, the song refers to the protagonist's exile from his lady in the Holy Land 'en Surie,' another generalised allusion to the lands 'Outremer'. Once again, that familiar unit of distance is appropriated into the courtly idiom to measure the relationship between protagonist and lady. In this case, it marks the psychological distance between them: following a stanza of encomium and longing, the lover laments his rejection by the lady, his love now turned to hateful anger. The hope for intimacy and proximity yields to brutal separation:

Bele douce dame chiere
Voste granz biautez entiere
Ma si soupris,
Que se giere en paradis
Si revendroie je arriere,
Par couvent que ma proiere.
Meust la mis
Que fusse vostre amis
Na moi fussiez fiere.
Quar ainc en nule manière
Ne forsis
Que fussiez ma guerriere.

Pour une quen ai haie
Ai dit as autres folie

Com irous.
Mal ait vos cuers convoitous
Qui m'envoia en Surie,
Fausse estes voir plus que pie.
Ne maiz pour vous
N'averai mes eus plourous.
Fox est qui en vos se fie,
Vous estes de l'abeïe
As soufraitous.
Si ne vous nomerai mie.

Dear lady, beautiful and sweet,
Your great beauty
Has so entirely seduced me
That, even if I were in Paradise,
I should return,
For as long as my prayer
Would put me
Where I could be your lover
Without you being proud towards me;
I have never behaved badly
In any way
For you to wage war on me.

For one lady I have hated,
I have spoken folly of others,
Like a man in fury.
A curse on your greedy heart
For sending me to the Holy Land.
False lady, more changeable than a magpie!
Never again shall on account of you
Shall I weep.
Fool is the one who is mad for you,
For you are the abbey
Of the suffering,
So I shall not name you.[92]

In *Bele douce dame chiere*, then, the place of 'Outremer,' as the historical target and prize of crusading, is reduced to a mere signifier of distance. But it also functions as a sonorous artefact, a node in the lyric network of this song that crosses numerous political and linguistic boundaries. The song also bears witness to, and is product of, its maker's lived experiences of distance, and that, too, of the song's subsequent performers and scribes. As such, it becomes an instrument for mediating social and creative encounters, and also the expressive archive of those encounters. Some features of the song's construction and transmission will illustrate.

As many songs in this repertory, *Bele douce dame chiere* is situated within a musical network by virtue of its deliberate ties to other songs. Such connections are relatively well-documented for the medieval lyric repertories, and remain a focal point of philological investigation, as a means to shed light on compositional practice.[93] However, close attention to song networks also offers a glimpse into the dynamic and mobile nature of song-as-media, suggesting how and where songs circulated, and pointing to relationships between those who participated in the making, performing, recording and interacting with songs. Song networks, then, are thus evidence not just of the practice of song-making in this period (how song-makers evoked other songs, or re-rendered familiar aspects of melodic or literary style). They also testify to how deeply embedded practices of composition were within the social environment of their makers, worlds defined by movement, by social bonds forged often across distance, and through encounters of many kinds.

What light can Conon's song shed on such a world, and vice versa? In the first instance, the identity of *Bele douce dame chiere* is itself subject to transformation, witnessed in the variability of the versions recorded in the four extant manuscript sources.[94] While two of the sources (*M* and *T*) are closely aligned, the other two (*O* and *U*) record substantially different versions of the lyrics and melody. They are, though, identifiable the 'same song' on account of shared common ground: all four sources share the stanza *Bele douce dame chiere*, and portions of a second (cited above); they all retain the same versification, and in those three to notate the song, the melody is recognisably the same, albeit subject to variation. Ascribed in two sources to 'Me Sire Quenes de Biethune' and 'me sire Quenes' (see again **figure six**, above), both copied several decades after the trouvère's death, it is clear that in many circles, and for some considerable time, the song was connected to Conon. Even those accounts which departed substantially to the attributed versions may thus have been identifiably 'Conon's' song. But it is equally clear that across time and space, the song was

substantially reworked, and that it was accepted and expected to do so. The philological status of *Bele douce dame chiere* thus define medieval song practice as one of transformation, collaboration, and adaptation of a song-object, one linked, however, to an original maker (Conon). Song's transformation in acts of transmission, which literary historian Paul Zumthor famously termed the 'mouvance' of the text, is decipherable through a text's variation in written sources (melodic as well as literary).[95] Not surprisingly, much contemporary philological practice, particularly the editorial and analytical enterprises that are the foundation of musicological and literary studies, centres around traces of a text's variability. Those variants, though, are also witnesses of another kind of activity – to acts and transactions, musical and non-musical, between makers, performers, audiences and scribes, interactions otherwise often very faint in the historical record. They testify to song's place in that vast 'web of culture,' in which people moved in and out of social groups, solo and together, of environments in which people interacted, listened, communicated and also confronted and excluded one another. Song-making may bear witness to such environments; and it may well also have participated in shaping such interactions. Genres such as the French *jeux partis* and Occitanian *partimens*, which were fashioned as dialogues or disputes between two authors, are an extreme example of the interactive, or in this case combative dynamics of song-making. The case of the transmission of Conon's song – and any other song in the repertory – also plays out such relationships: human interactions that ripple across the lyric record embedded in the quirks and surprises that distinguish one written version from another.

While it is hard to account for the precise circumstances and individuals who interacted with the song as it was originally conceived by Conon, other aspects of the network for *Bele douce dame chiere* permit more detailed insights into how songs could bridge distance, in this case, connecting one song-maker with another, in a creative dialogue.

In designing the poetic blue-print for *Bele douce dame chiere*, Conon was responding to another song and song-maker, in a creative interaction that crossed linguistic boundaries, and transgressed geo-political boundaries in Northern France, too. *Bele douce dame chiere* takes as model an Occitan lyric by the contemporary troubadour Bertran de Born (c. 1140s-1215).[96] Like Conon, Betran was from a noble family, with land and castle holdings in Hautefort in Périgord, close to the border of the Limousin.[97] That region placed the family within the areas of Plantagenet control, but close, too, to areas of the kingdom of France, leading to a constant effort on the part of the Born family to ensure good relations between both overlords. Like Conon's, Bertan's lyrics often refer to figures and places in his social network, and his part in negotiating his family's continued good standing with royal authority. Betran's song *Casutz sui de mal en pena* (PC 80: 9) on which *Bele douce dame* is based, is one such witness.[98] It records a purported amorous encounter between Bertran and Matilda, a daughter of Henry II, characterised by the *senhal* as 'gaia fresc'Elena,' at the court of Argentan in Normandy in 1182; it is there that Bertran ostentatiously locates himself in the song's closing *tornada* – '… sai en Normandia/sui.'[99] As in Conon's song, Bertran's lyrics chart the joyous and ultimately painful effects of love, following his courtly encounter with the lady.

The Béthune family, too, had connections to the court at Normandy, and as well as nurturing relations with the counts of Flanders, their more immediate authorities, the seigneurs of Béthune had interests in England at least from the time of Conon's great grandfather, Robert IV.[100] Thus, while the two song-writers were separated by several hundred miles distance (it is around 400 miles from Béthune to Hautefort), and by linguistic difference, their familial politics suggest points – and places – of contact. But it is the song that links Bertran to events in Normandy; and it through song that connections between Bertran and Conon linger in the historical record. And it is a connection made apparent in song's defining medium: its sound. Bertran's *canso* is the sonic basis for Conon's French

Bele douce dame, which borrows the versification and in some verses, also appropriates some of the rhyme sounds. Compare, for example, stanza two of Conon's song, quoted above, with the third stanza of Bertran's song, noting the sonic tie to the 'iere' 'ous' rhymes of *Bele douce dame* and the '-ia,' 'os,' of Bertran's:

Ja mais non er cortz complia
On hom non gab ni non ria.
Cortz ses dos
Non es mas gabs de baros!
Et agra.m mort ses faillia
L'enois e la vilania
D'Argentos,
Ma.l gentils cors amoros
E la bona compaignia
E.l respos
De la Saisa.m defendia.

A court is never complete without joking an laughter; a court without gifts is a mere mockery of barons! And the boredom and vulgarity of Argentan nearly killed me, but the noble, lovable body and sweet, mild face and good companionship and conversation of the Saxon lady protected me.[101]

Conon's song thus 'sounds' like Bertran's song in a very literal sense. There is no melody extant for Bertran's song, so it is impossible to know if Conon's song imported melodic resonances. However, given their shared versification, it would have been possible to sing both songs – French and Occitan – to the same melody. Indeed, the recent edition of Bertran's song illustrates the musical compatibility with inclusion of a version of Bertran's lyrics set to the melody of *Bele douce dame chiere*. Nor is that the end of the story. *Bele douce dame* was not just a reactive song, responsive to the lyrical world of Bertran's *canso*. It also caused reaction and it continued to be heard in contexts at a geographical and historical distance from Conon's homelands of the 1180s or 90s: it is quoted in a polylingual descort of the troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (fl. 1180-1207) and in a song by the trouvère Raoul de Soissons (1210-1270), active decades after Conon's demise.

This final example returns us to the relationships between the medium of music and the conception of distance in medieval culture with which this essay began. The paradox of love and loss at the heart of the vernacular lyric tradition speaks in a sense for the medium of sound itself: as one whose powerful presence – as sound made and heard – is undermined by its fragility, and instant decay. In the medieval period, that paradox lay at the heart of theoretical efforts to explain sound's properties; it also spawned revolution in the media for sound production, retention and transmission; and it also became a thematic engine of songs themselves. By the time Machaut was writing, the anxiety of song's demise was increasingly just a conceit, since the affordances of notation and music-writing were such that it was possible to prescribe in precise detail instructions for performance that transcended the need for sounding performance altogether. Even as sonic media came to displace human agency altogether, sound's potential to bridge distance between people and communities, across terrains small and vast, remained its most vital ingredient. And it remains so for the contemporary historian: listening for sound in the historical record is another distance worth attempting to bridge. As this essay has hoped to illustrate, sound has much to contribute to our understanding of how people made sense of their world, or themselves, and of one another.

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[1] Ronald Zupko, 'League,' in John Friedman and Kristen Figg (eds.), *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopaedia*, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, 1899 (New York: Routledge, 2000), 387-88. For further context see Ronald Zupko, *French Weights and Measures before the Revolution: A Dictionary of Provincial and Local Units* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1978).

[2] *La Chanson de Roland – The Song of Roland: The French Corpus*, ed. Joseph Duggan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), vol. 1, 180; the English translation is from *The Song of Roland and Other Poems of Charlemagne*, transl. Simon Gaunt and Karen Pratt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 60.

[3] For excellent and comprehensive accounts of the history of the medieval Oliphant, see especially David Ebitz, 'The Medieval Oliphant: Its Function and Meaning in Romanesque Secular Art,' *Explorations: A Journal of Research at the University of Maine at Orana* 1 (1984), pp. 11–20, Avinoam Shalem, *Die mittelalterlichen Olifante* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2014), and Shalem's *The Oliphant: Islamic Objects in Historical Context*, Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts, 54 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004).
[4] *Chanson*, Laisse 170; Shalem, *Oliphant*, 80-129.
[5] For an overview on the movement of ivory see Sarah Guérin *Gothic Ivories: Calouste Gulbenkian Collection* (Lisbon and London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and Scala, 2015), 37-40, and on the wider context of global trade routes for ivory in the Middle Ages see also her 'Forgotten Routes? Italy, Ifrīqiya and the Trans-Saharan Ivory Trade,' *Al-Masāq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean* 36: 1 (2013), pp. 70–91 and 'Avorio d'ogni Ragione: The Supply of Elephant Ivory to Northern Europe in the Gothic Era,' *Journal of Medieval History* 36: 2 (2010), pp. 156–74; for an account of West African trade relations with Europe in the period of 1250-1350, see Guérin's 'Exchanges of Sacrifices: West Africa in the Medieval World of Goods,' in *The Medieval Globe* 3: 2 (2017), pp. 97-123. Sources for the ivory used to make oliphants are discussed in Shalem, *Oliphant*, 18-37
[6] Jennifer Kingsley, 'Reconsidering the Medieval Oliphant: The Ivory Horn in the Walters Art Museum,' *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 68–69 (2010), 9–20; Shalem, *Oliphant*, 50-79. See, too, Sharon Kinoshita's discussion of the convergence of styles on an oliphant as witness to other modes of cultural interaction in the later Middle Ages, in *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 236-37.
[7] *Chanson*, Laisse 273; see, too, David Ebitz, David, 'Sacred to Secular: The Transformation of an Oliphant in the Musée de Cluny,' *Gesta* 25:1 (1986), 31–38.
[8] Michelle Warren, 'The Noise of Roland,' *Exemplaria* 16: 2 (2004), pp. 277–304.
[9] Martin Foys, 'Media,' in Jacqueline Stodnick and Renée Trilling (eds.), *A Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Studies* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2012), 133-48.
[10] Foys, 'Media,' 136.
[11] Charles Burnett, 'Sound and its Perception in the Middle Ages,' in Charles Burnett, Michael Fend, and Penelope Gouk (eds.), *The Second Sense: Studies in Hearing and Musical Judgement from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (London: Warburg Institute, 1991), 43-69, see esp. 43-45 and 52-59.
[12] Burnett, 'Sound and its Perception,' 54-55.
[13] *De Institutione musica* is edited in *Anicii Manlii Torquati Severini Boetii De Institutione arithmetica Libri Duo, De Institutione musica Libri Quinque*, ed. G. Friedlein (Leipzig, 1867), at 175-371, quoting here from 200; for an English translation see *Fundamentals of Music*, transl. Calvin Bower (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), quoting here from 21.
[14] Andrew Hicks, *Composing the World: Harmony in the Medieval Platonic Cosmos* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1-4.
[15] For a sample of recent scholarship in this area, see Martina Bagnoli (ed.), *A Feast for the Senses: Art and Experience in Medieval Europe* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Museum; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), Karin Bijsterveld and Trevor Pinch (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Sound Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), Constance Classen, *The Museum of the Senses: Experiencing Art and Collections*, Sensory Studies Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), Richard Newhauser, Richard (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*, A Cultural History of the Senses, 2 (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), Eric Palazzo, *L'invention chrétienne des cinq sens dans la liturgie et l'art au Moyen Age*

(Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2014) and Jonathan Sterne (ed.), *The Sound Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2012).
[16] Shalem, *Mittelalterlichen Olifante*, 183-203.
[17] For more on the literary representations of oliphants, including the scene in the *Chanson*, see Shalem, *Mittelalterlichen Olifante*,191-203.
[18] Kingsley, 'Reconsidering the Medieval Oliphant,' 16.
[19] Dante, *Inferno*, III, 22-30, edited with English translation in *The Divine Comedy,* transl. with commentary by Charles Singleton, Vol 1: *Inferno: Italian Text and Translation,* Bollingen Series, 80 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2nd ed. 1989). Discussion of the passage in Emma Dillon, 'Representing Obscene Sound,' in Nicola McDonald (ed.), *Medieval Obscenities* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2006), 66-67.
[20] Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, transl. Rodney Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996; first published 1919), Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, transl. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980), R. Murray Schafer, *The Tuning of the World* (New York: Knopf, 1977).
[21] Gretchen Peters, *The Musical Sounds of Medieval French Cities: Players, Patrons, and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), quoting from 1.
[22] Matthew Champion, *The Fullness of Time: Temporalities of the Fifteenth-Century Low Countries* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2017), quoting from 39.
[23] Champion, *Fullness of Time*, 107-131.
[24] Carol Symes, 'Out in the Open, in Arras: Sightlines, Soundscapes, and the Shaping of a Medieval Public Sphere,' in Caroline Goodson, Anne Lester, and Carol Symes (eds.), *Cities, Texts, and Social Networks, 400-1500: Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 279–302, and *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).
[25] Symes, *Common Stage*, 138-42.
[26] Niall Atkinson, *The Noisy Renaissance: Sound, Architecture, and Florentine Urban Life* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016), quoting from 12.
[27] Atkinson, *Noisy Renaissance*, 2.
[28] Symes, 'Out in the Open,' quoting from 286-87. Symes takes up questions of the relationship between written texts and performance in the context of liturgical records in 'Liturgical Texts and Performance Practices,' in Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton (eds.), *Understanding Medieval Liturgy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015), 239–67.
[29] Atkinson, *Noisy Renaissance*, 2.
[30] Peters, *Musical Sounds*, 34-39, for the case of tower-trumpeters in Montpellier.
[31] Edited in Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae,* in *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum Sive Originum*, ed. W. J. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), and English translation from Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, transl. Stephen Barney, W. Lewis, J. Beach and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), quoted here.
[32] Blair Sullivan, 'The Unwritable Sound of Music: The Origins and Implications of Isidore's Memorial Metaphor,' *Viator* 30 (1999), 1–14. For further on medieval concepts of voice vis-à-vis music, see Calvin Bower, '*Sonus*, *Vox*, *Chorda*, *Nota*: Thing, Name, and Sign in Early Medieval Theory,' in Michael Bernhard (ed.), *Quellen und Studien zur Musktheorie des Mittelalters* 3 (Munich, 2001), 47-61, Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), and Susan Rankin, 'Capturing Sounds: The Notation of Language,' in Lynn Ransom and Emma Dillon (eds.), *Cantus Scriptus: Technologies of Medieval Song* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2012), 10-41, esp. 11-22.

[33] Sullivan, 'Unwritable Sounds,' 7.
[34] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 70 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 2nd ed. 2008).
[35] Beth Williamson, 'Sensory Experience in Medieval Devotion: Sound and Vision, Invisibility and Silence,' *Speculum* 88: 1 (2013), 1–43.
[36] Andrew Albin, 'Canorous Soundstuff: Hearing the *Officium* of Richard Rolle at Hampole,' *Speculum* 91: 4 (2016), 29–42 and 'Listening for *Canor* in Richard Rolle's *Melos Amoris*,' in Irit Ruth Kleiman (ed.), *Voice and Voicelessness in Medieval Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 177–97; Tekla Bude, '*Panis Angelorum*: *Piers Plowman* and Rollean *Canor*,' *The Yearbook of Langland Studies* 29 (2016), 3–27.
[37] Machaut, *Remede de Fortune*, vv. 2901-290, edited with English translation in *Le Jugement du Roy de Behaigne and Remede de Fortune*, ed. and transl. James Wimsatt and William Kibler, with musical transcriptions by Rebecca Baltzer (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1988).
[38] Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) and Jennifer Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
[39] Rankin, 'Capturing Sounds,' 37
[40] Christopher Page, *The Christian West and its Singers: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).
[41] Edited in John the Deacon, *Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni*, *in Patrologia cursus completus* ed. Jacques Migne, vol. 75 (Paris, 1884), 59-242; for a partial translation into English, see Leo Treitler (ed.), *Source Readings in Music History: The Early Christian Period and the Latin Middle Ages*, vol. 2 (New York and London: Norton, 1998), quoting here from 70.
[42] Edited in Notker Balbulus, *Gesta Karoli Magni in italicum sermonem versa et adnotationibus instructa*, ed. Alessandro Cesareo (Perugia: Morlacchi editore U.P., 2015); for an English translation see Einhard and Notker the Stammerer, *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, transl. Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin Books, 1969), quoting here from 102-103.
[43] Notker, *Vita Karoli*, I, 10; Thorpe, *Two Lives*, 103.
[44] Notker, *Vita Karoli*, I, 10; Thorpe, *Two Lives*, 104.
[45] Much has been written on dating of early notation. For authoritative accounts of the matter see especially Kenneth Levy, 'On the Origins of Neumes,' *Early Music History* 7 (1987), 59-90, Page, *Christian Singer*, esp. 363-78, Rankin, 'Capturing Sounds,' 22, and elaborated in her forthcoming *Writing Sounds in Carolingian Europe: The Invention of Musical Notation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2018), and Leo Treitler, 'Reading and Singing: On the Genesis of Occidental Writing,*'* *Early Music History* 4 (1984), 135-208, and in selected essay from his collection *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it was Made* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
[46] Page, *Christian Singer*, 363 and Rankin, 'Capturing Sounds,' 23.
[47] Rankin, 'Capturing Sounds,' and Treitler, 'Reading and Singing.'
[48] Rankin, 'Capturing Sounds,' 28.
[49] Page, *Christian Singer*, 443-464
[50] Guido, *Prologue*, to his *Micrologus.* Edited at 4-61 in Guido of Arezzo, *Le opere: testo latino e italiano,* with an introduction, translation and commentary by Angelo Rusconi, Tradizione musicale, 10 (Firenze: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2005). For an English translation, see *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music: Three Medieval Treatises*, ed. Claude Palisca and transl. Warren Babb, Music Theory Translation Series, 3 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), quoting here from 58; the passage is discussed in the wider context of Guido's writing in the introduction, 49-51.

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[51] Jonathan Sterne, *MP3: The Meaning of a Format* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 189.
[52] Jennifer Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
[53] Davis, *Practice of Empire*, 430.
[54] Davis, *Practice of Empire*, 293-335, quoting from 335.
[55] Rankin, 'Capturing Sounds,' 37 and Davis, *Practice of Empire*, 299-301.
[56] For an overview of the history of medieval music manuscripts and *rotuli*, see Emma Dillon, 'Manuscripts,' in Mark Everist (ed.), *Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 291-319. For a recent study on new approaches to music manuscripts, see Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach (eds.). *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
[57] Malcolm Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book', in Jonathan Alexander and Margaret Gibson (eds.), *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 115-41.
[58] For a recent study on new approaches to music manuscripts, see Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach (eds.). *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
[59] Two recent projects crucial to fostering work in this area are the journal *The Medieval Globe*, edited by Carol Symes, on which see her 'Introducing the Medieval Globe,' *The Medieval Globe* 1 (2014), 1-8; and the *Global Middle Ages* project, curated at http://globalmiddleages.org/about, consulted August 9th, 2018.
[60] Notated repertories are the dominant organising rationale for two recent surveys: volume one of Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 6 vols. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) and Mark Everist and Thomas Forrest Kelly (eds), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
[61] Christopher Page, 'The Geography of Medieval Music,' in Mark Everist (ed.), *The Companion to Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 320-334. Page's model is indebted to work of Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) and Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
[62] Page, 'Geography,' 322.
[63] Page, 'Geography,' 322.
[64] David Wallace (ed.), *Europe: A Literary History, 1348-1418*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
[65] For further information about the project including recent and forthcoming publications, see http://www.medievalfrancophone.ac.uk, consulted August 8th, 2018.
[84] Jaufre's songs are edited with English translation in Jaufre Rudel, *The Songs of Jaufré Rudel*, ed. Rupert T. Pickens Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies: Studies and Texts, 41 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978); for an edition of this song which includes the melody, see *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: An Anthology of Poems and Melodies*, ed. Samuel Rosenberg, Margaret Switten, and Gérard Le Vot (New York and London: Garland, 1998), 56-57. The song is numbered according to the standard catalogue of troubadour lyrics in Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1933) [PC].

[85] Conon's songs have been edited several times. Here I refer to Conon de Béthune, *Les Chansons de Conon de Béthune*, ed. Axel Wallensköld (Paris: Paris, 1921). Certain of Conon's lyrics (including this one) are edited with English translated and with extensive commentary as part of the *Lyric Responses to the Crusades*, a collaborative research project led by Professor Linda Paterson (University of Warwick) with online resources including critical editions, translations and commentary of 187 Old French and Occitan songs pertaining to the crusades. For online access see http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/modernlanguages/research/french/crusades/report/ [accessed July 18th, 2018]. The song is numbered according to the standard catalogue for trouvère lyrics in Hans Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes* (Leyden: Brill, 1955, repr. 1980) [RS]; and by numbers assigned in Hans Tischler's complete musical edition of the trouvère corpus in *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition: Opera Omnia*, ed. Hans Tischler, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 107, 15 vols. (Neuhausen: American Institute of Musicology, Hänssler-Verlag, 1997-) [T].
[86] Referring here to the edition with English translation in Guillaume, de Machaut, *Le livre dou Voir Dit, The Book of the True Poem*, ed. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson and transl. R. Barton Palmer, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, v. 106A (New York and London: Garland, 1998).
[87] Brown elaborates his theory most extensively in *A Sense of Things: The Object Matter of American Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
[88] Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).
[89] For a summary of key evidence pertaining to Conon's life, see Wallensköld, *Chansons*, iii-vii; biographical evidence for Conon also forms part of my project Romance of Song, funded by the Leverhulme Trust, and will be forthcoming in the monograph related to that by the same title.
[90] Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and transl. Edmond Faral, Classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge, 18 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1938) ; for an English translation see *Chronicles of the Crusades: Joinville and Villehardouin*, transl. Caroline Smith (London: Penguin, 2008).
[91] See above, note XXXXXX.
[92] *Chansons*, no VII. The song is also edited with English translation by Luca Barbieri as part of the *Lyric Responses to the Crusade* project. The transcription here follows the version of the song in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 844, folio 46r, commonly referred to by the *siglum M*; the translation is my own.
[93] The literature on this topic is considerable. I direct readers to the following recent accounts of practices of quotation and citation in troubadour and trouvère repertories: Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume De Machaut*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 49 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Sarah Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales: Troubadour Quotations and the Development of European Poetry*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), Yolanda Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013) and Jennifer Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry* (Cambridge: Boydell, 2013). For studies of networks relating to songs by Conon discussed here, see Carla Cremonesi, 'Conon de Béthune, Rambaldo di Vaqueiras e Peire Vidal, in Giorgio Varanini and Palmiro Pinagli (eds.), *Studi Filologici Letterari e Storici in Memoria di Guido Favati*, vol. 1, Medioevo e Umanesimo 28–29 (Padua: Antenore, 1977), 233–44, Rebecca Davies, 'The Reception of Conon de Béthune's *Ahi! Amors, com dure departie* in Minnesang: Questions of Music and Metrical Form,' *Jahrbuch Der Oswald von Wolkenstein-*

Gesellschaft 9 (1997), 495–508, Maria Luisa Meneghetti, 'Parodia e auto-parodia: il caso Conon de Béthune, Ed. R 1325, in Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, Alain Corbellari, and Barbara Wahlen (eds.), *Formes de la critique: parodie et satire dans la France et l'Italie médiévales* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003), 69–85 and Nico Unlandt, 'Un dialogue poétique entre Bertran de Born et Conon de Béthune,' in Fritz Kirsch (ed.), *Oc et oïl: complémentarité et antagonisme de deux histoires littéraires de la France: études de littérature française et occitane*, (Toulouse: Section Française de l'AIEO, 2008), pp. 29-43, as well as Luca Barbieri's excellent commentary to the online editions of the song as part of the *Lyric Responses to the Crusade* project.

[94] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 844, 46r [*M*]; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 846, 89v [*O*]; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 12615, 99v [*T*]; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 20050, 36v [*U*]. Letter designations refer to the standard *sigla* for trouvère *chansonniers*, and hereafter I refer to manuscripts according to this system.

[95] Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris: Seuil, 1972).

[96] Bertran de Born, *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, ed. and transl. William D. Paden, Tilde Sankovitch and Patricia Stäblein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

[97] On which see the introductory essay to *Poems of the Troubadour*.

[98] No 8 in Paden's edition, *Poems of the Troubadour*.

[99] Quoting from I, 11 and VI, 1-2. For further context, see the commentary to Paden's edition of the song in *Poems of the Troubadour*, 160-61.

[100] For context on the Béthune family, including discussion of their Plantagenet connections, see Jean-François Nieus, 'Des 'archives de famille' en France du Nord au Moyen Âge central: le chartrier des seigneurs de Béthune, 1160-1260,' in V. Lamazou-Duplan (ed.), *Les archives de famille: formes, histoires et sens d'une denèse (XIII-XVIIe siècle)* (Madrid: Collection de la Casa de Velázquez, forthcoming 2019) and 'Stratégies patrimoniales Anglo-Flamandes après 1066: l''honor' de Chocques et la famille de Béthune," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'histoire* 95 (2017), pp. 163–92.

[101] *Poems of the Troubadour*, no 8, III.