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THE FIRST MUSICAL EDITION OF THE TROUBADOURS: ON APPLYING THE CRITICAL METHOD TO MEDIEVAL MONOPHONY

BY JOHN HAINES

ALTHOUGH A SERIOUS STUDY of troubadour music was wanting until only a little over a century ago, antiquarian research on the poetry had begun with Jean Nostradamus, younger brother of the famous prophet Michel, less than four centuries after the flowering of the troubadours.¹ The scholarly investigation of Old Occitan literature would have to wait until the nineteenth century, however. François-Just-Marie Raynouard's *Choix des poésies originales des troubadours*, published between 1816 and 1821, soon became the inspiration for a more thoroughgoing enterprise in Germany.² By mid-century, the German scholars Friedrich Diez and Karl Bartsch had produced a definitive study and critical edition (the poems of Peire Vidal), and, in 1877, Gustav Gröber published a landmark classification of troubadour manuscripts.³ During this period, the study of troubadour poetry became an important sub-discipline in German universities. Courses began to include Old Occitan from the 1830s on, taught most notably by Friedrich Diez in Bonn, Karl Bartsch in Rostock and Heidelberg, and Gustav Gröber in Strasburg. Gröber alone supervised over eighty doctoral dissertations in medieval Romance languages, among these some of the first in Old Occitan.⁴

It was Gröber who suggested to a musically inclined student of his, Johann-Baptist Beck, that a musical study of the troubadours should be undertaken, since practically nothing had been published on this topic. The music of the troubadours received the first book-length study in Beck's dissertation, defended in the summer of 1907 and published the following year as *Die Melodien der Troubadours*.⁵ *Die Melodien*, which

An earlier version of this article was presented at the meeting of the New York–Saint Lawrence chapter of the American Musicological Society in April 1997. My thanks to Mary Louise Lippencott, daughter of Jean Beck, and Professor Kenneth Levy and Paula Morgan of Princeton University.

¹ Jehan de Nostredame, *Les Vies des plus célèbres et anciens poètes provençaux*, ed. Joseph Anglade and Camille Chabaneau (1913; repr. Geneva, 1970); Nostredame's work was originally published in 1575.

² See Alfred Jeanroy, *La Poésie lyrique des troubadours*, i (Toulouse and Paris, 1934), ch. 1, and Margaret Switten, *Music and Poetry in the Middle Ages: A Guide to Research on French and Occitan Song, 1100–1400* (New York and London, 1995), introduction, pt. 1.

³ Diez, *Die Poesie der Troubadours* (Zwickau, 1826); Bartsch, *Peire Vidal's Lieder* (Berlin, 1857); Gröber, 'Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours', *Romanische Studien*, 2 (1877), 337–670. See Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, '“Un souffle d'Allemagne ayant passé” : Friedrich Diez, Gaston Paris, and the Genesis of National Philologies', *Romance Philology*, 40 (1986), 1–37.

⁴ Heinrich Schneegans, 'Gustav Gröber', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 39 (1912), 119–131 at 121 and 129; 'Bartsch, Karl' in *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*, 3rd edn. (Bern and Munich, 1968), i. 283. See Gustav Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie* (Strasburg, 1888), i. 89–95.

⁵ Johann-Baptist Beck, *Die Melodien der Troubadours, nach dem gesamten handschriftlichen Material zum erstenmal bearbeitet und herausgegeben, nebst einer Untersuchung über die Entwicklung der Notenschrift (bis zum 1250) und das rhythmisch-metrische Prinzip der mittelalterlich-lyrischen Dichtungen, sowie mit Übertragung in moderne Noten der Melodien der Troubadours und Trouvères* (Strasburg, 1908).

included many musical examples, was nevertheless missing an edition of the complete melodies, announced as forthcoming. But it never appeared. A half a century later, Friedrich Gennrich, another student of Gröber, finally published a critical edition of troubadour melodies.⁶ What has remained unknown until now is that, by 1907, Beck had already produced a complete edition in manuscript form.

Some twenty years after his death in 1943, Beck's family donated his scholarly estate to Princeton University. This odd assortment of facsimiles, transcriptions, and notes sat largely unnoticed and uncatalogued for over thirty years.⁷ In December 1996, as I was looking through these items, I stumbled across something quite unexpected. Enclosed in a loose-leaf binder was a transcription of all extant troubadour melodies. A 22 × 34 cm mottled green cardboard cover with worn black straps protected 259 numbered pages (21 × 33 cm each), one for each troubadour song. Each tune was alphabetically ordered according to troubadour. Each stave was traced in red ink with black notes; the musical notation was rendered diplomatically. And preceding each song was a short bibliography (Pl. 1). Where available, multiple readings of one song were presented in parallel format, one on top of the other (Pl. 2).

Clearly this was the complete edition Beck had announced in 1908 but never committed to print. So why was it never published? As I pieced together the circumstances surrounding this unpublished edition, the simple answer became clear: Beck decided that a critical edition of troubadour melodies was simply not possible, or at least that it would have to be postponed to a later time. Following difficult personal circumstances and drastic revisions to his modal theory and editorial principles,⁸ his troubadour edition was reluctantly put on the shelf. Beck's failed edition represents a crucial stage in the development of the modal theory of medieval monophony, one that, furthermore, illustrates the difficulties in applying the so-called critical method of editing literary texts to medieval music.

OF SCIENTIFIC LAWS AND MEDIEVAL MUSIC

The very idea of a musical critical edition ultimately owes its existence to the scientific revolution and the concept of empirical law. Scientific pioneers such as Galileo Galilei and Isaac Newton challenged received traditions through principles and laws derived from observable facts. As knowledge in other fields expanded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the scientific method infiltrated disciplines outside physics. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, for example, described laws for the study of history that were latent and not yet actualized: 'A fundamental rule or law is something universal and implicit . . . a possibility or potentiality which has not yet emerged into existence';⁹ I shall return shortly to Hegel's latent laws of history. Closer to the study of music was the nineteenth-century field of comparative philology, which developed phonetic laws to explain linguistic relationships and help recreate lost Indo-European words.¹⁰ With the steady growth of comparative philology came the need to edit and

⁶ Friedrich Gennrich, *Der musikalische Nachlass der Troubadours*, vols. 3, 4, and 15 of the series *Summa musicae medii aevi* (Darmstadt and Langen-bei-Frankfurt, 1958–65).

⁷ Now in the Scheide Music Library, they were held until a few years ago in the archives of Princeton University's Firestone Library.

⁸ See John Haines, 'The Footnote Quarrels of the Modal Theory: A Remarkable Episode in the Reception of Medieval Music', *Early Music History*, 20 (2001), 87–120 at 118–20.

⁹ Hegel as translated in *The Hegel Reader*, ed. Stephen Houlgate (Oxford and Malden, Mass., 1998), 406; Hegel's essay was first published posthumously in 1837.

¹⁰ See Kurt Jankowsky, *The Neogrammmarians: A Re-evaluation of their Place in the Development of Linguistic Science* (Janua linguarum, Series minor, 116; The Hague, 1972), ch. 4, and John Haines, 'Généalogies musicologiques: aux origines d'une science de la musique vers 1900', *Acta musicologica*, 73 (2001), 21–44.

PC 10:12. Atressim pren com fai al jogador.

Handschriften: A B C D E F G H K L M N O P Q R S U cf.

Text gedruckt: A De Lollis, *Stud. di fil. rom.* Bd. 3, N^o 387.

B Mahn *Gedichte der Troubadours* N^o 35.

C " " N^o 1167.

F Stengel, *Die Blumenl. der Chig.* N^o 70.

S *MG.* 1168.

U Archiv für das Stud. der neurom. spr. Bd 35, p. 391.

Σ Stengel, *Die allprov. L. Hs. c* N^o 65.

G f. 38 r b (Hs. N^o 70)

naimeric de peguina

Atressim pren com fai al jogador. cal cometa per iega maestra(m).

a petit ioc. pois reschaufa perden. gel fai montar tan ges en la folor.

ainsi mis eu pauc a pauc en la uia. jeu cuiava amar ab maestra.

Sigem pogues partir gan me uolgues. et sui entrag tan juesir non poges.

(anfanz der folgenden strophe): (entra uez fui en la prison d'amor.)

PL. 1. Beck's troubadour edition, page 1 (Aimeric de Peguillan's *Atressim pren com*, PC 10,12)

publish ancient and medieval texts as scientifically as possible. From the 1820s on, Karl Lachmann developed a systematic method whereby all extant sources of a given text were gathered and examined, worthless ones rejected, and corrupt readings emended. By drawing on all extant sources, Lachmann reconstructed the lost original in a critical edition, that is, an edition which indicated variant readings in brackets and footnotes.¹¹ The philological or Lachmannian method was also applied to medieval languages and, a little later, to medieval chant with the work of the monks of Solesmes in their series *Paléographie musicale* from 1889 on. Their project was inspired by Lachmann and his followers: 'to classify [manuscripts] . . . to recognize in each group the best and oldest types, to choose the most authoritative readings . . . in short, to restore altered passages using all possible means'.¹² By the last decade of the nineteenth century, the study of medieval music had finally entered the orbit of the scientific revolution.

¹¹ See Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, trans. Barbara Flower (Oxford, 1958) and Peter F. Ganz, 'Lachmann as an Editor of Middle High German Texts', in Thomas Bein (ed.), *Allgermanistische Editionswissenschaft* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), 106–25.

¹² 'Recueillir les manuscrits, les classer . . . reconnaître dans chaque classe les types les plus anciens et les meilleurs; choisir les leçons les plus autorisées . . . enfin restituer par tous les moyens les passages altérés' (*Le Répons-Graduel Justus ut palma*; *Paléographie musicale*, 2, p. 13).

B. Gr. 70:43. *Quan vei la lauzeta mover.*

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Ab. A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z .

Text. secr.

A De L. 252

C R. 3, 63; M W. 1, 32. F St. 48

H Arch. 35, 423

V " 36, 404

E Thrbk. 11, 155.

W Rom. 22, 394(71)

B. Chr. 68, nach d. C A E F G K M A U V

F St. 48

A St. 70

App. Chr. p. 58 nach A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R U V

B. de ventadorn.

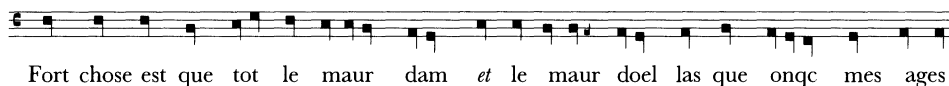
The musical score consists of five systems of staves. The first system has four staves: R (Requiem), G (Gloria), W (Waltz), and X (Xenodochia). The lyrics are written below the staves in Occitan and French. The lyrics are:
 Can vei la lauzeta mover. de sui sas alas contra'l rai.
 Annuei la lauzeta mover. de sui sas alas contra'l rai
 Quan vei la lauzeta mover. de sui sas alas contra'l rai.
 Plaire d'ieu de des confort plor en riant. m'ieu de des lue
 que soblada l'ainas chagor. per la douor cal cor li vai
 per la dolzor gal cor li vai soblada es l'aina caider.
 que soblada l'aina caider. per la douor gal cor li vai.
 sachiez de qui que tant fort car assez hop hardie a fui
 ei las hal enueya m'ieu. de qui que uoga i'augion.
 ha las con frois enueya m'ieu de qui que uoga i'augion.
 hez tan grant enueya m'ieu. de eo quost si on j'augion.
 quost mon cuer ne me breche m'ieu. a rien qu'enis a de port
 maravilhas ai car de se. lo cor de de girer non fon.
 merueillas ai car de se. lo cor de de girer non fon.
 miravill me quieu n'el sex. et cor de de girer non fon.

Pl. 2. Beck's troubadour edition, page 42 (Bernart de Ventadorn's *Can vei la lauzeta mover*, PC 70,43)

If the critical method had successfully spread to the field of medieval chant, it was less successful in the study of French secular monophony, and especially troubadour music. Only a few isolated Old Occitan melodies had been published in general histories prior to 1900. Charles Burney included the melody and text of Gaucelm Faidit's *planh*, or lament, *Fort chausa oiaz* (PC 167,22)¹³ in the second volume of his music history. During one of his Italian library peregrinations, he had chanced upon a manuscript that had entered the Vatican from the collection of Queen Christina of Sweden some eighty years earlier (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1490). Ironically, this was an Old French chronicle, containing only this one song in Old Occitan. Burney reproduced the medieval notes diplomatically, followed by an interpretation in duple time with an added bass line and translated text.¹⁴

Strange as this interpretation may strike us now, it made sense to Burney at the time to provide the rhythm that he found lacking in the original notation. Like most extant troubadour melodies, the Vatican reading of Gaucelm Faidit's *planh* fails to indicate rhythm. This is unlike many contemporary motets, whose notation does differentiate between long and short durations, the *longa* and *brevis* of mensural notation; these are usually combined in one of three different patterns: long–short (rhythmic mode 1: ♩), short–long (mode 2: ♪) or long–short–long (mode 3: ♩♪). Some 250 troubadour melodies survive, with a total of around 300 individual variants, found in four main manuscripts or chansonniers: G (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana R 71, now S.P. 4), R (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 22543), W (BNF f. fr. 844), and X (BNF f. fr. 20050); a few additional isolated readings occur in a handful of other manuscripts, such as Burney's Vatican source.¹⁵ Their notation is sometimes called non-mensural for its disregard of rhythm. In the case of the Vatican reading of Gaucelm Faidit's *Fort chausa oiaz*, for example, all notes are given as *longae* (see Ex. 1).¹⁶ A handful of tunes in manuscript R, however (and some later ones in W), do indicate duration.¹⁷ One of these is Marcabru's *Dire vos vuelh ses duptansa* (PC 293,18) (see

Ex. 1. Incipit of Gaucelm Faidit's *Fort chausa oiaz* in Vatican, BAV Reg. lat. 1490, fo. 89^v



¹³ Numbering after Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle, 1933).

¹⁴ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Times to the Present Period* (London, 1782), ii. 242–3. On this manuscript, see Alfred Jeanroy's *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers provençaux* (Paris, 1916), 26. Burney's edition of Gaucelm's *planh* is reproduced in Robert Lug, 'Zwischen objektiver Historizität, oraler Authentizität und postmoderner Komposition', *Studia musicologica*, 31 (1989), 45–55 at 48–9.

¹⁵ See Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington, Ind., 1996), p. xvi and ch. 2. The isolated readings are: Rome, BAV Reg. lat. 1659 and Chigi C.V. 151, for one melody by Gaucelm Faidit and one *contrafactum* of a Guilhem de Poitiers song respectively; Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana D. 465 inf. for one melody by Folquet de Marselha; Paris, BNF f. fr. 846 for one tune by Pistoleta; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 2563 and 2583, Madrid, Real Biblioteca del Escorial, S. Lorenzo S.I.3, and St Petersburg, Saltykov-Schedrin Public Library, Esp. F.v. XIV.I., for one song by Matfre Ermengau; and a handful of anonymous tunes in Montpellier, Bibliothèque Inter-Universitaire, Section Médecine H 196 and Paris, BNF f. fr. 25532, 24406, and 12615. See Beck's *Die Melodien* discussed below and Jeanroy's *Bibliographie* for more details on these books.

¹⁶ The scribe apparently transcribed this melody a third too high. See Hendrik van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies: Transcriptions and Essays for Performers and Scholars* (Rochester, NY, 1984), 116*–117*; see the facsimile in Henry Bannister, *Monumenti di paleografia musicale latina* (1913; repr. Farnborough, 1969), ii, pl. 100a.

¹⁷ All but one of W's ten later Occitan additions are notated mensurally (Aubrey, *Music*, 41–2). See also Judith Peraino's 'Re-Placing Medieval Music', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 54 (2001), 209–64.

Ex. 2).¹⁸ Yet even here, the rhythm is inconsistent. Although the tune begins with a regular alternation of long and short values such as we would expect to find in many motets, the rhythmic pattern has clearly broken down by the second line at ‘vers la’. From here on, the notation is comprised mostly of long notes, resembling the rhythmically mute notation of most other troubadour readings.

Ex. 2. Marcabru’s *Dire vos vuelh* (PC 293,18) in Paris, BNF f. fr. 22543, fo. 5^v

Dire vos vuelh ses duptansa. da quest vers la co -
mensansa. li mot fan manta semblansa escotatz. qui ves
proeza balansa. semblansa. fay de malvatz.

Given this situation, it is no surprise that editors such as Burney came to their own creative solution to the puzzling question of troubadour rhythm. Nearly a hundred years after Burney, François-Joseph Fétis transcribed two other troubadour songs, Pons de Capdoill’s *Us gays conortz* (PC 375,27) and Gaucelm Faidit’s *Jamais nulz tems* (PC 167,30, which he wrongly attributed to Guilhem de Saint-Didier), in triple and quadruple time respectively. According to Fétis, these songs could not be transcribed according to mensural or other rhythmic systems, since most troubadours were musically illiterate, as was apparent from their non-measured notation.¹⁹ But the rhythm question would not be treated in so cavalier a fashion for long. A landmark study of troubadour music by the literary scholar Antonio Restori appeared in 1895–6, based on lectures he had recently given at the University of Pavia. Restori surveyed the primary sources for music and their contents and concluded with a complete list of all extant troubadour melodies, ordered according to Karl Bartsch’s 1872 catalogue—a total of 233 attributed and twenty-four anonymous tunes. He edited over thirty of these melodies, mostly in duple metre, and, where necessary, presented variants in parallel format for ease of comparison. Restori disagreed with Fétis’s statement that the troubadours were musically illiterate. In fact, he felt that their melodies were just as worthy as plainchant of a critical musical edition, one that would account equally for poetic and musical rhythm. He believed that this was possible despite multiple readings of a given tune: these differences were superfluous scribal additions which, when removed, would yield a pristine original. Restori also admitted that a systematic study of troubadour rhythm would have to come first.²⁰

In the very year in which the final instalment of Restori’s article was published, a solution to the problem of troubadour rhythm came from Germany. Hugo Riemann proposed a scientific system whereby all Minnesinger melodies were to be transcribed

¹⁸ Transcription and discussion are found in Elizabeth Aubrey, ‘A Study of the Origins, History, and Notation of the Troubadour Chansonner Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 22543’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1982), 139–40. See also my ‘Irregular Rhythm in the Music of Marcabru’, forthcoming in *Tenso*.

¹⁹ Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique* (Paris, 1876), v. 12–15.

²⁰ Antonio Restori, ‘Per la storia musicale dei trovatori provenzali: appunti e note’, *Rivista musicale italiana*, 2 (1895), 1–22; 3 (1896), 231–60 and 407–51; Karl Bartsch, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der provenzalischen Literatur* (Elberfeld, 1872).

a few troubadour melodies following Restori's study, including manuscript R's version of Marcabru's *Dire vos vuelh* discussed above. He translated the inconsistent sequence of *longae* and *breves* more or less literally, resulting in a somewhat stilted rendition. Beginning at 'D'aquest vers la', for example, where the initial trochaic pattern was interrupted with two consecutive *longae*, Aubry for the most part faithfully followed the notation in what amounts to an awkward switch from mode 1 to mode 5 (ternary *longae*) until the end of the song (see Ex. 4).²⁵

Ex. 4. Pierre Aubry's transcription of Marcabru's *Dire vos vuelh* (after BNF f. fr. 22543)

Di - rai vos se - nes dop - tan - sa D'a - quest vers
 la co - men - san - sa: Li mot fan de
 ver sem - blan - sa; Es - cou - taz! qui ves Pro - e - za
 ba - lan - sa Sem - blan - sa fai de mal - vatz.

His other troubadour transcriptions adhered to this literal application of Franconian mensural notation, giving consecutive *longae* three beats each.²⁶ Although he did not offer a systematic principle as Riemann did, Aubry rightly understood that, in order to solve the crucial question of rhythmic interpretation, careful attention to the sources was required.

Restori had offered an initial investigation, Riemann a system, and Aubry a model of source studies. It only remained to combine these for a complete edition of troubadour melodies.

As it turns out, Johann-Baptist Beck found himself in the right place at the right time. He was ideally trained for a synthesis of French and German scholarship in the study of medieval music. Born and raised in the disputed region of Alsace, Beck attended both a German Gymnasium and a French lycée, graduating with his *baccalauréat*, after which he tried his luck as a church organist in Paris. This venture having failed, he began graduate studies in Romance philology at the Reichsuniversität in Strasburg in November 1903, under the supervision of Gustav Gröber.²⁷

²⁵ Pierre Aubry, Alfred Jeanroy, and Jean-Marie Lucien Dejeanne, *Quatre poésies de Marcabru, troubadour gascon du XIII^e siècle: texte, musique et traduction* (Paris, 1904), 2 (published earlier that year in *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais*, 10, pp. 107 ff.).

²⁶ Pierre Aubry and Alfred Jeanroy, 'Une chanson provençale (?) à la vierge', *Annales du midi*, 12 (1900), 67–71; Aubry, 'La Musique de danse au moyen âge: une "estampida" de Rambaut de Vaqueiras', *Revue musicale*, 4 (1904), 305–11; id., 'La Chanson populaire dans les textes musicaux du moyen âge', *Revue musicale*, 4 (1904), 594–604.

²⁷ Letter dated 16 Apr. 1911 from J. C. Lecompte, assistant professor of Romance Languages at Yale University, to David H. Carnahan, chair of the Romance Language department at the University of Illinois (archives of the University Library, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Jean Baptiste Beck Staff Appointments File, record series 2/5/15), and letter from Louise Beck (widow of Jean Beck) to Jeremiah D. M. Ford dated 6 Mar. 1944. My thanks to Robert T. Chapel, archivist at the University Library, for the former, and to Thomas Dalzell, grandson of the Becks, for the latter. On the University of Strasburg, see John E. Craig, *Scholarship and Nation Building: The Universities of Strasbourg and Alsatian Society, 1870–1939* (Chicago and London, 1984).

During the next four years Gröber developed such a special affection for his musical student that Beck was offered the purchase of the great philologist's library upon his death.²⁸ It was also during this period that Beck met and studied with Friedrich Ludwig, the successor to Gustav Jacobsthal in medieval music studies at Strasburg, the latter being the first medieval music specialist to hold a professorial post.²⁹ Ludwig's field of expertise was polyphony of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A by-product of his study in this area was his conclusion that the relationship between motet and monophonic song held the key to deciphering monophonic rhythm, a suggestion he first made public in a lecture in November 1905. Ludwig proposed that, for monophony as for polyphony, the clear modal rhythm of a minority of mensurally notated readings, such as manuscript R's reading of Marcabru's song, was latent in the majority of non-mensurally notated versions. Although he did not call it a law or system, Ludwig's principle of latent rhythm echoed Hegel's laws. Ludwig had not produced any transcriptions to prove his theory, but, seeing Beck's interest in this area, he naturally encouraged him to pursue the potential of latent rhythm in monophonic notation.³⁰

OF MONUMENTS AND BODIES

As was becoming increasingly clear by 1900, the vexing issue of rhythm in medieval secular song needed a scientific solution to compete with Riemann's *Vierhebigkeit*. This would require an initial experiment on a musical repertoire sizeable enough to support and illustrate the solution, yet small enough to be edited swiftly. Troubadour songs suggested themselves for several reasons. First of all, they had been neglected by past researchers in favour of the songs of the Minnesinger and trouvères. Second, the melodic corpus was of a manageable size, some 250 songs, as mentioned above. Third, troubadour poetry was seen as the cradle of Romance lyric song: Raynouard had called Old Occitan the 'type primitif' of all other Romance languages.³¹ Finally, as noted at the beginning of this article, Old Occitan had become a German academic speciality in the nineteenth century.³² And one way for Germany to retain this advantage would be to produce the first critical musical edition of the troubadours. Keenly aware of the multifaceted importance of the troubadours, Gustav Gröber advised Beck to produce this edition.

Under Gröber's supervision, Beck combined Riemann's systematic outlook, Aubry's source study, and Ludwig's principle of latent rhythm to forge a scientific

²⁸ Gröber died in 1911 and his library was purchased by the University of Illinois in 1912, where Beck was then teaching (correspondence dated 28 Dec. 1911 and 4 Mar. 1912 between Beck and Edmund J. James, president of the University, University of Illinois Archives, Edmund J. James Faculty Correspondence files, record series [henceforth r. s.] 2/5/6, box 19). The University's student newspaper the *Daily Illini* announced the following year that Beck had been appointed by Gröber's widow as the 'literary executor of all Professor Gröber's unpublished works . . . Dr. Beck has in his possession the manuscripts and will edit those which seem to him to be of interest, and will also complete the earlier works of his old teacher' (*Daily Illini*, 16 Jan. 1913, vol. 42, front page). To my knowledge, nothing ever came of this.

²⁹ Jacobsthal had studied with Heinrich Bellermann, a writer on Renaissance music at the University of Berlin (Heinrich Besseler, 'Jacobsthal, Gustav', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vi (Kassel, Basel, and London, 1957), cols. 1615–19).

³⁰ Friedrich Ludwig, 'Zur "modalen Interpretation" von Melodien des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 11 (1910), 379–82; Jean Beck, review of Pierre Aubry's *Le Chansonnier de l'Arsenal*, in 'Besprechungen', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 34 (1910), 743–6. See my forthcoming 'Friedrich Ludwig's "Musicology of the Future": A Commentary and Translation'.

³¹ François-Just-Marie Raynouard, *Grammaire romane, ou grammaire de la langue des troubadours* (Paris, 1816; repr. 1976), 11.

³² John Graham, 'National Identity and Publishing the Troubadours', in Howard Bloch and Stephen Nichols (eds.), *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper* (Baltimore, 1996), 57–94.

system that would unlock troubadour rhythm.³³ Only then would a complete musical edition be possible. Hans Spanke (another one of Gröber's students) informs us that Beck's troubadour edition was originally planned as part of an unnamed monumental series of Romance literature edited by Gröber himself, who furthermore appointed Beck as musical editor of the series. This was probably Gröber's *Bibliotheca romanica*, begun around 1905, which covered French literature from the Middle Ages to modern times.³⁴ Ultimately, none of Beck's work was published in the *Bibliotheca romanica*, although Gröber's initial assignment must have given him a needed boost of confidence. Beginning in the summer of 1904, Beck travelled to libraries in Paris and Milan, made copious notes on manuscripts, and transcribed all troubadour melodies into the notebook described at the beginning of this article.³⁵ These archival pilgrimages culminated in 1906, when he spent several months in Paris, studying and meeting with such scholars as Alfred Guesnon and Pierre Aubry.³⁶ However, a dispute with Aubry over the paternity of the 'modal interpretation' that Beck would soon propose erupted in the summer of 1907, prompting him to complete his dissertation earlier than planned. He defended in July of that year, with only the first commentary volume of his projected two-volume work complete.³⁷

In the mounting heat of the debate with Aubry, Beck published his dissertation on the heels of his defence, in the winter of 1908, as *Die Melodien der Troubadours*. *Die Melodien* was hailed by one critic as having placed musicology on a par with other sciences, accomplishing for it what Jean Mabillon's *De re diplomatica* (1681) had for diplomatics.³⁸ Indeed Beck had been careful to emphasize the unprecedented scientific nature of his work. The 'rhythmic-metric principle' proclaimed in the book's subtitle resulted from an 'autopsy' of manuscripts that had yielded 'positive results' and a new 'system'.³⁹ Allusions to the critical or comparative method were made throughout.⁴⁰ The first part of Beck's study was a thorough description of manuscripts with troubadour melodies, followed by a table of all 259 melodies listed alphabetically by troubadour, followed by anonymous pieces (see Table 1 below); this list was nearly identical with the one published by Restori twelve years earlier. The second part began with the discussion of the rhythmic modes by medieval theorists and illustrated their application with nearly 200 examples, most of which, however, were not complete tunes but incipits. Beck followed Ludwig's principle that rhythm was latent in the notation even when not indicated. A good example of this was Marcabru's *Dire vos vuelh* given in Ex. 2. The trochaic rhythm suggested at the very beginning of this song was present although not indicated from the end of the second line on. In his incipit of this melody (see Ex. 5), Beck used rhythmic mode 1 throughout, despite the

³³ This is a paraphrase of Heinrich Husmann, who wrote that Beck took 'Riemanns und Aubrys Publikationen zum Ausgangspunkt seiner Arbeiten, auch Anregungen Ludwigs erkennt er dankbar an, der Anstoss zur ganzen Arbeit stammt überhaupt von seinem Lehrer G. Gröber' (Heinrich Husmann, 'Das System der modalen Rhythmik', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 11 (1954), 1–38 at 5).

³⁴ Spanke, review of Jean Beck and Louise Beck, *Le Manuscrit du Roi*, in *Romanische Forschungen*, 57 (1943), 38–104 at 39; Schneegans, 'Gustav Gröber', 122. Each volume of the *Bibliotheca romanica* was individually titled, and fourteen alone were edited by Gröber, according to Schneegans.

³⁵ Jean Beck and Louise Beck, *Les Chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères: le manuscrit du Roi, fonds français n° 844 de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi, no. 2, ser. 1; Philadelphia, 1938), i, p. x; Beck, *Die Melodien*, 5 n. 1.

³⁶ Guesnon, review of Beck's *Die Melodien* in *Le Moyen Âge*, 11 (1907), 207–10 at 207.

³⁷ John Haines, 'The "Modal Theory", Fencing and the Death of Pierre Aubry', *Journal of Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 6 (1997), 143–50. See also 'Footnote Quarrels'.

³⁸ Jean Acher, review of Beck's *Die Melodien*, in *Revue des langues romanes*, 3 (1910), 213–14.

³⁹ Beck, *Die Melodien*, 2, 4, and 192.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 5, 53, and 190–2.

Ex. 5. Incipit of Beck's 1908 edition of Marcabru's *Dire vos vuellh*



consecutive *longae* beginning at line 2, as discussed earlier; where Aubry had translated these literally, Beck replaced the second *longa* in 'vers la', for example, with a *brevis*, assuming that rhythmic mode 1 was intended—or 'not yet emerged', to borrow Hegel's phrase—throughout the entire song.⁴¹

For melodies that gave no indication of rhythm, Beck claimed that the rhythmic mode could be extrapolated from the regularly alternating strong and weak beats supposedly found in the Old French and Occitan languages. This alternation was either of every other syllable, yielding rhythmic modes 1 or 2, or every third syllable, yielding mode 3. Thus the latent musical rhythm could be accessed through the text. Scientific principles governing latent rhythm could also be extrapolated. For example, decasyllabic lines generally used mode 3, whereas hepta- and octosyllabic verse favoured the first two modes.⁴² Medieval song, he concluded, was characterized by symmetry and governed by 'a law of regularly alternating strong and weak beats'.⁴³ The application of the modal system to Bernart de Ventadorn's most famous song produced the transcription shown in Ex. 6.⁴⁴

Ex. 6. Incipit of Beck's 1908 edition of Bernart de Ventadorn's *Can vei la lauzeta* (PC 70,43)



But what the book's title promised, the complete 'melodies of the troubadours', it did not deliver. Beck excused this defect on the study's final page: 'I have already finished this complete collection of all known troubadour melodies which is ready for publication. I have ordered the different readings and divided them into musical phrases, as found in the preceding musical examples.'⁴⁵ He added that the poets in his forthcoming edition would be ordered according to the list in part 1 of *Die Melodien*. The two-volume troubadour edition would be followed by a complete edition of trouvère melodies with commentary, to take up eight volumes. The resulting ten volumes would be called the 'Monumenta cantilenarum lyricorum Franciae medii aevi' (Monuments of French Lyric Songs of the Middle Ages). Beck had decided on his own series rather than Gröber's *Bibliotheca romanica*. This would be an expensive venture; subscribers to the *Monumenta* were needed, and Beck promised that a circular would be sent out for this purpose.⁴⁶ Several reviewers commented on this, some

⁴¹ Ibid. 113.

⁴² Ibid. 139 and 179–81; see also 131–2 especially.

⁴³ Ibid. 155 n. 1.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 190.

⁴⁵ 'Diese vollständige Sammlung aller bekannten Troubadoursmelodien haben wir bereits druckfertig verarbeitet; die verschiedenen Lesarten sind in derselben Art und Weise geordnet und nach musikalischen Perioden gegliedert, wie wir es bisher in den angeführten Notenbeispielen getan haben.'

⁴⁶ Ibid. 193–4.

eagerly anticipating the promised *Monumenta*⁴⁷ and others, more sceptical, withholding full judgement until its appearance.⁴⁸ One reviewer in the latter category, Johannes Wolf, wrote that whatever problems there were with Beck's method, they surely would be ironed out by the time the edition of all trouvère melodies was completed—that is, as long as enough subscribers could be found to fund such a project, he added.⁴⁹ Here lay the rub. For such a work would require a great deal of effort, time, and money. This was even true of the troubadour segment of the *Monumenta*, for the second volume was not quite as ready for publication as Beck had led his readers to believe.

There can be no doubt that the complete collection referred to in *Die Melodien* is the surviving volume now in Princeton University's Scheide Music Library, described at the beginning of this article. In order to complete *Die Melodien*, with its detailed analyses and many examples, Beck would have needed such a working edition. Indeed, his extant manuscript follows exactly the list given in part 1 of *Die Melodien*. We may therefore trust his statement that, by 1908, he had 'already finished this complete collection of all known troubadour melodies'. Moreover, the extant notebook's comments and annotations are all in German, a language that Beck seldom used in writing after his emigration from Europe in 1911. At the bottom left corner of page 1 (Pl. 1) for example, we read 'Anfang der folgenden Strophe' ('beginning of the next strophe'). We may thus date this notebook to the years of his dissertation research described above, 1904–6.

Beck's collection presented for the first time all extant melodies by the troubadours, a total of 334 variants for 259 tunes, 232 of which were attributed to known poets. He ordered his troubadour melodies after Bartsch and Restori, alphabetically by poet's first name. He further provided for each song references to previous editions or commentaries. For example, as seen at the top of Pl. 1, having listed all manuscripts ('Handschriften') containing Aimeric de Peguillan's *Atressim pren com* (PC 10,12), he provided references to available textual editions for each one ('Text gedruckt'), beginning with manuscript A's edition in an article of the *Studj di filologia romanza* ('Studi da fil. rom.').⁵⁰ All available readings of a tune were presented diplomatically in parallel format, the majority being found in the four manuscripts Bartsch had labelled G, R, W, and X cited earlier. As can be seen in his edition of Bernart de Ventadorn's *Can vei la lauzeta mover* (PC 70,43) in Pl. 2, Beck's readings all began with R at the top, followed by G, W, and X. It seems that, following textual critics from Karl Lachmann on, Beck had selected what he considered a purer source, in this case manuscript R, the only chansonnier of the main four compiled in the Languedoc.

It is worth briefly comparing Beck's unpublished musical troubadour edition with the three published within forty-one years of his death, Friedrich Gennrich's in 1958, Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta's in 1979, and Hendrik van der Werf's in 1984 (see Table 1).⁵¹ While Gennrich and Fernández de la Cuesta chose a chronological ordering of poets, Hendrik van der Werf, like Beck, followed Bartsch's catalogue; for

⁴⁷ Theodor Gérold, review of Beck's *Die Melodien*, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 121 (1908), 446–52 at 452; Guesnon (as n. 35), 210; Acher (as n. 37), 209 n. 1.

⁴⁸ Carl Appel, review of Beck's *Die Melodien*, in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 6 (1909), cols. 358–62 at 362; Georg Schläger, review of the same, in *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, 30 (1909), cols. 282–9 at 282 and 289.

⁴⁹ Johannes Wolf, review of Beck's *Die Melodien* in *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 10 (1909), 129–33 at 133.

⁵⁰ Cesare de Lollis and Arthur Pakscher, 'Il canzoniere provenzale A (Cod. Vat. 5232)', *Studj di filologia romanza*, 3 (1886–91), 1–722; Beck cites p. 387, where Aimeric's poem is found.

⁵¹ Friedrich Gennrich, *Der musikalische Nachlass*; Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta and Robert Lafont, *Las cançons dels trobadors* (Toulouse, 1979); Hendrik van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies*.

this reason, I have placed these in pairs.⁵² All but Gennrich use Beck's format of presenting all extant versions in parallel format; Gennrich is the only one to present a single reading, the presumed lost original, for each melody—a critical edition à la Lachmann. Beck's original number of 232 individual readings of attributed troubadour melodies (i.e. excluding anonymous ones) would grow in the editions of later scholars to 233 (van der Werf), 236 (Gennrich), and 248 (Fernández de la Cuesta). The total number of estimated troubadour melodies (rather than readings) depends on one's definition of troubadour in some cases (Gennrich includes the early Saint Stephen epistles, for example), and Old Occitan in others (van der Werf excludes the anonymous hybrid-language *Per vous m'esjau* (PC 461,192^{bis}), for example). The result has been a fluctuating repertoire: Beck's 259 and van der Werf's most conservative 239 contrast with Fernández de la Cuesta's 280 and Gennrich's 300 extant troubadour melodies (i.e. both attributed and anonymous).⁵³

However tidy and exhaustive, Beck's surviving diplomatic edition was merely the first step towards a transcription of these troubadour melodies into modern notation. This more delicate task had to be completed soon, for his new modal theory required such a display piece. It was at this time, however, that something occurred that brought the *Monumenta* enterprise to a sudden standstill. The growing rancour between Beck and Aubry over the paternity of the modal interpretation took a decisive turn in July 1909, when Aubry called for a trial by a jury of scholars to settle the dispute. What happened next was both tragic and unexpected. The jury voted unanimously that Aubry had plagiarized Beck, and, following months of an increasingly bitter battle of printed words, Aubry, dishonoured and suffering a nervous breakdown, died in a fencing incident, a covered-up suicide, in his summer vacation resort at Dieppe on the morning of 31 August 1910.⁵⁴ Rumours spread that Aubry had challenged Beck to a duel, and Beck soon found himself condemned by certain scholars for his role in the 'Aubry affair'. Although he had aspired to a post at the *École des Hautes Études* in Paris, he now had to turn to other possibilities. With the help of his friend the literary scholar Joseph Bédier, he looked to the United States for a fresh start. After several attempts, a position was finally secured at the University of Illinois in May 1911.⁵⁵ Beck hurriedly packed his belongings, including his beloved troubadour edition, and sailed across the ocean. He began teaching French at the University of Illinois in the autumn of 1911.

There was further stalling of the *Monumenta* project during Beck's early American years. As might be expected for someone with no prior experience of American language or culture, his adjustment to the United States was not an easy one. One colleague suggested in particular that Beck's foreign ways (his 'dress' and 'manner') had caused him to be ostracized.⁵⁶ Compounding these difficulties, a year after his arrival, Beck met and married Louise Goebel, the daughter of a University of Illinois German professor. According to what was then known as 'the relative rule', Beck and Louise's father, now related, could not both teach at the same institution. As a result

⁵² Bartsch's *Grundriss* had already by Gennrich's time been replaced by Pillet and Carstens' *Bibliographie*.

⁵³ Elizabeth Aubrey has most recently tallied 246 notated songs and 315 readings (Aubrey, *Troubadours*, pp. xvi and 275 n. 3).

⁵⁴ See Haines, "Modal Theory." 4

⁵⁵ Letter dated 27 May 1911 from Jean Beck to Everts B. Greene, dean of the College of Literature and Arts at the University of Illinois (University of Illinois archives, r.s. 2/5/15). Beck states that he had been offered the chair of Antoine Thomas at the *École des Hautes Études*.

⁵⁶ On 20 June 1913 Thomas E. Oliver, professor of Romance Languages, wrote to Arthur H. Daniels, dean of the College of Literature and Arts (University of Illinois archives, r.s. 2/5/15), that a 'group of young men' were exaggerating 'beyond all reason certain of [Beck's] peculiarities of dress and manner'.

TABLE 1. *Four editions of troubadour music, with troubadour and number of songs*

Beck (c.1905)	van der Werf (1984)	Gennrich (1958)	Fernández de la Cuesta (1979)
—	Aimeric de Belenoi (1)	Liturgical songs (4)	—
Aimeric de Peguillan (6)	Aimeric de Peguillan (5)	St. Stephen songs (2)	—
Albertet (de Sestaro) (1)	Albertet (de Sestaro) (3)	Guillem coms de Peiteus (1)	Guilhem de Peitieu (2)
Arnaut Daniel (2)	Arnaut Daniel (2)	Marcabru (4)	Jaufre Rudel (4)
Arnaut de Maroill (6)	Arnaut de Maroill (6)	Jaufre Rudel (4)	Marcabru (7)
Beatriz de Dia (1)	Comtessa de Dia (1)	Bernart de Ventadorn (19)	Rigaut de Berbesilh (4)
Berenguer de Palazol (8)	Berenguer de Palazol (8)	Peire d'Alvergne (2)	Berenguer de Palou (8)
Bernart de Ventadorn (19)	Bernart de Ventadorn (19)	Raimbaut d'Aurenga (1)	Peire d'Alverna (2)
Bertran de Born (1)	Bertran de Born (1)	Beatriz de Dia (1)	Bernart de Ventadorn (20)
—	Blacasset (1)	Bertran de Born (1)	Raimbaut d'Aurenga (1)
Cadenet (1)	Cadenet (1)	Berenguer de Palazol (8)	Giraud de Bornelh (4)
Daude de Pradas (1)	Daude de Pradas (1)	Jordan Bonel (1)	Guilhem de St. Leidier (1)
Folquet de Marsella (13)	Folquet de Marsella (13)	Arnaut de Maroill (6)	Raimon Jordan (2)
Gaucelm Faidit (14)	Gaucelm Faidit (14)	Peire Raimon de Toloza (1)	Folquet de Marselha (13)
Graf von Poitou (1)	Lo Coms de Peiteus (1)	Giraut de Borneill (4)	Arnaud Daniel (2)
Gui d'Uisel (4)	Gui d'Uisel (4)	Peire Vidal (13)	Arnaud de Maruèlh (6)
Guillem Ademar (1)	Guillem Ademar (1)	Pons de Capdoill (4)	Jordan Bonel (1)
Guillem Augier (1)	—	Folquet de Marsella (13)	Bertran de Born (4)
Guillem Magret (2)	Guillem Magret (2)	Arnaud Daniel (2)	Gaucelm Faidit (14)
Guillem de St. Leidier (1)	Guillem de St. Leidier (1)	Lo Monge de Montaudo (2)	Beatriz de Dia (1)
Guiraut de Borneill (4)	Guiraut de Borneill (4)	Guillem de St. Leidier (1)	Raimbaut de Vacairàs (7)
Guiraut Riquier (48)	Guiraut Riquier (48)	Pistoleta (1)	Peire Vidal (13)
Jaufre Rudel (4)	Jaufre Rudel (4)	Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (7)	Guilhem Magret (2)
Jordan Bonel (1)	Jordan Bonel (1)	Gaucelm Faidit (14)	Peire Raimon de Tolosa (2)
Marcabru (4)	Marcabru (4)	Peirol (17)	Perdigon (3)
Matfre Ermengau (1)	Matfre Ermengau (1)	Uc Brenec (1)	Aimeric de Peguillan (6)
Mónch von Montaudo (2)	Monge de Montaudo (2)	Raimon Jordan (2)	Raimon de Miraval (22)
Peire d'Alvergne (2)	Peire d'Alvergne (2)	Raimon de Miraval (22)	Gui d'Ussel (4)
Peire Cardenal (3)	Peire Cardenal (3)	Daude de Pradas (1)	Monge de Montaudo (2)
Peire Raimon de Toloza (1)	Peire Raimon de Toloza (1)	Perdigo (3)	Guilhem Ademar (1)
Peire Vidal (12)	Peire Vidal (12)	Gui d'Uisel (4)	Peirol (17)
Peirol (17)	Peirol (17)	Guillem Ademar (1)	Uc Brenenc (1)

Perdigo (3)	Guillem Magret (2)	Albertet (3)
Pistoleta (1)	Richart de Berbezill (4)	Pistoleta (1)
Pons de Capdoill (4)	Uc de Saint Circ (3)	Guilhem A. Novèlas (1)
Pons d'Ortafas (1)	Aimeric de Peguillan (6)	Folquet de Romans (1)
Raimbaut d'Aurenga (1)	Cadenet (1)	Cadenet (2)
Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (7)	Guillem Augier Novella (1)	Ponç de Capduèlh (4)
Raimon Jordan (2)	Peire Cardenal (3)	Blacasset (1)
Raimon de Miraval (22)	Aimeric de Belenoi (1)	Aimeric de Belenoi (1)
Richart de Berbezill (4)	Albertet de Sestaro (3)	Ponç d'Ortafa (1)
Uc Brunet (1)	Blancasset (1)	Uc de St. Circ (3)
Uc de St. Circ (3)	Guiraut Riquier (48)	Pèire Cardenal (3)
Anonymous (6)	Pons d'Ortafas (1)	Daude de Pradas (1)
	Matfre Ermengau (1)	Guiraud Riquier (48)
	Anonymous, secular (14)	Monge de Foixà (1)
	Fixed form songs (7)	Matfre Ermengau (1)
	Later liturgical, anon. (16)	Anonymous (32)
	Anonymous lais (3)	
	Motets and others (18)	

of the rising tensions, Beck's appointment was terminated three years after his arrival, even though many students and faculty rushed to his defence.⁵⁷ The University of Illinois administration nonetheless made every effort to secure Beck another position on the eve of his departure in the spring of 1914. Thanks to his scholarly reputation, one was soon found at Bryn Mawr College (now University) in Pennsylvania, where he began teaching in the autumn of 1914; in 1920 he moved to the University of Pennsylvania, where he remained until his death (see Pl. 3 for a photograph taken around this time).⁵⁸



PL. 3. Jean Beck at his Bryn Mawr home in the 1920s playing a custom-made double recorder

What became of the troubadour edition and the *Monumenta* during Beck's turbulent Illinois years? Occasional references in unpublished letters from the 1910s help us retrace its gradual abandonment. Beck's *Monumenta* had been inspired by the prototype of such projects, Georg Heinrich Pertz's *Monumenta Germaniae historica* (Historical Monuments of Germany), an ambitious series of historical records.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Private correspondence from the University's archives suggests that the real reason for the termination of Beck's contract were of a more personal nature; those defending Beck claimed that the 'relative rule' was just a pretext for these more personal reasons. So controversial was the Beck case that when the University board of trustees met to discuss it, all specific references were deleted from the official reports. It is possible, although no evidence remains to prove it, that the ill winds of the Aubry affair had followed Beck across the ocean (transcript of the Board of Trustees minutes dated 21 Jan. 1914 and 'Memorandum Concerning the Case of Professor Jean Baptiste Beck' dated 14 Aug. 1914; University of Illinois archives, r.s. 1/1/6, box 6 and r.s. 2/5/6, box 31).

⁵⁸ Correspondence between H. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College, and president James dated 31 July 1914 and 8 Aug. 1914 (r.s. 2/5/6, box 31). More general biographical surveys of Beck are: Jeremiah Denis M. Ford, Kenneth McKenzie, and George Sarton, 'Memoir: Jean-Baptiste Beck', *Speculum*, 19 (1944), 384–5; Jacques Handschin, 'Beck, Johann Baptist (= Jean)', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, i (Kassel and Basel, 1949–51), cols. 1480–1; Ian Bent, 'Beck, Jean [Johann Baptist]', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn., ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 2001), iii. 42.

⁵⁹ Georg Heinrich Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae historica inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et*

Beck made the connection between the two *Monumenta* explicit when he wrote in 1913 to Edmund James, president of the University of Illinois, that he considered his project 'an undertaking similar to the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, and I hope to be able to carry it out'.⁶⁰ The parallel was not as far-fetched as it sounded, for he had now expanded his original *Monumenta* to a new series described in another letter to James as a 'monumental edition of all the lyric poetry from the tenth to the fourteenth century, including all literary documents written in: Medieval Latin, Old Provençal, Old French, Old Spanish, Old Catalan, Middle High German and Anglo-Saxon'. This work he called the *Corpus cantilenarum lyricarum medii aevi* (Corpus of Lyric Songs of the Middle Ages). The ten volumes comprising troubadour and trouvère song, now renamed *Monumenta cantilenarum lyricorum franciae meridionalis et septentrionalis saeculi XII et XIII* (Monuments of Lyric Songs from Southern and Northern France of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries), would be a series within the larger *Corpus* series.⁶¹ The first volume of the new *Monumenta* would no longer be *Die Melodien* but a 'complete collection of notated troubadour songs, in original notation and modern transcription'.⁶² By 1913 Beck had apparently secured 1,800 Deutschmarks from the Berlin Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften and 5,000 francs from the Collège de France for printing expenses. The publishers were to be Trübner of Strasburg and Champion-Laurens of Paris. In a letter to James requesting five to eight hundred dollars from the University of Illinois, he envisaged the title page as follows:⁶³

RECUEIL COMPLET
DES
CHANSONS NOTÉES DES TROUBADOURS
en facsimile
et avec transcription en notation moderne
des mélodies des Troubadours
d'après tous les manuscrits
Publié avec une contribution du fonds Arconati-Visconti
attribué à la chaire de Philologie Romane
du Collège de France et une subvention de
l'Université d'État de l'Illinois
par J. B. Beck

But following Beck's move to Bryn Mawr College, the troubadour volume of the new *Corpus* was neglected in favour of other projects, including a collaborative effort with the folklorist Marius Barbeau to transcribe French-Canadian folk songs. Even then, the troubadour edition was not completely forgotten. Writing to Barbeau in February 1919, Beck mentions it in passing: 'In addition to my daily teaching chores, I am in the process of preparing my troubadour edition, a huge task.'⁶⁴ This, however, is the last we hear of Beck's troubadour edition.

quingentesimum, 32 vols. (Hannover, 1826–1934). For a recent history of the MGH see Horst Fuhrmann and Markus Wesche, '*Sind eben alles Menschen gewesen*': *Gelehrtenleben im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1996).

⁶⁰ Letter from Beck to James dated 19 July 1913; a similar statement is made in a letter from Beck to James dated 23 Aug. 1913 (r.s. 2/5/15).

⁶¹ Letter from Beck to James dated 19 July 1913 (r.s. 2/5/15).

⁶² 'Recueil complet des chansons notées des Troubadours, notation originale et transcription en notes modernes'. Letters from Beck to Carnahan dated 29 Mar. 1911 and to Greene 27 May 1911 (r.s. 2/5/15).

⁶³ Letters from Beck to James dated 23 Aug. and 2 Sept. 1913 (r.s. 2/5/15). I have corrected some of Beck's typographical errors.

⁶⁴ 'Je suis en train—en dehors de mon enseignement quotidien—de préparer l'édition de mes Troubadours, ce qui est une vaste tâche.' Letter dated 7 Feb. 1919 from Beck to Barbeau (Canadian Museum of Civilization, Marius Barbeau correspondence, Jean Beck folder, box B168, f.57). On Beck's activity during this period, see John Haines, 'Jean Beck and Marius Barbeau on Transcribing French-Canadian Folk Songs', *Journal for Association of Recorded Sound Collections*, 30 (1999), 2–7.

The reason for this indefinite postponement, I believe, was that between his dissertation and the early 1920s his policy of editing medieval music changed. He became convinced that reconstructing a lost critical text from extant variants was not possible for troubadour melodies. This was already clear in his 1911 application letter to the University of Illinois: 'With regard to the practical method of establishing a literary or musical text, it seems to me more correct and more natural to side with the school that observes the readings of one manuscript rather than to fabricate a type of disparate mosaic composed of scattered debris.'⁶⁵ He was without doubt influenced by his friend and advocate Joseph Bédier mentioned earlier who, in his famous 1913 edition of the *Lai de l'ombre*, debunked the Lachmannian method of editing texts, advocating instead editions based on a single manuscript.⁶⁶ Bédier's ideas had already been formulated in his 1909 edition of crusade songs, published in collaboration with Pierre Aubry, in the preface to which both authors defended the validity of the readings of an individual manuscript rather than a conflated, hypothetical archetype. Beck too had collaborated with Bédier in an edition with music of the trouvère Colin Muset, which was probably completed around 1911. Here too Bédier's rule was to reproduce without any emendation the reading of a single manuscript.⁶⁷

What is more, a closer investigation of certain manuscripts, most notably a newly discovered motet collection from Burgos (Spain), was leading Beck to revise his original modal theory drastically so as to include the use of duple metre and the fifth rhythmic mode, both of which he had rejected until that point.⁶⁸ It was thus becoming clear that a far more pressing task than an edition of troubadour melodies was the study of extant manuscripts that Aubry had launched in his *Les Plus Anciens Monuments*. Only with the completion of a trouvère and troubadour equivalent of the *Paléographie musicale*, facsimile editions of all major sources, could critical editions of repertoires and poets be undertaken. Clearly, such an ambitious project would take time and, more importantly, publication funds. Fortunately for Beck, around 1924 he happened to meet a philanthropist interested in his project.

Mary Louise Curtis Bok was the daughter of the renowned publisher Cyrus Curtis and the wife of Curtis's appointed editor of *The Ladies' Home Journal*, Edward Bok. In 1924 she founded the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia with family funds.⁶⁹ While still teaching at the University of Pennsylvania, Beck began part-time instruction at Curtis in 1924, and formed a close relationship with Mrs Bok. It is unclear exactly how Beck approached the wealthy publisher's daughter for the funding of his monumental project, but shortly after their meeting in the early 1920s, she gave the sum of money needed for the first two volumes of Beck's new project, now renamed the *Corpus cantilenarum mediæ ævi* (Corpus of Medieval Songs). As announced in the *New York Times*, the *Corpus* would present complete facsimile reproductions, transcriptions, and commentaries for the main trouvère, troubadour, polyphonic, and liturgical drama manuscripts from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries. This would be

⁶⁵ 'En ce qui concerne la méthode pratique de l'établissement d'un texte littéraire ou musical, il me semble plus juste et plus naturel de me rallier à l'école qui s'attache aux leçons d'un seul manuscrit plutôt que de fabriquer une sorte de mosaïque disparate composée de débris recueillis un peu partout.' Letter dated 26 May 1911 from Beck to Greene, p. 5 (r.s. 2/5/15).

⁶⁶ See William W. Kibler, 'Joseph Bédier (1864–1938)', in *Medieval Scholarship*, 253–66 and the literature cited there.

⁶⁷ Bédier and Aubry, *Les Chansons de croisade* (1909; repr. New York, 1971); Bédier and Beck, *Les Chansons de Colin Muset* (Les classiques français du Moyen Âge, 7; Paris, 1912), p. xiii. Beck specifically mentioned the influence of Bédier in *Les Chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères: Le Chansonnier Cangé* (Corpus cantilenarum mediæ ævi, no. 1, ser. 1; Philadelphia, 1927), ii. [8]–[9].

⁶⁸ See Beck, *Chansonnier Cangé*, ii. [35]–[64].

⁶⁹ 'The First Fifty Years', in *Overtures (Curtis Institute of Music): Fiftieth Anniversary Issue*, 11 (1974), no pagination.

followed by a final series on medieval instruments. The whole was to take up fifty-two volumes.⁷⁰ The first series of the *Corpus*, the *Monumenta*, would be devoted to troubadour and trouvère manuscripts. The first number in this series was the ‘Chansonnier Cangé’ (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 846), a trouvère chansonnier distinguished by its rhythmic readings. The first two volumes of the *Corpus* were dedicated to Mary Louise Curtis Bok, whom Beck privately called ‘my guardian angel’, as his daughter recently told me.⁷¹ The American philanthropist had finally given Beck the opportunity to fulfil a long-postponed dream. Yet by the time of his death in 1943, only two *Monumenta* manuscripts had been edited, with the second one still lacking a volume of transcriptions, leaving Beck’s grand project of a medieval musical survey unfinished, only four volumes of the projected fifty-two: a monumental body with barely a head.⁷² Without the completed *Monumenta*, his vernacular *Paléographie musicale*, Beck’s troubadour edition could not be finished, as indeed it never was.

Ironically, the modal theory, which owed its name and most of its original conception to Beck, was used less by him than by subsequent writers. Beck’s later concession to the use of duple metre in medieval monophony was tantamount to reneging on the modal theory altogether: it no longer comprised a unified, scientific system. But writers from Friedrich Gennrich to Hans Tischler would continue to edit medieval repertoires by imposing rhythmic modes on non-mensural notations. Tischler has frequently defended his use of the modal theory, writing that ‘the poems of the troubadours and trouvères . . . are metric and rhymed like those of the thirteenth-century motets’ and therefore use the rhythmic modes.⁷³ Only a few years ago, after over a decade of labour, he finally published the first complete edition of trouvère melodies, a fifteen-volume work in the series *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* (Corpus of Measured Music).⁷⁴ It is clear from this that the completion of such an ambitious project as Beck’s *Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi* would probably require several scholarly lifetimes. It is also clear that despite significant opposition to the modal theory nowadays, it is by no means obsolete and is still applied by some to medieval monophony thanks in large part to medieval evidence first studied in depth by Beck and his contemporaries; these interpretations range from stricter to looser applications of the modal theory.⁷⁵ This diversity is akin to the medieval situation described earlier, where we find mensural and non-mensural notations of the same repertoires—sometimes in the same manuscripts, as in R and W. What is more, Beck’s move away from reconstructing a hypothetical original to editing individual variants has been accepted by most editors today. His unpublished troubadour edition is therefore still useful to us, not only as a diplomatic copy of troubadour songs, but also as a record of early editorial practices in medieval monophony. More importantly,

⁷⁰ ‘Plans Publication of Medieval Lyrics’, *New York Times*, Sunday, 23 May 1926, sect. 2, p. 4, col. 4; ‘The Manuscript du Roi’, *New York Times*, Sunday, 10 May 1936, sect. 10, p. 5, cols. 6 and 7.

⁷¹ Conversation with Mary Louise Lippencott, youngest daughter of Jean Beck, in the winter of 1996.

⁷² These are: Jean Beck, *Le Chansonnier Cangé* (1928), 2 vols., and Jean Beck and Louise Beck, *Le Manuscrit du Roi* (1938), 2 vols. I have it from the Becks’ daughter that Louise Beck’s name was included at her insistence, given how much she had contributed to the work.

⁷³ Hans Tischler, ‘On Modality in Trouvère Melodies’, *Acta musicologica*, 71 (1999), 76–81 at 76.

⁷⁴ Hans Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition* (Neuhausen, 1997).

⁷⁵ For the former, see Hans Tischler’s *Trouvère Lyrics*; for the latter, see Gérard Le Vot in Gérard Zuchetto, *Terre des troubadours, XII^e–XIII^e siècles: anthologie commentée* (Paris, 1996), 261 and 275; Le Vot in *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: An Anthology of Poems and Melodies* (New York and London, 1998), 191 and 313; Robert Lug, ‘Das “vormodale” Zeichensystem der Chansonnier de Saint-Germain-des-Prés’, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 52 (1995), 19–65; and David Wulstan, *The Emperor’s Old Clothes: The Rhythm of Mediaeval Song* (Ottawa, 2001).

it is a dramatic reminder of the ever renewed need to re-evaluate past musical repertoires and the extant sources transmitting them.

ABSTRACT

The hitherto unknown first complete edition of troubadour melodies by Jean Beck was compiled around 1905. It survives today in manuscript form and pre-dates by fifty years the first published edition. Early critical editions of medieval music owe much to scientific, literary, and musicological trends from the Enlightenment to the late nineteenth century, and Beck's edition was influenced by the work on chant at Solesmes and the scholarship of Antonio Restori, Hugo Riemann, and Pierre Aubry. Due in part to personal circumstances, Beck delayed and then completely abandoned his edition in the late 1910s, undertaking instead a more ambitious facsimile edition series in fifty-two volumes covering medieval monophony and polyphony; only the first four volumes were published.