

“SINGING TO ANOTHER TUNE”:  
CONTRAFACURE AND ATTRIBUTION IN TROUBADOUR SONG

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the  
Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

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2003

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## ABSTRACT

This study borrows the quotation in its title, “Singing to another tune,” from *Las Leys d’amors* (*The Laws of Love*), a poetic treatise compiled by Guilhem Molinier in the first half of the fourteenth century. Guilhem’s phrase pertains to a compositional technique known to modern scholars as contrafacture, in which the troubadour fashions new lyrics after the poetic structure of a preexistent song, thereby allowing his work to be sung to that earlier melody. The technique of contrafacture is documented not only by Guilhem and other contemporaneous theorists, but also by the troubadours themselves, who on a number of occasions acknowledge composing a poem “el so de,” or “to the tune of” another composer. Both theory and practice demonstrate that structural imitation came to be most closely associated with several specific genres—including the *sirventes* (moralizing piece), *tenso* (debate song), *coblas* (song of few strophes), and *planh* (lament)—whose poetic structures were commonly modeled after those of the *canso*, the dominant genre of troubadour composition.

Despite abundant structural indications of contrafacture within the troubadour repertoire, melodic traces of the practice are surprisingly scant. Confirmation of melodic borrowing depends upon the preservation of a model and its contrafactum with their concordant musical readings, yet the small proportion of surviving troubadour melodies

(with only one in ten lyric texts transmitted with its tune) poses a significant impediment to melodic corroboration. Only three *sirventes* have been preserved with melodies that duplicate those of preexistent *cansos*. In the remaining instances in which a *sirventes*, *tenso*, or other imitative type is preserved with a melodic *unicum*, scholars of troubadour song have tended to maintain that, absent melodic corroboration, the tune must be presumed original rather than borrowed. In view of the sparseness of the musical record, however, one should give consideration to an alternate interpretation, namely that the tune preserved exclusively with a given troubadour's *sirventes* and thereafter transmitted as his invention may actually have been borrowed from a preexistent *canso* whose melody is no longer extant in its original setting.

Isolating viable structural models for such suspected contrafacta allows the possibility of reascribing potentially borrowed melodies to their original composers. The study of contrafacture can thus lead us to question the received attributions of a number of tunes, thereby posing a challenge to the readily made assumption that the manuscript rubrics consistently pertain to both text and melody.

By examining several suspected cases of contrafacture within a web of relevant indices—e.g., generic norms, intertextual correlations, socio-historic context, rhetorical motivation, transmission, and melodic style—we shall gain greater insight into a compositional technique that indelibly marked the art of the troubadours.



In fondest memory

Hans-Erich Keller

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## LIST OF SIGLA FOR CITED TROUBADOUR MANUSCRIPTS

For descriptions of the MSS and bibliographical information, see Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, eds., *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1933), x-xxxv.

- A Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, latini 5232  
B Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 1592  
C Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 856  
D Modena, Biblioteca Nazionale Estense, Estero 45 (Alpha R.4.4), ff. 1-151  
D<sup>c</sup> Modena, Biblioteca Nazionale Estense, Estero 45 (Alpha R.4.4), ff. 243-60  
E Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 1749  
F Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiani L.IV.106  
G Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, R 71 superiore  
H Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, latini 3207  
I Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 854  
K Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 12473  
N New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 819  
N<sup>2</sup> Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1910  
Q Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2909  
R Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 22543  
Sg Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 146  
T Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 15211  
U Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 41.43  
V Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 278 (fr. App. cod. XI)  
Ve.Ag Barcelona, Biblioteca de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans  
W Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 844 [= Trouvère MS M]  
a Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2814  
d Modena, Biblioteca Nazionale Estense [Appendix to MS D, ff. 262-346]  
e Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberiniani 3965  
f Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 12472  
κ Quotations in Giovanni Maria Barbieri [Published as *Dell'origine della poesia rimata*, ed. Girolamo Tiraboschi (Modena: Società Tipografica, 1790)]

## LIST OF SIGLA FOR CITED TROUVÈRE MANUSCRIPTS

For descriptions of the MSS and bibliographical information, see Alfred Jeanroy, *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers français du moyen âge*. 1918. Reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1971.

- M Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 844 [= Troubadour MS W]
- T Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 12615
- e Metz, Archives de la Moselle [fragment]
- U Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 20050

## A NOTE ON TRANSLATION

All translations of Old Occitan and Old Catalan texts are mine unless otherwise indicated. In my translations I have attempted to remain as faithful as possible to the original texts, even when this has meant preserving repetitions and subordinators that, while perhaps seemingly unnecessary in English, are nevertheless crucial to revealing the intense inner logic of the texts at hand. Moreover, aware that the very act of translation runs the risk of slighting the semantic complexity of the troubadours' language, I have tried to remain sensitive to rendering the numerous multivalent terms of Old Occitan into their most valid English equivalents.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

This study borrows the quotation in its title, “Singing to another tune,” from *Las Leys d’amors* (*The Laws of Love*), a poetic treatise compiled by Guilhem Molinier in the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Guilhem’s phrase pertains to a compositional technique known to modern scholars as *contrafacture*, in which the troubadour fashions new lyrics after the poetic structure of a preexistent song, thereby allowing his work to be sung to that earlier melody. The technique of *contrafacture* is documented not only by Guilhem and other contemporaneous theorists, but also by the troubadours themselves, who on a number of occasions acknowledge composing a poem “*el so de*,” or “to the tune of” another composer.<sup>2</sup> Both theory and practice demonstrate that structural imitation came to be most closely associated with several specific genres—including the *sirventes*

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<sup>1</sup> The expression in Old Occitan reads: “*En autru so cantar*.” Guilhem’s treatise has been edited and translated into French by Adolphe-F. Gatién-Arnoult, *Las Flors del gay saber, estier dichas Las Leys d’amors*, 3 vols., Monumens de la littérature romane, 1-3 (Toulouse: J.-B. Paya, 1841-43), 1:360.

<sup>2</sup> Several instances of this expression will be identified in Chapter 6; two instances of the scribal usage of this same expression will also be discussed (see below within the present chapter as well as Chapter 3).

(moralizing piece), *tenso* (debate song), *coblas* (song of few strophes), and *planh* (lament)—whose poetic structures were commonly modeled after those of the *canso*, the dominant genre of troubadour composition.<sup>3</sup>

Despite abundant structural indications of contrafacture within the troubadour repertoire, melodic traces of the practice are surprisingly scant. Confirmation of melodic borrowing depends upon the preservation of both a model and its contrafactum with concordant musical readings, yet the small proportion of surviving troubadour melodies (with only one in ten lyric texts transmitted with its tune) poses a significant impediment to melodic corroboration. In fact, only three *sirventes* have been preserved with melodies that duplicate those of preexistent *cansos* (see below, Figure 1.1). In the remaining instances in which a *sirventes*, *tenso*, or other imitative type is preserved with a melodic *unicum*, scholars of troubadour song have tended to maintain that, absent melodic corroboration, the tune must be presumed original rather than borrowed. In view of the sparseness of the musical record, however, one should give equal consideration to an alternate interpretation, namely that the tune preserved exclusively with a given troubadour's *sirventes* and thereafter transmitted as his invention may actually have been borrowed from a preexistent *canso* whose melody is no longer extant in its original setting.

Isolating viable textual models for suspected contrafacta opens up the possibility of reascribing potentially borrowed melodies to their original composers. The study of

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<sup>3</sup> For the reader's reference, frequently used terms in Old Occitan have been provided with definitions in the Glossary, found as Appendix A.

contrafacture can thus lead us to question the received attributions of a number of tunes, thereby posing a challenge to the readily made assumption that the manuscript rubrics were consistently intended to pertain to both text and melody.<sup>4</sup>

In this study we shall examine several suspected cases of contrafacture within a web of relevant indices—e.g., generic norms, intertextual correlations, socio-historic context, rhetorical motivation, transmission, and melodic style—thereby gaining significant insights into a compositional technique that indelibly marked the art of the troubadours.

## **Background**

The treatises of troubadour lyric instruct us that contrafacture could ultimately occur on three levels: strophic structure (*compas*), which embraces both rhyme scheme and syllable count; precise rhyme sounds (*rims*), whose imitation was recognized as optional; and melody (*so*).<sup>5</sup> Verifying the degree to which the troubadours practiced structural imitation has been greatly facilitated by a metrical catalogue compiled by István Frank, in which the complete extant repertoire is classified according to rhyme scheme, syllable count, and rhyme sounds.<sup>6</sup> Determining the extent to which troubadours actually carried out melodic borrowing, on the other hand, is greatly deterred by the sheer paucity of surviving troubadour melodies. Within a repertoire of 2,552 lyric texts, only

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<sup>4</sup> As Margaret Switten has keenly pointed out, this assumption is justifiable as a working hypothesis, “provided we remember, however, that it is not proved or even provable that text attributions always apply to the tunes.” See “Music and Versification: *Fetz Marcabrus los motz e.l so*,” in *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, eds. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 142.

<sup>5</sup> Chapter 2 of this study is devoted to a study of these treatises.

<sup>6</sup> István Frank, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie des troubadours*, 2 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1953-57).

246 pieces have been transmitted with their tunes.<sup>7</sup> Among these, one finds only three instances in which the melody of a *sirventes* duplicates that of a preexistent *canso*; this small number of melodically corroborated borrowings falls far short of the incidence of structural correspondences in Frank's catalogue. The three melodically corroborated borrowings have been provided as Figure 1.1.<sup>8</sup>

1. Bertran de Born (fl. 1159-95), *Rassa, tan creis e mont e pueja* (*sirventes-canso*, PC 80.37)  
Monk of Montaudon (fl. 1193-1210), *Mot m'enveya s'o auzes dir* (*enuieg*, PC 305.10)
2. Giraut de Borneil (fl. 1162-99), *Non puesc sofrir qu'a la dolor* (*canso*, PC 242.51)  
Peire Cardenal (fl. 1205-72), *Ar mi puesc ieu lauzar d'amor* ("anti-canso," PC 335.7)
3. Raimon Jordan (fl. 1160-95), *Vas vos soplei, domna, premieramen* (*canso*, PC 404.11)  
Peire Cardenal, *Ricx hom que greu ditz vertat e leu men* (*sirventes*, PC 335.49)

**Figure 1.1** The three pairs of melodically corroborated borrowings found within the troubadour repertoire, listed by model and contrafactum

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<sup>7</sup> For data related to the transmission of troubadour melodies, see Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 49-50.

<sup>8</sup> For comparisons of each of the three melodic pairings, see Aubrey's discussion in *The Music*, 112-21 and 153-54.

These three song pairings represent well the rules of contrafacture as outlined in the treatises, while at the same time demonstrating the permissible measure of flexibility in the application of those rules. Just as the theorists would recommend, the pieces serving as models in all three imitations can be categorized as *cansos*, although Bertran de Born's *Rassa, tan creis* (PC 80.37),<sup>9</sup> which celebrates the attributes of an ideal lady, does conclude by praising the ideal warrior in the manner of a *sirventes*.<sup>10</sup> This mixing of themes, explicitly discouraged by the theorists, has earned for Bertran's piece the modern hybrid designation of *sirventes-canso*.<sup>11</sup>

As for the three contrafacta, all display the critical attitude typical of the imitative *sirventes*, although their precise designations reflect greater generic variety. For example, the Monk of Montaudon's *Mot m'enveya* (PC 305.10) can be categorized as an *enuieg*, so called for the poet's litany of annoyances, expressed through the recurring phrase, "m'enveya" ("it annoys me").<sup>12</sup> Peire Cardenal's *Ar mi puesc ieu lauzar d'amor*

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<sup>9</sup> The "PC" numbers used throughout this study refer to the standard index of troubadour songs established by Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1933). Trouvère songs shall be referred to with "R" numbers, as established in the catalogue first compiled by G. Raynaud and later re-edited by Hans Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes* (Leiden: Brill, 1980).

<sup>10</sup> For the complete text of Bertran's *Rassa, tan creis*, see William D. Paden, Jr., Tilde Sankovitch, and Patricia H. Stäblein, eds. and trans., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 194-203.

<sup>11</sup> Pillet and Carstens, eds., *Bibliographie*, 75. As Paden et al. have observed, "the combination of amorous and political themes runs throughout Bertran's work" (*The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 194). On the validity of the designation *sirventes-canso*, see Erich Köhler, "Die Sirventes-Kanzone: 'genre bâtard' oder legitime Gattung?" in *Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune*, 2 vols. (Gembloux, Belgium: Duculot, 1969), 1:159-83.

<sup>12</sup> The genre *enuieg*, most closely associated with the Monk of Montaudon, is named but not defined by Guilhem Molinier in the *Leys d'amors* (Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:348).



(PC 335.7), which has actually been categorized as a *canso* by certain scholars,<sup>13</sup> would be more appropriately dubbed an *anti-can-so*.<sup>14</sup> In this piece, Peire subverts the themes typically associated with the *can-so* by announcing his total renunciation of love.<sup>15</sup>

Regarding the level of structural correspondence displayed by these three pairings, both of Peire Cardenal's contrafacta display the exact strophic form of their models, even adopting their rhyme sounds. The *enuég* of the Monk of Montaudon, on the other hand, shows greater structural independence from its model, with the Monk truncating Bertran's strophic form and melody by two internal verses, as well as adopting different rhyme sounds. The poetic structure and shared melody of these two pieces can be demonstrated through the following graph:<sup>16</sup>

<i>Rassa:</i>	8-	a'	a'	a'	a'	a'	a'	b	b	b	b	b
<i>Mot m'enveya:</i>	8-	a'	a'	a'	a'	–	–	b	b	b	b	b
Melodic phrases:		A	B	C	D	[C'	D']	B'	C''	E	F	E'

<sup>13</sup> Pillet and Carstens, while parenthetically recognizing that Peire's piece is a "Renunciation of Love" ("Absage an die Minne"), nevertheless label it a *can-so* (*Bibliographie*, 292); see also Aubrey, *The Music*, 153.

<sup>14</sup> Such is the generic category that John H. Marshall coins for the piece in "Imitation of Metrical Form in Peire Cardenal," *Romance Philology* 32 (1978): 23. See also Pierre Bec, who presents Peire's *Ar me puesc* under the heading "la 'fin'amors' négativisée" and notes that this *can-so* is not a "traditional lyric piece, but rather a sort of anti-*can-so*." See *Burlesque et obscénité chez les troubadours* (Paris: Stock, 1984), 35-36. For a rather detailed poetic analysis of Peire's *Ar me puesc* as a parody of *fin'amors* (without, unfortunately, any discussion of the song's relationship to its model by Giraut de Borneil), see Ellen Sakari, "Observations sur l'ironie de la chanson *Ar me puesc ieu lauzar d'amor* (335,7) de Peire Cardenal," in *Contacts de langues, de civilisations et intertextualité, Actes du IIIème Congrès International de l'Association Internationale d'Études Occitanes*, ed. Gérard Gouiran (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 1992), 3:1153-58.

<sup>15</sup> At the conclusion of the first strophe (l. 10), Peire declares: "[Retiring] my dice, I have taken my leave of [love]" "partitz m'en soi ab mos datz"); for the complete text of *Ar me puesc*, see René Lavaud, ed., *Poésies complètes du troubadour Peire Cardenal (1189-1278)* (Toulouse: Privat, 1957), 2-9.

<sup>16</sup> In the graphing of poetic form, numerals represent the number of syllables per verse, lower-case letters represent the rhyme scheme, and apostrophes represent feminine rhymes (i.e., a feminine ending is not counted as an extra syllable). Upper-case letters are used to represent musical phrases.

Despite this formal modification, the source of the Monk's imitation was still recognizable to the scribe of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, f. fr. 22543 (hereafter MS R),<sup>17</sup> who notes as an addendum to the poetic text that the Monk's *enuég* is set "el so de la Rassa," meaning to the tune of Bertran's *Rassa, tan creis* (Figure 1.2).

Taken together, these three cases of melodically corroborated contrafacture demonstrate the varying degrees of compliance assumed by troubadours in their imitations of preexistent *cansos*, while at the same time substantiating the basic principles of borrowing as set forth in the treatises.

The investigation of melodic borrowing as it relates to the troubadour repertoire has been significantly advanced through comparisons of the troubadour repertoire with other medieval repertoires. Such cross-cultural studies have appreciably broadened the corpus of melodically corroborated contrafacta by uncovering sixteen imitations in outside repertoires that were evidently inspired by nine different troubadour songs. A list of these nine troubadour songs and their collective imitations has been provided below as Figure 1.3. This expanded corpus, while still relatively small in number, nevertheless demonstrates great breadth, with borrowed troubadour melodies appearing in the secular repertoires of the trouvères and minnesingers as well as in a variety of quasi-sacred repertoires (e.g., French, Galician, Latin, and Occitan).

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<sup>17</sup> For a key to the *sigla* of the troubadour manuscripts cited in this study, please refer to p. XXX above.

gay solay: e p laculhine. e s'balame amcos p agudane. a cuy  
 vicus a dar tan te podane. q sel q' play estaq pie. cabell  
 mos huelhs ma mostada la via. e deu mezel me d' haz e  
 pres. e ac a pres maye no eug auéguel. deu s' mozt prese  
 pul mozt qm solua. . orxe de montaudon. 325

or menueya sbauzes d'ave. tom parlers queo'a  
 uol seruire. r honr'poy uol autausir. menueya. e cauals  
 que ure. r enueiam si dieut maure. ioues tom que uoy for  
 d'alt: que negun coly noua amur capelan emonge barbit

**E** tene tona p enuoz a'c  
 es pautas m' eugulhoja. e ma  
 rit' ama uoy s'f'p'ora. ney  
 sena tona de toloza. r enueyam de cauzier f'os de s' pays v'la  
 mer. car e lo seu no a m'her: m' s'bl de p'nar ei moztier pebe  
 o restar al foguer: **E** t enueiam de f'oz mancia tom uol  
 pill q' p'ort banera. e audl auzoz e r'lena. e pauca car e g'ra  
 caudena r' euciam p san man' uoy d'uga e p'ar de vi. e can  
 t'uep estasser man. menueya e coyp anelli. car nom azaur de  
 lor t'ny. **E** uueiam l'ga r'ep'it'ua. e car car es mal tue  
 che d'ua. e p'ne q' m'et m' p'uua. e viella p'uta q' uoy d'ua.  
 r enueiam p san dalmar. audls tom e uoy q'm solay. e d'ier  
 ab cauals p' glay. e fugir ab cauals armat. menueya e mal  
 dir de dar. **E** t enueiam p uiceter'na. m'iar les f'os can  
 f'oz yuerna. e i'az ab uelha caserna. ca ne f'ent flayoz de  
 tauna. r enueiam em es uoy f'erciu sel q' lauol la enquen  
 r' euciaz de mayr fer. car ieu h' uei l'ela mozt. ca te nom tona  
 min p'fer. **E** uueyam p san saluayre e tona coe auol vi  
 olapre. r ab pauca dia uoy f'arier a lo s'c paubre prestane  
 r' euciaz p san marcel. coas penas e. v. manrel. e uoy parlers  
 en un castel. e ric tom ab pauc de reuel. r e uoy d'art e  
 canel. **E** t enueiam si dieut m' uall' l'ag' taula ab bieu  
 uoll' r' tom cab uat r'ohozat m'la. r austere p'ran dauol m'  
 l'ha r' euciaz estar apoz. ca fa greu tempo m' plou f'oz r'ent  
 amey r'iaoz. menueya em fa p'ier de mozt. ca l'ay q' tend  
 a l'ur uer. **E** d'uar uoy q' f'ec me n'ia. viella g'uals ca  
 uoy l'ama. e pauca s'oudateyma ua. e cozel q' fa cambal min.  
 r enueyam p l'ant ad. tona g'uals magre co. e s'entozar q'  
 uoy mal uoy q' no por uozur canr a son. maior enuey no  
 la el mo. **E** n' car ia may q' menueya. eualor sel cupa  
 de plucia. e can uoy ab mo' canal truen. q' fa mag' coia h'  
 uita. e euciaz e nom sap l'w. r' s'ela can ad'la l'arid. e fue  
 la s'c ad'ly. e maluar tom d'ant ma maye. que nom fa min uoy  
 si mal no. . . . . el so de la rassa.

Figure 1.2 The Monk of Montaudon's *Mot m'enveya* (PC 305.10), set "el so de la rassa" (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 22543, fol. 40r, detail). Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

I. Borrowings found in the trouvère repertoire:

1. Bernart de Ventadorn, *Eras no veu luzir solelh* (canso, PC 70.7)  
Anonymous, *Pour longue atente de merci* (couple, R 1057)
2. Bernart de Ventadorn, *Be m'an perdut en lay ves Ventadorn* (canso, PC 70.12)  
Comte de Bar, *De nous, seigneur, que vous est il avis* (serventois, R 1522)
3. Gaucelm Faidit, *Fort causa es que tot lo major dan* (planh, PC 167.22)  
Anonymous, *E, serventois, arriere t'en revas* (serventois, R 381)
4. Raimon Jordan, *Lo clar tems vei brunezir* (canso, PC 404.4)  
Roi de Navarre and Phelipe, *Phelipe, je vous demant* (jeu-parti, R 333)  
Guillaume or Jaque le Vinier, *Vierge pucele roiaus* (Marian song, R 388)  
Anonymous, *A la mere Deu servir* (Marian song, R 1459)

II. Borrowings found in various quasi-sacred repertoires:

5. Cadenet, *S'anc fui bela ni prezada* (alba, PC 106.14)  
Alfonso X, *Virgen, madre gloriosa* (from the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*)
6. Guiraut de Borneil, *Reis glorios, verai lums e clartatz* (alba, PC 242.64)  
Anonymous, *Rei glorios, sener, per que hanc nasqiei?* (*Planctus* in the Occitan play of Saint Agnes; introduced with the statement: "Mater facit planctum in sonu albe *Rei glorios verai lums e clardat*")

III. Borrowings appearing in multiple repertoires:

7. Bernart de Ventadorn, *Can vei la lauzeta mover* (canso, PC 70.43)  
Dame and Ami, *Amis, qui est li mieus vaillant* (jeu-parti, R 365)  
Philippe, Chancellor of Paris, *Quisquis cordis et oculi* (hymn)  
Philippe, Chancellor of Paris, *Li cuers se vait de l'oïl plaignant* (*chanson* based upon his hymn, R 394)  
Anonymous, *Sener, mil gracias ti rent* (*Planctus* in the Occitan play of Saint Agnes; introduced with the statement: "Aines...facit planctum in sonu *Si quis [sic] cordis et oculi*")  
Anonymous, *Plaine d'ire et de desconfort* (*chanson de femme*, R 1934; this song features Bernart's melody, without adopting his poetic structure)
8. Jaufre Rudel de Blaia, *Lanquan li jorn son lonc en mai* (canso, PC 262.2)  
Walter von der Vogelweide, *Nu alrest leb'ich mire werde* (Crusade song)  
Anonymous, *Ave regina* (Latin chant; this twelfth-century melody, which is distantly related to Jaufre's, could have actually served as a model for the troubadour)<sup>a</sup>
9. Peirol, *Per dan que d'amor mi veigna* (canso, PC 366.26)  
Hue de Saint Quentin, *A l'entrant du tens salvage* (*pastourelle*, R 41)  
Anonymous, *Vite perditte me legi*, (*Latin conductus*; Peirol's tune appears in the lower voice)

**Figure 1.3** Melodically corroborated borrowings of troubadour tunes appearing in outside repertoires

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<sup>a</sup> For an overview of the complex melodic relationship exhibited by these three pieces, see Hendrik van der Werf, ed., *The Extant Troubadour Melodies: Transcriptions and Essays for Performers and Scholars* (Rochester, NY: The author, 1984), 73-75.

This larger body of melodic borrowings allows us to establish three principles that will prove essential to the present study of contrafacture. First, the historical timeframe and geographical expanse covered by these instances of contrafacture attest to the potentially wide range of influence of any given song. Second, the concordance of the borrowed tunes with their respective models—while illustrating the subtlety of melodic variation—ultimately verifies the reliability of a presumably oral transmission.<sup>18</sup> Finally, the manuscript transmission of these pieces reveals that the scribes did not typically present a borrowed melody differently from one that was newly composed. Only the two borrowings that appear within the fourteenth-century Occitan play of Saint Agnes are acknowledged through stage directions.<sup>19</sup> Thus, the melody of Giraut de Borneil’s *Reis glorios* (PC 242.64) is prefaced with the statement that “the mother performs a lament to the tune of the *alba Reis glorios verai lums e clardat*.”<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the melody of Bernart de Ventadorn’s *Can vei la lauzeta mover* (PC 70.43), once borrowed by Philippe the Chancellor (d. 1236) for his hymn *Quisquis cordis et oculi*, is then adopted into the play of Saint Agnes as “the tune of *Si quis [sic] cordis et oculi*.”<sup>21</sup> The remaining borrowed tunes are transmitted without comment, suggesting

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<sup>18</sup> For synoptic transcriptions of this corpus, see van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies*, in which the individual pieces are indexed according to PC numbers; see also van der Werf’s discussion of the contrafacta, pp. 72-75. Additionally, items 1, 3 and 4 of Figure 1.3 have been edited by Hans Tischler according to his theory of modal performance in his *Conductus and Contrafacta* (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2001), 63-67.

<sup>19</sup> The play, transmitted in Rome, Chigiana C. V. 151, has been edited by Alfred Jeanroy and Théodore Gérold, *Le Jeu de Sainte Agnès* (Paris: Champion, 1931).

<sup>20</sup> Fol. 72r-v. For the complete text of the contrafactum, see Jeanroy, ed., *Le Jeu*, 16.

<sup>21</sup> Fol. 74v. For the full strophe of the contrafactum, see Jeanroy, ed., *Le Jeu*, 21-22. Imitations of imitations such as this were not uncommon within the troubadour repertoire; we shall encounter several examples throughout the course of this study. See, in particular, Chapter 3.

that had the source tune not been preserved, the borrowing would have passed undetected. The implications of this last observation will be of utmost consequence to the present study.

This small corpus of melodically corroborated borrowings is a testament to the relatively significant impact of troubadour song on outside repertoires, leading one to suspect that internal influences would have constituted an even greater source of compositional inspiration among fellow troubadours. Certainly the authors of the treatises would lead us to believe that imitation was a vital aspect of the troubadours' art, and Frank's catalogue of the repertoire has substantiated the prevalence of the phenomenon, at least on the level of poetic structure. Philologists such as István Frank, Frank M. Chambers, John H. Marshall, and Stefano Asperti have relied exclusively upon the identification of congruent poetic structures in order to uncover countless probable instances of contrafacture, both within the troubadour repertoire and in conjunction with the repertoires of the trouvères and Minnesänger.<sup>22</sup> In these cases, structural imitation between two or more texts—especially when imitation extends beyond metric and rhyme scheme to include actual rhyme sounds, thus excluding mere coincidence of form—makes corresponding melodic borrowing a viable consideration. Unfortunately,

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<sup>22</sup> István Frank, *Trouvères et Minnesänger: Recueil de textes pour servir à l'étude des rapports entre la poésie lyrique romane et le Minnesang au XIIIe siècle* (Saarbrücken: West-Ost-Verlag, 1952); Frank M. Chambers, "Imitation of Form in the Old Provençal Lyric," *Romance Philology* 6 (1952-53): 104-20; John H. Marshall, "Pour l'étude des *contrafacta* dans la poésie des troubadours," *Romania* 101 (1980): 289-335; and Stefano Asperti, "Contrafacta provenzali di modelli francesi," *Messina* 13 (1991): 5-49. Structural comparisons between the troubadour and trouvère repertoires have been facilitated by a metrical catalogue compiled by Ulrich Mölk and Friedrich Wolfzettel, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie lyrique française des origines à 1350* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1972).

the small proportion of surviving troubadour melodies has impeded our ability to form a complete picture of the extent to which tunes were actually tied to the structural imitation of lyrics.

Sensitive to the implicit correlation between structural imitation and melodic borrowing, philologist and musicologist Friedrich Gennrich relied upon formal correspondences between texts in order to suggest their having shared a tune, regardless of the fact that a melodic relationship was not indicated by the written record.<sup>23</sup> In one of his few statements explaining the justification behind his undertaking, Gennrich writes:

Contrafacture will also be able to render good services through the disclosure of older melodic material. Sometimes the melodies of models—especially when they belong to an older time—are no longer preserved, whereas those of contrafacta that originate in a later time are. If it is possible to trace a contrafactum to an older model that has been transmitted without a melody, one may carry over without hesitation the melody of the contrafactum to the model as well.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Gennrich's first such study involved the attempted recovery of melodies for seven Minnesänger contrafacta through formal comparisons with the troubadour and trouvère repertoires ("Sieben Melodien zu mittelhochdeutschen Minneliedern," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 7 [1924]: 65-98). The study that is of greater interest to us here was undertaken several years later, namely: *Der musikalische Nachlass der Troubadours*, 3 vols., *Summa Musicae Medii Aevi*, 3, 4, and 15 (Darmstadt and Langen-bei-Frankfurt: Gennrich, 1958-65); as we shall see, with this latter study Gennrich adopted a reverse approach to melodic recovery, one that attempted to trace melodies transmitted exclusively with presumed contrafacta back to their Old Occitan models. We should also mention that Wendelin Müller-Blattau, influenced by Gennrich's approach to melodic recovery as applied in his 1924 article on the Minnesänger, drew upon the formal identifications made by István Frank in his *Trouvères et Minnesänger* in order to re-associate the texts of contrafacta with their presumed melodic models. Her edition is published under the title: *Trouvères und Minnesänger II: Kritische Ausgaben der Weisen zugleich als Beitrag zu einer Melodienlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes* (Saarbrücken: Universität des Saarlandes, 1956). Following Frank's textual choices, Müller-Blattau's edition generally attempts the recovery of tunes for German contrafacta composed after French and Occitan models. One notable exception is the consideration of a family of texts involving Bertran de Born and the trouvère Conon de Béthune, an exchange that will be discussed in Chapter 5.

<sup>24</sup> "Gute Dienste wird die Kontrafaktur auch bei der Erschließung älteren Melodiegutes leisten können. Mitunter sind Melodien von Vorbildern—besonders wenn sie der älteren Zeit angehören—nicht mehr erhalten, wohl aber die des jüngerer Zeit entstammenden Kontrafaktums. Wenn es gelingt, eine Kontrafaktur zu einem älteren Vorbild, das ohne Melodie überliefert ist, nachzuweisen, wird man ohne Bedenken die Melodie des Kontrafaktums auch für das Vorbild übernehmen dürfen." Friedrich Gennrich, *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters*, *Summa Musicae Medii Aevi*, 12 (Langen-bei-Frankfurt: Gennrich, 1965), 194.

Gennrich drew upon his own studies of the trouvère repertoire as well as upon earlier studies by Hans Spanke, in which several instances of structural equivalency between the troubadour repertoire and Old French and Latin repertoires had been identified.<sup>25</sup> Working from these correspondences, Gennrich advocated the performance of sixteen troubadour lyrics transmitted without their melodies in the *chansonniers* to the tunes of isomorphic texts found in other contemporaneous repertoires, thus developing the notion of *erschlossene Melodien* (inferred or derived melodies).<sup>26</sup>

Gennrich's approach to contrafacture suggests a fair degree of promise, but it is not without its shortcomings. First, his determination of contrafacta is based almost exclusively on structural grounds, with supporting justification—such as chronological, generic, or intertextual relationships between suspected text pairings—only rarely provided. Moreover, Gennrich adopts a relatively noncommittal stance in establishing the point of melodic origin, thus leaving essential questions regarding authorship both unraised and unanswered. In fact, the explanations that accompany his *erschlossene Melodien* are rarely more than a few sentences in length, conveying a rather too casual approach to a study with such extensive ramifications.

That a certain amount of caution is necessary in such cases was emphasized by Hans Spanke, whom Gennrich relied upon for eleven of his structural identifications.

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<sup>25</sup> See Hans Spanke, *Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik* (Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1936), and his *Marcabrustudien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1940).

<sup>26</sup> Gennrich's sixteen *erschlossene Melodien*, which he edits according to the rhythmic modes, are found in *Der musikalische Nachlass der Troubadours*, 1:277-88; for brief descriptions describing the melodic sources, see 2:126-33. More recently, Hans Tischler has adopted a parallel notion of "conjectured" or "probable" contrafacta, appropriating seven of Gennrich's *erschlossene Melodien* into his transcriptions of "Occitan-French contrafacta without music in Provençal manuscripts." Tischler does not, however, cite Gennrich as an influence. See Tischler, *Conductus and Contrafacta*, 45-46, and 68-77.



Indeed, Spanke warned his readers against inferring more than was indicated from his structural observations. While Spanke's comments on contrafacture actually predate Gennrich's concept of *erschlossene Melodien*, their pertinence to the latter's undertaking can be easily appreciated. Focusing upon the trouvère repertoire, Spanke finds the scholarly application of the notion of contrafacture to be "frequently questionable."<sup>27</sup> He argues that the term should only be applied to pieces meeting three conditions: 1) The poet-composer adopts a preexistent melody; 2) following the poetic structure of his model, he invents a new text; 3) the new piece is transmitted accordingly. Spanke observes that verification of this final criterion poses the most substantial deterrent to establishing instances of genuine contrafacture. Citing various examples of melodic discrepancies that could arise (and have arisen) during the course of transmission, Spanke regards melodic corroboration between a model and its presumed imitation as an essential component in the determination of contrafacture.<sup>28</sup> Cautioning his readers on the need for "great forethought" in "the application of the expression 'contrafactum,'" Spanke avoids the term in his own study and promotes instead a system of classification that specifies the precise nature of the imitation by reporting correspondences in structure (*Bau*), melody (*Melodie*), and rhymes (*Reime*).<sup>29</sup> He thus argues in favor of a far more conservative approach to contrafacture than that employed by Gennrich with the notion of *erschlossene Melodien*.

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<sup>27</sup> Hans Spanke, "Das öftere Auftreten von Strophenformen und Melodien in der altfranzösischen Lyrik," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 51 (1928): 95.

<sup>28</sup> Spanke, "Das öftere Auftreten von Strophenformen," 95-97.

<sup>29</sup> "Am besten wird man, besonders in summarischen Aufzählungen, durch eine kurze Bezeichnung (B. M.= [Bau, Melodie], M. =, B. =) nur den sachlichen Befund angeben." Spanke, "Das öftere Auftreten von Strophenformen," 98.

Just as Spanke has upheld a strict application of the notion of contrafacture, so too have prominent musicologists Hendrik van der Werf and Elizabeth Aubrey. Van der Werf, for example, confines his consideration of melodic borrowing in the troubadour repertoire to “only those [contrafacts] for which both the model and the contrafact have been preserved with music,” thus limiting his study of contrafacture to the dozen melodic groupings identified in Figure 1.3 above.<sup>30</sup> Elizabeth Aubrey adopts a similarly conservative approach to contrafacture, explicitly dismissing Gennrich’s derived melodies. She explains her decision as follows:

One goal of Friedrich Gennrich was to demonstrate the wide influence of the troubadour tradition, so he proposed the creation of some *contrafacta* after the manner of what he (and others, notably Hans Spanke) supposed was a medieval practice; he included these modern fictions in his edition, in effect broadening the corpus. [...] I have chosen to reject such presuppositions.<sup>31</sup>

We must make several responses to Aubrey’s statement. First, as shown above, Spanke does not actually share Gennrich’s view on the necessary criteria for creating new instances of contrafacture. Second, what Gennrich allegedly *supposed* was a medieval practice is in fact a documented phenomenon. Finally, while it may seem futile to refute Aubrey’s assessment of Gennrich’s inferred melodies as “modern fictions,” it should equally be recognized that other “modern fictions” abound in the study of troubadour song. The positions that one adopts regarding rhythm, instrumental accompaniment, application of accidentals, and textual edition are all subject to an unavoidable degree of supposition, yet these domains remain valid areas of exploration. The “modern fictions”

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<sup>30</sup> Van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies*, 72.

<sup>31</sup> Aubrey, *The Music*, xix.

that are created through the inference of *contrafacta* must therefore be weighed against the potential they offer for expanding not only the repertoire itself but also our comprehension of the troubadours' compositional processes.

That said, students of the troubadours and their art do have a responsibility to make the cases for their "modern fictions" as compellingly as possible, and in this regard, Gennrich's approach is wanting.<sup>32</sup> In order to be as valid a consideration as any other aspect of troubadour research, the study of *contrafacture* must be both informed by cultural norms and responsible in its claims. In the present study, I should like to expand upon the notion of *erschlossene Melodien* by exploring several new cases of suspected *contrafacture*, grounding each within its poetic, musical, and historical context. Our examinations will take as their point of departure the treatises of troubadour lyric, which validate the composer's recourse to melodic borrowing for certain genres, including the *sirventes*, *tenso*, *coblas esparsas*, and *planh*. Taking our cue from these theoretical standards, we shall examine in a series of individual case studies several pieces whose melodies, hitherto presumed to be original, could conceivably have been borrowed from preexistent songs. By identifying viable structural models for the pieces in question, we are able to consider the possibility of reuniting borrowed melodies with their original texts, and in effect, reattributing those melodies to their composers.

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<sup>32</sup> In his article "Pour l'étude des *contrafacta*," John H. Marshall demonstrates the potential for expanding upon Gennrich's *erschlossene Melodien*, reevaluating each case through the weighing of additional considerations. He concludes by accepting nine of Gennrich's inferred melodies and rejecting the remaining seven (pp. 328-35). Marshall also devotes an article-length study to Gennrich's penultimate *erschlossene Melodie* in his article, "The *Descort* of Albertet and its Old French Imitations," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 95 (1979): 290-306.

As is the case for any study of troubadour lyric, the incomplete account of troubadour culture provided by the surviving manuscripts precludes definitive conclusions. All proposed reattributions, no matter how compelling, must therefore remain only circumstantial. Nevertheless, the very process of weighing the supporting evidence will bring to light a number of larger issues affecting the repertoire as a whole, thereby leading to a better understanding not only of attribution and transmission in troubadour song, but also of generic norms, intertextuality, and artistic expression.

## CHAPTER 2

### TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF GENRE AND CONTRAFACATURE: THE TREATISES OF TROUBADOUR LYRIC

Of the dozen or so treatises that expound the rules of grammar and versification for lyric composition in Occitan, only a few address the element of contrafacture.<sup>1</sup> Discussions of the technique appear most prominently within those treatises that attempt a systematic exposé on genre, the most significant of which to do so are the *De doctrina de compondre dictats* (*On Instruction in Lyric Composition*), probably written by Jofre de Foixà ca. 1286-91,<sup>2</sup> and the *Leys d'amors* (*The Laws of Love*), first compiled by Guilhem

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<sup>1</sup> These poetic treatises are: The *Donatz proensals* of Uc Faidit, edited by John H. Marshall (London: Oxford University Press, 1969); Raimon Vidal's *Razos de trobar*, Terramagnino da Pisa's *Doctrina d'acort*, Jofre de Foixà's *Regles de trobar*, the *Doctrina de compondre dictats*, and two anonymous treatises from MS Ripoll 129, all six of which have been edited by John H. Marshall, in *The "Razos de trobar" of Raimon Vidal and Associated Texts* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972); Berenguer d'Anoia's *Mirall de trobar*, edited by Jaume Vidal i Alcover ([Barcelona]: Secció de Filologia Catalana, Universitat de Palma, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1984); the *Doctrinal de trobar* of Ramon de Cornet, preserved through a gloss by Joan de Castellnou which has been edited by Jean-Baptiste Noulet and Camille Chabaneau in *Deux manuscrits provençaux du XIVe siècle* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Charles Leclerc, 1888), 199-239; Joan de Castellnou's *Compendi de la coneixença dels vicis en els dictats del Gai Saber*, edited by Josep Maria Casas Homs (Barcelona: Gràfiques Marina, 1969); Guilhem Molinier's *Las Leys d'amors* (edited by Gatien-Arnoult as *Las Flors*) and its derivatives (whose editions will be cited individually below); and finally, Luis de Averço's *Torcimany*, edited by José Maria Casas Homs (Barcelona: Sección de Literatura Catalana, 1956).

<sup>2</sup> I shall rely upon the edition prepared by Marshall, in *The "Razos,"* 95-98. The treatise was published earlier with a short preface by Paul Meyer, "Traité catalans de grammaire et de poésie," *Romania* 6 (1877): 353-58.

Molinier from ca. 1328 to 1337.<sup>3</sup> The former is a small tract that is devoted exclusively to the distinctions among the various genres; for reasons that will be explored below, it quite possibly belongs to a larger treatise by Jofre entitled *Regles de trobar* (*The Rules of Composition*). The *Leys d'amors* is a comprehensive poetic code that was commissioned by the *Consistori du Gai Saber* (literally, the Consistory of the Joyous Science),<sup>4</sup> a society founded in Toulouse in 1323 whose annual song competitions required a set body of rules.<sup>5</sup>

Guilhem's first version of the *Leys* (hereafter *Leys A*) unfolds primarily in prose with frequent examples and definitions given in rhymed verse, "so that one may more easily retain them and learn them by heart" ("per so quom los puesca plus leu reportar e decorar").<sup>6</sup> *Leys A* is organized into five parts, which can be summarized as follows:

- I. Introduction to the art of *trobar*; phonetics and accent
- II. The organizing principles of verse, rhyme and strophe; exposition on genre
- III. Grammar and the parts of speech
- IV. The vices and figures of rhetoric
- V. Methods for composing in rhyme

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<sup>3</sup> Guilhem's first version of the *Leys* has been edited by Gatién-Arnoult, as *Las Flors del gay saber, estier dichas Las Leys d'amors*; we should note here that Gatién-Arnoult's title is misleading, for *Las Flors del gay saber* more properly belongs to the fully rhymed version of the *Leys* that Guilhem compiled ca. 1337-43 (to be discussed below). Moreover, Christopher Page has established that "Gatién-Arnoult's text does not represent the earliest recoverable form of the Consistori's doctrines. When his edition is compared with the manuscript upon which it is based [Toulouse, Académie des Jeux Floraux, MS 500.007], [...] it becomes clear that he arrived at his text by running together the work of the main hand with the many annotations which surround it. The earliest recoverable form of the Consistori's doctrine therefore lies buried in Gatién-Arnoult's text amidst a mass of later accretions." See Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France, 1100-1300* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1987), 250-51.

<sup>4</sup> We might translate the name of this society more loosely as the Consistory of the Lyric Art.

<sup>5</sup> John H. Marshall's unpublished dissertation ("Linguistic and Literary Theory in Old Provençal," 2 vols., Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1962) is considered by Christopher Page to be "the outstanding treatment of the *Leys* in English" (*Voices and Instruments*, 251). I was unfortunately unable to consult this document.

<sup>6</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:4.

As seen above, Guilhem's discussion of genre occupies the concluding section of the second part.<sup>7</sup> Consistent with the style of the treatise, the definitions of the various poetic types are exposed first in prose, then reprised in rhyme.

At the request of the *Consistori*, Guilhem prepared two subsequent revisions of the *Leys*.<sup>8</sup> In both, Guilhem limited his presentation on genre to his rhymed rendition. The first revision, prepared ca. 1337-43, consists entirely of rhymed definitions, some of which are newly-composed, but most of which are simply compiled from *Leys A*.<sup>9</sup> Guilhem explains that, at the request of the *Consistori*, he wanted "to enter into the *Leys d'amors* and gather its most precious flowers" ("En las LEYS D'AMORS vuelh intrar/Collir las flors que pus valran").<sup>10</sup> He accordingly designated this rhymed version as *Las Flors del gay saber* (*The Flowers of the Happy Science*, hereafter referred to as *Flors* [=Leys B]).

Guilhem completed his second and final revision (hereafter referred to as *Leys C*) in 1356.<sup>11</sup> Like *Leys A*, *Leys C* is composed in prose with frequent interpolations in verse. Guilhem significantly abridged the materials corresponding to Parts I-III of *Leys A*, whereas parts IV-V, while presumably intended, are not extant in the manuscript.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:338-65.

<sup>8</sup> For an overview and comparison of the three versions of the *Leys d'amors*, see Alfred Jeanroy, "Les *Leys d'amors*," *Histoire littéraire de la France* 38 (1949): 139-233.

<sup>9</sup> Joseph Anglade, ed., *Las Flors del gay saber*, *Memòries: Institut d'estudis catalans*, 1/2 (Barcelona: Institució Patxot, 1926).

<sup>10</sup> Anglade, ed., *Las Flors*, 7 (ll. 30-31).

<sup>11</sup> Joseph Anglade, ed., *Las Leys d'amors, manuscrit de l'Académie des Jeux Floraux*, 4 vols., *Bibliothèque méridionale*, 17-20 (Toulouse: Privat, 1919-20).

<sup>12</sup> Jeanroy, "Les *Leys*," 216-18.

Newly incorporated into this revision, and quite plausibly the very reason for its undertaking, is an extended section on the contest rules and the standards of judging.<sup>13</sup>

In 1356, upon the completion of *Leys C*, the *Consistori* transmitted a letter to various regions, making an announcement of their annual song competitions. In this missive, the *Consistori* also invited those who were interested to come to Toulouse in order to study, copy, or translate the *Leys d'amors*. The letter states in part:

...Fam vos saber generalmen	We are letting all of you know,
Et a cascu singularment	and each one of you individually,
Que las LEYS e FLORS sobredichas	that you will find the above-named <i>Leys</i> and <i>Flors</i>
Atrobaretz vas nos escrichas,	written down <i>chez nous</i>
Per legir tost et a deliure	so that you may read them in their entirety and
Per traslatar o far esciure... <sup>14</sup>	without restriction translate them or make copies.

To this tradition of invited dissemination we must attribute Luis de Averçó's *Torcimany*, a rhyming dictionary and poetic treatise that relies heavily upon the *Flors*.<sup>15</sup> Luis (fl. 1371-1411) apparently undertook his project sometime during the period of 1371 to 1393. By the time of this *terminus ad quem*, King Juan I of Aragon had established the *Consistori de la Gaia Ciència* in Barcelona, for which Luis's treatise would have presumably served as constitution. In terms of genre, Luis repeats verbatim Guilhem's rhymed presentation, but he also offers additional interlinear clarification through his own translations and commentaries. His glosses will therefore be called upon occasionally in order to inform difficult passages in the *Leys*.

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<sup>13</sup> The contest rules are presented under the rubric "Qui e cuy e quo deu joya jutjar." Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 2:15-29.

<sup>14</sup> The complete letter is published as part of Anglade's edition, *Las Leys*, 1:38-45. For the passage cited, see pp. 39-40.

<sup>15</sup> We recall the edition by Casas Homs, "*Torcimany*" de Luis de Averçó.



In addition to the *Doctrina* and the *Leys*, mention should be made of two additional treatises that provide surveys of the poetic types—neither of which, however, addresses contrafacture. These are the so-called Anonymous Ripoll and Raimon de Cornet’s *Doctrinal de trobar*. The former is a small treatise devoted entirely to genre, transmitted anonymously in Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ripoll 129.<sup>16</sup> John H. Marshall views the Anonymous Ripoll as an independent supplement to the treatise it follows, namely Jofre de Foixà’s *Regles de trobar*; this hypothesis allows Marshall to date the Anonymous Ripoll to the last decade of the thirteenth century or the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>17</sup> The Anonymous Ripoll represents a limited survey of the repertoire, setting forth definitions for only eight of the poetic genres: the *canso*, *tenso*, *sirventes*, *coblas*, *vers*, *dansa*, *desdansa*, and *viadera*. Marshall has observed that this anonymous author’s account is closely connected with a small anthology of nineteen pieces found in the same manuscript, from which all the supporting examples are drawn.<sup>18</sup> Marshall assesses the contributions of this treatise as follows:

The little treatise on the poetic genres was based on relatively slender information. Its conclusion clearly indicates that the author knew of no other genres than the eight mentioned. [...] The definitions, though not inaccurate, are superficial. The obvious external characteristics of the various genres are mentioned, but without any great understanding.<sup>19</sup>

We should also add that the anonymous author addresses neither melodic composition nor the element of imitation in any of his definitions.

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<sup>16</sup> The Anonymous Ripoll has been edited by Marshall, *The “Razos”*, 101-3.

<sup>17</sup> Marshall, *The “Razos”*, lxxviii-lxxix.

<sup>18</sup> Marshall, *The “Razos”*, lxxviii.

<sup>19</sup> Marshall, *The “Razos”*, xciv.

Raimon de Cornet (ca. 1300-39) signed his *Doctrinal de trobar* September 1324; it has been preserved exclusively through a gloss carried out in 1341 by Joan de Castellnou, himself a student of the *Leys d'amors*.<sup>20</sup> The exposé on genre in the *Doctrinal* is quite brief, occupying just thirty-two of the treatise's 543 heptasyllabic lines.<sup>21</sup> Raimon defines only five genres, presented in the following order: *vers*, *canso*, *pastorela*, *dansa*, and *sirventes*. In his brief definitions of each genre, Raimon reserves one or two lines for a description of the appropriate melodic types. For the *sirventes*, he recognizes the practice of melodic borrowing, stating that "it is set to an older tune" ("en ço veyl es mes").<sup>22</sup> A practicing poet himself—and winner of first prize (the "Golden Violet") in the *Consistori's* competition of 1333<sup>23</sup>—Raimon applied imitative techniques in his own *sirventes*, two of which he modeled after earlier troubadours Peire Cardenal (fl. 1205-72) and Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (fl. 1180-1205).<sup>24</sup> We might also add that while Raimon does not include the *tenso* in his presentation of genre, he clearly shows the potential for imitation in this genre, modeling a *tenso* that he initiated with Guilhem

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<sup>20</sup> We recall that Raimon's treatise and Joan's commentary has been edited by Noulet and Chabaneau, *Deux manuscrits*, 199-239. Joan de Castellnou was intimately familiar with the *Leys d'amors*, as is attested by his other surviving commentary, entitled the *Compendi de la coneixença dels vicis en els dictats del Gai Saber* (composed sometime before 1341). In the *Compendi* Joan adopted Guilhem's rhymed presentation of genre verbatim, not adding any commentary of his own. See Casas Homs, ed., *Joan de Castellnou, Segle XIV: Obres en prosa*, 140-46.

<sup>21</sup> Noulet and Chabaneau, eds., *Deux manuscrits*, 210-11 (ll. 377-408).

<sup>22</sup> Noulet and Chabaneau, eds., *Deux manuscrits*, 211 (l. 397).

<sup>23</sup> The winning text is published in Noulet and Chabaneau, eds., *Deux manuscrits*, 39-40; see also the editors' commentary on pp. 147-48.

<sup>24</sup> Raimon's *Qui dels escax vol belamens jogar* is modeled after Peire Cardenal's *Un sirventes novel voill comensar* (PC 335.67), a piece that will be the subject of Chapter 4; his *Anc no cugie vezer* imitates Raimbaut de Vaqueiras's *Ja no cugei vezer* (PC 392.20). Both of Raimon's *sirventes* appear in Noulet and Chabaneau, eds., *Deux manuscrits*, 92-93, and 137-40, respectively; see also the editors' discussion on pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

Alaman after a *canso* by Gaucelm Faidit (fl. 1172-1203).<sup>25</sup> Raimon's treatise is slight enough to be left aside for the moment, but we shall return to his ideas on the *vers* in Chapter 7.

The *Doctrina* and the *Leys* will be examined individually below, but first a word should be given on their common features. Both authors largely organize their definitions of the various genres according to three factors: subject, structure and melody. Genres are usually defined in the first place by their characteristic *razo* (subject matter or theme). The discussion of the *razo* is generally followed by observations on various formal aspects, including the typical number of strophes, the presence of *tornadas* (envois) or refrains, and the element of structural imitation when appropriate. The theorists complement their definitions with observations about the melodic qualities of the respective genres. For certain genres, such as the *canso* and *vers*, the authors specify that the tune should be newly composed; they also provide descriptions of the fitting melodic characteristics, generally expressed in rather vague terms, such as *bel*, *plazen*, or *lonc* (lovely, pleasant, or slow). For many other genres, including the *sirventes*, *tenso*, *partimen*, *coblas esparsas*, and *planh*, the authors prescribe melodic borrowing from a pre-existent *canso* or *vers* rather than original composition. In their explanations, both authors consistently draw a direct correlation between the imitation of another song's strophic structure and the borrowing of its melody. To cite just one formulation of this guideline, Guilhem says that the *sirventes* is dependent upon a

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<sup>25</sup> The *tenso Aram digatz, en Guilhem Alaman* takes up the strophic structure and rhyme sounds of Gaucelm Faidit's *Tant ai sufert longamen grant afan* (PC 167.59). The *tenso* is edited by Noulet and Chabaneau, *Deux manuscrits*, 63-65; see also the editors' commentary, p. xxxvi.

*vers* or *canço* in two manners, “the first in regard to the structure of the strophes, the other in regard to the tune” (“la una cant al compas de las coblas, l’altra cant al so”).<sup>26</sup>

Both Jofre and Guilhem state repeatedly that structural imitation may, but need not, extend to the level of rhyme sounds. For example, Jofre explains: “You can follow the same rhymes of the song from which you take the tune, or otherwise you can make it in other rhymes” (“Potz seguir las rimas contrasemblantz del cantar de que pendras lo so, o atressi lo potz far en altres rimes”).<sup>27</sup> We should note, however, that while imitation of rhyme sounds was not a necessary criterion of borrowing, it does often prove to be a crucial factor for establishing kinship between texts, precisely because imitation at this level virtually rules out mere coincidence of poetic form.

This very topic, i.e., the imitation of rhyme sounds, caught the attention of Berenguer d’Anoia (fl. 1300-30), a Catalan theorist who briefly addresses the technique of contrafacture in his treatise, the *Mirall de trobar*.<sup>28</sup> In fact, Berenguer arrives at a description of melodic contrafacture precisely through his account of the phenomenon of rhyme-sound imitation. Quite notably, whereas the authors of both the *Doctrina* and the *Leys* treat contrafacture as a function of genre, Berenguer presents structural imitation as a rhetorical *color*. He enumerates and defines eight such *colors de retorica*, each of which is identified by its corresponding Greek or Latin term: *leonismitat*, *anadiplosis*,

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<sup>26</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:340. For further discussion of the *sirventes*, see Chapters 4 and 7. Each of the remaining imitative types shall be taken up in subsequent chapters: the *planh* in Chapters 3 and 5; the *coblas esparsas* in Chapter 5; and the *tenso* in Chapter 6.

<sup>27</sup> Marshall, ed., *The “Razos”*, 96. Frank M. Chambers has argued that the borrowing of rhyme sounds was an innovation that began with Bertran de Born. See his monograph, *An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1985), 163-64.

<sup>28</sup> We recall here that Berenguer’s *Mirall de trobar* has been edited by Jaume Vidal i Alcover.

*agnominacio, gradacio, repeticio, traduccio, sinacrismos, and anapolensis*.<sup>29</sup> Added to these eight *colors*—as if an afterthought before Berenguer’s concluding words—is “yet another ornament” (“encara un altra adaltiment”), otherwise undesignated, which relates to structural-melodic imitation. Berenguer’s attention is specifically directed at the borrowing of rhyme sounds from a pre-existent song, a technique that is inspired by an agreeable tune:

Encara es un altra adaltiment en manera de color que son als cunhs que en qualqueus placia so mudaran totes les rimes o menaran llur cantar en estranyes rimes de dins en aquell so. E a aço se cove que les posades de cascun rim sien feytes en aquella egaltat de sillabes, o de vocal en que eren les del so en ques dira.<sup>30</sup>

There is yet another ornament in the *manera de color*, namely: there are some people who, when a certain melody is pleasing to them, change all the rhymes, that is, carry out their song in the rhymes peculiar to that tune. And in this case, it is fitting that the placement of each rhyme be made in the same equality of syllables, or of words, as those that are found in the tune to which [their song] is recited.

Berenguer’s description of structural-melodic imitation, placed within a discussion of rhetorical techniques and explored independently of generic function, is unique among the theorists.

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<sup>29</sup> Vidal i Alcover, ed., *Mirall*, 130-40. All eight of the *colors* are based upon various means of repetition. This is consistent with Ronald E. Voogt’s observations on the role of repetition in thirteenth-century discussions of *color* in his “Repetition and Structure in the Three- and Four-Part Conductus of the Notre Dame School,” Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1982; see esp. the chapter on “Repetition and the Theorists,” 23-67. The individual *colors* can be briefly defined as follows: *Leonismitat* describes the use of rhymes that consist of two consonant syllables (e.g., *amistança, honrança, benanança, malenança*, etc.). *Anadiplosis* involves beginning a verse or strophe with the same word that ended the preceding verse or strophe. *Agnominacio* occurs when two or more homonyms, clearly different in meaning, are placed within close proximity of one another. *Gradacio* occurs when the poet proceeds *gradually* by forming successive words out of those that have preceded, with or without the interruption of other words (e.g., *Començament començarai, comensen*, or *Beginning, I will begin at the beginning*). *Repeticio* describes the use of the same word at the beginning of successive verses. *Traduccio* occurs when the same rhyme sound returns repeatedly within the same strophe but with a different meaning at each occurrence. *Sinacrismos* is the persistent repetition within a strophe of the same word, used continually in the same sense. *Anapolensis* occurs when a strophe begins and ends with the same word. For the majority of his definitions, Berenguer provides supporting examples from the songs of several generations of troubadours, including: Guilhem de Sant-Leidier (fl. 1165-95), Arnaut Daniel (fl. 1180-1200), Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (fl. 1180-1205), Aimeric de Peguilhan (fl. 1190-1221), Guilhem Ademar (fl. 1195-1217), and Peire Cardenal (ca. 1180-1280).

<sup>30</sup> Vidal i Alcover, ed., *Mirall*, 140.

It should be noted that none of the theorists cited gives a technical term to the imitation that he observes. This lack in terminology is perhaps most conspicuous within the context of Berenguer's discussion and his use of specialized vocabulary, but the lacuna also characterizes the descriptions in the *Doctrina* and *Leys*. In the latter documents no single term is used to describe the technique of contrafacture. They state variously that an imitative piece *se servich de* (uses), *pren* (takes), or *es faria en* (is made to) the structure and melody of another song.<sup>31</sup> Terms deriving from the Occitan verb *contrafaire* (to imitate) are simply not used within this context.

Whereas Jofre provides no equivalent to *contrafaire* in the *Doctrina*, Guilhem in the *Leys* applies the related adjective *contrafagz* (fem., *contrafacha*) to three poetic devices, none of which pertains to structural-melodic imitation. The first occurrence of *contrafagz* in the *Leys* designates a type of equivocal rhyme.<sup>32</sup> Standard *rims equivocz* are created through rhyming homonyms, such as *pauza* (a noun meaning "pause, rest") and *pauza* (from the verb "to place"); *rims equivocz contrafagz*, on the other hand, which we might translate as *counterfeit* or *pseudo-*equivocal rhymes, involve rhyming homophones, such as *se mena* (from the reflexive verb, "to be eaten") and *semena* (from the verb, "to sow"). The second usage of *contrafagz* in the *Leys* denotes a type of

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<sup>31</sup> Jofre favors the expression *far en so*, explaining frequently to his reader, "you can compose [your piece] in whichever tune you wish" ("e potz lo far en qual so te vullés"). For multiple references, see Marshall, ed., *The "Razos"*, 96-97. Guilhem shows more variability. Regarding the *planh*, for example, he observes that "in this piece, one makes use of a *vers* or of a *canso*" ("om se servich en aquest dictat de vers o de chanso"); the *tenso* "is made to the structure of a *vers* or *canso*" ("es faria al compas de vers o de chanso"). For these and other such references, see Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:344-48.

<sup>32</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:188-97.

strophe.<sup>33</sup> A *cobla contrafacha*, which might be translated as a strophe of *personification*, occurs when the poet enacts an imitation of an animate or inanimate figure, e.g., “the Earth says...” (“la Terra dits...”) or “the donkey complains and says...” (“l’aze.s complany e dits...”). The final use of *contrafagz* describes the assimilation of Latin words into the vernacular.

Contrafagz es aquel motz qu’es finchs e fargatz segon lati, et en re no.s conforma am lo romans ni es acostumat de dire, ne de leu no seria entendutz per gen layga.<sup>34</sup>

A *counterfeit* is a word that is made up and forged from Latin, and that in no way corresponds to nor is customarily said in the vernacular, and that would not be easily understood by lay people.

Given these three connotations of *contrafagz*, it must be recognized that the current use of the term in the scholarly literature to describe a structurally and melodically imitative piece is contrived.

In one of the newly-incorporated passages on contest rules in *Leys C*, Guilhem does discuss borrowing under the heading of *fargar* (lit., to forge), but it would appear from his explanation that this term, with its negative associations, does not pertain to contrafacture. In a warning to prospective candidates not “to forge from anyone else” (“fargar d’autru”), Guilhem specifies that to forge means “to borrow knowingly from some other older piece” (“malevar scienmen d’alcun autre vielh dictat”). While this definition of *fargar* might initially seem to include contrafacture, Guilhem’s elaboration on the subject makes it clear that those instances of borrowing that are sanctioned by genre are not to be considered a vice. The passage reads in full:

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<sup>33</sup> Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:330-33.

<sup>34</sup> Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 3:107.

Qui gauzir voldra de joya per son dictat jure que lo dictat ha fayt noelamen ses fargar d'autru. E si jurar no vol, non es dignes de joya. Et entendem noelamen, so es d'un an en sa que.s prezentara; e pauzat que hagues mayns de temps, per so no seria refudatz, si donx no era trop estatz publicatz.

E dizem: ses fargar d'autru; so es que amb autre no.l corregisca e no.l maleve scienmen d'alcun autre vielh dictat.

E quar a penas hom no pot re dire que no sia dig, permetem que de la Santa Escriptura o dels bos motz e notables dels anticz philosophes hom se puesca plejar per far son dictat.

Encaras dizem que si hom pauza en son dictat algunas razos que us autres antiquamen haura prepaizadas, mas que ayssó non fassa scienmen, ni per aquelas meteysshas paraulas o rimas, que ayssó no reputam per fargar.

E dizem antiquamen, quar si noelamen so es de .X. ans en sa que.l dictatz se prezentara, eran estadas pauzadas en alcun dictat que fos estatz publicatz, qui aquelas pauzara en son dictat, sospitos a nos seria d'esser fargatz d'autru.

Pero en alcus dictatz, coma sirventes et alcus autres, se pot hom plejar e servir del compas e dels rims e del so d'autru dictat ses vici.<sup>35</sup>

Whoever would like to win a prize for his composition swears that he has newly made the composition without forging from another. And if he does not want to swear to this, he is not worthy of the prize. And by "newly" we mean within one year of the time at which [the composition] will be presented; and in the case that more time than that has passed, it will not be refused, as long as it has not already become too well known.

And we say "without forging from another," which means that he has not had it corrected by another and that he is not knowingly borrowing from some other older composition.

And because one can hardly say anything that has not been said [already], we permit that one be able to make use of the Holy Scriptures or of the good and noteworthy words of the ancient philosophers in order to compose one's composition.

We also say that if one sets forth in one's composition any themes that another has exposed in the past, or the same words or rhymes, provided that this was not done knowingly, we do not consider this to be forgery.

And we say "in the past," because if those things [i.e., themes, words or rhymes] that he will set forth in his composition were to have been set forth in some composition that has become known recently, that is, within ten years of the time at which the [new] composition will be presented, [his composition] will be suspected by us as having been forged from the other.

But in some compositions, like the *sirventes* and a few others, one can adopt and make use of the structure, the rhymes, and the tune of the other composition without vice.

Thus, Guilhem is careful to maintain a distinction between censured forms of borrowing and accepted acts of structural-melodic borrowing. Clearly, the term *fargar* pertains to the former, and, with its specifically negative connotations, should not be confused with contrafacture. Rather, *fargar* may perhaps best be rendered in translation as "to plagiarize."

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<sup>35</sup> Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 2:19-20.



Before proceeding to an in-depth examination of the discussions of genre in the *Doctrina* and the *Leys d'amors*, we should acknowledge the relatively late dates of the treatises in comparison with the troubadour tradition. The composition of the earliest of the treatises discussed here, the *Doctrina*, roughly corresponds to the final songs of Guiraut Riquier, commonly known as “the last of the troubadours.”<sup>36</sup> The *Leys*, begun nearly forty years later, openly acknowledges its retrospective nature, formulating its rules “according to the great troubadours of the past” (“segon los bos anticz trobadors”).<sup>37</sup> The anachronism of the treatises in relation to the tradition that they set out to codify has raised a question as to their accuracy and applicability. This question will be one of the main topics of consideration underlying the discussions that follow.

### **An overview of *De doctrina de compondre dictats* (ca. 1286-91)**

The *Doctrina* is the earliest surviving treatise to attempt a systematic classification of the genres of troubadour lyric. This short tract is transmitted anonymously in a paper manuscript of Catalan provenance (Barcelona, Bibl. Central, MS 239), within which it appears together with nine other treatises on grammar and poetics,

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<sup>36</sup> It would appear that Guiraut’s nickname, while fitting, was to a large degree self-imposed: In his last *vers* (*Be.m degra de chantar tener*, PC 248.17), dated 1292, Guiraut laments, “I have come too late,” (“trop suy vengutz als derriers,” l. 16). For the complete text, see Monica Longobardi, “I ‘Vers’ del trovatore Guiraut Riquier,” *Studi mediolatini e volgari* 29 (1982-1983): 158-59.

<sup>37</sup> Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:2.

including Berenguer's *Mirall de trobar*, the *Regles de trobar* of Jofre de Foixà, the *Razos de trobar* of Raimon Vidal, Raimon de Cornet's *Doctrinal*, and Guilhem's *Flors del gay saber*.<sup>38</sup>

The opening lines of the *Doctrina* make it clear that this treatise was not conceived as a self-standing tract, but rather as the continuation of a larger study, for it begins with the author's reference to "the above-mentioned subjects that I have shown you" ("les rahons desus dites quez eu t'ay mostrades").<sup>39</sup> In the manuscript, the *Doctrina* follows Raimon Vidal's *Razos*, with the slight space between them having been filled in with ten lines of a *dansa*. As Marshall notes, the close textual proximity of the *Doctrina* and the *Razos de trobar* might be taken as an indication that the *Doctrina* is the concluding section of the *Razos*.<sup>40</sup> Marshall, however, argues convincingly against this view on both stylistic and historical grounds. Raimon Vidal, for example, addresses his reader as *vos*, whereas the author of the *Doctrina* addresses his reader as *tu*, a distinction that generates an unmistakable difference in tone between the two treatises.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, certain genres defined by the author of the *Doctrina* suggest a period of composition that would fall significantly later than Raimon's *floruit* of 1190-1213.<sup>42</sup> The *gelozesca* and *somni*, for example, are attested to only by the œuvre of Cerveri de Girona,

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<sup>38</sup> For the complete table of contents and foliation of Barcelona, Bibl. Central, 239, see Marshall, *The "Razos"*, xi-xii.

<sup>39</sup> Marshall, *The "Razos"*, lxxv.

<sup>40</sup> Marshall, *The "Razos"*, lxxv-lxxvi.

<sup>41</sup> Marshall, *The "Razos"*, lxxvi.

<sup>42</sup> Marshall, *The "Razos"*, lxxvi-lxxvii.

a Catalan troubadour who flourished during the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>43</sup>

To this pair of genres we might also add the *retroncha*, all six extant examples of which can be securely dated to the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>44</sup> The presence of the *retroncha* in the *Doctrina*'s discussion of genre thus quite convincingly excludes the possibility of Raimon Vidal's authorship.

Marshall suggests that the *Doctrina* be seen instead as the concluding section of Jofre de Foixà's *Regles de trobar*. Marshall provides several compelling arguments to support his hypothesis. First, just as the author of the *Doctrina* addresses his reader as *tu*, so does Jofre.<sup>45</sup> Second, Marshall sees the subject matter of the *Doctrina* as "a natural complement to the *Regles*," with little overlap between their contents.<sup>46</sup> The latter treatise covers grammar, syntax, prosody and rhyme; the overview of genres provided in the *Doctrina* would complete the topics necessary to the would-be poet. Finally,

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<sup>43</sup> Cerveri's *gelozesca* (which will be discussed in greater detail below) begins *Al fals gelos* (PC 434a.1a); his *somni* begins *Entr' Arago e Navarra jazia* (PC 434.7a). We should mention here two possible exceptions to Marshall's observation regarding the *somni*: First, Giraut de Borneil's *Non puesc sofrir c'a la dolor* (PC 242.51) rather comfortably fits the definition of a *somni*, but the author of the *razo* presents the piece as a *canso*, explaining that "[Giraut] dreamt a dream, which you shall hear in this *canso*" ("el somniet un somni, lo qual ausiretz en aquesta chanson"). For the text of this *razo*, see Jean Boutière and A.-H. Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours: Textes provençaux des XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, 2d ed., with the collaboration of I.-M. Cluzel (Paris: Nizet, 1964), 51. Moreover, Giraut himself labels the piece a *canso* in the *tornada*; see Ruth Verity Sharman, ed., *The Cansos and Sirventes of the Troubadour Giraut de Borneil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 219 (l. 76). Second, the *tenso En Guillem de Saint Deslier, vostra semblanza* (PC 234.12) debated between an anonymous lord and Guilhem de Sant-Leidier (fl. 1165-95) features the participants' respective interpretations of a dream. The piece is thus a sort of generic hybrid, incorporating elements of both the *tenso* and the *somni*. For a discussion of the latter, see Aimò Sakari, "Le Somni de Guillem de Saint-Didier," in *Studia Occitanica in memoriam Paul Remy*, 2 vols., ed. Hans-Erich Keller (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 1986), 1:253-64.

<sup>44</sup> The six surviving *retronchas* were composed by Guilhem Raimon de Gironela (PC 230.3), Guiraut Riquier (PC 248.57, 65, and 78), Joan Esteve (PC 266.11), and Cerveri de Girona (PC 434a.55). Chambers offers a succinct discussion of all but the first of these in *An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification*, 234-37.

<sup>45</sup> Marshall, *The "Razos"*, lxxvi.

<sup>46</sup> Marshall, *The "Razos"*, lxxvi.

Marshall cites several “parallels in substance and expression between the two texts,” including specific turns of phrase and uncommon terms; Marshall is keen to note that “these parallels in manner and substance are all the more striking in that the two texts are in general concerned with quite different aspects of the art of writing verse.”<sup>47</sup> In other words, the commonalities in expression are not merely the result of a shared subject matter.

Marshall notes that the manuscript transmission of the *Regles de trobar* does not contradict his hypothesis. In Barcelona, Bibl. Central, 239, Jofre’s treatise ends abruptly “without any sort of general conclusion,” and in the other manuscript that transmits it (Ripoll 129), the treatise is incomplete, thereby leaving its conclusion indeterminate.<sup>48</sup> We might supplement Marshall’s observation by adding that the concluding statement of the *Doctrina* could very well be read as a general conclusion to the *Regles*, especially with its reference to “les dites regles” (“the said rules”), a phrase that does not otherwise appear within the body of the *Doctrina*:

E axi son complides les dites regles ordenades per doctrina en trobar, per la qual doctrina cascun qui be les sgart e les veia, si es subtils d’entencio, pora leugerament venir a perfeccio de la art de trobar.<sup>49</sup>

And thus are concluded the said rules that are ordained by [this] doctrine in composition, according to which doctrine, each person who keeps and observes [the rules] well, if he is refined in his understanding, will easily be able to arrive at perfection in the art of composition.

The author’s ultimate aspiration—to enable his readers “to arrive at perfection in the art of composition”—resonates precisely with the opening objective of the *Regles*, namely,

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<sup>47</sup> Marshall, *The “Razos”*, lxxviii.

<sup>48</sup> Marshall, *The “Razos”*, lxxvi.

<sup>49</sup> Marshall, ed., *The “Razos”*, 98.

to offer instruction to others “so that they might be able to arrive at perfection in this art [of composition]” (“per que poguessen venir a perfeccio de aquella art [de trobar]”).<sup>50</sup>

Thus, the *Doctrina* truly brings Jofre’s *Regles* full circle.

In view of the evidence provided above, Marshall’s argument that the *Doctrina* is the concluding section of Jofre’s *Regles* seems highly plausible. Accepting Marshall’s hypothesis allows the *Doctrina* to be dated to ca. 1286-91, thus placing the composition of the *Doctrina* in the closing years of the troubadour tradition.

### **The system of genres in the *Doctrina***

The *Doctrina* discusses sixteen distinct genres, presented in the order shown in Figure 2.1.<sup>51</sup> The first numeric column lists the approximate number of extant examples of each genre; the second numeric column represents the corresponding percentage within the repertoire of 2,552 pieces. The final column (labeled “Notes”) provides an approximate overview of the peak compositional periods for the more peripheral genres.

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<sup>50</sup> Marshall, ed., *The “Razos”*, 56.

<sup>51</sup> Figure 2.1 has been adapted from a chronological table of genres compiled by William D. Paden after Frank’s *Répertoire métrique de la poésie des troubadours* (Paris: Champion, 1953-57). See Paden, “The System of Genres in Troubadour Lyric,” in *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*, ed. William D. Paden (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 27. My table introduces the following changes: (1) Frank does not include a separate category for the *vers*. The pieces of the late thirteenth century that were so designated by their authors, insofar as they can be gleaned from Pillet and Carstens’s *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, were indexed variously by Frank as *sirventes*, religious *cansos*, *sirventes-cansos*, and a Crusade song. See Appendix B for a list of these seventy-five *vers* and their categorizations in Frank. (2) Frank lists only two *lais* (PC 461.122 and 461.124); the third extant *lai* by Bonifaci Calvo (PC 101.2) was counted among the *descorts*. (3) He counts all six *retronchas* (PC 230.3, 248.57, 248.65, 248.78, 266.11, and 434a.55) as *cansos*. (4) The *gayta Gaita be, gaiteta del chastel* (PC 392.16a) was categorized as an *alba*. (5) Cerveri’s *somni* (PC 434.7a) was included among the *sirventes*. (6) The *gelozesca* (PC 434a.1a) was included among the *dansas*. (7) Finally, Frank justifiably has separate categories for the *tenso* and the *partimen*, with 89 and 106 examples, respectively; I have conflated these kindred genres here, since technically both types do fit the *Doctrina*’s definition. (Moreover, in the *Leys* Guilhem verifies that the designations of *tenso* and *partimen* were interchangeable [Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:344], an assertion that can be substantiated by the actual practice of the troubadours; see below, p. 187, n. 49.)

<u>Genre</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Notes</u>
<i>Canso</i>	999	39.15%	
<i>Vers</i>	75	02.94%	An estimate of those pieces so designated that can be dated to the second half of the 13 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>Lai</i>	3	00.12%	
<i>Sirventes</i>	478	18.73%	
<i>Retroncha</i>	6	00.24%	All date from the second half of the 13 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>Pastorela</i>	26	01.02%	14 date from the period of 1260-1300
<i>Dansa</i>	27	01.06%	14 date from 1220-60, 4 from 1260-1300
<i>Planh</i>	43	01.68%	
<i>Alba</i>	16	00.63%	
<i>Gayta</i>	1	00.04%	Attr. to Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (fl. 1180-1205)
<i>Estampida</i>	7	00.27%	5 from 1260-1300, 1 from 1300-40
<i>Somni</i>	1	00.04%	Cerveri de Girona (fl. 1259-85)
<i>Gelozesca</i>	1	00.04%	Cerveri de Girona (fl. 1259-85)
<i>Descort</i>	27	01.06%	13 from 1180-1220
<i>Coblas</i>	481	18.85%	
<i>Tenso</i>	<u>195</u>	<u>07.64%</u>	
Totals	2386	93.50%	

**Figure 2.1** The sixteen genres as ordered in *De doctrina de compondre dictats* and their incidence in the troubadour repertoire

Gérard Gouffier has noted the “absence of hierarchical organization” in the *Doctrina*’s ordering, which does not precisely reflect the historical weight of the individual genres.<sup>52</sup> Gouffier’s observation is substantiated by Figure 2.1. While the *canso*, whose thousand examples make it the preferred genre of the troubadours, does head the list, the placement of the *lai* in the third position and of the *coblas* and *tenso* in the final two places does not account for the respective popularity of these three genres.

<sup>52</sup> Gérard Gouffier, “Les Genres lyriques occitans et les traités de poésie: de la classification médiévale à la typologie moderne,” in *Actes du XVIIIe Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes, Université de Trèves (Trier) 1986*, 6 vols., ed. Dieter Kremer (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1988), 6:124-25.

Perhaps, then, Jofre's ordering of the genres is random, or simply reveals something of his own preferences. At any rate, Jofre's list does account for approximately ninety-four percent of the repertoire.<sup>53</sup>

The relatively late date of the *Doctrina*, as well as its Catalan provenance, has raised questions regarding the applicability of its definitions to the troubadour repertoire as a whole. The reliability of the *Doctrina* particularly becomes an issue when considering its discussion of the minor genres, that is, those less-established genres that individually occupy around one percent or less of the total number of troubadour songs (i.e., twenty-seven examples or fewer).<sup>54</sup> As already mentioned, certain minor genres included in Jofre's survey (the *gelozesca*, *somni*, and *retroncha*) reflect marginal practices that can be traced only to the second half of the thirteenth century. The *gelozesca* and *somni* likewise point to a specifically Catalan tradition.

As for several other minor genres included in the treatise, Marshall notes an inconsistency in the accuracy of Jofre's generic descriptions that appears to correlate to changing trends within the tradition. Marshall observes that Jofre's definitions are "more substantial when he is writing of certain minor genres, such as the *retroncha* and the *dansa*, which were more characteristic of thirteenth- than of twelfth-century poetic

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<sup>53</sup> The remaining six percent of the repertoire is made up of a small number of marginal genres (e.g., *romance*, *ballade*, and *sestine*) as well as seventy religious songs, forty-three *sirventes-cansos*, and thirty-six Crusade songs (all three of which designations are modern). See Paden, "The System of Genres," 27.

<sup>54</sup> I have adopted the designation "minor" from Paden, although he applies the term to genres represented by a range of 13 to 106 examples. He reserves the term "marginal" for those genres represented by fewer than 10 examples. ("The System of Genres," 27.) According to my definition, the minor genres defined in the *Doctrina* are the *alba*, *dansa*, *descort*, *estampida*, *gayta*, *gelozesca*, *lai*, *pastorela*, *retroncha*, and *somni*.

taste.”<sup>55</sup> By contrast, Marshall attributes Jofre’s “unsatisfactory and inaccurate remarks on the form of the *lai* and the *descort*” to the late date of the *Doctrina*.<sup>56</sup> Marshall’s assessment of Jofre’s accuracy in describing the *retroncha* and *dansa* is corroborated by Gonfroy.<sup>57</sup> Marshall’s case for the *descort* likewise seems tenable. His suggestion that “the author of the *Doctrina* was confused about the *descort*, probably because the genre was no longer practised in OPr. [Old Provençal] in his time,”<sup>58</sup> is roughly substantiated by the history of the *descort*, whose popularity peaked during the period of 1180-1220, and waned thereafter.<sup>59</sup> Marshall fails, however, to establish a connection between the popularity of the *lai* and the date of the *Doctrina*. Indeed, only three Occitan *lais* have survived, two of which are anonymous and thus undated.<sup>60</sup> We might therefore more

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<sup>55</sup> Marshall, *The “Razos”*, xciv.

<sup>56</sup> Marshall, *The “Razos”*, xciv; on the precise nature of these inaccuracies, see pp. 136 and 139-40.

<sup>57</sup> Regarding the *Doctrina*’s definition of the *retroncha*, Gonfroy observes that “sa seule spécificité réside dans la récurrence de certains éléments (mot, mot-rime, vers, groupe de vers) à la fin de la *cobla*. Il s’agit donc d’une chanson à refrain; les six [*sic*; there are only five] pièces conservées, toutes de la seconde moitié du 13<sup>e</sup> siècle, obéissent parfaitement à ce schéma” (“Les Genres lyriques,” 127). As for the *dansa*, Gonfroy asserts that the *Doctrina*’s definition of the *dansa* “constitue une description extrêmement précise d’une forme pourtant très complexe: la coïncidence du modèle avec les trente pièces qui survivent est parfaite” (“Les Genres lyriques,” 128).

<sup>58</sup> Marshall, *The “Razos”*, 140.

<sup>59</sup> Of the 28 surviving *descorts*, nearly half (13) were composed during the period of 1180-1220, three date to the period of 1220-1260, and four to the period of 1260-1300; the remaining eight *descorts* are undatable. Paden, “The System of Genres,” 27.

<sup>60</sup> The anonymous *lais* are known as the *Lai Nonpar* (*Finamens*, PC 461.122) and the *Lai Markiol* (*Gent menais*, PC 461.124); the remaining *lai* was composed by the mid-thirteenth-century troubadour Bonifacio Calvo (*Ai, Deus! S’a cor que.m destreigna*, PC 101.2).



viably attribute the inconsistencies between Jofre's description of the *lai* and the surviving examples to his lack of familiarity with a quite uncommon genre.<sup>61</sup>

As Marshall has noted, Jofre's treatment of the *vers* stands as an unambiguous illustration of his late perspective on the troubadour repertoire.<sup>62</sup> In the *Doctrina* the *vers* is depicted as a song of high moral content on the theme of truth or praise; Jofre specifies that the subject of the *vers* is what differentiates it from the *canso*, with its emphasis on love.<sup>63</sup> This definition of the *vers* seems consistent with the genre as it emerged in the second half of the thirteenth century, especially as exemplified in the *œuvres* of Guiraut Riquier and Cerveri de Girona, both of whom maintain a strict distinction between the *canso* and *vers*.<sup>64</sup> The *Doctrina*'s definition does not, however, capture the significance of the term for the first generations of troubadours (ca. 1100-1170). In the works of troubadours such as Guilhem IX, Marcabru, Jaufrè Rudel, Cercamon, and Peire d'Alvernhe, the term *vers* was used broadly to designate any lyric work.<sup>65</sup> In fact, these early troubadours applied the term *vers* without distinction to songs of love, satire,

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<sup>61</sup> Drawing upon Gennrich's study of the three surviving examples, Marshall explains the nature of Jofre's inaccuracy as follows: "For our theorist the *lai* (or *lais*) was didactic and religious in substance. This statement is not borne out by the three surviving OPr. *lais*. [...] In OPr. the distinguishing feature of the *lai* was that it had, like the *descort*, an irregular metrical structure and through-composed tune, but, unlike the *descort*, repeated the tune of the opening for the words of the concluding section (see Gennrich, *Grundriss*, p. 132). This last feature [...] was unknown to the author of the *Doctrina*. He seems, however, to have known something of its musical kinship with the ecclesiastical sequence (Gennrich, *Grundriss*, pp. 132, 140), whence his reference to a 'so...de esglaya' [church tune]" (*The "Razos"*, 136).

<sup>62</sup> Marshall, *The "Razos"*, xciv.

<sup>63</sup> The relevant passage, which will be cited in Chapter 7, is found in Marshall, ed., *The "Razos"*, 95.

<sup>64</sup> The moralistic connotation of the *vers* shall be explored in far greater detail in Chapter 7.

<sup>65</sup> For a recent discussion of the broad application of the term *vers* among the first generations of troubadours, see Rupert T. Pickens, "The Old Occitan Arts of Poetry and the Early Troubadour Lyric," in *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*, ed. William D. Paden (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 209-41.

lament, and on at least one occasion, to a song of debate, all of which types would eventually be designated by more denotative terms (*canso*, *sirventes*, *planh*, and *tenso*, respectively).<sup>66</sup> In no way does the *Doctrina*'s definition of the *vers* attempt to account for this early, broad application of the term.<sup>67</sup>

Leaving aside the particular issues surrounding the minor genres, we shall instead focus our attention on the *Doctrina*'s definitions of those song types that, beginning with the third generation of troubadours (ca. 1170) and the emergence of a more refined generic vocabulary, quickly became established as staples within the repertoire.<sup>68</sup> These dominant or major genres include the *canso*, *sirventes*, *coblas esparsas*, *tenso / partimen*, and *planh*. For the most part, each of these genres is represented by more than one hundred examples.<sup>69</sup> The notable exception to this criterion is the *planh*, with only forty-three surviving examples.<sup>70</sup> It nevertheless seems fitting to include the *planh* among the dominant genres, simply because of its constancy throughout the tradition, beginning in 1137 (with the earliest known *planh* having been composed by Cercamon on the death of

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<sup>66</sup> The earliest known *tenso*, *Amic Marcabru, car digam* (PC 293.6/451.1), a debate between Uc Catola and Marcabru, is referred to by the former as both a *vers* and a *tenso*. Discussed in Chambers, *An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification*, 41.

<sup>67</sup> An overview of the changing applications of the term *vers* until ca. 1220 is provided as Appendix C.

<sup>68</sup> Ulrich Mölk's study confirms the year 1170 as the approximate point of departure for the development of the major genres; see his *Trobadorlyrik: Eine Einführung* (Munich: Artemis, 1982), 99. Mieke de Winter-Hosman concurs, but specifies further that one can identify the first indications of an emerging terminology of genres in the decade leading up to 1170. See her article, "La Naissance d'une terminologie de genres chez les premiers troubadours," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 30 (1990): 145.

<sup>69</sup> In my designation of these five genres as major/dominant, I deviate from Paden's categorization of the repertoire. He limits the major genres to the *canso*, *sirventes*, and *coblas*. See Paden, "The System of Genres," 27.

<sup>70</sup> For a chronological list of these forty-three *planhs*, see Elisabeth Schulze-Busacker, "La Conception poétique de quelques troubadours tardifs," in *Studia Occitanica in memoriam Paul Remy*, 2 vols., ed. Hans-Erich Keller (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 1986), 1:274-77.

Guilhem X, son of the troubadour Guilhem IX) and extending through the late thirteenth century (with the latest datable *planh* having been composed by Joan Esteve in 1289 on the death of Guilhem de Lodeva).<sup>71</sup>

The reliability of the *Doctrina* in its account of the dominant genres is a primary concern to us, much more so than is its level of attentiveness to those genres practiced peripherally. On the whole, Marshall finds far fewer shortcomings in the definitions of the dominant genres than he does for the minor genres. He does, however, express his apprehensions regarding certain of Jofre's observations. For example, Marshall justifiably questions Jofre's "curiously dogmatic assertion that a *sirventes* must have as many stanzas as its model," a criterion that is not substantiated by the repertoire.<sup>72</sup> Marshall likewise finds it "curious" that in the definition of *coblas esparsas* the theorist does not mention "the common practice of 'exchanging' *coblas* or admit the existence of the single *cobla esparsa*."<sup>73</sup>

Marshall's remaining criticism regarding the *Doctrina*'s representation of the dominant genres has particular repercussions for this study, namely, his skepticism in accepting Jofre's instructions for contrafacture in the *tenso* and the *planh*. Notably, Marshall does not question Jofre's similar prescriptions for the *sirventes* and *coblas esparsas*, although he does point out that imitation of form in these genres "could show

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<sup>71</sup> Cercamon's *Lo plaing comens iradamen* (PC 112.2a), which will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 3, has been edited and translated by George Wolf and Roy Rosenstein, *The Poetry of Cercamon and Jaufré Rudel* (London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1983), 32-33; for Joan Esteve's *Plaignen, ploran, ab desplazer* (PC 266.10), see Gabriel Azaïs, ed., *Les Troubadours de Béziers* (1869; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1973), 78-80.

<sup>72</sup> Marshall, *The "Razos"*, xciv and 137.

<sup>73</sup> Marshall, *The "Razos"*, 140.

more complexities and irregularities than any theorist envisaged.”<sup>74</sup> Marshall’s primary point of contention with Jofre’s account of imitative practices in the *planh* and *tenso* is the seeming narrowness of the theorist’s vision, once again finding him to be immured in late thirteenth-century practices. Regarding the *planh*, for example, Marshall observes that, “in fact a number of late thirteenth-century *planhs* were composed on earlier tunes.” He follows this statement, however, with the assertion that “there is no twelfth-century example of a *planh* composed on a borrowed tune.”<sup>75</sup> As we shall see in Chapter 3, however, Marshall himself would later go against this assertion by suggesting that a *planh* composed by Bertran de Born in 1183 on the death of the Young King Henry of England was, in fact, imitative. As for the *tenso*, Marshall offers a comparable account of its compositional tendencies: “Practice in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries seems to have varied between new and borrowed tunes [...], but by 1300 the practice of using a borrowed tune may have been normal.”<sup>76</sup> Based upon these summaries of the *planh* and *tenso*, Marshall judges that Jofre’s account of imitative practices in both genres is “without any historical sense: the idea that a poetic genre might evolve and become transformed and renewed from one poet or one generation to another is entirely foreign to it.”<sup>77</sup>

Marshall’s criticism, while worthy of consideration, appears somewhat harsh in view of Jofre’s scholarly intentions. Jofre’s primary concern, as set forth in the exordium

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<sup>74</sup> Marshall, *The “Razos”*, 137.

<sup>75</sup> Marshall, *The “Razos”*, 138.

<sup>76</sup> Marshall, *The “Razos”*, 140.

<sup>77</sup> Marshall, *The “Razos”*, xciv.

of the *Doctrina*, is not to trace the individual histories of the lyric genres but rather to teach their composition.<sup>78</sup> Conceived in this spirit, the *Doctrina* is prescriptive in nature and does not make any explicit claims to account for past practices. It would therefore seem a bit untoward of us to criticize Jofre if his aims as a pedagogue do not respond to our aims as historians. Nevertheless, Marshall does raise a valid point by reminding us that any endeavor to apply Jofre's rules retrospectively must be undertaken with caution. In this respect, Marshall's skepticism is especially welcome.

At the same time, we should not categorically dismiss the possible historical implications of Jofre's observations on imitative practices in the *planh* and *tenso*, even if, as Marshall concedes, "it is easier to place the *Doctrina* within the limitations of the time and place of its composition than to make any general assessment of its accuracy."<sup>79</sup> For even if the *Doctrina* was more forward-looking than historical in its orientation, Jofre did not formulate his definitions in a historic void.<sup>80</sup> The retrospective nature of Jofre's *Regles* is recognized repeatedly by Marshall, who cites several instances of Jofre's "real" and "specific knowledge of the troubadours."<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, Marshall further notes that

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<sup>78</sup> Jofre conceives his *Regles* as "a certain type of doctrine in the vernacular, so that those who are not versed in grammar but who are otherwise discerning and lucid in spirit will be better able to know and learn the art of invention" ("alcuna manera de doctrina en romanç; per que cells qui no.s entenen en gramatica, mas estiers han subtil e clar engyn, pusquen mils conexer e apendre lo saber de trobar"); Marshall, ed., *The "Razos"*, 56.

<sup>79</sup> Marshall, *The "Razos"*, xciv.

<sup>80</sup> Addressing Jofre's aesthetic sensibilities, Marshall would have us believe the opposite. Contradicting his own hypothesis that the *Doctrina* is the concluding section of the *Regles de trobar*, and consequently overlooking the *Doctrina*'s attention to musical practices, Marshall declares: "The absence from the *Regles* of any mention of music or any reference to performance confirms this impression of a theorist writing—aesthetically speaking—in a vacuum" (*The "Razos"*, xciii). According to Marshall's own reasoning on the authorship of the *Doctrina*, this position is untenable.

<sup>81</sup> Marshall, *The "Razos"*, xci. Jofre quotes from songs by eleven different troubadours, including Bernart de Ventadorn, Gaucelm Faidit, Bertran de Born, Folquet de Marselha, and Aimeric de Peguilhan.

as a result of Jofre's historical perspective, "the poetic tradition could now be viewed retrospectively in a critical spirit. Its authors could now be cited as authorities called upon to bear witness on particular matters."<sup>82</sup> Marshall concludes his assessment of the *Regles* with the observation that Jofre reflected on the troubadour practice "with a shrewd critical intelligence."<sup>83</sup> One would reasonably expect this same quality to have extended itself into the redaction of the *Doctrina*.

### **An introduction to *Las leys d'amors* and its revisions (ca. 1328 to 1356)**

Completed in its original version nearly half a century after the *Doctrina*, the *Leys* is even further removed from the living tradition of the troubadours. This distance is openly acknowledged by Guilhem Molinier, who (as mentioned above) refers periodically within his treatise to "the great troubadours of the past."<sup>84</sup> The precise nature of Guilhem's relationship to this past is somewhat difficult to judge. The complexity of his perspective can be seen in his opening statement of justification. On the one hand, Guilhem professes his dependence on past practices. On the other, he also acknowledges a need to supplement what the troubadours themselves "had kept hidden" or "had set forth obscurely." He explains:

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<sup>82</sup> Marshall, *The "Razos"*, xciii.

<sup>83</sup> Marshall, *The "Razos"*, xciii.

<sup>84</sup> See Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:2 ("los bos anticz trobadors," "dels anticz trobadors"); 1:322 ("bos dictatz antig"); 3:122 ("anticz trobadors"); and 3:294 ("lo bel lengatge dels trobadors per lonc uzatge").

[...] La voluntatz es en nos de far leys d'amors segon los bos anticz trobadors, pauzan e prendem [*sic*; read *prenden*] lors bonas opinios: et aproadas, e seguen aquesta prezen [read *prezan?*] art: o lonc uzatge acostumat e supplen so que sera de necessitat. [...] *La prymiera cauza que foro trobadas aquestas leys d'amors*: Et aquestas leys d'amors fam per so que ayssi hom puesca trobar pleneiramen compilat e ajustat tot so que denan era escampat e dispers. *La segon causa*: Et encaras per outra razo. Per so quel sabers de trobar lo qual havian tengut rescost li antic trobador et aquo meteysh quen havian pauzat escuramen, puesca hom ayssi trobar claramen.<sup>85</sup>

[...] Our intention is to create the laws of love according to the great troubadours of the past, setting forth and verifying their good and approved ideas, and following this esteemed art and its long-established practice and supplying that which will be necessary. [...] *The first reason that these laws of love have been invented*: And we create these laws of love so that one may find everything that was formerly spread out and dispersed thus fully compiled and arranged. *The second reason*: And there is yet another reason: So that one may thus find in a clear manner the knowledge of *trobar*, which the troubadours of the past had kept hidden or which they themselves had set forth obscurely.

Guilhem thus grants himself a certain degree of flexibility and interpretation in his presentation of the troubadour's art.

The impression of Guilhem's historical remove from the troubadours is further heightened by the fact that he only exceptionally draws his rhymed examples from the songs of the troubadours. In fact, in this multi-volume work, only two citations from earlier troubadour songs have been identified: First, as an example of the *cobla replicativa*, a stanza that is built upon alliterations, Guilhem cites a *cobla* by the late-thirteenth-century troubadour N' Ath de Mons, *Reys ricz romieus mas man milhors*.<sup>86</sup> Second, Guilhem provides the last stanza of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras's *descort Ara quan vei verdejar* (PC 392.4) as an example of the *cobla partida*, or multi-lingual strophe.<sup>87</sup> Guilhem identifies the former example with N' Ath's full name; the latter example is introduced simply as "this strophe that Sir Riambaut [*sic*] composed" ("esta cobla que fe

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<sup>85</sup> Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:2.

<sup>86</sup> Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:248. The preservation of *Reys ricz* is owed exclusively to Guilhem's citation in the *Leys*; it is perhaps an isolated strophe from N' Ath's unique *sirventes* (*La valors es grans e l'onors*, PC 309.1).

<sup>87</sup> Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:334.

en Riambaut”). The remaining examples in verse in the *Leys* are presumed to be newly-invented or, in a small number of cases, borrowed from literary sources that fall outside the lyric tradition of the troubadours.<sup>88</sup> This includes numerous passages in *Leys C* in which Guilhem, demonstrating various grammatical principles, quotes from the rhymed epistles and didactic pieces of N’Ath de Mons.<sup>89</sup>

Beyond the specific citations in the *Leys*, mention should also be made of three allusions to specific troubadour songs, all of which are named by incipit only and with no identification of their authors. Two of these songs are cited as examples of iconicism, the description of an unfamiliar concept through comparison to a more familiar symbol.

These are: *Atressi cum l’orifans* (*Just like the elephant*, PC 421.2), a *canço* by Richart de Berbezill, and *En ayssi cum l’unicorns* (*Just like the unicorn*), a song that is otherwise unattested in the repertoire, unless the incipit is a somewhat free translation of *Aussi com l’unicorne sui* (R 2075), the opening line of an Old French song by Thibaut IV of Navarre. Guilhem’s only acknowledgment of the authorship of these two songs is a reference to “the troubadours that composed these pieces” (“li trobador que fazian aytals dictatz”).<sup>90</sup> The third allusion to a troubadour song occurs in a passage discussing the *cobla desguizada*, a strophe containing lines of varying lengths. As an example Guilhem cites *Flors de paradis*, an anonymous Marian song (PC 461.123).<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> On this question, see Jeanroy, “Les *Leys*,” 227-30. Jeanroy questions the authorship of nineteen examples, but determines the sources of only two, both of which are proverbial.

<sup>89</sup> See Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 1:68, 70, 84-86, 86-87, 106-7, 118-19, 127; 2:129; 3:41-42, 44, 65-66, 109, 128, 163, and 164. For the complete works of N’Ath de Mons, see Wilhelm Bernhardt, ed., *Die Werke des Trobadors N’At de Mons* (1887; reprint, Wiesbaden: Dr. Martin Sändig, 1967).

<sup>90</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 3:286.

<sup>91</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:250.



With its limited number of troubadour citations, the *Leys* conveys an air of relative independence from the troubadour repertoire, thereby setting itself apart from earlier treatises, which conventionally draw their examples from troubadour song. It is difficult to account for this difference in procedure, except to recall that Guilhem's rhymed examples often fulfill a dual purpose, serving not only to demonstrate the rule in question but also to recapitulate the prose explanation. The versified interpolations are thus more often utilitarian than aesthetic.

Just as the paucity of actual troubadour citations creates a seeming divide between Guilhem and his subject matter, so too does Guilhem's attitude toward the ideal poetry often separate him from the mainstream tendency of troubadours who came before him.<sup>92</sup> A divergence of values—not simply in terms of aesthetics, but more fundamentally, in terms of morals—is apparent in Guilhem's first redaction of the *Leys* and becomes increasingly pronounced by the third version, *Leys C*. This shift in values is at least intimated in the opening pages of *Leys A*, in which Guilhem enumerates the suitable subject matters of lyric composition. Love, inarguably the most widely represented theme within the troubadour repertoire, surprisingly occupies not the first, but rather the third position, having been displaced by morals and praise:

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<sup>92</sup> The move from secular to spiritual subject matters in Occitan lyric composition during the course of the thirteenth century has been documented by earlier scholars. Paul Henry Lang, for example, has written of the troubadour tradition: "Pursued by the Church on account of its connections with heretical manifestations, troubadour art turned slowly from a sensuous secular world to moral and pious subjects." In *Music in Western Civilization* (New York: Norton, 1941), 112. More recently, Neal Zaslaw has discussed the enduring effect of the Inquisition on lyric composition in the fourteenth century, including a few general references to the *Leys d'amors*. See his article, "Music in Provence in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century," *Current Musicology* 25 (1978): 99-103.

E deu hom tractar en aytals dictatz de sen o de lauzors o d'amors o d'escondig o de maldig general, per donar castier als malvatz, o d'esquern, per donar solas e deport, o de planch, per gran desplaizer quom ha motas vetz.<sup>93</sup>

And in these pieces one must treat morals [lit. good judgment], praise, love, apology, or non-specific condemnation in order to chastise the wicked, or amusement in order to give joy and diversion, or lamentation for the great unhappiness that one often feels.

This shift in hierarchy is subtle but significant, for it has immediate ramifications in Guilhem's overview of the various genres, which are subsequently listed according to the rank of their corresponding *razos*:

E per so quar de diversas cauzas pot hom tractar en dictatz: per so foron trobat divers dictat. Ayssi cum son vers, chansos, sirventes, dansas, descort, tensos, partimen, pastorelas, vaquieras, vergieras, e motas autras lors semblans, retronchas e planch, et alqu fan redondels e mandelas [*sic*; read *viandelas*].<sup>94</sup>

Just as one can treat diverse things in one's compositions, so too are diverse pieces invented. Thus, there are *vers*, *cansos*, *sirventes*, *dansas*, *descorts*, *tensos*, *partimens*, *pastorelas*, *vaquieras*, *vergieras* (and many other pieces similar to these), *retronchas* and *planhs*, and some make *redondels* and *viandelas*.

Thus the *vers*, with its moralizing tendencies, is elevated to the primary position, and the *canso*, dominant genre of troubadour composition, is demoted to second.<sup>95</sup>

The apparent shift in the ideal expression of lyric composition is made more explicit on several occasions within *Leys A*, and most prominently, within the section on vices in Part IV. Guilhem finds more than one opportunity to criticize the practices of the *anticz trobadors*. More often than not, his remarks are based upon ethical, rather than stylistic grounds. To take just one example, Guilhem cites conceit as a vice, criticizing "many troubadours" for being guilty of this error:

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<sup>93</sup> Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:8-10.

<sup>94</sup> Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:10.

<sup>95</sup> Gérard Gouffier has likewise attributed the preeminence of the *vers* within the generic system of the *Leys* to its broad appeal "during an era in which moral literature was highly valued" ("à une époque où la littérature éthique fait fortune"). The passage is cited by Pierre Bec in "Le Problème des genres chez les premiers troubadours," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 25 (1982): 102; the original article was inaccessible.

Jactansa es quant hom se meteysch lauza e gaba. E per so han pecat mant trobador quar en lors dictatz dizian que ilh eran li plus fi ayman el plus lial e mays celar et secret que lunh temps fosson estat.<sup>96</sup>

Conceit is when one praises and brags about oneself. And in this many troubadours have erred, because in their compositions they say that they were the truest lovers and the most loyal and more discreet and secretive than there have ever been.

Guilhem's criticism could be applied equally well to any number of pieces. Let us cite as a fitting example Bernart de Ventadorn's *Non es meraveilla* (PC 70.31), which opens with the bold claim:

Non es meravelha s'eu chan	It is no wonder that I sing
Melhs de nul autre chantador	better than any other singer,
Que plus me tra.l cors vas amor	for my heart draws me more toward Love,
E melhs sui faihz a so coman.	and I am better suited to its command. <sup>97</sup>

This level of boasting characterizes a number of troubadour songs, to the extent of inspiring the modern generic categories of *vanto* and *gap*, terms derived from the Occitan verbs for "to boast" and "to brag."<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 3:126.

<sup>97</sup> Stephen G. Nichols, ed. and trans., *The Songs of Bernart de Ventadorn* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 132-34.

<sup>98</sup> Songs that have been categorized as *vantos* in Pillet and Carstens's *Bibliographie der Troubadours* include Guilhem IX's *Be voill que sapchon li pluzor* (PC 183.2), Marcabru's *D'aisso laus Deu* (PC 293.16), Peire Vidal's *Ben aja eu* (PC 364.12), as well as his *Drogoman seigner, s'agues bo destrier* (PC 364.18). For a thorough discussion of the *gap*, see Jörg Ulrich Techner, "Zum *Gap* in der altprovenzalischen Lyrik," *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift* 14 (1964): 15-34.

Guilhem Molinier is also critical of troubadours who direct their *sirventes* or other pieces against a specific person. To do so would essentially amount to slander. He refers to this vice as “mal dig especial,” which we might translate as *specific* or *explicit* criticism.<sup>99</sup> He explains:

Mal digz especials es cant hom en sirventes o en autre dictat ditz mal dalguna certa persona. Quar hom en sos dictatz no deu especificar lunha persona ni deu dir paraulas tals, per quom certa persona entenda can en son dictat pauza alqun mal dig.<sup>100</sup>

Explicit criticism is when one speaks ill of one particular person in a *sirventes* or in some other lyric work; because in one’s compositions, one must not specify any one person, and when one sets forth any criticism in one’s lyrics, one must not say such words by which one discerns a specific person.

Guilhem does not cite the names of any offending troubadours—after all, wouldn’t this make him guilty of the offense?—but the practice he describes is unmistakably prominent among the troubadours. Perhaps the troubadour who comes first to mind is Bertran de Born, who in his *sirventes* habitually identifies his adversaries by name, whether they be his own brothers (as in *Cortz e guerras e joi d’amor*, PC 80.11) or the most prominent of men, such as the Young King Henry and Richard the Lionhearted (as in *D’un sirventes no.m cal far loignor ganda*, PC 80.13) or King Alfonso II of Aragon (*Quan vei pels vergiers desplegar*, PC 80.35).<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Catherine Léglu explains that the verb *maldir* covers a range of verbal aggressions, including “defamation, slander, indiscreet or cruel gossip, caustic personal criticism, or insult” (“diffamation, médisance, papotages indiscrets ou cruels, critique acerbe de la personne, ou injure”). See her article, “La Diffamation dans la poésie satirique des troubadours,” in *Toulouse à la croisée des cultures: Actes du Ve Congrès international de l’Association Internationale d’Études Occitanes, Toulouse, 19-24 août 1996*, 2 vols., eds. Jacques Gourc and François Pic (Pau: Association Internationale d’Études Occitanes, 1998), 1:269-74.

<sup>100</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 3:124.

<sup>101</sup> For the various texts cited, see Paden, et al., eds., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*.

As a final example of Guilhem’s disagreement with certain troubadour practices, let us consider the vice of dishonesty. For Guilhem, dishonesty has less to do with telling lies than it does with behaving licentiously in one’s verses. He clarifies:

Dezonestatz es cant hom ditz en sos dictatz paraulas dezonestas lagezas e viltatz *majormen en canso* la quals deu esser de bels motz honestz e politz e ben pauczatz. Aquo meteysh cant hom demanda cauza dezonesta, non drechuriera, e no aprofichabla, o que no es necessaria coma si hom en sos cantars demanda a sa dona quel done un bayzar ol autreie outra cauza plus secreta. Et en aysso granre dels anticz trobadors si son peccat, quar no es cauza honesta drechuriera aprofichabla ni necessaria que yeu demande que mi dons de cuy canti me done un bayzar, ni deguna chanso no deu hom far per entendemen de viltatz dazulteri ni daultre peccat.<sup>102</sup>

Dishonesty is when one speaks dishonest, crude, and vile words in one’s composition, *especially in the canso*, which must be made up of good, honest, polite and well-placed words. It is the same thing when one asks a dishonest, non-rightful, and unbeneficial thing, or something that is not necessary, as when someone asks his lady in his song to give him a kiss or some other more intimate thing. And in this a great number of past troubadours have erred, because it is not an honest, rightful, beneficial, or necessary thing for me to ask my lady of whom I sing to give me a kiss, nor should one make understood in any *canso* an adulterous insinuation or any other sin.

As seen in this passage, Guilhem blames “a great number of past troubadours” for being guilty of dishonesty. Indeed, despite the platonist ideals of *fin’amors*, sensuality is often expressed openly by the troubadours. Raimbaut d’Aurenga, for example, addresses his lady with candid expressions of his desire in his *canso* beginning *Entre gel e vent e fanc* (*Between the cold and wind and mud*, PC 389.27). He sings:

Qu’ie.m pert la color e.l sanc	I lose my color and blood [from my face],
Tal talent ai que.m desvesta	such a desire I have to undress myself
C’ab vos fos ses vestimenta	so I should be with you without vestment
Aissi com etz la plus genta.	in that guise in which you are most gentle. <sup>103</sup>

The Comtessa de Dia likewise indulges in adulterous fantasies, singing of and to a man whom she would gladly accept “in place of [her] husband” (“en luoc del marit,” l. 22). She boldly asserts:

<sup>102</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 3:122-24. Emphases mine.

<sup>103</sup> Edited and translated by Walter T. Pattison, *The Life and Works of the Troubadour Raimbaut d’Orange* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1952), 116 (ll. 50-53). Lineation mine.

Ben volria mon cavallier  
Tener un ser en mos bratz nut,  
Q'el s'en tengra per ereubut  
Sol q'a lui fezes cosseillier.

I'd like to hold my knight  
in my arms one evening, naked,  
for he'd be overjoyed  
were I only serving as his pillow.<sup>104</sup>

In his admonition of dishonesty, Guilhem places himself in direct opposition to a posturing that is not infrequent among the troubadours. Moreover, as seen in the opening and closing sentences of the passage cited, he specifically relates this so-called vice with the *canso*.<sup>105</sup> The reason for his correlation between *dezonestatz* and the *canso* is, of course, a simple question of subject matter: The topic of love provides an inviting setting for the offenses that Guilhem warns against. His association of the *canso* with dishonesty further informs its downgraded status in his ranking of the respective genres. With the *canso*'s inherent potential for leading troubadours into morally questionable territory, Guilhem doubtlessly felt some concern with promoting it as the preeminent genre.

This suggested explanation for the *canso*'s slight devaluation is supported by similar manifestations within the treatise of Guilhem's wariness of love as a subject matter, even despite his title. Perhaps most prominently, in the preface to Part V of *Leys A*, Guilhem sets forth two (quite diverse) objectives: the first is to provide the budding poet with some tips on composing in the vernacular; the second, to instruct the poet on

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<sup>104</sup> The lines cited are excerpted from the Comtessa's *Estat ai en greu cossirier* (PC 46.4). Text and translation from Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, Laurie Shepard, and Sarah White, eds., *Songs of the Women Troubadours* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995), 10-11 (ll. 9-12).

<sup>105</sup> Notably, in his definition of the *pastorela* Guilhem also warns the poet to guard against dishonesty, stating that poets err more often in this genre than in any of the others. He writes: "And especially in this composition—because one errs more often in this composition than in any of the others—one must guard oneself against speaking vile words, disagreeable discourse, or vile acts, because a man can jest with a woman, and they can tease one another, without saying or doing anything vulgar or dishonest" ("E deu se hom gardar en aquest dictat majormen quar en aquest se peca hom mays que en los autres que hom no diga vils paraulas ni laias ni procezisca en son dictat, a degu vil fag, quar trufar se pot hom am femna, e far esquern la un a lautre, ses dire e ses far viltat o dezonestat"). Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:346.

the proper manner of expressing his love. The latter objective aims specifically to put the poet on guard against “dishonest impulses” and “dishonest desires.” Guilhem explains:

Ayssi comensa la sinquena partz en la qual devem tractar e pauzar algunas doctrinas. Et alqus essenhamens. Per adoctrinar et essenhar. Cels que han bon coratge de dictar en romans. Perqual manera poyran trobar e dictar. Non contrastan. Que lor natura sia trop dura ad ayssso far. Et encaras per essenhar lors aymadors per qual manera devon amar. Et ab aquel entendemen. E de qual amor. E per refrenar los fols aymadors. Et per ostar lors avols amors e lors avols deziriers els dezonetz movemens. Quar degun temps lunhs bos trobadors que sia estatz lials amayres. No sentendec. En avol amor. Ni en dezonest dezerier. E car aquestas Leys damors son fachas per doas cauzas especialmen. Entre las autras. La una per essenhar los noels dictadors per qual manera sapian dictar en Romans. E la segunda per refrenar los fols aymadors e per ostar et esquivar lors dezonestz e no legutz deziriers.<sup>106</sup>

Thus begins the fifth part, in which we must treat and set forth a few instructions and a few teachings in order to instruct and to teach those who have the good intention of composing in the vernacular in which manner they may invent and compose, notwithstanding that their spirit be too hardened to accomplish this. And further, in order to teach the lovers [i.e., the poets] in which manner they must love and with which designs and with which love, and in order to restrain the false lovers, and in order to eliminate their base loves and their base desires and their dishonest impulses. For never did any troubadour who would have been a faithful lover succumb to base love or dishonest desire. For these *Laws of love* have been made for two reasons in particular, among others. First, in order to teach new poets by which manner they should compose in the vernacular. And secondly, in order to restrain the false lovers and in order to eliminate and to prohibit their dishonest and illicit desires.

Despite what is promised in this introduction, Part V of *Leys A* meets only its first objective, detailing in rather pedantic fashion how the poet should go about selecting his rhyme sounds and rhyme words. The second objective remains unrealized due to a lacuna in the manuscript, which ends abruptly after a discussion of chevilles.<sup>107</sup> Nevertheless, Guilhem’s preface to Part V amply demonstrates his apprehensions regarding the perils of love.

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<sup>106</sup> Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 3:360.

<sup>107</sup> In the overview to the treatise, Guilhem had explained that in the fifth part, the explanation of chevilles would be followed by the discussion of love: “We shall show what a cheville is and what a quasi-cheville is, and what is love, and with which love lovers, fleeing and avoiding all base desires and dishonest love, should love” (“Mostran ques pedas e quays pedas, e ques amor, e de qual amor devon amar li aymador fugen e esquivan tot avol dezirier et amor dezonesta”). See Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:7.

While Guilhem’s second objective cannot be fully reconstructed from the reading of *Leys A*, it can be considered from the vantage point of his subsequent revisions. In *Las flors del gay saber* (i.e., *Leys B*) the rhymed passage that corresponds to the conclusion of Part V is, in fact, extant, although it is also highly abridged. Guilhem informs the poet that once he has found the proper rhymes, he must apply them to a “worthy argument” (“sentensa bona,” l. 7659). In his final aim of instructing the poet on “the love with which lovers should love” (“de qal amor devon amar li aymador,” ll. 7603-04)—while ultimately referring his readers back to the *Leys* (“vos remetem a las Leys d’amors,” ll. 7601-02)—Guilhem summarizes:

Leals e fis es cells que pessa  
 D’amar sidons ses mala pesa  
 E lauzors ses cosentir anta  
 Dicta, retray de lieys o canta.<sup>108</sup>

Loyal and true is he who takes care  
 to love his lady without bad thoughts  
 and who speaks or sings her praises  
 without admitting injurious words.

Quite remarkably, this passage in the *Flors* conveys only a hint of Guilhem’s earlier preoccupation with preventing “base love” and “dishonest desires.”

Regarding Guilhem’s final revision, it will be recalled that the manuscript of *Leys C* omits Part V altogether. That is not to say, however, that Guilhem’s concern for the proper expression of love does not also manifest itself within this third redaction. For example, when Guilhem discusses love in *Leys C*, he is sure to specify to his readers: “And take *Love* in the positive meaning of the word, that is, to mean love that is true, honest and licit” (“E prendetz *Amors* en bon significat, so es per amors qu’es fina, honesta e leguda”).<sup>109</sup> More telling than this terminological clarification, though, is Guilhem’s incorporation of a dictum on the proper articulation of love into his newly

<sup>108</sup> Anglade, ed., *Las Flors*, 113 (ll. 7606-10).

<sup>109</sup> Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 2:27.



composed section of the contest rules. Displaying the same concern as in *Leys A* for the importance of upholding honesty in one's compositions, Guilhem further cites the need to articulate one's love in purely spiritual terms. He indicates that failure to observe this mandate would bear serious consequences, not simply in terms of the poet's standing in the song competition, but also in terms of his moral reputation. The passage in question reads:

Ni aytan pauc no jutja hom ni dona degunas de las ditas joyas ad home que fa dictat per decebre femnas o per autre peccat, per que cel que fa dictat d'amors, que no.s pot applicar a l'amor de Dieu e de la sua mayre, sobre aysso deu esser enterrogats et am sagramen, segon que sera la persona et als senhors mantenedors sera vist.<sup>110</sup>

And in no way will one judge—or give any of the said prizes to—a man who composes a piece in order to deceive women or [to commit] any other sin, because he who composes a love song that cannot be applied to the love of God or His mother must be interrogated about this and under oath, depending on who the person is and as the panel of judges sees fit.

With this pronouncement, Guilhem gets to the heart of the matter. By elevating the ideal expression of love to the same level as one's love for God or Mary, Guilhem draws a direct connection between *honestatz* and chastity. His precise wording suggests that he is not forbidding secular love songs *per se*, but rather mandating that praise of one's lady be as unadulterated as, and thus equally *applicable* to, praise of Mary. In so doing, Guilhem insists upon a degree of morality in lyric composition that, while not accurately representing the classical trends of the troubadour tradition, does reflect a growing tendency of the second half of thirteenth century.<sup>111</sup> If we consider the secular *cansos* of late troubadours such as Folquet de Lunel (fl. 1264-75) and Guiraut Riquier (fl. 1254-92),

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<sup>110</sup> Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 2:18.

<sup>111</sup> Ernest Hoepffner, for example, has identified the transition from secular to sacred expression in Guiraut Riquier's career as a reflection of a larger historical movement, writing: "[...] Guiraut, dans ses vieux jours, condamne la partie frivole de son œuvre et substitue la chanso pieuse à la chanson amoureuse. C'est la tendance générale de son époque." See *Les Troubadours dans leur vie et dans leurs œuvres* (Paris: A. Colin, 1955), 207.

for example, we observe that the idioms used to praise the object of affection are exceedingly modest.<sup>112</sup> In describing the poetic expression of these troubadours' secular songs, Joseph Anglade has used adjectives such as "chaste," "pure," and "quasi-mystical"—in short, he finds in them "nothing of the sensual."<sup>113</sup> This purity of expression is attested to by the fact that both Folquet and Guiraut are able to transfer their idioms of *fin'amors* without modification into their *cansos* composed in praise of Mary.<sup>114</sup> Anglade observes this same phenomenon in the compositions of several other thirteenth-century troubadours, including Daude de Pradas, Aimeric de Belenoi, Lanfranc Cigala, and Bernart d'Auriac de Béziers. Thus, Guilhem's espousal of *dictats d'amors* that are chaste enough so as to be applicable to one's love of God or Mary is, in fact, borne out by the troubadour tradition, albeit only in its final years.

From the broad overview of the *Leys d'amors* it becomes clear that a rather significant divide exists between the ideals of the *Consistori* and the mainstream or classical practice of the troubadours. Moreover, this divide becomes increasingly pronounced with each of Guilhem's successive redactions. Despite this shift in morals, the *Leys* remains a valuable tool in the study of troubadour lyric. Guilhem provides his readers with a sophisticated vocabulary with which to discuss poetic techniques, and as will be seen below, his observations on genre both corroborate and refine the observations made in the *Doctrina*. Guilhem also contributes original insights on the

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<sup>112</sup> For an edition of Folquet de Lunel's complete poetic works, see Franz Eichelkraut, ed., *Der Troubadour Folquet de Lunel* (Berlin: W. Hecht, 1872). Guiraut Riquier's *cansos* have been edited by Ulrich Molk, *Guiraut Riquier: Las Cansos* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1962); his *vers* have been edited by Monica Longobardi, "I 'Vers' del trovatore Guiraut Riquier," 17-163.

<sup>113</sup> Joseph Anglade, *Le Troubadour Guiraut Riquier: Étude sur la décadence de l'ancienne poésie provençale* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1905), 309-10.

importance of melody in lyric composition, an element that is conspicuously absent from the vast majority of the other troubadour treatises. Before proceeding to a discussion of genre, then, let us briefly consider Guilhem's commentary on the role of melody in troubadour lyric.

The importance that Guilhem places on melody as a living art is intimated through his definition of *musica*. While maintaining the traditional placement of music among the four mathematical disciplines of the Quadrivium (i.e., Boethius's "fourfold path to knowledge"), Guilhem nevertheless defines music exclusively as a practical art, no longer as an abstract science.

Muzica es la segonda, que nos ensenha a far vutz may plazens e sos e chans en estrumens et en orguenas et en autres estrumens acordans li .I. am los autres per plazer de las gens o en gleyza per lo servizi de Dieu.<sup>115</sup>

*Musica* is the second, which teaches us to make our voices most pleasing and [to make] melodies and songs on instruments and on organs and on other instruments in accord with one another in order to please people or in the church in order to serve God.

The specific value that the *Consistori* attributed to melody within the lyric tradition becomes especially apparent in *Leys C* when Guilhem codifies the rules of judging. Without detailing specific melodic traits, Guilhem stresses the indispensability of the melody to lyric composition. For example, Guilhem specifies that a prize will be awarded to the most outstanding piece, but only provided that the composition...

...del so que.s tanh no.s mescabe  
Quar, si d'aquelh defalh, es nutz,  
O coma cel qu'es sortz o mutz.<sup>116</sup>

...does not fail to have the appropriate tune  
because if it is lacking in this, it is nude,  
or like one who is deaf or mute.

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<sup>114</sup> See Anglade's lengthy discussion of Marian songs in *Le Troubadour Guiraut Riquier*, 284-310.

<sup>115</sup> Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 1:79.

<sup>116</sup> Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 1:42.

Melody is thus treated as an integral component of the ideal composition, the element that both literally and figuratively gives the words their voice. In this, Guilhem validates the troubadours' own emphasis on attaining the perfect union of *motz e so*, or words and melody.<sup>117</sup>

The relative importance of the melodic component within a lyric work comes to the fore when Guilhem explains the various factors that should come into play if a judge finds himself in the position of deciding a tie. Judges are instructed to award each prize to the work that is the most refined or pure (“mays netz”).<sup>118</sup> Guilhem clarifies that “the word *refined* pertains to a good argument, to a good use of the vernacular, and to a beautiful embellishment of words” (“aquest vocable *nets* se reporta a bona sentensa, a bon romans, et a bel ornat de paraulas”).<sup>119</sup> Of these three aspects, Guilhem places by far the greatest emphasis on *sentensa*, which, he explains, “one must maintain above all else, because a good message is the fruit of every composition, which is why, without it, the rest has no worth whatsoever” (“sobretot deu hom gardar, quar bona sentensa es le fruytz de tot dictat, per que, ses aquela, petit ans no re val le remanen”).<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> For a brief overview of the relationship between *motz e so*, see Elizabeth Wilson Poe, *From Poetry to Prose in Old Provençal* (Birmingham: Summa Publications, 1984), 2-3.

<sup>118</sup> Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 2:25.

<sup>119</sup> Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 2:25.

<sup>120</sup> Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 2:25. The image of the worthwhile piece as one that bears fruit is cultivated by Peire Cardenal in his *Aissi com hom plainh son fill o son paire* (PC 335.2). He sings: “Now it seems to me that my song is not worth a thing, for I have warped it and woven it from speaking ill, and one does not gather good fruit easily from poor foliage, nor do I know how to deliver a good argument from vile deeds” (“Ar m'es semblans que mos chanz non val gaire, / Quar de mal dir l'ai ordit e tescut, / Mas de mal fueill non cueill hom leu bon frut / ni d'avol fag bon plag no sai retraire”). Citation from Lavaud, ed., *Les Poésies complètes du troubadour Peire Cardenal*, 250 (ll. 57-60).

If a judge should encounter two or more pieces that are as refined as the others in terms of their *sentensa*, language, and words, he should first consider which of the pieces was the most difficult to compose; with regard to this criterion, Guilhem specifies that he means rhyme scheme. If the judge is not able to make a determination based upon rhyme scheme, he should then consider which of the pieces displays the superior fit between words and melody. Quite remarkably, Guilhem places this element on equal footing with the degree of chastity in the competing pieces. He explains:

Si la us dictatz es ayssi bos coma l'altres, e la us ha lo so que haver deu e l'autres no, cel ques ha so ne deu portar la joya, o si la us dictatz se pot aplicar a lauzor de Dieu o de la sua mayre, e l'altres no, aquel que.s pot aplicar a Dieu o [a] la sua mayre deu haver avantatge.<sup>121</sup>

If one of the compositions is as good as the others, and the one has the tune that it should [lit. must] have and the others do not, that which has the tune should win the prize, or if one of the compositions can be applied to the praise of God or of His mother, and the others cannot, that which can be applied to God or to His mother should have the advantage.

In his summary of the rules of competition, Guilhem reminds the judges that, ultimately, their consideration must remain focused on content. He warns judges not to be misled by beautiful words or melody that have been put in the service of an unworthy message:

Dictat am bon compas, am bo romans, am bel ornat de paraulas et am sentensa cominal que no porta frug, cant que haja bel so, es yssorba vila e coma poma defors bela, e dedins poyrida.<sup>122</sup>

A composition that is well structured, with a beautiful embellishment of words, but with a vulgar message that does not bear fruit, even if it has a lovely tune, is a vile sorb, like an apple that is beautiful on the outside and rotten on the inside.

Guilhem's statements on melody suggest that troubadours (or *aymadors*, as the *Consistori* referred to its students) were to seek an equality of words (or perhaps more

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<sup>121</sup> Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 2:26.

<sup>122</sup> Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 2:26.

precisely, meaning) and melody. The poet's words required a suitable tune in order to convey their fullest expression, and at the same time, a beautiful melody was dependent upon a noble argument for its worth.

The few passages that treat of music in the *Leys d'amors* demonstrate that melody was still a prized component of lyric composition, even well into the fourteenth century. Unfortunately, theorists like Guilhem did not subject melodies to the same degree of analysis as they did poetry. Nevertheless, Guilhem's emphasis on the importance of melody adds a certain degree of authority to his subsequent statements on the role of melody in the various genres.

### **The generic exposition of the *Leys***

The system of genres that is found in the *Leys* is compatible with that of the *Doctrina*, but in many respects the account of the *Leys* is more refined, giving it an aura of greater accuracy or authority despite its later perspective. In terms of individual definitions, Guilhem often provides a higher level of detail than does the author of the *Doctrina*. The most substantial difference between the two systems lies in their basic organization. In contrast to the *Doctrina*'s apparently random presentation of genres, Guilhem imposes a sense of order upon the respective genres by organizing them into two categories, namely "principal" and "non-principal."

As representative of the principal types, Guilhem lists and defines eleven genres: the *vers*, *canso*, *sirventes*, *dansa*, *descort*, *tenso*, *partimen*, *pastorela*, *retroncha*, *planh*, and *escondig*. All but two of these genres—the *partimen* and the *escondig* (a song of

apology)—reproduce genres discussed by the author of the *Doctrina*. Following upon his discussion of the principal genres, Guilhem names a total of seventeen non-principal genres, only three of which (the *somni*, *gelozesca*, and *estampida*) duplicate the *Doctrina*'s list. These seventeen are: the *somni*, *vezio* (vision), *cossir* (elegy), *reversari* (song of antitheses), *enuég*, *desplazer* (song expressing displeasure), *desconort* (song conveying discomfort), *plazer* (song expressing pleasure), *conort* (a song that offers comfort), *rebec* (a song accompanied by a rebec?), *relay* (a song for diversion), *gilozesca*, *bal* (a dance song), *estampida* (a dance, either texted or instrumental), *garip* (an instrumental piece), *redondel* (rondeau), and *viandela* (a dance song).<sup>123</sup> Guilhem explains that this list of non-principal types is by no means comprehensive, closing his list with the comment that there are “many others just like these” (“en ayssi de tropes autres”).<sup>124</sup>

Guilhem's treatment of the non-principal genres is quite sketchy in terms of specific details. We should first observe that he excuses himself altogether from discussing the *garip*, which was a strictly instrumental genre,<sup>125</sup> as well as the *redondel* and *viandela*, both of which were apparently little practiced, not to mention irregular in

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<sup>123</sup> We can find several examples of the *cossir* within the main body of the treatise (Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:212-32) as well as two *coblas* in the style of the *reversari* (*Las Flors*, 1:296).

<sup>124</sup> Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:348.

<sup>125</sup> Guilhem writes: “We will not occupy ourselves with *garips*, for they only involve a certain specific instrumental tune without words” (“De garips no nos entremeten [*sic*], quar solamen han respieg a cert e especial so destrumens ses verba”). Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:350; cf. Anglade, *Las Leys*, 2:186.

terms of their structure.<sup>126</sup> Of the remaining fourteen types, Guilhem provides definitions for only four, namely the *gilozesca*, *relays*, *bal*, and the texted *estampida*. Notably, these definitions are given only marginally in *Leys A*, possibly as a later addendum to the original text.<sup>127</sup> As far as can be deduced from Anglade's edition of *Leys C*, Guilhem would ultimately incorporate these four definitions into the main body of his text.<sup>128</sup> This leaves ten non-principal types for which Guilhem reveals only that their number of strophes is indeterminate, and the presence of *tornadas* is optional.<sup>129</sup> Guilhem also explains that their individual generic designations should indicate something of their respective themes or moods. In fact, he invites poets to invent new types at will and to name them accordingly.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Guilhem explains: "We will not concern ourselves with *redondels* nor *viandelas*, for we do not find specific authors [who have composed them] nor do we find them to have specific structures; however, some people are starting to compose *redondels*—which used to only be composed in French—in our language." ("De redondels ni de viandelas no curam quar cert actor ni cert compas noy trobam. Jaciaysso que alqu comenso far redondels en nostra lengua, los quals solia hom far en frances.") Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:350. We should note that Guilhem does make a passing reference to the *redondel* and the *mandela* [*sic*], in which he observes only that the individual strophes of these types may be shorter than five verses in length (*Las Flors*, 1:204).

<sup>127</sup> We are able to make this observation thanks to Christopher Page's reproduction of folio 41v of the manuscript of *Leys A* (Toulouse, Académie des Jeux Floraux, MS 500.007). See his *Voices and Instruments*, 44 (Fig. 3) and his preceding commentary on pp. 42-44. In his edition of *Leys A*, Gatién-Arnoult does not, unfortunately, differentiate between the main body of the text and the marginal annotations (cf. *Las Flors*, 1:348-50).

<sup>128</sup> See Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 2:185-86.

<sup>129</sup> This latter comment is likewise made marginally in *Leys A*. See Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 44 (Fig. 3).

<sup>130</sup> Guilhem writes: "One can compose other pieces and impose their names according to the will of the composer and according to what the piece dictates, because one can go far astray in the ascribing of a name: If one were to call a *coisir* a *somni*, or vice versa, the name would not be well ascribed, for it is fitting that one place such a name that it be concordant and in accord with the thing." ("Autres dictatz pot hom far. Et ad aquels. Nom enpauzar segon la voluntat de cel que dicta. Et segon que requier le dictatz. Quar hom se poyria be pecar en la enpozitio del nom. Quar si hom apelava coisir. Somi. O per le contrari. Ja le noms no seria be enpauzatz. Per que cove quom pauze tal noms que sia consonans. Et acordam. A la cauza.") Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:348.



Guilhem's distinction between the principal and non-principal types is clearly (although unexplicitly) value-based, as a direct correlation can be drawn between the principal genres and those genres that, according to the rules of *Leys C*, are eligible for competition. Of the eleven genres that Guilhem lists as principal, six can compete for prizes. Guilhem specifies that the prize distribution should proceed as follows: a golden violet for the best *vers*, *canso*, or *descort*; a silver marigold for the best *dansa*; and a wild rose in silver for the best *sirventes*, *pastorela*, *vergiera*, or "others of these types" ("autras d'aquestas manieras").<sup>131</sup> In *Leys C*, Guilhem even changes the internal ordering of the principal genres as they were originally given in *Leys A* (and *Flors*) in order to bring the compositional types into line with the hierarchy of the three awards. This modification in the internal organization of the principal genres is represented in Figure 2.2.<sup>132</sup>

Paden, following Gonfroy's argumentation, has observed that, "Guilhem distinguished significantly between what he called the 'principal genres' and the 'non-principal' ones in terms of liberty of the poet."<sup>133</sup> To be sure, Guilhem's prescriptions for the principal genres are characterized by a prevalent use of the verb *dever* (to be obliged), whereas in his more generalized exposition on the non-principal genres, he gives preference to the verb *poder* (to be able). In addition, Guilhem frequently emphasizes

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<sup>131</sup> Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 1:42. It would appear that by the expression "others of these types" Guilhem does not mean all the remaining principal genres, but rather the many other sub-types of the *pastorela*, which include not only *vergieras*, but also *vaquieras*, *porquieras*, *auquieras*, *crabieras*, *ortalanas*, and *monjas*, each of which takes its name from the occupation of the girl depicted, usually a shepherdess—keeping sheep, cows, pigs, geese, or goats, respectively—or a gardener, but also possibly a nun. (See the definition of the *pastorela* in Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:346.) This reading of "autras d'aquestas manieras" is supported by the appearance of a similar expression within a complete list of the principal genres in *Leys C*: "Vers, chansos, descortz, dansa, sirventes, pastorela, vergiera, vaquiera et autras lors samblans, e mays tensos, partimens, planchs et escondigs" (Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 2:30; emphasis mine).

<sup>132</sup> We should recall here that the prizes were not yet specified in *Leys A*.

<sup>133</sup> Paden, "The System of Genres," 31; cf. Gonfroy, "Les Genres lyriques," 126.

<i>Leys A</i>	Eventual prize eligibility	<i>Leys C</i>	Prize eligibility
<i>vers</i>	1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>vers</i>	1 <sup>st</sup>
<i>canso</i>	1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>canso</i>	1 <sup>st</sup>
<i>sirventes</i>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>descort</i>	1 <sup>st</sup>
<i>dansa</i>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>dansa</i>	2 <sup>nd</sup>
<i>descort</i>	1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>sirventes</i>	3 <sup>rd</sup>
<i>tenso</i>	—	<i>pastorela</i>	3 <sup>rd</sup>
<i>partimen</i>	—	<i>tenso</i>	—
<i>pastorela</i>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>partimen</i>	—
<i>retroncha</i>	—	<i>planh</i>	—
<i>planh</i>	—	<i>escondig</i>	—
<i>escondig</i>	—	<i>retroncha</i>	—

**Figure 2.2** Revision from *Leys A* to *Leys C* in the internal ordering of the principal genres, reflecting their ultimate worth in the *Jeux floraux*

that certain properties of the non-principal genres—for example, appellation or subject matter—can be determined “according to the will of the poet-composer” (“segon la voluntat de cel que dicta”).<sup>134</sup>

Guilhem’s organization of the genres into principal and non-principal categories thus reflects their respective importance to the *Consistori* as well as their relative degree of compositional freedom. It would also seem logical to tie Guilhem’s generic hierarchy to the relative vogue of the diverse genres. This supposition certainly holds true for the non-principal genres, none of which is widely represented within the surviving repertoire.

<sup>134</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:348. See also the expressions, “as many strophes as one wishes” (“aytantes coblas quos vol;” *Las Flors*, 1:348), and “according to the will of the poet-composer” (“segon la voluntat del dictayre;” *Las Flors*, 1:350).

The genres catalogued as principal, however, display ranging degrees of popularity, including several genres that were practiced only marginally. This observation is demonstrated by Figure 2.3, which compares the eleven principal genres to the number of surviving examples in the repertoire.<sup>135</sup> Of the eleven genres listed, five—namely, the *dansa*, *descort*, *pastorela*, *retroncha*, and *escondig*—constitute individually one percent or less of the total repertoire. Their inclusion among the principal genres therefore invites further speculation.

The presence of the *dansa*, *pastorela*, and *retroncha* among the list of principal genres is not difficult to justify when one considers that they were all at the peak of their popularity in the late thirteenth century. The inclusion of the *escondig* and *descort*, on the other hand, only allow for more speculative explanations. As for the latter, Guilhem’s interest in the *descort* would appear to have been largely inspired by one famous example of the genre, namely, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras’s *Eras quan vey verdeyar* (PC 392.4).<sup>136</sup> As mentioned above, Guilhem had turned to Raimbaut’s *descort* in order to provide an example of the plurilingual strophe (*cobla partida*). Guilhem identifies this same attribute as a defining element of the *descort*, explaining that its strophes “must be unique, discordant, and varied in terms of their rhymes, tune, and languages” (“devon esser singulars, dezacordablas, e variablas en acort, en so, et en lengatges”).<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Figure 2.2 was determined in the same manner as was Figure 2.1 above, with one additional change to Frank’s data, namely: Bertran de Born’s *escondig* (PC 80.15) was catalogued by Frank as a *canço*.

<sup>136</sup> This observation has been made by both Chambers (*An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification*, 150n23) and Gonfroy (“Les Genres lyriques,” 130).

<sup>137</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:342. For further discussion of the notion of “disharmony” in the *descort*, see Elizabeth Aubrey, “Genre as a Determinant of Melody in the Songs of the Troubadours and the Trouvères,” in *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*, ed. William D. Paden (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 282.

<u>Principal genres</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Notes</u>
<i>Vers</i>	75	02.94%	
<i>Canso</i>	998	39.11%	
<i>Sirventes</i>	478	18.73%	
<i>Dansa</i>	27	01.06%	14 date from the period 1220-60, 4 from 1260-1300
<i>Descort</i>	27	01.06%	13 (1180-1220), 2 (1220-60), 4 (1260-1300)
<i>Tenso</i>	89	03.49%	
<i>Partimen</i>	106	04.15%	
<i>Pastorela</i>	26	01.02%	14 date from the period of 1260-1300
<i>Retroncha</i>	6	00.24%	All from the second half of the 13 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>Planh</i>	43	01.68%	
<i>Escondig</i>	<u>1</u>	<u>00.04%</u>	Bertran de Born (fl. 1159-95)
	1876	73.51%	

**Figure 2.3** The principal genres as ordered in *Leys A*, and their incidence in the troubadour repertoire

Plurilingualism, however, is not actually associated with any *descorts* other than that of Raimbaut, which thus reveals itself as the primary source of Guilhem’s information. As Gonfroy has observed, the entire theory of the *descort*—a poetic type that one would not have even expected to find in the exposé of principal genres—is founded upon Guilhem’s fascination with one, highly exceptional piece.<sup>138</sup>

The other surprising constituent among the principal genres is the *escondig*, represented within the troubadour repertoire uniquely by Bertran de Born’s *Eu*

<sup>138</sup> Regarding the *descort*, Gonfroy writes: “Il n’aurait donc point dû trouver place dans l’exposé des genres, mais, en même temps la fascination exercée par l’époque antérieure et surtout par un genre aussi exceptionnel, pousse [les rédacteurs] à [...] proposer une théorie du *descort* fondée sur une pièce, le célèbre *descort* plurilingue de Raimbaut de Vaqueyras, dont le moins que l’on puisse dire est qu’elle n’est pas représentative du corpus” (“Les Genres lyriques,” 130).

*m'escondisc, domna* (*I excuse myself, my lady*, PC 80.15).<sup>139</sup> Bertran's *escondig* was, in fact, a highly renowned composition, as is affirmed by a direct imitation by Petrarch, *S'i'l dissi mai* (*Rime* 206).<sup>140</sup> Not only are there clear thematic connections between Bertran's song and Petrarch's poem—with both personas inviting a series of curses upon themselves should the rumors of their infidelity prove to be true—but there are also exact literary parallels between the two pieces, as shown by Martín de Riquer.<sup>141</sup> Would the fame of Bertran's *escondig* have been enough to earn a place for this song type among the principal genres?<sup>142</sup> Riquer argues against this explanation. He presents instead a far more compelling hypothesis for the *Consistori*'s interest in the *escondig* by demonstrating the vogue of that genre among poets of the thirteenth-century Galician-Portuguese and fourteenth-century Catalan repertoires.<sup>143</sup> Guilhem's placement of the *escondig* alongside the more popular principal genres (e.g., *canso*, *sirventes*, *tenso/partimen*, etc.) may thus be explained as a simple matter of the theorist's interest in reflecting contemporary and regional trends.

Regarding this same question of the correlation between the genres categorized as principal and those that were widely practiced, there remains one discrepancy to address, namely, the glaring absence of the *cobla esparsa* from Guilhem's list of principal (not to mention non-principal) genres. This omission is difficult to account for, particularly

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<sup>139</sup> For the lyrics, see Paden et al., eds. and trans., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 142-49.

<sup>140</sup> See Francesco Petrarch, *Rime*, ed. Guido Bezzola (Milan: Rizzoli, 1976), 371-73.

<sup>141</sup> Martín de Riquer, "El 'Escondit' provenzal y su pervivencia en la lírica románica," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 24 (1951-52): 203-6.

<sup>142</sup> So argues Jeanroy, in "Les Leys," 184.

<sup>143</sup> Riquer, "El 'Escondit' provenzal," 206-18.

when one recalls that the *cobla esparsa*, with 481 examples, constitutes nearly twenty percent of the troubadour repertoire. The issue is further complicated by the fact that Guilhem does, in fact, document the existence of the *cobla esparsa*, incorporating examples of it into the chapter on the various strophic types—i.e., the individual building blocks used to create a multi-stanza composition.<sup>144</sup> Since strophic types take their names either from their characteristic rhyme structure or from the poetic technique that they embody, the designation *cobla esparsa*, an “isolated” (lit. “scattered”) strophe, could indicate one of two things: either a *cobla* containing unpaired rhymes (e.g., **a b b a c d d e**), or a *cobla* that exists independently of other strophes—in other words, a self-standing composition.<sup>145</sup> Quite notably, the three examples of the *cobla esparsa* provided in both *Leys A* and the *Flors* demonstrate only the latter of these meanings, a fact that is secured through the representation of the *cobla esparsa* with a *tornada*, unambiguously the mark of a completed piece. Guilhem’s treatment of the *cobla esparsa* in *Leys A* and the *Flors* thus creates a strange disparity in its status, since it is made to occupy a middle ground between poetic and strophic type.

With the revisions of *Leys C*, Guilhem reconciles the discrepancy in his treatment of the *cobla esparsa*, although only partially. Most notably, in one of the newly incorporated passages on prize distribution, Guilhem openly recognizes the *cobla esparsa* as an independent genre. He explains that in addition to the usual three awards (discussed above), “sometimes a certain prize is given exceptionally for a *cobla esparsa*

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<sup>144</sup> See the statement on the diversity of *coblas* in Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:204-7, or Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 2:122-23.

<sup>145</sup> For the former meaning of the *cobla esparsa*, see the definition of *rims espars* in Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:176.

that teaches and instructs new poets” (“alcunas vetz es donada certa joya extraordinaria, per cobbla esparsa, per ap[r]enre et essenhar los noels dictadors”).<sup>146</sup> This passing reference, while significant in its acknowledgment of the *cobla esparsa* as a poetic type, nevertheless reveals little about the genre. We learn only that its *razo* could be pedagogical in nature.

Despite this newfound recognition of the *cobla esparsa* as a poetic type, Guilhem does not amend the list of genres in *Leys C*. He does, however, add a definition of the *cobla esparsa* to its preexistent entry within the section on strophic types, a definition that clearly confirms the *cobla*'s status as an independent lyric type. Just as in his account of the other genres, Guilhem provides prescriptions for both the structure and *razo* of the *cobla esparsa*. Unfortunately, he neglects to provide information on its melodic type. His definition reads as follows:

De cobla esparsa: Esparsa es dicha quar es ses par, so es que no ha pariona. [...] E pot esser d'una bona razo notabla o de motas. Cobbla [*sic*] esparsa pot haver tornada, segon la maniera dels autres dictatz.<sup>147</sup>

Regarding the *cobla esparsa*: The *esparsa* is so called because it is without a partner, which it to say that it is unpaired. [...] And it can have one good, noteworthy theme, or many. The *cobla esparsa* can have a *tornada*, following the manner of the other compositions.

With this direct comparison of the *cobla esparsa* to the “autres dictatz,” it becomes all the more striking that the discussion of the *cobla* occurs separately from the other genres.

As for the details of Guilhem's definition, we observe certain inconsistencies as compared with the practices represented in the troubadour repertoire. For example, Guilhem suggests that the *cobla esparsa* should consist of an individual, *unpaired*

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<sup>146</sup> Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 1:20.

<sup>147</sup> Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 2:132-33.

strophe, with or without a *tornada*. This account does not accurately reflect troubadour practices, for *coblas esparsas* were quite often composed of two or even three stanzas.<sup>148</sup> Furthermore, Guilhem’s rather vague statement about the *cobla* having a “good and noteworthy *razo*, or many” is difficult to interpret. On the one hand, it could be taken as a reference to Guilhem’s initial emphasis on the *cobla*’s ability to communicate valuable pedagogical lessons. It could also be fruitful, however, to read the statement about the *cobla*’s “many *razos*” as a reference to the documented mutability of its subject matter. This thematic versatility has been convincingly demonstrated by Angelica Rieger, whose study of the extant corpus of anonymous *coblas esparsas* is based upon a division of the corpus into five thematic groups.<sup>149</sup> More recently, Elizabeth Wilson Poe has tied the thematic flexibility of the *cobla esparsa* to a sort of generic adaptability, writing:

[T]he versatile *cobla* could imitate the function of any of the other lyric genres. Indeed, virtually all of the lyric types—*canso*, *sirventes*, *tenso*, *descort*, *alba*, *salut*, *ensenhamen*—are represented in miniature in the *cobla*.<sup>150</sup>

It would be tempting to read Guilhem’s reference to the “many *razos*” of the *cobla* as an early documentation of the same phenomenon noted by Rieger and Poe. Unfortunately, Guilhem’s comments are simply too cursory to allow us to read his intentions fully. We shall return to the issues surrounding the *cobla* in Chapter 5.

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<sup>148</sup> Conversely, the author of the *Doctrina* writes that the *coblas esparsas* “must be two or three strophes long” (“deven esser dues o tres cobles”), without recognizing the existence of the single-stanza *cobla esparsa*. Marshall, ed., *The “Razos”*, 97.

<sup>149</sup> These five thematic groups are: *fin’amors*, morality, money, commentary on the experiences of the *joglar*, and parody. See Angelica Rieger, “La Cobla esparsa anonyme. Phénoménologie d’un genre troubadouresque,” in *Actes du XVIIIe Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes, Université de Trèves (Trier) 1986*, 6 vols., ed. Dieter Kremer (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1988), 6:202-17.

<sup>150</sup> Elizabeth Wilson Poe, “‘Cobleiarai, car mi platz’: The Role of the *Cobla* in the Occitan Lyric Tradition,” in *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*, ed. William D. Paden (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 86.



The remaining genre that one would expect to find in Guilhem's list of genres is the *alba*, with its sixteen extant examples. In the words of Alfred Jeanroy, "l'absence de l'*alba* étonne."<sup>151</sup> We might attribute this rather conspicuous lacuna to the *alba*'s association with the lovers' tryst, a subject that Guilhem would have certainly deemed taboo. This explanation is not entirely satisfactory, however, because the *pastorela* had many of the same associations, and Guilhem, rather than excluding the *pastorela* from his study, simply warns his readers against its "dishonest" tendencies.<sup>152</sup> Furthermore, as Gonfroy has observed, "at the end of the thirteenth century, one witnesses the evolution of the [*alba*] towards a religious domain, something that could not have failed to attract Guilhem Molinier and his collaborators."<sup>153</sup> Jeanroy's astonishment regarding the exclusion of the *alba* is truly well-founded.

As for the principal genres that are included in the *Leys*, we note that Guilhem corroborates the observations of the *Doctrina*, while at the same time offering refinement through his attention to detail. In several cases, this added precision contributes to our understanding of the imitative genres. For example, whereas Jofre speaks of only one genre of debate poetry, Guilhem accounts for two types, the *tenso* and *partimen*—genres whose names, he explains, were often interchanged *per abuzio*.<sup>154</sup> The distinction

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<sup>151</sup> Jeanroy, "Les *Leys*," 184.

<sup>152</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:346. See my discussion above, n. 105.

<sup>153</sup> "L'on assiste, à la fin du 13e siècle, à une évolution du genre vers le domaine religieux, ce qui ne pouvait manquer de séduire Guilhem Molinier et ses collaborateurs." Gonfroy, "Les Genres lyriques," 129. The spiritual potential of the *alba* is demonstrated by five pieces: *Lo pair'e.l Filh e.l Sant Espiritual* by Bernart de Venzac (PC 71.2), *Vers Dieus, el vostre nom e de sancta Maria* by Folquet de Romans (PC 156.15), *Esperansa de totz fermes esperans* by Guilhem d'Autpol (PC 206.1), *Qui veilla ses plazer* by Guiraut Riquier (PC 248.70; called the *Alba de la maire Dieu* in the rubric of MS C), and *Ar levatz sus, franca corteza gens* by Peire Espanhol (PC 342.1).

<sup>154</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:344.

between the two genres lies in the initiator's opening stance: A *tenso* begins with an assertion to which the respondent must react, whereas the *partimen* begins with an either/or proposition, leaving the reply up to the respondent. Despite this difference, Guilhem verifies that the *partimen*, "in terms of its melody, is the same as the *tenso*" ("cant al so es semblans a tenso"), which is to say that its tune is borrowed.

Guilhem also adds a new dimension to our understanding of melodic borrowing in the *planh*. While corroborating the *Doctrina*'s observation of imitative tendencies in the *planh*, Guilhem is nevertheless apprehensive to offer his approval of this practice.

Rather, he identifies melodic borrowing in this genre as yet another *abuzio*, permitted only because of the difficulty a composer might encounter in inventing a suitable melody.

He writes:

E deu haver noel so, plazen, e quays planhen, e pauzat. Pero per abuzio, vezem tot jorn quom se servish en aquest dictat de vers o de chanso, et adonx quar es acostumat, se pot cantar quis vol en lo so del vers o de la chanso don se servish. Laqual cauza permetem majormen per la greveza del so, quar apenas pot hom trobar huey cantre ni autre home que sapia be endevenir et far propriamen un so segon que requier aquest dictatz.<sup>155</sup>

And it must have a new tune, pleasing and as if lamenting, and slow. But we see all the time that in this piece, by abuse, one makes use of a *vers* or of a *canso*; and thus, because it is customary, it can be sung, if one wishes, to the tune of the *vers* or of the *canso* that one has used, which thing we permit principally because of the difficulty of the tune, for scarcely can one find today a composer [lit. singer] or any other man who knows well how to succeed in properly composing a tune according to what this piece requires.

We shall return to the issue of melodic imitation in the *planh* in conjunction with

Chapters 3 and 5.

Not only does Guilhem provide original insight into known imitative genres such as the *tenso* and *planh*, but he would also appear to identify several additional genres—namely, the *escondig*, *gelozesca*, and *relay*—as being possibly imitative. In all

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<sup>155</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:348.

three instances, however, Guilhem’s wording is terse, thus leaving room for confusion. The *escondig*, for example, is defined in *Leys A* as “a composition in the structure of a *canso* in terms of its strophes and its tune” (“us dictatz del compas de chanso cant a las coblas et al so”).<sup>156</sup> Does Guilhem mean that the *escondig* is structurally similar to a *canso*, or does he mean that it should actually imitate a specific *canso*? The former interpretation is supported by a parallel, albeit better-explained expression found in the definition of the *planh*: “[The *planh*] is in the structure of a *vers* in terms of its strophes since it can have from five to ten stanzas” (“es del compas de vers cant a las coblas quar pot haver de .v. a .x. coblas”).<sup>157</sup> Support can also be found for the latter interpretation, however. Notably, in Guilhem’s own revision to the definition of the *escondig* in *Leys C*, he writes: “Some troubadours, when they are accused of slander, compose an *escondig* to the structure of a *vers* or *canso*” (“Alcun trobador, can son acuzat de mal dire, fan al compas de vers o de chanso escondig”).<sup>158</sup> The newly-added expression, *far al compas*, has clear associations with structural-melodic imitation, as seen in the definition of the *tenso*: “In the case that [a *tenso*] is composed to the structure of a *vers* or *canso* [...], it can be sung to that older tune” (“En aquel cas ques *faria al compas* de vers o de chanso [...] se pot cantar en aquel vielh so”).<sup>159</sup> Either reading would thus appear to be tenable, but Luis de Averçó’s commentary on Guilhem’s theory of genre gives preference to the latter interpretation. He writes: “But know that this composition, in terms of its strophes

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<sup>156</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:348.

<sup>157</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:348.

<sup>158</sup> Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 2:30-31.

<sup>159</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:344.

and its melody, must be entirely indebted to the form of a *canso*” (“Mas sapiatz que aquest dictat deu servir en las coblas e en los so, tota la forma de canço”).<sup>160</sup> Luis’s gloss thus suggests that the *escondig* was, in fact, an imitative genre.

The confusion that arises from Guilhem’s definition(s) of the *escondig* also arises from his quick definitions of the *gelozesca* and the *relay*, which state simply: “Some compose *gelozescas* to the structure of a *dansa* and *relays* to the structure of a *vers* or *canso*” (“alqu fassan gilozescas [*sic*] al compas de dansa e relays a compas de vers o de chanso”).<sup>161</sup> Unfortunately, the ambiguity of Guilhem’s language cannot be resolved through the extant troubadour repertoire. The three lyric types in question were practiced only peripherally, making it impossible to establish any sort of compositional trend. In fact, there are no known examples of the *relay*, and as mentioned above, the *escondig* and *gelozesca* are each represented by only one example within the troubadour repertoire.

As for the only extant example of the *escondig*, Bertran de Born’s *Eu m’escondisc, domna* suggests possible, but not unequivocal, imitation. His song (with a strophic form of **10 a a b a a b**) exhibits the same structure, but not the same rhyme sounds as *Ai! chan d’auzels comensa sa sazoz* (*Ah! the singing of birds begins its season*, PC 70.11), a *canso* of uncertain authorship but perhaps composed by Peire Rogier (fl. 1160s).<sup>162</sup> Neither the *escondig* nor the *canso* has been preserved with its melody,

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<sup>160</sup> Casas Homs, ed., “*Torcimany*”, 1:96.

<sup>161</sup> Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:348.

<sup>162</sup> For the complete text, see M. Raynouard, ed., *Choix des poésies originales des troubadours*, 6 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1816-21), 3:60-62. The authorship of this song is less than certain due to conflicting manuscript attributions: Bernart de Ventadorn (fl. 1147-70) in MSS C and E, Perdigon (fl. 1192-1212) in MSS C and R, Peire Rogier (fl. 1160s) in MS c, Raimon de las Salas (fl. 1210s) in MS P, and Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (fl. 1180-1205) in MS Sg; it is anonymous in MS S (Pillet and Carstens, eds., *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, 53-54).

making kinship between the two songs impossible to prove. An intertextual comparison of the two pieces, however, suggests that the *canso* could very well have served as a point of departure for Bertran's efforts to secure his lady's forgiveness. Most notably, in the sixth stanza of the *canso*, the poet sings:

Quan quier merce mi dons de genolhos,  
Ela m'encolpa e mi met ochaizos;  
E l'aigua.m cor denan per miei lo vis,  
Et ela .m fai un regard amoros,  
Et ieu li bais la boc' e.ls huels amdos,  
Adonc mi par un joy de paradis.<sup>163</sup>

When on my knees I seek my lady's mercy,  
she inculpates and accuses me;  
and tears run down my face,  
and she gives me a loving look,  
and I kiss her lips and both her eyes,  
and then I receive a heavenly pleasure.

The swift progression that the troubadour traces from his lady's accusation to her forgiveness, with his remorse attaining the ultimate sensual reward, could have quite conceivably served as a source of poetic inspiration for Bertran's apology. It is thus tempting to hear Bertran's *escondig* as a contrafactum of the *canso Ai! chant d'auzels*. To do so, of course, would support the inclusion of the *escondig* among the imitative genres, a supposition that finds support outside the troubadour tradition through Petrarch's imitative *escondig*. Unfortunately, our speculations as to imitative practices in the *escondig* are impossible to maintain across a broad scheme based upon the extant troubadour repertoire.

As for the sole surviving example of the *gelozesca*, Cerveri de Girona's *Al fals gelos* (PC 434a.1a) indeed follows the structure of a *dansa*, but there is no evidence to suggest that Cerveri was imitating a specific piece.<sup>164</sup> According to Guilhem's definition, a *dansa* should consist of a refrain, three strophes, and a *tornada* in the same form as the

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<sup>163</sup> Raynouard, ed., *Choix de poésies*, 3:60-62 (ll. 31-36).

<sup>164</sup> For the song text, see Martín de Riquer, ed., *Obras completas del trovador Cerverí de Girona* (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Estudios Mediterráneos, 1947), 16-18.

refrain. In addition, the lines of the *dansa* should be octosyllabic or shorter; if the lines of *dansa* were to exceed this length, Guilhem explains, “the *dansa* would be irregular and atypical” (“seria irregulars aytals dansa anormals”).<sup>165</sup> Cerveri’s *gelozesca* adheres to this definition, deviating only in its decasyllabic line lengths. Cerveri’s piece thus substantiates Guilhem’s observation that “some compose *gelozescas* to the structure of a *dansa*,” without, however, actually clarifying whether that means imitating a specific *dansa* or simply adopting the structural conventions of that genre. As was the case with the *escondig*, there is simply not enough surviving evidence to allow a clear conclusion.

### **From theory to practice: Bridging the gap**

The pertinence of the theorists’ generic classifications to the living art of the troubadours has been pondered by many scholars, including John H. Marshall, William D. Paden, Gérard Gouffier, and Elizabeth Aubrey. While each of these scholars approaches the question from a different vantage point, one trait common to each of their studies is the emphasis on the fixity of the theorists’ vision. As already seen in a passage cited above, Marshall has suggested that “the idea that a poetic genre might evolve...is entirely foreign to [Jofre’s view].”<sup>166</sup> For his part, Paden has remarked upon the “rigid formulation” of the generic system in the *Leys*.<sup>167</sup> Aubrey has attributed the theorists’

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<sup>165</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:340-42.

<sup>166</sup> Marshall, *The “Razos”*, xciv.

<sup>167</sup> Paden, “The System of Genres,” 33.

schematicizations to a “penchant for [...] conventionalization.”<sup>168</sup> Finally, Gonfroy has commented on “*le fixisme* of [the theorists’] vision, which describes the poetic genres as if they were immutable, entirely outside of their historicism.”<sup>169</sup>

We can generally observe that these statements are intended less as a critique of the theorists themselves than as a caveat to modern scholars who would apply the theorists’ definitions without discretion across the entire repertoire. Paden, for example, advises, “we must take care not to invest [the system of genres] with factitious authority over our reading, and in particular we must avoid reading the early troubadours as though they were subservient to a genre system which in fact they were in the process of creating.”<sup>170</sup> In a similar manner, Gonfroy warns against “the methodological risks of an incautious comparison between the precepts of the *tractadistas* and the earlier practice of the troubadours.”<sup>171</sup> For her part, Aubrey praises the fact that “students of medieval lyric are becoming more reluctant to succumb to the proclivity to pigeonhole.”<sup>172</sup>

There is no doubt that we would be well advised to follow these scholars’ cautions against “insist[ing] too sharply on the restrictions imposed upon the troubadours and trobairitz by the system of genres.”<sup>173</sup> At the same time, it should be recognized that the theorists do actually allow for a greater degree of compositional flexibility than they

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<sup>168</sup> Aubrey, *The Music*, 80.

<sup>169</sup> The original text reads: “...le fixisme d’une vision qui décrit les genres poétiques comme immuables, hors de toute historicité...” Gonfroy, “Les Genres lyriques,” 130.

<sup>170</sup> Paden, “The System of Genres,” 35-36.

<sup>171</sup> The original text reads: “...les risques méthodologiques d’une confrontation sans précaution entre les préceptes des *tractadistas* et la pratique troubadouresque antérieure.” Gonfroy, “Les Genres lyriques,” 130.

<sup>172</sup> Aubrey, *The Music*, 82.

<sup>173</sup> Paden, “The System of Genres,” 44.

have been given credit for. Regarding the issue of contrafacture, for example, we find that the theorists' instructions often read more as guidelines than they do as hard and fast rules. Thus, whereas Gonfroy has suggested that "our authors *insist* upon the fact that the *sirventes* borrows its strophic and melodic structure from a preexistent *vers* or *canso*,"<sup>174</sup> the definition given in the *Doctrina* reveals that Jofre does not, in fact, insist upon contrafacture, but rather freely admits the possibility that "exceptionally [the *sirventes*] is composed to a new tune" ("e specialment se fa en so novell").<sup>175</sup> Similar observations can be made regarding the definitions of certain imitative types in the *Leys*. Paden, for example, has asserted that Guilhem's "definitions of the principal genres are *consistently* authoritarian in tone."<sup>176</sup> As we observed above in regard to the *planh*, however, whereas Guilhem does maintain a preference for melodic originality, he nevertheless permits—albeit reluctantly—melodic borrowing as a compositional option.<sup>177</sup> Moreover, Guilhem's description of contrafacture in the *tenso* clearly reads as a suggestion, not a mandate. He writes:

Encaras dizem que *non es de necessitat* ques haia so, *enpero en aquel cas* ques faria al compas de vers o de chanso o dautre dictat qu'aver deia so, *se pot* cantar en aquel vielh so.<sup>178</sup>

We also observe that *it is not necessary* for [the *tenso*] to have a tune, *but in the case* that it is made to the structure of a *vers* or *canso* or some other piece that should have a tune, it *can* be sung to that older tune.

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<sup>174</sup> "Nos auteurs *insistent* sur le fait que le *sirventes* emprunte sa structure strophique et mélodique à un *vers* ou à un *canso* préexistants." Gonfroy, "Les Genres lyriques," 127. Emphases mine.

<sup>175</sup> Marshall, ed., *The "Razos"*, 96.

<sup>176</sup> Paden, "The System of Genres," 31. Emphasis mine.

<sup>177</sup> See discussion above, p. 71.

<sup>178</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:344. Emphases mine.



Not only is melodic performance optional, so too is melodic borrowing. Employing such phrases as *non es de necessitat, en aquel cas*, and *se pot cantar*, Guilhem presents himself to be decidedly less “authoritarian” than Paden has portrayed him to be.

Following the caveats of modern scholars, and taking cues from the nuances in the treatises, we must strive to bridge the gap between the fixed vision of the theorists and the dynamic past of the troubadours. Just as the theorists concerned themselves with generic classification, so too did the troubadours frequently show themselves to be intensely aware of genre. This interest manifests itself in the numerous incipits that announce the troubadour’s compositional choice: *De fin’amor comenson mas chansos* (PC 10.20), *Ab joi comensi ma chanso* (16.1), *De faire chanso* (167.18), *Per ces dei una chanso* (364.34), *Chansoneta leu e plana* (210.8), *Leu chansonet’e vil* (242.45), *Vil sirventes de vil ome voill far* (82.17), *D’un sirventes far* (217.2), etc.<sup>179</sup> This attention to typology undoubtedly played an important role within the troubadours’ oral tradition, which would have depended upon conventions and expectations for its successful transmission. This fact notwithstanding, one must acknowledge that the troubadours’ approach to genre was far more fluid and less systematic than that of the theorists, displaying myriad manifestations of variety within any given prototype. Certainly the constituents making up a generic category yield greater diversity than can be encapsulated in a fifty-word definition. We must not, therefore, attempt to contain that variety by turning the theorists’ definitions into Procrustean beds. Instead, recognizing

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<sup>179</sup> Numerous additional examples could be cited. An examination of the troubadours’ *tornadas* would reveal a comparable attention to generic classification.

the limitations of the treatises, we must accept the generic system as a fixed point of departure for contextualized examinations of the compositional norms of a given troubadour and his generation.

## CHAPTER 3

### IMITATION UPON IMITATION:

#### ‘TO THE TUNE OF THE LAMENT ON THE YOUNG KING OF ENGLAND’

When one considers the manuscript transmission of contrafacta or suspected contrafacta, one might expect some sort of scribal indication—perhaps in the marginalia or rubrics—that would serve as a witness to structural-melodic relationships between pieces. As discussed in Chapter 1, however, melodic borrowing between pieces was only rarely acknowledged explicitly by the scribes of the chansonniers. The most frequently cited example within the troubadour repertoire was provided above as Figure 1.2: the Monk of Montaudon’s *Mot m’enveya* imitation of Bertran de Born’s *Rassa, tan creis*, indicated by the main text scribe of MS R to be “el so de la Rassa.” Notably, this reference is made neither marginally nor faintly as if an instruction to the music scribe, but rather in the main hand as if it were an essential performative aspect of the poetic text itself.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Aubrey finds, to the contrary, that this indication was most likely “addressed by the text scribe to the music scribe, not to a singer” (*The Music*, 123).

As seen in Figure 3.1, an examination of the marginal annotations of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 856 (hereafter, MS C) yields one additional “to the tune of” reference. This reference has escaped the attention of scholars, perhaps because the tune in question is not actually extant. Even in the absence of the melody, though, this reference serves as an entrée into a complex of songs that raises an interesting set of issues for the discussion of contrafacture and attribution. The reference in question is found in the margin of folio 280v of MS C alongside a *sirventes* by Peire Cardenal, *Aissi com hom plainh son fill o son paire* (PC 335.2).<sup>2</sup> The scribe notes that Peire’s piece is written “en lo soo deu plant deu Rey juen dangleterre,” or “to the tune of the *planh* on the young king of England.”

The scribe’s observation is an unmistakable reference to Bertran de Born’s *planh* for Young King Henry (d. 11 June 1183), *Mon chan fenis ab dol et ab maltraire* (PC 80.26), itself found on ff. 144v-145 of the same manuscript without any special annotation.<sup>3</sup> Even without the scribal reference, the relationship between Bertran’s *planh* and Peire’s *sirventes* is easily recognized. As seen in a side-by-side structural comparison of their first strophes, both pieces display the same distinctive strophic form as well as identical rhyme sounds. This shared strophic structure has also been summarized graphically below the texts as Figure 3.2.

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<sup>2</sup> The text of *Aissi com hom plainh* has been edited by Lavaud, *Poésies complètes du troubadour Peire Cardenal*, 246-52. Lavaud tentatively dates the piece to the first decade of the thirteenth century (250).

<sup>3</sup> For the complete text and translation of Bertran’s *planh*, see Paden, et al., eds., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 215-23.

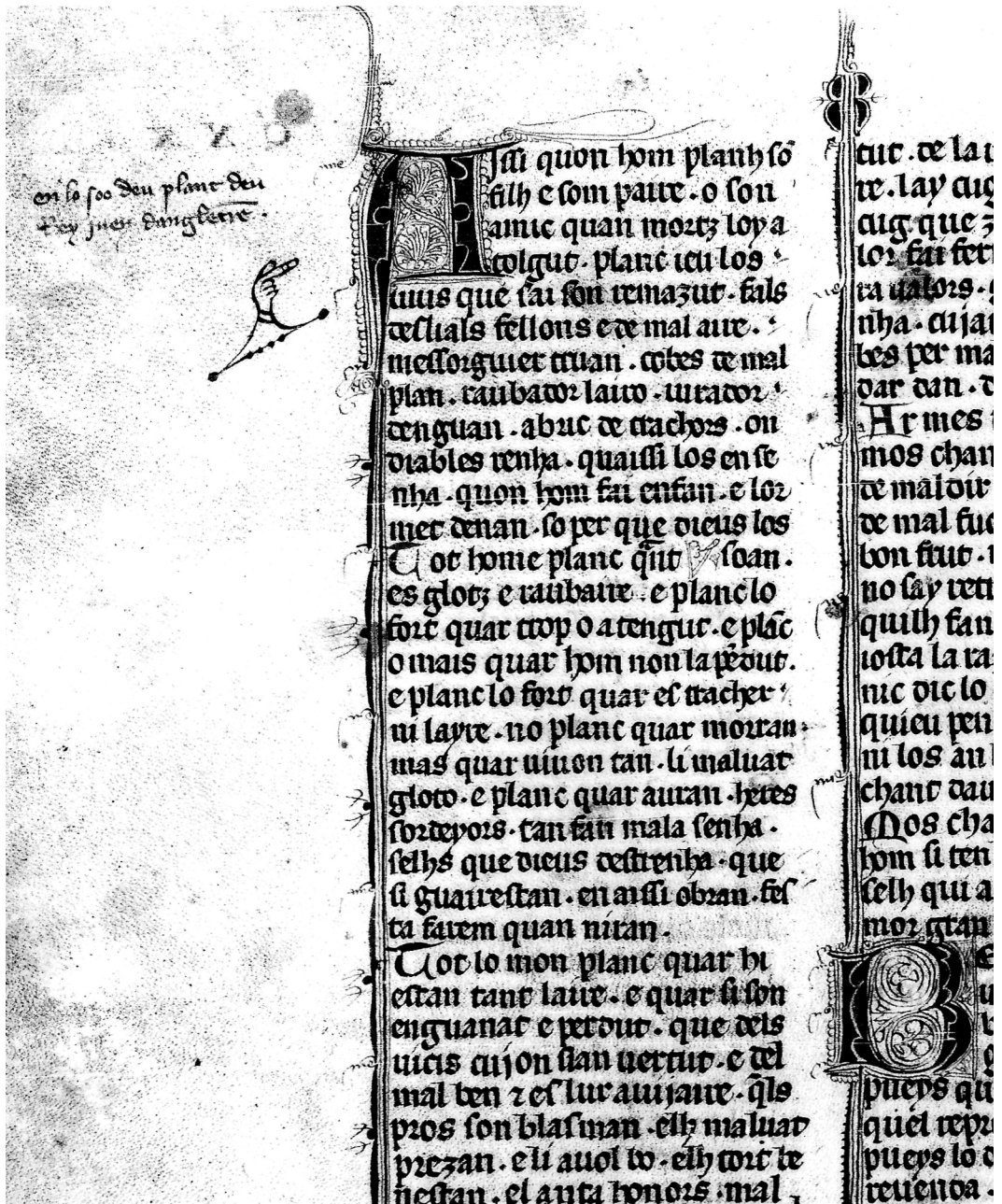


Figure 3.1 Peire Cardenal's *Aissi com hom plainh son fill o son paire* (PC 335.2), said to be "en lo soo deu plant deu Rey juen dangleterre" (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 856, fol. 281v, detail). Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Mon chan fenis ab dol et ab maltraire  
 Per totz temps mais e.l tenc per romazut,  
 Car ma rason e mon gaug ai perdut  
 E.l meillor rei que anc nasqes de maire,  
     Larc e gen parlan  
     E gen cavalgan,  
     De bella faiso  
     E d'umil senblan  
     Per far grans honors.  
     Tant cre que.m destreingna  
     Lo dols que m'esteingna  
     Car en vauc parlan.  
     A Dieu lo coman,  
 Qe.l met'en loc San Joan.<sup>4</sup>

Aissi com hom plainh son fill o son paire  
 O son amic quan mortz lo i a tolgut  
 Plainh ieu los vius qui sai son remazut,  
 Maint deslial, felon e de mal aire,  
     Mensongier, truan,  
     Cobes de mal plan,  
     Raubador, lairon,  
     Jurador, tiran,  
     Abric de trachors,  
     On diables reinha  
     C'aissi los enseinha  
     Com hom fai enfan  
     E lor met denan  
 So per que Dieus los soan.<sup>5</sup>

Rhymes:	a	b	b	a	c	c	d	c	e	f	f	c	c	c
Syllables:	10'	10	10	10'	5	5	5	5	5	5'	5'	5	5	7
Sounds:	aire	ut	ut	aire	an	an	o	an	ors	enha	enha	an	an	an

**Figure 3.2** Illustration of the shared strophic structure of Bertran de Born's *Mon chan fenis ab dol et ab maltraire* (PC 80.26) and Peire Cardenal's *Aissi com hom plainh son fill o son paire* (PC 335.2)

<sup>4</sup> Paden, et al., eds., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 219.

<sup>5</sup> Lavaud, ed., *Poésies complètes du troubadour Peire Cardenal*, 246.

Peire's motivation for imitating the structure of Bertran's *planh* is made clear in the opening lines of his *sirventes*, in which he expresses his own intention to lament (*planher*). Rather than mourning the deceased, however, Peire laments the unscrupulous behavior of the living, as the following translation of his opening lines makes clear:

Aissi com hom plainh son fill o son paire	Just as one laments one's son or one's father
O son amic quan mortz lo i a tolgut	Or one's friend when death has taken him away,
Plainh ieu los vius qui sai son remazut	So do I lament the living who remain here,
Maint deslial, felon e de mal aire.	So disloyal, treacherous, and bad-natured.

Taking his cue from Bertran's list of the Young King's virtues (e.g., generosity, eloquence, chivalry, and humility; ll. 5-9), Peire continues his first strophe with a list of worldly vices (dishonesty, covetousness, theft, tyranny, treachery, etc.; ll. 5-9). Whereas Bertran concludes the strophe by commending young Henry's spirit to God (l. 13), Peire justifies God's refusal of the offending parties (l. 14).

In the remaining strophes of the *sirventes*, Peire continues with a tirade of complaints against the living world. His expression "I lament," at eight recurrences, rings out like an *idée fixe*.<sup>6</sup> In both its form and content, then, Peire's piece becomes a parody of the typical *planh*. The scribe of MS C leaves no doubt that Peire intended this parody to be carried out in the same tune as his model. Unfortunately, the loss of the melody precludes such a performance.

The influence of Bertran's *planh* on Peire's *sirventes* is indisputable. One has reason to wonder, however, if Bertran's *planh* was an original composition, or was rather itself an imitation of a *canço* by Peire Raimon de Tolosa, *No.m puesc sofrir d'una leu*

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<sup>6</sup> Besides the two occurrences in the first strophe, "plainh" appears in ll. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 29, and 43.

*chanso faire* (PC 355.9).<sup>7</sup> Peire Raimon's song exhibits the same strophic structure and rhyme sounds as the pieces by Bertran and Peire Cardenal. As a *canso*, *No.m puesc sofrir* is the most likely candidate of the three pieces involved to have been composed to a new melody. The *planh*, on the other hand, was one of a handful of genres that eventually came to be associated with a borrowed tune. The author of the *Doctrina*, for example, suggests that the *planh* should be composed to a preexistent tune, excepting that of a *dansa*:

Si vols fer plant, d'amor o de tristor deus la raho continuar; e pot[z] lo fer en qual so te vullés, salvant de dança. E atressi potz lo fer d'aytantes cobles con la [un] dels damunt dits cantars, e en contrasembles o en dessemblants. E no.y deus mesclar altra raho sino plahien, si per comp[ar]acio no.y ho podies portar.<sup>8</sup>

If you want to compose a *planh*, you must proceed in the theme of love or of sadness; and you can compose it to whichever tune you wish, save that of a *dansa*. And likewise you can compose it in as many strophes as in one of the above-mentioned songs [i.e., six to eight strophes as in a *canso* or *vers*, etc.], and in corresponding or non-corresponding [rhymes]. And you must not mix in other themes besides lamenting if you cannot bring them in through comparison.

The question therefore arises: Could Bertran de Born's *Mon chan fenis* be the first representative of the imitative *planh*?<sup>9</sup> Certainly the unmistakable structural relationship between Bertran's *planh* and Peire Raimon's *canso No.m puesc sofrir* gives one good reason to suspect such a scenario, but does the chronology of the two pieces allow such a conclusion? These very questions have been deliberated by numerous scholars—

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<sup>7</sup> Peire Raimon's *Non puesc sofrir* is also preserved in MS C (ff. 241v-242) without any special remarks by the scribe. Peire Raimon's text has been edited by Joseph Anglade, "Poésies du troubadour Peire Raimon de Toulouse," *Annales du Midi* 31-32 (1919-20): 259-63.

<sup>8</sup> Marshall, ed., *The "Razos"*, 96.

<sup>9</sup> Only three *planhs* can be securely placed earlier than Bertran's *Mon chan fenis*, namely Cercamon's *Lo plaing comenz iradamen* (PC 112.2a), composed on the death of Guilhem X of Aquitania, 9 April 1137; Giraut de Borneil's *S'anc iorn agui ioi ni solatz* (PC 242.65), for the death of Raimbaut d'Aurenga in 1173; and Guilhem de Berguedan's *Cossiros cant e plang e plor* (PC 210.9), composed ca. 1180 on the death of Pons de Mataplana. All three *planhs* are structurally unique within the extant repertoire, and thus assumed to be original. These three pieces will be discussed in greater detail below.



including Pio Rajna, Alfredo Cavaliere, Kurt Lewent, Frank M. Chambers, René Lavaud, Dietmar Rieger, John H. Marshall, and William D. Paden and his co-editors Tilde Sankovitch and Patricia H. Stäblein—with no definitive consensus.<sup>10</sup> While the majority of scholars have maintained the priority of Peire Raimon’s *canso*, the most recent argument advanced by William Paden et al. posits the reverse, namely that Bertran de Born’s *planh* was the model and *No.m puesc sufrir* its imitation.

The first scholar to suggest the dependence of Bertran de Born’s *planh* on Peire Raimon’s *canso* was Pio Rajna, following the formal identification made by Friedrich Maus.<sup>11</sup> The later scholars Cavaliere, Lewent, Chambers, Lavaud, and Marshall have all agreed that Peire Raimon was the likely originator of the metric scheme in question as well as of its now-lost melody. They have expressed this view in varying degrees of certitude, with each scholar offering different reasoning in support of his conclusion. For example, both Cavaliere and Lavaud find their justification for arguing in favor of Peire Raimon’s invention of the form in the troubadour’s reference to composing “a *new* and precious little song” (“un *nou* chantaret prezan,” l. 14), an idea to which we shall return

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<sup>10</sup> The studies to which I refer are: Pio Rajna, “Varietà provenzali,” *Romania* 50 (1924): 254-58; Alfredo Cavaliere, *Le Poesie di Peire Raimon de Tolosa* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1935), 51; Kurt Lewent, “À propos du troubadour Peire Raimon de Tolosa,” *Romania* 66 (1940-41): 15; Chambers, “Imitation of Form,” 112; Lavaud, ed., *Poésies complètes du troubadour Peire Cardenal*, 246; William D. Paden, Jr., “Bertran de Born in Italy,” in *Italian Literature: Roots and Branches, Essays in Honor of Thomas Goddard Bergin*, eds. Giose Rimanelli and Kenneth John Atchity (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 44; Dietmar Rieger, *Gattungen und Gattungsbezeichnungen der Trobadordlyrik: Untersuchungen zum altprovenzalischen Sirventes* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1976), 299-300; Marshall, “Imitation of Metrical Form in Peire Cardenal,” 23-24, as well as his “Pour l’étude des *contrafacta*,” 295-97; and finally, Paden, et al., eds., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 58-59 and 216.

<sup>11</sup> F. W. Maus, *Peire Cardenals Strophenbau in seinem Verhältniss zu dem anderer Trobadors, nebst einem Anhang enthaltend: alphabetisches Verzeichniss sämtlicher Strophenformen der Provenzalischen Lyrik* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert’sche, 1884), 24 and 89.

below.<sup>12</sup> For Lewent, the structural independence of *No.m puesc sufrir* fits into a larger argument demonstrating Peire Raimon's quest for originality.<sup>13</sup> Chambers's reasoning is grounded in a survey of the imitative genres and their evolutions into such; within this context, he assertively identifies Bertran de Born's *Mon chan fenis* as "the earliest imitative *planh*."<sup>14</sup> Most recently, Marshall has presented his argument in somewhat less definitive terms. Without specifying his reasoning, he writes that it is "highly probable" that Bertran's *planh* "borrowed its metric form, its rhymes and without a doubt its melody" from Peire Raimon's *canso*.<sup>15</sup> A few pages later, however, without having provided further evidence in support of his argument, Marshall refers to Bertran's borrowing as a "fact."<sup>16</sup> This vacillation is surely indicative of the ultimate incertitude of the matter.

Dietmar Rieger and William D. Paden, apparently independently of each other, have taken positions against the originality of Peire Raimon's *canso*, arguing instead for the priority of Bertran's *Mon chan fenis*. For both scholars, the solution to determining order of composition lies in a simple matter of chronology. Peire Raimon composed *No.m puesc sufrir* in honor of Alfonso II of Aragon, who reigned from 1162 to 1196.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Cavaliere, *Le Poesie di Peire Raimon*, 51; and Lavaud, *Poésies complètes*, 246. Emphasis mine.

<sup>13</sup> Lewent, "À propos du troubadour Peire Raimon de Tolosa," 15.

<sup>14</sup> Chambers, "Imitation of Form," 112.

<sup>15</sup> Marshall, "Pour l'étude des *contrafacta*," 295.

<sup>16</sup> Marshall refers to "*le fait* que Bertran de Born avait déjà utilisé une chanson de Peire Raimon comme modèle..." See "Pour l'étude des *contrafacta*," 297. In his later article, Marshall returns to his original terms, stating: "That the inventor of tune and form was Peire Raimon is highly probable." See Marshall, "Imitation of Metrical Form," 23-24.

<sup>17</sup> King Alfonso is the subject of the sixth strophe of *No.m puesc sufrir*. See Anglade, ed., "Poésies du troubadour Peire Raimon de Toulouse," 262-63 (ll. 71-84).

While it is not known when Peire Raimon entered the service of the king, Alfonso's death in 1196 establishes a clear *terminus ante quem* for the *canso*. Peire Raimon would eventually join the entourage of the "good count Raimon," probably Raimon VI of Toulouse (1194-1222), before traveling to Italy where he was active until at least 1221.<sup>18</sup> Based upon the troubadour's biography, Rieger has implied that dating Peire Raimon's *No.m puesc sufrir* to pre-1183 (i.e., the year of Young King Henry's death) would make the troubadour's *floruit* too long. He argues: "Whether [Peire Raimon's *canso*] can be dated to before 1183 is questionable, since, after all, Uc de Saint-Circ addressed two *coblas* to Peire Raimon probably even after 1220."<sup>19</sup> While admitting that the question of compositional order "cannot be answered with certitude," Rieger nevertheless concludes that Peire's imitation of Bertran "is more probable considering the chronology."<sup>20</sup> William D. Paden likewise leans in favor of Bertran's formal ingenuity, citing as his sole justification the lack of "firm evidence that Peire was active before 1196."<sup>21</sup> Paden

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<sup>18</sup> Peire Raimon's stay with Count Raimon of Toulouse is reported by his *vida*; see Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours*, 347. For reasons of chronology, modern scholars agree that the *bon comte Raimon* represents Raimon VI, not the V (1148-1194). Curiously, Peire Raimon's *vida* does not mention the Italian phase of his career, which is evidenced by the troubadour's dedications to Thomas I, count of Savoie (1178-1233), Beatrice d'Este, Guilhem of Malaspina (1194-1220), and Conrad d'Auramala, marquis of Malaspina, who succeeded Guilhem in 1221. For the specific references, see the discussion by Cavaliere in *Le Poesie di Peire Raimon de Tolosa*, vi-vii.

<sup>19</sup> "Ob sie jedoch bis vor 1183 zurückdatiert werden kann, ist fraglich, denn immerhin richtet wahrscheinlich noch nach 1220 Uc de Saint-Circ 2 Coblas an Peire Raimon." Rieger, *Gattungen*, 299. The *coblas* to which Rieger refers is *Pei Ramonz ditz* (PC 457.27), edited by Alfred Jeanroy and J.-J. Salverda de Grave, *Poesies de Uc de Saint-Circ* (Toulouse: Privat, 1913), 105. Uc met Peire Raimon while the two troubadours were in Italy, Uc having traveled there in 1220.

<sup>20</sup> Rieger writes: "Ob schon Bertran de Born zu einem seiner Klagelieder auf den Tod des 'jove rei' (P.-C. 80,26: 1183) tatsächlich metrische Struktur und Melodie von einem anderen Gedicht, einer Kanzone von Peire Raimon de Toulouse, übernommen hat, deren Strophenbau einschließlich der Reime mit dem seines Planh völlig identisch ist, oder ob Bertrams Gedicht für Peires Kanzone (P.-C. 355,9) als Vorbild gedient hat—was in Anbetracht der Chronologie wahrscheinlicher ist—diese Frage kann nicht mit Bestimmtheit beantwortet werden." *Gattungen*, 299.

<sup>21</sup> Paden, "Bertran de Born in Italy," 44.

maintains this initial finding in his more recent edition of Bertran de Born's works, prepared in conjunction with Tilde Sankovitch and Patricia Stäblein. In their introduction to the edition, Paden and his co-authors note that Peire Raimon's presumed *floruit* of 1190-1221 "implies that he adopted the form of the *canso* in question from Bertran."<sup>22</sup> They end, however, by presenting this compositional order as fact, prefacing the text of *Mon chan fenis* with the statement that it was "imitated by Peire Raimon de Tolosa."<sup>23</sup>

The reason of chronology cited against the primacy of Peire Raimon's *canso* *No.m puesc sofrir* is not overly persuasive. A *floruit* of forty or more years is certainly not unprecedented among Peire Raimon's contemporaries. Peire Cardenal, for example, was active from 1205 to 1272, Daude de Pradas lived from 1214 to 1282, and Guiraut Riquier's compositions range in date from 1254 to 1292. Moreover, there actually exists a strong argument in favor of according Peire Raimon a long period of activity, for the author of his *vida* identifies him precisely as *lo Viellz* ("the elder").<sup>24</sup> Since there is no

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<sup>22</sup> The passage reads in full: "We have no other evidence that Peire Raimon was active much earlier than the death in 1196 of Alfonso II of Aragon, of whom he speaks in this song [i.e., *Non puesc sofrir*] and in two more, and other poems of his must have been written as late as 1221. His editors seem reasonable in dating his activity around 1190-1221, which implies that he adopted the form of the *canso* in question from Bertran." Paden et al., eds., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 58-59.

<sup>23</sup> Paden et al., eds., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 216.

<sup>24</sup> Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours*, 347. The *vida* is transmitted in MSS A, B, I, K, and N<sup>2</sup>; the qualifier *lo Viellz* is absent from MSS I and K.

other Peire Raimon who would make such a qualification necessary (e.g., *lo fils*), we have good reason to suppose that Peire Raimon's longevity became one of his distinguishing characteristics.<sup>25</sup>

Just as it is possible to downplay the evidence posited against the primacy of Peire Raimon's *canso*, it is likewise possible to bolster the arguments hitherto advanced in favor of Peire Raimon's influence on Bertran. To this end, I should like to take as a point of departure Alfredo Cavaliere and René Lavaud's notion of looking for clues of compositional order in the poets' own declarations. As mentioned above, both Cavaliere and Lavaud cite Peire Raimon's reference to his song as *un nou chantaret* as evidence of its originality. This interpretation is indeed tempting, yet as Dietmar Rieger has justly noted, "just like the frequent designation *nou sirventes*," Peire Raimon's reference "proves nothing about the originality of the melody."<sup>26</sup> We can support Rieger's observation by citing as an example *Un nou sirventes ai en cor que trameta* (*I have it in my heart to deliver a new sirventes*, PC 217.8) by Guillem Figueira (fl. 1215-40), which shares its idiosyncratic strophic structure and rhyme sounds with a *canso* by Guillem Peire de Cazals, *D'una leu chanso ai cor que.m entremeta* (*I have it in my heart to*

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. Margarita Egan, who finds the designation difficult to explain, stating that "it is uncertain whether *lo Viellz* [...] means 'the elder' or indicates that Peire belonged to an older generation." See Egan, trans., *The Vidas of the Troubadours* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984), 77. We should note that Elizabeth Aubrey would appear to offer proof positive of dating Peire Raimon's activity to the 1180s when she states that "the name 'Petrus Raimundus' appears in Toulousain charters of 1182 and 1214" (*The Music*, 17). Unfortunately, the statement is inaccurate. Her source, an article by Joseph Anglade, reveals that Petrus Ramundus is named only as the copyist in a 1212 transcription of a charter originally composed in 1182. See Anglade, "À propos de Peire Vidal," *Romania* 49 (1923): 105. (As an aside, we should also observe that Aubrey mistakenly identifies Peire Raimon himself as the author of the *planh* on the death of Young Henry, calling it his "earliest datable song." *The Music*, 18.)

<sup>26</sup> "V. 14: *Un nou chantaret prezan* [...] besagt—ähnlich wie die in Sirventesen häufige Bezeichnung *nou sirventes*—nichts über die Originalität der Melodie." Rieger, *Gattungen*, 299n120.

*undertake a light canso*, PC 227.8).<sup>27</sup> Based upon the generic norms already in place by the first half of the thirteenth century, one would be justified in presuming that the *canso* was the model, and the *nou sirventes* its imitation. In Chapter 4, we shall examine in greater detail a second example of an apparently imitative *sirventes*, nevertheless designated as *novel* by its composer.<sup>28</sup> We cannot therefore accept Peire Raimon's reference to his *nou chantaret* alone as a justification for considering *No.m puesc sofrir* as the model for subsequent imitations. Nevertheless, the inclination of Cavaliere and Lavaud to query the troubadour's own statements regarding his compositional intentions provides an important focal point for further discussion.<sup>29</sup>

While Peire Raimon's reference to his composition as *un nou chantaret* may not necessarily be indicative of melodic originality, it is symptomatic of the emphasis that the troubadour places on the lyrical nature of his piece. As evidenced by the incipit of his *canso*, Peire Raimon feels overwhelmingly compelled to sing, declaring: "I cannot keep myself from composing a light *canso*." This introductory accent on the troubadour's desire to sing marks the entire first strophe of the *canso*, which contains two additional references to his present act of singing and composition.<sup>30</sup> The first strophe reads in full:

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<sup>27</sup> The distinctive form of both pieces is: **11a' 11b' 11a' 11b' 8c' 8d 9c' 8d 11e' 11d 11e' 11d**. See Frank, *Répertoire métrique*, 1:81 (schema 412:1-2), as well as 2:229 for corrections to the original schema.

<sup>28</sup> The piece to be discussed is Peire Cardenal's *Un sirventes novel vueill comensar* (PC 335.67).

<sup>29</sup> We should note that Pio Rajna also explores the composers' rhetoric, but not in the aim of informing compositional order. Rather, Rajna is interested in exploring the striking difference in tone that is created between Peire Raimon's "allegrezza" and Bertran's "tristezza profonda" ("Varietà provenzali," 255-56).

<sup>30</sup> In troubadour lyrics, the verb *cantar* (to sing) is frequently employed as an equivalent of *canso faire* (to compose a *canso*). Paul Zumthor has documented a parallel usage of the verb *chanter* in trouvère lyrics; see his article, "De la circularité du chant (à propos des trouvères des XIIe et XIIIe siècles)," *Poétique* 2 (1970): 133.

No.m puese sufrir d'una leu chanso faire,  
 Pus prec e man n'ai de Mon Erebut;  
 Qu'apres lo dan e.l mal qu'ieu n'ai agut,  
 Coven qu'ab joy m'esbaudey e m'esclaira:  
 Quar segon l'afan  
 Qu'ai sufert tan gran,  
 Non agra razo  
 Qu'ieu cantes oguan;  
 Mas quar fin'amors  
 Mi mostr'e m'ensenha  
 Que.ls mals no.m sovenha  
*E torn en mon chan,*  
 Farai derenan  
*Un nou chantaret prezan.*<sup>31</sup>

*I cannot keep myself from composing a light canso,*  
 since I have an entreaty and order from my Elated One  
 that after the injury and bad things that I have experienced,  
 it is fitting that in joy I should exult and make merry:  
 For following the chagrin  
 that I have suffered so deeply,  
 there should be no reason  
 for me to ever sing again;  
 but because true love  
 shows me and teaches me  
 not to dwell on the bad,  
*I return to my singing,*  
 and I will now *compose*  
 a new and precious little song.

Peire Raimon's initial emphasis on the lyricism of his piece also manifests itself indirectly through his repeated identification of his piece as a *canso*. In addition to the references within the first strophe to composing a *canso* (l. 1) and a *chantaret* (l. 14), Peire Raimon also identifies *No.m puese sufrir* as "this *canso*" ("esta chansos," l. 71) and "my *canso*" ("ma chanso," l. 85). To an audience familiar with the compositional norms of the *canso*, Peire Raimon's discernible generic consciousness serves as an embedded reminder of the troubadour's interest in melodic invention.

Peire Raimon's stress on the lyricism of his piece also carries over into his closing *tornada*, in which he expresses his wish that his lady learn to perform the piece. He explains that before he returns to Aragon, he will carry his *canso* to a patron—presumably a lady—who epitomizes joy and merit, with the hope that she will learn to sing and to play his *canso* on the *vielle*. He concludes the piece as follows:

Et ab ma chanso,  
 Enans qu'alhor an,  
 M'en vau lai de cors  
 On Jois e Pretz renha,  
 E vuelh que l'aprenha,  
 Cobletas viulan,  
 E puois en chantan  
 De qual guiz'hom la.i deman.<sup>32</sup>

And  
 before I go elsewhere,  
 I am promptly going with my *canso*  
 there where Joy and Worth reigns,  
 and I want her to learn it,  
 playing couplets on the *vielle*  
 and then singing them  
 in the manner that one asks of her.

<sup>31</sup> Anglade, ed., "Poésies du troubadour Peire Raimon," 259-60. Emphases mine.

<sup>32</sup> Anglade, ed., "Poésies du troubadour Peire Raimon," 263 (ll. 85-92).

We should note that this passage represents one in a limited number of references to the instrumental performance of troubadour song. Moreover, presuming that “Joy and Worth” is a woman, it is one of even fewer images of a woman playing an instrument.

Peire Raimon’s emphasis on the lyricism of his piece is thus exhibited through his professed desire to compose, his choice of genre, and ultimately, through his voiced interest in the continued performance of his song. Even absent the melody, then, the troubadour’s impulse to sing is apparent. This tone finds a striking contrast in the rhetorical stance adopted by Bertran de Born in his *planh*. Indeed, whereas Peire Raimon feels compelled to sing, Bertran is overwhelmingly compelled to abandon song. He opens his *planh*:

Mon chan fenis ab dol et ab maltraire	In grief and suffering I withdraw from singing
Per totz temps mais e.l tenc per romazut,	for the rest of time, and I consider it finished,
Car ma rason e mon gaug ai perdut... <sup>33</sup>	because I have lost my subject and my joy.

Bertran’s personal renunciation of song is echoed in later verses through his expectation that all men will henceforth give up courtly pleasures, including “dining to the sounds of *vielle* and song” (“manjar ab mazan de viol’e de chan,” ll. 33-34).

One cannot, of course, take Bertran’s renunciation of song too literally, for he would return to composition within a matter of days.<sup>34</sup> One wonders, however, as to the symbolic ramifications of such a declaration, delivered within the very context of composing a song. Would it be possible, for example, to interpret Bertran’s vow to abandon song as an indication of his decision to forego, if only temporarily, original

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<sup>33</sup> Paden, et al., eds., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 219 (ll. 1-3). Translation mine. Paden et al. translate: “For evermore I close my song in grief and suffering and think it ended, for I have lost my subject and my joy.”

<sup>34</sup> Paden et al. place *Seigneur en coms, a blasmar* (PC 80.39) between 11 and 24 June 1183. For the complete text, see *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 224-29.



melodic composition? Thus, because the desire to compose fails him, he must rely instead upon a borrowed tune to carry the news of the Young King's death. According to this interpretation, Peire Raimon's *canso* would serve as an effective foil for Bertran's *planh*. Having lost a patron, Bertran is made to question his own purpose as a troubadour. By beginning his *planh* with a subversion of the typical troubadour's stance, so perfectly embodied by Peire Raimon's lyrical *canso*, Bertran is able to underscore the despair of his present situation.

To appreciate more fully Bertran's particular expression of grief, it would be informative to compare his *planh* with the tradition preceding him. Only three *planhs* can be securely placed earlier than 1183: Cercamon's *Lo plaing comenz iradamen* (PC 112.2a), composed on the death of Guilhem X of Aquitaine (son of the troubadour Guilhem IX) in 1137; Giraut de Borneil's *S'anc iorn agui ioi ni solatz* (PC 242.65), for the death of Raimbaut d'Aurenga in 1173; and Guilhem de Berguedan's *Consiros cant e planc e plor* (PC 210.9), composed ca. 1180 on the death of Pons de Mataplana. All three pieces are structurally unique within the extant repertoire, and therefore can be assumed to be original in the present state of our knowledge. Moreover, these three *planhs* share a theme that Alfred Jeanroy has identified as a *motif* of the genre, namely,

the troubadours' admission of the difficulty he finds in singing.<sup>35</sup> Typically, this statement introduces the piece, as can be seen in the opening lines of Cercamon's lament:

Lo plaing comenz iradamen  
D'un vers don hai lo cor dolen.<sup>36</sup>

In grief I begin the lament  
In a song which pains my heart.

In a similar fashion Guilhem de Berguedan begins his *planh*:

Consiros cant e planc e plor  
pel dol qe.m a sasit et pres  
al cor...<sup>37</sup>

Troubled, I sing and lament and weep  
because of the chagrin that has seized me  
and taken hold of my heart...

Somewhat less conventionally, Giraut de Borneil embeds the statement of his reticence to sing within the fourth strophe:

Ni ia mais no m'alegrarai  
Ni non chantarai volontiers,  
Mas no.us posc ben plaigner estiers.

And I shall rejoice no more,  
nor sing with an eager heart—  
though I can truly mourn you in no other way.<sup>38</sup>

All three excerpts demonstrate the troubadours' decision to compose, even though under duress. Following upon this tradition, Bertran de Born would appear to take this shared *topos* one step further by declaring not the laboriousness of singing, but rather its sheer unfeasibility. This nuanced transformation of the lament *motif* is all the more striking when it is considered in conjunction with the structural indications that signal a possible imitation of Peire Raimon's *canso*.

In support of our observations linking melodic borrowing to the rhetorical stance adopted by the composer, we can identify similar statements of abandoning song in two

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<sup>35</sup> Jeanroy identifies this same *motif* in Gaucelm Faidit's *Fortz causa es que tot lo major dan* (PC 167.22), composed in 1199 on the death of Richard the Lionheart, and in Aimeric de Belenoi's *Ailas! Per que viu longamen ni dura* (PC 9.1), composed in 1242 on the death of Nuño Sanchez. For the pertinent excerpts, see Alfred Jeanroy, *La Poésie lyrique des troubadours*, 2 vols. (Toulouse: Édouard Privat, 1934), 2:239.

<sup>36</sup> Wolf and Rosenstein, eds. and trans., *The Poetry of Cercamon and Jaufre Rudel*, 32-33 (ll. 1-2).

<sup>37</sup> Martín de Riquer, ed., *Guillem de Berguedà*, 2 vols. (Poblet: Abadía, 1971), 130 (ll. 1-3).

<sup>38</sup> Sharman, ed. and trans., *The Cansos and Sirventes of the Troubadour Giraut de Borneil*, 404-409 (ll. 30-32). Lineation mine.

other apparently imitative *planhs*. For example, Joan Esteve's *planh*, composed in 1289 on the death of Guilhem de Lodeva (PC 266.10), adopts the same structure and rhyme sounds as Bernart de Ventadorn's famous *canso*, *Quan vei la lauzeta mover* (PC 70.43). Similar to Bertran's *planh*, Joan's piece opens with an announcement of the troubadour's decision to abandon song:

Plaignen, ploran, ab desplaizer	Lamenting and crying from the unhappiness
Et ab gran trebalh, las! Qu'ieu ai	and torment—alas!—that I have,
Fenisc mon chan, quar re valer. <sup>39</sup>	I end my singing, for it is worth nothing.

The renunciation of song also appears within an anonymous *planh* composed on the death of an unnamed lady (PC 392.4a).<sup>40</sup> The piece begins with the troubadour's declaration: "Now do I take leave of song for ever" ("Ar pren camgat per tostemps de xantar," l. 1). Similarly, in the final verse of the first strophe, the poet reiterates: "I have naught to do henceforth with companionship or song" ("No m'a que far uymays solaz ne xan," l. 7). The piece likely adopts its rather particular form (but only one of its three rhyme sounds) from a *canso* by Arnaut de Mareuil (fl. 1171-1195), *Aissi com cel qu'am'e non es amatz* (PC 30.3), whose popularity is attested to by four other imitations.<sup>41</sup> In his *canso*, Arnaut sings the praises of his lady, making its subject matter perfectly suitable as a point of departure for the *planh*'s mourning of a lady. The lack of complete

<sup>39</sup> Joan Esteve's *planh* has been edited by Azaïs, *Les Troubadours de Béziers*, 77-80 (ll. 1-3).

<sup>40</sup> This *planh* is transmitted anonymously in MSS Sg and VeAg I, but because it follows a group of pieces by Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, scholars have been tempted to attribute it to him. Joseph Linskill doubts Raimbaut's authorship, although he does include the piece in his edition of that troubadour's works. For the complete text of the *planh*, see Linskill, ed. and trans., *The Poems of the Troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras* (The Hague: Mouton, 1964), 285-87; see also Linskill's discussion of authorship, p. 42.

<sup>41</sup> The structure of the *planh*, **10 a b b a a c c** is exhibited by a total of eight pieces, including Aimeric de Peguilhan's *canso* *En greu pantais m'a tengut longamen* (PC 10.27), which inspired one *sirventes*, and Arnaut de Mareuil's *Aissi com cel qu'am* and its four imitations. See István Frank, *Répertoire métrique*, 1:94-95 (schema 495:1-8).

correspondence in the rhyme sounds makes it impossible to confirm that the *planh* was, in fact, modeled after Arnaut's *canso*, but two similar turns of phrase shared between the pieces make imitation seem highly probable. Let us compare the following pairs of expressions:

Arnaut:  
E quar ieu l'am leyalmen ses engan...<sup>42</sup>      And because I love her faithfully without deceit...

*Planh*:  
Per qu'eu l'am may's tostemps sens engan.<sup>43</sup>      ...and so I love her evermore, without deceit.

Arnaut:  
...Mas de servir vostre cors benestan.<sup>44</sup>      ...But to serve your seemly person.

*Planh*:  
...E.l seu bel cors asalt e benestan.<sup>45</sup>      ...And her fair person, gracious and seemly.

When these verbal reminiscences (*amar ses engan* and *cors benestan*) are considered within the larger contexts of shared strophic structure and generic norms, they strongly support the notion of drawing a direct link from Arnaut's *canso* to this anonymous *planh*.<sup>46</sup>

It would be tempting to infer from statements such as the anonymous poet's "pren comgat per tostemps de xantar," Joan Esteve's "fenisc mon chan," and Bertran de Born's

<sup>42</sup> Raynouard, ed., *Choix*, 3:214 (l. 6).

<sup>43</sup> Linskill, ed. and trans., *The Poems of the Troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, 286 (l. 35).

<sup>44</sup> Raynouard, ed., *Choix*, 3:214 (l. 14). I would prefer to translate *benestan* as "becoming," but have chosen "seemly" for the sake of maintaining the parallel with Linskill's translation of the *planh*.

<sup>45</sup> Linskill, ed. and trans., *The Poems of the Troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, 286 (l. 20).

<sup>46</sup> We might also note that a recurring theme in Arnaut's *canso* is that of death through loving or desiring, to wit: "I die [...] loving" ("muer [...] aman," l. 27); "I think that I die from desire" ("cug murir deziran," l. 34); and "for you, I will die loving" ("per vos muor aman," l. 41). This symbolic death is poignantly echoed in the *planh* through recurring references to the actual death of the poet's lady, as he sings: "nor can death ever cause me greater hurt" ("ne jes la mort no. pot far major dan," l. 14), and "death can never cause me greater pain" ("anc major pezar no.m pot far mort," ll. 25-26).

“mon chan fenis” that there was a vocabulary tied to melodic borrowing. To give this hypothesis due consideration, however, would require a far more comprehensive survey of the repertoire than is feasible within the scope of this study. Moreover, such an inference would be detrimental if it were misconstrued to mean that a troubadour’s statement of his decision to abandon composition was a prerequisite to contrafacture. On the contrary, even a cursory examination of the repertoire uncovers numerous demonstrably imitative *sirventes* that were motivated by the author’s intense need to speak out against perceived wrongdoings.<sup>47</sup> We must not therefore invest a troubadour’s renunciation of song with undue authority over our readings, nor should we rely on such statements to prove contrafacture. We would be ill-advised, however, to ignore the rhetorical significance of a troubadour’s voiced disinterest in composition when it is delivered within a context of possible contrafacture. The present case certainly suggests that the poet’s rhetoric may offer important clues to his stance vis-à-vis melodic borrowing versus melodic originality, with Bertran’s *Mon chan fenis* giving us good reason to suspect his decision to abandon composition and Peire Raimon’s *No.m puesc sofrir d’una leu chanso faire* revealing his unchecked desire to sing out. In subsequent chapters we shall encounter additional instances of suspected contrafacture in which the composer expresses his momentary disinterest in singing. By weighing such declarations in conjunction with more reliable indications of imitation and influence (e.g., genre or

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<sup>47</sup> For example, the incipits of many of Peire Cardenal’s imitative *sirventes* reveal his motivation to compose: *Un sirventes ai en cor que comens* (I have it in my heart to begin a *sirventes*, PC 335.65), *Un sirventes novel vueill comensar* (I want to begin a new *sirventes*, 335.67), and *Un sirventes voill far dels autz glotos* (I want to compose a *sirventes* of the gluttons, 335.69).

chronology), we arrive at a possible aesthetic motivating contrafacture, namely the troubadour's recourse to melodic borrowing in order to symbolize the jeopardized state of his inspiration.

Regardless of the conclusions that we draw regarding the order of influence between Bertran's *Mon chan fenis* and Peire Raimon's *No.m puesc sofrir*, several points can be made that will prove pertinent to the subsequent case studies. First, the varying—indeed, polar—conclusions that scholars have drawn from their independent considerations of the same material ultimately reveal the insufficiency of the surviving evidence for recovering a complete picture of the subject matter. This observation should not be taken as a reason against attempting this and other recoveries, but rather as a caveat before undertaking the endeavor: The nature of the manuscript transmission and the insecurity of many putative dates tend to preclude the creation of failsafe compositional chronologies. Second, the structural kinship of three such diverse pieces demonstrates the mutability of the melody in serving varied, even opposing sentiments. Here, the same tune would have been intoned to sing of love and praise, to lament the deceased, and to deliver a critique of decaying contemporary mores. The melody, even in absentia, thus shows itself to be remarkably pliable. Finally, we must at least recognize the possibility that the popularity of an imitation might surpass that of its model, thereby spawning new imitations that are seemingly independent of the original. In all three regards, the now-lost “tune of the *planh* on the Young King of England” serves as an illuminating foil for forthcoming examinations of compositional influence.

## CHAPTER 4

### SETTING A *SIRVENTES* TO THE TUNE OF A *CANSO*:

#### PEIRE CARDENAL'S DEBT TO BLACASSET

Of all the imitative types, the most widely practiced was the *sirventes*. Based upon a historical survey of the *sirventes*, Frank M. Chambers has concluded that “the idea of formal imitation was not inherent in the genre from the beginning, but that it developed by degrees.”<sup>1</sup> Chambers has convincingly demonstrated that imitation in this genre likely originated in the relatively early practice of composing one *sirventes* in response to another.<sup>2</sup> This dialogic technique is attested as early as the generation of Marcabru (fl. 1130-49). A famous example involves an exchange between Marcabru and a lesser-known contemporary, Audric del Vilar. While the exact sequence of events is a matter of some dispute, Marcabru’s *D’aisso lau Dieu* (PC 293.16) is thought to have inspired an isomorphic piece by Audric, *Tot a estru vei, Marcabru* (PC 16b.1), which in

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<sup>1</sup> Chambers’s survey begins with the earliest *vers* “that may properly be called *sirventés*.” See “Imitation of Form,” 108.

<sup>2</sup> Chambers, “Imitation of Form,” 108-12.

turn motivated a response by Marcabru, *Seigner, n'Audric* (PC 293.43).<sup>3</sup> At a presumably later date, Peire d'Alvernhe (fl. 1149-68) likewise participated in the imitative exchange of his predecessors by adopting their same structure, rhyme scheme, and “apparent verbal reminiscences” for his *sirventes Be m'es plazen* (PC 323.10).<sup>4</sup>

With the generation that was active in the 1180s, contrafacture in the domain of the *sirventes* increasingly became the norm. The imitative technique was refined in two distinct manners: First, an apparently new practice emerged in which the troubadour sought the model of his *sirventes* not necessarily in another *sirventes*, but rather in a preexistent *canço*. Second, the level of imitation was often extended beyond the limits of strophic structure and rhyme scheme to include the adoption of the exact rhyme sounds. Chambers has tentatively credited Bertran de Born with both innovations, citing his songs *D'un sirventes no.m cal far loignor ganda* (PC 80.13) and *Quan la novela flors par el verjan* (PC 80.34) as the earliest known examples of the phenomena.<sup>5</sup> Both songs have been dated to 1183. In the absence of earlier datable cases, troubadour scholars have willingly accepted the attribution of both innovations to Bertran.<sup>6</sup>

The *Doctrina* and the *Leys* confirm that by the close of the troubadour tradition, structural-melodic imitation had become an expected element of the *sirventes*. The

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<sup>3</sup> Chambers, *An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification*, 41-3. Maria Luisa Meneghetti has more recently suggested that Audric initiated the exchange. She accordingly proposes the following order of composition: PC 16b.1, 293.43, and 293.16. See her article, “Intertextuality and Dialogism in the Troubadours,” in *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, eds. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 186-87. Since we are simply interested in the evidence of imitation, the actual order of composition does not concern us here.

<sup>4</sup> Chambers, *An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification*, 69.

<sup>5</sup> Chambers, “Imitation of Form,” 112. The first of the two pieces cited will be discussed in Chapter 6.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Paden et al., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 45.



authors of the two treatises provide remarkably concurrent definitions of the *sirventes*. Jofre and Guilhem agree that a *sirventes* should typically borrow its structure and tune from a preexistent song, but through the use of their adverbs (*maiorment* and *al may*, respectively), they both allow for the possibility of exceptions to this general rule. Jofre actually makes this possibility explicit by acknowledging that “exceptionally, [the *sirventes*] is composed to a new tune.”<sup>7</sup> When borrowing does occur, the piece serving as a model according to Jofre should be a *canso*; for Guilhem, the model could be either a *canso* or a *vers*. Notably, neither author acknowledges the original practice of composing one *sirventes* in reply to another, a practice that did, in fact, continue through the final years of the tradition. Both Jofre and Guilhem observe that imitation could, but need not, extend to the level of rhyme sound. Let us examine each author’s guidelines for contrafacture in the *sirventes*, beginning with Jofre’s description in the *Doctrina*:

E pot[z] lo far en qualque so te vulles; e specialment se fa en so novell, e maiorment en ço de canço. E deus lo far d’aytantes cobles com sera lo cantar de que pendras lo so; e potz seguir las rimas contrasemblantz del cantar de que pendras lo so, o atressi lo potz far en altres rimes.<sup>8</sup>

And you can compose it to whichever tune you would like; and exceptionally it is made to a new tune, and principally to that of a *canso*. And you must compose it in as many strophes as is the song from which you take the tune; and you can follow the rhymes that correspond to the song from which you take the tune, or otherwise you can compose it in other rhymes.

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<sup>7</sup> Gaucelm Faidit (?) attests to the possibility of composing a *sirventes* to a new tune when he begins one of his pieces, “With new spirit and a new melody, I want to create a new *sirventes*” (“Ab nou cor et ab novel so, voill un nou sirventes bastir;” ll. 1-2 of PC 167.3). For the complete text, see Jean Mouzat, ed., *Les Poèmes de Gaucelm Faidit* (Paris: Nizet, 1965), 564-67 (note, however, that Mouzat “rejects without hesitation” Gaucelm’s authorship of this piece). Similarly, the author of the *vida* of Guilhem Rainol d’At (fl. first third of the 13<sup>th</sup> c.) corroborates the possibility of original melodic composition in the *sirventes*, asserting that Guilhem Rainol “composed new melodies for all his *sirventes*” (“si fez a toz sos sirventes sons nous”). For the full text of the *vida*, see Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours*, 495-96. Only two *sirventes* by Guilhem Rainol have survived, neither of which has been transmitted with its melody. In terms of structure, one of these *sirventes* (PC 231.2) is in an entirely unique form, and the other (PC 231.1a) is in a relatively common form, but with original rhyme sounds.

<sup>8</sup> Marshall, ed., *The “Razos”*, 96.

Guilhem Molinier's description of imitation in the *sirventes* is wholly concordant with that of the *Doctrina*, as can be seen in the following excerpt from the *Leys d'amors*:

Sirventes es dictatz ques servish al may de vers o de chanso en doas cauzas: la una cant al compas de las coblas, l'autra cant al so. E deu hom entendre cant al compas, sos assaber que tenga lo compas solamen ses las acordansas oz am las acordansas daquelas meteyschas dictios o dautras semblans ad aquelas per acordansa.<sup>9</sup>

The *sirventes* is a piece that most often makes use of a *vers* or of a *chanso* in two ways: first, in terms of the structure of its strophes, and second, in terms of its melody. And one must understand that regarding structure, we mean to say that it can take the structure alone, without the rhymes, or with the rhymes, either by using the same words or by using other words that are alike in rhyme sounds.

In view of the documented tendency of the *sirventes* towards structural-melodic imitation, a question is immediately raised when one encounters a *sirventes* notated with music in the manuscripts. One is compelled to ask whether that melody is original to the composer of the *sirventes*, or if it was instead borrowed from some other troubadour's earlier song. Both possibilities deserve equal consideration. Regarding the former, we can imagine that a newly composed melody would have made any *sirventes* exceptional, and for this very reason of special interest to a compiler of a chansonnier. Thus, in the absence of a viable formal source for the *sirventes* in question, a strong case can be made for compositional originality. (In making such a case, one must of course remain open to the possibility that an earlier song did, in fact, serve as a model for the *sirventes*, but that it simply did not survive.) If the *sirventes* in question can be tied to a likely structural model, however—especially if the formal link between the two pieces can be secured through shared rhyme sounds, or other telling factors such as uniqueness of form or intertextuality—then the evidence weighs in favor of melodic borrowing.

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<sup>9</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:340.

A *sirventes* by Peire Cardenal (fl. 1205-72) can serve as an exemplar of the complex of issues surrounding imitation in this genre. This troubadour's *Un sirventes novel vueill comensar* (*I want to begin a new sirventes*, PC 335.67) is transmitted on fol. 69 of MS R with a melodic *unicum*.<sup>10</sup> The complete text of the *sirventes* can be found immediately below as Figure 4.1; the tune will be provided as Figure 4.4.

For reasons that will be detailed below, the origins of the melody to which Peire's *sirventes* was set have hitherto remained obscure to musicologists. The manuscript rubric above the melody has proven to be the most influential determinant of presumed authorship, motivating the attribution of the tune to Peire in the modern editions of troubadour song compiled by Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta and Hendrik van der Werf.<sup>11</sup> This attribution has likewise persisted in other musicological studies, ranging in scope and date from Jean Beck's 1910 study of troubadour song to Elizabeth Aubrey's 1997 monograph on troubadour music to, most recently, Robert Falck's article on Peire Cardenal in the second edition of the *New Grove*.<sup>12</sup> Based upon the compositional history of the *sirventes*, however, one would be justified in suspecting this melody accompanying Peire's *sirventes* to have been borrowed from a preexistent song. This is especially so in the case of Peire Cardenal, who is renowned for his imitative practices.

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<sup>10</sup> Based upon the *tornada* of the piece, in which Peire begs for his own salvation and that of his children ("qu'el prenda lo paire e ls enfans," l. 47), René Lavaud has observed that the earliest possible date for this piece is 1232, since in 1229, Peire was still unmarried. For reasons that we shall explore below, one might expect this piece to have been composed as late as the 1250s or 60s. See Lavaud, ed., *Poésies complètes du troubadour Peire Cardenal*, 225.

<sup>11</sup> Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, *Las Cançons dels trobadors* (Toulouse: Institut d'Estudis Occitans, 1979), 586, and van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies*, 233.

<sup>12</sup> See the respective discussions in Jean Beck, *La Musique des troubadours* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1910), 87-89; Aubrey, *The Music*, 24 and 233; and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>d</sup> ed., s.v. "Peire Cardenal."

I.	Un sirventes novel vueill comensar Que retrairai al jor del jujamen A sel que.m fès e.m format de nien. S'el me cuja de ren arazonar, 5 E s'el me vol metre en la diablia, Ieu li dirai: 'Seinher, merce, non sia! Qu'el mal segle tormentiei totz mos ans. E guardas mi, si.us plas, dels tormentans.'	I want to begin a new sirventes that I will recite on the day of judgment to him who made me and formed me out of nothing. If he is thinking not to ask me about anything, and if he wants to send me to hell, I will say to him: 'Lord, have mercy, don't let it be so! For I have been tormented for all my life in this evil world. Protect me, if you please, from the tormenters.'
II. 10	Tota sa cort farai meravillar Cant auziran lo mieu plaideiamen; Qu'eu dic qu'el fa ves los sieus faillimen Si los cuja delir ni enfarnar. Car qui pert so que gazarhar poiria, Per bon dreg a de viutat carestia, 15 Qu'el deu esser dous e multiplicans De retenir las armas trespassans.	I will make all his court marvel when they hear my plea, because I say that he fails his own if he thinks to destroy them or to damn them to hell. For he who loses that which he could gain deservedly lacks in abundance; and he must be kind and generous to retain the trespassing souls.
III. 20	Los diables degra dezeretar Et agra mais d'armas e plus soven, E.l dezeretz plagra a tota gen 20 Et el mezeis pogra s'o perdonar, Car per mon grat trastotz los destruiria, Pos tut sabem c'absolver s'en poiria: 'Bels seinhers Dieus! sias dezeretans Dels enemix enuios e pezans!'	He should dispossess the devils and then he would have more souls and more often, and their dispossession would be pleasing to everyone, and he could forgive himself for it, for, if I had it my way, he would destroy them all, since we all know that he could absolve himself of it: 'Dear Lord God! May you be the dispossessor of the awful and vexatious enemies!'
IV. 30	Vostra porta non degreas ja vedar, Que sans Peires i pren trop d'auniment Que n'es portiers: mas que intres rizen Tota arma que lai volgues intrar. Car nuilla cortz non er ja ben complia 30 Que l'uns en plor e que l'autre en ria; E sitot ses sobeirans reis poissans, Si no m'ubres, er vos en fatz demans.	You should never bar your door, lest Saint Peter, who is only the doorkeeper, receive too much dishonor from it: rather, let enter laughing all the souls who want to enter there. For no court will ever be truly complete if one cries for it and the other laughs for it; and even though you are the sovereign, powerful king, if you do not open to me, I will make a dispute to you.
V. 35 40	Ieu no me vueill de vos dezesparar; Anz ai en vos mon bon esperamen, 35 Que me vaillas a mon trespassamen: Per que debes m'arma e mon cors salvar. E farai vos una bella partia: Que.m tornetz lai don moc lo premier dia O que.m siatz de mos tortz perdonans. 40 Qu'ieu no.ls fora si non fos natz enans.	I do not want to abandon hope in you; rather I have in you my good hope that you might aid me at my death, because you must save my soul and my body. And I will make you a good proposition: Either you return me there whence I came on the first day or you forgive me my wrongs, for I would not have made them if I had not first been born.

Continued

**Figure 4.1** Peire Cardenal, *Un sirventes novel vueill comensar* (PC 335.67)<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Edited by Lavaud, *Poésies complètes du troubadour Peire Cardenal*, 222-27. MSS: C 284, I 169, K 154, R 69, T 105, d 328, f 17. Base: Tf.

## Figure 4.1 continued

	S'ieu ai sai mal et en enfern l'avia, Segon ma fe tortz e peccatz seria, Qu'ieu vos puese ben esser recastenans Que per un ben ai de mal mil aitans.	If I have suffering here and have it in hell, by my faith, it would be wrong and sinful, because I can well be reproachful against you if for every good deed I have a thousand times more ills.
45	Per merce.us prec, donna sancta Maria, C'al vostre fill mi fassas garentia Si qu'el prenda lo paire e.ls enfans E.ls meta lay on esta sans Johans.	I beg you for mercy, my lady Saint Mary, that you might bear witness for me with your son, so that he might take the father and the children and put them there with Saint John.

According to Marshall's overview of Peire's œuvre, fifty-six of the sixty-six strophic pieces that can be securely attributed to Peire are either directly imitative of or demonstrably adapted from the poetic structures of earlier pieces.<sup>13</sup> Peire's interest in having his *sirventes* performed to the melodies of his models is hinted at by his biographer, who reports that Peire went from court to court, "bringing with him his *joglar* who sang his *sirventes*" ("menan ab si son joglar que cantava sos sirventes").<sup>14</sup> Even more telling than this, though, is the fact that two of Peire's *sirventes* are actually notated with concordant versions of the melodies of their models: As discussed in Chapter 1, *Rics hom que greu ditz vertat a leu men* (PC 335.49) adopts the same melody as Raimon Jordan's *Vas vos soplei, domna, premieramen* (PC 404.11), and *Ar mi puese eu lauzar d'amor* (PC 335.7) takes its melody from Giraut de Borneil's *Non puese sofrir qu'a la*

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<sup>13</sup> Marshall, "Imitation of Metrical Form in Peire Cardenal," 18-48; see, in particular, the summary of his findings, 44. Of the remaining ten pieces by Peire that cannot be tied directly to a preexistent model, Marshall hypothesizes that eight are in metrical forms that are usual enough so as to be regarded as "common property."

<sup>14</sup> Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours*, 335.

*dolor* (PC 242.51).<sup>15</sup> Logically, then, one would expect the remaining melody transmitted with Peire's *sirventes* also to have been borrowed, even if that melody does not duplicate any of the other extant troubadour tunes.

The problem of identifying the melodic source for Peire's *Un sirventes novel* has resided only partially in the fact that its tune is an *unicum*; it has been further compounded by failed attempts to isolate a model for Peire's chosen poetic structure. Beginning with René Lavaud, *Un sirventes novel* was deemed "without a known model, and thus, 'independent.'"<sup>16</sup> Musicologists have reacted in various ways to the apparent singularity of Peire's piece. For example, even in the absence of a known model, Friedrich Gennrich maintained that Peire's *sirventes* must have been imitative. No doubt drawing upon Peire's personal compositional record, Gennrich asserted: "Peire Cardenal did not create new melodies or new strophic forms; even his song PC 335.67 *Un sirventes novel voill comensar*, for which up until now no contrafact can be identified, must have used a borrowed melody."<sup>17</sup> Elizabeth Aubrey, on the other hand, has tended towards the opposite conclusion. In the initial chapter of her monograph, she speculates that without an extant model to prove otherwise, the melody of *Un sirventes novel* "perhaps is in fact by Peire."<sup>18</sup> When she returns to the same subject in later pages, Aubrey presents the case in more definitive terms, asserting that Peire Cardenal "left only one melody of his

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<sup>15</sup> For a melodic comparison of both pairings, see Aubrey, *The Music*, 117-21 and 153-54, respectively.

<sup>16</sup> "La pièce actuelle est sans modèle connu, donc 'indépendante'." Lavaud, *Poésies complètes du troubadour Peire Cardenal*, 222.

<sup>17</sup> "Neue Melodien und neue Strophenformen hat Peire Cardenal nicht geschaffen, auch sein Lied Pill 335.67 'Un sirventes novel voill comensar', von dem bisher kein Kontrafaktum nachgewiesen werden konnte, dürfte eine entlehnte Melodie benützt haben." Gennrich, *Die musikalische Nachlass*, 3:73.

<sup>18</sup> Aubrey, *The Music*, 23-24.

own;” she then proceeds with an analysis of “Peire’s own melody.”<sup>19</sup> Thus, without a proven model, the status of the melody set to Peire’s *Un sirventes novel* remains a matter of debate.

Fortunately, a resolution to the contradictory—and thus, inconclusive—conclusions of Gennrich and Aubrey is possible, with the answer hidden behind a persistent mistake in the schematic classification of Peire’s *sirventes*. The error appears to have originated in 1884 with a catalogue compiled by F. W. Maus, indexing more than eight hundred poetic schemes applied by the troubadours. In this repertoire, Maus consistently mislabels the rhyme scheme of Peire’s *Un sirventes novel* as **a b a b c c d d**, whereas the poem actually has a rhyme scheme of **a b b a c c d d**.<sup>20</sup> Classified incorrectly, the *sirventes* was, in effect, isolated from its potential model. Lavaud, in his edition of Peire’s complete works, identifies the error in Maus’s classification, but unknowingly encounters a second obstacle to his efforts to locate a source for Peire’s imitation: Namely, Maus’s catalogue suffers from multiple lacunae. Thus, even catalogued correctly, Peire’s *sirventes* eludes identification with any of the pieces indexed by Maus.

István Frank, cognizant of the errors and lacunae that marred Maus’s catalogue, set out to improve upon Maus’s contribution with his own schematic catalogue of the troubadour repertoire. Frank’s *Répertoire métrique* does indeed correct the major problems and omissions of Maus’s catalogue, but at least one of Maus’s errors was

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<sup>19</sup> Aubrey, *The Music*, 233.

<sup>20</sup> Maus, *Peire Cardenals Strophenbau*, 62 and 88. More precisely, the strophic structure of Peire’s piece, with its decasyllabic lines and grave (“feminine”) c-rhyme, should be graphed as: **10 a b b a c’ c’ d d**.

propagated in Frank's principal volume, to wit, the erroneous classification of Peire's *Un sirventes novel* under the rhyme scheme of **a b a b c c d d**.<sup>21</sup> Frank did eventually identify his mistake, publishing the corrected schema (**a b b a c c d d**) in the list of *errata* annexed to his second volume.<sup>22</sup> The initial error has proven itself to be tenacious, however. Fernandez de la Cuesta, for example, continues to refer to Peire's piece with an incorrect schematicization.<sup>23</sup>

Because Frank's catalogue has the virtue of being exhaustive, placing Peire's *sirventes* within its proper schema immediately unites it with a *canço* of not only the same metric structure and rhyme scheme—not an entirely remarkable correspondence, given the commonality of such a scheme—but most significantly, of identical rhyme sounds: namely, *Si.m fai amors ab fezel cor amar* (*So much does Love make me love with a faithful heart*, PC 96.11) by Blacasset (fl. 1233-79).<sup>24</sup> The lyrics of Blacasset's *canço* have been provided immediately below as Figure 4.2.

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<sup>21</sup> Frank, *Répertoire métrique*, 1:69 (scheme 382:23).

<sup>22</sup> Frank, *Répertoire métrique*, 2:228 (scheme 577:110 *bis*). It was apparently Frank M. Chambers who brought the error to Frank's attention with his review of (and corrections to) the *Répertoire métrique* published in *Romance Philology* 10 (1956): 51-56; see, in particular, p. 55.

<sup>23</sup> Fernández de la Cuesta actually identifies *Un sirventes novel* by both the new and old scheme numbers from Frank, but nevertheless mistakenly graphs the piece as **10 a b a b c' d d c'** (*Las Cançons dels trobadors*, 581).

<sup>24</sup> Boutière and Schutz note that Blacasset was still alive in 1279 (*Biographies des troubadours*, 516).



I.	<p>Si.m fai amors ab fezel cor amar  Que mil tans vuoill ses autre jauzimen  Esperar vos ab desiros tormen,  Gentils dona, cui ab ferm cor tenc car,  5 Que d'autr'aver so qu'eu de vos volria;  E plus no.us quier, mas que.us plassa qu'ieu sia  Vostre, e si trop quist no.m sia dans,  Si.m forssa en re mos sens sobretalans.</p>	<p>So much does Love make me love with a faithful heart  that I would prefer a thousand times more  to wait without any other joy in desirous torture for you,  good lady—whom I hold dear with a true heart—  than to have from another what I would like from you;  and I ask nothing other of you but that it please you that I  be yours, and if I have asked too much, may no harm come  to me, so much does my excessive desire in the matter  impede my good judgment.</p>
II.	<p>Gentils dompna plazens, no.us aus lauzar,  10 Ni faissonar vostra beutat plazen  Ni.l honrat, car, gentil captenemen  Ni.l pretz que.us te d'autre valor ses par;  Quar, s'ieu lauzan vostre gen cors, dizia  So qu'eu per ver faissonar en poiria,  15 Sabrion tuich de cui sui fis amans;  Per qu'eu en sui de vos lauzar doptans.</p>	<p>Noble, charming lady, I do not dare to praise you,  nor to depict your charming beauty,  nor your honorable, respected, noble conduct,  nor your merit, which holds you above all other valor  without equal; for, if I, praising your noble body, would say  that which I could truly depict,  everyone would know whose true lover I am,  which is why I am fearful of praising you.</p>
III.	<p>Ab tal voler fetz amors autrejar  Mo cor a vos, cui dezir caramen,  Que.m fosson tuich vostre plazer plazen,  20 Per qu'eu volrai totztemps aitals estar;  Que tan tenc car la vostra seignoria  Que s'otra.m des so qu'a vos non querria,  No pogra en re cambiar mos talans,  Tant es mos cors d'onrat joi desirans!</p>	<p>With such yearning has Love made me devote  my heart to you, whom I desire dearly,  that your charming indulgence would be everything to me,  which is why I will want to be like this for all time;  for I hold your sovereignty so dear  that if another would grant me what I dare not seek from  you, I could in no way change my wishes,  so much is my heart desirous of honorable joy!</p>
IV.	<p>S'aissi.us auses, dompna, merce clamar  Cum vos desir ab fi voler temen,  Eu fora rics; mas ar languisc viven,  Car sol no.m aus qu'ie.us o diga pensar;  Mas si merces, que orgoill humilia,  30 Vostre gen cors, que.m destreing, destreignia  Sivals d'aitan que.us plagues mos enans,  Seri'ab joi als plus jauzens sobrans.</p>	<p>If I would thus dare, lady, to beg you for mercy—  since I desire you with precious, timid yearning—  I would be rich; but now I languish while living,  for I dare not even think the things that I would say to you;  but if compassion, which humbles pride,  compels your noble person (which compels me),  at least as much as my advancement would please you,  I would be overcome with the most rejoicing joy.</p>
V.	<p>Totztemps vuoill mais dousamen merceiar  Ab humil cor tot vostre mandamen  35 Que d'autr'aver ab joi nuill jauzimen  Que nuills hom aus voler ni desirar;  E ja per vos jois plazens datz no.m sia,  Gentils dompna, s'ieu d'otra lo prendia;  Anz s'aman muor, dompna, sui merceians,  40 Qu'en la mort prenc honor, sitot m'es dans.</p> <p>Si.us platz, dompna, que fin'amors m'aucia  Vos desiran, ja no.us cuidetz que.m sia  Enois en re; anz si.us es plazers grans,  Serai totztemps de ma mort desirans.</p>	<p>I prefer to implore your full command  gently and with a humble heart for all time  than to have by another any pleasure from a joy  such as no man dares to want or to desire;  and never would I receive charming pleasure from you,  kind lady, if I were taking it from another;  and if loving I die, lady, I am begging  that in death I find honor, even though the loss is mine.</p> <p>If it please you, lady, that true Love should kill me,  desiring you, never should you believe that it would be  woeful to me in any way; rather, if it gives you great  pleasure, I will be for all time desiring of my death.</p>

**Figure 4.2** Blacasset, *Si.m fai amors ab fezel cor amar* (PC 96.11)<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Edited by Otto Klein, in *Der Troubadour Blacassetz*, Städtische Realschule zu Wiesbaden, Jahres-Bericht über das Schuljahr 1886/87 (Wiesbaden: Carl Ritter, 1887), 20-22. MSS: B 107, C 350, F 57, I 109, U 136, V 91, f 40 [2 strophes] and f 69 [3 strophes], and Ve.Ag.I 53 [strophe III only]. Base: B.

The shared strophic structure of Peire Cardenal's *Un sirventes novel vueill*

*comensar* and Blacasset's *Si.m fai amors ab fezel cor amar* can be graphed as follows:

10	a	b	b	a	c'	c'	d	d
	-ar	-en			-ia		-ans	

In addition to this structural equivalence, the pieces by Peire and Blacasset also exhibit a certain degree of thematic interplay, with Peire's *sirventes* reading as a loose parody of Blacasset's song. In his *canso* Blacasset humbly begs for his lady's compassion. Not only does he assume responsibility for his actions, but he also places himself in total submission to his lady, even if she should will that he die from loving her rather than be requited (ll. 41-44). In contrast to the subservient stance adopted by Blacasset's poetic persona, Peire refuses to accept an unfavorable fate. Concerned with his spiritual salvation should God decide to banish him to Hell, Peire reveals that rather than begging for God's mercy and compassion, he is prepared to audaciously and aggressively dispute the decision through justification (l. 4), pleas (l. 10), contention (l. 32), and bargaining (l. 37). Indeed, he boldly explains why he should not be held accountable for his earthly wrongs, instead passing the blame onto God for giving him life in the first place (ll. 38-40):

Que.m tornetz lai don moc lo premier dia  
O que.m siatz de mos tortz perdonans.  
Qu'ieu no.ls fora si non fos natz enans.

Either you return me there whence I came on the first day  
or you forgive me my wrongs,  
for I would not have made them if I had not first been born.

By playing an aggressive role in his own defense upon his day of reckoning, Peire quite effectively subverts Blacasset's submissive stance of unquestioningly accepting his

lady's judgment.<sup>25</sup> In terms of both poetic structure and thematicism, then, a direct kinship between Blacasset's *canso* and Peire Cardenal's *sirventes* seems undeniable.

A full examination of this particular poetic scheme in Frank's catalogue further reveals that Peire's *sirventes* is not the only imitative type to bear the same structure and rhyme sounds as Blacasset's *canso*. Eight other pieces—of which, four *sirventes*, three *coblas esparsas*, and a *tenso*—exhibit this precise schema. All eight can be dated to the second half of the thirteenth century; none has been transmitted with its melody. Listed alphabetically by author, they are:

Berenguier Trobel, *sirventes*: *Si vols amics al segle gazaingar* (PC 50.2)

Bertran Carbonel de Marseille (fl. 1252-65), a *sirventes* and three *coblas esparsas*, respectively:

*Vil sirventes de vil ome voill far* (PC 82.17)

*Ab son amic si deu hom conseilhar* (PC 82.19)

*Nuls hom no deu trop en la mort pensar* (PC 82.67)

*Tota domna que aja cor d'amar* (PC 82.88)

Calega Panzan (fl. 1252-1313), *sirventes* (1268): *Ar es sazoz qu'om si deu alegrar* (PC 107.1)

Guiraut Riquier (ca. 1230-95) and Bofill, *tenso*: *Auzit ai dir, Bofill, que saps trobar* (PC 248.16)

Raimon Gaucelm (fl. 1262-75), *sirventes*: *Un sirventes, si pogues, volgra far* (PC 401.9)

The generic indications of the ten pieces belonging to this structural family make Blacasset's *canso* the most likely point of origin for subsequent imitations.<sup>26</sup> Further support for this hypothesis can be sought by attempting to connect certain of these

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<sup>25</sup> Catherine Léglu has considered Peire's *Un sirventes novel* independently of its relationship with Blacasset's *canso* and has demonstrated that "its irreverent approach to the doctrine of the Last Judgement [*sic*]" is sufficient in and of itself to deliver a "provocative and parodic" effect. One can only imagine, however, that the "satirical charge" of the piece would have been even further heightened to an audience familiar with Blacasset's original lyrics. See her informative analysis within the article "Moral and Satirical Poetry," in *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, eds. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 61-63. For a slightly different interpretation of Peire's *Un sirventes novel* (also discussed independently of Blacasset's *Si.m fai amors*), see Geneviève Crémieux, "De la folie à la mort: Images de l'individu chez Peire Cardenal dans les pièces *Una cuitatz fo, no sai cals* et *Un sirventes novel vueill comensar*," in *Studia Occitanica in memoriam Paul Remy*, ed. Hans-Erich Keller (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute, 1986), 1:67-80.

<sup>26</sup> As we have already observed in Chapter 3, within text families, an imitation of an original *canso* could itself serve as a source for subsequent imitations.

imitative pieces directly to *Si.m fai amors*, either through textual and thematic resonances or through historical context. As will be demonstrated in the paragraphs that follow, this would appear to be a distinct possibility for at least three of the pieces listed above.

For several of the pieces in question, there are no obvious thematic markers that would indicate a direct reaction to or inversion of Blacasset's poetic text. Two of the pieces do, however, display specific textual and thematic ties to Blacasset's *canso*. Berenguier Trobel's *Si vols amics al segle gazaingar* (*If you want to gain friends in this life*) not only shares several of its rhyme words with *Si.m fai amors*, but also exhibits two turns of phrase that closely resonate with the *canso*.<sup>27</sup> Specifically, Blacasset's opening expression "ab fezel cor amar" is reprised in Berenguier's "am fizel cor amar" (l. 17), the latter of which also occupies the first line of a strophe (specifically, the third). Secondly, the closing phrase of Blacasset's *tornada*, "de ma mort desirans," is echoed sonorously by Berenguier's expression "de t'amor desirans" ("desiring your love," l. 52), which likewise occupies the last line of a *tornada*. The presence of these two expressions in Berenguier's *sirventes*, especially when considered within the larger context of poetic structure, most certainly represents evidence of a direct link to Blacasset's *Si.m fai amors*.

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<sup>27</sup> Berenguier's *sirventes* has been edited by Paul Meyer in *Les Derniers Troubadours de la Provence* (Paris: A. Franck, 1871), 103-5. The nine rhyme words of Berenguier's *sirventes* that are shared with Blacasset's *canso* are *dans* (l. 8), *amar* (l. 17), *sia* (ll. 22 and 29), *umilia* (l. 37), *sobrans* (l. 40), *grans* (l. 51), and *desirans* (l. 52).

A second piece that reveals literary ties to Blacasset's *canso* is Bertran Carbonel's *cobla Tota domna que aja cor d'amar* (Every lady who has it in her heart to love).<sup>28</sup>

Bertran's *cobla* reveals a certain thematic parallel with *Si.m fai amors*, a parallel that Bertran would appear to intimate through the rhyme words of his incipit, *cor d'amar*. As mentioned above, the poetic persona of *Si.m fai amors* adopts a humbled stance before his lady. This meekness manifests itself specifically in the poet's intense concern for being too audacious in openly wooing his lady, lest he threaten her reputation. This motif recurs like an obsession throughout the *canso*, as demonstrated by the following four excerpts:

[...] S'ai trop quist, no.m sia dans.	If I have asked too much, may no harm come to me.
Gentils dompna plazens, no.us aus lauzar.	Noble, charming lady, I do not dare to praise you.
[...] Eu en sui de vos lauzar doptans.	I am fearful of praising you.
[...] Sol no.m aus qu'ie.us o diga pensar. <sup>29</sup>	I dare not even think the things that I would say to you.

Through these repeated apologies, Blacasset's persona maintains a cautious level of humility and timidity, keenly aware that being too bold could prevent him from being accepted into his lady's good graces.

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<sup>28</sup> *Tota domna* is edited by Alfred Jeanroy in "Les 'Coblas' de Bertran Carbonel," *Annales du Midi* 25 (1913): 175-76. We should add that to recognize the influence of Blacasset's *canso* on Bertran Carbonel's *cobla* is not to deny the simultaneous influence of Peire Cardenal. To be sure, Bertran's extensive dependence on the lyric works of Peire has been convincingly demonstrated by several scholars, including Gianfranco Contini, "Sept poésies lyriques du troubadour Bertran Carbonel de Marseille," *Annales du Midi* 49 (1937): 5-41, 113-52, and 225-40; and Malte-Ludof Babin, "Bertron Carbonel imitateur de Peire Cardenal," in *Contacts de langues, de civilisations et intertextualité, Actes du IIIème Congrès International de l'Association Internationale d'Études Occitanes*, ed. Gérard Gouiran (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 1992), 3:777-94. In his table of correspondences (778), Babin—apparently unaware of the *errata* in Frank's *Répertoire*—does not account for the intersections between the pieces by Blacasset, Peire Cardenal, and Bertran Carbonel under consideration here. Nevertheless, Babin's conclusion regarding Bertran Carbonel's imitations in general is concurrent with my findings regarding the particular song complex under discussion. He writes: "Nothing allows us to believe that [Bertran Carbonel] took [his form] in every instance only from Peire Cardenal rather than having had recourse to older models" (778).

<sup>29</sup> Lines 7, 9, 16, and 28, respectively.

Bertran's *Tota domna* could be interpreted as an extrapolation of this very concern. To be sure, Bertran pleads in defense of those suitors who would dare to court their ladies. He argues that a lady should not reject a suitor who woos her directly (i.e., without the aid of an intermediary). Rather, she should prefer him for having kept the affair a private matter. Bertran's emphasis on the theme of courting is brought out through his fourfold repetition of derivatives from the verb *preguar* (to court, to beseech)—a word that does not, however, appear in Blacasset's text.<sup>30</sup> The *cobla* reads (with my emphases on the multiple occurrences of *preguar*):

Tota dona que aja cor d'amar  
 E.l play de far amic secretamen  
 Mai deu voler que l'amic, per un sen,  
 La en *pregue* que si la.n fai *preguar*;

Car nulha res non es secreta sia  
 C'o[m] sapch.n tres: per que dona deuria  
 Voler l'amic que la *pregue* enans  
 Per los sieus *precx* que per autres mil tans.<sup>31</sup>

Every lady who has it in her heart to love  
 and whom it pleases to make a friend secretly,  
 must prefer, for one reason, that her friend  
 should *court* her rather than have her be *courted* [through  
 another]:

because nothing is to be secret when  
 three people know about it, which is why a lady should  
 desire thousandfold the friend who *courts* her first  
 through his own *pleas* than [one who courts her]  
 through others.

Bertran thus subverts Blacasset's apologetic stance for daring to praise his lady and in so doing, cleverly provides justification for the suitor's bold behavior.

<sup>30</sup> This technique of word repetition, known in the rhetorical arts as the *color* of *sinacrismos*, characterizes many of Bertran Carbonel's works. For example, within this same text family, the *cobla* *Ab son amic si deu hom conseilhar* contains the word *amic* six times, *conseill/conseilar* three times, and *fin/finamen* four times. See the complete text in Jeanroy, ed., "Les 'Coblas' de Bertran Carbonel," 179. Similarly, in *Vil sirventes de vil home vuelh far* each of the five strophes harps on one word (*vil*, *malvays*, *ebriaicx*, *fol*, and *blasmar*, respectively), ranging in occurrences from eight to twenty-one; for the text of the *sirventes*, Carl Appel, ed., *Provenzalische Inedita aus pariser Handschriften* (1892; reprint, Wiesbaden: Dr. Martin Sändig, 1967), 78-80. Notably, Appel identifies Blacasset's *canso* as the model of Bertran's *Vil sirventes*, but does not make the additional connection to Peire Cardenal's *Un sirventes novel*.

<sup>31</sup> Jeanroy, ed., "Les 'Coblas' de Bertran Carbonel," 175-76.

The ability to draw a direct connection from Bertran's *cobla* to Blacasset's *canso* is particularly significant when one considers Bertran's personal definition of the *cobla*. In his *Cobla ses so es enaissi* (PC 82.33), Bertran insists upon the indispensability of the melody to a *cobla*. He writes:

Cobla ses so es enaissi co.l molis que aigua non a per que fai mal qui cobla fa, si son non li don' atressi. <sup>32</sup>	A <i>cobla</i> without a tune is just like a mill without water, which is why he who composes a <i>cobla</i> does so badly if he does not also give it a tune.
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The premium that Bertran evidently placed on setting his *coblas* to music suggests that he would have sought models with infectious tunes. This fact, combined with the thematic resonance between *Tota domna* and *Si.m fai amors*, apparently provides independent confirmation of the hypothesis that Blacasset's *canso* did, in fact, originally circulate with a melody, even if it was not so preserved.

One additional piece belonging to this complex of songs points toward a direct connection with Blacasset's *canso*, namely, Calega Panzan's *Ar es sazoz qu'om si deu alegrar* (*Now is the season that one should be happy*).<sup>33</sup> Calega's indebtedness to *Si.m fai amors* is not suggested through his choice of wording or theme, but rather through the historical circumstances leading up to the composition of his *sirventes*. Calega composed *Ar es sazoz* in the spring of 1268 as a response to an unrelenting military campaign being

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<sup>32</sup> Ll. 1-4, cited in Chambers, *An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification*, 79 (translation mine). *Cobla ses so* exhibits the same poetic structure as Jaufrè Rudel's *No sap chantar qui so non di* (*He who does not recite melodies does not how to sing*, PC 262.3). Like *Tota domna*, *Cobla ses so* develops one of the themes of its model, in this case, the importance of the melody to lyric composition. Chambers finds this sort of intertextuality uncommon, suggesting that "normally, in cases of imitation, the content of the model song is completely disregarded, and only the external form is copied." I hope to present evidence to the contrary throughout this study.

<sup>33</sup> Calega's *sirventes* is the focus of an in-depth study by Alfred Jeanroy, "Un Sirventés contre Charles d'Anjou (1968)," *Annales du Midi* 15 (1903): 145-67. Jeanroy observes that most *sirventes* adopt the structure of a popular song (*une chanson en vogue*), but working with Maus's incomplete catalogue, he is unable to identify Blacasset's *Si.m fai amors* as the model (166).

staged in Italy by Charles of Anjou, count of Provence (1245-85).<sup>34</sup> A partisan of King Conradin of Sicily, Calega was incensed by Charles's brutal devastation of Tuscany. Among many other reproaches, Calega blames Charles for having treated his fellow Christians with the same brutality as he had treated Muslims during the Crusade. Referring to the massacre and imprisonment of eight hundred men at Sant'Ellero in June 1267, Calega writes:

Al rei Carle degra tostemps membrar	For the rest of time I should remind King Charles
Con el fon pres ab son fra[i]r'eisamen	how he took his brothers as if
Per Serrazis [...]. <sup>35</sup>	they were Sarrasins [...].

Calega's decision to model his denunciation of Charles after a *canso* by Blacasset was by no means arbitrary. In fact, Blacasset was one of only a handful of troubadours who belonged to Charles's entourage.<sup>36</sup> We might therefore surmise that Calega, seeking to make his satire as biting as possible, took a tune that had originally been composed for Charles, only to turn it against him.<sup>37</sup> Calega's *sirventes* thus potentially provides one further suggestion of the popularity and memorability of Blacasset's *canso*.

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<sup>34</sup> The dating of Calega's *sirventes* was determined by Jeanroy, "Un Sirventés contre Charles d'Anjou," 162. For biographies of Charles of Anjou, see Jean Maillard, *Roi-Trouvère du XIIIème siècle: Charles d'Anjou* (N.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1967), and Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou* (London: Longman, 1998).

<sup>35</sup> Jeanroy, ed., "Un Sirventés contre Charles d'Anjou," 147 (ll. 33-35).

<sup>36</sup> Martin Aurell has observed that there were "almost no troubadours who were favorable to the count and his allies" ("il n'existe presque aucun troubadour favorable au comte et à ses alliés"). See *La Vielle et l'épée: Troubadours et politique en Provence au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Aubier, 1989), 229. Besides Blacasset, other troubadours in the entourage of Charles of Anjou included Sordel (fl. 1220-69), Bertran d'Alamanon (fl. 1229-66), Guiraut d'Espanha (fl. 1245-65), and Paulet de Marseille (fl. 1262-68).

<sup>37</sup> As further evidence of the popularity of Blacasset's *canso* among the adherents of Charles of Anjou, we might add that Bertran Carbonel, whose imitations of *Si.m fai amors* were discussed above, had ties to various counts who were in fealty to Charles, including Bertran I, Count of Avellino—so appointed by Charles in 1268—and Barral de Baux, who followed Charles to Italy in 1265, where he died 1268. See Contini, "Poésies lyriques du troubadour Bertran Carbonel," 16-18.



We can provide additional evidence in favor of the hypothesis that Blacasset was the originator of this structural-melodic model by citing one further imitation that falls outside the troubadour tradition. In his study of the thirteenth-century Sicilian repertoire, Joachim Schulze has made a convincing case for accepting a song by Giacomo da Lentini, *Ben m'è venuto prima cordoglienza*, as an imitation of Blacasset's *canso*.<sup>38</sup> Despite a deviation in rhyme scheme—Giacomo's strophes exhibit a scheme of **10 a' b' a' b' c' c' d' d'**—Schulze links Giacomo's song directly to Blacasset's *canso* through the isolation of specific verbal reminiscences in the rhyme positions of both compositions: Blacasset's *vostra seignoria* (l. 21) and *orgoill humilia* (l. 29) are echoed directly in Giacomo's *vostra signoria* (l. 5) and *orgoglio s'umilia* (l. 22).<sup>39</sup> Schulze's identification offers independent confirmation of the extensive popularity and widespread influence of Blacasset's *Si.m fai amors*, thereby lending further credibility to the suspicion that Blacasset was, in fact, the originator of this particular rhyming structure as well as its accompanying melody. Thus, regardless of the fact that the tune in question was transmitted exclusively with Peire's *sirventes*, attribution of the melody to Blacasset is strongly indicated.

This conclusion was first hinted at by Chambers when he pointed out the formal connection between Peire's *Sirventes novel* and Blacasset's *Si.m fai amors* in his review of Frank's *Répertoire*.<sup>40</sup> The same conclusion was later strongly maintained by Marshall,

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<sup>38</sup> Joachim Schulze, *Sizilianische Kontrafakturen: Versuch zur Frage der Einheit von Musik und Dichtung in der sizilianischen und sikulo-toskanischen Lyrik des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 230 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1989), 60-68.

<sup>39</sup> Schulze, *Sizilianische Kontrafakturen*, 62.

<sup>40</sup> Chambers, Review of *Répertoire métrique*, 55.

who asserted without hesitation that “Blacasset’s tune [...] survived solely through its attachment to Cardenal’s text.”<sup>41</sup> Most recently (as discussed above), Schulze has approached the subject from a different direction, and significantly, arrives at the same conclusion as Marshall.<sup>42</sup> It is perhaps surprising, then, that a judgment finding relatively wide support among philologists has yet to be adopted into musicological literature, especially when both fields would stand to benefit from a consideration of the question from a musicological standpoint. To be sure, a comparison of the melody set to Peire’s *sirventes* with the only other melody attributed to Blacasset yields telling results. Strong resemblances between the melodic construction of the two tunes lend support to the hypothesis that Blacasset was the likely composer of the melody under consideration, while at the same time allowing us to refine our knowledge of Blacasset’s compositional style.

Only one melody has been securely attributed to Blacasset, that accompanying his *canso Ben volgra que.m venques merces* (PC 96.2), provided as Figure 4.3. Elizabeth Aubrey, working with what she considers to be Blacasset’s “only extant melody,” identifies the main qualities of *Ben volgra* as follows: “The melody shares some features with those of the mid-thirteenth century, including the rising-fourth incipit, a neumatic texture, variation of phrases, and a tonal center on F articulated at several incipits and cadences and at the end of the melody.”<sup>43</sup> She designates the form as “through-composed

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<sup>41</sup> See Marshall, “Imitation of Metrical Form,” 30-31.

<sup>42</sup> Schulze, *Sizilianische Kontrafakturen*, 63.

<sup>43</sup> Aubrey, *The Music*, 232.

1. Ben vol - gra que.m ven - ques mer - ces,

2. don - na, jen - sers de las jen - sors,

3. vos si con vos - tra gran va - lors

4. to - tas se - llas que va - lor an

5. vens, qui en fo - ra rics amb ay - tan;

6. que puy non fe - ra fa - llen - sa,

7. si qu'ieu de - sir am te - men - sa,

8. s'ay - si po - ges l'er - guel dous a - dou - sir

9. co.us fay va - lors per la me - llor te - nir.

**Figure 4.3** The melody of Blacasset's *Ben volgra que.m venques merces* (PC 96.2)<sup>c</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Edited from MS W 78 by Hendrik van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies*, 75.

with repetition,” graphing its individual phrases as A B C D E B’ F G A’.<sup>44</sup> While Aubrey’s analysis appears to be generally satisfactory, her formal analysis is not entirely sufficient in capturing what she herself has cited as a characteristic of Blacasset’s style, namely, variation of phrases. I would suggest instead that we consider the third phrase of *Ben volgra* as a variation of the opening phrase. The third phrase is, after all, a simple reprise of the A phrase at the interval of a third higher. We might thus more accurately graph the melody of Blacasset’s *Ben volgra* as A B A’ C D B’ E F A’.

The melody set to *Un sirventes novel vueill comensar* can be found below as Figure 4.4. We have already mentioned that Aubrey considers this melody to be Peire’s own. Her analysis therefore proceeds with references to “Peire’s song.” Based upon the indications cited above, I would caution the reader against taking these references as authoritative. In her analysis of the melody, Aubrey rightly observes that “the texture of Peire’s song is [...] mostly syllabic with some melismas toward the endsof phrases, and there is some slight variation in repeated phrases.”<sup>45</sup> We should briefly recall here that variation of phrases was also cited as a characteristic of Blacasset’s *Ben volgra*; we shall return to the significance of this shared quality in the comparison of the two melodies. Aubrey’s analysis of the intervallic content of the melody set to Peire’s *sirventes* requires some emendation. She states that the given tune is “marked by thirds and triads, with a few leaps of a fourth.”<sup>46</sup> To characterize this melody as *marked* by thirds is debatable, as there are only six thirds (out of a total of 115 intervals). Moreover,

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<sup>44</sup> Aubrey, *The Music*, 169.

<sup>45</sup> Aubrey, *The Music*, 233.

<sup>46</sup> Aubrey, *The Music*, 233.

The image shows a musical score for a troubadour song. It consists of eight staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 8/8. The lyrics are in Occitan and are written below each staff. The melody is simple and consists of a series of quarter and eighth notes, with some rests and a final cadence on each line. The lyrics are: 1. Un sir - ven - tesc no - vel vueil co - men - sar; 2. que re - trai - rai al jorn del ju - tja - men; 3. a sel que.m fetz e.m for - met de ni - en.; 4. si el mi cui - da de ren oc - cay - zo - nar; 5. e s'il mi vol metr' en la di - a - bli - a,; 6. yeu li di - ray: "se - nher, mer - ce, no si - a,; 7. que.l mal se - gle tur - men - tiey totz mos ans; 8. e gar - datz mi, si.us play, dels tur - men - tans."

1. Un sir - ven - tesc no - vel vueil co - men - sar

2. que re - trai - rai al jorn del ju - tja - men

3. a sel que.m fetz e.m for - met de ni - en.

4. si el mi cui - da de ren oc - cay - zo - nar

5. e s'il mi vol metr' en la di - a - bli - a,

6. yeu li di - ray: "se - nher, mer - ce, no si - a,

7. que.l mal se - gle tur - men - tiey totz mos ans

8. e gar - datz mi, si.us play, dels tur - men - tans."

**Figure 4.4** The melody preserved with Peire Cardenal's *Un sirventes novel vueil comensar* (PC 335.67)<sup>d</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Edited from MS R 69 by Hendrik van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies*, 233.

there are absolutely no triads (unless if Aubrey considers a triad to mean a stepwise outline of a fifth), nor are there any leaps of a fourth. Rather, the given melody is characterized by predominantly stepwise motion.

I would also suggest that we reconsider Aubrey's analysis of melodic form, which she graphs as A B A B C D B' C'.<sup>47</sup> First, we must recognize that the final phrase (Aubrey's C') is actually closer to B in its overall shape than it is to C, despite the fact that it shares its opening gesture of a descending third with the C-phrase. In Aubrey's defense, though, we should also observe that there is a preponderance of shared material in the opening notes of phrases B and C. Second, I would suggest that the sixth phrase (Aubrey's D) is nothing other than a variation of the opening phrase A. The sixth phrase begins with an intonational incipit that is a simple reprise of A material at the interval of a third higher, and midway, the phrase redirects itself tonally in order to conclude with a flourish similar to that of the opening phrase, likewise coming to a close on E. In view of these two observations, I would suggest a revised form of A B A B C A' B' B''.

If we now compare the melodic analyses of *Ben volgra* and *Un sirventes novel*, several shared features emerge, most of which have to do with principles of large-scale organization. We might first observe rather generally that both melodies share a relatively complex approach to phrase construction: Instead of tracing simple arches, both melodies display a penchant for phrases that are either double-arched or sine-shaped. More specifically, as we have pointed out above, both melodies have in common their emphasis on phrase variation. One specific means of phrase variation exploited in both songs involves the transposition of a phrase or part of a phrase a third higher (cf. the

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<sup>47</sup> Aubrey, *The Music*, 171.

first and third phrases of *Ben volgra*, and the first and sixth phrases of *Un sirventes novel*). The affinity for phrase variation also comes to the fore in both melodies in their recycling of *frons* material within the *cauda*, such that the initial A and B phrases remain important throughout the development of the song.<sup>48</sup> This repetition of material displays itself prominently in the rounded conclusion of the two melodies, both of which close with a reprise of either the A or B phrase. If we rely tentatively upon Aubrey's survey of form in the extant troubadour repertoire—with, however, the caveat that there could be additional inconsistencies in her graphs—we observe that approximately only one in ten melodies recapitulates A or B material for its conclusion, thereby suggesting that this structural trait was not too commonly applied by the troubadours.<sup>49</sup>

In short, nothing in the melodic character of these two pieces speaks against their common authorship. Quite the contrary, several shared compositional principles between Blacasset's *Ben volgra* and the melody set to *Un sirventes novel* speak in favor of Blacasset's authorship of both tunes. This assessment, of course, has not been arrived at arbitrarily, but rather, through a strict consideration of the formal and generic indications of Peire's *Un sirventes novel* and Blacasset's *Si m fai amors*. In view of the convergence of philological, theoretical, and musical evidence, it would appear that we can attribute the melody accompanying Peire's *sirventes* to Blacasset with a fair degree of confidence.

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<sup>48</sup> As is standard practice among scholars of troubadour lyric, I adopt the terms *frons* and *cauda* to designate the bipartite division of the strophe from Dante Alighieri's *De vulgari eloquentia* (1303-1305).

<sup>49</sup> Of the 250 melodies as they are graphed by Aubrey, only 26 display the reprise of A or B phrases for the concluding phrase of the strophe. By generation, they are: First generation (ca. 1100-50): 2 of 8 melodies; second generation (ca. 1140-75): 1 of 31; third generation (ca. 1160-1210): 9 of 87; fourth generation (ca. 1180-1240): 5 of 65; fifth generation (ca. 1210-55): 1 of 6 (namely, Blacasset's *Ben volgra*); sixth generation (ca. 1250-1300): 8 of 53 (all of which are by Guiraut Riquier). Data compiled from *The Music*, 149-72.

## Broader ramifications

Reattribution of the melody of *Un sirventes novel* to Blacasset is significant in and of itself, but the implications extend even beyond this, most notably by calling attention to the broader issues surrounding the melodic transmission of *sirventes*. According to Aubrey's count, twenty-five *sirventes* have survived with melodies, "most of them without extant musical models."<sup>50</sup> The isolation of a viable poetic model, and by extension, a viable melodic model for even one of these twenty-five *sirventes* demonstrates the promise of reexamining this sub-repertoire on a case-by-case basis. Indeed, certain *sirventes* suggest themselves as particularly apt candidates. Uc Brunenc's *Cuendas razos, novelas e plazens* (PC 451.3), for example, is transmitted with a tune, yet Uc's *vida* insists that he "did not compose melodies" ("non fetz sons").<sup>51</sup> The combined implications of genre and biography provide a strong indication that Uc likely borrowed his tune from a preexistent *canço*, but to date, no structural model has been discovered. One would hope that future comparisons of the entire corpus of notated *sirventes* with the larger troubadour repertoire, as well as with other contemporaneous repertoires will lead to the recovery of additional structural-melodic sources. The potential for such a recovery will be pursued in Chapter 7.

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<sup>50</sup> Aubrey, *The Music*, 112.

<sup>51</sup> Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours*, 199.



## CHAPTER 5

### BERTRAN DE BORN AND THE TROUVÈRES:

#### A MELODIC EXCHANGE WITH CONON DE BÉTHUNE AND JEHAN ERART

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the earliest indications of imitation in the troubadour repertoire suggest that the practice of borrowing developed independently of the *canso*, with, for example, one *sirventes* written in response to another. The practice of modeling a *sirventes* or other imitative piece after a *canso* appears to have emerged with the generation that flourished in the 1180s, and particularly with Bertran de Born (fl. 1159-95).<sup>1</sup> Examining contrafacta that date from this formative stage, particularly when a given family of texts does not include a *canso*, poses a special set of problems. One is compelled to question whether the pieces imitated a *canso* that simply did not survive, or whether imitation was a continuation of that earlier practice in which borrowing occurred independently of the *canso*. In the latter case, the absence of clear generic indications makes determining the direction of influence particularly problematic.

With this in mind, I should like to reconsider a case of imitation that has already attracted the attention of several scholars, including Ernest Hoepffner, Friedrich

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<sup>1</sup> Chambers, "Imitation of Form," 112.

Gennrich, William Paden et al., and to a lesser extent, Gérard Gouiran.<sup>2</sup> Their discussions have centered upon a complex of three songs: a *sirventes* and a pair of *coblas* by Bertran de Born, *Pois als baros enoia en lur pesa* (PC 80.31) and *Ai Lemozis, francha terra cortesa* (PC 80.1), respectively; and a piece by the trouvère Conon de Béthune (ca. 1150-1219), *Mout me semont Amors que je m'envoie* (R 1837).<sup>3</sup> The three pieces are presented with translations as Figures 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3. Only the piece by Conon has been transmitted with its melody, yet, as will be presented below, all of the above-named scholars have been tempted to attribute the composition of the melody to Bertran. I should like to examine the viability of this attribution, first by reviewing the factors that played a role in these scholars' conclusions, and second, by introducing into the argument new evidence that will potentially unravel the mystery shrouding the transmission of this melody.

The shared influence of the three pieces under discussion is beyond dispute. In terms of their poetic structure, all three exhibit an identical form of **10 a' b a' b b b a'**. Furthermore, despite their linguistic differences, they also display certain approximated rhyme sounds (*-esa*, *-ei* and *-esa*, *-eis* in the respective Occitan pieces versus *-oise*, *-ois* in

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<sup>2</sup> The respective studies to which I refer are: Ernest Hoepffner, "Un Ami de Bertran de Born: 'Mon Isembart,'" in *Études romanes dédiées à Mario Roques* (Paris: E. Droz, 1946), 15-22; Friedrich Gennrich, *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters*, 194-95; William D. Paden, et al., eds., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*; and Gérard Gouiran, *L'Amour et la guerre: L'Œuvre de Bertran de Born*, 2 vols. (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1985).

<sup>3</sup> We recall here that "R" numbers refer to the catalogue of trouvère songs first compiled by G. Raynaud and re-edited by Hans Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes*.

I.	Pois als baros enoia en lur pesa d'aqesta patz q'ant faicha li doi rei, farai chansson tal que qand er apres a cada un sera tart que gerrei.	Since this peace the two kings have made irritates the barons in their thoughts, I'll make such a song that everyone will be impatient to fight, once it's learned.
5	E no m'es bel de rei q'en patz estei deseretatz, ni qe perda son dre tro la demanda q'a fait'a conquesta.	I don't like a disinherited king who stays at peace and loses his right, until he takes by force what he has demanded.
II.	Ad ambedos ten hom ad avolesa car ant fait plaich don qecs de lor sordei.	People think it is vile of each to have made a deal that dirties both.
10	Cinc ducatz a la corona francesa, e si.ls comtatz, son a dire li trei. E de Giortz pert lo ces e l'esplei, e caersins reman sai en trepei, e Bretaigna e la terr'engolmesa.	The French crown has five duchies, and if you count them now, three are missing. The king is losing the taxes and revenue of Gisors, and down here Quercy is still in disorder, as are Brittany and the land of Angoumois.
III.	Ges aitals patz non meillura proesa cum aqesta, ni outra, com lo grei. Ni deu sofrir c'om li bais sa riquesa. Pois Esaudu a tornat debes sei	A peace such as this does not enhance prowess, nor any other peace, however much that may grieve Philip. He should not suffer them to abase his might. Since King Henry has won over Issoudun
20	lo reis Henrics e mes en son destrei, e no.is cuich ges q'a son home s'autrei, si.l fiu d'Angieus li merma una tesa.	and got it in his power, Philip mustn't expect Henry to declare himself his man if he diminishes the fief of Angers by one ell.
IV.	Si.l reis engles li fetz don ni larguesa al rei Felip, dreitz es q'el l'en mercei; q'el fetz liurar la moneda englesa, q'en Franssa.n son carzit sac e correi.	If the English king gave King Philip a gift and treasure, it is proper for him to say thanks; he has had so much English coin delivered that in France he has raised the price of straps and bags to hold it.
25	E no foron Angevin ni Mansei, qe d'esterlins foro.ill primier conrei qe desconfron la gen campanesa.	Not men of Anjou or Maine, but sterling coins, were the first troops to defeat the men of Champagne.
V.	Lo sors Guerries dis paraulla cortesa qan son nebot vic tornat en esfrei, qe desarmatz volgra.n fos lo fins presa, qand fo armatz non volc penre plaidei.	Guerri the Red spoke a courteous word when he saw his nephew turn in fear, saying that when he himself was disarmed he wanted to make peace, but when he was armed he would accept no offer.
30	E non semblet ges lo seignor d'Orlei, qe desarmatz fon de peior mercei qe qand el cap ac la ventailla mesa.	He little resembled the lord of Orléans, who has been more stubborn disarmed than with his helmet on his head.
35	VI.	It is considered a weakness for an armed king to go seeking peace when he is in the field. The Burgundians and French have exchanged honor for greed, according to what I hear.
40	A rei armat o ten hom a flaquesa qand es en camps e vai qerre plaidei. Ben ant camjat honor per cobeesa, segon q'auch dir, Bergoignon e Francei. E valgra mais, per la fe q'ieu vos dei, al rei Felip, comenses lo desrei que plaideiar armatz sobre la glesa.	It would be better, by the faith I owe you, for King Philip to start the attack than to parley, armed, in the mud.

Continued

**Figure 5.1** Bertran de Born, *Pois als baros enoia en lur pesa* (PC 80.33)<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Edited and translated by Paden, et al., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 364-69. MSS: A 196, B 116, C 141, D 121, E 97, F 67, I 178, K 163, R 20, U 143 [1 str.], V 49. Base: A. Lineation mine. (We note here that Paden et al. have substituted proper names for personal pronouns in ll. 16 and 20.)

## Figure 5.1 continued

45	Vai, Papiol, mon sirventes a dreï mi portaras part Crespin el Valeï mon Isembart en la terra artesa.	Go, Papiol, carry my sirventes straightaway beyond Crépy-en-Valois, to my Isembart in the land of Artois.
	E digas li q`a tal dompna sopleï que marves posc jurar sobre la lei qe.ill mieiller es del mon e.ill plus cortesa.	And tell him I bow to a lady who— as I can solemnly swear on the faith— is the best in the world and the most courteous.
I.	Ai Lemozis, francha terra cortesa mout me sap bon car tals honors vos creis. Que jois e pretz e deportz e gaiesa, cortesia e solatz e domneis 5 s`en ven a nos; e.l cor estei anc eis! Be.is deu gardar qui a drutz se depeis per cals obras deu donna esser qesa.	O Limousin, free courtly land, it delights me that such honor accrues to you. For joy and honor and mirth and gaiety, courtesy and pleasure and gallantry come to us; and may this spirit remain forever! Whoever has called himself a lover must consider carefully by what deeds a lady should be courted.
II.	Dons e servirs e garnirs e larguesa noiris amors com fai l`aiga lo peis, 10 enseingnamenz e valors e proesa armas e cortz, e guerras e torneis. E qui pros es ni de proessa.s feis, mal estara s`aoras non pareis, pois na Guiscarda nos es sai tramesa.	Gifts and service and splendor and largess nourish love as water does fish, and as politeness and valor and prowess do arms and courts, and wars and tourneys. It will be unseemly for anyone who is brave and has prided himself on his prowess if he doesn`t show it, now that Lady Guiscarda has been sent to us here.

## Figure 5.2 Bertran de Born, *Ai Lemozis, francha terra cortesa* (PC 80.1)<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Edited and translated by Paden, et al., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 132-33. MSS: F 85, I 182, K 168, κ 136. Base: I. Lineation mine.

I.	<p>Mout me semont Amors ke je m'envoise,  quant je plus doi de chanter estre cois;  mais j'ai plus grant talent ke je me coise,  por çou s'ai mis mon chanter en defois.  5 Ke mon langaige ont blasmé li François  et mes cançons, oiant les Champenois  et la Contesse encoir, dont plus me poise.</p>	<p>Love strongly summons me to rejoice  when I should rather remain silent from singing;  but I have a greater desire to keep my silence,  which is why I have renounced my singing.  For the French have criticized my language  and my songs in front of the people of Champagne  as well as the Countess, which grieves me the most of all.</p>
II.	<p>La Roïne n'a pas fait ke cortoise,  ki me reprist, ele et ses fieus, li Rois.  10 Encoir ne soit ma parole franchoise,  si la puet on bien entendre en franchois;  ne chil ne sont bien apris ne cortois,  s'il m'ont repris se j'ai dit mos d'Artois,  car je ne fui pas norris a Pontoise.</p>	<p>The queen did not act graciously,  she, who reprimands me, along with her son, the king.  Even though I do not speak French,  one can easily understand me in French.  They are neither well taught nor courtly,  if they reprimand me for speaking Artesian words,  since I was not raised at Pontoise.</p>
III.	<p>Dieus! ke ferai? Dirai li mon coraige?  Li irai je dont s'amor demander?  Oïl, par Dieu! car tel sont li usaige  c'on n'i puet mais sans demant rien trover;  et se jo sui outrageus del trover,  20 se n'en doit pas ma Dame a moi irer,  mais vers Amors, ki me font dire outrage.</p>	<p>God! What shall I do? Shall I tell her what's on my heart?  Shall I go to her, whose love I seek?  Yes, by God! Because such are the customs  that one cannot receive anything without asking;  and if I am excessive in my composition,  my lady must not be angry with me,  but rather towards Love, who makes me say outrageous  things.</p>

**Figure 5.3** Conon de Béthune, *Mout me semont Amors ke je m'envoise* (R 1837)<sup>c</sup>

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<sup>c</sup> Edited by Axel Wallensköld, *Les Chansons de Conon de Béthune* (Paris: Champion, 1921), 5. MSS: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 844 [M], fol. 45; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, f. fr. 12615 [T], fol. 99; Metz, Archives de la Moselle [e], fol. 2 [strophe III only]. Base: T. Translation mine.

the first two strophes of the French song).<sup>4</sup> Any remaining question as to mere coincidence of form can be ruled out by the literary relationship cultivated between Bertran and Conon.<sup>5</sup> While there is no surviving documentation of their having met, ample evidence of their poetic exchanges survives through their works. Conon modeled two of his songs after *cansos* by Bertran: The trouvère's *chanson Tant ai amé c'or me covient hair* (R 1428) adopts the form and certain rhymes of Bertran's *Ges de disnar no for'oimais matis* (PC 80.19), and his *Bele doce dame chiere* (R 1235) imitates the troubadour's *Chasutz sui de mal en pena* (PC 80.9). In both cases, the ability to date the songs makes the order of influence indisputable: Bertran composed both of his *cansos* during the winter of 1182-83 while in Argentan (Normandy) at the court of Maheut, Duchess of Saxony; Conon's songs, on the other hand, were composed after his return from the Third Crusade (1188-94), perhaps as early as 1189.<sup>6</sup> The melodies of both pairs

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<sup>4</sup> Bertran's Occitan pieces unfold in *coblas unisonans*, whereas Conon's piece changes its rhyme sounds to *-aige, -er* in its third (and final) strophe. In Old Occitan, *-esa* is pronounced with a closed *-e* and voiced *-s* [eza]; the spellings *-ei* and *-eis* represent a pronounced diphthong; the final *-s* of *-eis* is unvoiced. See William D. Paden, *An Introduction to Old Occitan* (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1998), 10-13. According to Jeannine Alton and Brian Jeffery, the spelling *-oi* was pronounced [oi] until about 1200. (The pronunciation [wɛ] developed during the thirteenth century.) See *Bele Buche e bele parleure: A Guide to the Pronunciation of Medieval and Renaissance French for Singers and Others* (London: Tecla, 1976), 17. In his more recent study, Robert Taylor concurs, placing the pronunciation of *-oi* as [oj] until ca. 1250; see his chapter, "Old French," in *Singing Early Music*, ed. Timothy J. McGee (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 76.

<sup>5</sup> The most exhaustive examination of the literary exchanges between Bertran and Conon is provided by Hoepffner, "Un Ami de Bertran de Born."

<sup>6</sup> Hoepffner, "Un Ami de Bertran de Born," 17. For a detailed explanation of the factors determining Conon's return from the Third Crusade, see Wallensköld, ed., *Les Chansons de Conon de Béthune*, v (esp. note 3).

of songs are preserved exclusively with Conon's pieces, but the fact that Conon adopted his poetic structures from Bertran speaks strongly in favor of his likewise having borrowed the accompanying tunes.<sup>7</sup>

As for Bertran's recognition of Conon, the troubadour acknowledges the trouvère in two of his works, addressing him in the *tornada* of each with the *senhal* (lit., an ensign or banner; an epithet) "Mon Isembart," a reference to the legendary warrior memorialized in the *chanson de geste Gormont et Isembart*.<sup>8</sup> Notably, one of the two works bearing such a dedication is *Pois als baros*, which Bertran sends "beyond Crépy-en-Valois, to my Isembart in the land of Artois" (ll. 44-45).<sup>9</sup>

Bertran's envoi in *Pois als baros* leaves no doubt as to the literary connection of the three pieces under discussion; what remains far less apparent is the direction of influence. In this particular instance, neither dating nor genre allows a clear conclusion as to the order of imitation. Regarding the chronology of the three pieces, only Bertran's *sirventes* can be dated with any certainty. It was composed in response to a truce signed

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<sup>7</sup> Thus, Gennrich (*Der musikalische Nachlass*, 3:282-83) presents both *Cazutz sui* and *Ges de disnar* with the melodies preserved with the corresponding songs by Conon, as do both Fernández de la Cuesta (*Las Cançons dels trobadors*, 256-60) and Hendrik van der Werf (music editor for Paden, et al., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 485-89).

<sup>8</sup> Hoepffner is credited with identifying "Mon Isembart" as Conon de Béthune ("Un Ami de Bertran de Born," 16). Bertran de Born's extensive knowledge of epics and legends has been succinctly demonstrated by Carl Appel in his *Bertran von Born* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1931), 89-91. More recently, Yves Lefèvre has explored Bertran's familiarity with French literary traditions. See "Bertran de Born et la littérature française de son temps," in *Mélanges de langue et de littérature du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance offerts à Jean Frappier* (Geneva: Droz, 1970), 2:603-9.

<sup>9</sup> The second piece that Bertran sends to Conon is his *sirventes Fuilhetas, vos mi preiatz qe ieu chan* (PC 80.4), which Paden et al. have dated to the spring of 1191 (*The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 408-13). The *tornada* of this *sirventes* reads in part: "Go, *sirventes*, beyond Troyes to my Isembart" ("A mon Ynsombart [*sic*] part Troia/Vai, serventes," ll. 36-37). Hoepffner identifies this same *sirventes* by an alternate *incipit*, *Ara sai eu de pretz quals l'a plus gran* ("Un Ami de Bertran de Born," 15).

between Kings Philippe-Auguste and Henry II on Midsummer's Eve, or 23 June 1187.<sup>10</sup> Bertran's *coblas Ai Lemozis*, written for the arrival of Guisarde de Beaujeu (d. 1221) in the Limousin, can be dated only tentatively. Guisarde went to the Limousin in order to marry Archambaut VI de Comborn, who became viscount ca. 1184-87.<sup>11</sup> In a document recorded sometime between the years 1190 and 1195, it is reported that the couple already had two sons.<sup>12</sup> The inexactitude of the medieval records makes precise dating impossible, thus leaving unresolved the question as to whether Bertran composed the *coblas Ai Lemozis* before or after his *sirventes* of 1187.<sup>13</sup> Conon's piece is even more difficult to date with precision. As Hoepffner has pointed out, based upon the nobility whom Conon names, *Mout me semont* could have been composed any time between

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<sup>10</sup> Paden, et al., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 362.

<sup>11</sup> Stanislaw Stronski, *La Légende amoureuse de Bertran de Born* (Paris: Champion, 1914), 64.

<sup>12</sup> Stronski, *La Légende amoureuse*, 68.

<sup>13</sup> Stronski suggests that Guisarde was wed to Archambaut "not long after" 1184 (*La Légende amoureuse*, 67). L. E. Kastner pushes the date back to 1182 ("Notes on the Poems of Bertran de Born: I," *Modern Language Review* 27 [1932]: 402-3). Paden et al., while observing that Kastner's argument is based upon "several uncertain assumptions," nevertheless suggest the date of Bertran's *coblas* as "perhaps around 1182-85." They thereby portray the composition of the *coblas* as preceding the *sirventes Pois als baros* (*The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, cf. 130 and 53, respectively). I would be more tempted to place Guisarde's arrival to the Limousin in the later part of the 1180s, thus making Bertran's composition of *Ai Lemozis* roughly contemporaneous with his *Pois als baros*. This later dating is hinted at by an instance of intertextuality between Bertran's *canço Cel que camja bo per meillor* (PC 80.10) and Gaucelm Faidit's *Tant sui fermes e fis vas amor* (PC 167.58). Like *Ai Lemozis*, Bertran's *Cel que camja* celebrates the recent arrival of Guisarde, here identified by her *senhal* Meilz-de-be, or "Better-than-Good": "Limousin, it must surely please you that now Better-than-Good has arrived" ("Lemozin, ben vos deu plazer/c'ara es vengutz Meilz-de-be," ll. 11-12; *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 134-41). This *canço* shares its strophic structure, rhyme sounds, and rhyme technique of *coblas capcaudadas* (i.e., rhymes that rotate through successive strophes) with Gaucelm's *Tant sui fermes*. A reference in the *tornada* of Gaucelm's piece to *count* (and not *king*) Richard the Lionhearted's taking the cross allows a *terminus post quem* of 30 September 1187, the date of Richard's vow, and a *terminus ante quem* of 6 July 1189, the date of his coronation as the king of England (Mouzat, *Les Poèmes de Gaucelm Faidit*, 440-42). Leaving aside the difficult issue of which poet was imitating the other, we can nevertheless observe with some confidence that the imitator was capitalizing on the current vogue of his model, suggesting that Bertran's *Cel que camja*, just like Gaucelm's *canço*, would have been composed in the latter part of the 1180s.



1179, the date of Philippe-Auguste's coronation, and 1198, the year that countess Marie de Champagne died.<sup>14</sup> While it does seem reasonable to narrow this time frame to the decade of the 1180s, making *Mout me semont* roughly contemporaneous with Bertran's compositions, such a limitation would still not bring us any closer to determining the chronological relationship of Conon's song to either one of Bertran's pieces.

Just as dating cannot contribute to establishing the relative chronology of the three pieces, neither are the poetic types involved indicative of a compositional order. If this family of like-structured texts were to include a *canso*, the compositional standards associated with genre would certainly recommend it as the point of origin for the subsequent imitations. In this particular case, however, none of the pieces fulfils the definition of a *canso*. Bertran does actually refer to *Pois als baros* as a *chansson* [*sic*] in the opening strophe (l. 3), but thematically, the piece behaves like a *sirventes*, which is how the troubadour ultimately designates it in the *tornada* (l. 43). The implications of this dual designation will be explored below. As for the remaining two pieces, their genres are less apparent. With only two strophes, *Ai Lemozis* is easily categorized as *coblas*, although modern scholarship, following the designations of Pillet-Carstens and Frank, has tended to consider this piece a fragment of a *canso*.<sup>15</sup> Gérard Gouiran, for example, considers *Ai Lemozis* to be among those "songs that do not seem to have come down to us in their entirety."<sup>16</sup> As Paden et al. have emphasized, however, the

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<sup>14</sup> Hoepffner, "Un Ami de Bertran de Born," 19.

<sup>15</sup> Pillet and Carstens identify *Ai Lemozis* as "two strophes of a *canso*" (*Bibliographie*, 70); cf. Frank, *Répertoire métrique*, 1:55, who asks the question if this piece is "incomplete."

<sup>16</sup> Gouiran, *L'Amour et la guerre*, 1:cxli.

author of the *razo* that prefaces *Ai Lemozis* did not portray this piece as a *canso*. Instead, the *razo* explains that Bertran “composed these *coblas*” (“fetz aquestas coblas”).<sup>17</sup> We might add that the authors of the *vidas* and *razos* would appear to be consistent in their application of the term *cobla(s)*, distinguishing between independent or exchanged *coblas* (which are introduced individually as “aquesta cobla”) and those extracted from longer works (e.g., “en una cobla d’un sirventes,” “una cotbla [*sic*], en la chanso,” or “la premeira cobla d’aquesta chanson”).<sup>18</sup>

Conon’s *Mout me semont* is equally ambiguous in terms of its poetic type, likewise proving rather difficult to categorize. While some scholars have referred to it as a *chanson*, or even a *chanson amoureuse*, still others have labeled it with the modern hybrid term *serventois-chanson*.<sup>19</sup> The reason for this discrepancy lies in Conon’s mixing of themes. As Paden has observed, *Mout me semont* does “concern love,” but in it “Conon adopts a scolding tone not unrelated to satire.”<sup>20</sup> We can thus concur with Paden’s estimation that the generic classification of this piece “is not beyond dispute.”<sup>21</sup> Since none of the three pieces under discussion can be convincingly categorized as a *canso*, genre cannot in this case contribute to the determination of compositional order.

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<sup>17</sup> The relevant passage is cited in Paden et al., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 130. For the complete *razo*, see Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours*, 78-79.

<sup>18</sup> References to *coblas* are peppered throughout the *vidas* and *razos*; see the index of Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours*, 608 (s.v. “cobla” and “coblas”). For the particular sampling quoted here, see pp. 192-93, 263, 393, and 452.

<sup>19</sup> Ernest Hoepffner, for example, calls *Mout me semont* a *chanson* (“Un Ami de Bertran de Born,” 17). Axel Wallensköld goes one step further, referring to *Mout me semont* as a *chanson d’amour* (*Les Chansons de Conon de Béthune*, xii). Ulrich Mölk and Friedrich Wolfzettel, on the other hand, label it with the modern hybrid term *serventois-chanson*; see their *Répertoire métrique de la poésie lyrique française*, 443.

<sup>20</sup> Paden, et al., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 47.

<sup>21</sup> Paden, et al., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 47.

We are left to consider two possibilities: Either the *canso* that served as the model for subsequent imitations has not survived, or imitation was spawned by an original *serventes, coblas*, or the like. While we cannot rule out the former hypothesis, the latter scenario merits further consideration.

### **The scholarly opinion**

In the absence of a clear chronology and unambiguous generic indications, modern scholars have been left to conjecture as to the sequence of composition within this song grouping and subsequently as to the direction of influence. As already mentioned, Hoepffner, Gennrich, Paden et al., and Gouiran have all addressed the relationship between Conon's and Bertran's pieces.<sup>22</sup> Despite differences in their reasoning, the above-named scholars have concluded not only by endorsing the performance of Bertran's poems to the tune transmitted with Conon's piece, but also by attributing the melody to Bertran himself, albeit cautiously. In the paragraphs that follow, I should like to summarize the possible compositional scenarios that have emerged from these scholars' consideration of context, chronology, and genre.

Ernest Hoepffner, following the formal identification first documented by Hans Spanke,<sup>23</sup> was apparently the first scholar to tackle questions related to direction of influence within this particular complex of songs. Aware of the futility of determining

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<sup>22</sup> We have excluded from this discussion István Frank, who also considered the order of influence between *Mout me semont*, *Ai Lemozis*, and *Pois als baros* in his *Trouvères et Minnesänger* (see pp. 98-107, and the corresponding notes on 176-81). In his presentation of compositional order, Frank accepted the chronology of 1180-81, 1184-87, and 1187 for the three respective compositions as fixed and certain. He thus concluded that Conon's *Mout me semont* was the model, and Bertran's pieces its contrafacta.

<sup>23</sup> Hans Spanke, *Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik*, 160.

compositional order through dating, Hoepffner instead considered the pieces from a thematic standpoint. Limiting his discussion to Bertran's *Pois als baros* and Conon's *Mout me semont*, Hoepffner identified thematic resonances between the two pieces that could only be deliberate. To be sure, both pieces take as their target the French king, Philippe-Auguste. Bertran's *sirventes* is a diatribe against the king and his army for having been bought off by English sterlings. Conon's song, in a much lighter tone, openly expresses his disappointment with the French king and the queen-mother for having spurned him because of his Artesian dialect. Hoepffner, confronting the question of which poet-composer emulated the other, portrays Conon as the imitator. He hypothesizes:

One is made to suppose that by giving his song the form of the troubadour's song, and without a doubt also its melody, Conon must have wanted to awaken the king's memory of Bertran's satire and get the audience on his side.<sup>24</sup>

Hoepffner does, however, qualify his hypothesis by recognizing the condition "that the Provençal *sirventes* be earlier than the work of the trouvère."<sup>25</sup>

A second scholar who promotes Bertran as the composer of the melody transmitted with Conon's *Mout me semont* is Friedrich Gennrich. As will be recalled from the introductory chapter, Gennrich's study of contrafacture was guided by his interest in recovering melodies for pieces transmitted without musical notation.

Gennrich's only explicit statement on the thought process behind these so-called *erschlossene Melodien* was cited in Chapter 1, but it bears repeating here:

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<sup>24</sup> "Cela fait supposer qu'en donnant à sa chanson la forme de la chanson du troubadour, et sans doute aussi sa mélodie, Conon ait voulu réveiller chez le roi le souvenir de la satire de Bertran et mettre les rieurs de son côté." Hoepffner, "Un Ami de Bertran de Born," 18.

<sup>25</sup> The original text reads: "[...] à condition toutefois que le sirventès provençal soit antérieur à l'œuvre du trouvère." Hoepffner, "Un Ami de Bertran de Born," 18.

Contrafacture will also be able to render good services through the disclosure of older melodic material. Sometimes the melodies of models—especially when they belong to an older time—are no longer preserved, whereas those of contrafacta that originate in a later time are. If it is possible to trace a contrafactum to an older model that has been transmitted without a melody, one may carry over without hesitation the melody of the contrafactum to the model as well.<sup>26</sup>

Notably, the examples that Gennrich cites in support of his observation are the three poetic exchanges between Bertran and Conon, i.e., the two instances briefly mentioned above and the exchange presently under discussion (pared down, however, to just *Ai Lemozis* and *Mout me semont*). In Gennrich's assessment, the identification of the three exchanges between troubadour and trouvère allows one "to recover the melodies of three of Bertran de Born's songs."<sup>27</sup> He elaborates: "Because the melodies of these songs are only transmitted with Conon and not with Bertran, an appropriation of the melodies of the French songs for the lacking Provençale melodies would probably be justified."<sup>28</sup> We have seen that the relative chronology of the song pairings *Ges de disnar / Tant ai amé* and *Chasutz sui / Bele doce dame* does, in fact, verify Bertran's influence on Conon, thus bolstering Gennrich's theory that Bertran was responsible for the invention of the melodies transmitted with Conon's texts. The chronology of *Ai Lemozis* and *Mout me semont*, on the other hand, has been shown to be less than certain, a fact that Gennrich does not openly acknowledge. He is, all the same, reasonably cautious in his attribution of the tune of *Mout me semont* to Bertran, even to the point of recognizing the possibility of a non-extant model. He writes: "[W]ith great probability, Conon's song is a

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<sup>26</sup> Gennrich, *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters*, 194. For Gennrich's original text, see above, p. 12 (n. 24).

<sup>27</sup> "Auf diese Weise war es z. B. möglich, die Melodien zu drei Liedern Bertran de Born's zurückzugewinnen." Gennrich, *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters*, 194.

<sup>28</sup> "Da die Melodien zu diesen Liedern nur von Conon, nicht von Betran [*sic*] überliefert sind, wäre eine Übernahme der Melodien der frz. Lieder für die fehlenden der prov. Lieder wohl gerechtfertigt." Gennrich, *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters*, 195.

contrafactum of Bertran's song, or both can be traced back to a common source."<sup>29</sup> In this way, Gennrich tentatively portrays *Ai Lemozis* as the source for the melody, with Bertran its presumed composer. While maintaining a certain degree of indecision regarding the authorship of the melody, Gennrich does not hesitate in advocating the performance of Bertran's pieces to the tunes transmitted with Conon's songs.<sup>30</sup>

More recently, Paden, Sankovitch, and Stäblein have reconsidered the compositional order of the three songs. Their conclusions are concurrent with those of their predecessors, although their argumentation is based upon an often-contradictory presentation on the dates and genres of the various compositions. For example, despite their observation that L. E. Kastner's having pushed the date of *Ai Lemozis* back to 1182 is based upon "several uncertain assumptions," Paden and his co-editors nevertheless partially advocate this date when they propose that Bertran composed his *coblas* "perhaps around 1182-85."<sup>31</sup> In a similar fashion, while recognizing the uncertainty of placing a date on *Mout me semont*, Paden *et al.* suggest that Conon composed it around 1182 and thus about the same time as Bertran composed his *Ai Lemozis*.<sup>32</sup> They thereby portray the

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<sup>29</sup> "[M]it großer Wahrscheinlichkeit Conon's Lied ein Kontrafaktum von Bertran's Lied ist, oder beide auf ein gemeinsames Vorbild zurückgehen." Gennrich, *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters*, 195.

<sup>30</sup> Although Gennrich excludes *Pois als baros* from this discussion, he does identify it as a contrafactum of *Ai Lemozis* in the commentary to his anthology. See *Der musikalische Nachlass der Troubadours*, 4:128.

<sup>31</sup> Kastner's argument for dating *Ai Lemozis* appears in "Notes on the Poems of Bertran de Born," 402-3. For the conflicting statements of Paden *et al.*, see *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, cf. 130 and 53, respectively.

<sup>32</sup> Paden *et al.*, *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 53.

composition of *Ai Lemozis* and *Mout me semont* as essentially contemporaneous—while being careful, however, not to speculate as to which song was written first—with the *sirventes* following soon after in 1187.<sup>33</sup>

Besides chronology, Paden, Sankovitch, and Stäblein also address the role of genre in determining the direction of imitation. Similar to their discussion of compositional dates, however, there is a slight discrepancy in their presentation of genre. We have already seen that these authors acknowledge the significance of the *razo*'s designation of *Ai Lemozis* as *coblas*.<sup>34</sup> Elsewhere in their edition, however, as they attempt to sort out the perplexing relationship between *Ai Lemozis* and *Mout me semont*, Paden et al. represent Bertran's composition unquestionably as a *canso*, judging that if "Bertran's *canso* imitated Conon," it was "contrary to the rule."<sup>35</sup> This categorization of Bertran's piece is—by the authors' own admission—dubious: With its theme of praise, *Ai Lemozis* does fit the definition of a *canso*, but in its abbreviated length, it does not.

Like Hoepffner and Gennrich before them, Paden and his co-editors conclude by advocating the performance of Bertran's lyrics to the melody preserved with Conon's song. In their final statement on this decision, they maintain the uncertainty in verifying

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<sup>33</sup> The passage in question reads: "Bertran might have met Conon at the court held by Henry II at Argentan, in Normandy, in 1182, the sole occasion known to us when he traveled to France. About this time the two men wrote songs of identical rhyme scheme and syllable count with some corresponding rhymes [...]: Bertran celebrated a noble lady of the Limousin in poem 4 [*Ai Lemozis*], perhaps around 1182-85, and Conon complained that his Artesian dialect had been ridiculed at the royal court in a song [*Mout me semont*] variously dated around 1180-81, 1182, or 1188. Whichever song was written first, the second must have exploited the contrast between Bertran's fanfare and Conon's scolding." Paden et al, *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 53.

<sup>34</sup> Paden et al., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 130.

<sup>35</sup> Paden et al., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 47.

the direction of borrowing. They do, however, give preference to one possibility over the other, explaining that they derived the melodies set to *Ai Lemozis* and *Pois als baros* “from the possible imitation by Conon de Béthune.”<sup>36</sup>

A survey of the secondary literature devoted to this song complex would not be complete without also mentioning Gérard Gouiran’s treatment of the topic. His overview of the three pieces is exceedingly direct, with little or no supporting rationale. That said, his conclusions do not necessarily present any surprises to one who is already familiar with related scholarship. Placing *Ai Lemozis* within the period of 1184-87, Gouiran portrays it as the original composition. He asserts that Bertran “took up the same scheme for his *sirventes* [*Pois als baros*],” as did Conon for *Mout me semont*.<sup>37</sup> While Gouiran does not attempt to establish precisely which of Bertran’s pieces inspired Conon’s song, he does introduce the melody preserved with *Mout me semont* as a contrafactum of Bertran’s songs.<sup>38</sup>

To summarize this survey, all of the scholars discussed above, with the exception of Gouiran, recognize that the evidence under their consideration ultimately leads to an impasse. Their attribution of the melody in question to Bertran might thus appear to be somewhat arbitrary. In the pages that follow, I should like to present additional evidence, hitherto unconsidered, that will serve to bolster these scholars’ conclusions. First, as a matter of reflection, I should like to consider this family of songs from the vantage point

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<sup>36</sup> Paden et al., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 362.

<sup>37</sup> Gouiran, *L’Amour et la guerre*, 1:cxlvi.

<sup>38</sup> Gouiran, *L’Amour et la guerre*, 1:cxciii.



of rhetoric. Second, proceeding on more definitive grounds, I shall introduce into this same complex of songs yet another contrafactum, one with quite prominent structural-thematic markers.

### **A question of rhetoric**

In Chapter 3, we explored the possibility of associating structural-melodic borrowing with a specific expressive stance in which the troubadour declares his inability or unwillingness to sing. Through this refusal to sing, he reverses the quintessential role of the troubadour as an inventor and singer of songs. In the present chapter, I should like to isolate a parallel expressive vocabulary within the trouvère repertoire.

The study of rhetoric within the trouvère repertoire has been greatly advanced by a monumental study on poetic technique undertaken by Roger Dragonetti.<sup>39</sup> In an extensive examination of the trouvère *chanson*, Dragonetti identified as a prevalent exordium the composer's statement of his commitment to sing at Love's (or his lady's) invitation.<sup>40</sup> As Dragonetti has demonstrated, examples of this *topos* abound in the trouvère repertoire; let us cite as an example here the opening lines of a *chanson* by Jehan Erart, a thirteenth-century trouvère who will be discussed in further detail below. He begins one of his songs:

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<sup>39</sup> Roger Dragonetti, *La Technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise: Contribution à l'étude de la rhétorique médiévale* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1960).

<sup>40</sup> For numerous manifestations of this *topos*, see Dragonetti, *La Technique poétique*, 140-52, and 158-62.

Bone amour qui son repere  
fet en moi, m'a tant requis  
Et proié de chançon faire  
Qu'a chanter me resui pris.<sup>41</sup>

Good Love, who has made its dwelling place  
in me, has so entreated  
and begged that I compose a song  
that I have taken up singing again.

By invoking his impulse to sing at Love's intention, Jehan thus assumes what Dragonetti has isolated as a quintessential *propositio* in the courtly *chanson* of the trouvères.

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, there are occasions in which a composer might choose to disrupt this standard *topos* by openly declaring his refusal to sing. In that chapter we pursued the possibility of associating such refusals with a decision to forego original melodic composition, and instead, to set words to a preexistent tune. Following this suggestion, I should like to consider the rhetorical stance adopted by Conon as a possible indication of his intention to borrow his tune from Bertran. In fact, Conon opens *Mout me semont* with the following exordium, so typical of the courtly *chanson*:

Mout me semont Amors ke je m'envoise,      Love strongly summons me to rejoice  
Quant je plus doi de chanter estre cois.      when I should rather remain silent from singing.

We know from Jehan Erart's exordium above (and from the countless exordia just like it cited in Dragonetti's study) that the typical response to this invitation would be total compliance. Conon, however, does not acquiesce. Instead, he declares that he feels more compelled to remain silent. The exordium continues (ll. 3-4):

Mais j'ai plus grant talent ke je me coise,      But I have a greater desire to keep my silence,  
Por çou s'ai mis mon chanter en defois.      which is why I have renounced my singing.

Conon thus subverts a familiar *topos* of the trouvère *chanson*, and in so doing, strikes a distinctive rhetorical stance. Could this declaration of his intention to set his singing aside be a figurative recognition of his having borrowed a melody? In the absence of

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<sup>41</sup> The text and melody of Jehan's *Bone amour* (R 180) have been edited by Terence Newcombe, *The Songs of Jehan Erart: 13<sup>th</sup> Century Trouvère*, Corpus mensurabilis musicae, 67 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1975), 13.

other factors (e.g., chronological, generic, or philological) that would typically betray direction of influence, such an interpretation of Conon's rhetoric is quite tempting.<sup>42</sup>

When Conon's rhetorical stance is compared with that adopted by Bertran in his *sirventes Pois als baros*, the contrast is marked. To be sure, Bertran opens his *sirventes* with a statement that reveals an intense motivation to sing:

Pois als baros enoia en lur pesa	Since this peace the two kings have made
D'aqesta patz q'ant faicha li doi rei,	irritates the barons in their thoughts,
Farai chansson tal que qand er apresá	I'll make such a song that once it's learned,
A cada un sera tart que gerrei.	everyone will be impatient to fight.

With the words "farai chansson," Bertran places an emphasis on the creative aspect of his piece. Should these same words, then, be taken as an indication of original melodic composition? Certainly this interpretation cannot be ruled out, but since *Pois als baros* behaves thematically like a *sirventes*, one would be equally justified in suspecting the piece to have been composed to a borrowed tune. As mentioned above, Bertran reinforces this suspicion by calling the piece a *sirventes* in its closing *tornada*. This simultaneous designation of the piece as both *canso* and *sirventes* does generate a certain level of confusion, but the seeming contradiction can be reconciled through an examination of Bertran's personal usage of the term *canso*. In fact, all four attestations of the word *canso* in his *œuvre* appear within the context of songs of aggression, either

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<sup>42</sup> This interpretation of Conon's declaration becomes even more tempting when we consider a second possible instance in which Conon recognizes his decision to set his words to a borrowed melody. In one of the strophes of *Bele doce dame chiere* (which, we recall from p. 131 was composed in imitation of Bertran's *canso Chasutz sui de mal en pena*), the trouvère expresses his desire to describe his complaints to a preexistent tune: "I wish to tell you about some of my difficulties *to the tune of another*, which thus comes to me at will" ("Talent ai que je vos die/De mes mals une partie/En autrui chant/Q'ensi me vient a talent;" emphasis mine). Unfortunately, Conon's authorship of this strophe is not entirely certain since only one of the four manuscripts transmitting *Bele doce dame chiere* preserves it (namely, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 20050, fol. 36). For the complete text of this added strophe, see Wallensköld, ed., *Les Chansons de Conon de Béthune*, 28.

military or otherwise.<sup>43</sup> In the case of *Pois als baros*, we clearly perceive from the opening lines that “such a song” as Bertran envisions is not a *canso* in the sense of a courtly song of love intent on praise, but rather, one of invective that will incite men to take up arms. To be sure, Bertran admits that this *canso* is motivated by his desire to capitalize upon the anger of the barons; it is decidedly not a response to Love’s invitation. His application of the term *canso* thus contrasts with the more customary usage of the term, immediately casting doubt on its corresponding applicability to melodic originality. We can therefore conclude that construing Bertran’s declaration of “making a *chansson*” as an indication of original melodic composition is not necessarily warranted.

Unlike *Mout me semont* and *Pois als baros*, Bertran’s *Ai Lemozis* does not exhibit a vocabulary that is related to singing. Instead, the composer’s rhetorical stance is tacit: He sings in praise of the arrival of Lady Guiscarda in the Limousin. Similar to *Pois als baros*, *Ai Lemozis* also serves as an occasion for Bertran to call his compatriots to action, as seen in the concluding lines of the second *cobla*:

E qui pros es ni de proessa.s feis,	For anyone who is brave and has prided himself on his prowess,
Mal estara s’aoras non pareis,	it will be unseemly if he doesn’t show it,
Pois na Guiscarda nos es sai tramesa.	now that Lady Guiscarda has been sent to us here.

By virtue of its rapprochement with the *razo* of a *canso*, *Ai Lemozis* arguably presents its composer with a more viable context for original melodic composition than either *Mout me semont* or *Pois als baros*, the subversive rhetoric for both of which suggests favorable occasions for melodic parody. Our tentative inclination to appoint *Ai Lemozis* as the

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<sup>43</sup> Along with *Pois als baros*, both *Lo coms m’a mandat e mogut* (PC 80.23) and *Tortz e gerras e joi d’amor* (PC 80.11) deal with military and political confrontations. *Mailolin, joglars malastruc* (PC 80.24) is a jesting song of insult directed against Bertran’s *joglar*; just as with *Pois als baros*, Bertran designates *Mailolin* as a *sirventes* in the *tornada*. The respective texts can be found in Paden et al., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 106-11, 114-19, and 312-17.

point of origin within this song complex will be endorsed below by the additional contrafactum that necessarily belongs to an informed discussion of this song family.

### **A *plainte* by Jehan Erart**

There is one further piece of evidence that informs the question regarding the direction of influence between Bertran and Conon, but one that has escaped the attention of the scholars discussed above, namely, yet another contrafactum belonging to this same complex of songs. The piece in question is a *plainte* by the trouvère Jehan Erart (d. 1258 or 1259),<sup>44</sup> *Nus chanters mais le mien cuer ne leeche* (R 485), that adopts the identical structure as the pieces by Bertran and Conon, approximates their rhyme sounds (-*eche*, -*is*), and bears a variant of the same melody preserved with Conon's piece. Jehan's text and its translation can be found immediately below as Figure 5.4; the melody is presented further below within the synoptic transcription of Figure 5.5.

The precise year of Jehan's *plainte* is unfortunately unknown, because the patron whom Jehan mourns, a certain Gherart, remains otherwise unidentified.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, Jehan's presumed *floruit* of ca. 1232-54, as well as references within the text,

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<sup>44</sup> The name Jehan Erart actually appears twice within the *Nécrologe de la Confrérie des Jongleurs et des Bourgeois d'Arras* (edited by Roger Berger [Arras: Commission départementale des monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1963], 47-48) probably designating a father and son, one of whom died in 1258, the other in 1259. A manuscript rubric designating "Jehan Erart li juvenes" ("the younger") further supports the existence of two trouvères of the same name. With the exception of the one song attributed to "the younger" (*Je ne me sai mès en quel guise*, R 1627), it is impossible to distinguish the works of the father from those of the son. For further details, see Terence Newcombe, ed., *Les Poésies du trouvère Jehan Erart* (Geneva: Droz, 1972), 12-15.

<sup>45</sup> Holger Petersen Dyggve identified the Gherart mourned by Jehan as Gherart Aniel (*Onomastique des trouvères* [1934; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1973], 113. Newcombe, however, has demonstrated that this identification was likely based upon a false reading of "amc],," which should be read as "amics" (l. 8). See Newcombe, *Les Poésies du trouvère Jehan Erart*, 16-17.

I.	Nus chanters mais le mien cuer ne leeche Des ke chil est del siecle departis Ki des honors iert la voie et l'adreche, Larges, cortois, saiges, nes de mesdis. 5 Grans dolors est ke si tost est fenis; A oés tos ceaus a cui estoit amis, D'aus honorer et aidier n'ot perece.	No more can any singing gladden my heart now that from this world the man has departed who was the route and road of honor, generous, courteous, wise, a stranger to gossip. It is a great sorrow that he is gone so soon; to benefit any of those to whom he was a friend he was never slow to offer honor or help.
II.	Gherart, amis, la toie mors me blece, Quant me sosvient des biens ke me fesis. 10 Dieus, ki en crois soffri mort et destreche Pour son pule jeter des andecris, Le vos rengē ensi com jou devis; K'il vous otroit le sien saint paradis: Bien avés deservi c'om vos i mece.	Gerard, my friend, your death pains me when I recall how good you were to me. May God, who suffered death and torment to save his people from the antichrists, reward you for it, as I wish; may He admit you to his holy heaven: you have well deserved a place there.
III.	Mors, villaine iés, en toi n'a gentillece, Car tu as trop vilainement mespris; Bien deüssiés esparnier le jonece, Et le cortois, le large, au siecle mis. 20 Mais tel usaige as de piech'a apris Ke nus n'en iert tensés ne garandis, Ne haus ne bas, jonece ne vellece.	Death, you are base, with no nobility, for you have made a base mistake; you should spare the youthful man, the courteous, the generous set down in this world. But long ago you learned a behavior from which no one can be protected or secured, neither high-born nor low, neither young nor old
IV.	N'i puet valoir ne avoires ne richesse Contre la mort; de çou soit chascuns fis. Pour çou se fait boin garder c'on n'endece 25 L'armē en tant ke on n'i soit sospris. Ki en honor et em bien faire iert pris Et avra Dieu par ses biens fais conquis, Il avera faite boine pröeche.	Nothing avails, neither power nor wealth, against death; everyone can be certain of that, and so it is good to avoid indebting one's soul, lest one be taken without warning. A man of honor taken while doing good works, a man whose good works have won him God's favor, will have accomplished a deed of great prowess.
V.	Mors, tolu m'as et men blé et me veche 30 Et mes cortieus; tos les mes as ravis. Bien est raisons ke me joie demece Puis ke tu m'as tolu et jeu et ris. Bien mi deüst reconforter Henris, Robers Crespins, ou j'ai mon espoir mis: 35 En ceaus ne sai nule mauvaise teche.	Death, you have stripped me of my wheat and vetch and my garden; you have robbed me of all. It is only right that I should put aside joy now that you have stripped me of cheer and laughter. Comfort ought to come to me from Henry and Robert Crespin, in whom I have placed my hope: I see no bad trait in them.
	Des serventois va t'en tos aatis; Signeur Pieron Wyon et Wagon dis Ke petit truis ki me doinst ne promece.	Go now, most eager of servers' songs; tell Sir Peter Guyon and Vaugon that I find few men who will give or promise me anything.

**Figure 5.4** Jehan Erart, *Nus chanters mais le mien cuer ne leeche* (R 485)<sup>d</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Edited and translated by Samuel N. Rosenberg, (with the melody, not included here, transcribed by Gérard Le Vot) in *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères* by Samuel N. Rosenberg, Margaret Switten, and Gérard Le Vot (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998), 320-21. MS: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 12615, fol. 130 [Trouvère MS T].

comfortably situate this *plainte* decades later than Bertran's and Conon's pieces.<sup>46</sup>

Notably, Jehan uses this *plainte* not only as an occasion to bemoan the death of his patron, but also to seek a new source of patronage in the brothers Robert and Henri Crespin, members of one of the most affluent families of thirteenth-century Arras.<sup>47</sup> The financial activities of the Crespins have been dated to a period that begins in the early 1220s and extends through the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>48</sup>

The imitative aspect of Jehan's *plainte* effectively demonstrates the potential for Northern genres to adopt the conventions of their Southern counterparts. Just as the troubadour's *planh* was often composed upon a borrowed tune, so too with Jehan's *plainte*. Moreover, just as certain formulaic expressions in the Occitan *planh* have been shown in Chapter 3 to bespeak melodic borrowing, so too did Jehan apparently signal his melodic borrowing with an announcement of his sudden disinterest in singing, opening his *plainte* with the words: "No more can any singing gladden my heart." The question that remains to be answered is, which piece served as Jehan's model? One cannot, of course, rule out the possibility of a lost *canço* or *chanson*, but the enduring popularity of such a piece would certainly speak in favor of its preservation. In terms of relating *Nus chanters mais* to its three potential models, trouvère scholars have tended to favor Conon's piece as the immediate source of Jehan's imitation. For example, Terence Newcombe, the editor of Jehan Erart's complete works, has suggested that *Nus chanters*

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<sup>46</sup> For the literary references that have contributed to the determination of Jehan's *floruit*, see Newcombe, *Les Poésies du trouvère Jehan Erart*, 13-14.

<sup>47</sup> Marie Ungureau, *La Bourgeoisie naissante: Société et littérature bourgeoises d'Arras aux XIIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Arras: Commission Départementale des Monuments Historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1955), 25.

<sup>48</sup> Ungureau provides documentation of the financial activities of the Crespin brothers (namely, Robert and Baude) for the years 1223 to 1299. See *La Bourgeoisie naissante*, 31-33.

*mais* ultimately traces back to Bertran, but only through the intercession of Conon's song.<sup>49</sup> Hendrik van der Werf, likewise considering the place of Jehan's *plainte* within the Bertran/Conon song complex, concurs. He presents *Nus chanters mais* as a contrafactum of Conon's *Mout me semont*, which in turn was "possibly" ("möglicherweise") a contrafactum of one of Bertran's two songs.<sup>50</sup>

I should like to consider the remaining possibility, namely, that of connecting Jehan's *plainte* directly to Bertran—in particular, to his *coblas Ai Lemozis*. This scenario is suggested in the first place by the interplay of rhymes between the two pieces. That is, Jehan's use of the rhymes *-eche/-ece/-esse* and *-is*, the former of which Newcombe has identified as "not too common" ("peu commun"),<sup>51</sup> suggests that the trouvère was seeking an alternate approximation of the Occitan rhyme sounds of *Ai Lemozis* (*-esa, -eis*), rather than directly adopting the relatively easy grammatical rhyme of Conon's piece (*-oise, -ois*).<sup>52</sup>

There is perhaps further reason to suggest that Jehan's *plainte* was inspired directly by Bertran's *Ai Lemozis* in the thematic resonances that exist between their first strophes. Both pieces open with a parallel thematic progression, with the poet communicating his state of mind, which has been brought about by either the arrival or

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<sup>49</sup> Terence Newcombe writes of Jehan's *plainte*: "This poem bears structural resemblances to R 1837 (= 'Mout me semont Amors que je m'envoie') of Conon de Béthune, which in turn was inspired by two poems of Bertran de Born." *The Songs of Jehan Erart*, xxv.

<sup>50</sup> Hendrik van der Werf, ed., *Trouvères: Melodien*, 2 vols., Monumenta monodica medii aevi, 11-12 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1977-79), 1:578.

<sup>51</sup> Newcombe, ed., *Les Poésies du trouvère Jehan Erart*, 130.

<sup>52</sup> In Old French (more specifically, the Picard dialect), the alternate spellings *-eche/-ece/-esse* represent a fricative pronunciation of [etʃ]. See Newcombe, *Les Poésies du trouvère Jehan Erart*, 28.



departure of a beloved patron, whose attributes have proven her or him to be or to have been an ideal friend. Thus, Bertran's *coblas*, praising the arrival of Guisarde de Beaujeu, opens with a celebration of her attributes. Bertran rejoices (ll. 1-5):

Ai Lemozis, francha terra cortesa	O Limousin, free courtly land,
Mout me sap bon car tals honors vos creis.	it delights me that such honor accrues to you.
Que jois e pretz e deportz e gaiesa,	For joy and honor and mirth and gaiety,
Cortesia e solatz e domneis	courtesy and pleasure and gallantry
S'en ven a nos; e.l cor estei anc eis!	come to us; and may this spirit remain forever!

A complementary progression can be traced in Jehan's *plainte*. Rather than celebrating the arrival of the beloved, though, Jehan mourns his patron's departure from this world. Like Guisarde, Gherart embodied the noblest of qualities. We recall the first five lines of Jehan's *plainte*:

Nus chanters mais le mien cuer ne leeche	No more can any singing gladden my heart
Des ke chil est del siecle departis	now that from this world the man has departed
Ki des honors iert la voie et l'adreche,	who was the route and road of honor,
Larges, cortois, saiges, nes de mesdis.	generous, courteous, wise, a stranger to gossip.
Grans dolors est ke si tost est fenis.	It is a great sorrow that he is gone so soon.

When these lines are considered within the context of a poetic structure that is identical to Bertran's *coblas*, a contrast that is both pointed and poignant emerges. Jehan's *plainte* can therefore be easily heard as an intentional parody of Bertran's *Ai Lemozis*.

We might further speculate that understanding Bertran's *coblas* as the point of origin for Jehan's imitation accords well with what we might expect of the solemnity due a *plainte*. Jehan, mourning the death of his patron, would conceivably seek a tune that carried positive and courteous associations. Conon's piece, as already discussed, is a rather droll account of the poet's having been critiqued by French royalty for his Artesian dialect. While Conon is not necessarily disrespectful, neither is he particularly solemn. Bertran's *coblas*, on the other hand, call for the honor due a lady of Guisarde's noble

stature. If the spirit of this melody did, in fact, change according to its textual associations, then only Bertran's setting would appear to be an appropriate choice for the solemnity befitting the occasion of Jehan's *plainte*.

### **The melodic evidence**

The connections within this entire complex of songs are further enriched by an examination of the melody in all of its variants. The melody has been preserved in three versions, presented below in Hendrik van der Werf's synoptic transcription as Figure 5.5. Conon's *Mout me semont* is transmitted with its melody in two late-thirteenth-century Artesian manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale de France: fonds français 844 (trouvère MS M), fol. 45c, and 12615 (trouvère MS T), fol. 99r; the melody of Jehan's *Nus chanters mais* is likewise found in trouvère MS T, fol. 130v.<sup>53</sup> The three versions of the tune are largely concordant, but the variations that do exist are highly suggestive. Indeed, a fascinating story emerges from a comparison of all three manifestations of this melody. For the purposes of facilitating this comparison, we shall refer to the three respective versions as *Mout M*, *Mout T*, and *Nus T*.

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<sup>53</sup> The sigla of the trouvère manuscripts were appointed by Alfred Jeanroy, *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers français du moyen âge* (1918; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1971). Trouvère manuscript M, which is known in troubadour scholarship by the siglum W, was compiled ca. 1254-80, possibly in Artois (Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours*, 40). Trouvère manuscript T, known in troubadour scholarship by the siglum δ, was compiled in the region of Artois at the end of the thirteenth century; it also includes numerous additions from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

1. Mout me se—mont a—mors ke je m'en—voi—se,

1. Nus chan—ters mais le mien cuer ne le—e—che,

2. Quant je plus doi de chan—ter es—tre cois;

2. Nes que chil est del siè—cle de—par—tis,

Continued

**Figure 5.5** Synoptic transcription of the three melodic variants set to Conon de Béthune's *Mout me semont Amors ke je m'envoie* and Jehan Erart's *Nus chanters mais le mien cuer ne leeché*<sup>°</sup>

<sup>°</sup> Edited by Hendrik van der Werf, *Trouvères: Melodien*, 1:312-14.

Figure 5.5 continued

M

T

3. Mais j'ai plus grant ta-lent ke je me coi-se,  
Ki des ho-nors iert la voie et l'a-dre-che,

M

T

4. Por cou fai mis mon chan-ter en de-fois;  
Lar-ges, cor-tois, fai-ges, nes de mes-dis.

Continued

Figure 5.5 continued

The image shows a musical score for three systems of vocal parts. Each system consists of two staves: a Soprano (M) and a Tenor (T). The lyrics are in French and are written below the Tenor staff of each system. The music is written in a simple style with notes and rests on a five-line staff. The lyrics are as follows:

5. Ke mon lan-gaige ont blas-mé li Fran-cois'  
5. Grans do-lors est ke si tost est fe-nis

6. Et mes can-cons, oi-ant les Cham-pe-nois  
6. A oes tos ceaus a cui es-toit a-mis

7. Et la con-tesse en-coir, dont plus me poi-se.  
7. D'aus ho-no-rer et ai-dier no pe-re-ce.

Despite their different paths of transmission, *Mout M* and *Mout T* display a striking degree of agreement.<sup>54</sup> A comparison of their phrases and cadences demonstrates the consistency of their transmissions. As represented in Figure 5.6, the only significant deviation between the two melodies lies in their third phrases.<sup>55</sup> Whereas *Mout M* proceeds with a reprise of the A phrase, *Mout T* immediately repeats the B phrase in a slightly varied form. In view of the emphasis on B material that develops throughout the remainder of the song (cf. the fourth, fifth, and sixth phrases), the reprise of phrase A in *Mout M* adds a welcome contrast. One is therefore prone to view the reading of the third phrase in *Mout T* as an anomaly. (We should observe here that this explanation is supported by the melodic reading of *Nus T*, which also returns to A for the third phrase.) Despite the incongruity between the third phrases of *Mout M* and T, the two versions share two distinctive characteristics: first, as just discussed, a two-fold repetition of B material in the *cauda*; and second, a large-scale tonal organization that is restricted to the g-b-d triad, with the exception of the second phrase closing on a.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Cf. the analysis of *Mout M* and T by Wendelin Müller-Blattau in *Trouvères und Minnesänger II*, 92-93. We should note that following Frank's presentation of Conon's and Bertran's song texts in *Trouvères et Minnesänger*, Müller-Blattau accepts the date of *Mout me semont* as 1181 and considers Bertran's pieces to be its contrafacta. (Both Frank and Müller-Blattau disregard the role of Jehan's *Nus chanters* within this family of texts.)

<sup>55</sup> Regarding Figure 5.6, we should note that the letters assigned to the respective phrases of *Mout M* and *Mout T* are not necessarily *exact* equivalents; for example, whereas the A phrase of *Mout M* mirrors exactly A of *Mout T*, the B phrase of the former is not absolutely identical to B of the latter (and so on, throughout the various permutations of the B phrase).

<sup>56</sup> Note nomenclature is based upon the system outlined by *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 640.

	<i>Frons</i>				<i>Cauda</i>		
Phrases	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Mout</i> M	A	B	A	B'	B''	B'''	C
<i>Mout</i> T	A	B	B'	B''	B'''	B''''	C
Cadences							
<i>Mout</i> M	b	a	b	g	d	b	g
<i>Mout</i> T	b	a	g	b	d	b	g

**Figure 5.6** A phrase-by-phrase comparison of the two versions of the melody preserved with Conon de Béthune's *Mout me semont Amors que je m'envoie*

The two versions of the melody found with *Mout me semont*, preserved in separate manuscripts of similar provenance, thus provide independent corroboration of the melody that circulated with Conon's text. The version of the melody set to *Nus* T, on the other hand, evidently captured at the same time and place as *Mout* T, nevertheless displays relatively significant deviations from the convergent readings of *Mout me semont*. The phrase structure and cadences of *Nus* T have been graphed in Figure 5.7 below.<sup>57</sup> When this structural outline of *Nus* T is compared to the outlines of *Mout* M and T in Figure 5.6 above, two divergences become immediately apparent. First, in terms of phrase structure, the sixth phrase of *Nus* T presents new material (marked here as X in

<sup>57</sup> As with Figure 5.6, the letters assigned to the phrases of *Nus* T in Figure 5.7 represent only approximate equivalents of their counterparts in *Mout* M and T. Notably, there are significant pitch differences (to be discussed below) between the B phrases of *Mout* and the B phrases of *Nus*.

<i>Nus T</i> :	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Phrases:	A	B	A	B'	B''	X	C
Cadences:	g	b	g	g	a	c	g

**Figure 5.7** A phrase-by-phrase analysis of the melodic variant preserved with Jehan Erart's *Nus chanters mais mon cuer ne leeche*

order to preserve the melodic correlation between the final C phrases of all three versions). This introduction of new material in the penultimate phrase of the melody inarguably represents a greater degree of invention than the more repetitive focus on B material that characterizes both versions of *Mout me semont*. Second, in terms of cadences, the *cauda* of *Nus T* is tonally more adventurous than both versions of *Mout*, twice deviating from the g-b-d triad with cadences on a and c in the fifth and sixth phrases, respectively.

The reading of *Nus T* differs significantly from those of *Mout M* and *T* in one further aspect, one that is not reflected in the structural outlines traced above. This divergence lies in the specific pitch content of the B phrases. Whereas the B phrases of *Mout M* and *T* are based upon descending and ascending outlines within the g-c tetrachord, the B phrases of *Nus T* feature a progression from a descending outline of the f-b tetrachord in the incipit towards the g-c tetrachord of the close. The tritone descent from b to f imparts to the B phrase of *Nus T* an element of contrast with its counterparts



in *Mout me semont*, thereby reinforcing the apparent desire on the part of the composer for melodic variety, as witnessed by the aforementioned structural and cadential variants.<sup>58</sup>

We can conclude our comparison of these three melodic variants with the observation that had Jehan modeled his *plainte* after Conon's song, one would expect his melody to be more consistent than it actually is with the melodic reading of *Mout T*, whose essential characteristics are independently corroborated by *Mout M*. The divergences in *Nus T* could, of course, reflect Jehan's own alterations to the melody, but in view of the external circumstances governing this entire song complex, one would be equally justified in viewing these differences as stemming from Jehan's reliance on a melodic source other than Conon's *Mout me semont*, specifically, Bertran's *Ai Lemozis*. This latter interpretation would also allow us to speculate that the melodic variant notated with Jehan's *Nus chanters mais* reproduces Bertran's compositional ideas more closely than do either of the variants set to Conon's *Mout me semont*. This suggestion is of

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<sup>58</sup> The question of melodic tritones in troubadour song is one that has occupied both scholars and performers. The B phrase of *Nus T* can serve as an example of the problem. Should one attempt to correct the impending tritone by flattening the b? If so, should one maintain the b-flat throughout the end of the phrase? And would this incidental b-flat create a disagreeable clash with the opening motive of the A phrase? Perhaps one could instead avoid the tritone by performing an f-sharp, a solution that is suggested by Gérard Le Vot in his edition of the melody in *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 320. (We hasten to add, however, that Le Vot's solution is not actually performed on the recordings that accompany the anthology.) This solution, however, would ultimately create a diminished fifth with the ensuing c. Perhaps, too, the tritone was not even meant to be corrected. In their studies of the troubadour repertoire, both Hendrik van der Werf and Elizabeth Aubrey have grappled with such issues, which arise with great frequency among the extant troubadour songs. Van der Werf, for example, has observed the common occurrence of both "open and filled-in tritones" within the troubadour repertoire and has concluded that "however much we might like to 'improve' upon such passages, we have no evidence that the troubadours and the performers of their songs disliked the tritone to the point of avoiding it all costs. Moreover, eliminating one tritone often results in merely creating another one in an adjacent passage" (*The Extant Troubadour Melodies*, 41-42). For her part, Aubrey has identified several troubadour songs in which the tritone, left unaltered by the scribe, appears to have played a prominent structural role (*The Music*, 264-67). As a result of their deliberations, both van der Werf and Aubrey agree that the application of editorial accidentals in order to avoid tritones is uncalled for in this repertoire.

particular significance to studies of Bertran's œuvre, since all of the scholars who have set the words of Bertran's *Ai Lemozis* to music have relied exclusively upon the melodic versions associated with *Mout me semont*.<sup>59</sup>

### **Final considerations: Reassessing the *coblas* as genre**

Based upon both the thematic and melodic indications of Jehan's *Nus chanters mais*, I should like to pursue further the hypothesis that the melody under discussion originated with Bertran, and specifically with his *Ai Lemozis*. As mentioned above, modern scholarship has tended to view *Ai Lemozis* as a fragment of a *canço*, a generic designation that serves to reinforce the argument in favor of original melodic composition. The medieval author of the *razo* prefacing *Ai Lemozis*, however, classified Bertran's piece as *coblas*, a diminutive genre consisting of one, two, or even three strophes that ultimately came to be associated with a borrowed tune.<sup>60</sup> Therefore, in order to establish the validity of our hypothesis, we must also attempt to establish the feasibility of Bertran's having composed these *coblas* to an original tune.

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<sup>59</sup> In the section of his anthology devoted to "erschlossene Melodien," Gennrich sets the text of *Ai Lemozis* to a rhythmicized version of *Mout M* (*Der musikalische Nachlass der Troubadours*, 3:281); Hendrik van der Werf, as music editor for Paden, et al., sets *Ai Lemozis* to *Mout M* (*The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 484); Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta sets Bertran's *Ai Lemozis* to a synoptic edition of both *Mout M* and *T* (*Las Cançons dels trobadors*, 254-55); Gouiran reproduces the relevant pages from Fernández de la Cuesta's edition (*L'Amour et la guerre*, cxciv-cxcv). None of these scholars set Bertran's *Pois als baros* to music. Van der Werf provides a synoptic edition of all three melodic variants, although independently of Bertran's lyric texts (*Trouvères: Melodien*, 1:312-14).

<sup>60</sup> We recall here Jofre's definition of *coblas esparsas* in the *Doctrina*: "If you want to compose *coblas esparsas*, you can compose them to whatever tune you wish. And you must follow the rhymes of the song from which you draw the tune; and similarly you can compose them to other rhymes. And they should be two or three strophes and one or two *tornadas*." ("Si vols fer cobles esparses, potz les far en qual so te vulles. E deus seguir les rimes del cant de que trayras lo so; e atressi les potz far en altres rimes. E deven esser dues o tres cobles e una o dues tornades.") Marshall, ed., *The "Razos"*, 97.

At the time that Bertran composed *Ai Lemozis*, presumably during the 1180s, the *cobla* would have been an incipient genre. In her article on the *cobla* in Occitan lyric, Elizabeth Wilson Poe has observed that the *cobla* “did not establish itself as a distinctive genre until the last decade of the twelfth century.”<sup>61</sup> She has further noted that the earliest unequivocal use of the term *cobla* to designate a lyric genre appears only around the turn of the thirteenth century.<sup>62</sup> We can extrapolate from Poe’s observations that Bertran’s *Ai Lemozis* would have been among the earliest of its type, even antedating the formation of a generic terminology. We can therefore assert with relative certainty that the eventual characteristics of the *cobla*—for example, its association with satire and social critique, and of greater pertinence here, its tendency towards contrafacture<sup>63</sup>—need not have been established as the norms at this early stage. Perhaps the closest that we can come to pursuing this prospect is through an examination of Bertran’s personal treatment of diminutive compositional types, early representatives of the genre that would later be called *coblas*.

Figure 5.8 presents in chronological order of composition the four pieces by Bertran that have been preserved in short forms, including *Ai Lemozis*.<sup>64</sup> I have intentionally excluded from this list a piece consisting in three strophes and two *tornadas*

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<sup>61</sup> Elizabeth Wilson Poe, “Cobleiarai, car mi platz,” 86; see also pp. 71-72.

<sup>62</sup> The attestation appears in a *cobla* by the troubadour Guillem Magret, *No valon re coblas ni arrazos* (PC 223.6). Poe, “Cobleiarai, car mi platz,” 76.

<sup>63</sup> For a discussion of the *cobla* as parody of the *canço*, see Poe, “Cobleiarai, car mi platz,” 86-87.

<sup>64</sup> I have compiled Figure 5.8 from the edition of Paden et al., *The Poems of Troubadour Bertran de Born*.

PC no.	Incipit	Date	Length	Remarks
80.43	<i>Un sirventes fatz</i>	1183	2 <i>coblas</i>	Labeled a <i>sirventes</i> ; no extant model in either troubadour or trouvère repertoires
80.1	<i>Ai Lemozis</i>	1187?	2 <i>coblas</i>	Composed in praise of Guiscard de Beaujeu
80.24a	<i>Mal o fai domna</i>	1188?	2 <i>coblas</i>	A bawdy imitation of a <i>canso</i> by Arnaut Daniel
80.30	<i>Nostre seingner</i>	1188	2 <i>cobl.</i> , <i>tornada</i>	A Crusade song; no extant model in either troubadour or trouvère repertoires

**Figure 5.8** The *coblas esparsas* of Bertran de Born

that Bertran himself conceived as a *mieg-sirventes* (meaning a *half-sirventes*, or a *sirventes* of half the typical length), thus placing it in a generic category of its own.<sup>65</sup> In a related vein, we must also recognize that the decision to include Bertran's *Un sirventes fatz dels malvatz barons* (PC 80.43) in this list of *coblas* is open to debate.<sup>66</sup> As shown by the incipit, Bertran designates this abbreviated political critique as a *sirventes*, thus creating a certain generic ambiguity. Is this an instance of a *sirventes* having been

<sup>65</sup> The piece in question, *Mieg-sirventes vueilh far* (PC 80.25) has been dated to June 1190 (Paden et al., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 396-401). For a lengthy study of the piece, see Stefano Asperti, "Miei-sirventes vueilh far dels reis amdos (BdT 80.25)," *Cultura neolatina* 58 (1998): 165-323. Based upon the extant repertoire, the invention of the *mieg-sirventes* can be tentatively attributed to Bertran himself. I am aware of only one other self-designated *mieg-sirventes* dating from the twelfth century, namely Dalfinet's *De meg sirventes ai legor* (PC 120.1), a contrafactum—whether directly or indirectly—of Giraut de Borneil's *canso No puesc sofrir qu'a la dolor* (PC 242.51). Examples of self-designated *mieg-sirventes* become more frequent in the second half of the thirteenth century, including two pieces by Raimon de Tors (fl. 1257-65; PC 410.4 and 410.5) and two by Cerveri di Girona (PC 434a.12 and 434a.36). For a full discussion of "half-songs," see Frank M. Chambers, *An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification*, 195-96.

<sup>66</sup> Pillet and Carstens consider *Un sirventes fatz dels malvatz baros* to be a "*sirventes*, of which only two strophes have been preserved" (*Bibliographie der Troubadours*, 77); Frank calls it a *sirventes* (*Répertoire métrique*, 1:57).

transmitted in a fragmentary state, or are these truly *coblas* and thereby a manifestation of the troubadour's intentional miniaturization of a well-established genre? Because there is no apparent answer to this question, we include *Un sirventes fatz dels malvatz barons* with caution.

An overview of Bertran's four diminutive works reveals an uncontested diversity. Bertran uses short forms as criticism and as tribute, as burlesque and as rallying cry. This mutability of *razo* lends support to Elizabeth Wilson Poe's observation that *coblas* could represent any genre in miniature.<sup>67</sup> It may also contribute insight to the definitions of the *coblas* as formulated by Jofre de Foixà and Guilhem Molinier. When we recall that Jofre and Guilhem alike address *razo* as the foremost defining feature of the various poetic types, we are immediately struck by the fact that both theorists are vague regarding the appropriate theme of the *coblas*. In the *Doctrina*, for example, Jofre completely disregards the *razo* of the *coblas esparsas*.<sup>68</sup> For his part, Guilhem Molinier makes the rather curious statement that a *cobla* can have "many *razos*."<sup>69</sup> Perhaps the theorists' non-specific recommendations for the *razo* of the *coblas* represent their tacit recognition of a certain thematic freedom, inherent in the genre from its earliest stages.

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<sup>67</sup> Poe, "Cobleiarai, car mi platz," 86. See also my discussion of the *coblas* in Chapter 2.

<sup>68</sup> Instead, Jofre's definition is strictly based upon structural and melodic criteria. We recall the definition here: "If you want to compose *coblas esparsas*, you can compose them to whatever tune that you wish. And you must follow the rhymes of the song from which you draw the tune; and similarly you can compose them to other rhymes. And they should be two or three strophes and one or two *tornadas*" ("Si vols fer cobles esparses, potz les far en qual so te vullas. E deus seguir les rimes del cant de que trayras lo so; e atressi les potz far en altres rimes. E deven esser dues o tres cobles e una o dues tornades"). Marshall, ed., *The "Razos"*, 97.

<sup>69</sup> Anglade, ed., *Las Leys*, 2:132-33.

Despite the *coblas*' documented potential for versatility, Poe convincingly demonstrates that this genre eventually came to be closely associated with parody and relatively cheeky forms of expression.<sup>70</sup> It is noteworthy, though, that the only pair of Bertran's *coblas* to conform to this character is his *Mal o fai domna cant d'amar s'atarja* (PC 80.24a), a rather graphic portrayal of a woman's physical attributes in youth and old age.<sup>71</sup> *Mal o fai domna* is also Bertran's only *coblas* to be clearly imitative, adopting the distinctive strophic structure and exact rhyme sounds of the *canço Si m fos amors de joi donar tan largar* (PC 29.17) by Bertran's contemporary Arnaut Daniel (fl. 1180-1200).<sup>72</sup> Thus, in terms of both its theme and structure, Bertran's *Mal o fai domna* fulfils our expectations of what would become the typical *coblas*.

If *Mal o fai domna* can be adduced as an example of satirical composition, Bertran's *Nostre seingner somonis el mezeis* (PC 80.30) demonstrates amply that the *coblas* could serve as a vehicle for a full range of poetic expression.<sup>73</sup> Indeed, were it not for the crowning *tornada* that virtually ensures the integrity of *Nostre seingner* as it is preserved, one might hesitate to place this piece in the same generic category as *Mal o fai domna*.<sup>74</sup> In *Nostre seingner*, Bertran mourns the fall of Jerusalem (29 September 1187),

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<sup>70</sup> See Poe's fascinating discussion on the low prestige of the genre in "Cobleiarai, car mi platz," 83-87.

<sup>71</sup> For the complete text, see Paden et al., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 302-3.

<sup>72</sup> The strophic form of both pieces is **10 a' b c d' e f g h'**. Bertran adopted the same structure and rhyme sounds for his *sirventes Non puesc mudar mon chantar non esparga* (PC 80.29), which can be dated with some certainty to 1188, thus suggesting an approximate date for the *coblas*. For the text of the *sirventes*, see Paden et al., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 370-75.

<sup>73</sup> For the complete text and translation, see Paden et al., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 384-87.

<sup>74</sup> The *tornada* is preserved in three of the six manuscripts that transmit *Nostre seingner* (IKd). Pillet and Carstens categorize this piece as a Crusade song (*Bibliographie der Troubadours*, 75); Frank concurs, considering it a fragment ("chanson de croisade fragmentaire," *Répertoire métrique*, 1:51).

while at the same time celebrating the valor of Richard the Lionhearted in his decision to take the cross. The tone of *Nostre seingner* is remarkably reverent, with not a hint of the provocations and insolence that characterize so many of Bertran's calls to arms. This piece proves that solemnity comfortably falls within the domain of the *coblas*—or, if one rejects the slightly anachronistic application of this generic designation, that even the most serious of genres could exist in miniature. I make this distinction in order to establish a parallel with *Ai Lemozis*, whose *razo* of praise has conceivably been the primary determinant in the modern classification of the piece as a fragmentary *canso*. In fact, *Nostre seingner*, so similar in spirit to *Ai Lemozis*, allows a clear precedent for considering the latter as a finished piece, and thus, as an early example of the *coblas*.

The wide assortment of themes that Bertran treats within the relatively confined context of the *coblas* reveals that this genre was anything he wanted it to be. One must wonder if this flexibility in *razo* was paralleled by an equally flexible approach to melodic setting, with the troubadour deciding between original composition versus melodic borrowing, depending upon the tone he wished to strike. This suggestion is admittedly speculative, but it follows upon the hypothesis that the *coblas* could behave according to the conventions of whatever genre the troubadour was miniaturizing. Thus, *Mal o fai domna*, which purposefully subverts the respectful tone of *fin'amors*, would take on its fullest irony when sung to the tune associated with the dutiful words of Arnaut Daniel's *canso*. In accordance with the more ceremonious *razos* of *Ai Lemozis* and *Nostre seingner*, on the other hand, Bertran perhaps found an occasion worthy of original melodic composition. In the case of *Ai Lemozis*, would it not be more conceivable for Bertran to have honored Guiscard's arrival with a new melody rather than to have met

her with a tune that had been used previously both to tease and to attack the nobility? One might presume that to do the latter would have potentially called the sincerity of his piece into doubt.<sup>75</sup> Just as *Ai Lemozis* assumed a subject matter fitting of a *canso*, so too could these *coblas* have viably assumed the *canso*'s predisposition for original melodic composition.

### Conclusion

The implications that arise from introducing Jehan's *plainte* into this complex of songs by Bertran and Conon provide intriguing evidence in support of Bertran's composition of the corresponding melody. It is true that not even the information that is furnished by Jehan's *plainte* can secure the attribution of the shared melody to Bertran. Jehan's apparent indebtedness to Bertran does not, for example, allow us to rule out the possibility that *Ai Lemozis* was itself an imitation of Conon's *Mout me semont* or indeed, of a now-lost *canso*. Nevertheless, Jehan's *plainte* does provide separate confirmation of the correlation between the melody and poetic structure in question, virtually verifying the performance of both Bertran's *sirventes* and *coblas* to a tune nevertheless transmitted separately from them. In this way, at least one of Gennrich's *erschlossene Melodien* is transformed from modern fiction into medieval reality.

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<sup>75</sup> We note, however, that Paden, Sankovitch, and Stäblein do not find it inappropriate for *Ai Lemozis* to have followed Conon's *Mout me semont*, observing only that "whichever song was written first, the second must have exploited the contrast between Bertran's fanfare and Conon's scolding" (*The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 53).



## CHAPTER 6

“EL SO DE N’ALAMANDA”:

### ANOTHER MELODY BY A WOMAN TROUBADOUR?

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, evidence of contrafacture within the troubadour repertoire survives on a few occasions in the guise of one troubadour acknowledging his composition of a song “el so de,” or “to the tune of” another troubadour. Uc de Saint-Circ (fl. 1217-53), for example, admits writing one of his *sirventes* “el son d’en Arnaut Plagues” and another “en aquest so d’en Gui.” Likewise, Peire Bremon Ricas Novas (fl. 1230-41) recognizes that he composed one of his poems “el so de messer Gui.”<sup>1</sup> These statements are accepted unequivocally as indications of melodic borrowing from the named troubadour, despite the fact that none of their pieces has been transmitted with music.

The implications of one further “el so de” reference have been the source of some debate among scholars. Around the year 1183, Bertran de Born composed the piece *D’un*

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<sup>1</sup> The pieces by Uc de Saint-Circ are, respectively, *Messonget, un sirventes* (PC 457.21) and *Un sirventes voill far en aquest so d’en Gui* (PC 457.42). The former was based upon Arnaut Plagues’s *canso Be volgra midons saubes* (PC 32.1), the latter upon a song by Gui de Cavaillo that has not survived. Peire Bremon’s piece is a *cobla, Un vers voill comensar el so de messer Gui* (PC 330.20). It draws upon the same song by Gui de Cavaillo that had inspired Uc. All three references have been discussed by Frank M. Chambers in his article, “Imitation of Form,” 119.

*sirventes no·m cal far loignor ganda* (PC 80.13), in which he criticizes the political struggles between the brothers Young Henry and Richard of Aquitaine.<sup>2</sup> Addressing Richard directly, Bertran says (ll. 25-26):

Cosseill vuoill dar el son de n'Alamanda lai a·n Richart, si tot no lo·m demanda. <sup>3</sup>	I want to give advice to Richard, there, to the tune of Lady Alamanda, even if he hasn't asked me for it.
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Bertran's *sirventes* has not been transmitted with its melody, but its reference to the "tune of Lady Alamanda" as well as its distinctive poetic structure (**10a' a' a' a' a' 4b 10a' 6b**) have allowed the identification of Bertran's melodic source as *S'ie-us quier conseill, bell'ami'Alamanda* (*If I seek your advice, dear friend Alamanda*, PC 242.69), a *tenso* between the troubadour Giraut de Borneil (fl. 1162–1199) and a *donzela*, or lady-in-waiting named Alamanda. (The text of their *tenso* has been reproduced below as Figure 6.2.) The question that has yet to be resolved is whether Bertran intended to acknowledge his borrowed tune by its composer or by its textual incipit. As we shall see throughout this chapter, modern scholars have tended to promote the latter interpretation. A finding in favor of the former interpretation, on the other hand, would require a reversal of the traditional attribution of the tune to Giraut, an attribution that has been determined following the transmission of the melody in MS R under Giraut's rubric, as seen in Figure 6.1.

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<sup>2</sup> For the complete text and translation of *D'un sirventes no·m cal far loignor ganda*, see Paden, et al., eds., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 184-89.

<sup>3</sup> Translation mine. Paden and his co-editors translate the relevant line as "the song of Alamanda." Not only does their translation omit the honorary title *na* preceding Alamanda's name, it also fails to capture the distinction made in Old Occitan between *so* or *son* (tune, melody) and *canso* (song), the latter of which was a fusion of both *motz e sos*, or words and melody. For further discussion of the expression "motz e sos," see Elizabeth Wilson Poe, *From Poetry to Prose in Old Provençal*, 2-3.

regiers. La ditz lo q p uos isthav. psta te farz galambiers  
 cur no la esta fuz ediers. Nos sobretor, sim fos anfers lo  
 cor sim daga fu cartiers. Si de bornell.

**J**eus quier conseil, belamalande nol me uederz  
 com coctap soul demanda. queras ma dig uoitha. wna  
 truanca calhont suv fozs usiq te la comanda pur so q ueder  
 mehta em demanda. qz costellat, ea pauc lo cor dmt dnta no  
 malbanda ti for en soy natz. Si. te bornell.

**E**n es ditz pur eaytal porp nos a nostre senhor ma  
 mes. q ab ioy lin quam mces. e castus ponth a pla es  
 fozs. com sia lauzatz e grantz. tar adrez quitz. cuy ma  
 la mars e plucie uent idite z es oledient. e ql te car  
 por te eller sis cahugar ucial sentemes garandos. ial scriuz  
 no er ti boll. E pul sntem cae no fcs wcz. ml fca daco ql  
 promes. ant sen soc adcs magz les. te au uoler nostre estoz. os  
 fel qz qls testaz els fruntz. els mal noyritz. o cuy el fa u  
 cure uales. te es semblant qls penedcs iuelha logar. si co  
 e lobra te noy par. ies noies pel forzar sobstruos. air uil may  
 lur costellos. Er qd regal pur rio pur fort esborlar com  
 may h plages pur ge garmitz m los comcs. m coctezia ni de  
 porz. nol noy pur q sant eperaz ymer ranyz. m la p sol tch  
 garmiment. sol la uca stauient. no tru toptar q noime senhel  
 cesanpur. lo get tencr ia ml pur pros. si no lur noy ams  
 razos. Di no ce p adrez ceport. sil cor noy fclh m la fcs q  
 flayst uniat m pres. cal cor nol uega los acqz sell q non  
 sap eller maritz. lo cor me ditz ti unu ueballaz e rement.  
 no puelt sustu que no coment. i sol chitar q euana reme  
 hzar los auuols riez de uale. blos. d es fallir odour e tos.  
 Et si no fos qualz ma corz. domane a pessar. manes. at no fr  
 ies nuelz esomes. e may matriteral pur fca. p q ies iost e  
 iouent. unuz. e ptez fadytz. sehanzdes te uolent. cawt com  
 sol comsament a ioy menar. jels pur riez. er. a d baytar. ta  
 puex ma te coranos te far odrahs mehos. qui puzes  
 curzar. La mort. i. id om. q no regues. te uiaua com coctes

Figure 6.1 The text and melody of the first strophe of *S'ie-us quier conseil, bell'ami Alamanda* (PC 242.69), transmitted under Giraut de Borneil's rubric (Paris Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 22543, fol. 8r, detail). Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

For a certain number of scholars, Bertran's reference to "the tune of Lady Alamanda" supersedes the manuscript attribution of the tune to Giraut and stands as "unequivocal evidence that women composed music as well as poetry."<sup>4</sup> The majority of scholars have maintained, however, that Alamanda's name signified nothing more to Bertran de Born than an incipit and "identifying tag" for a *tenso* invented solely by Giraut.<sup>5</sup> The divergence in scholarly conclusions regarding the precise meaning of Bertran's reference makes the "so de n' Alamanda" a rich topic in the study of contrafacture and attribution.

### **Contemporaneous reaction to *S'ie-us quier conseil***

As seen in Figure 6.2, the scene that unfolds in the strophes of *S'ie-us quier conseil* entails Giraut's seeking the return of his lady's favor, and to that end, asking the

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<sup>4</sup> The quotation is excerpted from Elizabeth Aubrey, "References to Music in Old Occitan Literature," *Acta musicologica* 61 (1989): 113. Aubrey's stance evidently changed by the time of her publication of *The Music of the Troubadours*, in which Giraut is represented as the sole composer of the *tenso*'s melody and Alamanda is altogether excluded from the discussion; see *The Music*, 10 and 213-14.

<sup>5</sup> Raymond T. Hill and Thomas G. Bergin, for example, suggest that "*Alamanda* was the poem's identifying tag, for Bertran de Born calls its melody the *so de n' Alamanda*;" see their *Anthology of the Provençal Troubadours*, 2<sup>d</sup> ed., 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 23. Similarly, Ruth Verity Sharman (*The Cansos and Sirventes of the Troubadour Giraut de Borneil*, 11) argues that Alamanda "is probably fictional," suggesting that Bertran de Born "composed [his] poem 'to the tune of my lady Alamanda' (meaning to the tune of Giraut's *S'ie.us quier*)."

I.	S'ie-us quier conseil, bell'ami' Alamanda, no-l mi vedetz, qu'om cochatz lo-us demanda; que so m'a dich vostra dompna truanda que loing sui fors issitz de sa comanda, 5 que so que-m det m'estrai er e-m desmanda. Que-m cosseillatz? C'a pauc lo cors totz d'ira no m'abranda, tant fort en sui iratz.	If I seek your advice, dear friend Alamanda, do not deny me it, for a distressed man asks it of you; because your treacherous lady has told me that I have strayed far from her command, and what she gave to me she now retracts and rescinds. How do you advise me? For my heart is nearly burning up entirely in rage, so strongly am I angered by this.
II.	Per Dieu, Giraut, ies aissi tot a randa 10 volers d'amics noi-s fai ni noi-s garanda, que si l'uns fail, l'autre coven que blanda, que lor destrics noi.s cresca ni s'espanda. E s'ela-us ditz d'aut puoig que sia landa, vos la-n crezatz. 15 E plassa vos lo bes e.l mals qu'il manda c'aissi seretz amatz.	For God's sake, Giraut, a lover's desire is neither fulfilled nor granted all at once in this way; for if one [lover] fails, it is befitting that the other pardons, so that their torment neither increases nor spreads. And if she tells you that a high hill be a plain, believe her, And may the good and the ill that she conveys please you, for so will you be loved.
III.	Non puosc mudar que contr'orgoill non gronda. Ia siatz vos, donzella, bell'e blonda, pauc d'ira-us notz e paucs iois vos aonda, 20 Mas ges no n'etz primieira ni segonda. Et eu qe.m tem d'est'ira que-m cofonda, vos me lauzatz, si-m sent perir, qe-m tenga plus vas l'onda! Mal cre que-m capdellatz.	I cannot keep silent from scolding your arrogance, <i>donzela</i> , even though you are lovely and fair. A little sorrow harms you and a little joy helps you, yet you are neither first nor second [in this affair]. And I, who fear that anger confounds me, you recommend that I, if I feel myself drowning, draw closer to the wave! I believe that you are misguiding me.
IV.	Si m'enqueretz d'aital razon prionda, per Dieu, Giraut, non sai cum vos responda. Vos m'apellatz de leu cor iauzionda, mais voill pelar mon prat qu'autre-l mi tonda. Que s'ie-us era del plaich far desironda, 30 vos escercatz cum son bel cors vos esdui'e-us resconda. Ben par c'om etz cochatz!'	If you ask me about such a profound matter, by God, Giraut, I don't know how else to respond to you; You say that my spirit too easily rejoices, but I would rather cut my own field than to have another mow it for me. For even though I am eager to arrange this truce for you, you must seek out why she withdraws and hides her lovely body from you. It seems that you are indeed a hasty man!'

Continued

**Figure 6.2** Giraut de Borneil and Alamanda, *S'ie-us quier conseil, bell'ami' Alamanda* (PC 242.69)<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Edited by Angelica Rieger, in *Trobairitz: Der Beitrag der Frau in der altokzitanischen höfischen Lyrik. Edition des Gesamtkorpus*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 233 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1991), 185-86. MSS: A 18, B 18, C 8, D 11, G 70, H 37, I 23, K 12, N 181, Q 87, R 8a [complete text] and 8b [strophe I reprised with music], Sg 65 [strophe I only], V 74, a 41. Base: A.

**Figure 6.2** continued

<p>V 35 40</p>	<p>Donzell'oimais non siatz trop parlieira, qu'il m'a mentit mais de cent vetz primieira. Cuiatz vos doncs qu'ieu totz temps lo sofieira? Semblaria c'o fezes per nescieira; d'autr'amistat ai talan qu'ie·us enqueira si no·us calatz. Meillor cosseill dava na Berengieira que vos non m'en donatz.</p>	<p><i>Donzela</i>, from now on don't be so argumentative, for she has already lied to me more than five times. So do you think that I will tolerate it forever? It would look as if I were doing it for want of another friendship. I have a mind to ask you if you shouldn't keep quiet. Lady Berengeira gave better advice than you are giving me.</p>
<p>VI 45</p>	<p>Lora vei eu, Giraut, qu'ela-us o mieira, car l'apelletz camiairitz ni leugieira. Pero cuiatz que del plaich vos enqueira? Ieu non cuig ies qu'il sia tant manieira; anz er oimais sa promessa derrieira —que que·us digatz— si·s destreing tant que contra vos offeira trega ni fi ni patz.</p>	<p>Now I see, Giraut, that she will turn against you for you have called her fickle and vain. Yet you think that she will talk to you about a truce? I truly do not believe that she will be so forgiving. Rather, her vow will henceforth be delayed— no matter what you tell yourself— if she can even temper herself enough so as to offer you truce and resolution and peace.</p>
<p>VII 50 55</p>	<p>Bella, per Dieu, non perda vostr'aiuda; ja sabetz vos com mi fo covenguda. S'ieu ai faillit per l'ira c'ai aguda, no·m tenga dan; s'anc sentitz com leu muda cor d'amador, bell'e s'anc foz druda, del plaich pensatz. Qu'ieu sui be mortz s'enaissi l'ai perduda —mas no·lh o descobratz.</p>	<p>Fair one, in God's name, don't let me lose your help; you know very well how it was promised to me. If I have failed because of the anger that I have felt, don't hold it against me; if you have ever felt how easily a lover's heart changes, dear, and if you have ever been in love, think about this truce! For I am dead indeed if I have thus lost her— but don't reveal this to her!</p>
<p>VIII 60</p>	<p>Seign'en Giraut, ia n'agr'ieu fin volguda, mas ella ditz qu'a dreich s'es irascuda, c'aura'n preietz com fols tot a saubuda, que non la val ni vestida ni nuda. No·i fara doncs, si no·us gic, que vencuda N'er? So sapchatz: Be·us en valrai et ai la·us mantenguda si mais no·us i mesclatz.</p>	<p>My lord sir Giraut, I would have wanted this resolution, but she tells me that she is right to be angered, since like a fool, you openly courted another lady who is less worthy than her, either clothed or nude. If she does not forsake you, will she not then be defeated? Know this: I will certainly be of help you, even as I have defended her, as long as you don't stir things up for her.</p>
<p>65</p>	<p>Bella, per Dieu, si de lai n'etz crezuda per me l'o affiatz.  Ben o farai. Mas quan vos er renduda s'amors, no la·us toillatz.</p>	<p>Fair one, in God's name, if she trusts you regarding this, assure her of it for me.  I will very well do this, but once her love is returned to you, do not alienate yourself from her!</p>

lady's *donzela* Alamanda for her advice as well as for her intercession on his behalf. Their ensuing debate is a sort of "he says-she says" on a lover's appropriate behavior according to the codes of *fin'amors*.<sup>6</sup>

When Bertran de Born selected this *tenso* as the model for his *sirventes*, he did so with artful consideration. Drawing upon the *tenso*'s primary theme of giving counsel, Bertran is able to vocalize unsolicited advice to Richard, and in the process imply a clever parallel between Richard's estrangement from his brother and Giraut de Bornelh's rejection by his lady. Nevertheless, Bertran's precise wording of offering his counsel "to the tune of lady Alamanda" suggests that he has adopted not just Alamanda's stance as adviser, but also a melody that was composed by her. Those scholars who have argued against this latter possibility by asserting that "el so de n'Alamanda" simply signifies the source tune by its incipit fail to account for Alamanda's personification when Bertran introduces her with the honorary title *na*, or Lady. This air of respect would be extraneous were Bertran merely invoking Alamanda's name as the incipit of a song.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> For two readings of the *tenso*, see Aileen Ann Macdonald, "The Female *Tenso*: Alamanda's Response to Guiraut de Bornelh," in *The World and Its Rival: Essays on Literary Imagination in Honor of Per Nykrog*, eds. Kathryn Karczewska and Tom Conley (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), 79-92; and Mathilda Tomaryn Bruckner, "Debatable Fictions: The *Tensos* of the *Trobairitz*," in *Literary Aspects of Courty Culture*, eds. Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), 19-28.

<sup>7</sup> Were Bertran designating his source by its incipit, one would expect him to have preceded Alamanda's name with a simple definite article. Such was the case for the Monk of Montaudon's imitation of Bertran de Born's song *Rassa, tan creis e mont' e poja* (Figure 1.2), said by the scribe of MS R to be "el so de *la* Rassa" (emphasis mine). Rassa, who was the addressee of Bertran's poem, comes to signify the incipit of the song through the use of the impersonal definite article. We might also recall from the opening paragraph of this chapter that when Uc de Saint Circ and Peire Bremon Ricas Novas wished to name the troubadours from whom they borrowed, they maintained the polite forms of address, whether *en* (sir; masculine form of *na*) or *messer* (*my lord*). In his article on contrafacture, Frank M. Chambers does not recognize this nuance, considering Alamanda, like Rassa, to be merely "some person mentioned in the poem" ("Imitation of Form," 119).

The respect that we discern in Bertran’s acknowledgment takes on heightened value when his *sirventes* is considered in conjunction with yet another contrafactum, one that likewise pays homage to a lady named Alamanda. The piece in question, *Lombards volgr’eu eser per Na Lombarda* (PC 54.1; 288.1), is an instance of *coblas esparsas* exchanged between Bernart Arnaut of Armagnac (d. 1226) and Lady Lombarda of Toulouse during the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth century.<sup>8</sup> The structure of their *coblas* is modeled closely after the form of *S’ie-us quier conseil*. To be sure, despite minor deviations from the structure of the *tenso*, the text of the *coblas* could be easily set to the melody of the *tenso*. As seen below in a verse-by-verse comparison of both pieces, performance of the *coblas* to the melody of *S’ie-us quier conseil* merely requires omitting the fifth musical phrase and dividing its penultimate phrase between two lines of the *coblas*.

Tune:	A	B	A	B	C	D	E	F
<i>Tenso</i> :	10a’	10a’	10a’	10a’	10a’	4b	10a’	6b
<i>Coblas</i> :	10a’	10a’	10a’	10a’	—	4b	4b + 6a’	6b

This practice of less strict imitation has been identified in several other troubadour pieces, demonstrating that contrafacture need not have been exact in order to have been recognizable.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> This piece was identified as a contrafactum of *S’ie-us quier conseil* by John H. Marshall in “Pour l’étude des contrafacta,” 323. The exchange has been edited and translated by Bruckner, et al., *Songs of the Women Troubadours*, 70-73. The precise date of the piece remains vague: Bernart Arnaut was the brother of Giraut IV, who governed the county of Armagnac from 1193-1219.

<sup>9</sup> We recall one notable example from Chapter 1, namely: the strophes of the Monk of Montaudon’s imitation “to the tune of the *Rassa*” by Bertran de Born are two lines shorter than the strophes of its model. As we have already observed, despite this structural deviation, both poems are preserved in MS R with essentially the same melody, the former merely omitting two of the internal musical phrases of the latter.



What makes this instance of imitation particularly noteworthy is the striking reference that the poets make to a lady Alamanda. Indeed, the piece opens with Bernart Arnaut's ranking of Lombarda above two other ladies, one of whom is named Alamanda.

Bernart Arnaut says:

Lombards volgr'eu eser per Na Lombarda, q'Alamanda no.m plaz tan ni Giscarda. <sup>10</sup>	I'd like to be a Lombard for Lady Lombarda, for Alamanda does not please me as much nor does Guiscarde.
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We should observe from these lines that Bernart Arnaut does not invoke Alamanda's name merely for the sake of rhyme. Instead, her name appears internally within the verse, altogether independent from the function of rhyme scheme. We should further observe that the second lady who is identified by Bernart Arnaut—a certain Guiscarde—was recognized by Giammaria Barbieri in 1581 as none other than Guiscarde de Beaujeu, the lady praised by Bertran de Born in his *Ai Lemozis*.<sup>11</sup> While Barbieri does not cite his authority, his identification is indeed intriguing, for it would allow us to place Alamanda within an appropriate social circle.

In her reply to Bernart Arnaut, Lady Lombarda expresses her gratitude at having been held in the company of two such fine ladies:

E grans merses, seigner, car vos agrada c'ab tals doas domnas mi aves nomnada. <sup>12</sup>	And many thanks, my lord, that it pleases you to have named me with two such ladies.
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With these lines, it becomes clear that Alamanda's name signifies more to the poets than a textual incipit, and more too than an invented character in a *tenso*, but truly a lady

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<sup>10</sup> Bruckner, et al., eds., *Songs of the Women Troubadours*, 70 (ll. 1-2). Translation mine.

<sup>11</sup> See Girolamo Tiraboschi, ed., *Dell'origine della poesia rimata di Giammaria Barbieri* (Modena: Società Tipografica, 1790), 135-36.

<sup>12</sup> Bruckner, et al., eds., *Songs of the Women Troubadours*, 72 (ll. 23-24). Translation mine.

worthy of admiration.<sup>13</sup> When the strophes delivering these lines are performed to the same tune as the *tenso S'ie-us quier conseil*, as they were in all likelihood intended to be, we are given yet another indication of the source tune's having circulated with Alamanda's name. These *coblas* therefore provide a compelling justification for accepting Bertran's reference to "the tune of Lady Alamanda" as a melodic attribution.

### **The manuscript transmission of the *tenso***

Through the intertextuality of their pieces, Bertran de Born, Bernart Arnaut and Lady Lombarda provide seemingly unequivocal evidence in favor of Alamanda's role as the composer of their borrowed tune. Their testimony, however, encounters resistance as soon as one considers the manuscript transmission of *S'ie-us quier conseil*. As we have seen above (Figure 6.1), the melody of the *tenso* is portrayed in MS R as the invention of Giraut alone. In addition, twelve of the fourteen manuscripts that transmit the lyrics of *S'ie-us quier conseil* likewise present the *tenso* under Giraut's name, thus negating Alamanda's authorial role in the debate.<sup>14</sup> Only the remaining two manuscripts provide recognition of Alamanda, not through the rubrics heading the *tenso*, but rather within the context of a *razo* (a prose passage describing the circumstances of a given song's composition).<sup>15</sup> In the *razo* that introduces *S'ie-us quier conseil*, Alamanda is depicted

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<sup>13</sup> Frank M. Chambers disagrees, explaining that Alamanda's name is "probably used to mean 'any woman at all;'" see his catalogue, *Proper Names in the Lyrics of the Troubadours* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), 40.

<sup>14</sup> These twelve MSS are: A, B, C, D, G, H, I, K, N, Q, V, and a. The more typical presentation of debate songs within the manuscripts is under the heading of *tenso* (and usually within larger groupings of *tenso*s).

<sup>15</sup> The two manuscripts that transmit the *razo* are N<sup>2</sup> and Sg 65. MS N<sup>2</sup> cites only the incipit of the piece; MS Sg gives the first strophe.

in the same terms as are other troubadours in their *vidas*. Indeed, the author of the *razo* attributes Alamanda with the very talents necessary for composition, saying: “The *donzela* was very wise and courtly, and she knew well how to compose and interpret [songs]” (“La doncella si era mout savia e cortesa, e sabia trobar ben et entendre”).<sup>16</sup> As a genre, however, the *razo* has been questioned for its historical reliability. For example, Elizabeth Wilson Poe has observed that the author of a *razo* often found a “ready-made *razo* in the poetic text,” drawing upon the names and places mentioned in the poem as “raw material for building a concrete, presumably ‘factual’ prose account.”<sup>17</sup> As a result of this creative process, *razos* are not considered to be the most credible of witnesses. The *razo* that recognizes Alamanda’s contribution to *S’ie-us quier conseil* is therefore most often dismissed as literary fantasy.<sup>18</sup>

Rather than dismissing the *razo* altogether, however, we should at least observe that the compositional skills that the biographer attributes to Alamanda are, in fact, consistent with the medieval education of a *donzela*. Both of the surviving *ensenhamens* (didactic works) that address the lady’s social formation emphasize the importance of her participation in lyric performances at court. Garin lo Brun, composing an *ensenhamen* around the year 1200, advises the lady to sing and to recite poetry for her guests who like

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<sup>16</sup> The text of the *razo* has been edited by Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours*, 43-44. Regarding the expression *trobar e entendre* in the *vidas*, see A. H. Schutz, “A Preliminary Study of *Trobar e Entendre*, an Expression in Mediaeval Aesthetics,” *Romanic Review* 23 (1932): 129-38; and more recently, Don A. Monson, “L’Expression ‘trobar e entendre’ dans les *vidas* des troubadours,” in *Atti del secondo Congresso Internazionale della AIEO, Torino*, 2 vols., ed. Giuliano Gasca Queirazza (Turin: Dipartimento di Scienze, Letterarie e Filologiche, 1993), 1:255-68.

<sup>17</sup> Poe, *From Poetry to Prose*, 42-43.

<sup>18</sup> To cite just one example, Alfred Jeanroy calls the *razo* introducing Alamanda a “jolie historiette” (“pretty little story”) in *La Poésie lyrique des troubadours*, 1:312.

music, and he encourages her to receive troubadours at court.<sup>19</sup> The lady is further instructed to listen when the troubadour recites his poems, and she should memorize his verses, if not in their entirety, then at least the most beautiful passages.

Amanieu de Sescas's later thirteenth-century *ensenhamen*, addressed specifically to the *donzela*, likewise focuses on the importance of the art of conversation.<sup>20</sup> Notably, among the diversions suited to a *donzela* when receiving a man at court, Amanieu includes the *joc-parti*, a poem of debate that is a virtual analogue of the *tenso*. He writes:

E si voletz bastir  
Solatz de jox partitz,  
No·ls fassatz descauzitz,  
Mai plazens e cortes.<sup>21</sup>

And if you want to make  
a divertissement through *jocs-partitz*,  
don't make them decadent,  
but rather pleasant and courtly.

This lesson in conversational debate is continued when Amanieu advises the *donzela* to defend the opposite point of view when conversing with her guests. He instructs her:

Demandetz li novelas.  
Cals donas son pus belas,  
O Gascas o Englezas,  
Ni cals son pus cortezas,  
Pus lials ni pus bonas?  
E s'il vos ditz: Guasconas  
Respondetz ses temor:  
Senher, sal vostr'onor,  
Las donas d'Englaterra  
Son gensor d'autra terra.  
E s'il vos ditz: Engleza,  
Respondetz: si no·us peza,  
Senher, genser es Guasca...<sup>22</sup>

Ask him novelties.  
"Which ladies are more beautiful,  
Gasconese or English;  
or which are more courtly,  
more loyal, or more beautiful?"  
And if he tells you: "Gasconese,"  
respond without hesitance:  
"Sir, save your honor,  
the ladies of England  
are more beautiful than those of other lands."  
And if he tells you: "English,"  
respond, "If you please,  
sir, the more beautiful is Gasconese."

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<sup>19</sup> Garin's text has been edited by Carl Appel, "L'Enseignement de Garin lo Brun," *Revue des langues romanes* 33 (1889): 404-32; for the relevant passage, see pp. 425-26 (ll. 525-58).

<sup>20</sup> The complete text of Amanieu's *L'essenhamen de la donzela* has been edited by Karl Bartsch in his *Provenzalisches Lesebuch* (1855; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1974), 140-48.

<sup>21</sup> Bartsch, ed., *Provenzalisches Lesebuch*, 142 (ll. 68-71).

<sup>22</sup> Bartsch, ed., *Provenzalisches Lesebuch*, 143 (ll. 59-71).

This image of the *donzela* participating in a courtly debate provides a particularly fitting justification for accepting Alamanda's contribution to the dialogue of *S'ie-us quier conseill*. Moreover, the scenes of social interaction that Garin lo Brun depicts between lady and troubadour as well as the system of patronage that he advocates create a viable context for Giraut's collaboration with Alamanda. As a *donzela*, Alamanda would have been expected to perform for her guests and to participate in lively dialogues. For his part, Giraut had a reputation as a teacher of poetic composition; he is remembered by the author of his *vida* for having spent his winters teaching letters ("en escola et aprendia letras").<sup>23</sup> This skill may very well have been of use to him during the summers as he "went from court to court" seeking patronage.<sup>24</sup>

While it thus seems possible to conceive of a likely scenario for a collaboration between Giraut and Alamanda, we are still left to account for the general absence of Alamanda's name from the manuscript rubrics, especially in view of the recognition bestowed upon her by a number of her contemporaries. In response to this seeming contradiction, we should observe that the earliest troubadour chansonniers were not compiled until the second half of the thirteenth century, i.e., nearly a hundred years after the composition of *S'ie-us quier conseill* (ca. 1180). By this later era, Giraut de Borneil's reputation as a troubadour had reached legendary proportions. His *vida* proclaims that "he was a better troubadour than any of those who had been before or were after him,

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<sup>23</sup> For the complete text of Giraut's *vida*, see Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours*, 39-41.

<sup>24</sup> According to his *vida*, Giraut "tota la estat anava per cortz;" see Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours*, 39.

which is why he was called master of the troubadours.”<sup>25</sup> This pronouncement is confirmed in the *vida* of Peire d’Auvergne, who is surpassed in merit only by Giraut; the biographer writes: Peire “was considered the best troubadour in the world until Giraut de Borneil appeared.”<sup>26</sup> Alamanda, on the other hand, with only one song to her name, would have necessarily enjoyed a more localized renown. This observation is not contradicted by the above-cited instances in which she is accorded the respect of her contemporaries, for the circle of influence we have traced forms a relatively tight temporal and geographic entity.

The cohesion of Alamanda’s poetic circle may be demonstrated in consultation with the map of Occitania provided as Figure 6.3. Throughout his career, Giraut de Borneil had associations in the Limousin with Aimar V of Limoges—bringing him into close proximity with Bertran de Born’s home at Hautefort—as well as in Aragon, where his patron was Alfonso II.<sup>27</sup> His travels between these two regions, probably on more than one occasion, would have likely brought him through the lands of the Count of Armagnac. In view of Bernart Arnaut’s acknowledgment of Alamanda, it was perhaps in this very region that Alamanda lived and where the *tenso S’ie-us quier conseil* was composed.

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<sup>25</sup> “E fo meiller trobare que negus d’aquels qu’eron estat denan ni foron apres lui; per que fo apellatz maestre dels trobadors.” Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours*, 39.

<sup>26</sup> “Et era tengutz per lo meillor trobador del mon, tro que venc Guirautz de Borneill.” Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours*, 263.

<sup>27</sup> For a reconstruction of Giraut’s biography, see Sharman, *The Cansos and Sirventes of the Troubadour Giraut de Borneil*, 1-6.

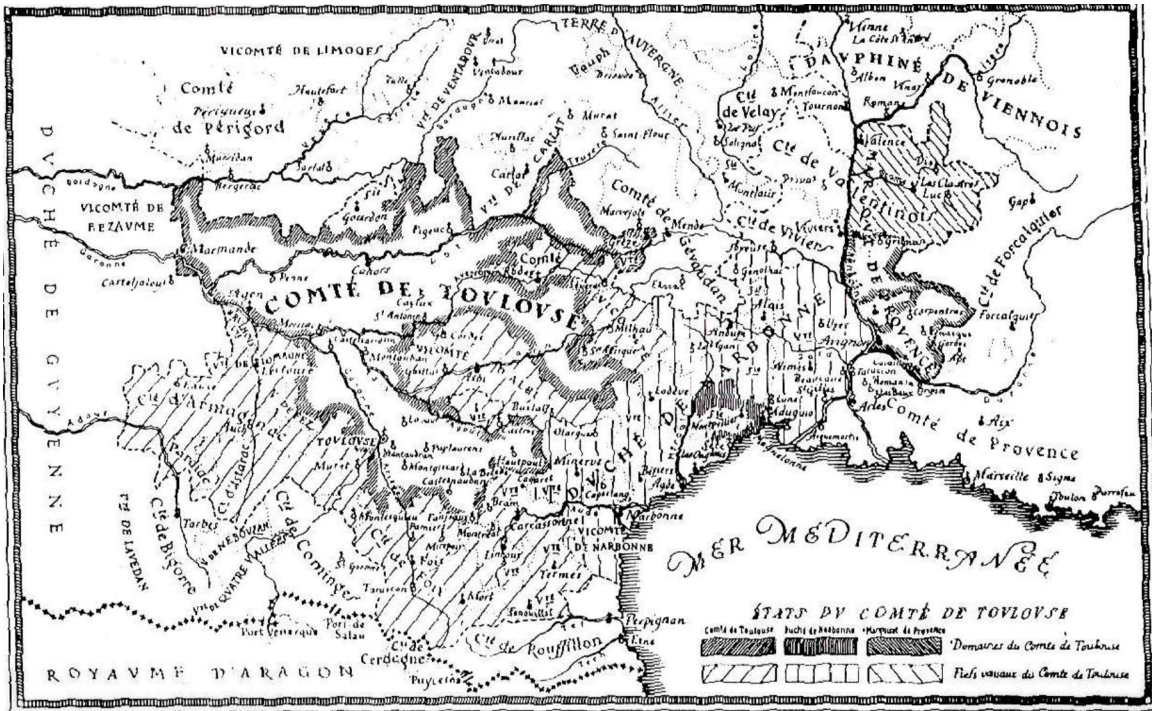


Figure 6.3 Map of Occitania<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Map reproduced from Robert S. Briffault's *The Troubadours* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965).

While admittedly speculative, this supposition would find support in the *razo* if we chose to consider it. As mentioned above, *razos* are not wholly credible witnesses, and the *razo* introducing *S'ie-us quier conseill* does generate a certain amount of confusion when its author describes Giraut's *domna* as having the same first name as the *donzela* Alamanda. Despite this rather incredulous coincidence, the *domna*'s identity is, in fact, compelling: The *razo* calls her "a lady of Gascony, who was named lady Alamanda of Estanc."<sup>28</sup> Notably, the castle of Estang,<sup>29</sup> established early in the twelfth century, was situated precisely in the above-mentioned County of Armagnac.<sup>30</sup> If Alamanda did, in fact, have ties with the court of Estang, surely she could have come into contact with Giraut as he traveled from court to court between Aragon and Limoges seeking patronage.<sup>31</sup>

We close this discussion of the *tenso*'s transmission with the observation that the absence of Alamanda's name from the manuscript rubrics is undeniably striking, but it is not necessarily without explanation. Like most of the women troubadours who participated in the "lesser" genres like the *tenso* or *coblas*, Alamanda would not have enjoyed a far-reaching reputation. Instead, the wide dissemination of *S'ie-us quier*

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<sup>28</sup> The *razo* begins, "Girautz de Borneil si amava una dompna de Gascoina qe avia nom N'Alamanda d'Estanc." Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours*, 43.

<sup>29</sup> While both *Estanc* and *Estang* share the same final pronunciation of a liquid -n, the more standard spelling of *Estang* simply reveals the orthography of its Latin roots (>STAGNU). See Carl Appel, *Provenzalische Lautlehre* (Leipzig: Reisland, 1918), 71 and 77.

<sup>30</sup> For the history of Estang, see A. Breuils, "Châteaux des comtes d'Armagnac," *Revue de Gascogne* 35 (1894): 183-84; and Jacques Gardelles, *Les Châteaux du moyen âge dans la France du sud-ouest: La Gascogne anglaise de 1216 à 1327* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1972), 133-34.

<sup>31</sup> In the same spirit as the blurring of fact and fiction in the *razo*, one could even imagine a scenario in which the lady Alamanda d'Estanc simply played the role of a *donzela* in her *tenso* with Giraut.



*conseill*, leading to its preservation in fifteen manuscripts, is logically a reflection of Giraut's enduring popularity. Indeed, it seems quite plausible that by the time the chansonniers were copied, Alamanda's contributions to the text and melody of the *tenso S'ie-us quier conseil* could have been largely subsumed by Giraut's reputation as the "maestre dels trobadors."

### **Modern reception of Alamanda: A brief overview**

The manuscript attribution of *S'ie-us quier conseil* to Giraut alone is adopted by most modern anthologies of troubadour song, thereby obscuring Alamanda's possible contribution to the *tenso*. In fact, the manuscript transmission of *S'ie-us quier conseil* has led many scholars to doubt Alamanda's existence altogether and to consider her instead an idealized interlocutor who was invented by Giraut.<sup>32</sup> This treatment of the *tenso* as a fictitious dialogue is characteristic of many editors of troubadour lyric. Carl Appel, for example, labels *S'ie-us quier conseil* a "fingierte Tenzone;"<sup>33</sup> Alfred Jeanroy calls the *tenso* "évidemment fictive," therewith eliminating Alamanda from his list of trobairitz;<sup>34</sup> similarly, Jean Boutière and A.-H. Schutz pose the question, "Isn't this a

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<sup>32</sup> Frank M. Chambers, for example, rather than considering Alamanda a trobairitz, instead labels her a "trobairitz soiseubuda," or "invented trobairitz." See his article, "Las Trobairitz soiseubudas," in *The Voice of the Trobairitz*, ed. William D. Paden (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 47. We should, however, also make note of an earlier statement by Chambers in which he identifies Alamanda as a "poetess" (*Proper Names in the Lyrics of the Troubadours*, 40).

<sup>33</sup> Carl Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie* (1930; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1971), 129-30. The term "fictitious" within the context of the *tenso* does not pertain to subject matter *per se* (which is assumed to be contrived), but rather to the existence of both partners.

<sup>34</sup> Jeanroy, *La Poésie lyrique des troubadours*, 1:311.

fictitious *tenso*?”<sup>35</sup> Raymond Hill and Thomas Bergin likewise concur that “it is very possible that this *tenso* is fictitious;”<sup>36</sup> and finally, Martín de Riquer asserts that “es evidente que todo el debate es obra de Giraut de Bornelh.”<sup>37</sup>

In the anthologies of troubadour melody, the tune of *S'ie-us quier conseil* appears consistently as Giraut's creation.<sup>38</sup> Editors have only exceptionally acknowledged Alamanda's possible role in the poetic composition of the *tenso*. Friedrich Gennrich, for example, takes the position that Giraut created the *tenso* “gemeinsam mit der Dichterin Alamanda.”<sup>39</sup> He nevertheless presents the melody exclusively under Giraut's name in his anthology. Most recently, Margaret Switten has provided a detailed summary of the arguments speaking both for and against Alamanda's role in the debate.<sup>40</sup>

Alamanda's existence and her participation in the *tenso* do remain a possibility for many scholars, especially those who specialize in the poems of the women troubadours.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps most prominently, Angelica Rieger has reserved a place for Alamanda within her

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<sup>35</sup> Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Les Biographies des troubadours*, 45.

<sup>36</sup> Hill and Bergin, eds., *Anthology*, 2:23-4.

<sup>37</sup> Martín de Riquer, ed., *Los Trovadores*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Planeta, 1975), 1:506.

<sup>38</sup> Such is the treatment by both Hendrik van der Werf in *The Extant Troubadour Melodies* and by Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta in *Las Cançons dels trobadors*.

<sup>39</sup> Friedrich Gennrich, *Der musikalische Nachlass der Troubadours*, 3:48.

<sup>40</sup> In Rosenberg, et al, *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 80-81.

<sup>41</sup> Let it suffice to name a few of Alamanda's earlier proponents: Oscar Schultz-Gora recognized Alamanda in his anthology of the trobairitz, entitled *Die provenzalischen Dichterinnen* (Leipzig: Gustav Fock, 1888), 9. Adolf Kolsen, an early editor of Giraut de Borneil's works, likewise accepts Alamanda's participation in the *tenso*, writing “[a]llem Anscheine nach ist Alamanda eine Dichterin gewesen;” see *Giraut von Bornelh, der Meister der Trobadors* (Berlin: Vogts, 1894), 35. Likewise, Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens believe “A[lamanda] unter die Dichterinnen aufnehmen zu können” (*Bibliographie der Troubadours*, 17).

edition of the complete trobairitz works, even attempting to give Alamanda some substance by identifying her with the historical figure Alamanda de Castelnaud, a lady of Toulouse who died in the year 1223.<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, Rieger is not able to produce any direct ties between this Alamanda de Castelnaud and Giraut de Bornelh, making her identification seem rather arbitrary. It should be borne in mind, though, that historical identification of a troubadour or trobairitz, while desirable, is simply not always possible, nor should it be considered an absolute condition for proving existence.<sup>43</sup> Instead, the existence of any trobairitz should be sought in the works that survive her.

### Considering *tenso* composition

Despite Rieger's efforts to historicize Alamanda, the status of this would-be trobairitz continues to be a matter of dispute. In a review of Rieger's edition, Elizabeth Wilson Poe criticizes not only the inclusion of Alamanda among the trobairitz, but also the suggestion that it was she who composed the melody of the *tenso*. Poe explains:

That Alamanda was a trobairitz is not as obvious as R[ieger] makes it seem; what is even more questionable is that it was she who invented the melody for the famous Giraut de Bornelh text *Si us quier conseil, bell'ami Alamanda* (no. 4). When Bertran de Born identifies one of his *serventes* as having been set to the *son de N'Alamanda*, he is specifying a song, not a composer, as his source. [...] The fact that Alamanda is the respondent, not the initiator of the *tenso* makes it all the more improbable that she composed its melody.<sup>44</sup>

Rieger has not, in fact, accounted for this last argument against Alamanda's possible contribution to melodic composition in the *tenso*, that is, the seemingly logical

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<sup>42</sup> Rieger, *Trobairitz: Der Beitrag der Frau in der altokzitanischen höfischen Lyrik*, 183-203; see also Rieger's articles, "Alamanda de Castelnaud, une trobairitz dans l'entourage des comtes de Toulouse?," in *Les Troubadours et l'état toulousain avant la Croisade (1209)*, ed. Arno Krispin (Toulouse: William Blake, 1988): 183-92; and "Alamanda de Castelnaud—Une trobairitz dans l'entourage des comtes de Toulouse?," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 107 (1991): 47-57.

<sup>43</sup> As Joseph Anglade has prudently observed: "Il ne faut pas oublier qu'au moyen âge l'identité du nom ne prouve pas toujours l'identité des personnes;" see "À propos de Peire Vidal," *Romania* 49 (1923): 105.

<sup>44</sup> Elizabeth Wilson Poe, Review of *Trobairitz: Der Beitrag der Frau in der altokzitanischen höfischen Lyrik. Edition des Gesamtkorpus*, by Angelica Rieger, *Romance Philology* 49 (1996): 339.

assumption that in a *tenso*, the initiator of the debate, not the respondent, would be responsible for inventing the poetic structure as well as the accompanying tune. Quite the contrary, Rieger has marveled at this apparent deviation, calling Alamanda's possible composition of the *tenso*'s melody "contrary to the practices of participants in this genre of dialogue where the initiator of the debate seems most often to have the choice of music and form."<sup>45</sup> Thus, even according to Rieger's argument, the composition of the melody by Alamanda would be an exception to the standard practice in *tenso* composition.

The question that arises is this: Upon what model have both Rieger and Poe based their definition of standard compositional practice in the *tenso*? For, both the *Doctrina de compoundre dictats* and the *Leys d'amors* suggest a model for *tenso* composition that contrasts with that assumed by Rieger, Poe, and others.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, the theorists' definition of the *tenso* explains very well how someone other than the initiator of a *tenso*—in this case, the respondent Alamanda—might be responsible for its tune.

As we have already mentioned in Chapter 2, the authors of both the *Doctrina* and the *Leys* concur that if the *tenso* were to have a melody at all, it should be borrowed. For example, the author of the *Doctrina* implies that the melody of a *tenso* should be borrowed from the piece that served as the poetic model. He writes:

Si vols far tenso, deus l'apondre en algun so qui haia bella nota, e potz seguir les rimes del cantar o no.<sup>47</sup>

If you want to compose a *tenso*, you should compose it to any tune that has beautiful music, and you may or may not follow the rhymes of the song [i.e., from which you borrowed the tune].

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<sup>45</sup> Angelica Rieger, "Alamanda de Castelnaud, une *trobairitz* dans l'entourage des comtes de Toulouse?," in *Les troubadours et l'état toulousain*, 185. Emphasis mine.

<sup>46</sup> Adolf Kolsen, for example, writes: "Sind auch Singweise und Reime von Guiraut, *als dem ersten Interlokutor*, geschaffen worden" (*Giraut von Bornelh*, 36; emphasis mine). See also Bruckner et al., who make the statement that "the initiator of the debate is assumed to be responsible for the music as well as the form of the stanza" (*Songs of the Women Troubadours*, xiii).

<sup>47</sup> Marshall, ed., *The "Razo"*, 97.

In the *Leys d'amors*, Guilhem Molinier defines the melodic type of a *tenso* in similar terms. While admitting that a *tenso* need not have melody, Guilhem states that a structurally imitative *tenso* can adopt the tune of its model:

Non es de necessitat ques haia so; enpero en aquel cas que's faria al compas de vers o de chanso o d'autre dictat qu'aver deia so, se pot cantar en aquel vielh so.<sup>48</sup>

It is not necessary that [the *tenso*] have a tune; but in the case that it is made in the form of a *vers* or of a *chanso* or of some other piece in verse that has a melody, it can be sung to that older tune.

For both of these authors, then, the defining feature of the melody of a *tenso* is not that it is composed by the initiator of the dialogue, but rather that it is borrowed.

As we have seen above, scholars considering the Alamanda-Giraut *tenso* have tended to misrepresent the compositional norms of the *tenso* by assuming that the initiator of a *tenso* must have been responsible for inventing the tune (versus simply finding it ready-made in a preexistent song). In so doing, these scholars have obscured precisely the one aspect of this case that provides a satisfactory explanation of Bertran's reference to the "so de n'Alamanda" without being detracted by the fact that it was Giraut and not Alamanda who initiated their *tenso*. Indeed, an informed understanding of *tenso* composition raises a strong likelihood that, just like the *sirventes* of Bertran de Born and the *coblas* exchanged between Bernart Arnaut and Lady Lombarda, the *tenso* traditionally attributed to Giraut alone was itself based upon a borrowed melody—the tune of Lady Alamanda.

As discussed in the chapter on the treatises, the relatively late dates of the *Doctrina* and the *Leys* raise the question of the applicability of their rules to the various generations of troubadours. For this reason, it is favorable to compare whenever possible the theoretical rules with the practices of the troubadour (or troubadours) in question. In this case, the only other lyric debate initiated by Giraut does, in fact, indicate that he was aware of the potential for imitation and borrowing in this genre. We should specify that

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<sup>48</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:344.

the piece in question, *Be.m plairia, seingner en reis* (*It would please me greatly, my lord, my king*, PC 242.22) is not a *tenso*, but rather a *partimen*. The distinction resides in the fact that Giraut presents his respondent with an either/or question. Guilhem Molinier explains that the terms *tenso* and *partimen* were interchangeable, even if only “by abuse” (“per abuzio”).<sup>49</sup> Moreover, he assures us that the *partimen*, “in terms of its melody, is the same as a *tenso*” (“cant al so es semblans a tenso”), thereby implying that the tune should likewise be borrowed from a preexistent song.<sup>50</sup>

Giraut proposed *Be.m plairia* to his patron Alfonso II, King of Aragon (r. 1162-96).<sup>51</sup> The structure of their *partimen* is identical to that of *Ges del joi qu'ieu ai no.m rancur* (*Neither of the joy I have nor of my regrets*, PC 364.23), a *canço* composed by another troubadour in the entourage of Alfonso II, namely Peire Vidal (fl. 1183-1204).<sup>52</sup> The strophic structure of both pieces can be graphed as **8a b b c c d d e**.<sup>53</sup> This shared poetic structure, in conjunction with the troubadours’ common social circle, strongly supports the kinship of the two pieces. The interrelatedness of this *canço-partimen* pairing is further secured through an unmistakable thematic resonance. In *Ges del joi*, Peire asserts that even without wealth, he is a good lover:

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<sup>49</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:344. To cite just one example, Ademar (lo Negre?) identifies his debate with Raimon de Miraval as a *tenso* (*Miraval, tenso grazida*, PC 1.1 = 406.32), even though his question requires an answer of yes or no: “Respondetz d’oc o de non!” See L. T. Topsfield, ed., *Les Poésies du troubadour Raimon de Miraval* (Paris: A. G. Nizet, 1971), 345-47 (l. 7).

<sup>50</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:344.

<sup>51</sup> For the complete text of the *partimen* and its translation, see Sharman, *The Cansos and Sirventes of the Troubadour Giraut de Borneil*, 389-94.

<sup>52</sup> For the lyrics of the *canço*, see D’Arco Silvio Avalle, ed., *Peire Vidal: Poesie*, 2 vols. (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1960), 1:142-44.

<sup>53</sup> See Frank, *Répertoire métrique*, 1:155 (schema 714:2-3). Only one other piece, a *planh* by Gavaudan (PC 174.3) displays this same structure. Gavaudan’s *planh* would likewise appear to be modeled after Peire Vidal’s *canço*, adopting the latter’s d and e rhymes, as well as approximating its c rhyme (-ais versus -ai).

Non ai castel serrat de mur  
Ni ma terra no val dos gans,  
Mas anc no fo plus fis amans  
De mi, ni es ni er jamai.<sup>54</sup>

I don't have a castle surrounded by walls,  
and my land isn't worth two gloves,  
but never was there, is there, or will there ever be  
a more courteous lover than me.

This very theme provides Giraut with his point of departure for the *partimen*, in which he questions the king as to whether or not he considers himself to be a better lover because of his wealth and power.

While neither Peire's *canso* nor Giraut's *partimen* has been preserved with music, the intertextuality of their pieces, considered within the context of generic norms, suggests that Giraut's *partimen* with the king was fashioned after Peire's *canso*, no doubt in the intention of adopting its melody. In this way, this second debate song initiated by Giraut upholds the theoretical definitions of the *tenso*, thereby strengthening the possibility that the melody attributed to Giraut was not originally composed by him, but rather, borrowed by him from Alamanda—perhaps from a lost *canso* that she invented.

### **The tune**

If the melody of *S'ie-us quier conseil* can be accepted provisionally as the work of Alamanda, what might melodic analysis reveal about her compositional style? A comparison of the “so de n'Alamanda” with the other melodies attributed to Giraut de Borneil provides insight into the ways that Alamanda's hypothesized composition distinguished itself from those of her literary partner. Before melodic comparison is pursued, however, it should be acknowledged that this analysis of troubadour song may operate only under the assumption that, during the decades of oral transmission before the songs became fixed on parchment, variants inevitably introduced into the melody did not alter the *essence* of the composer's original. This caveat should be borne in mind throughout the following discussion.

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<sup>54</sup> Avalle, ed., *Peire Vidal: Poesie*, 1:143 (ll. 25-28).

In an article entitled “Forme et formule dans les mélodies des troubadours,” Elizabeth Aubrey applies Albert Lord’s oral formulaic theory to the troubadour repertoire, convincingly testing the hypothesis that “there was a formulaic style in which each troubadour worked that was his own personal style.”<sup>55</sup> The applicability of this theory to the songs of Giraut de Borneil can be tentatively demonstrated in a melodic comparison of two of the four melodies attributed to him, namely *Leu chansonet’e vil* (PC 242.45) and *Non pueisc sofrir qu’a la dolor* (PC 242.51). These melodies have been reproduced below as Figures 6.4 and 6.5, respectively. The number of specific melodic gestures that the two melodies share support the hypothesis that both melodies were conceived in Giraut’s *style unique*.

The shared gestures of *Leu chansonet’e* and *Non pueisc sofrir* should be placed within the larger context of melodic organization. In both songs, Giraut demonstrates a more complex approach to phrase repetition than the standard *canso*-type (i.e., A B A B C D E F).<sup>56</sup> In *Leu chansonet’e*, for example, the initial A-B period is followed by a new period (C D) before the expected reprise of the A-B period and the concluding *cauda* section. The resulting structure can be diagrammed as follows: A B C D A B E F G H. In *Non pueisc sofrir*, the opening period is extended to include three phrases (A B C). The reprise of this period is expanded through the insertion of a contrasting D phrase (A B’ D C), and the opening A phrase is repeated before the concluding section. The structure can be represented by the following schema: A B C A B’ D C A’ E F. Both melodies thus demonstrate an expansion of the basic *canso*-type.

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<sup>55</sup> Elizabeth Aubrey, “Forme et formule dans les mélodies des troubadours,” in *Actes du Premier Congrès International de l’Association Internationale d’Études Occitanes*, ed. Peter T. Ricketts (London: L’Association Internationale d’Études Occitanes, 1987), 73.

<sup>56</sup> This definition is standard within the repertoire; see Margaret Louise Switten, *The Cansos of Raimon de Miraval: A Study of Poems and Melodies* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1985), 20-21.



1. Leu chan - so - net' e vil

2. m'au - ri - a obs a far

3. que po - gues en - vi - ar

4. en Al - vernh' al Dal - fi.

5. pe - ro, si.l dreg ca - mi

6. po - gues n'E - bles tro - bar,

7. be.l poi - ri - a man - dar

8. qu'ieu dic qu'en l'es - cur - zir

9. non es l'a - fans

10. mas en l'obr' es - clar - zir.

**Figure 6.4** The melody of Giraut de Borneil's *Leu chansonet'e vil* (PC 242.45)<sup>c</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Edited from MS R 9 by Hendrik van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies*, 160-61.

1. Non puec so - frir c'a la do - lor

2. de ma den la len - gua no vir

3. e.l chant a la no - ve - la flor,

4. lay cant vey los ra - mels flo - rir

5. e.ls chans fors pel bos - ca - tje

6. dels au - ze - letz e - na - mo - ratz;

7. e si tot m'e - stau a - pes - satz

8. ni pres de mal u - za - tje

9. cant vey cans ni ver - giers ni pratz

10. ie.m re - no - vel e m'a - so - latz.

**Figure 6.5** The melody of Giraut de Borneil's *Non puec sofrir c'a la dolor* (PC 242.51)<sup>d</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Edited from MS R 84 by Hendrik van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies*, 161-63.

A further similarity between the two songs is found at the level of individual phrase construction. Phrases in both songs are most frequently arch-shaped, with ascending incipits and descending cadences. The scope of the arch is, however, handled differently in the two songs. In *Leu chansonet'*, the arches of the phrases making up the *frons* (A B C D A B) are limited to the narrow compass of the third. This sets up a contrast with the *cauda* (phrases E-H) and its more sweeping arches over the ranges of the fourth, fifth and sixth. In *Non puesc sofrir*, on the other hand, the opening and closing phrases alike unfold within the ranges of the fourth, fifth and sixth.

The melodic motion in both songs is predominantly stepwise, although thirds are not uncommon, appearing prominently as the *initia* to reciting tones, as in the A phrases (nos. 1 and 5) of *Leu* and the C and D phrases (nos. 3, 6 and 7) of *Non*. Leaps of the fourth or fifth are rare, occurring only once within each song: In *Leu*, an upward leap of a fifth opens the E phrase (no. 7) and effectively signals a new section of musical material; in *Non*, a leap of a fourth appears in the downward approach to the final cadence. Finally, in terms of the overall melodic organization of *Leu chansonet'* and *Non puesc sofrir*, it is fitting to mention the primarily syllabic text setting of both songs. The setting of syllables with neumes of two, three or four tones is most commonly reserved for the cadential points of individual phrases.

*Leu chansonet'* and *Non puesc sofrir* not only represent a similar approach to formal and melodic construction but, as suggested above, also share certain melodic formulas. The resonances are all the more striking when viewed within the larger tonal organization of the songs. Both pieces have similar ranges, extending from d' (with an occasional c' below) up to b' (with one occurrence of c'') in *Leu* and up to c'' (with two occurrences of d'') in *Non*. While these pitches should not be considered as absolute,

they do create a common framework for the comparison of the various melodic formulas. In fact, the shared formulas frequently prove themselves to be relative within the common tonal space of both melodies.

We can identify three shared formulas within *Leu chansonet*' and *Non puesc sofrir*. First, the A phrase (nos. 1 and 5) of *Leu*—a reciting tone on g' approached by an ascending third—is echoed at the same pitch level in the D phrase (no. 6) of *Non*. A second instance of shared formulaic material occurs in the B phrases of each song. The B phrases of both songs (nos. 2 and 6 of *Leu*; nos. 2 and 5 of *Non*) begin at the same pitch level and with the same three-note cell (e'-d'-e'). Whereas the first statement of the B phrase in *Non* is unique due to its open cadence on a', its reprise, with a cadence on d', would appear to be a slightly ornamented version of the more skeletal B phrase of *Leu*. Finally, both pieces conclude with the same formulaic ending, a scalar passage ascending from either c' (*Leu*) or d' (*Non*) up to g' and descending back to d'. The shared closing phrase of *Leu* and *Non* places the final of both songs on d', but this common tone functions differently within the overall tonal schemes of the two songs. That is, in *Leu* the final of d' fits into a regularly recurring pattern of open and closed endings, in which four of the five periods cadence on d': f' d' / e' d' / f' d' / g' f' / f' d'. In *Non*, on the other hand, the cadential pattern established through the two periods of the *frons* leads towards g': e' a' g' / e' d' a' g'. Within this tonal scheme, the final cadence on d' seems relatively unprepared. In this way, the closing formula that these two songs have in common could well be interpreted as more than just a coincidence of shared tonal space.

If the expanded *canso*-form, arched phrases, descending cadences, predominantly stepwise motion, syllabic text setting, and shared melodic gestures of *Leu chansonet*' and *Non puesc sofrir* were to be taken as indications of a formulaic style in Giraut's œuvre, would the other two melodies traditionally attributed to Giraut likewise typify this style?

The *alba Reis glorios* (PC 242.64), which has not been reproduced here, poses a special set of problems to this question, for the defining characteristics of this melody are not so much typical of troubadour song as they are of the sacred repertoire of Saint Martial. As Bruno Stäblein has established, *Reis glorios* displays strong affinities with the hymn *Ave maris stella* and the *versus O Maria, Deu maire*.<sup>57</sup> Giraut demonstrably sought to capture qualities in *Reis glorios* that were both recognizable and referential. It is precisely these qualities that make *Reis* stand apart from *Leu* and *Non*. The opening upward leap of a fifth, for example—a gesture that Giraut borrows directly from his sacred models—offers a striking contrast to the predominantly stepwise motion and conservative use of leaps in *Leu* and *Non*. Likewise, the highly neumatic text setting of *Reis glorios*, perhaps inspired from the relatively florid lines of *O Maria*, differs greatly from the more syllabic texts of *Leu* and *Non*. Giraut’s deliberate surrender to the melodic style of the Saint Martial repertoire is thus immediately perceptible in *Reis glorios*.

The only remaining melody attributed to Giraut de Borneil is that set to *S’ie-us quier conseil* (Figure 6.6). Unlike *Leu* and *Non*, the form of *S’ie-us quier conseil* does not deviate from the standardized *canso*-type (A B A B C D E F). Similar to the other two songs, the melody of *S’ie.us* generally moves within the range of an octave, from a (with one occurrence of the g below) to a’ (with one occurrence of b’). The scope of individual phrases is slightly more sweeping than in the other songs: While most of the phrases of *S’ie.us* explore the range of the fifth and sixth, the B phrase and its

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<sup>57</sup> Bruno Stäblein, “Eine Hymnusmelodie als Vorlage einer Provenzalischer Alba,” in *Miscelánea en homenaje a Monseñor Higinio Anglés*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1958-61), 2:889-94. See also the detailed melodic analysis of these three melodies by Margaret Switten, “Modèle et variations: Saint-Martial de Limoges et les troubadours,” in *Contacts de langues, de civilisations, et intertextualité, Actes du IIIème Congrès International de l’Association Internationale d’Études Occitanes*, vol. 2, ed. Gérard Gouiran (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 1992), 679-96. For an edition of the melody, see van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies*, 163-64.

8

1. S'ie.us quier cos - selh, bel' a - mi' A - la - man - da,

8

2. no.l me ve - detz, c'om co - chat lo.us de - man - da;

8

3. qu'e - ras m'a òig vos - tra do - na tru - an - da

8

4. c'a - lhons suy fors is - sitz de sa co - man - da

8

5. pus sc que.m det er m'es-tra e.m des - man - da.

8

6. qe.m cos - se - lhatz?

8

7. c'a pauc lo cor dins d'i - ra no m'ab - ran - da

8

8. tan fort en soy i - ratz.

**Figure 6.6** The melody preserved with *S'ie.us quier conseil, bell'ami' Alamanda* (PC 242.69)<sup>e</sup>

<sup>e</sup> Edited from MS R 8 by Hendrik van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies*, 165.

reprise extend to the seventh and the octave, respectively.<sup>58</sup> Finally, in terms of its relatively loose tonal organization, *S'ie-us quier conseill* seems most similar to *Non puesc sofrir*. While a regular cadential pattern does emerge in the open cadences, the closed cadences are somewhat irregular: e' d' / e' d' / e' a' / e' g'.

In terms of text setting, *S'ie-us quier conseill* occupies a middle ground between *Leu* and *Non*, on the one hand, and *Reis glorios* on the other. This can be heard most conspicuously in the frequent pairing of three-note neumes in direct or near succession (cf. phrase nos. 1, 3, 6 and 8). The resulting melody is more neumatic than the text settings of *Non* and *Leu*, yet is free from the longer four- and five-note neumes characterizing *Reis glorios*. The melody of *S'ie-us quier conseill* does share certain formulaic gestures with the other songs attributed to Giraut. For example, the sequence of descending, stepwise fourths achieved through paired three-note neumes in the D phrase (no. 6) of *S'ie-us quier conseill* can also be found at the juncture of phrases F and G of *Leu*. A melodic resemblance can also be heard in the A phrase of *S'ie-us quier conseill* and the C phrase of *Non*. While the pitch structure is not precise, the phrase contours are reminiscent.

Beyond these shared gestures, however, phrases in *S'ie-us quier conseill* are constructed according to principles that differ from Giraut's other songs. First, whereas reciting tones in *Leu* and *Non* are consistently approached by an *initium*, the reciting tone that opens *S'ie-us quier conseill* is unprepared. Secondly, phrases in *S'ie-us quier conseill* are formed as inverted arches, with descending incipits and ascending cadences. This arch is frequently subdivided further into two smaller arches, such that the overall contour of the phrase is W-shaped.

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<sup>58</sup> The first B phrase reaches its lowest point on the pitch a, which is reiterated three times. In the reprise, the second a is replaced by the lower neighbor tone, thus extending down to g and encompassing the full octave.

A final structural principle that distinguishes the melody of *S'ie-us quier conseill* from the other songs attributed to Giraut is the predominant use of successive skips, or chains of thirds. The chains of thirds in *S'ie-us quier conseill* appear in both ascending and descending order in both the B and C phrases. The chains of thirds that unfold in the E phrase are particularly prominent. While the other songs attributed to Giraut do feature individual leaps of thirds (and fifths), thirds only appear in direct succession on one occasion, namely at the cadence of the reprise of the C phrase in *Non*. (In the initial statement of the C phrase, the second third is filled in by a step.) The structural prominence of thirds in *S'ie-us quier conseill* also manifests itself in the pitch difference between the endings and beginnings of successive phrases, with five of the seven phrases beginning a third away from the preceding cadence; in this way, movement by thirds is further established as a fundamental melodic gesture in the melody.<sup>59</sup> In *Leu* and *Non*, on the other hand, the predominantly stepwise melodic motion carries over into the usual movement between phrases by unison or by step. The structural prominence granted to thirds in *S'ie-us quier conseill* thus contributes to setting this melody apart from the other tunes attributed to Giraut.

If the applicability of Albert Lord's oral formulaic theory to the troubadour repertoire can be accepted, the stylistic differences of the melody of *S'ie-us quier conseill* provide compelling indications of a formulaic style that in many ways distinguished itself from that established by Giraut in melodies like *Leu* and *Non*. Admittedly, these differences cannot prove or disprove authorship of the melody, for the stylistic differences between melodies could arguably be attributed to Giraut's creativity and diversity as a composer (witness, for example, the melody to *Reis glorios*). The conclusions of this comparative analysis, then, are wholly dependent upon contemporary

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<sup>59</sup> Incidentally, a similar phenomenon can be observed in *Reis glorios*, in which the structural importance granted to the opening fifth carries over into the intervallic movement from phrase to phrase.



testimonies by poets and theorists alike who give reason to believe that the melody of *S'ie-us quier conseill* could have been borrowed from Alamanda. If their testimonies are true, and Alamanda did indeed compose this melody, she did so in a unique style, asserting her own creativity and innovations as a trobairitz, and thereby distinguishing her compositional voice from that of her mentor.

### **Conclusion**

By reconstructing a viable context for the composition, reception and transmission of the *tenso S'ie-us quier conseill*, I have sought to challenge the discrepancies in the historical reception of Alamanda. Medieval definitions of the *tenso* as having a borrowed rather than a newly-composed melody raise the possibility that the melody of *S'ie-us quier conseill* was not originally composed by Giraut, but rather borrowed by him from Alamanda, and ultimately made popular through his fame. This interpretation finds strong support from Giraut's contemporaries Bertran de Born and Bernart Arnaut, who, modeling contrafacta after the structure of the *tenso*, expressly offer their recognition to Alamanda. Thus, even though we cannot claim to provide a definitive answer to the question posed in the title of this chapter, we do find a compelling argument for moving from the realm of possibility to the realm of probability another melody by a woman troubadour, namely, the "so de n'Alamanda."

## CHAPTER 7

### DEPARTING FROM CONVENTION WITH A BORROWED TUNE: GUIRAUT RIQUIER'S *QUI.M DISSES* AND A *CANSO* BY GUIRAUDO LO ROS

The preceding case studies have examined contexts in which various poet-composers appear to have followed the conventions regarding contrafacture in their compositions. In this final chapter I should like to explore the possibility of a troubadour's intentionally departing from the rules governing genre and imitation. The troubadour in question is Guiraut Riquier (fl. 1254-1292), commonly known as the last of the troubadours; the piece that I should like to consider is his *Qui.m disses, non a dos ans* (*If someone had told me, not even two years ago*; PC 248.68), which he composed in September 1276. The text of Riquier's piece is reproduced with translation as Figure 7.1. The tune can be found further below as Figure 7.4.

Riquier, who took the care to organize a chronological collection of his own works by genre, labeled *Qui.m disses a vers*. As seen in Chapter 2, according to the theoretical standards of the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries, the *vers* was a moralizing piece that was expected to have a new tune. Both Jofre de Foixà and Guilhem Molinier insist upon this last point, with Jofre intensifying his observation of the *vers*'s melodic originality with the adverb *always* (“*ab so novel tota vegada*”) and Guilhem

Lo X vers d'en Gr. Riquier, l'an MCCLXXVI en setembre	The 10 <sup>th</sup> vers of sir Gr. Riquier, year 1276, in September
<p>I Qui.m disses, non a dos ans, que.l laus me fos desgrazitz del rey n'Anfos, de pretz guitz, mot me fora greus afans; 5 qu'er es tant vil tengutz sai e blasmatz, que sol parlar non aus de luy ad honor, don ai al cor tal dolor qu'ab pauc chant non desampar.</p>	<p>If someone had told me, not even two years ago, that I would be badly received for my praise of the king Sir Alfonso, guide of merit, it would have very much caused me grave chagrin; for he is now so scorned and criticized here that I do not dare even to speak of him with honor, because of which I have such grief in my heart that I almost abandon song.</p>
<p>II A moutz homes l'aug blasmar que li foran valedor, si guerra l'agues sabor tant quon a cor de donar. Mas ieu, las, suy en esmay, 15 qu'om me sol lauzar mos chans per elh que m'es abelhitz tant, qu'ieu serai sebelhitz, ans que dreg alhors los lans.</p>	<p>I hear him criticized by many men who would have been his defenders if his taste for conflict had been as great as is his willingness to give. But I—alas!—am in dismay, because I am accustomed to being praised for my songs, [composed] for him who pleases me so much that I would rather be entombed Than direct them elsewhere.</p>
<p>III Mala veyra sos efans, 20 si.l pus de la gent ver ditz que vius n'er despostaditz! E Dieus don me mort enans, quar ja gran joy non aurai tro per ver auia comtar 25 que.l sieu enemic maior aian ab luy tal amor, que d'elhs no.l calha gardar.</p>	<p>The <i>Infante</i> will witness misfortune— if what most of the people are saying is true— that living, he will be dispossessed. And may God grant me death first; For I will never have great happiness until I truly have heard it said that his greatest enemies have such love for him that he not be concerned with guarding himself against them.</p>
<p>IV Ab dreg a volgut renhar ez ab pretz ez ab voler, 30 creyssen de terr'ab lauzor le reys n'Anfos, que Dieus gar; ez aras deu mielhs e may voler dreg e patz dos tans, sol que non si'escarnitz, 35 per que de Dieu si'aizitz e sos pretz no.s desenans.</p>	<p>The king Sir Alfonso—may God save him— has wanted to rule with justice and with merit and with worth, triumphantly increasing his lands; and now, more than ever, he must want justice and peace twice as much, lest he be shamed, so that he may be near to God, and [so that] his merit may not diminish.</p>

Continued

**Figure 7.1** Guiraut Riquier, *Qui.m disses, non a dos ans* (PC 248.68)<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Edited by Monica Longobardi, "I 'Vers' del trovatore Guiraut Riquier," 75-76. MSS: C 229r, R 107r.

**Figure 7.1** continued

V	Mos ditz sera pro bastans, sol que per luy si'auzitz, qu'ieu parli tot esferzitz	40	e si m'enten non l'er dans. Pero aitant li diray que reys deu amicx amar, mas de l'als dir ai temor: elh chausisca son melhor, per son dreg dever a far.	45	My poem will be quite sufficient, as long as it is heard by him, for I speak entirely incensed, and if he listens to me, no harm will come to him. But I will say this much to him: the king must love his friends, but I am afraid to speak of anything else. He will choose his best in order to accomplish his rightful duty.
	Jamais no m'esforsarai del rey castellan lauzar, ni d'autre, si en error ven sos pretz, qu'a deshonor me pogues ab dan tornar.	50			Never will I make efforts to praise the Castilian king nor anyone else should his merit enter into error, lest through his wrongdoing he bring me to shame.
	No suy astrucx de senhor que.m vuelha de cor amar.				I am not blessed with a lord who loves me with all his heart.

asserting that the *vers must* have a new tune (“*vers deu* haver [...] so [...] noel”).<sup>1</sup>

Despite the theorists’ recommendations for the *vers*, there are strong indications that Riquier’s *Qui.m disses* was not a wholly original composition, but rather an imitation of a *canso* composed decades earlier—namely, *A la mia fe, Amors* (*By my faith, Love*; PC 240.1) by Guiraudó lo Ros (fl. 1195). (Guiraudó’s *A la mia fe* can be found below as Figure 7.2.) As we shall see, Riquier’s *Qui.m disses* bears unmistakable structural resemblances to Guiraudó’s *A la mia fe*. In view of the documented correlation between the imitation of a preexistent song’s poetic structure and the borrowing of its melody, these resemblances compel us to consider the distinct possibility that the melody

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<sup>1</sup> Marshall, ed., *The ‘Razos’*, 95, and Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flores*, 1:338, respectively. Emphases mine.

preserved with Riquier's *vers* was not an original invention, but rather taken over from the *canço* by Guiraudó.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, because the melody accompanying Riquier's *Qui.m dissés* is an *unicum* and because none of Guiraudó lo Ros's *canços* has been preserved with its melody, reattribution of the melody to Guiraudó cannot be made upon stylistic grounds. We can, however, examine the intertextuality of the two pieces as well as the rhetorical stances of their respective composers, and in so doing advance a likely hypothesis for Riquier's motivation in composing a parody of Guiraudó's song.

### **"The book written by Guiraut Riquier's own hand"**

The special circumstances related to the composition of *Qui.m dissés* can best be understood against the background of the exceptional transmission of Riquier's *œuvre*. This troubadour's poetic works, with the exception of his literary exchanges,<sup>3</sup> are transmitted *en bloc* in MSS C and R; the melodies for forty-eight of his pieces have been preserved exclusively in MS R.<sup>4</sup> In MS C (f. 288), Riquier's collection is prefaced with the statement that his songs "were all transcribed from that book written by his own hand" ("del qual libre escrig per la sua man fon aissi tot translatat"). The songs are also

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<sup>2</sup> To recall just one formulation of the correlation between structural imitation and melodic borrowing, the *sirventes* is said by Guilhem Molinier to be dependent upon the *canço* in two ways: "the first in regard to the structure of the strophes, the other in regard to the tune" ("la una cant al compas de las coblas, l'autra cant al so"). Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Leys*, 1:340.

<sup>3</sup> The twenty debate poems in which Riquier participated are transmitted in two discrete sections of MS R (ff. 33-35 and ff. 76-77), separately from the main collection of his pieces.

<sup>4</sup> For a more complete discussion of Riquier's collections in MSS C and R, see Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso's "Il Canzoniere di un trovatore: Il 'Libro' de Guiraut Riquier," *Medioevo romanzo* 5 (1978): 216-59, as well as her more recent article, "Un Progetto de edizione del *Libro* di Guiraut Riquier ed altre osservazioni," *Tenso* 9 (1994): 106-25; Olivia Holmes, *Assembling the Lyric Self* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 101-19; see also Hendrik van der Werf's observations in *The Extant Troubadour Melodies*, 24-28.

said to be ordered just as they were found in Riquier's book ("enaissi adordenadamens cum era adordenat en lo sieu libre");<sup>5</sup> this ordering governs not only generic grouping but also chronological organization within each grouping. The inscription concludes by listing the works contained in Riquier's book, to wit: *cansos*, *vers*, *pastorelas*, *retroenchas*, *descorts*, *albas*, and "other various works" ("autras diversas obras"). While this same inscription does not appear in MS R, the scribe does reveal his reliance on a written source by noting in the margin next to Riquier's third *retroencha* (f. 111) that the piece was "deficient in the exemplar."<sup>6</sup>

Significant differences in the overall presentation of Riquier's œuvre in MSS C and R suggest that the respective scribes were working from separate exemplars. One striking divergence, as mentioned above, is the absence of musical notation in MS C. Other differences in the content of the two manuscripts become especially apparent in the material following the principal section of Riquier's corpus, which is a collection of fifty-odd *cansos* and *vers*. This main section is followed in both manuscripts by a grouping of three *retroenchas*. In MS C, the *retroenchas* are followed by a chronological group of six *pastorelas* and six miscellaneous pieces (including a *descort*, a *serena*, two *albas*, a prayer, and a diminutive piece to be discussed below). In MS R, on the other hand, the *retroenchas* are followed indirectly by a collection of Riquier's rhymed letters (altogether absent from MS C).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> The complete inscription has been transcribed by Molk, ed. *Guiraut Riquier*, 19.

<sup>6</sup> Van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies*, 25.

<sup>7</sup> Riquier's *retroenchas* and his letters are separated by several folios of *coblas esparsas* by Bertran Carbonel and Guilhem de l'Olivier d'Arles.

Despite the divergences in content between the two manuscripts, the consistency of detail within the central corresponding section is compelling enough to suggest that the compilers of MSS C and R both relied upon authoritative sources. As mentioned above, the principal section of Riquier's corpus consists of an intermingling of *cansos* and *vers* presented in chronological order of composition. These pieces total fifty-three in MS C; in MS R, the final three *vers* are missing, although space was provided for them. Each of the pieces bears a rubric indicating the appropriate generic designation as well as the year—and occasionally, month or precise date—of its composition.

The rubrics of MS C offer an additional detail by numbering the respective *cansos* and *vers* one through twenty-seven, a number that is contrived for the twenty-six *vers* by skipping the number twelve.<sup>8</sup> Michel-André Bossy has astutely observed that the subdivision of the *cansos* and *vers* into sets of twenty-seven has extreme symbolic significance for Riquier's formal design, since twenty-seven—the cube of three and therefore “a potent reminder of the Trinity”—is a harmonious number.<sup>9</sup> By construing fifty-three songs as fifty-four, Riquier is able to achieve amazing symmetries within the chronological presentation of his songs.<sup>10</sup> Bossy has noted, for example, that the first twenty-seven pieces in Riquier's compilation consist of eighteen *cansos* and nine *vers*,

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<sup>8</sup> To be more precise, we should also observe that Riquier's *planh* on the death of Aimeric de Narbonne, *Ples de tristor, marritz e doloiros* (PC 248.63) is counted among the *vers*. It is not assigned a number in MS C, but it does occupy the fourth place between the third and fifth *vers*. In MS R the piece actually bears a dual designation as both *planh* and *vers*.

<sup>9</sup> Michel-André Bossy, “Cyclical Composition in Guiraut Riquier's Book of Poems,” *Speculum* 66 (1991):286. See also a more recent study by Olivia Holmes, “The Representation of Time in the ‘Libre’ of Guiraut Riquier,” *Tenso* 9 (1994): 126-48.

<sup>10</sup> Bossy's chart of Riquier's pieces aptly demonstrates these symmetries; see his “Cyclical Composition,” 292-93.

whereas the final twenty-seven (including the missing twelfth *vers*) consist of eighteen *vers* and nine *cansos*. A tripartite division is also evident: In the initial eighteen pieces, there are fourteen *cansos* and four *vers*; in the final eighteen, fourteen *vers* and four *cansos*; and in the central section (again, counting the missing twelfth *vers*), there are nine of each type.

Other than the absence of internal numbering in MS R, the rubricated indications of genre and date are remarkably consistent between the two manuscripts. The only contradictory deviation pertains to the generic designation for *Quar dreytz ni fes* (PC 248.67), which is called a *vers* in MS C, but mislabeled a *canso* in MS R. Moreover, the dual readings of these fifty pieces in terms of both word order and orthography, while not identical, are uniform. The stability in transmission between the two manuscripts has led to a consensus among scholars that the scribes of both C and R worked from authoritative exemplars.<sup>11</sup>

Regarding the musical notation of MS R, van der Werf finds it doubtful that the scribe would have copied both text and music from the same exemplar. In support of his argument, he notes that if the text scribe had copied from an autograph containing melodies, he would have plausibly left more space between syllables in order to accommodate Riquier's extremely melismatic melodies.<sup>12</sup> Elizabeth Aubrey, on the other hand, finds "little doubt" that the texts and melodies of the Riquier collection were copied

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<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Elizabeth Aubrey, "A Study of the Origins, History, and Notation of the Troubadour Chansonnier Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, f. fr. 22543," (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1982), 88 and 277; and Hendrik van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies*, 26.

<sup>12</sup> Van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies*, 27.



from the same source.”<sup>13</sup> The most compelling evidence in support of her argument is the rubric of *Pus sabers no.m val ni sens* (PC 248.66), which provides special instructions for the musical performance of the song, including a reference to a visual indication placed on the musical system in order to mark the central point of the strophe.<sup>14</sup> Because the sign “seems to have been drawn with the same ink as the notes themselves,” Aubrey concludes that the text scribe and the music scribe were necessarily working in close collaboration with one another.<sup>15</sup> Notably, despite their differing opinions regarding the presence or absence of musical notation in the textual exemplars, both Aubrey and van der Werf do agree upon the distinct possibility that Riquier played a role in transmitting an exemplar of his melodies.<sup>16</sup>

Related to the issue of musical notation is the difficult task of reconciling why melodies are found in MS R, but not in MS C. Does this lacuna indicate that melodies were not present in the scribe’s exemplar? In response to this question, Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso has made the valuable observation that the rubric of *Pus sabers* in

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<sup>13</sup> Aubrey, “A Study of the Origins,” 168.

<sup>14</sup> For *Pus sabers*, which Riquier referred to as a “round song, enchained in words and tune” (“canson redonda ez encadenada de motz e de son”), the melody is performed as notated for odd-numbered strophes, but for even-numbered strophes, the performer is instructed to sing from the mid-point of the melody (marked with a cross in the manuscript), continuing *da capo* back to the mid-point. Aubrey provides the complete rubric and edits both versions of the melody in *The Music*, 173-74. For the complete song text, see Molk, ed., *Guiraut Riquier*, 103-6.

<sup>15</sup> Aubrey, “A Study of the Origins,” 168-69.

<sup>16</sup> Aubrey writes: “It is by no means unlikely that he did have a hand at some point in recording his own works, and that his own autograph was an antecedent of the sections in R containing his letters, poetry, and tunes” (“A Study of the Origins,” 88); and van der Werf concedes that, although “it is not certain that the initial autographs contained the melodies,” it is nevertheless “possible that the music in MS R was derived from exemplars which were made in collaboration with Guiraut” (*The Extant Troubadour Melodies*, 28).

MS C contains the same reference to a visual marker placed at the midpoint of the melody.<sup>17</sup> Clearly, this reference would be nonsensical if musical notation had not been at least intended for the exemplar from which the scribe of MS C worked.

The likely existence of textual and musical exemplars copied in the author's own hand lends an undeniable degree of authority to Riquier's œuvre, an authority that is ordinarily lacking in the transmission of troubadour lyric. Challenging the authorship of the melody of *Qui.m disses* thus becomes a matter requiring ultimate cautiousness.

### **The historical context of *Qui.m disses***

*Qui.m disses* is transmitted within Riquier's larger grouping of *cansos* and *vers* and is labeled: "Lo X vers d'en Gr. Riquier, l'an MCCLXXVI, en setembre."<sup>18</sup> By September 1276, Riquier had been faithfully serving the Castilian king Alfonso the Learned (r. 1252-84) for five years. In *Qui.m disses*, however, one finds the troubadour making an unprecedented statement of disappointment with his royal patron. Indeed, the harsh tone of *Qui.m disses* has earned it a unique place in Riquier's compositional output. With such bold declarations as "I do not dare even to speak of [King Alfonso] with honor" (ll. 6-7), Riquier's *Qui.m disses* has been described by troubadour scholar Martín de Riquer as "a curious demonstration of candor and courage."<sup>19</sup> Joseph Anglade, observing that "Riquier had to take sides against his royal protector for the first time," has

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<sup>17</sup> Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, "Il Canzoniere di un trovatore," 227-28 and 239-40.

<sup>18</sup> MS C, fol. 299.

<sup>19</sup> "Una curiosa muestra de la franqueza y valentia..." Martín de Riquer, *Los Trovadores*, 3:1621.

wondered if this piece does not reflect “the echo of a quarrel between the king and the troubadour,” one that would eventually lead Riquier to abandon his service of the Castilian king.<sup>20</sup> One is naturally led to ask what circumstances might have motivated Riquier to compose such disapproving words.

September 1276 was a time of multiple crises during King Alfonso’s reign. Alfonso was confronted simultaneously with the lingering threat of Abu Yusuf’s Moroccan troops invading from the south,<sup>21</sup> the advance of King Philippe III’s French army from the north,<sup>22</sup> and internally, a destabilizing conflict over the question of his own succession.<sup>23</sup> The convergence of these events requires further examination. A year earlier (24 July 1275), Alfonso’s eldest son and heir, Fernando de la Cerda (b. 1255), had died at twenty years of age. According to the king’s own legal code, the *Siete Partidas* (1256-65), even though Fernando had not ruled before his untimely death, the crown was nevertheless supposed to pass to his first-born child, namely Alfonso de la Cerda (1270-1327). The pertinent portion of Alfonso’s law regulating primogeniture reads as follows:

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<sup>20</sup> Anglade, *Le Troubadour Guiraut Riquier*, 157-59.

<sup>21</sup> The Moroccan forces of Abu Yusuf were known more specifically as the Banu Marin tribe, or to medieval Castilians, as the Benimerines; see Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 234.

<sup>22</sup> Philippe III is commonly known by his nickname, “the Bold.”

<sup>23</sup> The secondary literature devoted to this period of King Alfonso’s reign includes: Georges Daumet, *Mémoire sur les relations de la France et de la Castille de 1255 à 1320* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1913), esp., 18-47; Robert A. MacDonald, “Alfonso the Learned and Succession: A Father’s Dilemma,” *Speculum* 40 (1965): 647-53; Jerry R. Craddock, “Dynasty in Dispute: Alfonso X el Sabio and the Succession to the Throne of Castile and Leon in History and Legend,” *Viator* 17 (1986): 197-219; Joseph F. O’Callaghan, “Image and Reality: The King Creates His Kingdom,” in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. Robert I. Burns, S.J. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 14-32; and O’Callaghan, *The Learned King*, 234-41.

[...] et aun mandaron que si el fijo mayor moriese ante que heredase, si dexase fijo ó fija que hobiese de su muger legítima, que aquel ó aquella lo hobiese, *et non otro ninguno...*

[...] and they also decreed that if the eldest son should die before he came into his inheritance, and should leave a son or a daughter of his lawful wife, he or she, *and none other*, should have the kingdom...<sup>24</sup>

According to the account of chronicler Pedro Afonso (d. 1354), Alfonso put this law into practice in 1274 when, departing for Rome in order to assert his rights to the title of emperor, he ordered the towns of Castile and León to pay homage to Fernando as regent and to his son, Alfonso de la Cerda.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the thirteenth-century Catalan historian Bernat d'Esclot reported that this order of succession was likewise part of an understanding between Alfonso and Philippe III, whose sister Blanche was mother of the would-be heir. Bernat explains that Philippe “had an agreement with the king of Castile that, after the death of Sir Fernando, his [i.e., Philippe’s] nephews should become kings.”<sup>26</sup> While the validity of the written record supposedly documenting this pact has

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<sup>24</sup> Excerpted from *Partida II.15.ii* as it stands in Biblioteca Real Bb.42, edited by MacDonald, “Alfonso the Learned and Succession,” 651n12. Translation from Samuel Parsons Scott, *Las Siete Partidas* (Chicago: Commerce Clearing House, 1931), 367. All italics mine.

<sup>25</sup> The account, taken from Pedro’s *Cronica de 1344*, is cited in O’Callaghan, *The Learned King*, 237-38. We should observe here that Alfonso’s ambitions to become emperor were never realized; for further discussion, see O’Callaghan, *The Learned King*, 231-33.

<sup>26</sup> “...Rey Felip de França [...] havia covinença ab lo rey de Castella que, apres la mort d’En Fernando fossen e deguessen esser sos nebots reys.” Bernat d’Esclot, *Crònica del rey en Pere, e dels seus antecessors passats*, in *Chroniques étrangères relatives aux expéditions françaises, pendant le XIIIe siècle*, ed. J. A. C. Buchon (Paris: Mairet, 1841), 615. Translation from O’Callaghan, *The Learned King*, 237.

been called into question,<sup>27</sup> Bernat's account does, in fact, appear to be corroborated by the terms of a truce later arranged between Philippe and Alfonso, to be discussed below.

The circumstances prevailing at the time of Fernando's death made Alfonso reconsider his earlier provisions for succession. The king's own failing health and the ongoing Moroccan conflict made the security of his kingdom an immediate concern. The king's grandson, at only five years of age, would have been viewed by many as a less-than-ideal successor.<sup>28</sup> A far more qualified ruler was seen in the king's second-born son, Sancho (1258-95). Sancho—who would ultimately be surnamed “the Fierce” (“el Bravo”)—had already proven himself to be a fearless combatant, organizing a defensive campaign late in 1275 that, at least temporarily, halted the advance of Abu Yusuf and the Benerimines.<sup>29</sup> Sancho thus became a favorite with the Castilians, and the king came under internal pressure to name him as heir.

The question of succession brought Alfonso face to face with a moral and legal dilemma, one with profound political ramifications. Robert A. MacDonald has summarized the king's predicament as follows:

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<sup>27</sup> In his *Chronique latine*, the French historian Guillaume de Nangis alleges that the agreement between Alfonso and Philippe regarding Alfonso de la Cerda's succession was part of the 1269 marriage contract of Fernando de la Cerda to Blanche, in which it was supposedly specified that their children would inherit the kingdom. According to Guillaume, the contract stipulated: “Blancha, filia regis Franciae Ludovici, datur a patre uxor Ferrando, primogenito regis Castellae, eo pacto quod primogenitus puerorum de ipsa procreandorum, nullius fraternitatis successione praejudicium inferente, avo vel patre ipsorum defunctis, regnum Hispaniae pacifice possideret” (cited by Craddock, “Dynasty in Dispute,” 201). O'Callaghan, however, has observed that Guillaume's account contradicts the surviving marriage contract, which “did not discuss his children's rights in case [Fernando] died before becoming king” (*The Learned King*, 237). The marriage contract, preserved in the *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, has been published by Daumet, in *Mémoire*, 155-56.

<sup>28</sup> O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, 238.

<sup>29</sup> Following Sancho's victory, King Alfonso arranged a two-year truce with Abu Yusuf, who accordingly retreated to Morocco in January 1276. O'Callaghan has observed that “the resumption of hostilities seemed inevitable.” See *The Learned King*, 235-36.

If he should name his grandson heir, he will be upholding the provisions of his code in favor of right by lineal descent, and indeed he will be asserting the authority of that code. If he should designate Sancho, he will be denying his own code and risking the decline in his prestige and power that would follow the rejection of so important a provision of the *Partidas*. A proud man cognizant of the real dignity of his office, he recalls his having yielded on previous occasions—to the nobles in particular—when the price for peace in his realm was important legal concessions. Further acquiescence can jeopardize the whole attempt to bring reform. Yet he cannot ignore the circumstances. Sancho is his second son, a bold and resolute young man whom history will know as the Fierce. Both king and people feel grateful to him for his initiative and successful action against the invaders.<sup>30</sup>

Cognizant of the serious consequences of his decision, Alfonso sought the counsel of his vassals and convened a plenary *cortes* in Burgos during the month of May 1276.<sup>31</sup> The chronicler Jofré de Loaysa (d. 1307/1310), archdeacon of Toledo, reports that Alfonso summoned “the prelates, barons, nobles, and certain counselors of all the cities and towns of his realm to advise him.”<sup>32</sup> According to Jofré, Alfonso’s chief vassals were divided on the issue, but the majority sided with Sancho. O’Callaghan summarizes Jofré’s account of the assembly as follows:

While Juan Núñez de Lara and his brother Nuño González urged the claims of Alfonso de la Cerda, the king’s brother, Infante Fadrique, Lope Díaz de Haro, Simón Ruiz de los Cameros and Juan Alfonso de Haro, and ‘many others, and the prelates of the kingdom and all the councils and communities of Castile and León wished and petitioned that Infante Lord Sancho should reign, and they offered homage to him as the future king.’<sup>33</sup>

O’Callaghan adds that the king’s brother Manuel (d. 1283) also sided with the majority, pronouncing in favor of Sancho. Apparently reflecting upon Alfonso’s pact with Philip III regarding Alfonso de la Cerda’s inheritance, Manuel declared:

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<sup>30</sup> MacDonald, “Alfonso the Learned and Succession,” 651-52.

<sup>31</sup> A *cortes* was an assembly attended by persons from a range of societal ranks. O’Callaghan writes that a plenary *cortes* would ordinarily convene the members of the king’s family and court, the archbishops and bishops, masters of the military orders, magnates, knights, and town representatives. O’Callaghan, *The Learned King*, 46-47.

<sup>32</sup> As told in Jofré’s *Crónica de los reyes de Castilla, Fernando III, Alfonso X, Sancho IV y Fernando IV, 1248-1305*; cited by O’Callaghan, *The Learned King*, 238.

<sup>33</sup> O’Callaghan, *The Learned King*, 239.

Lord, one is not cut off from the tree of kings by an agreement; nor is the one who comes according to nature disinherited thereby. If the oldest who comes from the tree dies, the branch under him ought to rise to the top.<sup>34</sup>

The king would eventually yield to the influence of his advisers and amend his earlier rulings on primogeniture, thereby allowing the crown to pass to Sancho. The amendment was accomplished through a short addition to the preexistent law, as represented by the italicized text in the following passage:

[...] et aun mandaron que si el fijo mayor moriese ante que heredase, si dexase fijo legitimo varon, que aquel lo hobiese; *pero si fincare otro fijo varon del rey, que aquel lo herede et non el nieto...*<sup>35</sup>

[...] and they also decreed that if the eldest son should die before he came into his inheritance, and should leave a legitimate son, he should have the kingdom; *but if there should remain another son of the king, then he should inherit the kingdom, and not the former.*

The exact date of Alfonso's amendment has not been established, but one notable event suggests that the king had reached his decision by at least the month of September 1276—that is, the very month that Riquier composed *Qui.m disses*. In three separate charters bearing this date, the chief supporters of Alfonso de la Cerda's claims to the throne—namely, Juan Núñez de Lara,<sup>36</sup> Nuño Gonzalez de Lara, and Fernando Yañez de

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<sup>34</sup> Cited by O'Callaghan, in *The Learned King*, 238. O'Callaghan does not, unfortunately, cite the historical source of Manuel's statement.

<sup>35</sup> Excerpted from *Partida* II.15.ii as it stands in Biblioteca Real 4, edited by Robert A. MacDonald, "Alfonso the Learned and Succession," 651n12. The translation of the non-italicized text is taken over from Scott, *Las Siete Partidas*, 367. The translation of the italicized amendment (which is not found in Scott's edition) is mine.

<sup>36</sup> According to the *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, presumed to be the work of Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid, Ferdinand de la Cerda at the time of his death entrusted his young sons to Juan Núñez de Lara: "Prince Fernando, being in that town [Villa Real], fell ill with a serious illness. Realizing that he was sickened unto death, he spoke with don Juan Núñez and begged him very insistently to help and act in such fashion that don Alfonso, son of this don Fernando, might inherit the kingdoms after the days of his father, King Alfonso. To make sure that he would take the greatest care in this matter, he charged don Juan Núñez with the rearing of his son don Alfonso, and he ordered that they should give him to him in order to be reared and that he should care for his training. Don Juan Núñez promised that he would carry it out according to what don Fernando ordered him." See the *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, trans. Shelby Thacker and José Escobar (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2002), 209-10.

Valverde—withdrew their allegiance from Alfonso X and instead pledged oaths of fidelity to Philippe III.<sup>37</sup> King Alfonso thereupon lost a total of 416 cavaliers to the French king, whose preparations for a war on behalf of his nephew’s rights were already underway.

Before war broke out, Alfonso attempted to negotiate a truce with Philippe. On 7 November 1276, the two kings drew up a treaty in which Alfonso agreed to reconvene the *cortes* for the express purpose of reconsidering the question of succession; Philippe’s case for his nephews could be plead by diplomats of his own choosing.<sup>38</sup> According to the terms of the truce, both kings were obliged to respect the ruling of the *cortes* as final and binding. Ultimately, however, Philippe failed to ratify the treaty, perhaps because he realized that a reversal of the *cortes*’ original ruling in favor of Sancho was unlikely. Nevertheless, Alfonso’s willingness to have the matter of his succession redecided could be interpreted as an indication of his own misgivings at having gone against his original provisions. Georges Daumet, for example, has speculated that Alfonso’s decision to name Sancho as heir to the throne was made “reluctantly and under duress, as if he had

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<sup>37</sup> Daumet, *Mémoire*, 31-32. Daumet publishes the contracts of Juan Núñez de Lara and Nuño Gonzalez de Lara (*Mémoire*, 157-62), both of which make explicit references to the rights of Fernando’s sons to the Castilian throne (cf. pp. 158 and 161). The contract of Fernando Yañez de Valverde has been published by Francisque Michel, ed., in *Histoire de la guerre de Navarre en 1276 et 1277, par Guillaume Anelier de Toulouse* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1856), 624.

<sup>38</sup> Daumet, *Mémoire*, 45-46. The treaty has been published by Michel, ed., *Histoire de la guerre de Navarre*, 651.



felt that there was an injustice in entirely dispossessing his grandchildren.”<sup>39</sup> Despite several later attempts at reconciliation, tensions between Alfonso and Philippe continued unresolved for the remainder of Alfonso’s reign.<sup>40</sup>

The events leading up to and following in the wake of September 1276 provide us with the charged political context for Riquier’s composition of *Qui.m disses*. In many respects, the troubadour’s bias regarding the prevailing state of affairs is difficult to interpret, with the poetic text being marked by ambiguities. Thus, the identities of the enemies dreaded in verse 25 and of the friends favored in verse 42 remain veiled. Even the allusion in verse 19 to the *efans* who would be dispossessed leaves room for confusion: Is this the king’s *child* (Sancho) or the legitimate *Infante* (Alfonso de la Cerda)?<sup>41</sup> If Riquier’s reference to “what *most* of the people are saying” (l. 20) reflects the popular bias towards Sancho, then we must conclude that Riquier was upset about the

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<sup>39</sup> Daumet writes regarding the ruling: “Il semble bien qu’il ne l’ait fait qu’à regret, contraint et forcé, comme s’il eût senti qu’il y avait injustice à dépouiller entièrement ses petits-enfants” (*Mémoire*, 44).

<sup>40</sup> Notably, Alfonso’s last will and testament, composed in November 1282, arranged for peace with Philippe III. In it, Alfonso renounced Sancho’s claims and re-appointed Alfonso de la Cerda as heir to the dominion; among the terms of the inheritance, Alfonso obliged his grandson to remain unified with the king of France (Daumet, *Mémoire*, 83). Alfonso, however, had been stripped of virtually all his power as of April, at which time an assembly of Castilian nobles had entrusted Sancho with the administration of justice, tax collection, and control of all royal fortresses (O’Callaghan, “Image and Reality,” 28). The terms of Alfonso’s will were, therefore, never respected, and Sancho assumed the title of king upon his father’s death in 1284.

<sup>41</sup> Manuel Milá y Fontanals, for example, reads *efans* as a reference to Alfonso’s son Sancho (*De los trovadores en España*, [Barcelona: Libreria de Joaquin Verdager, 1861], 204) as does Martín de Riquer (*Los Trovadores*, 3:1622). Monica Longobardi, on the other hand, interprets the *efans* as Alfonso de la Cerda (“I ‘Vers’ del trovatore Guiraut Riquier,” 79). Anglade translates *efans* incorrectly as a plural substantive, reading: “ses enfants dépouilleront [Alfonso] de son vivant” (*Le Troubadour Guiraut Riquier*, 157).

divestiture of the *Infante* Alfonso. We can find support for this interpretation in remarks made by Riquier within this song text as well as in the political preferences he expressed in other works.

Turning our attention first to Riquier's political stance, we find the troubadour to have been openly sympathetic to an alliance between Alfonso X and Philippe III. In fact, Riquier spoke favorably of the French king throughout his career. In 1267 Riquier sent a letter (*Al sel que deu voler*) to the French court with the aim of seeking the patronage of Louis IX.<sup>42</sup> In the same letter, Riquier pays his respect to Philippe, the heir apparent.<sup>43</sup> A few years later, as a troubadour at the court of Aimeric de Narbonne, Riquier sent a letter to Tunis (*Al car onrat senhor*, 1270), reminding his crusading patron to be dutiful in his obligations to King Louis, as well as to his eldest son (i.e., Philippe).<sup>44</sup>

The respect for the French king that Riquier expressed early in his career continued even when tensions between Alfonso and Philippe were at their peak. In 1280, the feud between the two kings had become a matter of concern for Pope Nicholas III, who urged them towards a settlement. A meeting between Alfonso and Philippe was thus arranged at Bayonne in the month of December. Alfonso sought a compromise with Philippe by offering to concede Jaén, a kingdom in the vassalage of Castile, to his grandson Alfonso de la Cerda.<sup>45</sup> Ultimately, Philippe would reject the proposal, and negotiations would collapse, but for a certain moment, peace appeared imminent. For

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<sup>42</sup> See Joseph Linskill, ed., *Les Épîtres de Guiraut Riquier: Troubadour du XIIIe siècle* (n.p.: Association Internationale d'Études Occitanes, 1985), 57 (ll. 15-26).

<sup>43</sup> Linskill, ed., *Les Épîtres*, 61 (ll. 178-86).

<sup>44</sup> Linskill, ed., *Les Épîtres*, 117 (ll. 68-81).

<sup>45</sup> Discussed by O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, 250-51.

Riquier, Alfonso's efforts towards reconciliation with Philippe proved to be an occasion worthy of praise—a fact that is all the more remarkable when one considers that Riquier had not composed a song since 1277.<sup>46</sup> In *S'ieu ja trobat non agues* (PC 248.79), a *vers* dated December 1280, Riquier explains the “good reason” (“bona razo,” l. 2) for his composition:

Al bon rey tanh tan d'onor	So much honor is due to the king
que dey, si puese, bon vers far. <sup>47</sup>	that I must, if I can, compose a good <i>vers</i> .

Riquier continues in the second strophe with praise of Alfonso's virtues as a ruler, and in the third strophe explains the cause of his present salute:

Qu'er aug qu'elh e.l rey frances	For now I hear that we will see him and the king of France,
don cuiav'esser tensos,	whom I believed to be in dispute,
veyrem acordar amdos. <sup>48</sup>	come into harmony with one another.

The song continues in this vein, a celebration of a political accord that would never be realized. With the benefit of historical retrospect, Riquier's *vers* seems premature and almost naïve, yet his enthusiasm at the prospect of an accord between Alfonso and Philippe attests to the importance that he placed on an alliance between Castile and France. Riquier's political preferences thus provide us with a viable explanation for his presumed bias in favor of Alfonso de la Cerda, nephew of the French king.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> That is, at least in so far as we can surmise from the collection of songs compiled by Riquier himself. In this book, the song directly preceding the entry of December 1280 is the *canso Creire m'an fag mey dezir* (PC 248.21), dated 1277; see Mölk, ed., *Guiraut Riquier*, 100-2.

<sup>47</sup> Longobardi, “I ‘Vers’ del trovatore Guiraut Riquier,” 85 (ll. 8-9).

<sup>48</sup> Longobardi, “I ‘Vers’ del trovatore Guiraut Riquier,” 86 (ll. 19-21).

<sup>49</sup> We might complete our discussion with the observation that Riquier's ties to the French king continued until the end of his career. After Riquier left Alfonso's patronage, he went to the court of the Count of Rodez as well as to that of the Count of Foix, both of whom were sworn partisans of Philippe III (Anglade, *Le Troubadour Guiraut Riquier*, 169-97). Riquier specifically praised Philippe in a *vers* that he composed on 5 October 1284, *Ancmais per aital razo* (PC 248.12), referring to him as “the French king, in whom resides loyalty, and to whom God grants aid” (“lo rey [...] frances, on es lialtatz, al qual Dieus ajuda do,” ll. 42-44). For the complete text, see Longobardi, ed., “I ‘Vers’ del trovatore Guiraut Riquier,” 114-15.

Within the text of *Qui.m dissés* we find specific references that give us further reason to suppose that Riquier's bias lay with Alfonso de la Cerda. Notably, Riquier places a priority on reminding Alfonso of his obligations to uphold justice (*voler dreg*; ll. 28 and 33) and to fulfil his rightful duty (*son dreg dever a far*; l. 45). The fourth strophe, which is dominated by the theme of justice and duty, bears repeating here:

A dreg a volgut renhar	The king Sir Alfonso—may God save him—
Et ab pretz et ab voler,	has wanted to rule with justice
Creysen de terra ab lauzor	and with merit and with worth,
Le reys N'Anfos, que Dieus gar.	increasing his lands in praise.
Et aras deu mielhs e may	And now, more than ever, he must want
Voler dreg e patz dos tans,	justice and peace twice as much,
Sol que non si'escarnitz;	lest he be shamed,
Per que de Dieu si'aizitz	so that he may be near to God,
Et sos pretz no.s desenans.	and [so that] his merit may not diminish.

The emphasis that Riquier places on justice and moral obligation suggests the intriguing possibility that the troubadour was, in effect, advising his patron to heed his own legal provisions. According to this interpretation, Riquier's reference to the king's intentions to rule with justice in the present perfect tense (*a volgut*) is particularly suggestive, as it could be taken as an allusion to Alfonso's enduring efforts towards the establishment of a definitive legal code.<sup>50</sup> The value that Riquier places on the king's closeness to God is likewise congruent with this interpretation, since Alfonsine laws were so often founded on Biblical precedent. This was certainly the case with the law governing succession (excerpted above), which is prefaced by references to both the Old and New Testaments, beginning with Mosaic Law:

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<sup>50</sup> For an overview of Alfonso X's lifelong project of redacting a legal code, see Jerry R. Craddock, "The Legislative Works of Alfonso el Sabio," in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. Robert I. Burns, S.J. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 182-97.

As He said to Moses in the old law, every male who is first born should be called holy and belonging to God. And that his brothers ought to accept him instead of his father is proved by the fact, that he is older than they, and came first into the world.<sup>51</sup>

The Biblical justification for the law continues with the parable of Isaac and Jacob, and then proceeds:

According to ancient custom, although the parents ordinarily had compassion on their other sons, and did not wish that the eldest son should have all, but that each one should have his share; nevertheless, wise and learned men, having in view the common benefit of all, and being aware that this division could not be made in the kingdom without its being destroyed—for Our Lord Jesus Christ said that every kingdom which is divided shall be laid waste—deemed it just that no one should have the sovereignty of the kingdom but the eldest son, after the death of his father. This practice was always observed in every country in the world where the sovereignty was obtained by descent, and especially is this the case in Spain; and to avoid many evils which have happened, and which may occur again, they decreed that those should always inherit the government of the kingdom who traced their lineage through the direct line.<sup>52</sup>

This passage leads to the relevant portion of the law cited above, after which the law concludes with a warning:

The people are required to observe all these things, for the king cannot be perfectly protected in any other way if they do not protect the kingdom in this manner. Therefore whoever acts in opposition to this is guilty of open treason, and should receive the same punishment, which as stated above should be inflicted upon those who refuse to acknowledge the sovereignty of the king.<sup>53</sup>

Thus, despite the fact that the king had devised a provision granting himself the power to amend his own laws,<sup>54</sup> overturning the code governing primogeniture would virtually entail a reversal of Biblical law. It is not difficult to imagine that the profound moral ramifications of such an amendment would have been of primary concern to Alfonso.

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<sup>51</sup> Excerpt from *Partida* II.15.ii; Scott, trans., *Las Siete Partidas*, 366.

<sup>52</sup> Excerpt from *Partida* II.15.ii; Scott, trans., *Las Siete Partidas*, 367.

<sup>53</sup> Excerpt from *Partida* II.15.ii; Scott, trans., *Las Siete Partidas*, 367.

<sup>54</sup> See *Partida* II.1.ii, in Scott, trans., *Las Siete Partidas*, 269.

The fourth strophe of *Qui.m dissés* gives us reason to believe that Riquier hoped to appeal to the king's deep sense of duty, thereby persuading him to uphold the law of direct lineage in favor of Alfonso de la Cerda.

As already mentioned, ambiguities in the text could potentially allow a reader to pursue the opposite interpretation, i.e., that Riquier sided in favor of Sancho's inheritance. One can only suppose that this ambiguity was wholly intended by its author, especially if the king's decision was still a matter of rumor (we recall again here Riquier's reference to "what most of the people are saying," l. 20). As we know from various documents, Riquier was genuinely concerned with guarding himself against accusations of slander, or *maldir*. In his famous supplication to Alfonso regarding the title of *joglar* (*Pus Dieu m'a dat saber*, 1274), Riquier speaks out repeatedly against troubadours who commit slander through their verses.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, as he was fully aware, speaking falsely of another person was a crime punishable by law.<sup>56</sup> In a letter of 1278, *Tant petit vey prezar*, not only does Riquier denounce troubadours who commit slander, but he also speaks approvingly of their punishment.<sup>57</sup> In *Qui.m dissés*, Riquier's

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<sup>55</sup> See Linskill, ed., *Les Épîtres*, 167-89 (ll. 628-31 and 810-15).

<sup>56</sup> See *Partida* VII.9.iii, "Concerning the Dishonor Which One Man Causes Another by Means of Songs and Rhymes," in Scott, trans., *Las Siete Partidas*, 1352.

<sup>57</sup> Riquier declares: "I truly recognize that [our governors] must rightfully punish worthless pieces whence sin can be born, and those that stir up wars, and those that malign ("Yeu conosc veramen/que trobar vanitatz/don pot naisser peccatz/e de guerras mesclar/[nostre rector] devon ben castiar/e de maldir...;" ll. 66-71). He later reiterates: "Our true, spiritual governors, by faith and by the love of God, must blame, reprimand, and chastise troubadours who malign" ("...Nostre verai/esperital rector/per fe e per amor/de Dieu devon blasmar/repenn'e castiar/trobadors maldizens;" ll. 186-91.) For the complete text of the letter, see Linskill, ed., *Les Épîtres*, 247-59.

care in remaining sufficiently vague regarding his political biases—with references only to “friends,” “enemies,” and an unnamed prince—would have been crucial to holding himself above reproach.

Regardless of the troubadour’s side in the debate, the unmistakable message of *Qui.m disses* is Riquier’s disappointment with the recent tarnishing of King Alfonso’s reputation. Expressing his concern for the king’s accountability in the matter, Riquier concludes his *vers* with a not-so-veiled threat to abandon Alfonso’s service should his merits not prove him worthy of song. This ultimatum (ll. 46-50) reads:

Jamays no m’esforsaray	Never will I make efforts
Del rey castellan lauzar	to praise the Castilian king
Ni d’autre, si en error	nor anyone else, should his merit
Ven sos pretz, qu’a deshonor	enter into error, lest through his wrongdoing
Me pogues ab dan tornar.	he bring me to shame.

As Riquier is keen to point out, his worth as a troubadour is only as great as the personal merits of the individual whom he praises. Riquier harps on this point, not only concluding with it as in the lines just cited, but also opening with it in the first strophe (especially ll. 1-7) and returning to it in the second (ll. 14–15). Indeed, Riquier’s concern for protecting his own reputation is so great that he voices the possibility of abandoning song altogether. Verses 5 through 9 read:

Qu’er es tant vil tengutz sai	For he is now so scorned and criticized here
e blasmatz, que sol parlar	that I do not dare even to speak
non aus de luy ad honor,	of him with honor,
don ai al cor tal dolor	because of which I have such grief in my heart
qu’ab pauc chant non desampar.	that I almost abandon song.

Despite these threatening words, Riquier makes sure to communicate the undying nature of his loyalty to King Alfonso. He may no longer be able to sing proudly the king’s praises, but neither will he change his allegiances by singing of another. He thus swears in verses 17 and 18 that he would be entombed rather than address his songs to another

patron. This statement is particularly significant when it is framed within its larger textual and political context. Riquier presents his pledge as the concluding remark of a strophe concerned with Alfonso's jeopardized position among men who would have defended his interests had he only so commanded (ll. 10-13). Riquier's own oath of fidelity could thus be heard as a direct response to the withdrawal of those four hundred Castilian knights who, that same month, would defect to the army of the French king.

In verse 39, Riquier acknowledges the sheer audacity with which he has addressed his royal patron, admitting "I speak [as one who is] entirely incensed." Just a few lines later, however, he confesses his fear of overstepping his bounds: "To speak of anything else I am afraid" (l. 43). By Riquier's own admission, then, striking the appropriate tone was among his utmost concerns. To this end, it would appear that he had recourse to a preexistent *canso*, one whose message (and melody) could serve to underscore the sensitive concerns of his communication to the king.

### **Evidence of imitation: structural and thematic resonances**

When one encounters two or more troubadour texts with a shared strophic structure, particularly when that structure is relatively uncommon within the repertoire, one is immediately led to entertain the possibility of their sharing a melody, even when such a relationship is not suggested by their manuscript transmission. This is precisely the case with Riquier's *Qui.m dissés* and Guiraud lo Ros's *A la mia fe, Amors*, the latter of which has been reproduced below as Figure 7.2. These two pieces are the only poems—within, we recall, a repertoire of 2,552 texts—to exhibit the rhyme scheme of



I	A la mia fe, Amors, gran peccat avetz de me, car no.m voletz dar un be entre totas mas dolors; 5 cent vetz ai cor que.m recreya e mil que ia no farai, e quar bos afortimens val e deu valer e vens, ia no.m dezafortirai.	By my faith, Love, you have committed a grave sin against me, for you do not want to grant me one good thing among all of my chagrins; one hundred times I have wanted to give up and a thousand times I will not do it, and because good effort is valued and must be valued and triumphs, I will never become discouraged.
II	Mas segon l'afan qu'ieu tray ieu m'ai de bos pensamens, e malgrat de malas gens aus pensar so qu'a mi play: e pens que ma dompna deya 15 per me oblidar ricors, e sens, cuy ieu ges non cre, mostra me que no.s cove e que.l pensars es folhors.	But considering the grief from which I am suffering, I conduct myself with great care, and despite the bad people, I dare to think that which pleases me: and I think that my lady should forget her high stature on my behalf; and reason, which I don't believe in at all, shows me that this is not appropriate and that the thought is foolish.
III	Mas maltrazen creys honors, 20 Qu'om estiers pretz non rete E pueys apres aysest ve Qu'enaissi.s noyris valoris; E qui alques non desreya Ia no fara belh essay, 25 Qu'en totz faitz val ardimens, Mas l'arditz sia temens Lai on temers valra may.	But suffering increases honor, because without it one does not maintain one's merit, and then after this suffering comes, thus is valor nourished. And whosoever does not rise up out of the ranks will never make an admirable effort because in all feats boldness is valued, but may courage be wary there where fear is valued more.
IV	De plan ardimen morrai Ho m'aucira espavens, 30 Si Merces no m'es guirens, Doncx ab cal escapara? No sai, mas merce hi veyra, Que sens ni gienhs ni vigors No.m val ni m'enansa re, 35 Si.l blanc cors delgat e le No vens franquez'e doussors.	I will die from sheer boldness or fear will kill me, if mercy does not protect me; so how will I escape? I know not; but may I find mercy from her, for neither reason nor skill nor vigor is valuable to me nor advances me at all if sincerity and sweetness do not win over her fair body, svelte and smooth.
V	Mi es lo maltraitz sabors, Mas ma dona, en dreit se, Se capte mal vas Merce, 40 Quar no.m fai qualche secors: Sobreiramen senhoreya, Quar sap q'ieu lo.l sofriray, Que quan m'agr'ops chاوزimens La fai orguelhs non calens 45 Veus tot quan de mal l'estay.	Suffering is pleasing to me, but my lady, by her own right, conducts herself poorly in respect to mercy, for she does not offer me any assistance: She excercises her power excessively, because she knows that I will endure it from her, so that just when I would need clemency, her pride renders her indifferent towards everything that concerns suffering.

Continued

**Figure 7.2** Guiraud lo Ros, *A la mia fe, Amors* (PC 240.1)<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Edited by Anna Maria Finoli, "Le Poesi di Guiraud lo Ros," *Studi mediolatini e volgari* 29 (1982-83): 1061-66. MSS: C 268, D 107v-108, D<sup>c</sup> 256 [strophes I and III only], E 135-136, F 34v [strophe III only], I 84-84v, K 68, U 116-117, e 200-202.

**Figure 7.2** continued

VI	Ben fort aventura ay, Qu'om mais non l'es desplazens, Ni es belhs aculhimens Mas quan d'aquels qu'elha fay	I have quite a difficult destiny, because never is there displeasure nor warm welcome except for those that she creates
50	A quascun que la corteya Segon los corteiadors, Mas me non enten ni ve, Ni ieu, cum qu'elha m malme, No m virarai ia alhors.	for each man who courts her, according to the suitors. But she neither hears me nor sees me, And I, even though she mistreats me, Will never turn elsewhere.
VII	Belhs Alixandres, l'enveya Que neguna res vos fai Es adreitz pretz covinens Don vostre cors es manens, Et a totz iorns hi creys may.	Dear Alexander, the fact that no creature begrudges you is owing to the proper and becoming merit in which your heart is rich, and [which] grows stronger there with each day.

**a b b a c d e e d**, both in heptasyllabic verses.<sup>58</sup> The only structural deviation between the two pieces is minor: The grave (or “feminine”) c-rhyme in Guiraudó’s *canso* is countered by an acute (“masculine”) c-rhyme in Riquier’s *vers*. Moreover, while the two pieces do not share all of their rhyme sounds, there are certain aural reminiscences between the two pieces. For example, the a-rhyme *-ors* of Guiraudó’s song is closely echoed in Riquier’s e-rhyme of *-or*, with five of the rhyme words themselves in common (cf. *amors/amor*, *dolors/dolor*, *honors/honor*, *valors/valor*, and *sabors/sabor*). In a similar fashion, Guiraudó’s d-rhyme of *-ai* is echoed exactly in Riquier’s c-rhyme, allowing a unique sonorous resonance—albeit one with an ironic shift in

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<sup>58</sup> See Frank, *Répertoire métrique*, 1:147 (schema 652:1-2).

meaning—between Guiraud’s verse 9, “ja no.m dezafortirai” (“never will I become discouraged”) and Riquier’s verse 46, “jamays no m’esforsarai” (“never will I make efforts”).

A further structural resemblance between these two pieces, and what seems to secure a deliberate imitation on the part of the later troubadour, is their shared technique of *coblas retrogradadas*, or retrograded strophes. In accordance with this poetic device, the rhyme scheme of a poem’s first strophe is retrograded to generate the rhyme scheme of its second strophe (here, **a b b a c d e e d** becomes **d e e d c a b b a**).<sup>59</sup> The original scheme and its retrograde are then alternated throughout the song’s remaining strophes. Pieces making use of retrograded couplets are quite rare among the troubadours; the combined lists of István Frank and Dominique Billy yield a total of only thirty-four such pieces, more than one-third of which (twelve) are by Guiraut Riquier himself!<sup>60</sup> We might postulate that Riquier’s proven interest in applying specialized rhyme techniques in his lyrics speaks in favor of his familiarity with representative examples composed by the troubadours who came before him. We might also add that while the treatises do not address the adoption of rhyme technique in their discussions of contrafacture, this mode of imitation is clearly documentable within the repertoire.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> In the formulation of the *Leys d’amors*: “If the rhymes set forth in the first strophe return in retrograde in the second strophe [...], then these are called retrograded rhymes” (“Si.l rim pauzat en la primera cobla son retornat per retrogradacio en la segonda cobla [...] adoncs son dig rim retrogradat per acordansa”). Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:176.

<sup>60</sup> See Frank, *Répertoire métrique*, 2:58-59, and Dominique Billy, *L’Architecture lyrique médiévale* (Montpellier: Section Française de l’Association Internationale d’Études Occitanes, 1989), 130-34.

<sup>61</sup> Simply leafing through the pages of Frank’s *Répertoire métrique* reveals numerous examples of imitation that extend to the level of rhyme technique. See, for example, Frank’s schemas 13 (refrain word), 89 (*coblas capcaudadas*, or enchainé strophes), 124 (*capcaud.*), 133 (*capcaud.*), 187 (*coblas retrogradadas*), etc. (As a point of reference, there are 884 rhyme schemes listed in Frank’s *Répertoire métrique*).

The high degree of structural correspondence between *Qui.m disses* and *A la mia fe*—exhibited on the levels of rhyme scheme, rhyme technique and certain specific rhyme sounds—clearly suggests more than mere coincidence of form. These structural indications of imitation are backed by specific thematic resonances between the two pieces. Perhaps most prominently, the feeling of betrayal that afflicts Riquier is encapsulated in the opening lines of Guiraudó’s song, which begins, “By my faith, Love, you have committed a grave sin against me.” The thematic parallels between the two pieces extend well beyond their incipits. On a metaphorical level, Guiraudó’s situation is comparable to that of Riquier. Guiraudó sings of his lady instead of his lord, but typical of troubadour rhetoric, this lady is depicted as his sovereign. Like Riquier’s patron, Guiraudó’s lady has abused her station, with Guiraudó accusing her of wielding her power excessively (“sobreiramen senhoreya,” l. 41). The song thus serves as a vehicle to chastise her behavior.

Guiraudó’s response to the disappointment brought on by his lady is unambiguous. He declares repeatedly that despite her poor comportment, he remains unswayed in his dedication to her. This pledge of fidelity can be found in nearly every strophe of Guiraudó’s song; as prominent examples we may cite verses 9, 28, 42, and 53-54. The latter of these references is particularly striking, with Guiraudó declaring: “Even though she mistreats me, I will never turn elsewhere” (“Ni ieu, cum qu’elha.m malme, no.m virarai ia alhors”). The undeterred sentiment of Guiraudó’s pledge immediately calls to mind Riquier’s similarly-styled promise in verses 17-18 of *Qui.m disses* (discussed above).

The image of the suffering but unrelenting lover cultivated in Guiraudó's song is not necessarily exceptional within the troubadour repertoire. Perhaps Riquier's attraction to this particular song resided in the originality of its form. After all, as mentioned above, Riquier characteristically displayed a penchant for unique forms.<sup>62</sup> Perhaps, too, his choice of a song composed by Guiraudó lo Ros in particular was motivated by the latter's renown. Through song lyrics like *A la mia fe*, Guiraudó had earned a reputation as the quintessential suitor, devout and unwavering.<sup>63</sup> Roy Rosenstein has written that "just as Jaufré Rudel was the poet of love from afar, Guiraudó lo Ros was apparently that of unshakable love."<sup>64</sup> Rosenstein finds evidence of Guiraudó's "reputation as a faithful, indeed tenacious lover" in the *novela So fo e.l temps c'om era iays* composed ca. 1213 by Raimon Vidal de Besalú.<sup>65</sup> Raimon Vidal tells the story of a knight who, refused by his lady, wrongly assumes that the dutiful response would be to take leave of her. A few days later, the lady calls the knight back to her and reproaches him for having desisted in

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<sup>62</sup> For further discussion of Riquier's interest in distinctive metrical forms, see Anglade, *Le Troubadour Guiraut Riquier*, 199-219, and Monica Longobardi, "Note e rassegne: Osservazioni metrico-retoriche sui vers di Guiraut Riquier," *Studi mediolatini e volgari* 31 (1985): 247-57.

<sup>63</sup> Despite thirteenth-century recognition of this reputation, we should note that Guiraudó's *vida* represents him in wholly typical terms. The *vida* reads: "Guiraudó lo Ros was from Toulouse, son of a poor knight. And he came to the court of his lord, Count Alfonso [of Toulouse, d. 1185], in order to serve him. And he was courtly and a good singer. And he fell in love with the comtessa, the daughter of his lord; and the love that he had for her taught him to compose. And he made many *cansos*." ("Guiraudos lo Ros si fo de Tollosa, fils d'un paubre cavalier. E venc en la cort de son seingnor, lo comte Anfos, per servir. E fon cortes e ben chantanz. Et enamoret se de la comtessa, filla de son seingnor; e l'amors qu'el ac en leis l'enseingnet a trobar. E fetz mantas cansos.") Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours*, 345.

<sup>64</sup> "Comme Jaufré Rudel fut le poète de l'amour de loin, Guiraudon lo Roux fut apparemment celui de l'amour inébranable." Rosenstein's article provides a complete discussion of Guiraudó's reputation as a faithful, indeed tenacious lover." See "Guiraudó lo Ros ou le conventionnalisme exemplaire," in *Les Troubadours et l'état toulousain avant la croisade (1209)*, ed. Arno Krispin (Toulouse: William Blake, 1988), 193-210 (for the passage cited here, see p. 197).

<sup>65</sup> "Réputation d'amant fidèle, voire tenace." Rosenstein, "Guiraudó lo Ros," 197.

his courting. In order to instruct him on the proper response of a suitor, the lady holds up the example of Guiraud lo Ros. The passage from Raimon Vidal's *novela* reads:

‘Non auzis Giradon lo Ros,  
Ela.l dis, ‘ni faretz so.m par,’  
Que.n dis als amics conortar,  
‘Al comiat que.l donet s’amia:  
“Vostre serai, si ia nonca.us plazia,  
e vostre soi, c’amors m’a ensenhat  
que non creza brau respos ni comiat,  
que si o fes, mortz fora recrezens.”  
Aisi pren ioyz amicx sufrens  
E ferms, que per nien no.s planh.’<sup>66</sup>

‘You have not heard Guiraud lo Ros,  
She said to him, ‘nor will you, so it seems to me’  
(which she said to admonish her lover),  
‘in response to the leave that his lady bid him:  
“I will be yours, even if it not please you at all,  
and I am yours, because love has taught me  
not to believe in cruel replies or in orders to leave,  
because if one did so, giving up would be death.”  
So does the constant and enduring lover receive joy,  
By not complaining about anything.’

Guiraud lo Ros is thus held up as the ideal representative of “the constant and enduring lover.”

Martín de Riquer has observed that Guiraud’s reputation as a “gran enamorado” extended into the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>67</sup> Remarkably, the lines that Riquer cites as proof of the thirteenth-century recognition of Guiraud’s renown derive from a lyric contest initiated by none other than Guiraut Riquier, *Senh’En Jorda, si.us manda Livernos* (PC 248.77). In this *partimen*, Riquier presents a different either/or proposition to each of three co-authors, namely Lord Jordan IV de l’Isle Jourdain (1240-88), Paulet de Marseille, and Raimon Izarn de l’Isle.<sup>68</sup> The latter’s response is of particular interest to us here. Questioned by Riquier as to the depths of his fidelity to his lady, Raimon Izarn responds (ll. 19-21):

<sup>66</sup> Max Cornicelius, ed., *So fo e.l temps c’om era iays, Nouvelle von Raimon Vidal* (Berlin: C. Feicht, 1888), 28 (ll. 555-64). The quotation by Guiraud lo Ros is excerpted from his *canso Era sabrai s’a ges de cortesia* (PC 240.4; ll. 41-44), which is edited by Finoli, “Le Poesi di Guiraud lo Ros,” 1052-60.

<sup>67</sup> Riquer, *Los trovadores*, 2:671.

<sup>68</sup> For reasons of multiple authorship, PC 248.77 = 272.1, 319.7a, and 403.1. Anglade surmises that this *partimen* was composed soon before Lord Jordan followed Charles of Anjou to Italy in 1266, perhaps around 1264 (*Le Troubadour Guiraut Riquier*, 88 and 95-96).

Guiraut Riquier, anc Guiraudet lo Ros,  
No fon destretz per si dons en tal guia,  
Coma yeu soy per la genser, c'anc fos...<sup>69</sup>

Guiraut Riquier, never was Guiraud lo Ros  
bound to his lady to such an extent  
that I am to the noblest lady that has ever lived.

Riquier judges his friend's argumentation favorably, telling him: "R. Izarn, what you say, you say with exactitude" ("R. Yzarn, ditz ad estros aquo que ditz," ll. 38-39). More than this, though, we can infer that in some respects it was Riquier himself who prompted Raimon Izarn's self-comparison with Guiraud lo Ros. This prospect is suggested by the fact that Riquier initiated his *partimen* in nearly the same form as a *partimen* argued between Guiraud lo Ros and an anonymous count, *En Giraldon, un joc vos part d'amors* (PC 240.6a).<sup>70</sup> Riquier's reliance on the structure of Guiraud's debate with the count is unequivocally secured through his adoption of the same rhyme sounds as found in the first two strophes of the *tenso* (-os, -ia).<sup>71</sup> Riquier thereby demonstrates his familiarity with Guiraud lo Ros's poetic contributions, and in the resulting dialogue with Raimon Izarn, endorses the depiction of Guiraud as an ideally dutiful suitor.

In September 1276, Riquier found himself in a real-life version of the situation he had contrived for Raimon Izarn. Confronted with a dilemma that tested the limits of his allegiance to King Alfonso, Riquier chose to follow Raimon Izarn's example by comparing his unshakable devotion to that of Guiraud lo Ros; in order to embrace fully

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<sup>69</sup> For the complete text, see S. L. H. Pfaff, ed., *Guiraut Riquier*, vol. 4 of *Die Werke der Troubadours in provenzalischer Sprache*, edited by C. A. F. Mahn (1853; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1977), 233-34.

<sup>70</sup> The *partimen* between Guiraud and the count has a strophic structure of **10 a b' a b' b' a a b'**. In his *partimen*, Riquier lengthens this form ever so slightly by adding one verse: **10 a b' a b' b' a a b' b'**. For the text of Guiraud's *partimen* with the count, see Finoli, ed., "Le Poesi di Guiraud lo Ros," 1093-97.

<sup>71</sup> The a-rhyme of -os in *En Giraldon, un joc vos part d'amors* is not apparent from the incipit. This irregularity is amended in the second strophe, and the "corrected" scheme is maintained throughout all subsequent strophes (in, however, different rhyme sounds). One wonders if the irregularity in the opening line was intentional, or merely the result of a corrupt transmission (the *partimen* is transmitted exclusively in MS N, fol. 290, making textual corroboration impossible). In the latter case, one could normalize the text by reconstruing the incipit to the effect of: "Un joc vos part, En Giraldon lo Ros."

Guiraudó's exemplary stance, Riquier appropriated a form that was uniquely and unmistakably Guiraudó's own. It is difficult to believe that he would have stopped there, however: In order to make the full impact of his imitation felt, Riquier would almost certainly have delivered the words of his *vers* to the tune of Guiraudó's *canso*—a tune that does not survive with Guiraudó's own text. Without a shared tune, the resemblances between the underlying poetic structures would in all likelihood have gone unnoticed, making melodic borrowing *de rigueur* if Riquier intended for his trope to have meaning among an audience of connoisseurs.

As discussed in earlier chapters, borrowed tunes were only rarely designated as such by the scribes. Our suspicions of contrafacture in the case of *Qui.m disses* and *A la mia fe* should not therefore be dismissed based solely upon the fact that a melodic relationship between the two songs is not indicated by their manuscript transmission. There is, however, one factor that stands in contradiction to the hypothesis of melodic borrowing, namely, Riquier's categorization of *Qui.m disses* as a *vers*, a genre that carried specific associations with original melodic composition. We must therefore attempt to reconcile the generic designation of *Qui.m disses* with its compelling indications of structural-melodic imitation.

### **The evidence arguing against imitation: genre**

By designating *Qui.m disses* a *vers*, Guiraut Riquier placed his piece in a generic category that by definition assumed a moralizing *razo* as well as a new tune. As discussed in Chapter 2, this specific connotation of the *vers* was not in force in the twelfth century, but rather emerged during the early to mid-thirteenth century as



troubadours sought a new vehicle for moralistic and religious expression in the post-Albigensian climate of Occitania.<sup>72</sup> In his own book of songs, Riquier depicts in unambiguous terms the thirteenth-century interest in placing the *vers* on equal footing with the *canso*. As we observed above, there is a *nearly* equal number of *cansos* (twenty-seven) and *vers* (twenty-six) in Riquier's compilation in MS C, but the troubadour portrays them as *exactly* equal by numbering both sets one through twenty-seven, merely skipping over the number twelve in the sequence of *vers*.

In their definitions of the *vers*, the authors of the *Doctrina* and the *Leys* reflect exclusively the thirteenth-century manifestation of the *vers*. Both authors likewise indicate the heightened value placed on the *vers* in the second half of the thirteenth century by discussing it alongside the *canso*, the dominant genre of troubadour composition. (We recall here that Jofre places the *vers* second after the *canso*, and Guilhem elevates the *vers* to the primary position.) The authors' respective definitions of the *vers* shall be excerpted here, beginning with Jofre's formulation in the *Doctrina*:

Si vols far vers, deus parlar de veritatz, de exemples e de proverbis o de lauzor, no pas en semblant d'amor; e que en axi com començarás, ho proseguesques e.u fins, ab so novell tota vegada. E aquesta es la diferencia que es entre canço e vers, que la una rayso no es semblant de l'altra. E cert aytantes cobles se cove de far al vers com a la canço, e aytantes tornades.<sup>73</sup>

If you want to compose a *vers*, you must speak of truth, of examples and proverbs, or praise, but not in the guise of love; and with whichever of these [themes] you begin, so you proceed to the end, always with a new tune. And this is the difference that exists between the *canso* and the *vers*, that the *razo* of one does not resemble the other. And it is certainly fitting to compose as many strophes in the *vers* as in the *canso*, and as many *tornadas*.

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<sup>72</sup> I refer the reader to Appendix C for a brief overview of the usage of the term *vers* until ca. 1220.

<sup>73</sup> Marshall, ed., *The 'Razos,'* 95.

In his closing explanation of generic terminology, Jofre places further emphasis on the didactic domain of the *vers*, explaining that “a *vers* is so called because it speaks of proverbs and natural subjects, of examples, truth, [and] of the present, past, and future” (Vers es appellatz per ço vers cor parla de proverbis e de razons naturals, de exemplis, de veritatz, de presentz temps, de passat, e de esdevenidor”).<sup>74</sup>

The definition provided by Guilhem Molinier in the *Leys* is largely consistent with that offered by Jofre, with the most significant difference being Guilhem’s allowance for the *vers* to deal with love, a theme that Jofre specifically forbids. Guilhem’s presentation also distinguishes itself from that of Jofre in the former theorist’s attempt to account for the etymology of the term. The definition in the *Leys* reads:

Vers es us dictatz en romans que compren de .v. coblas a .x. amb una oz am doas tornadas et ayssi meteysh li altre dictat podon haver una o doas tornadas. E deu tractar de sen, e per so es digz vers, que vol dir verays, quar veraya cauza es parlar de sen, enpero segon lati vers se pot deshendre de *verto*, *vertis*, que vol dir girar o virar et en ayssi que vers sia digz de virar e segon ayssó vers pot tractar no solamen de sen, ans o fay ysshamen d’amors, de lauzors o de reprehensio per donar castier. Et en ayssi vers de virar quar ares se vira que tracta d’amors, o de lauzors, o de reprehensio.

E d’aquesta manera trobam mans trobadors ques han uzat.

Vers deu haver lonc so, e pausat, e noel, amb belas e melodiozas montadas, e deshendudas, et amb belas passadas, e plazens pausas.<sup>75</sup>

A *vers* is a piece in the vernacular that comprises five to ten strophes with one or two *tornadas*, and just like other pieces can have one or two *tornadas*. And it must deal with morality, and because of this, it is called *vers*, which means true. For speaking of morality is a truthful affair. However, according to Latin, *vers* can also descend from *verto*, *vertis*, which means *to turn* or *to return*, and in this way the *vers* is said to be from *to turn*; accordingly, the *vers* can deal not only with morality, but also with love, or praise, or blame, in order to chastise. And in this way *vers* [comes] from *virar*, because it turns from one side when it treats of love or praise or blame.

And we find several troubadours who have used it in this way.

A *vers* must have a slow, drawn-out tune, and new, with beautiful and melodious ascents and descents, with beautiful passages, and with pleasing rests.

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<sup>74</sup> Marshall, ed., *The ‘Razos,’* 97.

<sup>75</sup> Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:338.

We immediately perceive that Guilhem's attempted etymological elucidation of the term *vers* as having descended from words meaning *truth* is false; as Jacques Chailley has observed, the word *vers* is quite plausibly the Occitan equivalent of the Latin *versus*.<sup>76</sup> Nevertheless, the theorist's explanation provides fascinating insight into the contemporary perception of the *vers*. As corroborated by Jofre's definition, the *vers* did indeed carry associations with truthfulness in the thirteenth century. The troubadours themselves occasionally played upon the verbal resemblance of *vers* and *ver* (*adj.* true; *n.* truth), using their parallelism to establish a conceptual link between the two.<sup>77</sup> To cite just one example, Peire Cardenal refers to his song *Al nom del senhor dreiturier* (PC 335.3) as a *vers vertadier*, or veracious *vers*.<sup>78</sup> A few lines later, he emphasizes the necessity of the *vers* to deal with truth, asserting that "it is not fitting that any song be called a *vers* if it is not *veracious* in all its aspects."<sup>79</sup>

Guilhem's secondary explanation of the *vers* as being so named from the Latin *vertere* (to turn) is, in fact, correct, although his rationale for that etymology is corrupt. Richard L. Crocker, citing Augustine's *De musica* as his authority, has explained that

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<sup>76</sup> See Jacques Chailley, "Les Premiers Troubadours et les *versus* de l'école d'Aquitaine," *Romania* 76 (1955): 222-24.

<sup>77</sup> Besides the final -s, *vers* and *ver* have slightly different pronunciations, stemming from their respective open and closed vowels. See Paden, *An Introduction to Old Occitan*, 493.

<sup>78</sup> The reference appears in line 4 of Peire's song; for the complete text and its translation into French, see Lavaud, ed., *Les Poésies complètes du troubadour Peire Cardenal*, 254-58. *Al nom del senhor* does not contain any historical references to allow precise dating, but Lavaud has tentatively dated it to pre-1240 based upon stylistic grounds (255). John H. Marshall has observed that *Al nom del senhor* is the only piece that Peire designated a *vers* ("Imitation of Metrical Form in Peire Cardenal," 28). This piece shares its strophic structure with fourteen other songs, but manifests original rhyme sounds; Marshall therefore surmises that the piece was original, and "no doubt it is precisely because it was set to a new tune that Cardenal called this piece *vers* not *sirventes*."

<sup>79</sup> "Nuills cantars non tanh si'apelaiz *vers* si non es *vertadiers* ves totz latz." Lavaud, ed., *Les Poésies complètes*, 254 (ll. 7-8); emphases by Lavaud.

*versus* is so called for its basic metric unit, upon whose completion the poet “‘turns back’ (*revertere*) to begin the next line.”<sup>80</sup> In Guilhem’s presentation, however, the “turning” in a *vers* relates to the mutability of its subject matter, not to the movement from verse to verse. Like his first attempted etymology, however, Guilhem’s observations on the turning of the *vers* from a moralizing theme towards love, praise or blame presents an avenue worthy of further exploration. Through this very “turning,” the boundaries of the *vers* could become blurred. By adopting a *razo* of praise or love, for example, a *vers* could potentially become indistinguishable from a *canso*, which, Guilhem explains, “must treat principally of love or of praise” (“*deu tractar principalmen d’amors o de lauzors*”).<sup>81</sup> This has certainly proven to be the case for Riquier’s first *vers*, *Ab lo temps agradiu gai* (PC 248.1), in which the troubadour sings of his love for his lady; despite Riquier’s specification of genre, scholars have traditionally associated this piece with the *canso*.<sup>82</sup>

In a similar fashion, the “turning” of a *vers* towards blame could lead to an affinity with the *sirventes*. A comparison of Guilhem’s definition of the *vers* with that of the *sirventes* clearly demonstrates the potential for crossover between the two genres, as he presents the thematic domains of both genres in nearly identical terms. The most

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<sup>80</sup> *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>d</sup> ed., s.v. “Versus.” We note that Crocker offers additional meanings of the term *versus*, none of which, however, have to do with subject matter.

<sup>81</sup> Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:340.

<sup>82</sup> Anglade, for example, observes that “despite the difference in title, this *vers* greatly resembles his *cansos*, especially the two preceding ones [*No.m sai d’amor* (PC 248.56) and *A mon dan suy esforcus* (PC 248.8)]” (“...malgré la différence du titre, ce *vers* ressemble beaucoup aux chansons, surtout aux deux dernières;” *Le Troubadour Guiraut Riquier*, 43). See also Pillet and Carstens, eds., *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, 226; and Frank, *Répertoire métrique*, 1:168. The text of Riquier’s *Ab lo temps* has been edited by Longobardi, “I ‘Vers’ del trovatore Guiraut Riquier,” 27-28.

obvious difference between the two formulations is Guilhem’s degree of insistence (*poder* versus *dever*). Thus, whereas the *vers* “may treat of [...] blame, in order to provide chastisement,” the *sirventes* “must treat of blame, or of unspecified derision, in order to chastise” (“*deu tractar de reprehensio, o de maldig general, per castiar*”).<sup>83</sup> The second nuance between the two definitions, namely the allowance for *maldir* in the *sirventes*, will be taken up further below.

The tendency of the *vers* towards blame that Guilhem observes is, in fact, corroborated by thirteenth-century practices. As we have already seen, blame is undeniably implicit in *Qui.m dissés*. Moreover, certain of Riquier’s contemporaries commented explicitly on the suitability of the *vers* for reprimanding unseemly behavior. Peire Cardenal, in the same “veracious *vers*” cited above (*Al nom del senhor*), places a premium on the role of chastisement in the *vers*. He says:

Bels dictatz fis ab castic si cove	A good, refined discourse with reprimand is so suited
E vers, qui.l fa, ab tant dobla son be:	to a <i>vers</i> that he who so composes it doubles its
	worth:
Car per bels motz er sos chantars lauzatz	Because his song will be praised for its good words,
E.l casticx es fondemenz de peccatz. <sup>84</sup>	And reprimand is the defeat of sin.

Similarly, Cerveri de Girona associates the *vers* with reprimand, saying, “the subject matter of the *vers* is accusation and blame” (“en vers razo es repenre e blasmar”).<sup>85</sup>

Because reprimand and chastisement were initially established as the domain of the *sirventes*, the turning of the *vers* towards blame could very well become a potential

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<sup>83</sup> Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 1:338 and 340, respectively. Emphases mine. For an interesting discussion of the role of *castiar* in troubadour poetry, see Catherine Léglu, *Between Sequence and Sirventes: Aspects of Parody in the Troubadour Lyric* (Oxford: Legenda, 2000), 118-20.

<sup>84</sup> Lavaud, ed., *Poésies complètes du troubadour Peire Cardenal*, 254 (ll. 13-16).

<sup>85</sup> Verse 12 of *Cuenda chonso, plazen ses vilanatge* (PC 434.5), cited in Chambers, *An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification*, 194.

source of generic confusion. Indeed, a passage in the Anonymous Ripoll (a treatise that we briefly discussed in Chapter 2) demonstrates that the distinction between *vers* and *sirventes* was not always clear, even for those contemporary theorists whose task it was to sort out the repertoire. The author of the short Ripoll tract inaccurately categorizes *all* of Peire Cardenal's songs—the vast majority of which are demonstrably imitative *sirventes*—as *vers*, asserting:

Ves [*sic*] es semblant en nombre de cobles a la canço e a la tornada, mas es de materia tota moral, de ço qui.s pertayn a nodriment, axi con son comunament tots los cantas d'En P. Cardenal, qui son tots morals.<sup>86</sup>

The *vers* is similar to a *canço* in terms of the number of its *coblas* and in its *tornada*, but in terms of its subject matter it is completely moral and concerned with that which pertains to enrichment, just as are typically all of sir Peire Cardenal's songs, which are all moral.

The theorist's inability to differentiate between Peire's *sirventes* and the moralizing *vers* aptly attests to the lack of clarity between the two genres. Perhaps not surprisingly, the blurred distinction made by the Ripoll author has likewise presented a problem for modern scholars, who have been prone to equate the thirteenth-century *vers* with the *sirventes*. Chambers, for example, reflecting upon Cerveri's above-cited statement on the scolding theme of the *vers*, concludes that "these lines make *vers* practically synonymous with a moralizing *sirventes*."<sup>87</sup> Writing earlier than Chambers, Ulrich Mölk arrived at essentially the same conclusion, presenting his findings, however, in far more categorical terms. After a consideration of subject matter and poetic structure in Riquier's compilation of *vers*, Mölk altogether denies the validity of the *vers* as a distinct generic

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<sup>86</sup> Marshall, ed., *The 'Razos,'* 102.

<sup>87</sup> Chambers, *An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification*, 194.

category, asserting: “Riquier’s division between *vers* and *canso* is not justified, since his *vers* can also not be unconditionally equated with the *sirventes*. The *vers* is not a lyrical genre.”<sup>88</sup>

That the assessments of Chambers and Mōlk represent the major consensus among troubadour scholars is most tellingly demonstrated by the two catalogues of the repertoire compiled by Pillet/Carstens and Frank, from which the thirteenth-century *vers* has been virtually effaced. Instead, all pieces so designated by their composers are classified among a number of various categories, including *sirventes*, religious song, Crusade song, and the modern hybrid *sirventes-canso*. To their credit, Pillet and Carstens do frequently note the authorial designation of *vers* in parentheses, but these indices cannot be taken as exhaustive.<sup>89</sup> The decision of these scholars to subsume the *vers* under other categories can be illustrated through their classification of Riquier’s corpus of *vers*. Figure 7.3 lists by PC number the twenty-six pieces designated by Riquier as *vers*. The middle column of the table lists the designations as they appear in the *Bibliographie der Troubadours* of Pillet and Carstens.<sup>90</sup> The final column, which represents the generic categorizations as they are found in the *Répertoire métrique*, indicates only those

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<sup>88</sup> “Es ergibt sich, daß die Riquiersche Trennung von *vers* und *canso* nicht gerechtfertigt ist, da sein *Vers* auch nicht unbedingt dem *Sirventes* gleichzusetzen ist. Der *Vers* ist keine lyrische Gattung.” Mōlk, *Guiraut Riquier*, 132. Pierre Bec concurs with Mōlk’s conclusion, stating in nearly identical terms that, “Le *vers* lui-même n’est pas un genre lyrique.” He views the high placement of the *vers* within the poetic treatises as a response to “a certain socio-cultural pressure that henceforth accorded greater importance to the moralizing weightiness of the *vers* than to the suspect flimsiness of the *canso*” (“une certaine pression socio-culturelle qui accordait désormais plus de privilège à la pesanteur moralisante du *vers* qu’à la légèreté suspecte de la *canso*”). See his article, “Le Problème des genres chez les premiers troubadours,” 46-47.

<sup>89</sup> We may recall here the example of Guiraut Riquier’s *Ples de tristor, marritz e doloiros* (PC 248.63), which bears a dual designation in MS R as both *planh* and *vers*, but is indicated only as a *planh* by Pillet and Carstens (*Bibliographie*, 230).

<sup>90</sup> Data compiled from Pillet and Carstens, *Bibliographie*, 226-32.

PC No.	Pillet-Carstens	Frank
248.1	<i>canso</i>	
248.12	<i>sirventes</i>	
248.17	<i>sirventes</i>	
248.19	<i>sirventes-canso</i>	
248.30	<i>sirventes</i> /religious song	<i>sirventes</i>
248.33	<i>sirventes</i>	
248.44	Marian song	religious song
248.45	<i>sirventes</i> /religious song	religious song
248.46	prayer	religious song
248.48	Crusade song	
248.52	<i>sirventes</i>	
248.55	religious song	
248.59	religious song	
248.61	religious song	
248.62	<i>sirventes</i>	
248.63	<i>planh</i>	
248.67	<i>sirventes</i>	
248.68	<i>sirventes</i>	
248.69	religious song	
248.72	<i>sirventes</i>	
248.79	<i>sirventes</i>	
248.81	<i>sirventes</i>	
248.84	<i>sirventes</i>	
248.86	religious song	
248.87	<i>sirventes</i>	
248.89	<i>sirventes-canso</i>	

**Figure 7.3** The categorization of Guiraut Riquier's *vers* in modern scholarship



instances in which Frank deviates from the designation originally assigned by Pillet and Carstens; we should note that all of Frank's modifications are strictly nominal, and not substantive.<sup>91</sup> As can be summarized from the table, the majority of Riquier's *vers* (twenty-one) has been catalogued either as *sirventes* or as some brand of religious song; the remaining five *vers* have been classed in sundry categories (*canso*, *sirventes-canso*, Crusade song, and *planh*, the latter of which is indicated by the MS rubric).

There is no doubt that scholars are justified in probing Riquier's complex use of the term *vers*; after all, Riquier treats a broad array of themes—love (PC 248.1), contemporary mores (e.g., 248.45, 72, 84), political affairs (e.g., 248.68, 79), religious faith (e.g., 248.44, 46, 59, 61), and grief (248.63)—under the rubric of *vers*. As Michel-André Bossy has observed, “Guiraut's concept of *vers* is roomy and perhaps hazy on the periphery.”<sup>92</sup> At the same time, to nullify categorically a generic type that Riquier insisted upon maintaining in his corpus seems questionable at best. First, branding Riquier's *vers* as *sirventes* fails to account for the high degree of structural inventiveness displayed by these works, twenty of which are unambiguously unique and four others of which are in common enough forms so as to be presumed original.<sup>93</sup> Moreover, to assert, as does Bossy, that Riquier's *vers* are works that “would be designated by earlier

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<sup>91</sup> Data compiled from Frank, *Répertoire métrique*, 2:137-39.

<sup>92</sup> Bossy, “Cyclical Composition,” 281.

<sup>93</sup> The remaining two *vers* that do display compelling formal similarities with other pieces are *Qui m' disses*, presently under discussion, and *Ops m'agra que mos volers* (PC 248.61), which shares its structure as well as the technique of *coblas capfinidas* (an enchainement of strophes achieved by opening each strophe with a word appearing in the final verse or verses of the preceding strophe) with a *canso* by Bonifacio Calvo, *Temps e luecs, a mos sabers* (PC 101.15). This pairing will be the subject of a future study. For a summary table of Riquier's strophic structures compiled from Frank's *Répertoire métrique*, see Monica Longobardi, “Note e rassegne,” 254-57.

troubadours as *sirventes*”<sup>94</sup> not only shows disregard for Riquier’s personal conception of the genre, but also negates the philosophical importance that he attributed to the *vers*.

This last point merits elaboration.

As discussed above, Riquier displays a clear appreciation of the *vers* through the organization of his book, but his rubrics do not make any explicit statements on his personal conceptualization of this genre. He does, however, provide some insight into the question in his above-mentioned letter to King Alfonso regarding the title of *joglar*, *Pus Dieu m’a dat saber* of 1274; also pertinent to the matter is the reply to this letter, *Si tot s’es grans afans*, written in the following year from the king’s perspective, but presumably composed by Riquier himself with Alfonso’s approval.<sup>95</sup> The objective of Riquier’s request was to beseech the king to appoint the classes of court performers with titles that would reflect their varying degrees of skill and social importance. The king responded favorably, establishing four ranks of court entertainers, namely *bufon*, *joglar*, *trobador*, and *doctor de trobar*. The former two categories were to apply strictly to performers, with the difference in rank being one of quality: *bufon* would be used to designate ignoble, disreputable performers, whereas *joglar* would pertain to those performers who behaved in an agreeable and courtly manner.<sup>96</sup> The titles of troubadour and *doctor de trobar* would be reserved for composers, with the distinction in rank being

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<sup>94</sup> Bossy, “Cyclical Composition,” 281.

<sup>95</sup> As Linskill has noted, King Alfonso was under far too great political pressures at this era—e.g., his own aspirations to the title of emperor and the invading Benerimine forces—to be at liberty to compose a response to Riquier’s request; it does seem likely, however, that the king could have furnished Riquier with the key themes of his discourse (*Les Épîtres*, 191). For the texts of Riquier’s supplication and the king’s response, see Linskill, ed., *Les Épîtres*, 167-89 and 221-31, respectively.

<sup>96</sup> Linskill, ed., *Les Épîtres*, 229-30 (ll. 326-55).

determined according to their artistic aspirations. Both Riquier and the king agreed that these aspirations could be measured, at least in part, by the nature and quality of the composer's repertoire. Therein lies an essential key to understanding Riquier's conception of genre in general and of the *vers* in particular.

The discussion of the troubadour's repertoire is accorded an important place in both Riquier's supplication and in the king's declaration. Just as in Riquier's book of songs, the *vers* and *canso* are consistently presented on equal footing with each other in these documents. In fact, reference to one never appears without reference to the other, such that the phrasing *vers e cansos* recurs as a fixed expression throughout both request and response.<sup>97</sup> Moreover, this generic pairing is always set apart from—indeed, held above—the other lyric genres.<sup>98</sup> As we shall see, neither Riquier nor the king ever define the *vers* per se, but they do present it without fail in a favorable context, highlighting its importance as a constructive social force.

As we mentioned, Riquier's letter was motivated by the need he perceived for a class ranking among *joglars*, one that would capture the various levels of respect conferred upon them by society. He asserts that one should rightly distinguish between those *joglars* who, lacking in both skill and manners, perform in the streets for alms or drinking money and those who, with intelligence and aptitude, place their talents in the service of the nobility.<sup>99</sup> Without such a distinction in title, the reputation and high social

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<sup>97</sup> For the references in *Pus Dieu m'a dat saber*, see Linskill, ed., *Les Épitres*, 185 (l. 719), and 188 (l. 827); for *Si tot s'es grans afans*, see pp. 227 (l. 229), 228 (ll. 264-65 and 300), and 230 (l. 371).

<sup>98</sup> On one instance in the king's reply, *cansos e vers* are discussed alongside *novas* and *essenhamens*, two non-lyric didactic genres; see Linskill, ed., *Les Épitres*, 228 (ll. 264-67). As we shall discuss below, this grouping is a telling indication of the social worth that Riquier attributed to the *vers*.

<sup>99</sup> Linskill, ed., *Les Épitres*, 181-83 (ll. 554-635).

standing of respectable *joglars* would risk being jeopardized by the actions of mediocre *joglars*.<sup>100</sup> Riquier's ultimate concern pertains to the highest echelon of *joglars*, and he pleads with the king, "Please choose for the best an appropriate name."<sup>101</sup> Riquier makes it clear that he considers himself among these best, who distinguish themselves from less honorable troubadours through their intentions—choosing, for example, instruction over slander—as well as through their compositional types—choosing *cansos* and *vers* over *coblas*, *sirventes*, and *dansas*. He writes:

810	[...] Mant trobador so de diverses trobars a qui non tanh onrars, car lur fag no so sert: que l'.I. tenon apert 815 lurs sabers en dir mal, l'autre fan senes sal coblas, sirventes, dansas, ab [que] cujan honransas penre per lur trobar. 820 E no.us devetz pessar a lunn for, reys onratz, qu'ie.m sia esforsatz per lor de so c'auzetz: solamen entendetz 825 que.us o dic dels sabens, un sabers es e sens, e vers e cansos fan ab razo, e riman fan bels ensenhamens; 830 car d'aquels solamens que an saber onrat e fan d'acturitat lurs trobars fis e bos vos prec, reys autoros, 835 de so que.us ai preguat. <sup>102</sup>	[...] There are many troubadours of diverse compositions to whom honor is not suited because their works do not so merit: for some openly use their knowledge to slander; others compose <i>coblas</i> , <i>sirventes</i> , and <i>dansas</i> , [all] without redemption, therewith thinking to receive honors for their compositions. And you must not think in any way, honorable King, that I am making efforts for them in what you are hearing: Understand only that I am speaking to you about those who are wise, in whom knowledge and judgment are one, and who compose <i>vers</i> and <i>cansos</i> with reason, and who in rhyme offer good instruction. Because it is uniquely on behalf of those who are respected for their knowledge and who compose their true and good compositions with authority that I make to you, powerful King, the request that I have addressed to you.
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<sup>100</sup> Linskill, ed., *Les Épîtres*, 183-84 (ll. 660-73).

<sup>101</sup> "Vulhatz triar al mielhs nom per razo." Linskill, ed., *Les Épîtres*, 187 (ll. 808-9).

<sup>102</sup> Linskill, ed., *Les Épîtres*, 186-87 (ll. 810-35).

Riquier thus draws a clear dividing line between the compositional types, deeming *coblas*, *sirventes* and *dansas* “without redemption,”<sup>103</sup> and conversely, associating *vers* and *cansos* with positive qualities, such as knowledge, judgment, and instruction.

In his reply, the king validates the division suggested by Riquier, likewise recognizing the need for a distinction between those composers who create *dansas*, *coblas*, *sirventes*, *et alia*, and those who create *cansos* and *vers*. Unlike Riquier, however, the king does not portray the former genres in a disparaging light, despite the fact that they are perceived as somehow inferior to *cansos* and *vers*. The king’s declaration regarding those who compose in these lesser genres reads as follows:

250	E sels on es sabers de trobar motz e sos, d’aquels mostra razos com los deu hom nomnar: car qui sap dansas far e coblas e baladas d’azaut maistreïadas, albas e sirventes, gent e be razos es	And [as for] those who have the knowledge to compose words and melodies, good sense shows how one should designate them: for he who knows how to compose <i>dansas</i> and <i>coblas</i> and <i>baladas</i> , agreeably perfected, and <i>albas</i> and <i>sirventes</i> , it is fitting and reasonable that he be called <i>trobador</i> .
255	c’om l’apel trobador. <sup>104</sup>	

In a subsequent passage on the role of the troubadour, Alfonso reiterates this same repertoire, also incorporating the *partimen* into his list. He also addresses more fully the function of the troubadour in court, explaining that composers deserving the title of troubadour are those who:

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<sup>103</sup> Riquier’s omission of the other main imitative genre, the *tenso/partimen*, from his list of lesser genres could be a matter of rhyme and meter. As we shall see below, the king repeats the elements of Riquier’s list, but incorporates the *partimen*.

<sup>104</sup> Linskill, ed., *Les Épîtres*, 227 (ll. 246-55).

	sabon de faire coblas e de far dansas doblas e sirventes valens,	know how to compose <i>coblas</i> , and to compose <i>dansas doblas</i> , and worthy <i>sirventes</i> ,
360	albas e partimens, e trobar motz e sos, que d'als lunhas sazoz en cortz no s'entremeton	<i>albas</i> and <i>partimens</i> , and to invent words and tunes, [and] who never occupy themselves in court
365	mas c'als valens trameton o dizon lur saber. <sup>105</sup>	with anything other than conveying or reciting their knowledge to the nobles.

This pair of passages written from the king's perspective depicts the role of the troubadour in a far more favorable light than had Riquier in his supplication, perhaps because Alfonso, as a troubadour himself—and one who showed a propensity for dance forms in his *Cantigas*—had a personal investment in elevating the status of the troubadour.<sup>106</sup> Despite the differences between the king's views on the troubadour's standing and the views expressed by Riquier, the king's reply does reinforce Riquier's perception of a generic hierarchy.

The king concludes his declaration by consenting to Riquier's request for royal recognition of "the best" ("li melhor," l. 262), thus instituting a rank above troubadour, namely *doctor de trobar*. The king dedicates a lengthy portion of his discourse to a description of this composer, who has an "aptitude for sovereign invention" ("maistria del sobiran trobar," ll. 284-85), such that the declaration virtually evolves into an exaltation of the master troubadour. The composer who is worthy of the title *doctor de trobar* is depicted in the following terms:

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<sup>105</sup> Linskill, ed., *Les Épîtres*, 230 (ll. 357-65).

<sup>106</sup> My thanks to Professor Margaret Switten for suggesting this possible explanation of the king's favorable depiction of the troubadour.

265	Car qui sap cansos far e vers d'auctoritat e novas de bon grat, de bels essenhamens mostran temporalmens o espiritual	270	per c'om pot ben de mals, sol se vol, elegir, honor deu possezir	275	el mon, car Dieus la.i fa, si aital captenh a co s'atanh al saber segon lo sieu poder, pus [qu']autre trobador; car la via d'onor, de grat e de dever	280	mostra per bel saber, gen l'escur declaran, e faria son dan tart, qui tot o crezia. [...]	296	E dizem que.ls melhors, que sabon essenhar com se deu capdelar cortz e faitz cabalos	300	en vers et en cansos et en autres dictatz c'avem desus nomnatz, deu hom per dreg dever nomnar, e per saber,	305	don doctor de trobar. <sup>107</sup>	For he who knows how to compose <i>cansos</i> and <i>vers</i> with authority and <i>novas</i> of good intent, with fine instruction, showing temporally or spiritually how one can choose good over bad, as long as one so wishes... he, more than any other troubadour, should have honor in this world—as God so intends for him— if he aspires according to the best of his ability to that which is suited to his knowledge,  for he shows the path of honor, will, and duty through his superb knowledge, graciously clarifying the obscure, and he who would obey him completely would find it difficult to do wrong. [...] And we declare that the best, who know how to teach superior deeds and how a court should be conducted through their <i>vers</i> and <i>cansos</i> and through the other pieces that we have named above... these should, for their just dues and for their knowledge, be given the title 'doctor in composition.'
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In his summary, the king recapitulates the contributions of the *doctor de trobar*, categorizing his compositions as “profitable and gracious through their fine instruction” (“profichans e plazens per bels ensenhamens,” ll. 373-74). The *doctor de trobar*—who “shows the path of honor, will, and duty” through his *cansos*, *vers*, and *essenhamens*—is thus portrayed in the loftiest of terms.

The supplication on the title of *joglar*, together with its response, offer keen insight into the central role of genre in the formation of the troubadour’s or master troubadour’s social standing. The clear-cut elevation of the *vers* and *canso* over the

<sup>107</sup> Linskill, ed., *Les Épîtres*, 228-29 (ll. 264-305).

remaining lyric genres (e.g., *coblas*, *sirventes*, and *partimen*) provides a logical explanation for Riquier's aspiration to associate himself nearly exclusively with the former types and to distance himself, albeit not altogether, from the latter. Indeed, Riquier's awareness of a generic hierarchy would appear to have exerted an overriding influence on his œuvre, not only in terms of the compositional choices he made throughout his career, but also in terms of the compilation of his book. Thus, it should come as no surprise that the core of Riquier's corpus is devoted to an uninterrupted chronological cycle of *cansos* and *vers*, and that his contributions to other genres such as the *retroencha*, *pastorela*, *alba*, etc. are treated in MS C as an appendage to the main body, whereas they are virtually excluded from MS R. This marginalization of the lesser genres in Riquier's compilation likewise holds true for the treatment of the *partimen* and *tenso*; the twenty extant lyric debates in which Riquier participated—twelve of which he initiated, and typically in borrowed structures—are not preserved within his collection in either MS, but are rather transmitted separately within two sections of MS R. Moreover, the genres that Riquier specifically identified in his supplication as “without redemption”—namely, *coblas*, *dansa*, and *sirventes*—are absent, at least nominally, from his book. Quite notably, on the one occasion when Riquier did adopt a diminutive form, he did not label the piece *coblas*, but rather dubbed it a *breu doble*. Literally a “doubly brief,” Riquier's *breu doble Amors m'auçi* (PC 248.9) has half as many strophes (three) as the typical *canso*, and the strophes themselves, at five lines, are roughly half the



typical strophic length.<sup>108</sup> By coining his own designation for this diminutive work, Riquier is able, in effect, to reconceptualize the *coblas*, thereby circumventing its negative associations.

By understanding the crucial role of genre in the formation of Riquier's self-image, we perceive that the modern categorization of his *vers* as *sirventes* results in overriding his personal conception of his role at the Castilian court. For, while the *vers* and *sirventes* may have shown themselves to be theoretically similar, in terms of their social connotations they proved themselves to be quite different. Whereas the former was associated with edification through legitimate criticism, the latter carried associations of unfounded maligning. This negative connotation of the *sirventes* is implicit in Riquier's above-cited depiction of the troubadour, whom he portrays as both a *maldizedor* and as a composer of *sirventes senes sal*. The theorists also document the association of the *sirventes* with slander; as mentioned above, one important nuance between Guilhem Molinier's definitions of the *vers* and *sirventes* was his allowance for *maldir* in the latter. We should also recall from Chapter 2 that Guilhem's warning against the vice of *maldigz* was specifically aimed at the composer of the *sirventes*.<sup>109</sup> One further indication of the association of the *sirventes* with unjust criticism can be found in Raimon de Cornet's *Doctrinal de trobar* of 1324. While recognizing the similarity between the *sirventes* and the *vers*, Raimon cites as distinguishing features of the *sirventes* not only melodic borrowing but also slander. He writes:

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<sup>108</sup> Riquier's *breu doble* is not transmitted with a melody, and perhaps was not intended to be sung. Its strophic structure is unique. For the text of *Amors m'auci*, see Pfaff, ed., *Guiraut Riquier*, 97.

<sup>109</sup> Gatién-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors*, 3:124.

Cum vers es sirventes  
mas en ço veyl es mes  
e pot de mals parlar  
que vers non ho dey far.<sup>111</sup>

The *sirventes* is like the *vers*  
except that it is set to an old tune  
and it can malign,<sup>110</sup>  
which a *vers* must not do.

In view of Riquier's open disdain for troubadours who commit slander, it should come as no surprise that he would find it necessary to dissociate himself from a genre that carried that very connotation.

Certainly in the case of *Qui.m dissés*, accepting the modern designation of *sirventes* would allow us to account for its formal connection to Guiraud lo Ros's *A la mia fe, Amors*, yet how can we rightfully overlook Riquier's personal conception of the piece? Indeed, his publicized disparagement of the *sirventes* along with his exaltation of the *vers* give us a compelling reason to respect the original appointment of *Qui.m dissés* to the latter category. That said, we might also observe that the crossovers between the *vers* and the *sirventes* do allow the potential for Riquier to have explored the boundaries separating them, to wit, combining the higher purpose of offering political counsel with the rhetorical effect of structural-melodic imitation. While such a fusion would, of course, stand in exception to the theorists' insistence on melodic originality, it is not explicitly contradicted by the representation of the *vers* in either Riquier's supplication or the king's reply. In fact, whereas Riquier repeatedly emphasizes the constructive social role of the *vers*, he remains altogether silent on the matter of melodic composition. For his part, the king refers twice to melody, but never in relation to the *vers*; instead, both

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<sup>110</sup> We might translate this line more literally as "and it can speak of bad things," but in support of the construal of *de mals parlar* as "to malign," we observe that a *malparlier* was an adjective used to designate one who maligns. Emil Levy, *Petit Dictionnaire provençal-français*, 3<sup>d</sup> ed. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1961), 234.

<sup>111</sup> Casas Homs, ed., *Joan de Castellnou*, 197. We note, however, Joan de Castellnou's objection: "Yes it can" ("Si pot").

instances appear in conjunction with the troubadour and his repertoire of lesser genres (see above, ll. 247 and 361). Thus, neither Riquier nor the king sets forth an equivalent to the theorists' stipulation of melodic originality in the *vers*.

Between Riquier's absolute silence on the melody befitting a *vers* and his enthusiastic discourse on the importance of the *vers* to teach noble conduct, the notion that he may have had recourse to as powerful a rhetorical gesture as structural-melodic imitation in *Qui.m dissés* becomes quite credible. Riquier's introduction of such a technique into his *vers* would have rendered the piece truly exceptional, and what better way to call attention to his striking stance against Alfonso than through employing an exceptional approach to composition? Indeed, Riquier himself would appear to have signaled the relationship between his disappointment with his patron and his alleged decision to forego original melodic composition when he declares in the opening strophe as cited above (ll. 8-9):

[...] ai al cor tal dolor  
qu'ab pauc chant non desampar.

I have such grief in my heart  
that I almost abandon song.

Because the art of *chantar* is conceived as the invention of both words and melody (*motz e so*), it is tempting to read Riquier's statement of *almost* giving up song as indicative of his inclination to borrow his melody from a *canço* bearing the associations he wished to convey, namely Guiraud lo Ros's *A la mia fe, Amors*.

## Concluding remarks

Guiraud lo Ros is remembered in his *vida* for his ability to compose (*trobar*), and he is likewise praised for being a good singer (*ben chantans*).<sup>112</sup> Unfortunately, none of Guiraud's six extant *cansos* has been preserved with its melody, leaving us with no confirmation of his reputed musical talent. Attributing the melody that has been transmitted with Riquier's *Qui.m disses* to Guiraud would appear to be a conceivable means of rediscovering his voice. The melody in question has been reproduced as Figure 7.4.

In many of its respects, the melody preserved with *Qui.m disses* is consistent with Riquier's compositional manner. In particular, the many four- to six-note melismas that decorate this tune are typical of Riquier's melodic style; in fact, Chantal Phan has deemed melismas an "essential" component of Riquier's melodies.<sup>113</sup> Moreover, the *frons-cauda* phrase structure (A B A B C D E F G) is wholly characteristic of Riquier's preferred formal type.<sup>114</sup> Neither of these two features, however, can be considered as peculiar to Riquier. Melismas, for example, could have equally been a feature of Guiraud's style—thus making his melody particularly appealing to Riquier's musical tastes—or perhaps more likely, could have been introduced by Riquier as he appropriated the melody into his own repertoire. Furthermore, the *frons-cauda* structure was not only the preferred form within Riquier's œuvre, but also within the troubadour repertoire as a

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<sup>112</sup> Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours*, 345.

<sup>113</sup> Chantal Phan, "Le Style poético-musical de Guiraut Riquier," *Romania* 108 (1987): 78.

<sup>114</sup> Aubrey has determined that seventy-nine percent of Riquier's melodies display a *frons-cauda* structure. *The Music*, 171-72.

R  
107a

1. Qui.m dis - ses, non a dos ans,

2. que.l laus me fos des - gra - zitz

3. del rey n'Am - fos, de pretz guitz,

4. mot me fo - ra greus a - fans;

5. qu'er es tant vil ten - gutz sai

6. e blas - matz que sol par - lar

7. non aus de luy ad ho - nor,

8. don ai al cor tal do - lor

9. c'ap pauc chant non dez - am - par.

**Figure 7.4** The melody preserved with Guiraut Riquier's *Qui.m disses non a dos ans* (PC 248.68)<sup>c</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Edited from R 107 by Hendrik van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies*, 204.

whole; according to Aubrey's figures, melodies utilizing this form occupy approximately thirty-eight percent of the repertoire.<sup>115</sup> Accordingly, the melody in question cannot confirm our suspicions of Guiraud's authorship, but neither can it dissuade them.

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<sup>115</sup> Aubrey, *The Music*, 146.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

As mentioned at the outset of this study, there exists a marked discrepancy between the acceptance of—even dependence upon—structural-melodic imitation in the art of the troubadours and the strikingly small number of examples of this practice that modern scholarship has been able to document through melodic corroboration. With the aim of expanding our view of this compositional technique, I have pursued the possibility of establishing a new corpus of borrowed melodies from a handful of melodic *unica* preserved with pieces representing typically imitative genres. The resultant study has raised the possibility of re-ascribing melodies to troubadours who are otherwise known by only one other tune or by none at all; in one case, the reattribution involves the potential recovery of a second melody by a woman troubadour.

When I undertook this endeavor, I set out with the optimistic and perhaps naïve hope of *proving* the misattribution of these presumably borrowed melodies. It soon became apparent, however, that such an aim was not appropriate to the nature of the material—i.e., the written record that ties us to the troubadour tradition is too deficient to allow for definitive conclusions. I have nevertheless found that even absent the

possibility of providing clear-cut results concerning authorship, the very process of weighing the evidence *pro* and *contra* has yielded clear insights into the aesthetic processes involved in the technique of contrafacture.

Scholars of troubadour lyric have been quick to point out that an imitative piece need not display thematic affinities with its model.<sup>1</sup> While this observation is not false, our examinations of suspected instances of contrafacture have nearly consistently suggested the opposite tendency, namely, that thematic interplay between pieces was in fact a valued component of contrafacture. In the case studies examined, imitators have repeatedly demonstrated their reliance on a given model not only by adopting its poetic structure, but also by drawing upon its main themes, whether to achieve parody or emulation, irony or amplification. For the allusion to have meaning would have depended upon audience recognition. The imitators frequently reveal their interest in communicating their model to their listeners by giving a verbal nod to their source, whether through an explicit reference (e.g., “el so de n’Alamanda”), or through more subtle reminiscences (e.g., shared rhyme words or expressions). One would presume that in these cases the borrowing of the source tune likewise played a vital role in evoking the audience’s recognition of the model, thereby securing the thematic allusions.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the following statements: “Normally, in cases of imitation, the content of the model song is completely disregarded, and only the external form is copied” (Chambers, *An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification*, 79); “No link in theme or content between the two songs was called for” (Paden et al., eds., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 45); “The existence [...] of a large number of *contrafacta* within the [troubadour and trouvère] repertoire shows some people having a strong interest in the melodies as such, irrespective of their texts” (John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986], 41); and more recently, this definition of “contrafactum” set forth by Meneghetti: “The derivation of the melody, rhyme scheme and metre from external sources, leaving out any identity of theme or thought” (“Intertextuality and Dialogism,” 186).



The necessary melodic mutability that results from the use of the same tune to serve more than one text has posed a problem to scholars who seek to uncover the “fit” or “fusion” between the words and music of an original *canço*. On the contrary, however, evidence that imitators regularly relied upon the recognizability of their models in order to deliver the full import of their message actually lends support to the hypothesis that the borrowed melody would ideally be embedded with its original textual-thematic associations. I thus concur with Margaret Switten’s solution to reconciling the apparent discrepancy between a melody’s fusion to one song text versus its necessary versatility when serving another text. She writes:

If [...] specific melodies are seen as responses to specific texts, the practice of *contrafacta* problematises the rhetorical approach. In this context it is useful to think of *contrafaction* as a type of ‘intertextuality.’ [...] For each song [...] the range of possible musico-poetic juxtapositions must contribute to an understanding of rhetorical effectiveness.<sup>2</sup>

The intricate connections that emerge between pieces and composers encourage us to take a fresh look at the role that melodic borrowing played in troubadour composition. Even when structural-melodic imitation is employed independently of thematic referentiality, it should nevertheless be valued as a vital function of orality: The troubadour who relies upon the popularity of a preexistent tune might better ensure the memorability and subsequent transmission of his own piece. In its more sophisticated uses, as nearly consistently exemplified by the case studies under consideration, *contrafacture* proved itself to be an effective rhetorical device, with troubadours seeking either to appropriate or to subvert the thematic associations of a preexistent song in order

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<sup>2</sup> Margaret Switten, “Music and Versification,” 149. Switten defines the rhetorical approach to analysis as the discovery of “the combinations and coordinations of *all* the resources of language and music brought into play as the song unfolds” (148).

to underscore their own ideas. As such, melodic borrowing should be conceived as yet another inventive aspect of the art of *trobar*, literally *finding* the best tune to convey the intended message.

Ultimately, the efficacy of the troubadour's trope relied upon audience recognition. It would appear that by the time the earliest chansonniers were copied, that recognition was either fading or taken for granted, for the scribes only exceptionally indicate kinships between songs. By rediscovering the intertextuality—indeed, intermusicality—of several pieces, we allow silenced dialogues between troubadours to take place anew, thereby providing an enriched context for hearing their songs.

## APPENDIX A

### GLOSSARY OF FREQUENTLY CITED TERMS IN OLD OCCITAN

Alba	A dawn song anticipating the end of a twilight tryst between the poetic persona and his lady.
Canso	A song on the subject of love or praise.
Cobla	A strophe.
Cobla esparsa	A piece consisting of one, isolated strophe; also used in the plural ( <i>coblas esparsas</i> ) to denote a lyric work of two or three strophes.
Compas	From <i>compassar</i> , meaning to measure, <i>compas</i> can signify the structure of the strophe or the measure of its individual verses.
Enueg	A song expressing annoyances, considered to be a sub-genre of the <i>sirventes</i> .
Escondig	A song in which the poetic persona seeks the forgiveness of his lady.
Gayta	A variation of the dawn song in which the poet addresses and beseeches his watchman ( <i>gayta</i> ).
Gelozesca	A song expressing jealousy.
Partimen	A debate song in which the initiator proposes an either/or question to his respondent.
Planh	A lament for the deceased.

Razo	Subject matter; by extension, a prose work describing the circumstances (either historical or fictitious) of a given song's composition.
Sirventes	A satirical piece conveying social or political critique.
So	Melody, tune.
Somni	A song recounting a dream and interpreting its symbolism.
Tenso	A song of debate argued between two or more speakers in alternating strophes of identical structure.
Tornada	Envoi.
Trobar	To invent, to compose.
Vers	In general terms, a piece or composition; in the second half of the thirteenth-century, a piece treating a moralistic subject matter.

## APPENDIX B

### THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PIECES DESIGNATED AS *VERS* BY THEIR AUTHORS AND THEIR CATEGORIZATION IN ISTVÁN FRANK'S *RÉPERTOIRE MÉTRIQUE*

PC no.	TROUBADOUR	NOTES	FRANK
74.13	Bertolome Zorzi (fl. 1266-73)		<i>canso</i>
124.8	Daude de Pradas (1214-82)		<i>canso</i>
172.1	Gausbert Amiel (ca. 1254)	“Breu vers” (“Short vers”)	<i>canso</i>
230.2	Guilhem Raimon de Gironela (fl. mid-13 <sup>th</sup> c.)		<i>canso</i>
248.1	Guiraut Riquier (fl. 1254-92)		<i>canso</i>
248.12			<i>sirventes</i>
248.17			<i>sirventes</i>
248.19			<i>sirventes-canso</i>
248.30			<i>sirventes</i>
248.33			<i>sirventes</i>
248.44			<i>canso religieuse</i>
248.45			<i>canso religieuse</i>
248.46			<i>canso religieuse</i>
248.48			<i>canso de croisade</i>
248.52			<i>sirventes</i>
248.55			<i>canso religieuse</i>
248.59			<i>canso religieuse</i>
248.61			<i>canso religieuse</i>
248.62			<i>sirventes</i>
248.67			<i>sirventes</i>
248.68			<i>sirventes</i>
248.69			<i>canso religieuse</i>
248.72			<i>sirventes</i>
248.79			<i>sirventes</i>
248.81			<i>sirventes</i>
248.84			<i>sirventes</i>
248.86			<i>canso religieuse</i>
248.87			<i>sirventes</i>
248.89			<i>sirventes-canso</i>
289.3	Cavalier Lunel de Monteg (fl. 1326-55)	“Vers de coblas esparsas” (“Vers in isolated rhymes”)	<i>sirventes</i>
335.3	Peire Cardenal (1180-1280)	“Vers vertadier” (“Veracious vers”)	<i>sirventes</i>

PC no.	TROUBADOUR	NOTES	FRANK
434.1	Cerveri de Girona (fl. 1259-85)		<i>sirventes</i>
434.4			<i>sirventes</i>
434.13			<i>sirventes</i>
434.15			<i>sirventes</i>
434.16			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.3	Cerveri de Girona (?) (fl. 1259-85)		<i>sirventes</i>
434a.5			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.6			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.7			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.9			<i>canso religieuse</i>
434a.10			<i>sirventes-canso</i>
434a.11			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.13			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.14			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.15			<i>canso religieuse</i>
434a.16			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.18			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.21			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.22			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.26			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.30			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.31			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.33			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.37			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.41			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.42			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.43			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.44			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.45			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.46			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.47			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.48			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.56		“Mig vers” (“half vers”)	<i>sirventes</i>
434a.57			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.63			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.64			<i>canso</i>
434a.67			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.68		“Vers breu” (“short vers”)	<i>sirventes</i>
434a.72			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.73			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.77			<i>canso religieuse</i>
434a.78			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.79			<i>sirventes</i>
434a.82			<i>sirventes</i>
		75 vers	=
			54 <i>sirventes</i>
			11 <i>cansos religieuses</i>
			6 <i>cansos</i>
			3 <i>sirventes-cansos</i>
			1 <i>canso de croisade</i>

## APPENDIX C

### THE EVOLUTION IN THE MEANING OF THE TERM *VERS*

(CIRCA 1100 – 1220)

As briefly discussed in Chapters 2 and 7, the meaning of the term *vers* underwent a considerable transformation during the course of the troubadour tradition, to such an extent that the mid-thirteenth-century conception of the term is entirely different from that of the twelfth century. We have treated in some detail the later significance of the term in conjunction with the discussion of Guiraut Riquier's *Qui.m disses*. The purpose of this Appendix is to provide a brief overview of the changing application of the term in the earlier years of the tradition, from ca. 1100 to 1220.<sup>1</sup>

For the first generations of troubadours (ca. 1100-1150)—represented by troubadours such as Guilhem IX, Marcabru, Cercamon, and Jaufre Rudel—*vers* was a relatively non-descriptive term used broadly to designate any lyric work, regardless of its

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<sup>1</sup> In writing this Appendix, I have drawn upon detailed studies of the *vers* by: Pierre Bec, “Le Problème des genres chez les premiers troubadours;” Erich Köhler, “‘Vers’ und Kanzone,” in *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, vol. 2, tome 1, fasc. 3 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1987), 45-176; and Rupert T. Pickens, “The Old Occitan Arts of Poetry.” Also informative is Frank M. Chambers’s more general discussion spread throughout his *Old Provençal Versification*.

tone.<sup>2</sup> The generic vocabulary simply did not yet exist for Marcabru to identify his satirical works as *sirventes* or for Jaufre to refer to his love songs as *cansos*.<sup>3</sup> As the author of Marcabru's *vida* explains, "in that time, one did not call [a sung piece] *canso*, rather everything that one sung was [called] *vers*" ("en aqel temps non appellava hom cansson, mas tot qant hom cantava eron vers").<sup>4</sup>

The next generation (ca. 1150-75) represented a time of transition in the troubadour's generic vocabulary. A new terminology was gradually emerging, featuring the more specific designations of *canso* and *sirventes*. The term *vers* existed alongside these newer names, with its precise signification fluctuating depending upon the usages of individual troubadours, as will become apparent in the following comparison of the generic terminology of near-exact contemporaries, Peire d'Alvernhe (fl. 1149-68) and Raimbaut d'Aurenga (fl. 1147-73).

Peire d'Alvernhe, following the customs of his predecessors, makes exclusive use of the term *vers* in order to designate pieces that would later be classified as either *cansos*

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<sup>2</sup> Chambers, *An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification*, 26; cf. the estimation of Rupert T. Pickens, who writes: "According to the actual 'usanza antiga,' the term *vers* had such broad application as to be utterly devoid of any generic specificity whatsoever" ("The Old Occitan Arts of Poetry," 213).

<sup>3</sup> We report, however, one notable exception, namely the use of the word *chansoneta* (dim., a little *canso*) by both Guilhem IX (*Farai chansoneta nova*, PC 183.6) and Marcabru (in *Ans que.l terminis verdei*, PC 293.7). Examples of pieces designated by their authors as *vers* but fitting the criteria of later generic categories include: Guilhem IX's *Be voill que sapchon li pluzor* (PC 183.2) categorized by Pillet and Carstens as a *vanto*, or bragging song (*Bibliographie*, 156); his *Farai un vers de dreg nien* (PC 183.7), which earned the later label of *devinalh*, or riddle song (*Bibliographie*, 157); and his *Pos vezem de novel florir* (PC 183.11), now presented as a *canso* (*Bibliographie*, 158). Within the œuvre of Marcabru, *Contra l'ivern que s'enansa* (PC 293.14) is now labeled a *canso*, and *Lo vers comensa* (PC 293.32) a *sirventes* (*Bibliographie*, 259 and 261, respectively). As for Jaufre Rudel, his *No sap chantar qui.l so no di* (PC 262.3) and *Quan lo rius de la fontana* (PC 262.5) have both earned the designation of *canso* (*Bibliographie*, 241).

<sup>4</sup> Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours*, 12.



or *sirventes*.<sup>5</sup> Similar to Marcabru's *vida*, Peire's *vida* explains that the troubadour did not compose *cansos* simply due to the fact that no such genre existed in his day:

Canson no fetz, qe non era adoncs negus cantars appellatz cansos, mas vers; qu'En Guirautz de Borneill fetz la premeira canson que anc fos feita.<sup>6</sup>

He did not compose any *cansos*, because in that time there were no songs called *cansos*, but rather [they were called] *vers*; for sir Giraut de Borneil composed the first *canso* that was ever made.

It is not entirely clear from the biographer's description whether the distinction between *vers* and *canso* is merely a question of terminology or rather refers to a qualitative difference in genres, but his precise wording ("qe non era adoncs negus cantars *appellatz cansos*") would more likely intimate his understanding of a shift in terminology.

While the biographer's observation that Peire composed only *vers* is entirely valid, historical perspective allows us to see that his related assertion that "sir Giraut de Borneil composed the first *canso* that was ever made" is not necessarily accurate. On the contrary, Peire's contemporaries Bernart de Ventadorn and Raimbaut d'Aurenga refer to more than one of their pieces with the term *canso*, both potentially doing so even before Giraut de Borneil (fl. 1162-99). One of the most prominent early examples of the term *canso* appears in a piece by Raimbaut d'Aurenga, which opens with the troubadour's decision to call his *vers* a *canso*: *A mon vers dirai chansso* (PC 389.7).<sup>7</sup> In Raimbaut's

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<sup>5</sup> See Chambers, *An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification*, 101-102.

<sup>6</sup> Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours*, 263.

<sup>7</sup> Chambers has identified Raimbaut's use of the word *canso* in this piece as "one of the earliest instances" of the term as a generic designation (*An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification*, 107).

usage, the newer designation *canso* does not seem to be interchangeable with *vers*.<sup>8</sup>

Instead, Raimbaut draws a clear association between the simple words, light music, and common rhymes of his piece and his preference for the term *canso* over *vers*, explaining (ll. 1-3):

A mon vers dirai chansso	I will call my <i>vers</i> ,
Ab leus motz ez ab leu so	with its easy words and its easy tune,
Ez en rima vil'e plana. <sup>9</sup>	and its common and plain rhymes, a <i>canso</i> .

As Erich Köhler has demonstrated, Raimbaut maintains this distinction between the lighter *canso* and the more serious *vers* in a significant number of his pieces.<sup>10</sup>

The distinction drawn by Raimbaut d'Aurenga between *canso* and *vers* is closely paralleled in a song composed by a troubadour of the next generation, namely *M'entencion ai tot' en un vers mesa* (PC 366.20) by Peirol (fl. 1188-1222). To be more precise, though, Peirol addresses the distinction between *vers* and *chansoneta*. The first strophe of his song explains the difference that he perceives between the two genres:

M'entencion ai tot'en un vers mesa	My whole endeavor have I concentrated in a <i>vers</i>
Cum valgues mais de chant qu'ieu anc fezes;	so that it may be worth more than any song I ever composed;
E pot esser que fora mieills apresa	and it may be that a <i>chansoneta</i> , would be better learned,
Chansoneta, s'ieu faire la volgues,	if I were minded to write one,
Mas chantars torn'en leujaria;	but singing is now become a frivolous pastime;
E vers, qui ben faire.l sabia,	and indeed, it appears that a <i>vers</i> , if a man knows well how
Es ben semblan que degues mais valer,	to construct it, must be of greater worth,
Per qu'ieu hi vuoill demostrar mon saber.	wherefore I now wish to display my skill in this form. <sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Chambers does not agree, arguing: "The word [*canso*], however, as we can see from the incipit, appears only as a simple alternative for the older term *vers*: 'I shall call my *vers* a *canso*.' [...] *Canso* is only a new name for a well-established genre, previously grouped (along with poems of various other types) under the blanket designation *vers*; it is not a newly-invented form." *An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification*, 107-8.

<sup>9</sup> Cited in Köhler, "'Vers' und Kanzone," 95. Translation mine.

<sup>10</sup> See Köhler, "'Vers' und Kanzone," 95-97.

<sup>11</sup> S. C. Aston, ed. and trans., *Peirol: Troubadour of Auvergne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 113-15, ll. 1-8. Lineation mine.

Similar to Raimbaut d'Aurenga's position, then, Peirol associates the *vers* with compositional seriousness, whereas he views the *chansoneta* as frivolous.<sup>12</sup>

The differentiation between the *canço* and *vers* witnessed in the works of Raimbaut d'Aurenga and Peirol has led Erich Köhler to conclude that for certain troubadours, the *vers* actually distinguishes itself from the *canço* through its association with *trobar clus*, a complicated poetic style that renders a work difficult of interpretation.<sup>13</sup> We must note, however, that this connotation of the term *vers* was by no means exclusively maintained among the troubadours of Raimbaut's and Peirol's generations. For example, the individual applications of the terms *vers* and *canço* by both Bernart de Ventadorn (fl. 1147-70) and Giraut de Borneil have been classified as ambiguous by Rupert T. Pickens, who is unable to discern a semantic distinction between the two designations in their usage.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, Peirol's contemporary Aimeric de Peguilhan (fl. 1190-1221) conceives of the *vers* as being entirely synonymous with the *canço*, as he demonstrates in the first strophe of his song *Mangtas vetz sui enqueritz* (PC 10.34):

Mangtas vetz sui enqueritz  
En cort cossi vers no fatz;  
Per qu'ieu vuelh si'apellatz—  
E sia lur lo chauzitz—  
Chansos o vers aquest chans.  
E respon als demandans  
Qu'om non troba ni sap devezio,  
mas sol lo nom entre vers e chanso.

Many times I have been asked  
at court how it is that I do not compose "vers";  
and therefore I wish that this song be called  
either "canço" or "vers".  
Let the choice of names be theirs.  
And I reply to the questioners  
that one does not find or know of any difference,  
except in name, between "vers" and "chanso".<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Chambers, however, finds that in his other pieces Peirol uses the terms *vers*, *canço* and *chansoneta* "with no obvious semantic distinction" (*An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification*, 187).

<sup>13</sup> See Köhler's detailed discussion in "'Vers' und Kanzone," 78-107.

<sup>14</sup> Pickens, "Old Occitan Arts of Poetry," 215-17.

<sup>15</sup> Edited and translated by William P. Shepard and Frank M. Chambers, *The Poems of Aimeric de Peguilhan* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1950), 175-77.

In his second strophe, Aimeric continues by challenging certain alleged differences between the *vers* and *canço*, which include the association of the *vers* with musical performances in slow tempi and of the *chansoneta* with livelier performances. Aimeric counters this assumption with the following observation:

E cortz sonetz e cochans	And I have heard short and swift tunes
Ai auzitz en verses mans,	in many “vers”,
Ez auzida chansonet’ab lonc so.	and heard “chansonetas” with long, slow tunes. <sup>16</sup>

Aimeric’s commentary on musical performance provides us with unique insight on the potential for contrast in the performances of *vers* and *chansonetas*.

Rupert T. Pickens has recently asserted that the *vers* was gradually supplanted by the *canço*, writing: “At some time in the 1170s the word *canço* was introduced as a term describing the troubadour lyric and [...] the word *vers* eventually disappeared as a meaningful term in opposition to the *canço*.”<sup>17</sup> One finds sufficient evidence to the contrary, however, i.e., that the *vers* was in fact maintained as a distinct generic category into the thirteenth century. For example, in his *Razos de trobar*, Raimon Vidal (fl. 1190-1213) declares the suitability of the Occitan language for composing “*vers* and *cansos* and *sirventes*.”<sup>18</sup> Similarly, in the *vidas* and *razos* written by Uc de Sant-Circ during the early 1220s, Uc frequently includes the *vers* among the various genres constituting the troubadours’ standard repertoire. In his own *vida*, for example, he reports his ability to compose “*cansos* and *vers* and *sirventes* and *tensos* and *coblas*.”<sup>19</sup> Thus, the accounts of

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<sup>16</sup> Shepard and Chambers, eds. and trans., *The Poems of Aimeric de Peguilhan*, 175-77 (ll. 13-15).

<sup>17</sup> Pickens, “The Old Occitan Arts,” 217.

<sup>18</sup> Marshall, ed., *The “Razos”*, 6.

<sup>19</sup> Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des troubadours*, 239.

both Raimon Vidal and Uc de Sant-Circ make it quite clear that the *vers* was maintained as a distinct generic category even after the *canso* (not to mention the *sirventes*) was established as a genre.

This cursory survey of the period ranging from 1100-1220 suffices to demonstrate that the notion of the *vers* was quite variable, making it impossible to attribute to the term a single, all-encompassing meaning. As established in Chapter 7 in conjunction with the discussion of Guiraut Riquier's œuvre, during the second half of the thirteenth century, the *vers* would take on specific associations with a moralizing *razo*. This leaves us with a relatively small window (ca. 1220-50) within which to isolate the emergence of the *vers* in its final manifestation. As previously discussed, however, the catalogues of the repertoire compiled by Pillet and Carstens and by Frank do not respect the *vers* as a discrete category, but rather group all pieces so designated among various categories, e.g., *sirventes*, *canso*, *sirventes-canso*, religious *canso*, or Crusade song.<sup>20</sup> Reconstructing the nature of the *vers* during the interim period of ca. 1220-50 would therefore require a reevaluation of the repertoire itself, a task that must await future studies.

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<sup>20</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 7, Pillet and Carstens do frequently make note of the pieces that are designated by their authors as *vers*, but this commentary is not systematic. Appendix B represents an attempt to reconstitute a tentative list of thirteenth-century *vers* from the available references in Pillet and Carstens.

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