

Thibaut de Champagne and Disputed Attributions

The Case of MSS Bern, Burgerbibliothek
389 (C) and Paris, BnF fr. 1591(R)

Christopher Callahan

Abstract

This essay examines the manuscript context of the songs of Thibaut de Champagne that were either marginalized in or excluded from A. Wallensköld's 1925 edition. An evaluation of the placement and ordering of Thibaut's songs in the codices, as well as their rubrics and melodies, affords an understanding of the construction of these chansonniers, obscured through decades of reliance on print editions. A rapid scrutiny of these linguistically (C) and musically (R) marginal manuscripts both reveals how little we know about the transmission of trouvère lyric and underscores the importance of a material-philological approach for all future editions of the trouvères.

The corpus of the royal trouvère Thibaut IV of Champagne (1201–1253) has been traditionally numbered at between sixty-one and seventy songs. MS Mt, the *Chansonnier du Roi de Navarre*— interpolated into MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 844 and considered one of the most reliable collections of Thibaut's songs — contains sixty entries. In his 1925 edition, Axel Wallensköld declared fifty-nine compositions as authentic (see Table 1). In addition he consigned ten songs he considered to be 'of dubious attribution' to the appendix of his edition, and excluded six others altogether.¹ With a single exception, the doubtful and rejected songs reside in two trouvère codices: Bern, Burgerbibliothek 389, from the late thirteenth century (codex 'C' in the Old French tradition), and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 1591, from the first quarter of the fourteenth century (codex 'R' in the Old French tradition). It will be the task of this essay to consider these poems in their material setting, comparing their *ordinatio*, the attributions made by rubricators, when present, and, in the case of the Parisian codex (R), their melodies with those of other chansonniers, particularly Paris, BnF, fr. 844 (M) and Paris, BnF, fr. 20050 (U).² In reviewing Wallensköld's often complex arguments for the putative authenticity of a given song, my goal is not to endorse or refute his choices, but rather to demonstrate some of the ways in which these two codices offer notably different readings of the trouvère-king from those offered by the majority of chansonniers. In doing so, I expect it will become clear why certainty of authorship, in the case of the songs Wallensköld consigned to the appendix of his edition, has proven so stubbornly elusive. But my deeper purpose, as my collaborator Daniel E. O'Sullivan and I prepare a new edition of Thibaut de

Champagne that reproduces the *ordinatio* of the major codices,³ is to make a case for reading in the margins. Highlighting manuscripts such as Burgerbibliothek 389 and BnF fr. 1591, whose readings are usually buried in tables of variants, will afford us a more complete picture of the transmission of Thibaut's corpus and allow us to bring its fluid contours to the forefront. What forms and versions of Thibaut's works do we encounter in these codices that we do not find in the mainstream sources? How are the boundaries of his corpus reshaped in both chansonniers, and what new melodies are sounded as we explore MS BnF fr. 1591?

Table 1

Wallensköld's Assessments of Thibaut's Songs in MS Burgerbibliothek 389 (C):

First verses are ordered according to their appearance in the codex, followed by the copyist's attribution. The number assigned to each song is established by RAYNAUD and SPANKE 1955 (RS).

I. SONGS ACCEPTED AS AUTHENTIC

RS 315 — *Je ne voi mes nului aui gieut ne chaut* - Thiebaus Ii rois de Naivaire

RS 324 - *Fueille ne flor ne vaut riens en chantant* - Li rois de Navaire

RS 407 - *De bone amor vient seance et bonté* - Ii rois de Navaire

RS 711 - *Tant ai amors serviez longuement* - ii rois de Navaire

RS 741 - *Tuit me desir et tuit me griet torment* - ii rois de Navaire

RS 1268 - *Amors me fet commencier* - ii rois de Navair

RS 2075 - *Ausi conme unicorne sui* - Pieres de Gans

RS 2095 - *Qui plus aime plus endure* - anonymous

RS 943 - *Rois Thiebaut, sire, en chantant responnez* - Ii rois Thiebaus de Navaire

RS 335 - *Dame, merci! Une riens vos demant* - ii rois Thiebaus de Naivaire

II. SONGS OF DUBIOUS AUTHENTICITY

1. *Quant fine Amors me prie que je chant*; Robers de Dommart (RS 306)

2. *Bete et bone est cele por qui je chant*; Ii rois de Navaire (RS 308)

3. *je n'os chanter trop tart ne trop souvent*; Musealiate (RS 733)

4. *Bone Dame me prie de chanter*; messire Gasses (RS 790a)

5. *Onkes nefut si dure departie*; Ii rois de Naivaire (RS 112 7)

6. *Dame, cist vostre fins amis* (RS 1516)

7. *Rose ne flor de us*, ii rois de Navaire (RS 1562)

8. *Kant Amors vit ke je li aloigrtioie*; [anonymous] (RS 1684)

9. *Tant ai Amors servie et honoree*; ii rois de Navaire (RS 525)

III. SONGS REJECTED BY WALLENSKOLD FROM THE CORPUS

1. *S'onques nus hom pour dure departie*; ii rois de Navaire (RS 1126)

2. *Sans atente de guerredon*; ii rois de Navaire (RS 1867)

3. *Frere, qui fet mielz a prisier*; maistrez Willames ii Vinier (RS 1293)

MS Bern, Burgerbibliothek 389 (C)

Written in an eastern (i.e., Lorraine) hand originating most likely in Metz, this codex is unique in the *ordinatio* of its contents (Jeanroy [1918] 1974). The trouvère songs in this anthology are presented alphabetically, as in the case of MS Paris, BnF, fr. 846 (O). But unlike the O codex, the songs in Burgerbibliothek 389 are arranged alphabetically only by incipit and not by poet.⁴ Beyond this, the most visible organizing principle is by genre: each section of the alphabet begins with one or more devotional

songs, usually anonymous, followed by a sampling of secular genres, with *jeux-partis* preceding *chansons* and *pastourelles*.⁵ There is, however, no discernible reason for the placement of individual trouvères with respect to one another. Fittingly, Thibaut's first song in the codex is *Amors me fait commencier* (RS 1268),⁶ reflecting an established practice of placing this image-rich text with its elaborate melody not only in initial position in sections devoted to the King of Navarre, but in an absolute opening position in five of the ten chansonniers containing this piece.⁷ In Burgerbibliothek 389 *Amors me fait commencier* is preceded by two courtly songs ascribed to Guiot de Dijon, and Gautier de Dargies, Thibaut's historical predecessors in lyric production. But neither poet shares his stature, nor are they poets with whom Thibaut is usually grouped in other lyric repertoires. Indeed, the primacy of place usually granted by manuscript compilers to Thibaut, Gace Brulé, and the Châtelain de Coucy (Huot 1987, 51) seems to have been ignored in Burgerbibliothek 389. Rather, we can discern in this alphabetically-arranged generic sampler — with primacy given to pious songs⁸ — an ideological program that trumps any concern for a perceived hierarchy of authors.

The compiler's relative indifference to the distinction between major and minor trouvères also derives, in part, from a predilection for regional poets, hence the considerable place granted to poets such as Colin Muset and the Duchess of Lorraine. The rubrics of Burgerbibliothek 389 have traditionally been considered unreliable, and the manuscript is used as a base text only in the case of those trouvères whose work is not recorded in chansonniers other than MSS Burgerbibliothek 389 (C) and BnF, fr. 20050 (U), that is in the main Messine collections that are still extant. Given Burgerbibliothek 389's poetic preferences, it is all the more unfortunate that its musical transcription is incomplete. The manuscript's lack of music has consigned the texts of a number of regional poets to perpetual silence.

In the case of Thibaut de Champagne, authorship appears to have assigned rather at random, with rubrics that err both on the side of generosity and on that of exclusion. Thus two *chansons* rejected by Wallensköld, *Sans atente de gueridon* (RS 1867) and *S'onkes nuls hom por dure departi* (RS 1126) bear the rubric 'Li rois de Navaire' in C alone,⁹ and a third piece, the *jeu-parti Freire, ke fait muels a prixier* (RS 1293 — whose attribution to Thibaut is actually found in MS R rather than in MS C), is assigned in all other sources to the brothers Guillaume and Gilles le Vinier. On the other hand, a song deemed authentic by Wallensköld, *Ausi com l'unicorne sui* (RS 2075), bears the rubric 'Pieres de Gans'.¹⁰

Turning to Wallensköld's 'uncertain' category, we find four songs that are ascribed to other poets, three more to Thibaut, and one that is anonymous. Thus *Dame, sis vestres fins amis* (RS 1516) and *Bone (Jone) dame me prie de chanter* (RS 790a) are attributed to 'Gace Brulé', *Je n'os chanter trop tart ne trop souvent* (RS 733) to 'Musealiate' and *Kant fine Amors me prie*

que je chant (RS 306) to ‘Robers de Dommart’; *Bele et bone est cele por qui je chant* (RS 308), *Onkes ne fut si dure departie* (RS 1127), and *(Ne) Rose ne flor de lis* (RS 1562) bear the rubric ‘Li rois de Navaire’; and *Kant Amors vit ke je li aloignoie* (RS 1684) bears no attribution. For most of these songs, Wallensköld also cites versification which is “unusual” for Thibaut, or rhyme patterns or sounds uncharacteristic of Thibaut’s language, but does not accord these considerations more weight than the network of competing attributions in determining membership in the ‘uncertain’ category. Taking Thibaut’s songs as exemplary of the codex as a whole, it appears that the rubrics of Burgerbibliothek 389 are significantly less creditable than those of the major chansonniers. I would argue that these lapses are explainable considering 1) the social and discursive network connecting the major trouvères, and 2) the methods of compilation not only of MS C, but also of its Messine counterpart MS U (Paris, BnF, fr. 20050). As only one of Wallensköld’s authentic entries, *Ausi comme unicorne sui* (RS 2075 [see above]), is misascribed, the rubricator of Burgerbibliothek 389 correctly attributes 80% of the songs which Wallensköld considered to be authentic lyrics of Thibaut de Champagne. In truth the copyist was uncertain only about those songs whose attributions still trouble modern editors.¹¹

Examining both *Ausi come unicorne sui* and the eight songs of uncertain attribution described above, we find considerable fluidity in the copyists’ rubrics across numerous chansonniers. Thus, *Ausi comme unicorne sui* is attributed to Thibaut in only five manuscripts (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, 5198 [K], Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 1050 [X], Paris, BnF, fr. 12615 [T], Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Reginense latino 1490 [a], and Paris, BnF, fr. 1591 [R]), while nine other chansonniers (Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 657 [A], Bern, Burgerbibliothek 231 [B], London, British Museum, Egerton 274 [F], Paris, BnF, fr. 844 [M], Paris, BnF, fr. 846 [O], Paris, BnF, fr. 12581 [S], Paris, BnF, fr. 20050 [S], Paris, BnF, fr. 24406 [V], and Siena, Biblioteca comunale, H.X. 36 [Z]) leave it as anonymous. Likewise, *Je n’os chanter trop tart ne trop souvent* (RS 733) bears the rubric ‘Roi de Navarre’ in Paris, Arsenal, 5198 (K), Paris, BnF, fr. 847 (P), and Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 1050 (X) and ‘Jehans de Braine’ in MSS Paris, BnF, fr. 844 (M) and Paris, BnF, fr. 12615 (T), while remaining anonymous in Paris, BnF, fr. 846 (O), Paris, BnF, fr. 24406 (V), and Paris, BnF, fr. 20050 (U). *Bone dame me prie de chanter* (RS 790a) is ascribed to ‘Gace’ in MSS Bern, Burgerbibliothek 389 (C) and Paris, BnF, fr. 12615 (T), to ‘Jehans de Trie’ in MS Paris, BnF, fr. 844 (M), and to ‘Roi de Navarre’ only in MS Rome, Vaticano Reginense latino 1490 (a). Even a song accepted by Wallensköld as authentic, *Qui plus aime plus endure* (RS 2095), seems to have passed under many a scribal radar, for it is ascribed to Thibaut in four sources alone: MSS Arsenal 5198 (K), BnF, fr. 845 (N), BnF, fr. 12615 (T), and BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 1050 (X), and is anonymous in six others, including Burgerbibliothek 389.

To give the rubricator of Burgerbibliothek 389 credit, a visible (audible) filiation exists between the great trouvères of the first generation (Gace Brulé, the Châtelain de Couci, and Thibaut de Champagne), reflecting the profound influence they had on Thibaut’s poetic education. Even if Gace was not Thibaut’s master in a literal sense, his formulation of the doctrine of *fin’ amor* permeates Thibaut’s chansons, and over a dozen direct citations of Gace are identifiable in Thibaut’s *oeuvre* (Grossel 1987). Indeed, in a repertoire where contrafacture was a mark of respect and over forty instances of incipit borrowing have been catalogued, Gace is the poet most frequently cited (Rosenberg 2006). It is thus not surprising that songs by Gace find themselves attributed in Burgerbibliothek 389 to Thibaut. I have noted twelve instances of confusion in Burgerbibliothek 389 between Gace and other poets, including such notables as the Blondel

de Nesle, the Châtelain de Couci, Moniot d'Arras, and the Vidame de Chartres, and five additional instances involving the Châtelain de Couci. Dante himself was influenced by the fluid boundaries between Gace's and Thibaut's verses. In *De Vulgari Eloquentia* II vi 6 he grants Thibaut authorship of Gace's *Ire d'amor que en mon cor repaire* (RS 171), a song not attributed to Thibaut in any surviving chansonnier.¹²

Beyond this poetically motivated *mouvance* of authorial identity, the organizational principles themselves can be seen as having shaped the work of the rubricator. Examining the selection of Thibaut songs in Burgerbibliothek 389, we note that the compiler has used ten letters of the alphabet, a highly representative sample considering that MS BnF, fr. 846 (O) — an alphabetical chansonnier containing his complete corpus — employs sixteen letters for Thibaut's incipits. Thus the scribe of Burgerbibliothek 389 recorded two Thibaut songs beginning with *A*, one with *B*, three with *D*, two with *F*, one with *G*,¹³ two with *J*, three with *K*, one with *O*, two with *R*, two with *S*, and three with *T* (see Table 2). It is noteworthy that the songs in both Wallensköld's 'uncertain' category and those he rejects tend to occur in groups. Despite rubrics that attribute the work to Thibaut, both of the poems beginning with *S* were deemed by Wallensköld to be "certinement attribuées à tort", while the "uncertain" songs beginning with *J* and *K* are attributed to other poets. The significance not only of these clusters of doubtful and rejected poems, but of isolated entries eliciting the same assessment from Wallensköld, becomes clearer when we examine the selection of Thibaut songs in both MSS Burgerbibliothek 389 (C) and BnF, fr. 20050 (U). The latter, compiled during Thibaut's lifetime (Lug 2001), contains only eight Thibaut songs. These, like all entries in BnF, fr. 20050, are anonymous, but all eight are pieces that Wallensköld either declared authentic or about which he expressed minimal reserve. Nonetheless, their affiliation must have been speculative in part, for half of them bear rubrics to other poets in Burgerbibliothek 389. Burgerbibliothek 389 is seemingly constructed without the aid of the sources on which the major chansonniers drew, for as its compilers sought to update their collection, and include entries not represented in BnF, fr. 20050, they engaged in conjectures, which the absence of earlier redactions may never permit us to elucidate. Along with a cache of precursory parchment rolls, the tool that would most benefit a fresh evaluation of MS Burgerbibliothek 389 is music. As this is not available in the Burgerbibliothek codex, I turn to the more useful data of the Parisian manuscript BnF, fr. 1591 (R in the Old French tradition).

Table 2

Concordance of Thibaut Songs in MS Bern, Burgerbibliothek 389 and MS Paris, BnF, fr. 20050 (No rubrics)

#	Rubric	RS no	Charta	Attribution Wallenskold	MS BnF, fr. 20050
1	Li rois de Navaire <i>Amors me fair comencier</i>	1 268	5r	authentic	
2	Pieres de Gans [RoiNav] <i>Ausi corn l'unicorne suis</i>	2075	9r	authentic	Anonymous 125
3	Li rois de Navaire <i>Belle cc bone esr celle por cui je chans</i>	308	28r	uncertain	Anonymous 67r
4	Li rois de Navaire <i>De bone amor vient science et boneis</i>	407	50r	authentic	Anonymous 122r

Table 2 (*continued*)

#	Rubric	RS no	Charta	Attribution Wallenskold	MS BnF, fr. 20050
5	Anonymous <i>Rois de Navaire, sire de venus</i>	2063		authentic	Anonymous 122v
6	Li rois Thiebaus de Naivaire <i>Dame mercit une rims i,os demant</i>	335	51v	authentic	
7	Messires Gaisez Brulez <i>Dame, sis vosres fins amis</i>	1516	52r	uncertain	
8	Li rois de Naivaire <i>Fuelle ne flour ne talc riens en c'tantant</i>	324	77r	authentic	Anonymous 121
9	Maistre: Willames li Vinier <i>Freire ke fair muds a prisier</i>	1293	79v	rejected	
10	Thiehaus li rois de Naivaire <i>Ge ne voy rnaix nelui ke jut ne chant</i>	315	85r	authentic	
11	Messire Gaises [Jehan de T'rie] <i>Jone fBonel dame me prie de ckanteir</i>	790a	101r	uncertain	
12	Musealiate [RoiNav] <i>Je n'os chanteir crop w:it ne crop sovent</i>	733	103r	uncertain	Anonymous 163v
13	Rohers de Dommart [GBrule] <i>Kant fine amor me prie ke je chant</i>	306	112v	uncertain	Anonymous 60r
14	Anonymous <i>Kant amors vir ke je li aloigLoie</i>	1684	113r	uncertain	
15	Anon. [RoiNav] <i>Ki bien aimrne plus endure</i>	2095	118V	authentic	
16	Li rois de Naivaire <i>Onkes ne fw si dure deparrie</i>	1127	167r	uncertain	
17	Li rois de Naivaire <i>Rosc ne for de (is</i>	1562	209r	uncertain	Anonymous 166r
18	Li rois Thiebaus de Navaire <i>Rois Thiebaus sire en chantanr respondeis</i>	943	213v	authentic	
19	Li rois de Navaire <i>Sans accnre de gueridon</i>	1867	220r	rejected	
20	Li rois de Naivairez <i>S'onkes nuts horn por dure deparri</i>	1126	221 v	rejected	
21	Li rois de Navaire <i>Tanr ai amors servie longuemenc</i>	711	229r	authentic	
22	Li rois de Navaire <i>Tuit rni desir cc tuit mi grief torment</i>	741	230v	authentic	Anonymous f. 119V
23	Li rois de Navaire <i>Tanr ai amors service et honorce</i>	525	242r	unlikely	

**MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de
France, fr. 1591 (R)**

To summarize, and proceeding in order of the numbers assigned by Raynaud and Spanke (1955), MS fr. 1591 (R) contains four songs deemed by Wallensköld to be of doubtful attribution or which he rejects outright and whose status requires little revision.

Painne d'amours et li maux que je trai (RS 106), on c. 64r in R2, is also the last song in MS Mt, the *libellus* of Thibaut songs added to Paris, BnF, fr. 844 (M),¹⁴ and — according to current interpretations of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (Huot 1987, 64–66; Haines 2004, 18) — was possibly positioned there at Thibaut's behest. It is nonetheless unasccribed in the three other chansonniers: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308 (I), Paris, BnF, fr. 846 (O), and Paris, BnF, fr. 1591 (R). MS Mt's tacit argument for considering *Painne d'amours* an authentic Thibaut song is not supported by the rest of the manuscript tradition. Wallensköld resolved this dilemma by offering the song a place of honor at the beginning of the appendix, and I will not challenge his judgment here.

Though ascribed to the 'Roy de Navarre', the opening song in R2, *Mout m'est bien la douce conmançance* (RS 209), is attributed to the Châtelain de Couci in all other relevant witnesses.¹⁵ As discussed in the previous section on the Bern codex, it is not uncommon for the songs of two of Thibaut's greatest predecessors, the Châtelain and Gace Brulé, to be attributed to Thibaut, especially since these poets participate — albeit posthumously — in the same network of *contrafacture* as Thibaut (Callahan 2008).

The last two songs are a pair of debate poems attributed to the 'Roy de Navarre' and to an interlocutor named 'Frere': *Sire frere, faites mun jugement* (RS 691) and *Frere, aui fet mielz a prisier* (RS 1293). In the other witnesses for *Sire frere, faites mun jugement* (MSS Paris, BnF, fr. 844 [M], Paris, BnF, fr. 12615 [T], and Rome, Vaticano Reginense latino 1522 [b]), and for *Frere, aui fet mielz a prisier* (MSS Bern, Burgerbibliothek 389 [C], Paris, BnF, fr. 844 [M], Paris, BnF, fr. 12615 [T], and Paris, BnF, fr. 24406 [V]), Frère and his debate partner are identified as the brothers Gilles and Guillaume le Vinier. In fact, the poet-debaters address each other as 'Frère' and 'Sire Frère', appellations appropriate for siblings but less appropriate for a vassal and his lord. Less convincing are Wallensköld's arguments for rejecting R's rubric for this composition based on versification and rhyme scheme. Wallensköld observes that no other *jeu-parti* by Thibaut is constructed of five *coblas unissonans* without an *envoi*. This argument overlooks the fact that this same versification is found in other authentic Thibaut pieces. Moreover, while all of Thibaut's extant *jeux-partis* include *envois*, these concluding addresses to the poem itself are by no means transmitted in every one of the witnesses. More troubling is the assumption that the author's language is readily discernible in the spelling used by the scribes. Scholarly consensus today holds that we know just enough about phonological evolution and about manuscript transmission to realize that we cannot make any assumptions regarding the phonetic transparency of Old French spelling or the recoverability of author's original versions. While I concur with Wallensköld in the exclusion of the latter three songs from Thibaut's corpus, the mistaken attribution to Thibaut in MS fr. 1591 appears reasoned when viewed in terms of the overall structure of the codex. By viewing Thibaut's songs in their broader context — their *ordinatio*, rubrics, and the songs that surround them — a more comprehensive picture of Thibaut's place in MS fr. 1591 emerges. It is to this that I now turn.

MS fr. 1591 (R) is a collation of two separate compilations with numbering in a modern hand; R1 constitutes cc. 1r–37v, while R2 begins with c. 38r and concludes on c. 183v. R1 constitutes cc. 1r–37v, while R2 begins with c. 38r and concludes on c. 183v. Significantly, each of these sections begins and ends with songs by Thibaut (see Table 3). This structure stands in marked contrast to the usual scribal practice of opening each chansonnier with Thibaut de Navarre, before then proceeding from greater to lesser trouvères and concluding with anonymous

songs.¹⁶ MS fr. 1591 attributes its first two songs to the ‘roy de Navarre’ and a third to ‘Thiebaut roy de Navarre’. Then follows a series of chansons by Thibaut’s contemporaries, such as Richard de Fournival, the Vidame de Chartres, Andrieu Contredit d’Arras, and Hubert Chaucesel, competent trouvères all but hardly of Thibaut’s stature. A set of fifteen *jeux-partis* ensues, and it is here that we find the pair of debates erroneously attributed to Thibaut. In contrast to the chansons, these are transcribed without music and written as a continuous block, though they remain navigable via decorated initials for the incipits and smaller colored *lettrines* marking each stanza. An apparently authentic *jeu-parti* between Thibaut and Girard d’Amiens, unique to MS fr. 1591, figures sixth in this set and is perhaps the inspiration for scribal assignment of the *Sire frere* and *Frere* poems to Thibaut. These two poems occur after an interval of four chartae and close out the section of *jeux-partis*. R1 then returns to the courtly chanson for ten more chartae, presenting classic trouvères of the generation before Thibaut, and concludes with four songs by the Châtelain de Couci.

Thus while my claim that R1 both begins and ends with Thibaut is not corroborated by the evidence of Table 3, I would propose that this was indeed the scribe’s intent. The *jeu-parti* section, while entered in the same hand as the chansons, is patently interpolated from a separate source — witness the absence of music — and constitutes a unified whole. The copyist’s tendency to begin and end the individual collections of texts that comprise MS R with works by Thibaut seems to have been essential to the organization of the entire manuscript. I would argue that this tendency accounts for the selection of Thibaut as the interlocutor in the last two debate poems. Indeed the disruption created in the codex by the sudden switch to the debate genre and then back to the chanson suggests that the copyist planned to place the *jeu-parti* section at the very end of the collection. The normal ordering for manuscript collections placed first poems by Thibaut and then those by Gace and the Châtelain. This was, for some reason, interrupted, and the scribal plan superseded by the need to return to those classic trouvères who had been perhaps inadvertently omitted. Granted, this is speculation, but speculation that is supported by the structure of R2 and particularly by the wording of its explicit. For while R1 closes simply with *Explicit carmine*, R2 admits the primacy of its trouvère king, declaring (see Table 3): *Explicit les chancons au roy de Navarre et as autres princes*.

Table 3

At this juncture in our approach to these complex organization strategies employed by copyists, it is essential to look beyond the rubrics of the rejected songs to those introducing all of Thibaut’s songs in MS fr. 1591 (R). To do so immediately raises the question, as with MS Burgerbibliothek 389, of which sources the scribe of R had at his/her disposal: what songs he included, in what order, what sort of rubric precedes them, and how they are related melodically to Thibaut songs recorded elsewhere. In short, just what Thibaut did s/he encounter and did s/he choose to present to the public?

As we recall, the first three songs in R1 are ascribed to Thibaut. But what songs are they? Here, the choice proves rather eclectic. The opener, *Savez pour quoi amour a non amours* (RS 2026), is only attributed to Thibaut in this source and only figures in a handful of chansonniers. Of these, MSS Arras, Bibliothèque municipale 657 (A) and Rome, Vaticano Reginese latino 1490 (A) give precedence to *jeux-partis*, *pastourelles*, motets, and devotional songs, and focus on

Table 3

Thibaut Songs in MS R

RI				
RS no	Incipit	Charta	Attribution	Melody
711	<i>Fuilk ne flour ne vaut rins en chatant</i>	44v	Thiebaut toy de Navarre	Frons identical, variations in cauda
324	<i>Painnc d'amours et li maux que jc trai</i>	45r	Anon.	aa similar, bb & cauda isolates
106	<i>Li rosignos chante tant que ii chiet</i>	64r	Anon. (R. de N. mod. hand)	Isolate
360	<i>Mauvès arbre ne puetfiourir</i>	72v	Anon. (Roy de N.')	Frons identical, cauda isolate
1410	<i>Tout autrsi con Ventre fait vnir</i>	76v	Anon. (Roy de N.')	Isolate
1479	<i>Jc me cuidoiç partir d'amours</i>	73v	Anon. (Roy de N.")	Isolate except for last verse
1440	<i>Qui plus aime et plus endure</i>	74v	Anon. (Roy de N. ")	Isolate
2095	<i>je me cuidoie partir d'amours</i>	75r	Anon. (Roy de N.")	Related but not closely
1440	<i>Unc douleur cnoſſcc</i>	77v	Anon. (Roy de N. ")	Isolate
510	<i>Chanter m'estuet que ne men puis tenir</i>	78r	Anon. (Roy de N.")	Very close but for a few starting pitches
1476	<i>Li dous pensers et li dous souvenirs</i>	78v	Anon. (Monnios f. 29v)	Isolate
1469	<i>Phelipe je vous dmant: dui ami de cur</i>	79r	Anon. (Roy de N.")	Isolate
334	<i>Phclipc jc vous demant que cst dc. Am.</i>	80v	Anon. (Roy de N. ")	Isolate
333	<i>Ne rose ne flor de lis</i>	81v	Anon.	aa similar; bb divergent; cauda isolate
1562	<i>Li roussigrtous chants tant</i>	112r	Anon. R. de N. mod, hand)	Isolate
360	<i>Tout autrcsi que Ventre fait vnir</i>	170r	Anon. (Roy de N.")	Similar to others

1479	<i>Nuls hons ne puet ami reconforter</i>	170v	Anon. (Roy de N.)	Close: starting pitches vv/ 2, 4, 7 different
884	<i>Chançon fra car takns m'n est prins</i>	174r	Anon. (Roy de N.)	Nearly identical
1596	<i>L'autre nuit en mon dormant</i>	175r	Anon. (Roy de N.)	Identical except for final
339	<i>En chantant veul ma doulour descouvrir</i>	176r	Anon. (Roy de N.)	Nearly identical
1397	<i>Pour mau temps ne por gelee</i>	176v	Anon. (Roy de N.)	Identical except for v. 5
523	<i>Robert, ves de Pirron</i>	177v	Anon. (Roy de N.)	Identical
1878	<i>Une chançon encor veul faire pour moi</i>	179r	Anon. (Roy de N.)	Identical
1002	<i>Dc grant joie me sui tous esmeüs</i>	180v	Anon. (Roy de N.)	Closely related
2126	<i>Au temps plain de felonnie</i>	181r	Anon. (Roy de N.)	Frons identical, cauda similar
1152	<i>Malvais arbrez ne puetfiourir</i>	182v	Anon. (Roy de N.)	2nd occurrence; each melody shows different ornamentation
1410	<i>Explicit ies chançons au roy de Navarre autres princes</i>	183v		

NB:

RS 1469 is also recorded in RI but is attributed to 'Monnios'. Three songs--- RS 1410, RS 1440, RS 1470--- are recorded twice in R2.

Adam de la Halle and anonymous artesian trouvères. On the other hand, two additional witnesses of *Savez*, MSS Bern, Burgerbibliothek 231 (B) and Paris, BnF, fr. 12581 (S), are devoted almost exclusively to Thibaut de Champagne. Only MS Paris, BnF, fr. 846 (O) offers the kind of broad coverage of genres and identifying rubrics that guarantee its place among the major chansonniers. In MS fr. 846, the poem's incipit reads slightly differently, *Qui seit porquoi amors a non amors*, and it is located toward the end of the Q section, far from the Thibaut songs beginning with that letter. Thus while there is no doubt about this composition's authenticity, it remains a mystery why for the scribe of R2 it trumped a song that enjoyed broad consensus among compilers as an opening poem, such as *Amors me fait commencier* (RS 1268), or widely disseminated songs such as *Tant ai Amors servie longuement* (RS 711) and *Ausi com unicorne sui* (RS 2075). While the next two entries, *Je ne vois mès nului qui gieut ne chant* (RS 315) and *Mi grant desir et mi grief tourment* (RS 741), are more representative of Thibaut's opus (*Mi grant desir* is recorded in the vast majority of trouvère chansonniers), their melodic transmission sets them apart. In contrast to the opening song, whose melody closely parallels those of MSS Arras, Bibliothèque municipale 657 (A), Rome, Vaticano Reginense latino 1490 (a), and Paris, BnF, fr. 846 (O), fr. 1591's melody for *Je ne vois mès nului* is only related to the other six recensions in the first and third verses of the *frons*,¹⁷ while the melody of *Mi grant desir et mi grief tourment*, whose text appears with both rubric and music in nine other recensions,¹⁸ is a complete isolate.

R2 is arranged very much like R1, with three songs by the Roy de Navarre at the outset, and then clusters of Thibaut's songs throughout. It too seems to falter in its song selection, even more so than does R1, because its opening song, *Mout m'est bien la douce conmançance* (RS 209), though entirely fitting in theme and rhetoric, is not Thibaut's at all.¹⁹ This excess of generosity to the trouvère-king aside, like R1, R2 opens with a cluster of compositions accurately bearing the rubric 'Roi de Navarre', reflecting a taste for symmetry and a degree of care in the codex's layout that render the vagaries of transmission in this codex all the more intriguing.

Following this opening set of poems, groups of Thibaut's songs appear three more times in R2. The first grouping of four songs occurs only a few chartae after the opening entries and bear the rubric 'Thiebaut roy de Navarre', a wording used systematically only in MS Paris, BnF, fr. 12615 (T). Like the songs that begin the fascicle, these compositions attributed to Thibaut are accompanied by melodies that are either identical or closely related to those in other chansonniers. Thirty chartae after this first grouping we find a second cluster of eleven authentic songs without rubric, to which the designation 'Roy de Navarre' has been added in a modern hand. As is true of the rubrication of this cluster of Thibaut pieces, we find at the end of R2 twelve unattributed Thibaut songs above which the same hand has scrawled 'Roy de Navarre'. Two songs outside of these clusters bear mention. These two pieces, which — as discussed above — Wallensköld consigned to the appendix of his edition, appear on cc. 64 (*Painne d'amors et li maux que je trai* [RS 106]) and 112 (*Ne rose ne flor de lis* [RS 1562]). Both are anonymous, unrecognized by the modern hand who identified the clusters on cc. 72–81 and 170–83.

Though both the second and third clusters of anonymous Thibaut songs were recorded by the same scribe, and authenticated and rubricated by the same modern scholar, they do not appear to come from the same source material. The melodies of the closing songs, between cc. 171 and 183, are similar or identical to those transmitted in other chansonniers, while those on cc. 64–

112, with only a few exceptions, are *unica*. The discrepancies in melodic transmission between the two groups suggest that the anonymity of the first set of Thibaut poems should be taken literally: even though the scribe might have recognized a common author for the poems and transcribed them together on these chartae, the identity of that poetic voice was not recognized. In contrast, the anonymity of the second group of the unrubricated songs is mitigated by the notation of melodies shared by much of Thibaut's corpus. It is possible that the source for the songs on cc. 64–112 contained unique melodies while that of the songs transcribed at the end of the anthology bore more recognized melodies. Granting the role of the music scribe as the last interpreter of the melodies transmitted, it is also possible that s/he, not recognizing Thibaut in the first case, notated music that fit, creating in effect his/her own contrafacta. In the second case of the second grouping, the music scribe might have recognized Thibaut's work and was able to secure versions of the melodies that were in circulation. But what is certain is that the melodies in R do not engage in any recognized network of contrafacture (Tischler 1997) and seem to be truly unique. The mystery of these melodies must thus remain unresolved pending further research.

Summarizing the situation of MS Paris, BnF, fr. 1591: we find Thibaut songs with identifying rubrics at the beginning of R1, with one related and two isolated melodies, and at the end of the group of *jeux-partis*, which are transmitted without music and for which two of the rubrics are in error. R2 begins with three attributed songs, one erroneously, presents four attributed songs after an interval of five chartae, and features two more clusters, from cc. 72–83 and 170–83, the latter at the end of the codex. All the attributed poems feature melodies that are closely related to those of other chansonniers, while the first group of anonymous Thibaut songs feature melodic isolates, and the second is part of a shared community of melodic transmission.

The textual evidence from MSS Bern Burgerbibliothek 389 and Paris, BnF, fr. 1591, and the musical evidence from the latter, strongly indicate multiple centers of performance and processes of transmission. Without wishing to oversimplify the question by proposing a dichotomy between 'mainstream' and 'marginal' courts and centers of manuscript production, the problems of attribution of Thibaut's work I have addressed in Burgerbibliothek 389 and fr. 1591 reflect a "copy culture" of Old French lyric repertoire that was either less informed about or less concerned with the precise boundaries of poetic identities and corpora. It is highly likely that in the long life of these pieces as performed works, new melodies came to be substituted as Thibaut's songs circulated further and further from his native court of Champagne, and the authorship of very similar lyric texts became confused. This confusion is even more likely if there was a temporal disruption in the oral transmission of these songs, and they were transcribed by scribes who had not experienced them firsthand. For reasons unknown to us, musical exemplars and/or a music scribe were not available for Burgerbibliothek 389, though the intent to notate the melodies clearly determined the codex's layout. We can, however, envisage a number of potential scenarios for the music scribe of MS fr. 1591: 1) the scribe was familiar with a performance tradition that was limited to his/her region and not recorded in other sources; 2) the exemplar did not have melodies available for certain songs and melodies were borrowed from other songs,²⁰ or 3) the scribe him/herself composed them.

The essentially normative nature of so much of the trouvère repertoire — the fact that so many manuscript families demonstrate a shared history of association between particular melodies and particular poems — sets these manuscripts apart all the more dramatically. The questions they

raise for textual editors are far-reaching. In order to understand medieval lyric as the organic, messy process of performance and written record that it was, the readings of manuscripts like Burgerbibliothek 389 and fr. 1591 must be acknowledged and made available as an essential part of an approach to reading and hearing the trouvères in diverse contexts.

The fluid contours of a trouvère's corpus, constituted by multiple poetic and musical readings, require a critical edition that reflects both current approaches to the medieval text and heightened attention to its manuscript context. When scholarly editors integrate the formative role of scribes as conveyers and interpreters of textual and musical materials in medieval lyric they offer a more realistic view of variance as an organizational principle of manuscript compilation, giving modern audiences vital access to medieval modes of reading and hearing. In the case of a lyric giant like Thibaut de Champagne, multiple variants allow us to understand his *oeuvre* as a complex social fabric, the product of several generations of creation and reception. The single-author edition of medieval lyric must keep in clear sight the complexity of the lyric's multiple contexts. It is in order to embrace that challenge, as well as give some notion of the complexities involved in doing so, that I have engaged in this study. It is hoped that in the short term, our more comprehensive, manuscript context-oriented presentation of Thibaut de Champagne's corpus will contribute to reshaping the debate.

Notes

1. In fact, Wallensköld appears motivated by a principle of maximum inclusiveness, for he establishes — in discussing some twenty-six songs about which he expresses some reservation — a generously nuanced scale of certainty (1925, lvxii). He declares eight songs integrated into the body of his edition to be “très probablement du Roi de Navarre”, while he relegates ten more — located largely in the appendix but also in the corps of the edition — to the category of uncertain attribution (“la question d’auteur reste provisoirement indéçise”). He separates seven songs, finally, into two categories: “très peu probables” and “certainement attribuées à tort”. His appraisal of both doubtful and rejected songs employs a variety of external and internal criteria. The most decisive external criterion, scribal attribution, can thus be paired with internal criteria such as personages discussed and addressed, tone, and more poetic concerns, such as metrical structure, versification, rhyme sounds, and lexical choices.
2. Since Burgerbibliothek 389 contains only empty staves, it cannot assist in the scrutiny of this vital component of trouvère poetry. My analysis of this codex is thus limited to the contribution of its textual scribes, whereas a fuller picture of *variance* is perforce available from Paris, Bnf, fr. 1591, whose melodies are often isolates. Throughout this essay manuscript shelfmarks are followed by the letter commonly assigned to them in the Old French tradition. A list of these letters and their corresponding shelfmarks is provided in the Archival Sources section of the Works Cited.

3. Wallensköld's edition groups Thibaut's songs by genre and as such offers a reading of his corpus that can be found in no medieval source. In today's climate of contextual reading (Busby 2002), an alternative to Wallensköld's approach is in order.
4. New sections always begin on the *verso* of the charta and are signaled by a decorated initial which is preceded, when these have survived, by a strip of parchment glued onto the charta (Moreno 1999).
5. It is noteworthy that only Thibaut's chansons are recorded here. The scribes seem not to have been concerned with showcasing the trouvère-king's mastery of other lyric genres, and neglect his *jeux-partis*, *pastourelles*, crusade songs, devotional songs, and *lai*.
6. All RS listings refer to Raynaud and Spanke 1955.
7. A curious exception is Paris, BnF, fr. 846, the other alphabetically-arranged chansonnier. There, *Amors me fait comencier* appears as the second composition, and pride of place — replete with an elaborate miniature whose imagery is suggestive of bestiary illuminations (Baumgartner 1987) — is given to *Ausi cum l'unicorne sui* (RS 2075). 8. These are hardly numerically dominant in the codex, despite their visible prominence.
9. RS 1867 is ascribed to Gace Brulé in five other sources: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 5198 (K); Paris, BnF, fr. 844 (M), where it figures fifteenth among forty-six Gace songs; Paris, BnF, fr. 847 (N); Paris, BnF, fr. 12615 (T); and Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 1050 (X), while RS 1126 is attributed to the Châtelain de Couci in four sources: Paris, Arsenal, 5198; Paris, BnF fr. 846 (O); Paris, BnF, fr. 847 (P); Paris, BnF naq. 1050, and to Hugues de Bregi in four more: Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 657 (A); Frankfurt-am-Mein, Burgerbibliothek 29 (D); Paris, BnF fr. 12615 (T); Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Reginese Christ. 1490.
10. This is the only composition in Wallensköld's authentic category which is misascribed. See also n7 above.
11. Moreno (1999, 26) distinguishes between the rubricator and the scribes of Burgerbibliothek 389 on paleographical grounds. Evidence from tax roles indicates that codex production was by no means a trade practiced only by men (Busby 2002, 31–32).
12. The hesitations of both medieval compilers and modern editors have reached some degree of resolution since Wallensköld's time. Two of the songs about which he expressed doubt on account of their content as well as for their movable rubrics, *Kant fine amors me prie ke je chant* (RS 306) and *Belle et bone est celle por cui je chans* (RS 308), were placed securely in the Gace canon by Linker (1979) and Rosenberg, Danon, and van der Werf (1985).

13. When we consider the initial *G* of *Ge* a graphic variant of *J*, the song in fact belongs in the next group, but the scribe made his selection visually rather than phonologically. Similarly, the initial negative particle of *(Ne) rose ne flor de lis* (RS 1562) was omitted at some point in the process of transmission, causing the song to be catalogued under *R* rather than *N*.
14. This codex is customarily designated as the *Chansonnier du roi*, a label originating with Jean-Benjamin de Laborde in 1780 and that denoted its home in the royal library; the major trouvère codices were usually named in the eighteenth century for the bibliophiles who owned or studied them.
15. These include: MSS Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale 657 (A), Rome, Vaticano, Reginense latino 1490 (a), Bern, Burgerbibliothek 389 (C), Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, 5198 (K), Paris, BnF, fr. 844 (M), Paris, BnF, fr. 846 (O), Paris, BnF, fr. 847 (P), Paris, BnF, fr. 12615 (T), Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 20046 (X).
16. We find the exception to this pattern in the alphabetically-organized codices, MSS Paris, BnF, fr. 846 (O) and Bern, Burgerbibliothek 389 (C).
17. These occur in MSS Rome, Vaticano Reginense latino 1490 (a), Paris, Arsenal 5198 (K), Paris, BnF, fr. 844 (Mt), Paris, BnF, fr. 846 (O), Paris, BnF, fr. 12615 (T), and Paris, BnF, fr. 24406 (V).
18. MSS Rome, Vat., Reg. 1490 (a), Bern, Burgerbibliothek 231 (B), Paris, Arsenal 5198 (K), Paris, BnF, fr. 844 (M and Mt), Paris, BnF, fr. 846 (O), Paris, BnF, fr. 12615 (T), Paris, BnF, fr. 24406 (V), and Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, XII, 36 (Z).
19. Lerond 1964 and Linker 1979 attribute *Mout m’est bien la douce conmançance* (RS 209) to the Châtelain de Couci.
20. The fact that none of these melodies is notated elsewhere in the trouvère repertoire, as indicated above, does not mean that they could not have been taken from songs of which no record has survived.

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Trouvère Chansonniers

- A Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 657
- a Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Reginense latino 1490
- B Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 231
- C Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 389
- D Frankfort-am-Mein, Burgerbibliothek 29
- I Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308
- K Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 5198
- M Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 844
- N Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 845
- O Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 846
- P Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 847
- R Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 1591
- S Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 12581
- T Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 12615
- U Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 20050
- V Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 24406
- X Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 1050
- Z Siena, Biblioteca Municipale, H.X. 36