Troubadour Songs in Trouvére Codices

Mouvance in the Transmission of Courtly Lyric

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Scholars charting the dissemination of courtly lyric from its origins in early twelfth-century Occitania,[1] first to France and Italy and then beyond the Pyrenees and the Rhine, are faced with a curious paradox: though the earliest troubadours flourished several decades before the spread of their art to the north, and the trouvéres res, their French-speaking counterparts, remained active into the 14th century, long after the troubadours had embarked on a slow decline, the manuscript traditions of Occitan and French lyric poetry show an inverse chronology. For trouvéres song began to be collected in the early decades of the 13th century, while the vast corpus of troubadour *chansonniers* (forty manuscripts in toto) dates from the second half of the thirteenth and the first part of the fourteenth centuries. [2] The majority of these, moreover, were compiled in Italy, and only three of them, one Italian, G (Milan, Ambrosiana, R71 supp.), one Occitanian, R (Paris, BN, fr. 22543), and one Catalan, V (Venice, Mariciana, App. Cod. XI - whose staves, incidentally, were never filed in), were ruled for music. We are thus faced with a great disparity of melodic wealth between Occitan and French lyric: though each tradition has left us more than 2500 texts, melodies are preserved for only one-tenth that number of troubadour poems, but for more than 90% of trouvére poems. Counting all of the readings of the 253 extant troubadour melodies, we find a total of 322, while the multiple readings of the 2800 extant trouvére melodies give us a total of around 4600 (Haines 2004, 20).

Given this paucity of melodic material for the troubadours, as well as the considerable time-lag separating performance and preservation to which this can be attributed, it is all the more significant that a respectable number of troubadour poems are recorded - with melody - in the earliest trouvére *chansonniers.* This preservation of Occitan songs by French lyric scribes working in the early to mid-thirteenth century speaks not only to the influence of the troubadours on the burgeoning art of the trouvéres, but to a lively southern presence at northern courts, particularly those of Champagne and Lorraine (Lug 200 1).[3] The hybrid linguistic forms in which all of them are noted, moreover, evoke a language-contact situation which textual scribes strove to reproduce in writing.

These first efforts at recording Occitan verse were thus directed at French-speaking audiences and were made in a period of economic decline for the southern courts. It may well be that Occitan-speaking counties could have produced at this time collections of their own poets. For the culture of literacy was as developed there as in the north,[4] but the patronage system of the south, fractured by the Albigensian wars, no longer had the means to do so.[5] Be that as it may; the manuscript sources

under discussion are significant indicators of the extent of the Occitan diaspora, of the popularity of its native poetry abroad, and of its influence on the art of the trouvéres. Indeed two early trouvére *chansonniers,* U (Paris, BN, fr. 20050, the *Chansonnier de Saint-Germain-des-Prés)* and M (Paris, BN, fr. 844, the *Chansonnier du roi),* bear eloquent witness to this influence, and considerably enrich our records by preserving more than seventy of the most popular troubadour songs of the period. Not only are 80% of these notated with melodies, but half of the melodies are found in no other source. Melodic *unica* are in fact the norm in the troubadour corpus, constituting half of Ms. G's melodies and three quarters of Ms. R's. Thus while the *unica* of Mss. U and are invaluable to our grasp of troubadour poetry *qua* performance, it is the melodic concordances between the two troubadour and two trouvére codices which afford us essential insights into the processes of preservation and transmission of secular medieval music, and it is on these that the present discussion will focus. For by approaching the macaronic language of the troubadour songs in M and U, as well as the variations in melody across collections and over time, as examples of textual and musical *mouvance,* we are able to bring to the forefront the tension between the oral and the written, between changes introduced by an ongoing performance tradition and those proffered by the scribes themselves.

Questions of the respective roles of performance practice vs. written sources, of the reliance by scribes, in the process of transmission, on exact copying vs. creative reinterpretation, must be asked of both poetry and music. As analyzing medieval monody requires specialized training not available in standard literary curricula, it will be one of the purposes of this essay to broach, without becoming technical, a few of the basic questions one asks of a troubadour or trouvére melody. Of particular interest will be whether we can legitimately speak in this repertoire of "northern melodies" in the same sense that we recognize linguistically northern versions of the texts.

Our query must begin even before the earliest compilations of trouvére song, for the oldest extant sources for both French and Occitan lyric poetry are in fact not *chansonniers* but narratives - Old French romances containing lyric insertions. The earliest of these is Jean Renart's *Roman de Guillaume* de *Dole,* which dates from the second decade of the 13th century. Renart's innovative hybrid lyric-narrative contains, among its forty-six one- and two-stanza excerpts of lyric verse, three Occitan songs, representing three generations of poetry. Two of these: Jaufre Rudel's *Lanquand li jorn son lone en mai* and Bernart de Ventadorn's *Can vei la lauzeta mover* are among the most often-recorded troubadour songs, both in the medieval period and today. And while the authorship of the third, *Belha m'es la votz autana* - attributed to Daude de Pradas in troubadour Ms. C - was disputed by its modern editor (Schutz 1933, xxvi-xxvii), its presence in the romance suggests that the song was perceived to be as emblematic of the ethics of *fin'amor* as the other two. The second lyrico-narrative romance pertinent to this

discussion is Gerbert de Montreuil's *Roman de la Violette,* an unabashed knock-off of the *Roman de Guillaume de Dole* dating from the second quarter of the thirteenth century that offers, among its thirty-nine lyric insertions, two Occitan fragments: single stanzas of Bernart de Ventadorn's N*on es enois ni falhimens* and his celebrated *Can vei la lauzeta mover.*[6]

Chronologically, the next source for troubadour lyric is trouvére manuscript U, also catalogued as troubadour Ms. X, which is how it will be designated here. X was commissioned, according to the latest research (Lug 2001), in 1231 by Perrin Noise, a Messine nobleman, as a wedding gift for his bride Helois de Prény-Haussonville. X contains, among its 324 *chansons, pastourelles,* debate poems, and crusade songs, 29 troubadour pieces grouped on folios 81-91 and again on folios 148-150. 22 of these are preserved with melodies, of which four are unique to this source.[7] The other major northern source for the troubadours is trouvére Ms. M, henceforth troubadour Ms. W, a sumptuous compilation dating from the 1250s (Beck 1938). It contains, in addition to its 428 French *chansons* organized by author, an inserted *libellus* of sixty songs of Thibaut de Champagne in the same hand as the other trouvére lyric; a selection of 50 two- and three-voice motets; a sampling of instrumental dance tunes added some forty years later, nonetheless the oldest such compositions we possess; added gatherings offering 33 *chansons* and *rondeaux* in French, Occitan and Latin as well as three lyric *lais,* one in French and two in Occitan; and, (at last!) on gatherings 26-27, thus before the motets and *lais,*[8] we find a collection of 61 troubadour songs, 51 of which have melodies. 13 of these texts and 31 of their melodies occur only in Ms. W, making it a major source for troubadour lyric.

An examination of the contents of the troubadour gatherings in X and W reveals not only which poets were considered representative of the tradition for French audiences, but also who among them enjoyed the greatest favour. A tally of hit titles confers floral crowns on four composers: in order of increasing popularity, we have the pioneering Marcabru; the song-maker-turned-militant-bishop Folquet de Marseille, the only lyric poet, incidentally, whom Dante places in Paradise; the poignant eulogist of Richard Lionheart, Gaucelm Faidit; and finally, the sublime and prolific Bernart de Ventadorn who, according to his medieval *vida,* enjoyed the patronage of Eleanor of Aquitaine (Egan 1985, 54-57). And it is with Bernart's "Can vei la lauzeta" that I wish to begin, for the song boasts an extensive textual history. Not only does it appear in twenty lyric anthologies, in addition to the *Roman de Guillaume de Dole* and the *Roman de la Violette,* but it is the only Occitan insertion in the *Guillaume de Dole* to exceed a single stanza in length, and its melody is known to have been borrowed for at least five other poems. Indeed, our analysis will focus first on Bernart de Ventadorn, Jaufre Rudel and Daude de Pradas, as poets featured in up to four French sources, before turning to other songs of Bernart de Ventadorn and a few by Rigaud de Barbezieux as examples of musical/textual interaction.

Table 1 features the opening stanzas of "Can vei la lauzeta" as it appears in the two lyric narratives and two trouvére chansonniers along with, for comparison, the corresponding text from Ms. A, a frequently chosen base text for critical editions.

In all French sources, we find essentially a translation with Occitan coloration: the trisyllabic *miraville,*[9] the infinitive *amar,* the curious non-etymological *-d-* in *moder,* and the spelling of the definite article *lou* favoured by the scribe of W, all contrive to convey the aura and foreignness of the southern language. Looking a little more closely, a genuine translation should offer *movoir* as the equivalent of *mover,* which would rhyme with *choir* two lines further on. This lexical choice would have created a hypometric line, however, in addition to which the *-d-* in *moder* echoes that in *s'oblida,* which is spelled in the Occitan way in W and the *Violette,* but not in *Guillaume de Dole.* The strongest justification for the form *moder,* though, lies in the rich rhyme afforded by *cader,* itself an etymological spelling which occurs only the French sources and in Ms. G.[10] Looking beyond this etymon and this poem, however, we find Occitan intervocalic *-d-,* as in the agentive suffix *-dor (chantador)* or the feminine past participial ending -ida, to be a general feature of this hybrid language.

Stanza two shows some divergence between the two French sources that allow us to grasp their language as an active process, the result of choices made by the scribes at every step in the process. *Guillaume de Dole,* despite its respect, in stanza 1, of a rhyme scheme based on infinitives in -er, uses the French form *savoir* rather than the Occitan *saber,* and thus offers a thoughtful, accurate translation of the famous opening lines. Ms. W, opting for the hybrid solution, modifies the sense of the first line by substituting the verb *souloir* "to be accustomed to" for *cuidier* "to think," which would have kept the sense of the original, and even gives it an Occitan imperfect ending. In subsequent lines, Occitanized French dominates the language of both texts to the extent that the sense of the original becomes muddled. Returning to stanza 1 for a moment, the Violette and Ms. W successfully transmit the sense of the original - the lyric 1 expresses astonishment that his heart does not melt with desire - whereas in G. *de Dole,* it is not clear just what is melting, though it is probably desire itself In stanza 2, the original informs us that "she" has taken his entire world, leaving him only desire and a yearning heart. In both French sources, she does the same, but in the G. *de Dole* insertion, it appears - not being entirely decipherable (and here the text of W is regrettably missing) — that she takes nothing but his desire and yearning heart (Paden 1993, 46).[11] That we find so many solutions to the problem of creating a language in which to record both the sense of troubadour song and transmit its aura argues for a mixed oral/ written process of transmission. That there were exemplars in circulation is without question, but that they should yield such variance indicates that they derive from a tradition of performing these songs in a kind of mixed language, which each scribe apparently sought to mediate on his/her own.

In support of this, consider Ms W's and the G. *de* Dole's preferred form of the definite article lou, which is noteworthy for not being spelled that way in any medieval Occitan text. It is quite likely that this spelling reflects the closing of unstressed /o/ to /u/, a pronunciation which prevails systematically in the modern dialects of Occitan. If this change had already occurred in the medieval language, and indeed a similar change was in progress in French at the same period, it is highly likely that the scribe of W had his ear attuned to native-speaker pronunciation, even more so given that two scribes working a generation apart used this form yet were decidedly not copying from a common source.

An analogous situation prevails in the case of Jaufre Rudel's "Lanquand li jorn," which also occurs in both trouvére codices, though not in the Violette.

The first several lines of the *Guillaume de Dole* version offer a text in pure French, while ms, X reproduces Jaufre's opening words - *Ian qant-ve*rbatim, which must have created interference for the song's target audience, and Ms. W offers a hybrid structure - *lan que.* Ms. X, furthermore, offers the hybrid form *auziaus* in line 2, but maims the syntax of the line: *douz chans,* reproduced accurately in the other French sources, is rendered here as *del chant.* In like manner, X and W preserve the rhyme in line 3 at the expense of the meaning, by keeping the Occitan form *lai*, whereas the *Guillaume de Dole* prefers to sacrifice rhyme for sense and translate the adverb of place accurately. Further along, in line 5, ms. X offers a first-person-singular of the verb *aler - vains,* which did not exist in either language. Many such forms, such as *long* in lines 2 and 4, whose missing pre-consonantal *i* is both etymologically incorrect and a violation of the norms of Lorraine *scripta,* have prompted scholars to question whether the scribe of X understood what he was copying (Gauchat 1893). While these singularities can indeed point in that direction, it is difficult to imagine a trained scribe, especially one familiar with lyric poetry and transcribing a language so close to French, as so inept a copyist. These errors are more insightfully explained, in my estimation, as explorations, i.e., early attempts to notate a performed repertoire which had few written antecedents. The lexical and grammatical shape of these macaronic Occitan songs is too variegated, however, to allow us to posit a single exemplar for the four, and at least one intermediary scribal step must be presumed between court performance, which served as a crucible for these hybrid texts, and the recensions which survive.[12] The purpose of such texts, whether sung or written, could not have been complete understanding, but rather to capture the essence of troubadour poetry for northern courtly audiences while paying tribute to the prestige of its language. The motley bilingualism of the song texts thus reflects the efforts, on the part of multiple scribes, to capture the aura of that initiation of the north into the poetry of the more civilized south.

In keeping with this principle of "familiarity tinged with foreignness," all of the French sources

reproduce the Occitan past participle *gelatz* ("frozen") rather than the French form *gele,* in order to follow the rhyme scheme of the original, in which the last word of every stanza ends with the suffix -*atz.* Ms. X, the only French source which offers more than one stanza, indeed closes stanzas II, III and IV (stanza V in most troubadour manuscripts) with the words *solaz, remiraz* and *clamatz,* though the last word is actually misspelled: *clamar.*[13]

The last troubadour song in the *Guillaume de Dole* is "Belha m'es la votz autana,"[14] for which ms. W and *G. de Dole* strike similar balances between translating and mixing languages.

Ms. W again shows a predilection for the Occitan imperfect ending — *aurie* — in v. 1.6, as well as archaic forms such as *corteisie* which, though standard in French in the late 11th and early 12th centuries, would have stood out for French-speaking audiences a century later. Lexical items are the least Gallicized when they rhyme with other words whose Occitan forms are essential to transmitting "un parfum du midi," as Fabienne Gegou aptly described it (Gegou 1973). Thus altane in v. 1 rhymes with *sane* in line 4 and with *sane* again in line 7, though these are different words in the original text. The meaning of the first occurrence of *sane* must have been obscure to French-speaking audiences, especially given W's awkward attempts to make sense of it; the word *arfane* found in rhyme position, line 4, is meaningless. Sound (i.e., preservation of rhyme) thus takes precedence over sense, a tendency which we have witnessed in other examples, though not to this degree.15 Indeed, no French word captured with such succinctness the Occitan meaning of "meadow soaked with (spring) rain," and the scribe of G. *de Dole* was wise to leave it alone. It is of course possible that *sane* was understood in some northern poetic circles in which troubadours and juglars moved, and as such, did more than simply convey local colour.[16]

It is regrettable that G. de Dole only offers one stanza of this song for comparison, as the second stanza in W is stanza four in ms. C. It is well-recognized that variation in stanza order is a commonplace of lyric manuscripts,[17] but striking that this feature seems to characterize lyric compilation almost from its inception, and particularly problematic in ms. W. Thus, in Bernart de Ventadorn's "Non es meravelha s'eu chan" (PC 70,31), a comparison of ms. W with ms. A (Vat. Lat. 5232), reveals W's order to be: I, II, V, VI, III, VII; missing entirely are stanza IV and the *tornada.*[18] Examination of Gaucelm Faidit's celebrated lament *Forz chausa es* (PC 167,22), furthermore, reveals that for this song, ms. X follows the same stanza order as ms. A, dating from several decades later, while ms. W's stanza order, by comparison, is I, II, IV, and then regrettably falls silent. Likewise, X and A show exactly the same stanza order in their redactions of Rigaut de Barbezieux's *Atressi com l'olifonz* (PC 421,2). It must be recognized that W does too, as far as it goes. But it only transmits two stanzas of this poem, and it is usually after this point in transcription that variation appears.

Ms. W's shortcomings go well beyond such vagaries, however. Of the sixty troubadour songs in the original gatherings, only twenty-two offer complete texts, while two more present three stanzas, nine contain two, and twenty-seven are comprised of a single stanza. In all such cases, space was left beneath the staves, allowing for complete entries to be made at a later date, and in eleven of these, the exempla at hand must have been lacking not only full text, but melody as well. It is significant that on only one folio are the complete songs missing their melodies. We must conclude that the scribes had at least two sources at their disposal, with complete records distinct from fragmentary ones. The most plausible explanation for these lacunae, proposed by Elizabeth Aubrey (Aubrey 1996, 40), is that the latter songs were copied from *florilegia*; the manifest intent on the scribes' part to fill in missing stanzas and melodies with other sources was then regrettably not realized.

Turning now to questions of textual-musical interaction, I wish to briefly touch on the effect of the Franco-Occitan *mischspache* of mss. X and W on the transcription of melodies.[19] Does the language of these poems modify the distribution of notes over syllables? If so, does it alter the ways in which melody affirmed message in the original language? A signal article by Vincent Pollina, which has become a model for such inquiries, addresses three cases where the language proves problematic for the music (Pollina 1985). A similar though less dramatic example can be observed in Rigaud de Barbezieux's "Atressi com Persavaus" (PC 421,2). Line 1.9, of three syllables - *Qu'eissamen* - in P. Bec's edition, is hypermetric in ms. X, with four - *Car alsiment.* As X provides the only surviving melody, the editors of *Anthologie des troubadours* acknowledge the necessity of compressing the normally syllabic descending phrase *a-g* over a single syllable (Bec 1976, 116-120, 379):

If the melody of X is accurately transcribed, as is highly plausible given the step-wise progression of countless melodies in this repertoire, the "emendation" proposed by the editors could have restored the "original" distribution of notes and syllables.[20] The aptness of this reasoning is reinforced by a similar situation in line 2.10, in which the scribe of X again creates a hypermetric line: *Velha ses velhazir* becomes *Vielle* senz *avillazir.* The melody is flexible enough in both cases that it can accommodate the altered text, and in effect, mask the hypermetricity of the line, which in repetition from one stanza to the next is unnoticed bv the ear.[21]

It is thus essential to recognize, as Pollina acknowledges (Pollina 1985, 274), that despite the serious cases he discusses, in these example, as for this corpus as a whole, the unusual hybrid forms do not interfere with melodic flow. Indeed such alterations need not result in mishaps at all. For examples can be found where the trouvére sources use melody to enhance the message of the text. One such case is found in the following line of Rigaud de Barbezieux's "Atressi com l'olifanz" (PC 421,2).

In this example, W takes liberties with the syntax of the text while X and G remain very dose.

Melodically, however, the pairing is different: W and G are nearly identical while X introduces a nearly melismatic embellishment on syllable two. The elephant's fall, from which it is unable to rise, is expressed dramatically by the descent of a fourth in \ V to the word "fall" *(chat).* In X, on the other hand, the fall is preceded by the conjunct rise and fall of a minor third on the syllable preceding *chiet,* following which the melody continues to descend over the key word itself. Thus, while the hybrid language of the texts impeded the work of the music scribe on occasion, the music scribe could equally well offer solutions that augmented the effectiveness of the text.

Turning now to the music of *chansonniers* X and W, we must recognize that the missing melodies of these codices do not overshadow the significance of those which are notated. For X and W contain the only surviving melodies for eight troubadours. Ms. W can boast, moreover, what is the most significant of these, due to its extreme rarity: the only melody associated with a song by a *trobairitz* (woman poet), the Comtessa de Dia's 'A *chanter* m'er," which has been featured on more than forty recordings of medieval monody since the 1970s. Other poets whose melodies are recorded only in these chansonniers are Raimbaut d'Aurenga, Guilhem Magret, Albertet de Sestero, Jordan Bonel, Blancasset, Daude de Pradas (discussed above), and Guiraut d'Espanha. In addition, a dozen melodies of perhaps better known poets such as Marcabru, Bernart de Ventadorn, Rigaut de Barbezieux, Gui d'Uisel, Peire Vidal, and Raimon Jordan, whose other songs are more amply notated in mss. G and R, are only known through these northern sources.22 Thus W is the only musical source for, *inter alia,* Marcabru's celebrated crusade song "Pax in Nomine Domini" and Raimon Jordan's "Lou clar tans vei brunazir," whose melody was considered sufficiently captivating to be borrowed for three trouvére songs,23 and X and W are the sale sources for Rigaud de Barbezieux's ''Atressi com" series and three songs of Bernart de Ventadorn.

Despite the invaluable contribution these *unica* make to the troubadour corpus, it is the concordant melodies that offer the real insights into the process of transmission. How closely related are the melodies in X and W to those in R and G, and how do they differ? Are there overall compositional strategies that distinguish one manuscript from another, or one scribe's work from that of another?

The first question to ask of a medieval melody is how it is structured. The primary possibilities, elucidated by Dante in his *De vulgari eloquentia,24* include a melodic phrase covering two lines of text and then repeated, termed the *frons,* followed by a through-composed, or non-repeated, melody for the remainder of the stanza; this latter portion is termed the *cauda.* The shorthand for describing this type of melodic structure is ABABX, ABAB representing the two-line repeated phrase of the frons, and x representing the through-composed melody of the *cauda.* Another possibility, present in these repertoires, is the double versicle structure characteristic of lais.[25] This type of melody repeats groups of

phrases throughout, e.g., ABCABCDEFDEF or AABBBBCCCC, *inter alia multa.*

The ABABX structure characterizes a minority of 12th-century songs, for the majority of melodies in the first three generations of troubadour lyric are through-composed. The ABABX structure becomes much more prevalent in the 13th century, however, to the extent that it achieves normative status for the trouvéres. This shift is measurable in the concordant melodies of the troubadour repertoire. Focusing on the eighteen recorded melodies of Bernart de Ventadorn as a microcosm of melodic behaviour across the *chansonniers,* we find that while 100% of Bernart's songs in X and 85% in W are through-composed, only 50% of those in G and just 38% of those in R show this structure. R takes the lead in this shift, for not only are two of Bernart's songs - "Ab joi muou 1overs e.l comens" (PC 70,1) and "La dossa votz ay auzida" (PC 70,23) - through composed in W, G and X, respectively, and ABABX in R, but R's melodies show an overall preference for ABABX or versicle structure (59%), while only 34% of G's melodies use this kind of structure. Since the 19 concordant melodies in R and G show, with the single exception discussed above, agreement in structure, the statistical differences are accentuated by the notable discrepancies in corpus size. For R contains twice as many melodies as G, including, among its unica, 35 melodies of the late troubadour Guiraut Riquier (active in the second half of the 13th century), of which only six are through-composed.[26]

Below this macro-level analysis, R's melodies are often as idiosyncratic in their contour as in their structure. Limiting ourselves to the thirty-two concordant melodies of the troubadour corpus, we find twenty-three concordances between R and the other three chansonniers. Of these, R's melodies are closely related to those of G, W or X in eight songs, or 35% of the total. Four of R's melodies, or 17%, furthermore, show partial similarities with the other codices, with shared contours and tonal centres in approximately half of their phrases, while eleven melodies, or 48% of the total, are completely unrelated to those in G, W, or X. Mss. X, W and G, on the other hand, show audibly related melodies in all cases. A comparison of three recensions of Bernart's "Ab joi" illustrates this clearly, while prompting- further questions about melodic behaviour.

In this through-composed melody, W and G are visibly parallel, though starting pitches in lines 1 and 3 differ, and the two melodies show nearly identical contours and cadences. Their sole dissimilarities occur in the degree of ornamentation, and it is here that we can observe the intersection of oral and written traditions. The ornament in W over the 6th syllable of line 1, the 4th and 5th syllables and the 7th syllable of line 8; in G over the 7th syllable of line 2, and the 6th syllable of line 3 are of the sort which vary in performance, and are rooted in a compositional process which is at least partially improvisatory. We are witnessing snapshots of performance of an accepted melody rather than scribal variations on a canonical original.[27] The melody of R, on the other hand, which we accept as equally

true to troubadour compositional aesthetics, reflects a largely autonomous transmission. It must be noted, parenthetically, that line three in ms. R is hypermetric, while line one, under the same melodic phrase, is not. We thus witness an additional example of the flexibility that this type of construction - essentially syllabic, partially neumatic -provides, enabling metrical irregularities, be they intentional or accidental, to be readily absorbed.

Given the originality of the music scribe of ms. R, how do we assess the work of the music scribes of R and G? Did the music scribe of ms. G, who worked more or less contemporaneously with the music scribe of ms. R,[28] scrupulously follow written sources used in the preparation of mss. X and W, while the scribe of R was in direct contact with performance practice? Given the type and degree of difference between the melodies of R and G, and that working troubadours were more likely to be found abroad, that interpretation is surely incomplete. Rather, the music scribe of R can most profitably be viewed as a composer and creative reformer of extant written works. Given the remarkable structural regularity of his melodies and his predilection for the versicle structure - he is a master at recalling previously-stated motivic gestures but then developing them quite differently - specialists of medieval monody have argued strongly for the direct role of R's music scribe in reshaping the received tradition (Aubrey 1987), a viewpoint entirely consistent with the argument from *mouvance.* For in a culture of the open text, who, if not trained scriveners, can assume responsibility for both capturing the shifting form of a continuously performed work and contributing consciously to its alteration?[29]

In conclusion, the concordances, both textual and melodic, between the earliest recorded troubadour songs and their analogues in the vast troubadour *chansonnier* tradition, show that the scribes of X and W were attentive to and recorded a living tradition, which circulated both in codices and in performance. It is clear that they are in part responsible for the shape of the texts and the melodies while faithfully transmitting their material. This is particularly true in the case of the melodies. For the parallels among X, W and G, first of all, and between a good half of the melodies of these chansonniers with those of R, show that we must decline to speak of the music in the trouvére songbooks as "northern melodies." The mixed language of the poetic texts in northern *chansonniers* speaks, moreover, to the formative role the troubadours played in the evolution of trouvére lyric in the decades just prior to 1200, and to ongoing cultural exchanges between the two traditions. It reflects not only the partial intelligibility of French and Occitan and their strikingly similar civilizations, but to concerted efforts, mediated by the growth of textual communities in France, which sought to make accessible the rich poetic heritage of Occitania. In the end, it was of small concern whether troubadour poetry was entirely comprehensible to northern listeners. What these collections convey is the prestige of Occitan as the medium of an idea, indeed a complex ethic —*fin'amor*— whose time had come.

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Notes

1 Though the political use of this term is anachronistic, as the southern counties and duchies — some independent, others fiefs of the French crown - did not constitute a unified or independent state, its linguistic denotations are medieval in origin, and it now enjoys wide acceptance among historians and philologists.

2 The debate regarding oral vs. written composition of troubadour poetry having broached every possible combination of the two processes, even oralists today acknowledge the existence of written predecessors to both troubadour and trouvére chansonniers. But how soon these came into existence and what form they took remains, given the lack of exemplars, speculation.

3 See also Aubrey (1997).

4 There were many fewer monastic centers of book production in the south, where writing tended, moreover, to serve primarily civic purposes. See Aubrey (1993) and Paterson (1993,253-265).

5 The decline may well have set in earlier: judging by Raimon Vidal de Besalu's early 13th-century guidebook to minstrelsy, Abril issia, the golden age of court festivals had already passed. The vibrancy of the tradition is nonetheless reflected by the presence, in both X and W, of troubadours active at the time of compilation; see Aubrey (1996, 34-39).

6 I shall not discuss this insertion, as its manuscript history is rather confused. Only one of the four Mss. of the Violette includes this song, and in pure French translation. The others enter an unknown Occitan song whose corrupt original is Gallicized rather awkwardly. See Buffum (1928, xxxv).

7 The notation of melodies in this codex is unusually sporadic. Though the first twelve gatherings are systematically ruled for music, exempla were apparently lacking, to varying degrees, for songs in gatherings IV, VI, VII, X, XI, while gatherings XIII-XXIV are entirely devoid of music. It is noteworthy, given this situation, that with only one exception, all of the troubadour songs in gatherings XI and XII have melodies. See Meyer and Raynaud (1892).

8 Haines (2002) has argued convincingly that the original order of gatherings was disturbed by J. and L. Beck's reconstruction of the manuscript, and that the troubadour chansonnier was originally placed after the French motets, thus making the Occitan chansons and contiguous. Haines also reprises Jean Longnon's extensively researched hypothesis (1949) that the codex was commissioned not by Charles d'Anjou, but by Guillaume de Villehardouin, ruler of the Greek province of Morea from 1245-1278.

9 The word even has four syllables in the Violette, with a very southern-sounding feminine final -a (as well as a phonetically accurate intervocalic /b/), but the meter is respected. The same cannot

be said of the sense of the line, however, as "noise," i.e., an aura of foreignness, obscures its meaning. See Paden (1993) for an excellent discussion of this concept.

10 I am prompted to wonder, given this, whether the 14,h-century Italian scribe of G did not have one of the Gallicized recensions at his disposal. This question also arises when comparing the melodies of W and G.

11 In addition, Dole and X's efforts to mimic the Occitan form of the demonstrative pronoun result in a masculine referent, which seriously alters the sense of the stanza.

12 An intermediate stage, or stages, of copying is undeniable given the extensive lacunae of ms. W (see below).

13 A gap of four letters in width separates the first syllable cla- from the second -mar. Having only Meyer and Raynaud's facsimile edition at my disposal, it is not possible to determine what prompted this odd layout. It must be noted, incidentally, that the scribe of ms. R alters the consistent stanza-final rhyme in atz by rhyming pairs of words: glat/remiral, palai(s)/play, clamalz/amalz, and is not always successful in rendering the sense of the original, though far more dependably than the scribe of ms. X.

14 14 A. H. Schutz excluded this song from his 1933 edition of Daude de Pradas, citing not only the general unreliability of the only identifying source - ms. C - but the temporal coincidence of the earliest mention of such a person (1214) with the Guillaume de Dole. Though the records suggest an extraordinarily long public life for Daude, from 1214 to 1282, his poetic gifts would need to have flourished in the late 12th century in order for a song of his to be anthologized along with those of Jaufe Rudel and Bernart de Ventadorn.

15 Given this preference, why the scribe of ms. W chose to retain the fully-Occitan form allana in line 1, thus breaking rhyme, remains a mystery.

16 The connotation of springtime renewal would have been particularly intense in a landscape that is notably drier than the north. In the same vein, the Occitan term garrigue is used in modern French to denote the arid terrain of the Mediterranean region and the scrub vegetation it supports.

17 Cf., inter alia, Zumthor (2000, 234-237) and Pickens (1978, 5-39).

18 The transmission of tornadas (envois in trouvére poetry), brief messages addressed directly to the poet's protector or love interest, is extremely unreliable, and they often survive in only a few manuscripts. Though the language and structure of PC 421,2 are remarkably similar in X and A, only the latter offers the double tornada of two lines each.

19 The term is borrowed from Raupach (1979), which has become the standard reference work on this material.

20 To play devil's advocate, the extra G could have originated with the scribe of X, since all other verses in the melody only have one note. As the editors were obliged to map the melody of X onto the Occitan text, we can never be certain of the “original” match between text and music.

21 The rather notorious metrical irregularities of the early 13th-century trouvére Colin Muset are likewise all accommodated by the melody. See Callahan and Rosenberg (2005).

22 As Raimbaut d’Aurenga, Albertet de Sestaro and Daude de Pradas can hardly be numbered among the minor troubadours, the resources of mss. X and \V are all the more precious for their contribution to our understanding of these poets’ art.

23 These are: a jeu parti — "Philippe, je vous demant" - between Thibaut de Champagne and Philippe de Nanteuil (RS 333), a Marian hymn - "Virge pucele roiauz” - by Guillaume le Vinier (RS 388), and another anonymous Marian song— “A la mere Dieu servir” (RS 1459).

24 Shapiro (1990, 82-89). Dante notably omits mention of numerous other possibilities, among them irregular phrase repetition of the type ABACDEBD.

25 Though the parallels in musical structure between the lai and the liturgical sequence have long attracted scholarly attention - see Spanke (1938), the former does not necessarily derive from the latter but could have evolved on its own, harking back to the laisse structure of epic narratives.

26 Riquier’s melodies, at least as they are shaped by the music scribe of R, show a pronounced preference for repetition - ABCDCDA, ABABCDC'ED’D”, etc. - with no two structures exactly alike.

27 Unless, of course, the scribes, as the last interpreters of the melodies, sang them as they notated them, in which case written and oral transmission coalesce.

28 Aubrey (1996, 43-49), places G in the late 13th century and R between 1294 and 1318. In a more recent study, Carapazza (2004) argues that G could have compiled as early as the 1270s.

29 In this context, the erroneous attributions in mss. like W, whose compilers ascribed, entre autres, songs of Bernard de Ventadorn to Peire Vidal and songs of Jaufre Rudel to Gaucelm Faidit, ought not to be dismissed as evidence of ignorance. Rather, we must give credit to the scribe, much closer in time and place to the living tradition than we are, for having recognized features of the songs in question which called to mind works of familiar poets. Our lack of sensitivity to shared images or line and melody citations must not permit us to attribute any such shortcomings to medieval scribes.

Tables

Guillaume de Dole, vv. 5212-5227	Roman de la Violette, vv. 4187-4194	Ms. X (fr. 20050), f. 148v
Quant voi l'aloete moder	Quant voi la loete moder	Qant voi I'aluete montair
De goi ses ales contre el rai	De joi ses eles contrel rai	De gai sas ille contre roi
Que s'oblie et Jesse cader	Qui s'oblide et laisse cader	Ki s'oblide laixe as chadeir
Par la doucor q'el cor Ii vai	Per la doucor qu'al co Ii vai	Per la dousour c'a cor Ii va
En si grant cnvie m'est pris	Diex ! tant grant envide mi fai	c.e.c. si grant anvide m'an pram
De ce que voi	De Ii quant vi la jausion !	Da cor ke voi kc joi gent
Miravile est que n'is del sens	Mirabillas son sant de sc	Merlavi mer ke non descent
Ne coir dont desier non fon.	Lou cor de desier ne fon	Da cor et dcsireir no.s font.
	[only *one stanza given]*	
Ha! Las! Tant cuidoie savoir		He lais! tant cuide et bel xaber
D'amor, et point n'en sai		D'amar et tam petit an sai
Pas onc d'amar non pou tenir		Ke d'amar ne m'i soi gardeir
Celi dont ja prou n'en avrai		Celi dont ja prou an avrai
Tol mei lou cor et tol meismes		Tout mi mon cuer et tout mi meir
Et soi meesme et tol le mon,		Et moi mimes et tout lou mont
Et por tant el ne m'oste rent		Et ciaz ke ja ne cesseront
For desier et cor volon.		Fors desireir et cuer volont.

Ms. W (fr. 844), f. 180v	Ms. A (Vat. lat. 5232), f. 90v
Quan vei l'aloete moder	Can vei la lauzeta mover
De joi ses ales contre al rai	De joi sas alas contra.l rai
Que s'oblide et laisse cader	Que s'oblid'e.s laissa chazer
Per la doucor qu'el cor li vai	Per la doussor c'al cor Ii vai,
He, tan granz envide m'en pren	Ai, tan grans enveya m'en ve
De co qu'est si eu jausion	De cui qu'eu veya jauzion,
Miravill me que n'ies del sen	Mcravilhas ai, car desse
Et cor de desirrier non fon.	Lo cor de dezirer no.m fon.
He las tan solie saber	Ai las! Tan cuidava saber
D'amor et com petit en sai	D'amor e tan petit en sai!
X'ainc d'amar non me po tener	Careu d'amar no.m pose tener
Cele done ja joi non aurai	Celeis don ja pro non aurai.
Tol me lou cor et tol lou sen	Tout m'a mocor et tout m'ame
Et sei meeme et lot lou...	E se mezeis e tot lo mon;
mutilated]	E can se.m tole, no.m faisset re
	Ma dezirer e cor volon.

Table 1. PC 70,43; Bernart de Ventadorn; attributed to Peire Vidal in W Text in A, C, D, E, F, G, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, U, V, W, X, *Dole,* Violette. Music in W, R, G; five *contrafacta:* three French, one Latin, and one Occitan.

Guillaume de Dole, vv.l301-07	Ms. X (fr. 20050), ff. 81v-82r
Lors que Ii jor sont Jonc en mai	Lan qant li jor sont Jone en mai
M'est biaus doz chant d'oisel de lonc	M'est bel del chant d'auziaus de long
Et quant me sui partiz de la	E qant me sui partit de lai
Membre mi d'une amor de lonc.	Membre moi d'une amor de long:
Vois de ca embruns et enclins	Vains de talant bruns et enclin
5i que chans ne fiors d'aubespin	Si que chant ne flors d'aubcspin)
Ne mi val ne qu'ivers gelas.	Non mi vaut mais qu'ivers jalaiz.
Ms. W (fr. 844), ff. 189v-190r	**Ms. R (fr. 22543), f. 63r-v**
[L]an que li jor sunt lonc en mai	Lai can Ii jorn son lonc e may
M'est bel dolz chanz d'oisel de [loig]	M'es bel dos chans d'auzels de lonh
[Et] quan me sui partis de lai	E can mi soi partitz de lay
Membre [d'lune amor de loig.	Remenbra.m un amor de lonh:
Vais de talens bruns et enclins	Vau de lalan enbrons e clis
Si que chanz ne flors; d'aubespins	5i que chans ni flors dels bels pis
Non val maiz que l'ivers gelaiz.	Norn val pus que l'ivern in glat.

Table 2. PC 262,2;Jaufre Rudel; attributed to Jossiames Faidius in W. Text in A, B, C, D, E, I, K, M, R, S, Sg, , a, e, x, W, X, *Guillaume de Dole.* Music in R, W, X; two *contrafacta:* one German and one Latin.

Guillaume de Dole, vv; 4653-4659	Ms. W (fr. 844), f. 188v	Ms. C (fr. 856), ff. 169r-v
Bele m'est la voiz altane	Bele m'es la veis altana	I. Belha m'es la votz autana
Del roisillol el pascor	Des louseignol en pascor	Del rossinhol em pascor
Que foelle est *verz,* blanche flor	Que foille es vers et blanche flor	Quan fuelh' es *vertz* et blanca flor
Et J'erbe nest en la sane	Et l'erbe nais en l'arfane	Nays e l'erbet en la sanha
Dont raverdissent cil vergier.	Adonc tentissent li vergier	E retendeysson li vergier;
Et joi m'avroit tel mestier	Et jois m'aurie tal mestier	E joys auria'm tal mestier
Que cors me garist et sane.	Qu'el cor mi ravif et sane.	Que tot mi reve e'm sana.
	Esbaiz con caus arana	IV Esbahitz cum cauz'aurana
	Vains et plans de duisor	Vau, et totz ples de domsour
	Atai cam pes a sa valor	Estau, quan pes de sa valor;
	S'en sui de plusor conpane	E'n suy de peior companha
	Que tuit soulaz mi sunt gerrier	Quan, cug sol a un son guerrier
	Aviaz que lou faz destorber	
	Tal corteisie es vilane.	Que aitals pes fai desturbier
		Et cortezia vilana.
		[Six stanzas in *all]*

Table 3. PC 124,5; Daude de Pradas; attribution in C. Text in C, W; *Guillaume* de Dole.

Figures

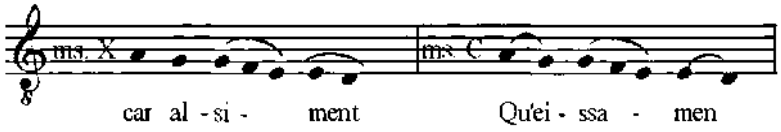

Fig. 1. "Atressi com Persavaus," v. 1.9

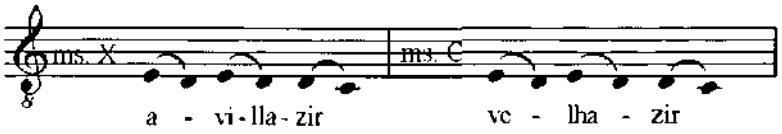

Fig. 2. "Atressi com Persavaus" v.2.10

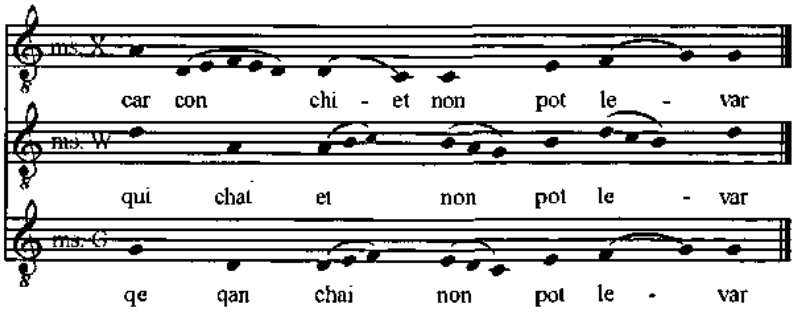

Fig. 3. 'Atressi com l'olifanz" v. 1.2

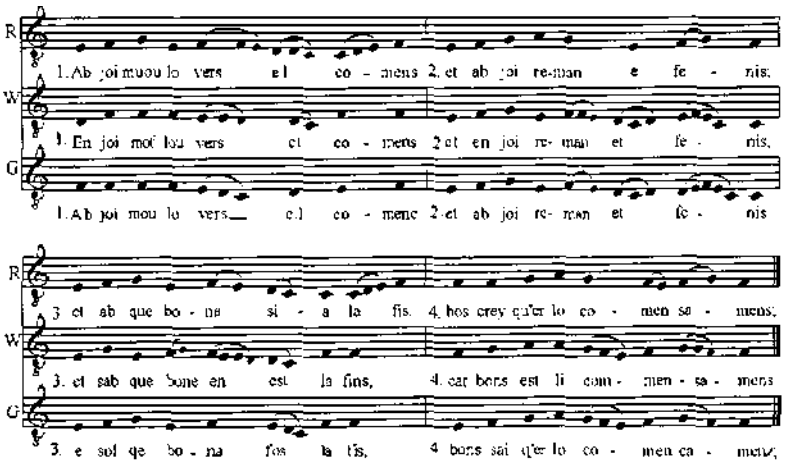

Fig. 4. Bernart de Ventadorn; "Ab joi," vv. 1.1-1.4