

# Poetry in Motion: The Mobility of Lyrics and Languages in the European Middle Ages

David Alexander Murray

King's College London

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy.

## Abstract

Lyric poetry is privileged in many literary histories as the foundation of the European vernacular tradition. For medievals it was a particularized expression, beyond the bounds of normal discourse, worth careful critique, dissemination, and preservation. Transmitted with or *via* music, whose mobility and *mouvance* differs from that of written texts, courtly song was part of a cultural phenomenon common to most of Western Europe. The rise of the courtly lyric created a common poetic culture in which lyric poetry moved freely between and across geopolitical entities, where knowledge of ‘foreign’ poetry was far from unusual. Medieval poetry thus challenges modern conceptions of normative boundaries: the requisite recalibration is the subject of this investigation. It is concerned especially with linguistic boundaries: these differ, naturally enough, from modern ones, and invite closer examination of what languages were or could be in literary circles in the High Middle Ages.

The material examined centres on Occitan and Old French literature between c. 1140 and 1350, but also makes substantial reference to works produced in Italian and German-speaking areas, and, occasionally, to Catalan, Latin and Middle English texts. My aim is to examine the different modes in which lyric poetry and lyrical forms moved around medieval Europe, suggesting patterns of crossing and confronting linguistic boundaries, both in their composition and their subsequent MS transmission. Each variety of mobility (*contrafactum*, multilingual poetry, lyric intercalation, translation, and the adoption of ‘foreign’ languages) has formed in previous scholarship a single topic of discussion. It is thus the novelty of this work to bring them together in order to give a richer account of European lyrical culture in the Middle Ages. There emerges a polycentric poetic field which does not map onto the Europe of standard national languages and literatures, but where the most important language was that of the courtly lyric itself.

## *Table of Contents*

Abstract .....	1
Acknowledgements.....	4
Abbreviations .....	5
Introduction: Song in the European Middle Ages.....	6
1. Poésie sans frontières: The fate of Bernart de Ventadorn's 'Can vei la lauzeta mover' .....	18
The MS transmission of 'Can vei' .....	21
Occitan responses to 'Can vei' .....	27
The 'Carestia' Debate.....	36
The Clerical Reception of Bernart de Ventadorn .....	54
Plus ultra: The Further Adventures of 'Can vei' .....	65
Citations of 'Can vei'.....	72
A European Song.....	78
2. Chanson, or puez aler par tout le monde: Multilingual lyrics and linguistic boundaries.....	80
Medieval Theories of Language.....	83
Linguistic boundaries and literary conventions: Raimbaut and Cerverí.....	89
A Genoese Yankee at the Court of King Alfonso.....	98
Dante's lingua trina .....	106
Lyrics and Languages in Medieval England.....	115
The Multilingual Lyrics of Oswald von Wolkenstein.....	120
Raimbaut redux — Conclusion.....	132
3. Lyric poetry in and out of context .....	139
'Doctores vulgares'.....	143
Marcabru: Always already community .....	155
Into Narrative: Jean Renart's 'novele chose' .....	161
Raimon Vidal: Poetic Knowledge in Catalonia .....	168
Ulrich von Liechtenstein: 'Nu hæret! die wîse sprachen alsô' .....	177
'Vita Nova': Dante, the 'libello', and the creation of poetic identity.....	186
Conclusion: The Prose Tristan and its lyrical contexts .....	195
4. Choosing a Language for Song: The Lyric Beyond.....	201
Catalonia I: Guillem de Berguedà.....	205
Catalonia II: Cerverí, the 'Last' Catalan Troubadour .....	215
Italy I: A New Beginning?.....	222
Italy II: South to North with Elephants .....	231

Middle High German at Large: Prague, Breslau and beyond.....	242
Conclusion: On the outside looking in? .....	256
Conclusion: Lyrics, Languages, and Poetic Community in the Middle Ages.....	259
Bibliography.....	264
I. Editions, textual repertories, and printed MS reproductions .....	264
II. Critical studies and reference works.....	268
Appendix I: MS sigla used in this dissertation.....	287
Occitan Chansonniers .....	287
French Chansonniers .....	288
Major Italian MSS.....	288
Appendix II: The contrafacta of ‘Can vei’ and their witnesses .....	289

## Acknowledgements

This thesis was written with the benefit of the PhD studentship that formed part of the AHRC-funded project 'Medieval Francophone Literary Culture outside France'. This ran between April 2011 and March 2015. I was allowed considerable latitude in my research, not least of all in working with a relatively broad frame of reference. The project provided a stimulating and challenging context for my work, also a very supportive one. For this I wish to thank not only the lead investigators Bill Burgwinkle, Simon Gaunt and Jane Gilbert, but also the research associates, Nicola Morato, Dirk Schoenaers and Huw Grange.

A version of the passages on Oswald von Wolkenstein, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras' 'Eras quan vey verdeyar' and Dante from Chapter 2 appeared as 'Oswald von Wolkenstein's Multilingual Songs in European Context: Theory and Practice' in *German Life and Letters*, 66 (2013), 350-67.

It is a pleasure to record my debt to my supervisor, Simon Gaunt, whose encouragement, guidance, and kindly refusal of second best have been of immeasurable importance. My second supervisors, first Karen Pratt, and later Sarah Bowden, are to be thanked for their eye for detail and infectious enthusiasm. Within the graduate community at King's there are many to whom I wish to express my gratitude, not only my fellow medievalists Jess Stoll, Hannah Morcos, Rachel Scott, Rachel Sweet, and Alice Hazard, but also Richard Mason, Gillian Ni Cheallaigh and Jess Stacey, for lunches, liquor and moral support. A welcome development at King's within the Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies during my period of study was the working group on lyric, led by Emma Dillon, which enriched my thinking about the complex relationship of medieval poetics and music. Among the participants I wish to thank in particular Bri Dolce.

Beyond the academy I am grateful to many, particularly Tom Robinson, Tom Ovens, Josh Jowitt and Phil Fitzpatrick, for reminding me there is life outside the British Library. Above all, however, I wish to thank my family for their unquestioning love and support over the past years. Thanks to Dad for proof-reading and asking what he maintained were 'stupid' questions: they have undoubtedly made my prose less turgid.

I dedicate this study to the memory of my mother, Catherine Murray, who taught me, among many other things, the pleasure of reading and the importance of words.

## Abbreviations

AH	<i>Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi</i>
AV	The Authorized Version of the Bible
BMZ	[Benecke, Müller and Zarncke], <i>Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch</i> . Available online (accessed 11 <sup>th</sup> Nov 2014): <a href="http://woerterbuchnetz.de/BMZ/">http://woerterbuchnetz.de/BMZ/</a>
CN	<i>Cultura Neolatina</i>
Du Cange	Charles du Fresne, Seigneur du Cange, <i>Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis</i> . Accessed 29 <sup>th</sup> Sept 2014; online at: <a href="http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/?clear=1">http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/?clear=1</a>
ELLM4	<i>Curtius, Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter</i>
F	István Frank, <i>Répertoire métrique de la poésie des troubadours</i>
FS	<i>Festschrift</i>
FEW	Walther von Wartburg, <i>Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch</i>
GAG	Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik
Godefroy	Frédéric Godefroy, <i>Dictionnaire de L'ancienne langue française</i> . Accessed online at <a href="http://www.micmap.org/dicfro/introduction/dictionnaire-godefroy">www.micmap.org/dicfro/introduction/dictionnaire-godefroy</a> (29 <sup>th</sup> Sept 2014)
KLD	Carl von Kraus, <i>Deutsche Liederdichter des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts</i> .
Lexer	Mathias Lexer, <i>Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch</i> . Available online at <a href="http://woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer/">http://woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer/</a> (23 <sup>rd</sup> Oct 2014).
LK	Robert Linker, <i>A bibliography of Old French songs</i>
LR	François-Juste-Marie Raynouard, <i>Léxique romane</i>
MF	<i>Des Minnesangs Frühling</i>
MGG	<i>Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i>
MHG	Middle High German
PC	entry in: Pillet-Carstens, <i>Bibliographie des troubadours</i> . See online: <i>Bibliografia elettronica dei trovatori</i> : <a href="http://w3.uniroma1.it/bedt/BEdT_03_20/index.aspx">http://w3.uniroma1.it/bedt/BEdT_03_20/index.aspx</a> (accessed 29 <sup>th</sup> Sept 2014)
PD	Emil Levy, <i>Petit Dictionnaire Provençal-Français</i>
PSW	Emil Levy, <i>Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch</i> :
REW	Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, <i>Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch</i>
R	entry in: <i>Gaston Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes</i> , ed. by Hans Spanke
RPh	<i>Romance Philology</i>
TL	Adolf Tobler-Lommatzsch, <i>Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch</i>
VL	<i>Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> edn.
ZfdPh	<i>Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie</i>
ZRP	<i>Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie</i>

## Introduction: Song in the European Middle Ages

In the early thirteenth-century *Roman de Tristan en Prose*, the *incognito* Tristan and the Chevalier à l'Escu Vermeil are guests at a castle. After dinner, the daughter of the house is asked by her father to sing. She performs Tristan's own 'Lai de la victoire'. The scene opens with a description of her tuning her instrument, after which she asks Tristan if he would rather hear a song by Tristan or by Lancelot. Tristan asks her who she thinks has sung best about love. She replies:

Sire, [...] sauve vostre grasse, vous me faites une demande a coi je ne respondrai mie, car pucele sui, qui encor ne sai que sont Amours. Mais se je conneüsse d'Amours la force et le pooir, adonc en seüsse je respondre. Et pour ce que je ne connois Amours, ne vous en sai je respondre voirement. Selonc ce que je connois d'Amours et des lays et des chans bien acordans, je vous di que je ne sai nul cevalier de trouver boins chans fors monsieur Tristran de Loenoy: cil, sans doute, a tous les cevaliers passés de canter et de bien dire.<sup>1</sup>

Sir, [...] begging your pardon, you ask me a question that I cannot answer, for I am a maiden still who does not know what love is. But if I knew the force and power of love, then I would know how to answer. And since I do not know love, I do not know how to reply correctly. According to what I know of Love and of lays and well-made songs, I say to you that I do not know any knight to sing good songs other than my lord Tristan of Lyonesse: he, without doubt, has surpassed all knights in singing and eloquence.

Tristan says to her:

---

<sup>1</sup> *Le Roman de Tristan en prose*, gen. ed. by Philippe Ménard, 9 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1987-1997), VII, *De l'appel d'Yseut jusqu'au départ de Tristan de la Joyeuse Garde*, ed. by Danielle Querel and Monique Santucci (1994), pp. 296-97 (para. 167).

Damoisele, puis qu'il est ensi que vous tous les lays monsigneur Tristan savés, or nous dites chelui que vous tenés au meilleur. —Chertes, fist ele, puis que mesire Tristrans se parti du rice tournoient de Louverserph, qu'il vainqui par force de cevalerie si comme on dist, fist il un lay que on apeloit le Lay de Victoire. Ce est li lays qu'il onques feïst que on set mains; pour ce le voel je canter orendroit. —Damoisele, fait mesire Tristrans, vous avés ci nommé un des miudres lays que mesire Tristrans feïst, si vous le savés bien harper acordans de notes. —Et vous, comment le savés? dist la damoisele. Ja a il esté si poi dit. —Damoisele, fait il, tant vous en di, car je le seuch ains que vous le seüstes. —Sire, fait ele, bien puet estre; et je le chanterai, et se je mespreing, si le m'amendés. (p. 297)

Young lady, since it is the case that you know all the lays of my lord Tristan, tell us, then, which you believe to be the best.' 'Certainly,' she said, 'since Sir Tristan left the great tournament of Louverserp, where he was victorious through the force of his chivalry as they say, he composed a lay called the Lay of Victory. This is the lay of his which is least known, and for that reason I will sing it now.' 'Young lady,' said my lord Tristan, 'you have named one of the finest lays that Tristan has composed, if you know how to accompany it properly with the harp.' 'And you, how do you know it?' asked the young lady. 'It has never been performed.' 'Young lady,' he said, 'I say as much, for I would like to know it as you know it.' 'Sir,' she said, 'that could well be; and I will sing it, and if I make an error, please correct me.'

The scene provides valuable insight into the conceptualization of lyric poetry and song in the High Middle Ages. Particularly clear are the imbrication of song and knowledge, the importance of a personal connection with the matter of a song, and also particular formal elements which demonstrate technical finesse ('chans bien acordans'). Music is also integral in this case both to performance—the shared experience of performed song—and to composition. Similarly, song is the arena for competition and improvement (Tristan 'a tous les cevaliers passés de canter'), which in this case is equated partly with knightly prowess. The combination of these aspects makes lyric into a particularized kind of expression which lies beyond the bounds of normal spoken discourse, and one which is therefore worth careful critique, dissemination, and preservation. The scene also sheds light on the thirteenth-century view of the small-scale, largely oral, transmission of song, where the limited audiences of *cognoscenti* for courtly lyric were relatively isolated. It thus looks back to a time before the large scale written transmission of song

that seems to have been developing around the time of the composition of the *Tristan*. It is principally that written transmission which is considered in this study.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the period under discussion (roughly 1140-1350), the transfer of songs exists in a zone between written and oral reception and transmission. Movement can also take place between languages, as made clear by an episode in the *Frauendienst*, which dates from around thirty years after the *Tristan*. Written by Ulrich von Liechtenstein, the text describes how the autobiographical hero is provided with an Italian or otherwise Romance song and composes a new German one to fit the same melody.

“eu hât mîn vrowe her gesant  
bî mir ein wîse, diu unbekant  
ist in teutschen landen gar  
(daz sült gelouben ir für wâr):  
dâ sult ir teutsch singen in:  
des bitet sî, der bot ich bin.”  
Die wîse ich lernte an der stat  
und sang drin reht, als sî mich bat  
[...]  
nu hœret: diu liet sprechent sô:  
EIN SINCWÎSE, UND IST DIU SIBENDE WÎSE  
Wê war umbe sul wir sorgen?  
vreude ist guot.  
Von den wîben sol man borgen  
hôhen muot.  
[...]  
Der bot niht langer dâ beleip.  
zehant dô man diu liet geschreip,  
dô beleip er niht langer dâ:  
er fuort si sîner vrowen sâ.  
dô sîs gelas, diu wol gemuot,  
si sprach alsô: “diu liet sint guot...” (strophe 358, 3- 360, 6)<sup>3</sup>

“My lady has sent me to you with a melody that is entirely unknown in the German lands (Believe me, for it is true), you should sing German to go with it; that is the demand of

---

<sup>2</sup> See further Maria Luisa Meneghetti, *Il pubblico dei trovatori*, esp. chap. 2. She dates the broadening of the audience for troubadour song to about 1170 (p. 66).

<sup>3</sup> *Ulrich's von Liechtenstein 'Frauendienst'*, ed. by Reinhold Bechstein, 2 vols, *Deutsche Dichtungen des Mittelalters*, 7-8 (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1888).

the one whose messenger I am.” I learnt the melody on the spot and sang [sc. words] that fitted correctly, as she asked me [...] Now listen, the song goes like this: A SONG – AND IT IS THE SEVENTH MELODY ‘Oh, why should we worry? joy is good. One should hide from women one’s joyfulness [...]’ The messenger did not stay long. Soon the song was written, so he stayed no longer: he took it to his lady straight way. When she read it, the well-disposed one, she said “The song is good...”.

The scene in the *Frauendienst* is unique in medieval literature as a description of the process of composing new words to fit with a previously existing melody, the product of which was called a *contrafactum*. Though unique in this sense, it is nonetheless representative of a poetic culture in which lyric poetry moves remarkably freely between and across geopolitical entities, where knowledge of ‘foreign’ poetry is far from unusual, and which challenges modern conceptions of normative boundaries, linguistic and cultural: these are the subject of this investigation.

Not all linguistic boundaries, however, are as clear cut as that between German and Italian in Ulrich’s romance. The situation in Romance texts in particular is often unclear: did the author or scribe wish to blur the boundary between, say, Occitan and French (as appears to be the case in one of the MSS of the *chanson de geste* *Girart de Roussillon* and other deliberately hybridizing texts) or does this stem from incompetence or greater familiarity with one language?<sup>4</sup> The complex state of many MS witnesses—and consequently the approach of modern editors to texts which have an unclear linguistic identity—brings with it the question of what constituted a language for the poets of the Middle Ages, and of what value was encoded in that identity. One instance of the blurring of boundaries in manuscript transmission that has generated much scholarly discussion is Richard the Lionheart’s *rotrouenge* ‘Ja nus homs pris’. It exists in seven ‘Old French’ MS witnesses (*CU*, *KNXO*, *Za*) and in three Occitan *chansonniers* (*PSf*), and was long held to exist in both Old French and Occitan.<sup>5</sup> As both Yves Lepage and Lucilla Spetia have convincingly

---

<sup>4</sup> On *Girart de Roussillon* see W. Mary Hackett, *La langue de ‘Girart de Roussillon’*, Publications françaises et romanes 111 (Geneva: Droz, 1970), and, more recently, Simon Gaunt, “‘Desnaturat son li Frances’: Language and Identity in the twelfth-century Occitan Epic”, *Tenso*, 17(2002), 10-31.

<sup>5</sup> For a table of all *sigla*, see Appendix I.

argued, however, the ‘Occitan’ text is not attributable to Richard but is in fact a confection created by over-enthusiastic antiquarians such as Mlle L’Héritier de Villandon in the eighteenth, encouraged by Jean de Nostradamus sixteenth-century collection of the lives of the troubadours, and based on a false interpretation of scribal accommodation of ‘foreign’ poetry in the Occitan MSS.<sup>6</sup> Charmaine Lee has glossed it as a French text that has been copied by Occitan and Italian scribes used to working with Occitan who have thus given the French original a new appearance. In a sense, then, the question is not in *which* language but rather in *what* language is the text written? Or indeed what language did the scribe, accommodating ‘French’ to ‘Occitan’ norms, think he was writing? There emerges a tendency toward a generic Romance that does not entirely reflect one single ‘language’ in the modern sense, which thus poses the question of how well the black-or-white modern ideas of linguistic identity are matched to the object of study.

While this phenomenon is most widespread in the Romance areas, it is by no means exclusive to it: the lyrics of Heinrich von Veldeke, born in liminal Limburg, come down via High German witnesses. While his lyrics were perhaps not originally as ‘High’ German as the texts we now know, controversy has surrounded the edition of his romances and lyrics, particularly that of Frings and Schieb which ‘restored’ the original Maas-valley dialect, even though this is not reflected in the MSS.<sup>7</sup> Conversely, Siegfried Beyschlag proposed limited use of Low German

---

<sup>6</sup> Spetia, ‘Riccardo Cuor di Leone tra oc e oil’, *CN*, 56 (1996), 101-55. Spetia is responding to Lepage’s article, ‘Richard Cœur de Lion et la poésie lyrique’, in *Et c’est la fin pour quoy nous sommes ensemble: Hommage à Jean Dufournet: Littérature, Histoire et Langue du Moyen-Âge*, ed. by Jean-Claude Aubailly et al., 3 vols, Nouvelle bibliothèque du Moyen-Âge, 25 (Paris: Champion, 1993), II, pp. 893-910, in which he argues that while Richard wrote the *rotrouenge* in OF, he deliberately composed his only other known song ‘Dalfin je’us voill derainier’ (PC 420, 1/ RS 1274a) in Poitevin, the closest linguistic form he could manage to the Occitan of its addressee, Dalfi d’Alvernha, a view corrected by Charmaine Lee, ‘Le canzoni di Riccardo Cuor di Leone’, in *Atti del XXI Congresso Internazionale di Linguistica e Filologia Romanza: Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani: Università di Palermo 18-24 settembre 1995*, ed. by Giovanni Ruffini, 6 vols (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), VI, pp. 243-50 (p. 247). See also her article, ‘Nota sulla *routrouenge* di Riccardo Cuor di Leone: Le canzoni di Riccardo Cuor di Leone’, *Rivista di Studi testuali*, 6-7 (2004-5), 139-51.

<sup>7</sup> On Veldeke’s language see Jozef van Mierlo, ‘De Taal van Veldeke’ *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie* [unnumbered] (1958), 243-71, and more recently, Helmut Tervooren, ‘Maasländisch oder Mittelhochdeutsch?’ in *Henric van Veldeken: Symposium Gent 23-24 oktober 1970*, ed. by Gilbert A.R. de Smet (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel), pp. 44-69, a critique of the editorial principles behind Henric van Veldeken, *Eneide*, ed. by Theodor Frings and Gabriele Schieb, 3 vols,

lexis (like the dative pronoun ‘mi’ in place of Middle High German ‘mir’) as a stylistic choice.<sup>8</sup> As Frits van Oostrom has written, ‘the literary tradition bequeathed by Veldeke has seeped into the culture of several “nations”. Seen from this vantage point, Veldeke indeed epitomizes the absurdity of allowing our concept of medieval literature to be dominated by anachronistic views of national and linguistic frontiers’.<sup>9</sup> Thus, in the cases of both Richard and Heinrich, we see to what extent the often aleatory nature of manuscript transmission, in combination with editorial decisions, can have long-lasting repercussions for the perception of individual authors and, by extension, the elaboration of literary histories and national traditions. Consequently, much of the analysis which follows takes a fresh look at the manuscript transmission of lyric poetry in the hope of reframing the debate toward a less prejudicial approach.

Beyond the question of the boundaries between languages is the matter of the value attributed to different languages and the contexts in which they were used. This concern comes to the fore particularly in multilingual poetry, and is of considerable importance in the development of vernacular literary culture in Europe. Occitan was not only considered the ‘first’, but was also, according to some medieval writers such as Raimon Vidal de Besalù in his *Razos de Trobar*, the ‘best’ language for lyric poetry.<sup>10</sup> Against this background, at what point does, for instance, Italian become a ‘valid’ literary language, when for so long Occitan had been the normal language for composition in the lands we now call Italy? How ‘foreign’ was Occitan in Italy, and what was the role of such ‘foreign’ languages in the development of vernacular culture? Lyric poetry, precisely because of its mobility, is often in the vanguard of these changes, and thus offers a uniquely fruitful point of access to this aspect of European literary and cultural history.

---

Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, 58, 59, 62 (Berlin: Akademie, 1964-70). Siegfried Beyschlag, ‘Ein flämelnder Veldeke (zu MF 57, 10)’, in *Heinric van Veldeken*, ed. de Smet, pp. 77-86 (pp. 78-79).

<sup>8</sup> Beyschlag, ‘Ein flämelnder Veldeke’, pp. 78-79.

<sup>9</sup> van Oostrom, ‘The Middle Ages until circa 1400’, in *A Literary History of the Low Countries*, ed. by Theo Hermans (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2009), pp. 1-63 (p. 8).

<sup>10</sup> *The Razos de trobar of Raimon Vidal and Associated Texts*, ed. by John H. Marshall (London: Oxford University Press, 1972). For further discussion of this text see Chapter 2.

These are not essentially new ideas, but there has never been a satisfactory overarching consideration of the actual logistics of the mobility of lyric. It is above all in its approach, one led by careful reading of MS witnesses and contexts, that this study differs from previous works with a European scope, which have in recent generations eschewed lyric. Where Ernst Robert Curtius and later Peter Dronke emphasized the role of *latinitas* in binding together the peoples and literatures of Europe in the Middle Ages, I am concerned with the developing sense in the years 1140-1350 of the authority of the vernacular languages as the medium for an elevated cultural discourse.<sup>11</sup> This flourishing is often linked in scholarship with Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* and literary *excursus* of his *Vita nova*, but these texts are symptomatic of a cultural moment rather than its only expression.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, it is only by approaching the literature of the high Middle Ages comparatively that we can see the role of lyric poetry in the elaboration of a supra-regional courtly civilization, and in the maturation of many individual European languages.<sup>13</sup> Benedict Anderson described the importance of newspapers to the creation of the nation with one language in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by delineating social groups. As he says:

Speakers of the huge variety of Frenches, Englishes, or Spanishes, who might find it difficult or even impossible to understand one another in conversation, became capable of comprehending one another via print and paper. In the process, they gradually became aware of the hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people in their particular language-field, and at the same time that *only those* hundreds of thousands, or millions, so belonged.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> This vernacular, largely worldly characterization is implicit in Joachim Bumke's *Höfische Kultur: Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter*, 2 vols, DTV 4442 (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1987). A longer view is taken by Reto Bezzola in his monumental *Origines et Formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident (500-1200)*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études: Sciences historiques et philologiques, 286, 313, 319 and 320 (Paris: Champion, 1944-63). See also Curtius, *ELLMA*, and Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968).

<sup>12</sup> See discussion of the *De vulgari eloquentia* in Chapter 3, and also *Vita nova* chap 16 (Gorni) or XXV (Barbi). On the different systems of numbering, see note to Chapter 3.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Olive Sayce, *The Medieval German Lyric 1150-1300: The development of its themes and forms in their European context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), although, as the title suggests, the work is concerned with the interactions of German and Romance lyric in a largely genetic fashion. The same can be said of the examination of courtly ideology in Ingrid Kasten's *Frauendienst bei Trobadors und Minnesängern im 12. Jahrhundert: Zur Entwicklung und Adaption eines literarischen Konzepts* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1986).

<sup>14</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London: Verso, 1992), p. 44.

This study takes it as axiomatic that, far from consolidating ‘language-fields’ into a national consciousness, the lyric poetry of the high Middle Ages shares the function of newspapers in Anderson’s model, both generating and developing an awareness of the shared preoccupations and interests of courtly milieux. More precisely, it affirms the community of medieval poets as a body neither limited nor defined by linguistic boundaries: they are very often more interested in lyrical and courtly discourse than languages. Consequently this study is directed against national literary historical models prevalent since the nineteenth century, with their parallel silos, as well as the institutional Balkanization of the scholars of much of this material. These models, and these institutions, which impose modern boundaries—cultural, linguistic, social, literary—on their objects of study (an instance of David Perkins’ description of the humanities as a means of escaping the ‘prison of the present’<sup>15</sup>) are unable to reflect accurately the evidence as we have it and what it suggests about what has been lost.

One recent attempt to move beyond this national framework is Marisa Galvez’s *Songbook*, which approached the major manuscript collections in the Occitan, Hispanic and MHG *corpora* as a genre from both literary and material philological perspectives, combining material from what are often regarded as disparate traditions.<sup>16</sup> Her study is innovative, for instance, in the way it reframes the nature and function of the songbook with reference to the *Carmina Burana* and the *Libro de Buen Amor*, neither generally considered related to the manuscripts of the troubadours and *trouvères*. And yet Galvez’s use of the specifying terms *chansonnier*, *Liederhandschrift* and *cancionero* tends to reinforce traditional boundaries. One need only think of the Hispanic Vega-Aguilo MS (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 7-8), which contains Occitan, Catalan and French lyrics, or BnF MS fr. 20050, known to students of Occitan as *X* and as *U* to those of Old

---

<sup>15</sup> *Is Literary History Possible?* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992). p. 185.

<sup>16</sup> Galvez, *Songbook: How Lyrics became Poetry in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

French song, to see the problems inherent in this usage. There is also the question of music, which, as the passage from the *Tristan en prose* quoted above makes clear, is one of the things that makes songs ‘songs’. Yet Galvez does not make any substantial engagement with this body of evidence. While not a musicologist, I have tried to include musical considerations where this is possible, believing it to be an inalienable part of the object of study and one which, when combined with literary approaches, may offer important new insights, as has been powerfully demonstrated by the work of Ardis Butterfield.<sup>17</sup>

The material examined in the following chapters is centred on Occitan and Old French literature, but also makes substantial reference to texts in Italian and Middle High German, and, occasionally, to Catalan, Latin and Middle English texts. Given its breadth, it cannot claim to be exhaustive, but rather aims to examine the different modes in which lyric poetry and lyrical forms moved around medieval Europe, suggesting patterns of crossing and confronting linguistic boundaries, both in their composition and their subsequent MS transmission. Equally there are some modes of movement that I do not explicitly consider: the physical mobility of the MS witness, or the mobility of singers, for both of which there exists only patchy evidence. Each of the modes of mobility I do discuss, however, has tended to form a single topic of discussion, and it is thus the novelty of this work to bring them together with the goal of giving a richer and more complex analysis of lyric culture in the Middle Ages.

Each chapter focusses on one mode of mobility. The first is a case study which traces the *contrafacta* of the song ‘Can vei la lauzeta mover’ by Bernart de Ventadorn as they move from Occitan to Old French to Middle High German, Latin and Galician-Portuguese, with the aim of showing in detail the full extent of the interrelations that connected diverse poets. There emerges

---

<sup>17</sup> *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

a network of poets active from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, all engaging with Bernart's song. Either they do this in a formal fashion, adopting the same metrical and melodic structure, a process elaborated by Jörn Gruber as the basis of a poetic debate and dialectic, or, a different kind of *Aufhebung*, by quoting Bernart's song in their own generally narrative texts as an authoritative statement on courtly love.<sup>18</sup>

The second chapter moves on from the mobility of lyric to ask what, for medieval poets and thinkers, was the status of the different languages and linguistic forms among which songs such as 'Can vei' move. It does this through the prism of multilingual poetry, composed not only by troubadours of Occitan origin, but by English poets, Dante and the later Middle High German poet Oswald von Wolkenstein. These demonstrate a movement toward a poetic culture for which language in the modern sense was not always of the greatest importance in defining one's poetic activity, and for which the real language was one structured on the grammar of courtly love. This tendency is not always supported by the scribes responsible for the manuscripts of these lyrics, who often cross modern boundaries or reinforce those which have been undermined or made more obvious by the poet. In many of these cases, however, there is a counteracting tendency among modern editors to create texts based on modern conceptions of languages as clearly defined relatives in a family tree, and which therefore do not necessarily engage with the complexity of the witness and what these might reveal about medieval conceptions of language.

The third chapter poses the complementary question: if lyric is a kind of language in itself, what is the value of that enunciation as distinct from other literary forms, and how is this revealed in transmission? I approach this by considering the practice, particularly widespread in the thirteenth century, of inserting lyric poetry into other texts, not only narrative but also learned

---

<sup>18</sup> *Die Dialektik des Trobar: Untersuchungen zur Struktur und Entwicklung des okzitanischen und französischen Minnesangs des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Beihefte zur ZRP, 194 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1983).

ones, using Jean-François Lyotard's notion of the deictic valorization of knowledge.<sup>19</sup> This is the principle that while knowledge exists, it must be set apart in some fashion to gain its full value. Thus the contrast of lyrical and other texts has the effect of singling out lyrics as particularly valuable and, essentially, as the vehicle of wisdom. Such an approach is borne out by examination not only of the much discussed Old French *romans à insertion lyrique*, but also Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* and *Vita Nova*, the Occitan *Breviari d'Amor* and the MHG *Frauendienst* of Ulrich von Liechtenstein, a group of texts never before studied in depth as a whole.

The final chapter moves to the choice of language in poetic composition and the role played by language choice in the development of lyric culture in the Middle Ages. It also considers the place of lyric poetry in the changing landscape of European vernacularity. I address these questions through an analysis of three areas of lyric production in the thirteenth century where poets composed in and engaged with poetry written in languages of which they were not native speakers. First, the Catalan troubadours Guillem de Berguedà and Cerverí de Girona, both of whom worked in Occitan; second, three early witness of Italian language lyric, first two translations of Occitan songs by the Sicilian poet Giacomo da Lentini, and then the partial translation of Rigaut de Berbezilh's 'Atressi com l'orifans' in *Il Novelino*. The third section takes its lead from Slavic poets working in Middle High German in Silesia and Bohemia at the end of the century. In each of these cases, we see poets often considered as 'latecomers' marking their position relative both to their own background and the tenets of the linguistic and literary tradition they have joined. This triangulation asks questions of critics who tend to judge them as poor imitations of the 'real thing'—that is, poems composed by native speakers—while offering a powerful corrective to the centrifugal model of literary history.

---

<sup>19</sup> Lyotard, *La condition postmoderne: rapport sur le savoir* (Paris: Minuit, 1979).

Together, these modes of lyrical mobility offer a picture of a poetic community in the Europe of the High Middle Ages which viewed language as a means of communication and sometime marker of identity, although this did not undermine the overarching importance of courtly lyric as a form of expression and cultural endeavour that bound together the medieval West.

## 1. *Poésie sans frontières*: The fate of Bernart de Ventadorn's 'Can vei la lauzeta mover'

Only rarely do medieval literary studies go far beyond disciplinary subdivisions. If they do it is normally for genetic purposes: for instance, when Old French and Occitan poetry is examined as a source for or influence on German *Minnesang*.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, the song of medieval Europe is seldom considered holistically. The widespread practice of contrafacture, that is, composing lyrics with the same strophe form (and often rhymes) or sung to the melody of a previously composed song, however, offers a well-founded way of following lyrics, forms, and motifs. By far the most fruitful basis for *contrafacta* is Bernart de Ventadorn's 'Can vei la lauzeta mover' (PC 70, 43), a form which allows us to trace a poetic network reaching from Valencia to Swabia, from the mid-twelfth century up to the fifteenth. It is the purpose of this chapter to demonstrate the fruits of a joined-up approach, and to rehabilitate the *contrafactum*, which has had little popularity in medieval literary studies for some time. A number of scholars, principally Friedrich Gennrich, Hans Spanke and Ursula Aarburg, motivated by the possibility of recouping melodies for German *Minnesang* from the putative romance models, focussed primarily on defining a

---

<sup>1</sup> See for instance: Ingrid Kasten, *Frauendienst*, or, Sayce, *The Middle High German Lyric*.

*contrafactum*.<sup>2</sup> Here, I go beyond these and consider the effects of this musical-poetic practice, so common in the Middle Ages, and its baggage—that is, the connotations of a certain melody—on the composition, interpretation, and transmission of lyrics. I take my lead from Jörn Gruber’s *Die Dialektik des Trobar*, which views troubadour lyrics as a long-distance, long-term conversation, tracked in metrical forms and, where these are extant, melodies. Contrafacture engages the medieval poet with his poetic interlocutor, dead or alive, in a way susceptible of considerable nuance.

Die einzelnen Lieder (‘Vers’, Canzone) sind virtuell Fragmente eines verschlüsselten Minnedialogs zwischen “Verstehenden”, die einander an gedanklicher Subtilität und formaler Virtuosität zu überbieten streben, um sich dem Ideal des *summum verum*, *summum pulchrum* und *summum bonum* immer weiter zu nähern.<sup>3</sup>

The individual lyrics (‘vers’ or *cansos*) are in effect splinters of a hidden love-dialogue between those who understand, who strive to outdo each other in intellectual subtlety and formal virtuosity in order to come ever closer to the ideal of the greatest truth, the greatest beauty, and the greatest good.

Gruber’s study considers mainly French and Occitan lyric, and neither includes poets working in more disparate languages, nor considers very large constellations of poems. The case of ‘Can vei’ offers a valuable corrective: its considerable influence is evident in the large number of medieval imitations, not just in Occitan and Old French, but also Latin, Middle High German, Galician-Portuguese and Catalan. Some of these songs are more closely related than others, but the poets all decided to use the strophic form *8ababdcdd* and/or the melody we associate with ‘Can vei la lauzeta mover’. This demonstrates not only deliberate manipulations of this connection, but also shows how ‘Can vei’ lives on in a spectral fashion through Bernart’s imitators and recipients, even when they do not knowingly engage with him. The network thus constructed is one founded on the shared interest in courtly culture rather than on linguistic pathways. I take the

---

<sup>2</sup> See Gennrich, ‘Internationale mittelalterliche Melodien’, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 11 (1928-29), 259-96; 321-48; Spanke, *Beziehungen zwischen der mittellateinischen und romanischen Lyrik*, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 3rd ser., 18 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1936), and Aarburg, ‘Melodien zum frühen deutschen Minnesang’ in *Der deutsche Minnesang*, ed. by Hans Fromm, Wege der Forschung, 15 (Bad Homburg: Gentner, 1963), pp. 378-421. Originally in: *ZfdA* 87 (1956-57), 24-45. See also John Marshall’s article, ‘Pour l’étude des “contrafacta” dans la poésie des troubadours’, *Romania*, 101 (1980), 298-335.

<sup>3</sup> Gruber, *Die Dialektik*, p. 256.

idea of spectrality from Sarah Kay's examination of Chrétien de 'Troyes' contribution to the poetic debate with Bernart, 'D'Amors qui m'a tolu a moi'. She defines it as 'the potential for echoes of various kinds, and their capacity to summon up other versions of the text, in which thoughts are processed more or less obsessively and more or less repetitively'.<sup>4</sup>

The spectral is also beneficial in its capacity to accommodate the meaning, not always easily determined, of this network's melodic element. It is all too easy to forget that these are largely songs to be sung. Yet music has been partly instrumental in the ability to recognize and trace these *contrafacta*, and so the study of *contrafacta* and music must go hand in hand. Indeed, Hendrik van der Werf has suggested that Bernart's melody is itself the reason for 'Can vei's' travels.

Bernard's song is probably the oldest troubadour or trouvère melody which has been preserved in so many and such varied sources. Therefore it is very remarkable that the melody has been preserved with such uniformity as far as the melodic contour is concerned. Comparison of the versions as well as examination of textual and melodic characteristics make it rather clear that this uniformity is neither the consequence of a written tradition nor of strong metric features, but rather of a strong melodic structure.<sup>5</sup>

The power of music to jump across boundaries is balanced in the following by the criteria for 'acceptable' *contrafacta* elaborated by Ursula Aarburg. For her, the content of two poems must agree, and if the theme is a common one, the shared form must be rare.<sup>6</sup> She permits certain flexibilities between Romance languages and MHG: adding *Aufiakte* or supernumerary first syllables, abandoning interstrophic patterns such as *coblas doblas*, and including new rhyme sounds. Nowhere, however, does Aarburg mention music, and in this regard van der Werf is persuasive in his suggestion that the melodic can outstrip the verbal. This is particularly important when a song moves between languages, as with Dietmar von Eist's *contrafactum*, discussed below, where the melody appears to have made the leap, taking with it a strophic form, but only the text remains. As was seen in the passage from Ulrich von Liechtenstein's

---

<sup>4</sup> Zrinka Stahuljak, Virginie Greene, Sarah Kay et al, *Thinking Through Chrétien de Troyes*, Gallica, 19 (Cambridge: Brewer, 2010), p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Hendrik van der Werf, *The Chansons of the troubadours and trouvères: A study of the melodies and their relation to the poems* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1972), p. 90.

<sup>6</sup> Aarburg, 'Melodien', pp. 388-91.

*Frauendienst* discussed in the Introduction, contrafacture was a largely musical process, depending on learning the melody first.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, departures from the original rhyme scheme should not be insuperable obstacles to identifying *contrafacta*. While the only partial survival of musical notation in Occitania and its total lack in German-speaking areas raises certain doubts, this does not mean that we are left only scraps of evidence. On the contrary, ‘Can vei’ casts an astonishingly long shadow. This includes numerous citations of and references to ‘Can vei’ which form the final section of this chapter. Previous studies have limited themselves to parts of Bernart’s poetic reception: ignoring the citations would repeat an incomplete picture.

#### *The MS transmission of ‘Can vei’*

‘Can vei la lauzeta mover’ (PC 70, 43), the perfect *canso*, a celebration of a love so strong that Bernart, in his unreciprocated desperation, fears he will die, has been so often anthologized and discussed that it is unnecessary to go into much detail here.<sup>8</sup> Carl Appel’s now standard edition of the text is as follows.<sup>9</sup>

I.	Can vei la lauzeta mover De joi sas alas contral rai, Que s’oblid’ e’s laissa chazer Per la doussor c’al cor li vai, Ai! Tan grans enveya m’en ve De cui qu’eu veyau jauzion, Meravilhas ai, car desse Lo cor de desirer no·m fon.	1	When I see the lark beat Its wings against the sun’s ray with such joy That it forgets itself and lets itself falls Through the sweetness that strikes at its heart
		5	O! I have such great envy Of anyone I see who is merry It is a wonder to me that straight away My heart doesn’t melt with desire.
II	Ai, las! Tan cuidava saber D’amor, e tan petit en sail! Car eu d’amar no·m posc tener Celeis don ja pro non aurai. Tout m’a mo cor, e tout m’a me,	10	Alas! I thought I knew so much about love, but how little I really do, because I cannot stop myself from loving that one from whom I shall never gain advantage. She took my heart and robbed me of myself

<sup>7</sup> See str. 358-59, discussed in the Introduction.

<sup>8</sup> See for example: Leslie Topsfield, *Troubadours and Love* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) pp. 128-31; Erich Köhler, ‘Zur Struktur der altprovenzalischen Kanzone’ Originally published in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 7 (1964), 40-51. Repr. in Köhler, *Esprit und arkadische Freiheit: Aufsätze aus der Welt der Romania* (Frankfurt a. M.: Athenäum, 1966), pp. 28-45, and Sarah Kay, ‘Love in a Mirror: An aspect of the imagery of Bernart de Ventadorn’, *Medium Ævum*, 52 (1982), 272-85.

<sup>9</sup> *Bernart von Ventadorn: Seine Lieder mit Einleitung und Glossar*, ed. by Carl Appel (Halle: Niemeyer, 1915), no. 43, pp. 249-57.

	E se mezeis e tot lo mon; E can se-m tolç, no·m laisset re  mas dezirer e cor volon.		And of herself and all the world. And when she robs me thus, she leaves me nothing But desire and a willing heart.
III	Anc non agui de me poder Ni no fui meus de l'or' en sai Que·m laisset en sos olhs vezer En un miralh que mout me plai. Miralhs, pus me mirei en te, M'an mort li sospir de preon, C'aissi·m perdei com perdet se Lo bels Narcisus en la fon.	15   20	I never had power over myself Nor was I my own from that moment then, When she allowed me to see in her eyes, In a mirror that pleases me well. O mirror, because I saw myself in you, Sighs from the depths have killed me, So that I lost myself as did Handsome Narcissus in the stream.
IV	De las domnas me dezesper; Ja mais en lor no·m fiarai; C'aissi com las solh chaptener Enaissi las deschaptendrai. Pois vei c'una pro no m'en te Vas leis que·m destrui e·m confon, Totas las dopt' e las mescre, Car be sai c'atretals se son.	25   30	I despair of women I shall never more put my faith in them Just as I used to defend them, Now I shall leave them to their own devices. For I see that a woman has no use for me who ruins and destroys me, I suspect all women and disbelieve them, For I know well that the others are like this.
V	D'aisso·s fa be femna parer Ma domna, per qu'e·lh o retrai, Car no vol so c'om deu voler, E so c'om li devada, fai. Chazutz sui en mala merce, Et ai be faih co·l fols en pon; E no sai per que m'esdeve, Mas car trop puyei contra mon.	35   40	In this way, my lady reveals herself To be woman like another, so I recount it Because she does not want what one should And what she is forbidden to do, she does. I have fallen on poor mercy And I have done as the madman on the bridge And I do not know why I have become, But that I climbed up too far.
VI	Merces es perduda, per ver, (et eu non o saubi anc mai), Car cilh qui plus en degr'aver, No·n a ges, et on la querrai? A! can mal sembla, qui la ve, Qued aquest chaitiu deziron Que ja ses leis non aura be, Laisse morir, que no l'aon!	45	Mercy is lost, it is true (and I have never known any more) For she who should have the most of it Does not have any, so where shall I look for it? Ah! How bad she seems, who ever sees her, Who lets this miserable lover (who, without her, will never have anything good) Die, and who does not help him.
VII	Pus midons no·m pot valer Precs ni merces ni·l dreihz qu'eu ai Ni a leis no ven a plazer Qu'eu l'am, ja mais no·lh o dirai. Aissi·m part de leis e·m recre; Mort m'a, e per mort li respon, E vau m'en, pus ilh no·m rete, Chaistus, en issilh, no sai on.	50   55	Since my lady cannot equal for me Praise nor mercy, nor the rights that I have, And it does not please her that I love her, I shall never tell her about it. And so I take my leave and give up. She has killed me, and I respond as if dead Since she does not retain me, Miserable, I go into in exile, I know not where.
VIII	Tristans, ges no·n auretz de me,		Tristan, you shall not hear from me

Qu'eu m'en vau, chaitius, no sai  
on.  
De chantar me gic e'm recre,  
E de joi e d'amor m'escon.

Because I, miserable, am leaving, I know not  
where  
I stop singing and give up  
60 And refuse joy and love.

Appel's text, then, foregrounds the poet's suffering, and puts the closing emphasis on his exile and abandoning song. As Simon Gaunt reminded us, however, Appel bases his text on MSS *QU*, which order the strophes in a way not especially representative of the interpretations encouraged by the rest of the MS tradition of 20 witnesses (*ACDEGIKLMNOPQRSVWXa*).<sup>10</sup> Appel's *QU* text makes one particular change to the MS witnesses: in *Q* ll. V. 5-8 become the *cauda* of strophe VI, and are replaced with the second half of strophe V. Similarly the final three lines of the same two strophes are inverted in MS *U*.<sup>11</sup> This changes considerably way the lyric is read: *Q* concentrates mercy in one strophe, and it is the fact that Bernart's *midons* does not 'vol so c'om deu voler' ['want what one should want']—that is, woman's incompatibility with the expectations which causes his sorrow. In *U*, it is not the lady who allows Bernart to die, but rather *mala merce*, the abstract quality in itself which can provide aid, not the person.

<sup>10</sup> Gaunt, 'Discourse desired: Desire, Subjectivity and Mouvanç in *Can vei la lauzeta mover*' in *Desiring Discourse: The Literature of Love: Ovid through Chaucer*, ed. by James Paxson and Cynthia Gravlee (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1998), pp. 89-110.

<sup>11</sup> In MS *Q*, these strophes read:

V: D'aisso's fa be femna parer  
Ma domna, per qu'e'lh o retrai,  
Car no vol so c'om deu voler,  
E so c'om li devada, fai.  
A! com mal sembla, qui la ve,  
Asses oils chattiu desiron  
Qe senç le non aurai mais be,  
Lais mor sera non ma bon!

VI: Merces es perduda, per ver,  
(et eu non o saubi anc mai),  
Car cilh qui plus en degr'aver,  
No'n a ges, et on la querrai?  
Chazutz sui en mala merce,  
Et ai fat ben de fols un pon;  
E ni sai per que me deue,  
Qa car puyei trop contra mon.

The reception of Bernart's text depends in large part, as we shall see, on versions other than Appel's confection. The different topics and approaches embodied by the *contrafacta* of 'Can vei' by Peire Cardenal, Guillem Anelier de Toloza and Johan Esteve work to create a number of dialectics, as proposed by Gruber, and demonstrate the difficulty of discussing 'Can vei' as a unitary object. To demonstrate this, I will outline the different interpretations encouraged by the various MSS, which give the following strophe orders:

12345678	<i>QU</i>
12347568	<i>C</i>
12435768	<i>O</i>
1243576	<i>MR</i>
124357	<i>Na</i> — (V is added to N by a later hand)
1243675	<i>IK</i> — <i>I</i> lacks strophe II
1243756	<i>V</i>
12456738	<i>E</i>
12467358	<i>AGLPS</i>
124673	<i>D</i>
12	<i>WX</i>

Two features are clear: first, the overwhelming regularity with which Appel IV comes in third place and, second, the regular pairing of V and VII.<sup>12</sup> Two groups can be discerned: *OMRNa* and *AGLPSD*; the others remain separate.

Let us begin with MS *C*, which diffuses the impact of the threat of death-in-exile in VII, which does not materialize in the conclusion, but instead returns to the criticism of women of IV, switching from the general attack on 'las domnas' (IV.1) to 'ma domna' (V.2) in particular. As the complaints about *midons* now follow Bernart's 'dreihz' ['rights'] at (VII.2), the lover is more forceful than complaining. But by closing on VI 7-8, 'Que ja ses leis non aura be|laisse morir, que no l'aon' ['Without her he [sc. the lover] will never have anything good, she lets [sc. him] die who does not help him'] the impression of the lady's callousness remains. Bernart's misogyny remains concealed inside the poem—a tactic we shall see elsewhere in the transmission of 'Can vei' and in others poets' responses to it.

---

<sup>12</sup> All roman numerals refer, for the sake of clarity and comparability, to Appel's strophe numbering.

Secondly, the group *OMNRa*, by placing IV in third position—a feature in common with all further manuscript traditions—underlines the shift from the ecstasy and powerlessness of I and II to misogynistic criticism. Strophe IV contrasts particularly strongly with Bernart’s professed ignorance in II where he declares, ‘Quar sai que altretals son’ [‘I know well that the others are like this’] (*MR* IV.8). Two readings in the later Occitan MS *R* paint women as negatively active.<sup>13</sup> Rather than Appel’s ‘Que-m lasset en sos olhs vezer’ (III.3), we read ‘Pus ela me mostret son voler’ [‘Then she showed me her will’]: this is a *domna* with both volition and action, thus very far from the unapproachable, passive ideal. This is clearly deliberate given the substitution in *R* of ‘Bens grans peccatz es qui o ve’ [‘it is a very great sin for whoever sees her’] at VI.5 in place of ‘A can mal sembla, qui la ve’ which intensifies the negative view of female agency. The lover’s *inammoramento* also makes the *domna* more active. Thus III.3 in *M* reads ‘Qe li plac qem lasset vezer’ [that it pleased her who allowed me to see], again, as in *R*, emphasizing the *domna*’s desire as much as Bernart’s. In the same place, *N* offers ‘Ca sos bels oils mi fes’ [‘that her beautiful eyes did to me’], which performs the impressive trick of calling the lady beautiful, that is, subjecting her to the masculine gaze, while simultaneously making her the active party.

MSS *IK* are, as is well-documented, closely related thirteenth-century Italian *chansonniers*.<sup>14</sup> They are unusual for a number of features. In pairing III and VI, their common source has created an *annominatio* on *perdre* in III.7 and VI.1, linking the loss of self and the search for mercy. This makes sense given that the medieval Narcissus was not a figure of self-regard but a perfectionist, that is, the copyist made *merce* a characteristic of the perfect *senhor*.<sup>15</sup> However, the emphasis on Narcissus in much scholarship is partly Appel’s doing: most MSS (*CEMPSURa*) do not give ‘Narcissus’, but a variation on ‘Narcius’ (*MPSU*) or ‘Marcesis’ (*C*), suggesting that one copyist

<sup>13</sup> See François Zufferey’s localization of the troubadour *chansonniers*, in *Recherches linguistiques sur les chansonniers provençaux*, Publications romanes et françaises, 176 (Geneva: Droz, 1987), p. 314–15.

<sup>14</sup> See *Intavulare*, 2. *Bibliothèque nationale de France* *T*’ (*fr.* 854), *K*’ (*fr.* 12473), ed. by Walter Meliga (Modena: Mucchi, 2001) for descriptions of *IK*.

<sup>15</sup> Kay, ‘Love in a Mirror’, p. 273.

made an error, and those that followed perpetuated it. MSS *IK* are unique in closing on V with no *tornada*, ending with the criticism of women for not being men. It also balances the lover's metaphorical fall ('Chazutz sui en mala merce' ['I have fallen upon poor mercy'] V.5) with the falling lark of the opening strophe, a pleasing symmetry. This unification goes further in *I* which omits strophe II and its reference to the heart, focussing instead on the gaze, leaving only VII without reference to it.

MS *V*, by contrasts, turns on Narcissus' pond (III) as if it were a two-way mirror, the despairing lover on one side in I, II, and IV, and the powerful critique of women (VII, V, and VI) on the other. The poem becomes a textual Frau Welt, the allegorical woman with a beautiful front and rotting back, writhing with toads and worms.<sup>16</sup> In MS *E* as 'Marsilis' he rubs shoulders with Tristan in the *tornada*, 'hiding' the criticism of women as merciless pseudo-*senhors* in the lyric's interior. MS *V* agrees with the final group *AGLPS*, *D*. Placing III next to V before the *tornada* underlines sight's potential for deception—not least of all the 'miralh que mout me plai' ['a mirror that pleases me greatly'] which the *domna*'s eyes provides, and the ambiguous 'parer' discussed above in relation to *OMR*. *D*, while showing the same order, closes with III like MS *I*, ending the lyric with an emphatic *exemplum*, which obscures the preceding misogyny.

We see, then, the very broad range of individual witnesses offered by the *chansonnières* and the wide variety of interpretations which these then offer. Evidence of the fame of 'Can vei', this explains in part the heterogeneous reception of 'Can vei' among other troubadours and poets, set out in Appendix II.

---

<sup>16</sup> See further Kathleen Cohen, *The Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, California Studies in the History of Art, 15 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 81-82 on the famous statue of Frau Welt at Worms cathedral.

### *Occitan responses to 'Can vei'*

The *contrafacta* of 'Can vei' by Peire Cardenal (later 13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>17</sup>), Guillem Anelier (before 1276) and Johan Esteve (1289), are not love lyrics, but instead a quite different kind of poetic response: they adopt Bernart's rhyme scheme and sounds (-*er*, -*ai*, -*e*, -*on*), and engage in detail with his material and phraseology to intervene in current events.<sup>18</sup> Peire Cardenal's *sirventes* 'Tostemps vir cuidar en saber' (PC 335, 58), which criticizes secular magnates who do not fulfil their duties toward their underlings, adopts the same verse form, and rhyme sounds, often ('escon', 'voler', and 'deziron') direct quotations.<sup>19</sup> Although no music survives (R f. 68v has empty staves), Peire's song can thus reasonably be considered a response to 'Can vei'. The audience is invited to draw cross-generic comparisons, but where Bernart's original points to proper reward for the faithful love-servant, Peire shows that the rulers are doomed to Hell.

Peire punctures Bernart's surface concerns with love and suffering, revealing the power-politics that underpin it. He sets himself up as a truth-teller, correcting Bernart's treatment of 'knowledge'. Substituting 'so cug per so sai' ["I think" for "I know"] (l. 2) provides a moral urgency to what follows. Where Bernart's discourse on desire is concerned with ethics, Peire Cardenal treats morality, setting his knowledge against Bernart's *cuidar*, with its overtones of erroneous supposition: this poet has a drum to beat. Particularly arresting is l. 8, 'car es [sc. bona fe] ab me et ab leis son' ['because it [sc. good faith] is with me and I [am] with it'], an unusual unificatory image in a *sirventes* where the main drive is to distinguish the poet from the magnates ('*rics homes*'), and his poetic opponent. This closed circle might be a nod to Narcissus and his reflection at III.3 in Bernart. Indeed, Sarah Kay has demonstrated how the mirror is embedded

---

<sup>17</sup> Richard Straub suggests that because Guillem Anelier's *contrafactum* is inspired directly by Bernart, this poem, dated to 1276, can no longer be used to date Peire Cardenal's song. See 'Les sirventes de Guillem Anelier de Tolosa', in '*Cantarem d'aquestz trobadors*': *Studi occitanici in onore di Giuseppe Tavani*, ed. by Luciano Rossi (Alessandria: Orso, 1995), pp 127-68.

<sup>18</sup> For discussion of these dates, see below.

<sup>19</sup> *Poésies complètes du troubadour Peire Cardenal*, ed. by René Lavaud, Bibliothèque Méridionale, 3rd ser., 34 (Toulouse: Privat, 1957), no. 24, pp. 132-37.

in the language as well as the imagery of Bernart's lyric, and Peire Cardenal also makes full use of mirror tropes.<sup>20</sup> This comes through in his II, where almost every line contains an oxymoronic juxtaposition, often reusing significant vocabulary from 'Can vei' ('plazer' and 'vezer').

Per so n'ai pezar e plazer	9	For this reason I have pain and pleasure
E m'en irais e m'en apai		And I am annoyed and I am calmed
E n'ai amor e mal voler		And have love and ill will of it
Ab tal que mal ni be non fai.		With him who does neither good nor evil.

Similarly, the love-hate in the *cauda* echoes Bernart's relationship with his *domna*. But here—consonant with Peire Cardenal's moral turn—the beloved is 'cest d'amon' ['him up there'], confirmed as God at l. 19. There is a flood of vocabulary that separates the imitator from Bernart: 'escorjar', 'tonar' and at l. 19 'dequazer', after which the 'cofon' and 'destrus' of ll. 22-23, quotations from 'Can vei' are restored to their original force, rather than the washed-out metaphorical meaning they have in the model. Thus the first two citations of whole phrases at ll. 17 and 25 ('no-m puesc tener' and 'fugir non sai on' ['You cannot stop me' and 'to flee I know not where']) are redirected towards salvation and damnation. That, for Peire Cardenal, is what mercy is really about, not some troubadour getting his way with his *domna*.

Peire does not pull any punches in criticizing the misdeeds of the *senhor* who, according to Köhler and others, are hidden behind Bernart's metaphorical *domna*.<sup>21</sup> He picks up on the truth-seeing that Kay observes at the Narcissus-themed hinge of 'Can vei'. But, instead of the lover seeing love in her eyes, though, it is suggested God alone sees into the heart of a:

[...] malvais ric home savai	26	Horrible, terrible magnate,
Tant i vir' hom d'avol aver		a man of vile means would see there so much
Que fera paor et esglai!		that would create fear and trembling!

This strophe gains force though the deployment of *brau* or 'rough' vocabulary ('pogues', 'esglai' and 'escricha'), highlighted by the softer preceding sounds. In this context, Peire's quoting

<sup>20</sup> 'Love in a Mirror', *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> See Michael Kaehne's critique on Köhler's commentary, in *Studien zur Dichtung Bernarts von Ventadorn*, Freiburger Schriften zur Romanischen Philologie, 40, 2 vols (Munich: Fink, 1983), II, pp. 235-52.

‘deziron’ [‘desiring’] (l. 30) to qualify the ‘malvais voler’ [‘ill will’] of the iniquitous magnates, central to the interpretation of ‘Can vei’, underscores the complete change in tone between the two songs. The notion, ll. 31-32, of the magnates carrying their evilness written *el fron* [‘on the forehead’] is perfectly serious, but is edged with humour, being a reworking of ll. 35-36 of ‘Non es meravilh’ (PC 70, 31), where Bernart mentions the horns worn *el fron* by *lausengiers* and *trichadors*.<sup>22</sup>

The final strophe returns to the fulfilment of desire, but instead of Bernart’s egocentric desire, Peire emphasizes the social good and the effect one man’s satiety has on others. The verbal connection with the model is limited to the borrowing of rhyme words (*poder, voler, mon, preon*), but because these are insistent in their regularity, the links are unmistakeable. The magnates have their paratactic fill (‘viest e manja e jai’ [‘they dress (sc. magnificently) and eat and repose’] l. 34), and then, in a monstrous reworking of the falling lark or the fool on the bridge in ‘Can vei’, they descend to hell, following the downward cadence of the melody at the end of the strophe. As if this game were not clear enough, Peire uses his *tornada* to sum up his moral message, fulfilling the exordial promise to replace loose thinking with hard knowledge.

The manuscript tradition of ‘Tostemps vir cuidar en saber’ is far less complicated than that of ‘Can vei’ and the text remains relatively stable across the eight witnesses (MSS *CDIJKRTd*; none contains music). This allows us to consider which ‘Can vei’ Peire Cardenal may have known. This can be read according to the intellectual and rhetorical progression or, more mechanically, by the textual borrowings. The order of thoughts in the *sirventes* could be epitomized as: knowledge and *epideixis*, love-hate with ‘cest d’amon’, just desserts, the deceptive appearance of magnates, and finally their descent (to Hell). Of the variant strophe orders of ‘Can vei’, this train of thought most closely resembles that transmitted in *AGLPS*. While *D* was grouped with these

---

<sup>22</sup> See ed. Appel, no 31, pp. 186-93.

MSS above, it cannot be the version Peire Cardenal knew because it excludes strophe V with its thoughts on deceptive appearances, and also the line ‘Chazutz sui en mala merce’, which I consider the inspiration for ‘deissendet en enfer’. *AGLPS* give 12467358, with Peire Cardenal following the path of knowledge (Bernart II), the love-hate relationship with the relevant authority in II, IV and VI, contemplation of just desserts in VII, and appearances and falling in V. The order of borrowed vocabulary does not match closely any MS tradition. But given the wide transmission of this version of ‘Can vei’, this identification seems secure.

The *sirventes* of Guillem Anelier (PC 204, 1) is a more complex poetic artefact; in it the poet from Toulouse reacts simultaneously to two troubadours. Not only does he play with the vocabulary of Bernart’s ‘Can Vei’, he also kicks against the clergy and Peire’s fire and brimstone. This double connection (Anelier’s contrafacture of Bernart, coupled with his engagement with Peire Cardenal) resolves Guillem’s editor Martin Gisi’s perplexity as to the date of the lyric. The two candidates for the royal infant are Jaime I of Aragon, who acceded in 1213 at the age of 7, and his son Pedro III, born 1239, who acceded in 1276.<sup>23</sup> Evidently the lyric must concern the latter. Richard Straub, Guillem’s most recent editor has dated the song to 1249-91, the reign of Bernard IV d’Astarac, the noble to whom this and two other of his four remaining songs are dedicated.<sup>24</sup>

Guillem’s opening declares that this is a *contrafactum*, citing Bernart (‘no·m puesc tener’) in the first line with its memorable and widely-transmitted melody. This chimes with the following meditation on poetic practice. Strophe I reads:

Ara farai, no·m puesc tenér,	1	Now I shall sing—I cannot stop myself
Un sirventés en est son gay,		A Sirventes to this jolly tune,
Ab bos motz leus per retenér,		Made with good words, easily remembered,
Sitot chantar, cum sol, no·m play;		Although singing doesn’t please me as it did,
Quar li ric son tan nonchalén	5	Because the rich ones are so indifferent

<sup>23</sup> *Der Troubadour Guillem Anelier von Toulouse: Vier provenzalische Gedichte*, ed. by Martin Gisi (Solothurn: Gassman, 1877), pp. 26-27.

<sup>24</sup> Straub, ‘Les *sirventes* de Guillem Anelier de Tolosa’, in ‘*Cantarem d’aquestz trobadors*’: *Studi occitanici in onore di Giuseppe Tavani*, ed. by Luciano Rossi (Alessandria: Orso, 1995), pp. 127-68, text pp. 147-51.

Que'l pretz ne pèrdon d'aquest mon,  
 Quar cobeytatz los vay vensén  
 Don proeza's bayssa e's cofon.

That they are no longer valued by this world  
 Because covetousness is beating them  
 For which reason prowess declines and falls.

Particularly interesting here is Guillem's engagement with oral performance. 'Chantar cum sol no-m play' is difficult to interpret: is it that the poet dislikes singing himself, the practice of singing as a whole, or is the emphasis to be placed on 'cum sol', in which case this is a complaint about current practice, preparing for the coming *O tempora! O mores!* Either way, reference to singing draws attention to the melody, that is, the presence of 'Can vei'. Lines 5-6, while on the surface introducing the main theme, continue the literary commentary and interplay with Bernart, suggesting that *trobar ric* is going out of fashion ('li ric son tan nonchalen' l. 5).<sup>25</sup> Frank Chambers summarizes *trobar ric*—literally 'rich composition'—as 'hurdles of technical virtuosity, rather than profundity of thought', a jibe that Guillem Anelier could easily make.<sup>26</sup> Either way, the addition of 'pretz' at l. 6 and 'proeza' at l. 8 returns the reader to secular power, thus contrasting with Peire Cardenal's focus: salvation. Guillem's triangulation of his own position is clear in the rhyme words at ll. 1 and 3 from Peire Cardenal, and at ll. 6 and 8 from Bernart.

However, and this is further proof of the polysemousness of Bernart's original in allowing such varied responses, where Peire is concerned with the magnates' relationship with their subjects (a mirror image of God with his Creation), Guillem's *sirventes* is as much concerned—as is to be expected for a miniature *speculum principum*—with the interaction of different levels of the nobility. The arrival of a Christological 'enfans' ['child'] at l. 25 interrupts Anelier's preaching. Calling the heir to the Aragonese throne 'lums et ray[s]' ['light and sunbeam'] makes the son the centre of the hierarchical universe who can deter French ambitions in Aragon. It is impressive to note that whilst talking about trans-Pyrenean politics, Guillem Anelier can link back to the image

<sup>25</sup> Cf. 'nonchalen', *PSW*, V, p. 415 'unbeachtet', and also *LR*, II, p. 293, 'indifférent'.

<sup>26</sup> *Introduction to Old Provençal Versification* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1985), p. 117.

of the fool on the bridge at V.6 of ‘Can vei’, making the future Pedro III a positive re-imagining of the fool, something also attempted by Johan Esteve.

The later section of Guillem’s lyric shares Peire Cardenal’s gift for the *brau*. This is particularly the case when criticizing the clergy and their influence:

Ab falz prezicx totz ples d’esglay	36	With false sermons, all full of brimstone,
Quar tant es grans lur trichamen[s]		for so gear is their trickery
Qu’e·l fuec[x] enfernals plus preon		that they will burn deeper down in the fires
Ardran...		of Hell’

The irony is even greater if we consider that this follows—in a direct challenge to Peire Cardenal—Guillem’s turn on Bernart’s ‘d’amar no-m puesc tener’, ‘Que clerc[x] no·l puescon dan tener’ [‘that the clerics can pose him no danger’] set against the claims of the truth-telling priest. He continues with familiar anticlerical *topoi*, and centres on sinfulness, avarice and, in VI, playing politics ‘on non an dreg per nulh dever’ [‘where they have no right to do anything’], leading to the Christians’ deaths. Most cutting is the remark about using: ‘lengatge sens cauzimens | Quar vólon lo ségle[·s] redón’ (ll. 45-46) [‘language without judgement, because they wish the people to shave (sc. their tonsures and rejoin the Church)’]. It is tempting indeed to regard Peire Cardenal as Guillem Anelier’s target, as the author of the earlier *sirventes* had himself left the cloister to pursue his poetry.<sup>27</sup> Finally, in the *tornada* Guillem also follows, if it does not imitate, Peire’s didactic turn, closing with a clear lesson for his addressee the Count of Astarac:

s’espénh amon	50	He dispenses generously
Son pretz et a en dar talén		his ‘worth’ and has a desire to give,
E flac cor ab luy no s’apon.		and a failing heart cannot be his hanger-on

---

<sup>27</sup> Peire’s *vida* records his clerical career: ‘Sos peires lo mes per quanorgue en la quanorguia major del Puei....E quant fo vengutz en etat d’ome, el s’azautet de la vanetat d’aquest mon, quar el se sentit gais e bels e joves.’ [‘His father put him in the great canonry at Puy to become a canon.... And when he attained his majority he became influenced by the vanity of the world, because he felt gay and handsome and young.’] *Biographies des Troubadours*, ed. by Jean Boutière and Alexander-Hermann Schutz, Graduate School Monographs: Contributions in Languages and Literature, 14 (Toulouse: Privat & Paris: Didier, 1950), p. 225.

The ability both to show the necessary *largesse* or *affabilitas* is exemplary, but also to avoid the *ivenes* who appear to be the object of criticism at l. 21-22, who will never amount to anything because of their lacking means. Even this criticism is linked ingeniously back to ‘Can vei’: the *ivenes* come ‘no sai don’ [‘from I don’t know where’]. The *iuenis* Bernart returns from his love-exile to seek worldly promotion, as if Guillem were emphasizing real world concerns in order to mock Bernart, as did Peire Cardenal. Guillem’s lyric shows, then, how it is possible to face two ways at once, looking one way for linguistic inspiration and reference, whilst continuing a moral debate with a third party.

The third *contrafactum* of ‘Can vei’, Johan Esteve’s *planh* ‘Planhen ploran ab desplazer’ (PC 266, 10) is transmitted solely in the final section of MS C (f. 331) with lyrics from between Narbonne, Toulouse and Rodez.<sup>28</sup> It appears under the rubric: ‘Planh que fes Johan Esteve d’en G. de Lodeva l’an MCCLXXXIX’ [‘A dirge written by Johan Esteve for Sir G. de. Lodeva in 1289’].<sup>29</sup> The *planctus* is unusual for having been written to an extant melody—a practice later forbidden in the *Leys d’Amors*: ‘Planch es dictats q’om fay per dol [...] | Am so noell e quaix playen | E lonc e pauzat e plazen’ (ll. 3262-65) [‘A *planh* is a composition one creates through sorrow, to a new pleasing melody, long, decorous and gracious’].<sup>30</sup> Esteve’s idea of twisting ‘Can vei’ in this manner is remarkably effective, playing on the idea—far from unique—that little separated the sorrows of the unreciprocated lover from the sorrows of the liege man without security when his lord died. It is thus a self-reflexive admission of the poet’s role in creating and perpetuating the overdetermined *midons-senhor*. Johan Esteve is later—the song is dated 1289, thus more than a century after Bernart de Ventadorn—meaning he has a certain distance. However, it comes only 13 years after the probable date of Guillem Anelier’s lyric, in which a well-known melody (one

<sup>28</sup> Sergio Vatteroni, *Le poesie del trovatore Johan Esteve*, Bibliotheca degli Studi Mediolatini e Volgari, ns 10 (Pisa: Pacini, 1986), p. 17. The MS is from Narbonne; see Zufferey, *Recherches linguistiques*, p. 151.

<sup>29</sup> On the rubrics, see “Intavulare”: *Tavole di Canzonieri Romanzi: I. Canzonieri Provenzali: 7. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France C (fr. 856)*, ed. by Anna Radaelli (Modena: Mucchi, 2005), p. 45-48.

<sup>30</sup> *Las Flors del Gay Saber*, ed. by Joseph Anglade, Institut d’Estudis Catalans: Seccio filologica: Memòries, I, 2 (Barcelona: Institutio Patxot, 1926).

might perhaps call it a standard) acts as a hook for a piece of contemporary importance. Johan is also in dialogue with Anelier—acknowledged by verbal echoes and agreements—using the same melody to deplore the death of a seemingly faultless *senhor*, just the type of ruler Guillem hoped Pedro III would be for the Aragonese.

Johan Esteve's debt to Bernart is made immediately obvious by verbal clues, which, with the melody, would signal to the informed audience that this is a *contrafactum*. Depending on the audience's particular musical experience, they might connect it with any of the other songs using what we think of as the 'Can vei' melody, although this does not necessarily entail Bernart's lyrics. The *incipit*, as does Guillem Anelier's, declares the poet's intent, both in the rhyme '-plazer' (from 'Can Vei' VII. 3) and in the echo in 'ploran' of the repeated present participles ('jauzion', 'volon', 'dezion') in the original. More striking is the decision to begin the lyric with the declaration that Esteve will never sing again—a nod to the close of 'Can vei', where Bernart gives up song (l. 57)—which combines the 'nevermore' appropriate to the *planctus* with the contradictory effect of ending the first strophe with 'joys jauzion' ['giddy gladness']. The overwhelming tone, however, is melancholy, becoming more insistent in the second strophe, where 'mortz' ['dead/death'], used adjectivally at l. 6, is personified as the abductor of the lamented nobleman:

Mortz, menat n'as selh qu'em poder	9	Death you have taken away he who had
Avia pretz, fi e veray		worth in his power, true and faithful,
E sabia far son dever...		and knew how to do his duty

This is evidently a counterpart to the failing nobles of Peire Cardenal's lyric; just as they had a tripartite self-indulgence ('viest e manja e jai', l. 34), now Guillem de Lodeva is praised with threefold anaphora for his dedication.

Mielhs que lunhs que'n remanha sai,	12	Better than anyone who remains here,
E mielhs so qu'a valor's cove		And better that which is proper to valour
E mielhs bos faitz de cor volon.		And better the fine deeds of a willing heart.

This is joined by the citation of ‘cor volon’ from ‘Can vei’, used to make En Guillem the love-servant of his people, a powerful reworking of Bernart’s original, projecting onto the departed the depth of affection expressed by the mourner. The third strophe is characterised by common expressions of grief which derive their interest largely from the regular reference to ‘Can vei’. Those who have outlived Guillem de Lodeva are inevitably less praiseworthy than him. Recycling snippets leads to a reversed polarity, in the sense that it was the object of Bernart’s affection that was left behind in his song. The *planh* thus inverts ‘Can vei’, which threatens permanent departure, to make a poem about abandonment. However, given the import of the final line of the third strophe, Esteve must know Bernart de Ventadorn as the writer of a melancholy lyric rather than as a critic of women: ‘e-ls malvat vivon, Dieus, per que|tan de dol n’ay que-l cor mi fon’ (ll. 23-24) [‘And the evil live on, God, for which reason I have such pain that my heart melts’]. Indeed it is remarkable that no other *contrafactum* uses this, one of the most striking images in ‘Can vei’. However, Johan’s lyric is not wholly emotive: strophe IV shows clear understanding of the practical implications of the *senhor*’s death.

Mala mort, tu as frag lo pon	30	Evil Death you have broken the bridge
Don venian tug aquest be,		by which all these good things came,
E menat l’as, yeu no say on.		and taken him/them away, I know not where

‘Be’ here is evidently worldly: this poet’s income has vanished on the death of his patron. As with the misogyny of some versions of ‘Can vei’, this less savoury element is kept in the middle of the lyric. But rather than hide behind Narcissus, Johan Esteve substitutes the image of Guillem de Lodeva taking up residence in ‘l’ostal deziron| on so·ls apostols pres de se,| e·l gaug perdurable d’amon’ [‘the desired refuge, where the Apostles are nearby, and everlasting pleasure is abundant’] (ll. 38-40). Similarly the *tornada* addressed to the Virgin is a thoughtful change to the *envoi*-function, as is the salutation ‘fons de merce’ linking Narcissus, God’s mercy, the deceased noble’s forgiveness in this lyric at l. 29, with discussion of mercy in the other Occitan *contrafacta*. It is therefore likely that Johan was inspired by one of the more sorrowful versions of ‘Can vei’. This limits the choice to *QUCOMRV*. *C* and *O* are perhaps the most likely candidates: these

close with strophe VI, with its lines ‘Merces es perduda.... On la querrai?’ [‘Mercy is lost... where shall I seek it?], which may have inspired the appeal to Mary, ‘fons de merce’ in Johan Esteve. Given its regional quality and proximity to his locale, the *C* witness of ‘Can vei’ is probably closest to the version known by the *planh*’s composer. The last troubadour in this part of the network, then, succeeds in engaging on several fronts: courtly ideology, religious devotion, and the politics of the life of a court poet, weaving together intertexts and musical resonances and shifting contexts to create a highly sophisticated artefact.

On close examination, then, the Occitan responses to Bernart de Ventadorn’s ‘Can vei’ are not only clearly involved in an on-going reaction to that first lyric, bringing to bear corrections to what they believe to be faults social, intellectual and artistic, but also engage with each other, weaving a tight web. These strands, when followed, offer a better understanding of the logistics of poetic interaction and reveal, in this case, a particular affinity with Bernart in the area between Toulouse and Narbonne. That Bernart’s lyric is at once memorable enough and flexible enough to form the basis for social commentary over a century and a half later is a tribute both to his own poetry and to his transmitters’ ingenuity.

### *The ‘Carestia’ Debate*

Engagement with Bernart de Ventadorn’s lyric ‘Can vei la lauzeta mover’ is not wholly encompassed by *contrafacta*. An important aspect of the reaction to his work, and one of the earliest stages of Bernart reception, and thus important for later strands in the ‘Can vei’ web, is the debate on the true nature of love conducted by three responses to ‘Can vei’. These are Raimbaut d’Aurenga’s poem ‘Non chant per auzel ni per flor’ (PC 389, 32), Chrétien de Troyes’ ‘D’Amors, qui m’a tolut a moi’ (R 1664), and Guillem de Saint-Didier’s ‘Ben chantera si m’estes ben d’Amor’ (PC 234, 4). The first two of these lyrics, which appear to have been composed

during Bernart's lifetime by personal acquaintances, debate what is love's most important characteristic: is it constant service, or the lady's recognition and *merce*? The third, undoubtedly related, stands apart from the first two. Together, the three bear eloquent witness to the almost immediate effect of 'Can vei'. The interlinking structure of the debate is revealed by the *senhals* in the *tornadas* of the two Occitan poems. 'Can vei' is addressed to a 'Tristan', which Bernart uses as *cognomen* for Raimbaut in a number of poems. In response, 'Non chant' occupies itself with aspects of the Tristan story, particularly Yseult, the perfect courtly lady, showing the joy of serving a less disdainful lady than Bernart's. 'Non chant' in turn is addressed to 'Carestia', with a *tornada* phrased as a direct challenge to another poet:<sup>31</sup>

<p>Carestia esgauzimen  m'aporta d'aicel repaire  on es midonz, qe-m ten gauzen  plus que-ieu eis non sai retraire.</p>	<p>49</p>	<p>Carestia, bring me joy  from that house where my lady is,  she who makes me more joyful  than I myself know how to say.</p>
---	-----------	--

Identifying 'Carestia' with Chrétien de Troyes has not been unproblematic. The connections in content between the lyrics are evident, especially the citation as *incipit* of Bernart's l. 13 'tout m'a mo cor, tout m'a me', and the refutation of Raimbaut's sexualized understanding of love in favour of sweet lack. However, while Raimbaut adopts Bernart's strophic form—8ababcbcd—using *coblas doblas* in place of Bernart's *coblas unissonans*, Chrétien's structure is quite different. His *coblas doblas* have the pattern 8ababbaaba. The discontinuity is not to be put down to the difference in languages, as *trouvères* often adopt troubadours' forms; indeed, as we shall see below, 'Can vei' was a fruitful model for Old French *contrafacta*. Consequently, Luciano Rossi's suggestion that Chrétien's reference is more subtle than first appears is intriguing and enlightening. He observes that Chrétien's strophic form is unique in the Occitan corpus—it is that of Gaucelm Faidit's: 'Si tot m'ai tarzat mon chan' (PC 167, 53)—and that the melody transmitted with it in MSS *KTa* is remarkably similar to Gaucelm's.<sup>32</sup> 'Non è escluso dunque, che

<sup>31</sup> Walter Pattison, *The Life and Works of Raimbaut d'Orange*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1952), pp. 161-64.

<sup>32</sup> *Les poèmes de Gaucelm Faidit, troubadour du XIIe siècle. Edition critique*, ed. by Jean Mouzat (Paris: Nizet, 1965), no. 16, pp. 153-60.

Chrétien oltre a ispirarsi alla metrica della canzone di Gaucelm, abbia inteso proporre anche una raffinata “alazione” della relativa melodia<sup>33</sup> [‘It is thus not impossible that Chrétien, as well as being inspired by the metrics of Gaucelm’s song had intended to propose a refined “halation” of the appropriate melody’]. Rossi fails to mention in support of his theory that ‘Si tot’ circulated in France, appearing with music in a *francisée* version in MS X, also known as French *chansonniere* U (f. 86).

The order of the pieces in this exchange has also been disputed. Aurelio Roncaglia, in the first major study of the group, maintained that Bernart was in fact imitating Raimbaut.<sup>34</sup> This is unlikely for the reason that it disturbs the logic of the argument, with Raimbaut proposing the antithesis to Bernart’s archetypal *canço*, then in turn being countered by Chrétien. It also disorders the *senhals*. Conversely, Maria Luisa Meneghetti proposed that Bernart followed the other poets, a similarly illogical position, again disturbing the logic of the argument, and necessitating the excuse for Bernart that he enters into the debate ‘ignorando (o forse mostrando di ignorare) il livello personale della polemica e si attiene piuttosto ai termini esterni del dibattito’<sup>35</sup> [‘ignorant of (or perhaps pretending not to know) the personal level of the polemic and so instead only reaches the furthest edges of the debate’]. Her reasoning gives no firm evidence for reading Bernart last. Consequently I follow Luciano Rossi, who in a more recent contribution has also suggested that the ‘douce dame’ mentioned by Chrétien (l. 51) refers to Douce, aunt of Alfonso II of Aragon, patron of Raimbaut d’Aurenga and Gaucelm Faidit, reinforcing the argument that Chrétien is responding to Raimbaut.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Rossi, ‘Chrétien de Troyes e i trovatori: Tristan, Linhaura, Carestia’, *Vox Romanica*, 46 (1987), 26-62 (27).

<sup>34</sup> Roncaglia, ‘Carestia’, *CN*, 18 (1958), 121-37 (128-29).

<sup>35</sup> Meneghetti, *Il pubblico*, p. 142. She also adumbrates Arnaut Daniel’s ‘Si-m fos Amors de joi donar tan larja’ (PC 29, 17), a text which bears only passing resemblance. She dismisses the lacking textual connections as ‘di doppio ordine’ (p. 144), so it does not fulfil Aarburg’s criteria for *contrafacta*.

<sup>36</sup> Rossi, ‘Carestia, Tristan, les troubadours et le modèle de saint Paul: encore sur ‘D’Amors qui m’a tolu a moi’ (RS 1664)’, in *Convergences médiévales: Épopée, lyrique, roman: Mélanges offerts à Madeleine Tyssens*, ed. by

Raimbaut's lyric 'Non chant per auzel ni per flor', then, is a detailed engagement with 'Can vei', considering the lady's treatment of her servants, and, more explicitly than Bernart, the real-world concerns that Köhler held to motivate the cultural phenomenon of 'courtly love'.<sup>37</sup> Raimbaut's attitude is deliberately antithetical. Where Bernart opens (in all MSS) with a classical *début printanier* with the lark falling 'per la doussor c'al cor li vai', Raimbaut marks his stance by systematically opposing the elements of such openings. Rossi goes further, perhaps too far, identifying each of ll. 1-4, with one of Bernart's lyrics. Thus, 'auzel' naturally refers to the lark in 'Can vei', 'flor' to either 'Quan lo boscatges es floritz' (PC 70, 40) or 'Quan par la flors josta-l vert foill' (PC 70, 41); equally the reference to the weather would refer to either 'Lo dous temps de pascor' (PC 70, 28), or, according to Rossi, 'Quan la douss'aura venta' (PC 70, 37).<sup>38</sup> It would be less tenuous to observe that Raimbaut simply sets himself against *débuts printaniers* of all hues. The lord of Orange's relation to his *domna* is similarly opposed to Bernart's. Raimbaut's *bellazor* (l. 11) has been adopted to replace the *pejor* whom he has left. He has thus ('Ar sui partitz' l. 9) fulfilled Bernart's threat to leave *his* lady: 'en m'em vau, pus ilh no-m rete, | chaistius, en issilh, no sai on' ('Can vei', ll. 55-6) ['I am going, because she does not retain me, miserable one, into exile, I know not where']. Yet this situation is impossible, for Raimbaut cannot, within the bounds of the *paradoxe amoureux*, abandon *la pejor* for fulfilment with *la bellazor*. Raimbaut's narrative starting point is thus a startling admission of failure in the tradition of the *chansons de change*, an unexpected consonance, then, with Bernart whose great achievement, according to Köhler, is to celebrate failed integration.<sup>39</sup> In order for Raimbaut to outdo Bernart—always the troubadour's aim in Gruber's dialectical model<sup>40</sup>—he must go beyond simple good will. As his opening strophe shows, this is more *aemulatio* than mere *imitatio*.

---

Nadine Henrard et al., *Bibliothèque du Moyen-Âge*, 19 (Brussels : De Boeck, 2001), pp. 403-19 (pp.418-19).

<sup>37</sup> Erich Köhler, 'Zur Struktur'.

<sup>38</sup> Rossi, 'Chrétien de Troyes', 47.

<sup>39</sup> Köhler, 'Zur Struktur', *passim*.

<sup>40</sup> Gruber, *Die Dialektik*, p. 256.

From this beginning, Raimbaut elaborates a markedly sexual conception of love. He introduces this playfully in strophe III with a light touch that is as much a characteristic of his antithetical position as the anti-*début printanier*. The opening of the strophe, ‘Ben aurai, dompna, grand honor| si ja de vos m’es jutgada| honranssa’ (ll. 17-19) [‘I shall surely have great honour, lady, if ever a favour is handed down from you to me’] is as ambivalent as Bernart’s complaint, and also a masked complaint about low feudal status. But what follows, the desire to hold his lady in the nude, is very far from his model. More importantly, the fact that he wishes to do this ‘sotz cobertor’ (l. 19) [‘undercover’] offers Raimbaut an approach both continuing Bernart’s engagement with sight and introducing the theme of hidden love, and with it, the Tristan material.

Raimbaut starts, like his predecessor, with the sight of his *domna*, but links this explicitly with the act of poetical composition. She is the most beautiful ‘vista ni trobada’ [‘seen or found/sung about’] (l. 10). Bernart, by contrast, has no poetological considerations. For him, sight is the locus of disempowerment, that is, where his lady ‘tout... se mezeis e tot lo mon’ when he looked into her eyes. Raimbaut, with his obsession with secrecy and ‘amar a celada’ [‘loving in secret’], and Yseult’s deception of Mark, seeks to avoid being seen. But simultaneously—and separately from his poet activity—he seeks to direct the sight of others. This is to say that for Raimbaut, to see is to know and to understand, as seen both in the phrase ‘segon mon vejaire’ [‘as I see it’] (l. 16) and at ll. 41-42, ‘Vejatx dompna, cum Dieus acor| dompna que d’amar s’agrada’ [‘See, madam, how God touches the heart | Of ladies who take pleasure in love’]. Indeed, we may go further, as the extensive use of the Tristan material, which accounts for ll. 27-48, is not only a response to Bernart’s choice of *senhal*, but a mode of deflecting attention from the Tristan whom Bernart was addressing by occupying the audience with reminiscences of his literary namesake.

Raimbaut thus elaborates a love dependent on the lady's 'bon talen' (l. 15), only possible when the *domna* is better disposed than Bernart's, using the example of Yseult. Both poets, then, are concerned with encouraging *sidons* to unbend and show mercy. Bernart uses the languages of service and duty in line with the traditional metaphors of courtly love (ll. 49-50 & 55). In contrast, Raimbaut, as part of his hyperbolic *aemulatio*, is as explicit about the theoretical foundations of the courtly love lyric as he is about what he wants from his lady. The result is the extraordinary statement that: 'De midonz fatz dompn'e seignor | cals que sia-il destinada' (ll. 25-26) ['I make both my lady and my master out of 'midonz'| whatever the result might be']. By openly qualifying his lady with the attributes of a worldly male ruler, Raimbaut appears to accuse Bernart of disingenuousness in his strophes on his lady's lack of *merces*, not to mention the criticisms in his contemporary recipients of their secular overlords. Bernart's critique is under cover. Raimbaut's strategy to castigate Bernart for disguising the underpinning logic of the courtly love he promotes and suffers for, while himself encouraging his *bellazor* to deceive her husband and the world at large, is remarkable. Remarkable, that is, both for Raimbaut's hypocrisy and astonishing intellectual dexterity, which amounts to an amatory *Sic et Non*. Add to this the last couplet of the third strophe, where he compares himself with Tristan in his love-service: 'e ieu am per aitel coven | midonz, don no-m posc estraire' (ll. 31-2) ['I love my lady and am bound to her with a covenant from which I cannot extricate myself']. It is here that he makes clear that his accusation is directed at Bernart, given the echo of 'Can vei'; 'Car eu d'amar no-m posc tener | celeis don ja pro non aurai' (ll. 11-12). Where Bernart cannot hold back, Raimbaut instead emphasizes the fact that he is trapped in the 'coven'. Both circumstances are binding, but Raimbaut, unlike Bernart, seems to believe in a positive outcome. Indeed, in order to uphold his antithetical position, he must not admit failure as Bernart seems to, nor even its possibility, but continues to hope for joy—hence repeating 'gauzen' ('cor gauzen' l. 23, and 'midons qe-m ten gauzen' l. 51).

This hope for Raimbaut's joy is facilitated by the use of 'Tristan' material—despite its sinister baggage, in particular the way in which the *lausengiers* are kept at bay by great secrecy. However, at the point at which this comes most clearly into focus, the moment where Raimbaut addresses Tristan (l. 37), until now closely identified with Raimbaut himself—in agreement with Bernart's use of the name as *senhal*—splits apart from the poet. Raimbaut is now no longer quasi-identical with Tristan, but merely like him ('bels fraire' [sweet brother] l. 40). This distance is underlined by Raimbaut's putative envy of Tristan. He thus effectively becomes himself Tristan and Yseult's *lausengier*, while simultaneously defending his own affair from prying eyes. 'Non chant' is thus a remarkably intelligent acceptance of the baton in Bernart's *tornada*, one which makes considerable profit from an unstable poetic *persona*, and, more important in its engagement with the content of 'Can vei la lauzeta mover', the overlapping of courtly love and feudal service. Raimbaut, far from shying away from controversy, follows Bernart's example of up-ending precedent. While for Bernart this means the failure of integration, Raimbaut goes one step further and turns courtly conventions inside out before passing on the baton to Chrétien, challenging him to write even better of the joys of love.

Chrétien de Troyes' contribution also displays a good deal of one-up-manship, but here there is the added complexity of having two poems to which to relate. Chrétien orients himself mainly toward Bernart, having little truck either with Raimbaut's essentially sexual conception of love, or with his obsession with the Tristan material. The only reference he makes to Tristan is in strophe IV at ll. 28-31, where he uses it simultaneously to refer to Raimbaut's lines 'Car ieu begui de la amor | ja-us dei amar a celada' ['Since I drank of love (i.e. the philtre) | I must love you in secret'] (ll. 27-28) and to distance himself from his predecessor by declaring that he, Chrétien, drank no such potion. Instead it is only through 'fins cuers et bone volentez' ['delicate heart and

good will] (l. 31) that he loves his lady.<sup>41</sup> By distinguishing the cause of his love, its nature is differentiated as a whole. Where Raimbaut moved beyond Bernart's suffering by leaving his unresponsive lady, Chrétien speaks instead for the virtues of steadfastness and duty through the torments of love, without thought of mercy or reward.

Chrétien moves from describing his punishment for his good faith to how Amor in the position of the feudal *seigneur* does not fulfil its side of the contract ('Q'as siens ne puet ele faillir' ['He may not fail his own men'] l. 13). By contrast, he has sent his lady his heart, as required. But the fact that this is, as Chrétien himself notes, not an extraordinary gift, but merely what he owes her, responds to Raimbaut's revealing the real-world foundation of the metaphors of courtly love ('De midons fatz dompn'e siegnor' ['Out of my courtly lover I make both lady and overlord'] l. 25). Chrétien certainly invests heavily in the imagery of feudal service in 'D'Amors': the whole of III is thoroughly ambivalent, shot through with phrases as much pertaining to fealty as to love service: 'vostres sui', 'vous m'avez', 'Que je ne sai servir autrui' (ll. 19, 24, 22 and 27). Against this backdrop, the Tristan material in the next strophe emphasizes that free will allows Chrétien consciously to love his lady. The keystone of his conception of love, constancy, is only revealed in strophe V. By entering into a dialogue with his heart, he can distinguish himself not only from Raimbaut but from Bernart too, again emphasizing his agency and 'volunte' (l. 31):

<p>Cuers, se ma dame ne t'a chier  Ja mar por cou t'en partiras:  Tous jours soies en son dangier,  Puis qu'enpris et commencié l'as.</p>	<p>37</p>	<p>Heart, if my lady does not cherish you,  you will still never leave because of it:  Remain always in her power,  since you accepted and began it.</p>
---	-----------	--

A further hallmark of his theory of love, and one which has caused some confusion and controversy is the phrase 'planté n'ameraz' (l. 41). As Roncaglia explains: 'No, *planté* non implica affatto l'idea di "perfezione" ma, al contrario, significa la "abbondanza", che toglie pregio alle cose largamente disponibili a chichessia, che le rende vili' ['No, *planté* does not in fact indicate the

---

<sup>41</sup> *Les chansons courtoises de Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. by Marie-Claire Zai, Publications Universitaires Européennes, Series 13, vol. 27 (Bern: Peter Lang, 1974), pp. 74-100.

idea of perfection, but rather copiousness, which cheapens things easily available to all, which makes them common’].<sup>42</sup> Alongside volition, rarity and constancy, there is a certain seriousness to Chrétien’s love, mentioned in the closing lines of the lyric:

Proi et reproi sanz exploiter, conme cil qui ne set a gas Amors servir ne losengier.	52	I pray and pray again without success, as he who does not consider a joke singing and praising Love
--	----	---

He thus leaves the audience, the successful endpoint of any *aemulatio*, with the idea that neither previous singer was truly a courtly lover, and was in fact—Bernart because he threatens to give up service, Raimbaut because he actually does—a *lausengier*. Maria Luisa Meneghetti sees this merely as a personal jibe directed at Raimbaut.<sup>43</sup> We may in fact go further: these lines gloss Raimbaut’s evident fear of being spotted and his imagined means of avoiding detection by rivals.

Chrétien does, however, agree on the search for mercy, but this is granted because of his constancy rather than because of Raimbaut’s pleas or, in ‘Can vei’, because Bernart insists that he is owed it by right. So great is Chrétien’s determination to see out the ‘chier tans’, the pleasurable lack of fulfilment distilled in ‘carestia’, he happily declares:

Merci trovasse au mien cuidier, S’ele fust en tout le compas Du monde, la où je la quier; Mes bien croi qu’ele n’i est pas.	46	I would have found mercy, I suppose, if it were anywhere in the world there where I look for her. But I truly believe she/it is not there
--	----	--

More daringly than Raimbaut revealing the equivalence of *seigneur* with *midons*, Chrétien lays bare the essential lack which makes the courtly lyric possible and which underpins the debate so far. We may go yet further and see here Chrétien’s indication that there is no such thing as a lady granting *merce*, a gesture which on consideration raises existential questions about the nature of both courtly love and its poetry. It is, then, for this reason that Chrétien cannot pass on the baton: he has hit the theoretical bedrock of the *grand chant courtois*. Any further commentary on his part is superfluous.

---

<sup>42</sup> Roncaglia, ‘Carestia’, 130.

<sup>43</sup> Meneghetti, *Il pubblico*, p. 141.

It has already been seen how much scholarship on ‘Can vei’ depends on Carl Appel’s proficient confection.<sup>44</sup> Chrétien’s text is similarly problematic, though to a lesser degree. ‘D’Amors qui m’a tolu a moi’ has thirteen witnesses in 12 MSS: *CHKLNPRTVXa*, appearing twice in *P*, with music in *KLNP*(both)*RTVX*. *KNPX* omit strophe V, which is, as we have seen, essential to a reading of the text centred on ‘carestia’. MSS *VL* are textually very similar to these, but do contain strophe V. *H* omits the final strophe, while *TVL* invert strophes V and VI. Again, certain audiences would have been familiar with quite different texts, which, as the case of the songs responding to ‘Can vei’, can have a considerable effect on later reception. Of these textual variants, the most striking is *KNPX*, which, as noted, lacks the summation of Chrétien’s theory of love lying in the appreciation of ‘chiers tans’. These witnesses also move directly from the negative use of Tristan to prove Chrétien’s free will to the ambivalent attitude expressed regarding recognition of his service. They thus lack the explanation of the logic of the situation, pointing to transmitters perhaps less concerned with the rigours of Chrétien’s theoretical insight.

By contrast *H*, which closes with strophe V, suggests a desire to finish with a clear message and an audience which is not concerned with the accusation made about the troubadour Raimbaut that he does not take love service seriously enough. As Meneghetti comments, much of the debate functions, indeed must function, on two levels. There is, as she writes:

una doppia valenza comunicativa: il pubblico lo decodificherà infatti come il rifiuto di una concezione dell’amore visto come passione cieca e irresistibile; all’opposto, il vero destinatario ne comprenderà il più profondo riferimento polemico al proprio materialismo edonistico.<sup>45</sup>

a double communicative value: the audience will certainly decode it as the refutation of a conception of love as blind, ineluctable passion; one the other hand, the true recipient will understand its deeper polemical reference to his own hedonistic materialism.

---

<sup>44</sup> Gaunt, ‘Discourse Desired’, p. 98.

<sup>45</sup> Meneghetti, *Il pubblico*, p. 141.

These textual interventions, given the effect they have both on the structure of the text and the argument they relate, point to a reception of ‘D’Amors’ partly unaware of its position as part of a multilingual debate. Of this MS, (also known as troubadour MS *D*)—Marie-Claire Zai remarks that: ‘la langue de la partie française du MS subit les alterations, surtout graphiques, du scribe italien qui devait transcrire un texte marqué de picardismes’<sup>46</sup> [‘the language of the French part of the MS is subject to alterations, principally graphical, by the Italian scribe who must have been transcribing a text with marked Picardisms’]. As for MSS *TVL* which invert strophes V and VI, the interpretation is similar to Zai’s text, but it emphasizes, as does *H*, strophe V’s emphatic conclusion. Generally, however, the witnesses are stable, and, in contrast with other lyrics, the text of each strophe remains constant.

While much of the scholarship on the Carestia debate gives Chrétien the last word—the *summa*-like tone and lack of *envoi* encourage this—this is not the case. It is puzzling that, while Luciano Rossi identifies Guillem de Saint-Didier’s lyric ‘Ben chantera si m’estes ben d’Amor’ (PC 234, 4) as an evident response to the three poems considered above, he does not say more than that Guillem generally echoes Bernart de Ventadorn.<sup>47</sup> As such, Rossi overlooks Guillem’s reaction, which is by turns thoughtful and witty. It is not a metrical *contrafactum*. Guillem writes in *coblas capfinidas* with the rhyme scheme 10*ababddc*. However, the text demonstrates considerable knowledge of the debate so far. Guillem clarifies his points of reference: after two generic lines (if he were loved, Guillem could sing so much better), he notes: ‘Que so dizon tuich li bon trobador: | Ben chanta miells cui Amors ten gauzen’ (l. 3-4) [‘All the best troubadours say: he sings well whom Love keeps joyful.’].<sup>48</sup> ‘Ten gauzen’ is a quotation from Raimbaut’s *tornada*, and it is reasonable, given what follows, to see ‘tuich li bon trobador’ as reference to Bernart, Raimbaut and Chrétien. This last is not absent from textual nods, even if his poem is in a

<sup>46</sup> *Les Chansons courtoises de Chrétien de Troyes*, p. 26.

<sup>47</sup> Rossi, ‘Chrétien de Troyes’, p. 29.

<sup>48</sup> *Poésies du troubadour Guillem de Saint-Didier*, ed. by Aimo Sakari, Mémoires de la société néophilologique de Helsinki, 19 (Helsinki: Société néophilologique, 1956), pp. 68-80.

different language: ‘avol fe’ [‘vile faith’] (l. 7), emphasized by rhyme position, likely references the traitors who have their ‘joie’ while Chrétien is held back by his good faith. These delayed intertextual links are so striking that the bland opening should be read as part of the joke.

Guillem goes on to elaborate a theory of love which, while close to that of Bernart’s thesis (in dialectical terms), has a shape all of its own. Inevitably, much space is occupied in refuting preceding positions. For instance, he responds to Raimbaut’s chop-and-change attitude in strophe II:

<p>Que jamais us non am trop lialmen,          Que mais en ant li plus galiador          Que non ant cill q’en re no·is vant          volven.</p>	<p>10</p>	<p>For I can never love you too loyally,          for the most deceptive never have any,          and they never have any at all who are          forever changing.</p>
---	-----------	---

The constant have no real advantage, it seems, merely the moral high-ground, confirmed in particular by the use of ‘galiador’, with its dark overtones not only of deception—bad enough—but also, it also echoes ‘galiarda’ [‘a coin’], pointing to these men’s primary interest.<sup>49</sup> Rather than aiming to out-shock a predecessor, as do other poets in the debate, Guillem displays his moral compass, itself an act of self-distinction, though all this remains on the level of dark hints. Guillem thus sets out his stall opposite Raimbaut in particular. Guillem, like Bernart, is willing to go without his lady if necessary, but unlike Chrétien he is not entirely prepared to put aside thoughts of ‘joie’, as his regretful tone makes clear. These lines are spotted with phrases from ‘Can vei’, marked in italics:

<p>Car ieu sui fis e no·m vuole camiar;          Viurai ses joi si·l bella <i>no·m rete</i>,          Mas ieu non cug, si de lieis <i>mi recre</i>,          C’altra del mon mi pogues alegrar.</p>	<p>13</p>	<p>For I am faithful and do not wish to change;          I will live joyless if the beautiful one does not          retain me. But I do not believe that, if I leave          her, any other in the world could enliven me.</p>
---	-----------	---

The attitude, then, is one of patient suffering, interminable, though not without hope. Sakari’s judgement of his abilities seems just:

---

<sup>49</sup> PSW, IV, p. 29.

Comme les autres, il assimile le service féodal et le service amoureux et, amateur de lieux communs, suit autrement aussi les sentiers battus. Mais lorsqu'il s'en écarte il a parfois des éclairs de génie et des hardiesses de vrai poète.<sup>50</sup>

As others, he takes in feudal service and love-service and, given to commonplaces, he also follows well-trodden paths. But when he leaves these behind, he does sometimes have moments of genius and the boldness of a true poet.

What differentiates Guillem's poetics in the context of the debate is the importance he places on himself as poet. Raimbaut demonstrates remarkable self-regard, and explains that he sings only for his lady, but never connects the two. By contrast, Guillem's strophe III weaves together the Bernardian vocabulary of loss with Chrétien's *ennui* ('D'Amors' l. 24), creating something quite novel in the debate:

Que, s'ella-m pert, deuria-il enojar A las valens, e dirai vos per que:	21	If she looses me, it would trouble worthy women, and I will tell you why:
Que tuich dirant, si de me lor sove, Que per leis fant las autras a doptar.		They will all say, if they remember me, that because of her the others are to be feared.

By presuming his own fame—or rather infamy, as is mooted here—he sets himself against Raimbaut's obsessive search for concealment, and also goes one better than Bernart by suggesting that he would be a loss to all women, not just his *domna*. At the same time, it is noteworthy that a third of MSS of 'Ben chantera', like Chrétien's song, mention no *domna* in the body of the text. Instead, the 'Marqueza' is left to the second *tornada*, and thus more marginalized than the first two poets' ladies, who occupy the traditional place of honour.

At this point of the lyric the manipulation of the *coblas capfinidas*, where a word from the final line of the preceding strophe, generally the rhyme word (though this is not the case at the end of VI) is repeated in the first line of the next, becomes particularly important. In this instance the repeated verb is 'doptar', an obvious reference to 'Can vei' l. 31: 'totas las dopt'e las mescre' ['I fear all women and disbelieve them']. The interstrophic break contrasts the doubting women in

---

<sup>50</sup> ed. Sakari, *Guillem de Saint-Didier*, p. 22.

III with Guillem's certainty in strophe IV, and thus differentiates him from Bernart. This is, however, the only case of a quotation from 'Can vei' in this special position, and we may interpret it as an indication that Guillem is perhaps more interested in what Jörn Gruber calls the 'gedankliche Subtilität' aspect of troubadours' interactions than the sometimes less intellectually stimulating interest in 'formale Virtuosität'.<sup>51</sup> This is certainly supported by his engagement with the topos of correcting female *mores*, but his method, declaring that their 'mala merce' ('Ben chantera' l. 30)—yet another quotation from 'Can vei'—'moult li discove' ['ill befits her'], is rather more subtle. His political acuity matches Raimbaut's *Sic et Non*, as he pretends he has the *domna*'s own best interests at heart. 'Qu'eu no volgra re·i pogues hom blasmar' (l. 32) ['I want that no-one can criticize her']: Guillem speaks proleptically, pretending he does not wish to lecture women while doing the very same.

This method continues into the following strophe with further manipulation of *coblas capfinidas*. Guillem expatiates, again supposedly to the ladies' advantage, on legitimate targets for criticism: the habit of 'lonc enquerre' ['long asking'], a verbal echo of Raimbaut (l. 38: 'D'aital sui eu enquisitaire' ['I ask for the same thing']), important to the three other lyrics, is unnecessary. Only now does he mention *carestia*, so important for the scholarship on this debate. His use of the term, however, suggests this quality is of reduced importance in this lyric.<sup>52</sup>

<p>Bona dompna sap tost so que deu far  E·ill folla tart, qan tot lo cors l'en ve,  Cais qu'ilh es car', e d'aiso non a re  Qe·il cartatz es qan sap cui deu triar.</p>	<p>37 A good courtly lady knows quickly what she must do, and the bad one delays, when all her heart goes from her, as much as it is dear to her, and so has nothing, for dearness is when she knows whom she must choose.</p>
---	--

The beauty of this argument is the *Zugzwang* which it imposes on the *domna*: if she is good or would wish to have public acclamation, she must act. It also imputes to her the agency to choose

<sup>51</sup> Gruber, *Die Dialektik*, p. 256.

<sup>52</sup> The full implication of *carestia*, or here *cartatz*, seems to be lost on Sakari, who translates: 'Une gente dame sait aussitôt ce qu'elle doit faire, mais la déraisonnable temporise en dépit de son envie, tout comme si elle voulait passer pour réservée, et elle n'y gagne rien, car la [vraie] réserve est de savoir choisir', p. 77. It is also noteworthy that MSS *IKd* give 'clartatz', suggesting that the Italian scribes were also oblivious to the *Carestia* material.

between her courtiers, further evidence of Guillem's intellectual subtlety. Following this refutation of 'cartatz' as something to be enjoyed by the male love-servant, the next strophe gives extended advice-cum-criticism of the *domna's* practices. Guillem is specific in saying that making a lover wait more than a year is 'majer viltatz' (l. 43), and that a good lady will have her love-servant wait 'breu temps', although how long that might be is not clarified. The vocabulary of secular power used here matches the emphasis Guillem places on the unequal power-balance between *domna* and *amador*. More importantly, it provides a major point of connection with the preceding interventions in the *carestia* debate. Thus, because *midons* has such great power, keeping her lover waiting becomes even more heinous. There is something Marcabrunian to the lines:

Las trichairitz—e'il fals trichador var— Fan un mercat q'a pretz non aperte:	45	Treacherous women—and the false fickle men—make a deal that has nothing to do with worth.
Lai n'auran un e sai un autr'ab se E laissan cel qi pot mais pretz donar.		There they will have one and here another with them, and they leave him who can give greatest worth.

The practice of buying and selling social honour apparently places the sexes on an equal footing, in contrast to the inequality fundamental to love-service. The passage also alludes to the various ways Raimbaut proposes his *domna* could, imitating Yseult, hide their affair from the *lausengiers*.

It is, however, in the renewed attention drawn to the importance of the poet as creator of 'pretz' that Guillem finds his own voice. While this is a standard topos in the broader troubadour corpus, the preceding three poets do not use it. He can thus tap into the seam of comments made above all by Raimbaut and Chrétien about the theoretical and ideological foundation of courtly lyric; this he does in the first *tornada*. Guillem returns to the topic of poets not singing because of love's woes (first brought up in strophe I):

Amics Bertrans, aissi m'en vuoill laisar De far chanssos c'autre jois no m'en ve, Car loncs chantars non estec an trop be Ses joi d'amor mas quant a joglar.	49	Friend Bertran, from now on, I want to stop singing songs because I have no other joy, for long songs were none too good without the joy of love, save for <i>joglars</i> .
---	----	--

Abandoning song places Guillem squarely in the ‘Can vei’ tradition. The figure of the *joglar* in the *tornada* is also interesting. Firstly, taken at face value, Guillem is pointing to the fundamental difference between the poet and the singer—the latter able to sing of love without this necessarily being true. He would thus be in line with the sentiments of the opening of Bernart’s ‘Non es meravelh s’eu chan’ (PC 70, 31). Secondly, if we follow Sakari’s suggestion, this reads ‘Joglar’, that is, another *senhal* of Raimbaut d’Aurenga. As Sakari says: ‘Ce n’est qu’une hypothèse, mais Guillem, probablement en rapports avec ce comte, lui a emprunté des schémas [sc. Sakari’s nos. 1 and 4], et Raimbaut affirme lui-même qu’il chantait même chagrin [*sic*] ...’ [‘It is only a hypothesis, but Guillem, probably in contact with the count, borrowed these schemes from him, and Raimbaut affirms that he himself sings, even when annoyed’].<sup>53</sup> Given the undeniable links with Raimbaut’s ‘Non chan’, it would be reasonable to consider this as a nod to the other poet.

Guillem de Saint-Didier, then, makes an intellectually stimulating contribution to the debate, finding ultimately, it seems, in favour of Bernart’s position on love: constancy with the hope of mercy, but with the added suggestions to those in control—the *domnas*—aimed at increasing the likelihood of *merce*. Along the way, Guillem’s lively style brings him into close contact with Raimbaut, but despite evident knowledge of his work, he seems to have little common cause with Chrétien. ‘Ben chantera’, then, provides further evidence of the interrelation of medieval songs even when this is a step away from contrafacture.

The MS tradition of ‘Ben chantera si m’estes ben d’Amor’ is varied: it appears in 19 chansonniers: *ACHIKLMNORSgTUVadfg* and  $\alpha$ . Perhaps most interesting in terms of showing the furthest reaches of the diaspora of Bernart’s ‘Can vei la lauzeta mover’ is MS *g*. This, Vat. Lat. 3205, is a sixteenth-century copy of *M* made by Fulvio Orsini for the antiquarian Angelo

---

<sup>53</sup> ed. Sakari, p. 80

Colocci.<sup>54</sup> It contains a prose translation into Italian of Guillem's lyric, which, according to Sakari, translates the text given in *O*. The Italian text is part of a group of translations on four grouped folios.<sup>55</sup> L. 38 was evidently a crux for the manuscript tradition: Sakari gives: 'E-ill folla tart, qan tot lo cors l'en ve'. Of the 19 MSS, *CMR* and  $\alpha$  give 'en cor li ve', *OTf* 'al cor li ve'. *CMORTf* thus further reinforce the echo of 'Can vei la lauzeta mover'. MS *V* also does this but without recalling the 'doussor' which causes Bernart's lark to fall. Instead it reads 'Can tot na cor et ela sen rete', emphasizing, like Chrétien and Raimbaut, the feudal foundations of courtly love. Consequently, *V*'s inclusion of the song in the section devoted to Raimbaut, so explicit about the feudal reality beneath the metaphor, is thoroughly appropriate.

So far the 'Carestia' debate has remained in what we now call France. Further proof of the considerable extension of this network within a network comes in the form of the Swabian *Minnesänger* Bernger von Horheim. His song 'Nu enbeiz ich doch des trankes nie' (MF 112, 1) is a potential *contrafactum* of Chrétien de Troyes's 'D'Amors qui m'a tolu à moi' dating from the close of the twelfth century, not long after the model. Bernger's first strophe is substantially the same as Chrétien's fourth, the rhyme scheme the same *ababbaaba*, and Bernger's *Vierheber* or four-stressed lines match the Old French octosyllables as closely as is possible in German prosody.

The parallels are striking:

112,1	Nu enbeiz ich doch des trankes nie, Dâ von Tristan in kumber kam. Noch herzelîcher minne ich sie Danne er Îsalden, daz ist mîn wân.	28	Onques du buvrage ne bui Dont Tristan fu enpoisonnez; Mes plus me fet amer que lui Fins cuers et bone volentez.
112,5	Daz habent diu ougen mîn getân. Daz leite mich, daz ich dar [] gie, Dâ mich diu minne alrêst vie, Der ich deheine mâze hân.	32	Bien en doit estre miens li grez, Qu'ainz de riens efforciez n'en fui, Fors que tant que mes euz en crui, Par cui sui en la voie entrez

<sup>54</sup> Giuseppe Tavani, 'Peire de Blai, 'En est son fas chansoneta novelha' (*BdT* 328, 1)', *Lecturae Tropatorum* 3 (2010), 1-31, (15).

<sup>55</sup> I have been unable to ascertain whether 'Can vei' is among the lyrics translated in the final folios. On *g* see further Anna Ferrari, 'Le chansonnier et son double', in *Lyrique romane médiévale: La tradition des chansonniers: Actes du colloque de Liège 1989*, ed. by Madeleine Thyssens, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et des lettres de l'Université de Liège, 257 (Liège: Liège University Press, 1991), pp. 303-27.

	Sô kumberlîche gelêbte ich noch nie! <sup>56</sup>	36	Donc ja n'estrai n'ainc n'en recrui.
112,1	Now, I never consumed the drink Whereby Tristan came to grief. I love her yet more passionately Than he did Isolde—that is my belief.	28	I never drank of the philtre Which poisoned Tristan But I have greater love than he Because of a fine heart and good will.
112,5	My eyes did this to me, They lead me, so that I went there, Where love first captured me, Thus I have no sense of proportion.	32	I must surely gain respect for this Because I was in no way forced, Apart from believing my eyes Because of which I have taken a path
112,8	Never have I had such pains!	36	Which I will neither leave nor shy away.

Bernger does not take an active part in the debate, but rather reflects on some of Chrétien's response to Raimbaut's use of the Tristan material.<sup>57</sup> That is, he repeats the insistence that the poet loves without recourse to the love potion. Bernger, however, goes further than Chrétien, entering into rivalry with the legendary hero. He draws greater attention to the role of the eyes in bringing him to love his *Minnedame* (ll. 5-6) than Chrétien. Even if he did not know 'Can vei' directly, the way in which he triangulates his position places him close to Bernart. One noticeable moderation made by the German is the mention at MF 112, 8 of 'mâze', conceivably a reference to Chrétien ll. 35-6, ('Par cui sui en la voie entrez | Donc ja n'istrai n'ainc n'en recrui' ['For whom I have taken the road | which I shall never leave nor have ever left']) taking the utter constancy he proposes to be 'mâzlos' or excessive.<sup>58</sup> At the same time, the opening of II, where Bernger talks about being left 'ungetroestet' (112, 10) ['disconsolate'] too long, and how this inclines a *Minnediener* to 'verzagen' ['giving up'], does echo the tone of the original debate. After this, however, the connexions become generic at best. The lines 'doch vlîze ich mich alle tage, | daz ich ir ein staetez herze trage' ['But I always make an effort to keep my heart constant and loyal toward her'] (MF 112, 15-16) read like Chrétien's 'Proi et reproi sans exploiter' (l. 52). In short,

<sup>56</sup> *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, ed. by Carl Lachmann and Moriz Haupt, 36th edn by Hugo Moser and Helmut Tervoren, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1977). See also Olive Sayce's commentary in *Romanisch beeinflusste Lieder des Minnesangs, mit Übersetzung, Kommentar und Glossar*, GAG, 664 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1999), pp. 105-18.

<sup>57</sup> See further Volker Mertens, 'Intertristanisches—Tristan-Lieder von Chrestien de Troyes, Bernger von Horheim und Heinrich von Veldeke' in *Kultureller Wandel und die Germanistik in der Bundesrepublik: Vorträge des Augsburger Germanistentags 1993*, ed. by Johannes Janota, 4 vols, (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993), III: *Methodenkonkurrenz in der germanistischen Praxis*, pp. 37-55.

<sup>58</sup> Qv. Lexer, I, col. 2065.

the *Minnesänger* uses Chrétien as a point of departure, and engages with him in considerable detail at the beginning of his lyric, but soon goes his own way, much as Chrétien himself avoided becoming mired in the Tristan references in his response to Raimbaut.

The Carestia poems, then, provide evidence of the tremendous intellectual stimulation which Bernart de Ventadorn's lyric provided to his contemporaries as well as the rich materials for stylistic imitations he offered. This individual set of lyrics is a compact example of the way that poetic discourse continued largely regardless of their language: what actually mattered were the ideas being thrashed out in the poetry. Neither Chrétien nor Bernger hesitates to take up an Occitan or French conversation and join in or rephrase it for his own purposes. What makes this section of Bernart reception so special is the daring with which the four major elements go about the work of deconstructing the foundations of courtly love lyric. As we turn to the non-Occitan *contrafacta* of 'Can vei', we see how the rigorous intellectual engagement with Bernart continues beyond Occitania, and also how the Carestia lyrics demonstrated the lark song's usefulness as a point of reference for their own works and ideas.

### *The Clerical Reception of Bernart de Ventadorn*

Bernart's song was not, however, influential solely in the secular sphere. The interaction of *clergie* and *chevalerie* is eloquently testified by the poems 'Quisquis cordis et oculi' (AH 21, 168) and 'Le cuer se vait de l'oil pleignant' (R 349), both by Philip, the Chancellor of Notre Dame in Paris, along with their Occitan *contrafactum*, 'Sener mil gracias ti rent' (R 718a), and a song in the Catalan *Misteri d'Elx* (1350s). 'Quisquis cordis' is transmitted with a melody recognizably that of 'Can vei' in a number of MSS, including Paris BnF, lat. 8433; London, BL, Egerton 274 and the important antiphonary, Florence, Bib. Laurenziana, Pluteo 29,1, as is the OF version of the song in both witnesses (see further Appendix II). In the case of the mystery plays, the rubrics indicate

that they were composed to this melody. Together they place the relationship of the court and the church in the larger context of the international movement of medieval lyric, and demonstrate the permeability of these two worlds.<sup>59</sup>

No love poetry by Philip the Chancellor remains, a feature which distinguishes him from his contemporaries Peter of Blois and Walther of Châtillon.<sup>60</sup> Instead ‘Quisquis cordis et oculi’ is a poem which, like the *Carestia* poems, seeks to intellectualize human passions. The problems of knowledge, volition, and power, which elsewhere underpin a debate on courtly convention or politics, are here played out in a disputation with two cases put, before judgement is handed down. The disputants are the heart and the eye, picked out from ‘Can vei’ as allegorical representations of a lover’s volition and perception. Philip uses this technique a number of times.<sup>61</sup> The first strophe proposes the topic:

Quisquis cordis et oculi	1	Whoever does not feel in himself
non sentit in se iurgia		the quarrels of the heart and eye
non novit qui sint stimuli		does not know what the spurs might be,
quae culpaē seminaria <sup>62</sup>		or the seeds, of blame

The transformation into a disputation is accompanied by legal vocabulary (‘periculum’ l. 5, ‘replicere’ l. 8): the contractual quality of love service is laid open, no longer metaphorical as in ‘Can vei’. Philip, though from a different perspective from those of Chrétien or Raimbaut, is engaged in the same process of stripping away the layers of metaphor: he is reducing emotions to their most fundamental parts. This done, the plaintiff and defendant present their cases, using metaphor to explain and reveal rather than obscure. Thus, in the second strophe, the heart finds

<sup>59</sup> For another instance of secular-clerical interaction in the poetic sphere, see the discussion in Chapter 4 of the Sicilian school of poets in which almost all actors were clerics composing courtly-type love lyrics.

<sup>60</sup> Peter Dronke, ‘The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor’, *Studi Medievali*, 28 (1987), 563-92 proposes a complete corpus of fifty-three songs.

<sup>61</sup> Dreves, editor of the *Analecta Hymnica* attributes Philip with an ‘Altercatio animae et corporis’ with the incipit ‘Homo natus ad laborem’ (*AH* 21, no. 169), although no manuscript name him as the author. Text from *Medieval Latin Lyric Vol. 3*, ed. by Penelope Rainey (Bryn Mawr, PA: Thomas Library, Bryn Mawr College, 1993), pp. 71-75.

<sup>62</sup> Text from *Medieval Latin Lyric Vol. 3*, ed. by Penelope Rainey (Bryn Mawr, PA: Thomas Library, Bryn Mawr College, 1993), pp. 71-75.

six different ways of describing the eye's role as 'peccati principium' (l. 10) ['origin of sin'], portraying it as a traitor who admits sin to the body.<sup>63</sup> Such repetition, an example of the piece's epideictic rhetoric, anchors the work in the court-room and the pulpit. The heart's case is weakened by the change in tone between the second and third strophes, from initial accusations of being an active traitor with active verbs to being faulted for its passivity. The eye merely admits sin like a window, an accusation reinforced by the passive forms (*diceris*, *ingeris*, and the deponent *sequeris*). The simile of the cow led to the slaughter in particular jars with the heart's argument: 'bos ductus ad victimam' is not simply complacent, but rather a means of expiation than a way of entering into sin. The heart's imagery backfires, if we remember the intellectual atmosphere of the time, to which we will return below, in which sin depended on the consent of the sinner: cattle, unthinking, are incapable of sin. However, if the heart's speech is a deliberate echo of Proverbs 7, a warning against the temptations of adultery, this negative reading of the bull to the slaughter (a direct quotation from the Vulgate, Prov. 7: 22, the only comparable Biblical phrase) is less surprising. Philip has tailored this version of the song to an audience well-versed in Scripture. The early verses of the chapter encourage the interpretation of a deliberate echo:

2 serva mandata mea et vives et legem meam quasi pupillam oculi tui  
3 liga eam in digitis tuis scribe illam in tabulis cordis tui

2. Keep my commandments, and live; and my law as the apple of thine eye.  
3. Bind them upon thy fingers, write them upon the table of thine heart

*Fenestra* is also found at Prov. 7.6, the means by which the onlooker perceives sin, in this case a young man giving in to the temptation of adultery, the same fault the heart levels at the eye. By contrast, the eye's speech is imbued with the vocabulary of rewarding service. It is not merely 'servus sedulus' (l. 27), ['devoted servant'] but does what the heart orders (l. 28), and sees itself as one 'sine cuius obsequio | cuncta languent officia' (ll. 35-6) ['without whose service all functions

<sup>63</sup> A possible intertext is Ovid, *Amores* I. 6, 7-8, 'Ille [sc. Amor] per excubias custodum leniter ire | monstrat; inoffensos dirigit ille pedes' ['Love shows me to walk quietly past the watchful guard, love who directs my unhindered feet']. The first line of Ovid's poem is directed to 'ianitor', as Philip calls his doorman.

would be idle']. Above all it is the suggestion that the heart acts 'iniuste', echoing the legal connotations of 'periculi' and 'replicent' in the first strophe, which gives the eye's response a spectral support from the narrator. The Latin lyric is thus on the same territory as the Occitan *contrafacta* of 'Can vei', and concerned with the politics of emotion.

However, Philip's concern with ethics is not wholly secular. The question implicit in his poem is: where does sin begin? The response is coloured by Peter Abelard's conviction that consent to the sin was the point at which sin was committed.<sup>64</sup> 'A man could not be called a sinner because he did what was objectively wrong, nor because he felt a sinful desire; sin, purely and simply, lay in consent to sinful desire.'<sup>65</sup> This is the main plank of the eye's defence, and it is hammered home forcefully:

Nullum malum te laedere	43	Nothing evil can harm you
potest, nisi consenseris,		unless you consent to it;
De corde mala prodeunt,		evils spread from the heart,
nihil invitum pateris;		you suffer nothing unwillingly.
Virtutes non intereunt,		The Virtues do not enter in,
nisi culpam commiseris.	48	unless you have committed an error.

The heart, seat of volition, is at fault, or so it seems from the driving rhetoric of these lines, always moving toward the grammatical subject, the target of the eye's critique. As with disputations in the schools, however, it is left to the *magister* to pass judgement on the arguments presented. In the allegory it is Ratio who resolves the dispute: the parties give the 'osculum pacis', or kiss of peace, which has both juridical and liturgical overtones.<sup>66</sup> The legal vocabulary of the conclusion ensures the poem closes in the discourse in which it began:

reum utrumque reputat	52	He indicts both defendants, but not on the
sed non pari periculo		same charge, for he holds the heart
nam cordi causam imputat		responsible for the cause, and the eyes for
occasionem oculo.		the opportunity

<sup>64</sup> *Medieval Latin Lyric*, p. 73

<sup>65</sup> Christopher Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual 1050-1200*, Church History Outlines, 5 (London: SPCK, 1972), p. 75.

<sup>66</sup> Du Cange, VI, col. 73b, 'Osculum pacis in hominis'.

After the powerful rhetoric of the two cases, the conclusion seems rather weak. Nonetheless, it sets Philip's song out against those already examined, which, without formal conclusion, pointed to one particular attitude on courtly love, in the case of the *Carestia* poems or a particular view on the duties of the feudal lord in the Occitan *contrafacta* of 'Can vei'. The extent to which the 'Latin' audience for this lyric shapes it will become clearer as we turn to Philip's own Old French twin version of 'Quisquis cordis et oculi'.

'Le cuer se vait de l'oïl pleignant' (R 349) is the only French lyric attributed to Philip the Chancellor, although the *dit* composed on his death at Christmas 1236 by Henri d'Andeli suggests there were others.<sup>67</sup> Philip conserves the melody of 'Can vei', although he changes the rhyme scheme from Bernart's octosyllabic ababcdcd to *abababab*, giving it the same form as the Latin lyric. The melodic structure, however, remains the same: αβγδεζηθ, where each Greek letter represents a new melodic idea.<sup>68</sup> There is no indication of precedence between the two songs, making them non-identical twins. 'Le cuer se vait' shifts the terms of debate to a less bookish mode, away from Biblical imitation, but remains as serious. What in Latin was a scholastic disputation with judgement is here an open-ended argument. In place of the Biblical echoes in the heart's complaint we find a reference to Guenelon (l. 13) embodying the eye's treachery. This is part of a general militarization of more neutral imagery in 'Quisquis', in fact the vernacular poem is closer to the tradition of *psychomachia*. For instance, the Latin 'admittis adversarium' (l. 16) is translated as 'quar quant je sui en garnison | mes anemis mes en ma tor' (ll. 15-16) ['For when I am in my fortress, you let my enemies into my tower'].

---

<sup>67</sup> 'Le dit du Chancelier Philippe' in: *Les dits de Henri d'Andeli*, ed. by Alain Corbellari, *Classiques français du Moyen-âge*, 146 (Paris: Champion, 2003), pp. 31-41. 'De toi mie ne se taisoit, | Mais sovent biaux dis en faisoit | Et en romans & en latin' (ll. 143-45) ['He was never without praise for you, and often composed beautiful songs both in French and in Latin']. Corbellari wonders elsewhere whether Andeli himself was the author of 'Le cuer se vait' (pp. 130-31). This contradicts the attribution of MS X, the only witness to name an author.

<sup>68</sup> For music and text, see Hans Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, 15 vols, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*, 107 (Neuenhausen: Hässler, 1997), III, no. 203-4.

It is especially the rhyme words of the OF strophes III-IV that emphasize this forcefulness, both in meaning and rhetoric. The heart's argument progresses from the fourfold repetition of 'point' in ll. 17, 19, 21 & 23, which like the pun on *hostis* and *ostium* (l. 14), depends on the simultaneous presence of a number of meanings: pricking, the negligibility of the heart's trust in the eye, service 'de riens a point',<sup>69</sup> all negative, all bound together in the one word. By contrast, in the fourth strophe the heart's peroration begins with 'Par toi commence tot pechié' (l. 25), a fairly neutral rendering of 'te peccati principium'. By putting 'pechié' in the privileged rhyme position, sin is always present. Thus, when death appears at the end of the following line, the two, an almost unavoidable theological pairing, give greater force to the argument here, in contrast with the comparative subtlety of the Latin. Philip also plays with the aural memory of his audience, making the second line into a contorted echo of the first: 'tu es celui qui point et mort | Tu es qui en pechié m'amort' (ll. 28-9) ['You are the one who pricks and kills, you are the one who bites me into sin'].

Indeed, just as these two songs show the Chancellor stripping down human emotion and activity to their basics, he also shows a parallel desire to reveal the mechanics of his poetry. He is as such on the same critical path as Raimbaut and Chrétien when they point to the ill-concealed political and social climbing implicit in some courtly poetry, exemplified by Bernart's devotion and the expected reward in 'Can vei'. The Latin poet wishes to show the fundamental sinfulness that underlies human emotions, and the responsibility the actor has for his actions. This comes into tight focus in the vernacular song's open ending: it lacks the formal judgement of *Ratio* as in 'Quisquis', requiring the audience to provide its own conclusion, giving the vernacular piece its particular force. The eye's response to the heart is as close to the Latin as was the first section: it declares that it is merely carrying out its role as 'serjant':

---

<sup>69</sup> Godefroy, VI, p. 253.

quant que je voi te fas savoir	42	For whatever I see I tell you.
Se por ce entres en pechier,		If you commit sin because of it,
ne m'en dois nul maugré savoir.		you cannot have ill will toward me.

The eye points here, for the first time, to knowledge, the underlying source of both potential power and sin. The heart has chosen to act sinfully. In this sense the OF song differs intellectually from the Latin, as, where ‘Quisquis’ emphasizes consent to sin, in line with Abelard’s *Ethics or Know Yourself*, the vernacular seems to posit a more active conception of sin. It is not mere acceptance that we find, above all in the closing lines of the lyric:

Se bien te senble, se-l retien;	51	If it looks good, take it to heart,
ja de mal ne soiez meü.		never be moved by evil.
Se prend le mal et les le bien,		If you take the good and leave the evil
desque tu le t'es esleü;		as soon as you have perceived it;
a moi, qu'en apartient de rien?	55	what has it got to do with me?
Tu meïsmes t'es deceü.		You have deceived yourself.

Without the boundary of Ratio’s judgement, the eye’s response reaches out to the audience, rather like the preacher leaning over his pulpit to make his peroration.

Philip the Chancellor has adopted the underlying arguments of ‘Can vei’, which stand metonymically for the *canso* as a genre, and reduced to allegorical ciphers its conflicting aspects. Ultimately Philip finds in favour of the poet, aligned with the meek *fenestra*, who just does his job. He thus remains, despite the remarkable twist he puts on the material of ‘Can vei’, firmly within the bounds of courtly convention, in which sight and appearance are of prime importance, whereas volition, the decision to act, is when evil can enter in. Hence the heart, representative of volition, is ‘causa periculi’ [‘cause of danger’ or ‘the reason for the trial’] in the view of Ratio, and worse, in the OF version, the human heart deceives itself.

By doing this to the melody of a well-known *canso*, he is picking away at the fundamental concepts of courtly love. The disjuncture between melody and lyrics would excite audiences: it takes full cognizance of the melody’s baggage, then turns it on its head, much as did Johan

Esteve when he composed a *planh* to the melody of Bernart's *canço*. Philip the Chancellor thus succeeded in bringing together the two readings of 'Can vei' arising from the two opposed MS traditions, the despairing lover of *QU* and the more cynical and misogynistic interpretation encouraged by MSS *AGLPS*. Even though he left no specifically amorous poetry, Philip was thus fully engaged with the worldly interests of the period, though at arm's length, since, according to Andreas Capellanus, active involvement would be improper for clerics.<sup>70</sup> Indeed the informed member of his audience, knowing the context of the biblical reference to Proverbs, would remember that it is the adulterous lover led 'ut bos ad victimam', and that Philip, in setting it to the melody of 'Can vei', is demonstrating his disapproval of courtly love in a sophisticated manner. The existence of two such twin lyrics, though not in itself unusual, does deserve some comment, as it is apparently the only one by the same author. The simplest interpretation is that Philip wishes to take in two rather different audiences, scholarly and worldlier: the vernacular lyric, while it does not have the disputation form, is no less complex. It is not for a 'lesser' audience, requiring advanced understanding of ethics, nor is it compatible with Philip's relatively high rank in the Church and society that he would write for the masses. Thus, either Philip is reaching out to those without Latin, or this is a matter of *decorum*: it is only right to write a commentary on courtly love, an essentially vernacular phenomenon, in the vernacular itself.

Philip's Latin song is also important for the connection it makes with the *Jeu de Ste Agnès* as the melodic model for an Occitan hymn, 'Sener mil gracias te rent'. This hymn of praise sung by the eponymous heroine to God, is preceded by the rubric provided in the unique MS, Vatican, Chigi C. V. 151: '*et Aines induit indumentum quod misit ei dominus, et postea facit planctum in sonu SI QIS CORDIS ET OCULI*' (after l. 474) ['And Agnes puts on the clothes which the Lord gave her, and then sings

---

<sup>70</sup> 'Clericus non debet amoris operibus deservire, sed [...] se Domino custodire, cuius creditur gestare militiam.' ['The cleric ought not to be a slave to love, but keep himself for the Lord, whose battle he is thought to fight.] *De amore*, ed. by Graziano Ruffini (Milan: Guanda, 1980), p. 198 (XIX. 3).

a lament to the melody of ‘Si q[u]is cordis et oculi’.<sup>71</sup> The notation is evidently an embellished version of the melody which accompanies ‘Can vei’ in Occitan MSS GR.<sup>72</sup> The three songs were thus performed, at least by some, to the same melody, and the *contrafactum* of a *contrafactum* gives a melody recognizably that of the first lyric. The caveat ‘by some’ reflects a passage in the chronicle of Salimbene, a Franciscan active in late thirteenth-century Parma. He declares that his tutor, Henry of Pisa, set Philip’s ‘Quisquis cordis et oculi’ to music, as well as a number of his other lyrics. Salimbene is valuable for the light he shines on the musical setting of lyrics, who did it and how it was done.

Item [sc. Henry] cantum fecit in illa littera magistri Phylippi cancelarii Parisiensis, scilicet:

*Homo quam sit pure  
mibi de te cura.*

Et quia cum esset custos in conventu Senensi in infirmatorio iaceret infirmo in lecto et notare non posset, vocavit me et fui primus qui eo cantante notavi illum cantum. Item in illa alia littera, que est cancellarii similiter cantum fecit, scilicet:

*Crux de te volo conqueri;  
Virgo, tibi respondeo;  
Centrum capit circulus;  
Quisquis cordis et oculi.*<sup>73</sup>

He sang a song with the words of Master Philip, the Chancellor of Paris, that is:

*However pure a man might be, look after me.*

Because, although he was warden of the convent at Sienna, and was lying ill in bed and could not write notation, he called for me and I was the first, from his singing, to notate that song. He composed a melody for other words, also by the Chancellor, that is:

*Cross, I wish to be conquered by you;  
Virgin, I answer you;  
The circle takes the centre  
Whoever does not know the struggles of the heart and eye in himself.*

The play, or rather MS Chigi C. V. 151, is located by Jeanroy to ‘le S.-O. de la Provence et notamment la région du littoral’<sup>74</sup> [‘SW Provence, in particular the coastal region’]. Beyond this,

<sup>71</sup> *Le Jeu de Sainte Agnès: Drame provençal du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. by Alfred Jeanroy (Paris: Champion, 1931).

<sup>72</sup> See Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics*, III, no. 203. There is also a musical appendix to Jeanroy’s edition of *Jeu de Sainte Agnès* by Théodore Gérold.

<sup>73</sup> *Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam Ordinis Minorum*, ed. by Oswald Holder-Egger, Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Scriptores) 32 (Hanover: Hahn, 1905-13), p. 182. The other lyrics mentioned here are, respectively: *AH* 21, no. 121, *AH* 21, no. 14, both of uncertain attribution to Philip. ‘Virgo...’ does not appear in *AH*, but is no. 21902 in Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, 2 vols (Louvain: Poleunis and Ceuterick, 1892-97), which attributes it to Philip, while ‘Centrum...’ is *AH* 20, no. 88, and is also attributed to Philip.

<sup>74</sup> *Jeu de Sainte Agnès*. p. XX.

of course, the lyrics, if not the original melody, were known in Tuscany according to Salimbene. That this melody was transmitted north from the southern courts to Paris then back south by presumably clerical channels underlines the remarkably far reach of ‘Can vei’ in both secular and clerical spheres, and by extension the mobility of lyric culture in medieval Europe it represents.

The text of ‘Sener, mil gracias ti rent’ clearly echoes Bernart’s meditations on the duties of the feudal Lord, here projected onto God: ‘Can vei’ is still spectrally present, transmitted by the Latin text—a presence reinforced for the audience by the melody. The fact that the ‘original’ text is declared in the rubric, even if the incipit is confused, means that this song is a quite conscious *contrafactum* and at least some of its recipients appreciated the spectral resonances of the ‘original’ Latin. The rubric, however, raises the question of what counts as the ‘original’ song for the audience, who cannot be expected to have the same knowledge of the repertory. Does it matter that the compiler of the Chigi MS appears not to regard Philip as the author of a *contrafactum*? If he did not know, lines 4-8, which consider the feudal lord’s duty to his underlings, nonetheless show a certain resemblance, a spectral presence of the underlying concerns of Bernart’s song:

Aytal senor tan conoisent deu hom servir et asorar ques als sieus el non es fallent als obs, anz lur vol ajudar.	478	Such a merciful lord, one must serve and adore him, for he does not fail his own in their need, rather he wishes to help them.
---	-----	---

There is particular similarity with l. 13 of ‘D’Amors qui m’a tolu a moi’, where Chrétien says of love: ‘Qu’as siens ne puet ele faillir’. More conceivable, though equally conjectural, is the possibility that the Occitan composer has been influenced by the memory of the political-feudal use of the melody of ‘Can vei’ in the *sirventes* by Peire Cardenal and Guillem Anelier de Tolosa. This is ultimately another instance of the problems facing a study of poetic networks, that is, the loss of meaning in the process of cultural transmission, and the difficulty of knowing what each individual link in the chain knows of his predecessors.

The second religious play, from Elche in Valencia, is ‘Senyora, tot nostre voler’. This mystery, still performed on the 14-15<sup>th</sup> August, is clearly traceable to the fifteenth century, and first documented in the 1350s, and celebrates the Assumption of the Virgin. The significance of the play as part of the transmission for courtly lyric was overlooked until Jaume Massó Torrents noted that previous work supposed that:

aquests sons retrets no podien ésser altra cosa que unes cançons de bressol i aires populars amorosos en la ignorància que algunes d’elles eren d’autors prou coneguts. Aquests podien però haver-se un xic popularitzat fins al punt de retreure’n tonades per ésser cantats els versos que s’hi apliquen.<sup>75</sup>

these reported melodies cannot be anything else but cradle-songs and popular romantic lyrics, not knowing that some of them were by rather well-known authors. These songs could, however, have a measure of popularity so that their melodies would be used with the words that fit them here.<sup>76</sup>

As in the Agnes play, the rubric of the *misteri* confirms the deliberate contrafacture at work here: ‘E responguen tantost les donzelles: “Senyora, tot nostre voler”, al so de *Quant vey la laugeta mover*. E après, vagen les donzelles al poble. E diguen los poble de deu’<sup>77</sup> [‘And the maidens respond immediately: ‘Madam, all our willing’ to the tune of *Quant vey la laugeta mover*. And afterwards the maidens go to the people. And they tell the people of God’]. The text of the lyric itself is, however, missing. The choice of Bernart’s melody is evidently a deliberate and conscious one. The fact that two clerical plays use it suggests a practice of adopting worldly songs to garner the interest of a secular audience, be it high or low culture, or even an attempt to bring to Marian devotion some of the attitudes putting women on a pedestal associated with courtly lyrics. Indeed this matches the attitude of Guiraut Riquer, the ‘last’ troubadour (second half of the C13th), who in his ‘Humils, forfagz, repres e penedens’ makes the Virgin into the perfect

---

<sup>75</sup> ‘La cançó provençal en la literatura catalana’, in *Miscel·lània Prat de la Riba* 2 vols (Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 1917-23) II (1923), pp. 445-46. Massó Torrents is referring to: Mérimée, *L’art dramatique à Valencia depuis les origines jusqu’au commencement du XVIIe siècle*, Bibliothèque méridionale n.s., 16 (Toulouse: Privat, 1913).

<sup>76</sup> I am grateful to Anna Alberni for her help with translating this quotation.

<sup>77</sup> José Ruiz de Lihory, *La Música en Valencia: Diccionario biográfico y crítico* (Valencia: Domenech, 1903), pp. 84-91 (p. 86).

*domna*.<sup>78</sup> Either way, it is yet another instance of the ‘so’, the melody, carrying ‘Can vei’ far beyond the boundaries of Occitania. Neither the difficulties of transcribing medieval notation nor the absence of the Catalan lyrics,<sup>79</sup> however, negate the status of ‘Senor mil gracias’ and ‘Senyora, tot nostre voler’ as *contrafacta* of ‘Quisquis’ and by extension ‘Can vei’. The mystery plays thus stand in a mediated dialogue with the troubadours, partly through the medium of Philip’s perceptive dissection of the ethics of courtly love. These responses to Bernart’s song and, perhaps reactions to those responses, show that the extent of a poetic network is not merely a question of geographical or even linguistic distances, but can also be one of changing social contexts and demonstrate how this too can give rise to yet different ways of using a well-known song. Not only was ‘Can vei’ enormously successful, the secular-sacred boundary was also highly permeable and admitting of major landmarks of secular culture.

#### *Plus ultra: The Further Adventures of ‘Can vei’*

The remaining *contrafacta* of ‘Can vei la lauzeta mover’ are a short MHG lyric, an OF *jeu-parti*, a *chanson de femme*, and a bilingual *descort* from the court of Alfonso X of Castille and Leon. Probable *contrafacta*, these are haunted by Bernart’s lyric, particularly for the medieval audience to whom they were likely sung to Bernart’s melody. While at face value a disparate group, these reveal the furthest extent of Bernart’s lark song, both geographically and artistically. Furthest from the troubadour core, these songs have only rarely been taken up by scholars, and have not been brought into dialogue with ‘Can vei’ in modern times.

---

<sup>78</sup> ‘Vos clam merce, Dona, Verges plazens |maire de Crist, filh del Tot-poderos’, (PC 248, 44, ll. 4-5), no. 5 in: Monica Langobardi, ‘I ‘vers’ del trovatore Guiraut Riquer’, *Studi mediolatini e volgari*, 29 (1982-83), 17-163.

<sup>79</sup> On the substantial investment in Occitan-language lyric in Catalonia, see the discussion of Cerverí de Girona and Guillem de Bergueda in Chapter 4.

Active around 1150-80, Dietmar von Eist holds a liminal position between the early ‘Danubian’ *Minnesang* and later poets who responded to romance influences: this song is a case in point. ‘Der winter wære mir ein zît’ (MF 35, 16) is a *Wechsel* in which one strophe is put in the mouths of two lovers, typical of Dietmar’s small remaining corpus.<sup>80</sup> They speak in contrasting ways about their ‘senen’, or longing, unrequited because of the lack of communication between them, built into the form of the lyric with its two effectively parallel strophes. The man thus speaks, in classical courtly terms, of his lady as the only source of comfort, who would make even the winter bearable—a kind of anti-*Natureingang*: ‘wurde ich sô sælic daz ein wîp | getrôste mînen senden muot’ (MF 35, 18-19) [‘were I so blessed that a woman would soothe my longing mood’].<sup>81</sup> But this almost spiritual tone is immediately overlaid with the sexual sense of ‘trôsten’ in the following two lines; the tone is euphemistic, as the man talks of the way he would lie. Any traces of impropriety, however, are quickly kicked over by the final couplet of the strophe: ‘si hât mich in ein trûren brâht | des ich mich nicht gemâzen kan’ (MF 35, 22-23) [‘she has brought me such sorrow, about which I cannot balance myself’]. Sex remains ‘hidden’ on the inside of the strophe, in a way reminiscent of the ‘buried’ misogyny in some MS variants of ‘Can vei’. This strategy then explains, or provides the link to the woman’s strophe where she praises him for his courtly bearing, calling him ‘der besten einer’ [‘one of the best’]. She too longs for him, but here the conditions which would fulfil her desire are left remarkably vague: ‘ez wære wol, und wurde ich frô’ (MF 35, 26) [‘it would be well, if I were be glad’]. This vagary is, like male sexual desire, concealed by the female conclusion that she cannot resist him, even if he has caused her anger or pain: ‘waz hilfet zorn? swenn er mich siht | den hât er schiere mir benômen’ (MF 35, 31) [‘what good does rage do? whenever he sees me, he takes it from me straight away’]. While the *Wechsel* form is inherently opposed to conclusion as such, the overwhelming sense is that the male

---

<sup>80</sup> ‘Der Wechsel ist nicht nur Signum des echten Dietmars sondern der Dietmar-Überlieferung überhaupt.’ [‘The *Wechsel* is not only the signature of the genuine Dietmar but also of the Dietmar corpus as a whole.], Helmut Tervooren, ‘Dietmar von Eist’, *VL*, II, col. 93.

<sup>81</sup> All references to *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, 36<sup>th</sup> edn.

advance is not seriously opposed. This is made clearest by the notion that the male gaze is the source of comfort for the passive woman, perhaps a “memory” of the importance of sight in ‘Can vei’, although sight is the moment of breakthrough rather than the loss of self in the Occitan. There are, as such, no more than generic connections in content between ‘Der winter’ and ‘Can vei’. The fact, however, that the strophic form *8ababedcd* made the leap from the context of romance lyric to Middle High German is in itself remarkable, and confirms Dietmar’s important medial position between east and west.<sup>82</sup>

Another inversion of ‘Can vei’ (if read as classical love song from a male perspective) where the melody is a constant reminder of this changed perspective is a *chanson de femme* in French *chansonniers* C f. 191, and U f. 47v, ‘Plaine d’ire et de desconfort’ (R 1934). It has the woman, her lover only implicitly present, admit her faults and longings for the beloved, similar to ‘Der winter’. Unlike Dietmar’s *Wechsel*, however, the underlying narrative is one of rejection and self-deception. The first strophe is not especially revealing; it explains the woman’s suffering and includes the admission that ‘j’ai grant tort, | car assez trop hardie fui | quant mon cuer et ma boiche mui’ (ll. 3-5) [‘I am completely wrong, for I was too bold when I mobilized my heart and mouth’].<sup>83</sup> As such the explanations for her sorrow in the second strophe shock the unprepared audience:

<p>Dame cuidoie estre d’autrui,  mais bien sai que folie fis;  car conquise sui par celui  cui je cuidoie avoir conquis.</p>	<p>9</p>	<p>I thought I was another’s lady,  but I know that I was foolish;  for I have been conquered by him  whom I thought I had myself conquered</p>
--	----------	---

---

<sup>82</sup> *VL*, II, cols. 93-94. ‘Can vei’ is not unique in this regard; another of Bernart de Ventadorn’s songs appears to have inspired a MHG *contrafactum*: ‘Pos pregatz me segnor’ (PC 70, 36) was reworked by Friedrich von Hausen, another important and well-documented conduit for Romance material. (‘Deich von de guoten schiet’ MF 48, 32). See further Friedrich Gennrich, ‘Zur Ursprungsfrage des Minnesangs: Ein literarhistorisch-musikwissenschaftlicher Beitrag’, *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, 7 (1929), 187-228 (220).

<sup>83</sup> Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics*, III, no. 203-6.

More striking is the way she continues to talk about the male beloved's power over the couple: the lines 'car il [siens] est et je si sui|ensi somes sien ambedui' (ll. 14-15)<sup>84</sup> ['for he is his and I am too, so we are both of us his'] echo the part-submerged power politics present in both 'Can vei' and Chrétien, as well as Bernart's Occitan imitators. The final strophe turns the *grand chant courtois* on its head. That is, the lyrics catch up with the perspective signalled aurally by Bernart's melody: classically the man despairs of recognition by his lady, but now the roles are reversed. Indeed, the woman here goes further than the traditional male despair, announcing that 'Desqu'il ne m'aimme je me haz' [*sic* D.M.] (l.21) ['As soon as he does not love me, I hate myself']. The lyrics then, read like a gloss on the events supposedly alluded to by 'Can vei', that is, as the apology of Bernart's *domna* for her harsh treatment of him, and accepting his normative control. Were this the case, what of the slightly altered rhyme scheme, which changes from 'Can vei's' *ababcbcd* to *ababbaba*? The song is to be sung to the same melody—it is transmitted with the 'Can vei' melody in Fr. MS U (=Oc MS X), so the connection is clear to the *cognoscenti*, for whom the altered rhyme scheme will simultaneously carry meaning. Bernart's song itself also features in that MS (f. 148v) in a *francisée* version, but the two lyrics are in different hands, in a *chansonniér* evidently compiled by many scribes. There is space for music, but no staves have been drawn in this section of the MS. Nonetheless, the two songs combine to underline 'Can vei's' presence and good fortune in northern France, a situation which finds reinforcement in its quotation in Jean Renart's *Roman de la Rose* and Gerbert's *Roman de la Violette*, discussed below.

The battle of the sexes was clearly the productive point in the northern French reception of 'Can vei'. The *jeu-parti* 'Amis, quelx est li mieuz vaillanz' (R 365) pushes what has so far been relatively restrained into the burlesque and the sexual. Here, as in the *Wechsel*, debate is encoded in the very poetic form, and this is used to target the restraint promoted by the *grant chant courtois*. Above all,

---

<sup>84</sup> 'siens' absent in MS U (BnF fr. 20050). See also *Le Chansonniér français de Saint-Germain-des-Prés (Bibl. nat. fr. 20050)*, ed. by Paul Meyer and Gaston Raynaud.

it is against Chrétien—or rather the attitude he champions—that the anonymous poet orients himself, in that his lyric shows Chrétien’s conception of love (‘Biens adoucist par delaier | plus t’en ert douls a l’essaier’, ‘D’Amors qui m’a tolu’, ll. 45-46) brought to Earth by the power of sexual desire, voiced *con brio* by the male interlocutor. The question is simple: is it better simply to linger with one’s lover, or to have sex and go one’s separate ways? The female voice speaks in favour of lingering. Long lists of verbs as nouns give the piece considerable energy:<sup>85</sup>

Amis, mieuz vaut li deporter et li veoirs et li sentirs li baisiers et li acolers, li pariers et li esgardeirs, que li faires et puis alers	17	Darling, much more valuable is the enjoyment and the seeing and the feeling, the kissing and embracing, the coupling and the looking than doing it then going
---	----	---

The male interlocutor is convinced, saying in one of his less blunt speeches, ‘Dame, onc ne vi guerir nul jor | por soi deleis s’amie esteir’ (ll. 41-2) [‘I never heard of anyone cured (sc. of love) just by lying beside his darling’], a kind of spectral presence of the death by love in ‘Can vei’, as the repeated references to flight echo Bernart’s insistence that he will leave (*se recre*). The key difference, and the core of its parodic drive, is that the man in the OF *jeu-parti* is leaving after sex, which Bernart never reaches. Finally, the second half of the last female strophe covers much of the same ground as other *contrafacta* of ‘Can vei’, particularly Philip the Chancellor’s.

maix quant li eul plux se refait, dont trait Amors a cuer son vis, ki par loial cuer son dairt trait.	54	But when the eye tries harder, and love takes the face to heart, who with loyal heart fires an arrow.
---	----	---

What we have here seems to be a variety of neo-Platonic ideas, where the eye acts as gateway to the soul, ‘domus meae ianitor’ as Philip has it, causing the dart of love to be shot, carrying the image of the beloved to the heart. The fact that the heart is qualified here as ‘loial’ certainly echoes Philip’s *altercatio*, given the importance of loyalty to it. Deciding which song may have inspired this piece is difficult: the debate form of the *jeu-parti* directs us more towards ‘Le cuer se vait de l’oïl pleignant’, whereas the topic for that debate, the properly conducted love affair, points more toward Bernart. The fact that the song comes down with the ‘Can vei’ melody does

---

<sup>85</sup> Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics*, III, no. 203-5.

not necessarily mean that this was the inspiration, although the contents do read as a spirited ‘take’ on Bernart’s lyric.<sup>86</sup> There are minor formal differences with ‘Can vei’: the rhyme scheme is *abbacbb*, but this still permits the use of the same melody. As in previous instances, then, the presence of ‘Can vei’ is spectral—it is there in the music and the battle of the sexes.

The final *contrafactum* of ‘Can vei’ takes us to Iberia: the bilingual *partimen* between Arnaut and King Alfonso X of Castille and Leon, in Occitan and Galician-Portuguese.<sup>87</sup> In the case of ‘Sénher, ara ie-us vein quer[er]’, deliberate contrafacture is evidenced by the adoption in the first two strophes of the same rhymes as ‘Can vei’ (*-er*, *-ai*, *-e* and *-on*), although there is the change from *coblas unissonans* to *coblas doblas*, contradicting the tendency to remove the interstrophic patterns of ‘inherited’ lyrics.<sup>88</sup> This, according to Dominique Billy is due to the influence of a lyric with a similar bawdy topic by Alfonso’s uncle Thibaut de Champagne:

Pulsoni estime qu’un jeu-parti échangé entre Thibaut de Navarre et “Baudoin”, à *coblas doblas*, unique pièce française à utiliser la structure strophique de *Quan vei la lauzeta* [...], mais avec une mélodie et timbre différents a joué un rôle dans l’élaboration du *partimen* bilingue.<sup>89</sup>

Pulsoni holds that a *jeu-parti* exchanged between Thibaut de Navarre and Baudoin in *coblas doblas*, the only French lyric to use ‘Quan vei’’s strophic form, but with a different melody and rhymes, informed the composition of the bilingual *partimen*.

The poem by the king of Navarre is ‘Baudoin, il sont dui amant’ (R 294), which debates whether a lady will be more attracted by courtesy and education or by a handsome suitor.<sup>90</sup> It is the supposed knowledge of this lyric that inspired the King of Castille and Arnaut compose their

<sup>86</sup> Robert Linker, in his otherwise excellent *Bibliography of Old French Lyrics*, Romance Monographs, 31 (Mississippi: University, 1979), fails to mention the music in MS O.

<sup>87</sup> Dominique Billy, ‘Contrafactures de modèles troubadouresques dans la poésie catalane (XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)’, in *Le Rayonnement des troubadours: Actes du colloque de l’AIEO, Association Internationale d’Etudes Occitanes, Amsterdam, 16-18 octobre 1995*, ed. by Anthonius Toubert (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), pp. 51-71 (p. 71).

<sup>88</sup> Aarburg, ‘Melodien’, pp. 388-91.

<sup>89</sup> Billy, ‘Contrafactures’, pp. 69-70, referring to Carlo Pulsoni, ‘In margine ad un partimen giocoso di Alfonso X’, in *Actas del III<sup>e</sup> Congreso de l’Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval (Salamanca, 3 al 6 de octubre de 1989)*, ed. by María Isabel Toro Pascua, 2 vols (Salamanca: Bibliotheca Española del siglo XV, 1994), II, pp. 813-19.

<sup>90</sup> Qv. *Les Chansons de Thibaut de Champagne, roi de Navarre: Édition critique*, ed. by Axel Wallensköld (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1925), no. 37, pp. 123-26.

*partimen* in *coblas doblas*. While the two poets were related, and there were interrelations between their courts, this seems tenuous at best. However, the fact that such a respected *trouvère* knew and used Bernart's strophic form—and that this use is unique perhaps suggests how targeted it was—underlines 'Can vei's' repute, even if it is only transmitted with a different melody.

The form of Thibaut's *jeu-parti*, is joined together with the more lively topic of the Occitan *partimen* 'Amics n'Arnautz, cent dompnas d'aut paratge' (PC 184, 1), by Raimon Berenger V and Arnaut Catalan.<sup>91</sup> There the unnamed 'coms' suggests that 'un pet fassatz que mova un tal ven | que las dompnas vadan a salvamen' ['you fart and make such a wind that the ladies would get to safety']; this is transformed in the Iberian imitation to a request made by 'Don Arnaldo' to the King, to be made Admiral. Why? He could power the whole navy by his flatulence. The king replies that 'dad' a vós devia seer | a queste don', ['this gift must be given to you'].<sup>92</sup> Part of the topsy-turvy world of this *partimen* is the king's observation that he does not look for a *galardon* (reward) for this gift, which because it was to a social inferior, would normally be self-explanatory, an echo of the proper actions of the lord in 'Can vei', 'Tostemps vir cuidar en saber' and 'Ara farai, no'm puesc tener'. The final two strophes contain the new Almiral Sison's proposal to transport his lady 'qu-es la melhor | del mond' e la plus avinent' ['the best in the world, and the most gracious'] and one hundred other young women in calmer weather. The king supplies the necessary information, revealing that the *Almiral* had intended on taking his lady *Ultramar* (l. 27), a laughable project, making for a send-up of Bernart's leaving his lady supported by the use of the 'Can vei' melody.

---

<sup>91</sup> See Silvio Pellegrini, 'Arnaut (Catalan?) e Alfonso X di Castiglia' in *Saggi e ricerche in memoria di Ettore Li Gotti*, Centro di Studi Folologici e Linguistici Siciliani, Bollettino 6-8 (Palermo, [n. publ.], 1962), pp. 480-86.

<sup>92</sup> *Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer, dos cancioneiros medievais galego-portugueses: Edição crítica*, ed. by Manuel Rodrigues Lapa (Coimbra: Vigo, 1965), pp. 624-26.

The choice of languages in this poem is informative: the King uses the ‘noble’ Occitan, his strophes distinguished from the obscenities in Gallician-Portuguese, the language of the rest of his major poetic output, the first 100 *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. The two languages reinforce the debate inherent in the rest of the reception of ‘Can vei’, here, as in the *jeu-parti*, being put to comic effect with a frank and ludic tone. Alfonso *et al* seem to know the melody and structure as recoded by the *jeu-parti*, and thus regard the melody as descending from an obscene model. This is only one instance of later recipients quoting ‘Can vei’, using their lyrics to say something new while maintaining a dialogue with Bernart through the shared melody and their lyrics. Only in this way does the true geographical and temporal extent of Bernart’s importance becomes clear, not merely in the furtherance of a European discourse on courtly love, but in the dissemination of a form important to the discussion of power relationships of many kinds. It also demonstrates the intellectual dexterity of the poets of medieval Europe and their audiences that they created and transmitted complex songs which, for the initiated, offered considerable rewards, not just the sense of accomplishment in recognizing the model, but also the insight into a conversation about the principles of the courtly life.

### *Citations of ‘Can vei’*

Just as it was a fruitful model for formal interactions, Bernart’s song also had an authoritative position in discussions of courtly love in many narrative works, in a situation of mutual benefit to both poet and quoting text, one discussed in greater theoretical detail in Chapter 3. Like many of the *contrafacta* of ‘Can vei’, these have not been examined as a group before. Together they confirm a wide-spread appreciation of Bernart as the courtly lover *par excellence*. The first two instances have been the object of a number of studies; these are the quotation of the first strophes of ‘Can vei’ in the Old French *Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole* by Jean Renart, and Gerbert de Montreuil’s later imitation, the *Roman de la Violette*. In the first, the first two

strophes of ‘Can vei’ are cited, unattributed, in a *francisée* version, as the courtiers ride out to a *locus amoenus* after the drama—a ill-wisher accuses the Emperor’s new bride, sister to his favourite, of adultery—has been satisfactorily resolved. The witnesses of the Occitan quotations in the romance (there are two others) are, judged by normal standards, poor. Regina Psaki’s diplomatic text reads:

Quant voi laloete moder de goi.ses ales contr el raï.que sobete lesse cader par la doucor qel cor li vai. ensi grant en vie mest pris de ce que voii.a ma grant miravile est que vis del sens ne coir do[n]t desier non fou.ha las tant cuidoie savoir donor et point nen sai.pas on damer	5212	When I see the lark flap its wings for joy against the rays, and ?? drops from the sweetness that goes to its heart. Thus a great desire took me for what I saw; It is to my great wonder that I saw sense and ?? for which there was no desire. Alas I thought I knew much about honour and I know nothing of it, not of love.
non pou tenir celi dont ia prou nen au[ra]i tol mei lor cor et tol meismes.et coi mees me et tol le mon.et pos tantel ne moste rent fors desier e cor volon.----oooo---- <sup>93</sup>		I cannot hold the one from whom I will never benefit, took their heart from me and took self and ?? self and all the world and then so much did not show than desire and a willing heart.

Dufournet in his edition translates the last couplet: ‘C’est merveille que je ne délire | ou que je ne meure de désir’, which translates the Occitan original, but not the OF version.<sup>94</sup> As discussed in greater detail in the passage on Jean Renart in Chapter 3, this *francisée* text is an example of what Sarah Kay views as the concern to make the French sound or appear to be Occitan, which trumps verbal comprehension.<sup>95</sup> What matters for Jean Renart is the broader connotation of the song as *the* troubadour love lyric. Alternatively, if ‘coir’ is taken as meaning ‘to copulate’ (*Godefroy* II, 176), this could be a deliberate change to fit better Bernart’s lyric with the romance’s narrative, though this seems unlikely. The main thread of the plot is the attempt by Aiglante, the object of the German emperor’s *amor de lonh*, to clear the rumours that the imperial seneschal had taken her virginity, thus making her ineligible to marry the emperor. The substitution of ‘coir’ for

<sup>93</sup> *The Romance of the Rose or of Guillaume de Dole (Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole)*, ed. and trans. by Regina Psaki, Garland Library of Medieval Literature 92, ser. A (New York: Garland, 1995). The ‘??’ marking untranslatable nonsense are mine.

<sup>94</sup> *Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, ed. by Félix Lecoy, trans. by Jean Dufournet, Champion Classiques du Moyen-Âge, 24 (Paris: Champion, 2008).

<sup>95</sup> Sarah Kay, ‘La seconde main et les secondes langues dans la France médiévale’, in *Translations médiévales: Cinq siècles de traduction en français au Moyen Âge (XIe- XVe siècles): Étude et Répertoire*, ed. by Claudio Galderisi, 3 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), I, *De la ‘translatio studii’ à l’étude de la ‘translatio’*, pp. 461-85 (pp. 475-78).

Bernart's 'cor', then, while making no literal sense, would tie the citation much more closely to the concerns of its narrative surroundings. Given that Renart, or his transmitters, *does* give 'cor' to mean heart at l. 5227, this may not have been oversight. Sarah Kay has called this quotation of 'Can vei' 'an extreme case of song as blot: high on affect, low on intelligibility', noting that the French rendering of 'del sen' instead of 'desse' ['straight away'] and 'rent' ['gives'] in place of 're' ['nothing'], shows a tendency to make changes in favour of high drama rather than ones aimed at faithful translation.<sup>96</sup> Accuracy is, it seems, less important than the impression it makes on the audience.

The later *Roman de la Violette* uses only the first strophe of Bernart's lyric. This romance is heavily dependent on Jean Renart's text and re-uses a number of lyric quotations. 'Can vei' is part of a singing competition between the hero Gerart and a lark, which hears him sing for Aiglente his lady. He responds with the 'son poitevin'. What follows is unusual: Gerart sends his hawk after the lark, which kills it. Only now does the hero realize that the lark carries a ring around its neck, 'biaus a grant merveile' (l. 4225), which belonged to Eurïaut his lover.<sup>97</sup>

D'ire et d'angiosse est tous müés,	4232	He is much moved by rage and anguish,
Plus noirs que terre tous devint,		He became blacker than the earth,
Quant d'Eurïaut li resouvint.		when he was reminded of Eurïaut.

The first effect is metaphorically to kill Bernart de Ventadorn, the second to make this poetic dead lark a matter of sorrow for Gerart, as the meaning and value embodied by the ring were only revealed on its demise. This strange scene can be read, given Gerart's exclamation "Quant j'ai perdu chou que j'aimoie" (l. 4239) ['for I have lost that which I loved'], as a Northern French eulogy on the troubadours. Buffum locates the *Violette's* four MSS to Picardy, but no particular area, overlapping, then, with the north-eastern origin of *Guillaume de Dole*.<sup>98</sup> The proximity of

---

<sup>96</sup> Sarah Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales: Troubadour Quotations and the Development of European Poetry* (Philadelphia: Penn, 2013), p. 98.

<sup>97</sup> *Le roman de la Violette ou de Gerart de Nevers par Gerbert de Montreuil*, ed. by Douglas Buffum (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1928).

<sup>98</sup> *Roman de la violette*, pp. XXIII-VIII; *Roman de la Rose*, ed. Lecoy, p. 10.

these citations with the witness of ‘Can vei’ in French MS *U* with its Lotharingian orthography, and neumatic notation typical of Metz points to a centre of particular interest in Bernart’s song concordant with the contrafact *jeu-parti and chanson de femme* discussed above.<sup>99</sup>

Similarly intriguing is Raimon Vidal de Besalù’s short narrative ‘En aquel temps’, written in or before 1213.<sup>100</sup> It quotes Appel’s seventh strophe, where Bernart threatens to go into exile if his lady does not acknowledge him—exactly the situation in which the nameless hero finds himself in Raimon’s text.<sup>101</sup> He declares before going on to quote ‘Can vei’:

[...] “Amia, mal m’es pres e pieilz aten e pieis mi ven, car on pus ab mi dons m’aten ni mais la prec, ieu may y pert, e mens y truep de bo sufert, e avolz ditz e peiorz faitz. C’ar sui vengutz als mals retraitz qu’en B[ernartz] de Ventadorn dis, que fon tan ves amor aclis, c’a mans n’a fagz mans desplazer:	385 Darling, I’ve got it bad, And I wait for worse, and worse comes, For the more I wait on my lady And the more I entreat, the more I lose, And find less honest suffering there, 390 And there are evil words and worse deeds. So now I am at the point of telling my woes; Bernart de Ventadorn said, Who was so devoted to love 394 That he often displeased many.
---	---

Bernart is used then as shorthand for the disconsolate lover, and as a quarry for the hero’s speech and material for his arguments and his lady’s. Nonetheless, the ‘bon sofert’ (l. 427) owes more to philosophies such as Chrétien’s *chier tans* than to Bernart, perhaps suggesting a plurivocal context for Raimon Vidal, who also refers to ‘Can vei’ in his *Razos de Trobar*. So too did Terramagnino da Pisa in his later versification of the *Razos*, the *Doctrina d’Acort*. Raimon, active in Catalonia, discusses irregular forms of the verb ‘creire’, citing the lines ‘Totas las dot et las mescre’ and ‘A per pauc de ioi no-m recre’ (*Razos* ll. 402 & 404) as examples of ‘on hom deu dire crei’ [‘where one ought to say crei’].<sup>102</sup> The *Doctrina d’Acort* was composed on Sardinia c. 1282-96,

<sup>99</sup> *U* dates to c. 1250, shortly after the romances. See *Les chansons courtoises de Chrétien de Troyes*, pp. 40-41.

<sup>100</sup> *The ‘Razos de Trobar’*, p. lxvii.

<sup>101</sup> *Novvelles occitanes du Moyen Age*, trans. and ed. by Jean-Charles Huchet, (Paris: Flammarion, 1992), pp. 141-221 (p. 164). Huchet gives the text of *chansonnier* R. See also the discussion of Raimon Vidal in Chapter 3.

<sup>102</sup> I cite the MS *B* text from *The ‘Razos de Trobar’*, pp. 1-24.

and dated through a reference to the Visconti *giudicato*.<sup>103</sup> In it, Terramagnino expands on Raimon's criticisms, and names his source, criticizing Benart's use of 'retrai' in l. 32 ('Ma domna, per qu'eu li retrai'):

...aquest parlars mal vay	550	This language is bad
Qar tersa persona pauzet		because it uses the third person
En luec de prim' e razonec,		in place of the first (the logical one),
Qar c'ell <i>retrac</i> hagues dich		for, had he said 'retrac',
Nulls l'hagra ies contradich		none would ever have corrected him.

He then cites the same 'fault' as did Raimon Vidal. Both texts appear to have been composed for a small audience, and shows Bernart's auctorial status for later troubadours. The fact that he is picked up for grammatical faults marks the contrast between poetic continuity and community across the years, and the development of the language.

As was seen in the *contrafacta*, of 'Can vei' admits many interpretations, and quotation is little different. Whereas the Occitan romances and the handbooks keep to the opening strophes, Matfre Ermengaud's *Breviari d'Amor*, begun 1288, and the fifteenth-century Francesc Ferrer's *Conort* both chose what Dominique Billy calls without explanation the 'quatrième couplet' of the lyric.<sup>104</sup> Matfre's is a didactic text, and demonstrates how Creation is structured along the lines of the 'tree of love'. Bernart de Ventadorn is mentioned in the 'Perilhos Tractat', discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3, where the troubadours become *auctoritates* on courtly love. 'Can vei' is used as evidence of female untrustworthiness in the section 'Aysi parlan li aimador contra las donas' ['So speak the lovers against ladies']:

Mieils las deuri' hom desfizar,	29670
quar no fan als mas cossirar	
mals et engans, la nueg e-l jorn,	
don digs Bernartz de Ventadorn	
que saup de lurs engans lo ver:	
De las donas mi dezesper,	29675
ja mais en lor no-m fizarai,	
qu'aissi cum las sueilh mantener,	

<sup>103</sup> *The Razos de Trobar*, p. lxxi.

<sup>104</sup> Billy, 'Contrafactures', p. 68.

enaichi las desmantenrai;  
 pus vei neguna pro no-m te  
 ves lieis que-m destrenh e-m cofon,                      29680  
 totas las gup e las mescre,  
 quar sai quez atretals se son.  
 Huei doncs han fag las donas fron,  
 dizon li davan dig aiman,  
 quar non dubto far lunh engan.<sup>105</sup>                      29685

One had best be wary of them, as they do nothing but think up more evils and plots, day and night. On this note, B de V, who knows the truth of their plots, says: "I despair of women I shall never more put my faith in them just as I used to defend them, now I shall leave them to their own devices. For I see that no woman has a use for me who ruins and destroys me. I suspect all women and disbelieve them, for I know well that the others are like this." Oh, so the ladies have closed ranks, say the aforementioned lovers, for I am not afraid of long plotting.

The *Breviari* enjoyed considerable success, appearing in eleven MSS, and in it Bernart is in the front rank of the sixty-six named troubadours, and is quoted eighteen times. Beaten only by Aimeric de Peguilhan's twenty two, this is evidence not only of his continuing authority, but of a poetic tradition that interacted intelligently with its inheritance.<sup>106</sup> Such authority is also evident in the most modern work to quote Bernart, the mid-fifteenth century Catalan poem *Lo Conhort* by Francesc Ferrer, a Valencian merchant, preserved in Spanish MSS *JLN*.<sup>107</sup> 'Can vei' is the only classical troubadour song, the rest coming from nearer precedents. Fifteen poets console Ferrer, recently rejected; after each intervention, one of their strophes is quoted. Bernart is presented not only as the exemplary failed lover, but as misogynist *par excellence*.<sup>108</sup>

"No crech, pensant-hi nit e jorn,    448 major viltat fer-nos podia com me comès la que-m tenia la voluntat e tot lo meu. Pot-se dir la fassa Déu a les que fan contra natura!"	I do not believe, thinking on it night and day, that such a great evil could be done As she did who took from me My will and everything I had. I could say: May God do to her [as] to those who sin against nature!
--	--

<sup>105</sup> *Le Breviari d'Amor de Matfre Ermengaud: Tome V* (27252 T–34597), ed. by Peter Ricketts (Leiden: Brill, 1976).

<sup>106</sup> Reinhilt Richter, *Die Troubadourzeit im 'Breviari d'Amor': Kritische Ausgabe der provenzalischen Überlieferung*, Subsidia al Corpus des Troubadours, 4 (Modena: STEM-Mucchi, 1976), pp. 15-17. See also Sarah Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales*, Appendix I.

<sup>107</sup> MS. *J* is Paris, BnF esp. 225; *L* is Barcelona, Bibl. de Catalunya, MS 9 and *N* is Barcelona, Bibl. de l'Ateneu, MS 1.

<sup>108</sup> Edition: *Lo conhort de Francesc Ferrer*, ed. Jaume Auferil (Barcelona: Stelle dell'Orsa, 1987).

*Lo conhort* is thus an interesting counterpart to the ‘Carestia’ poems, which, rather than contemplating the extent to which a lover should suffer (and enjoy it) for his lady, see the suffering lovers strike back, rejecting *sidons* wholesale. As such, the ‘antis’ are elevated to be Ferrer’s ‘amichs’ and ‘pus antichs’ (ll. 630-31). At considerable temporal remove from Bernart’s time of activity, his work continues to play a role, perhaps not that originally envisaged, but one bearing witness to the power of lyric poetry to link together the most disparate authors.

### *A European Song*

Both the form and content of ‘Can vei’ were powerful enough to encourage and withstand re-use and re-framing in the most varied contexts. The *contrafacta* are undoubtedly varied songs, forming distinct intellectual, regional or other groups. But again, the spectral presence of ‘Can vei’, transmitted either in the cultural baggage of the memory of Bernart’s song *via* textual references, or, more common in its forays beyond Occitania, in the melody, binds them together, and connects them to make a distinct network. It is this presence which, even when unacknowledged, and indeed potentially unknown to large sections of the audience, represents the success of ‘Can vei’, in persisting through these many permutations. This presence creates a counterpoint between the contemporary, the immediately ‘relevant’ and the inherited poetic tradition. The result is a conversation between poets about the nature of courtly love, not just seen in terms of the rights and wrongs of *midons* but, in some instances, a scientific way, and in others, a parodically sexualized manner. Their dialectical tools are the inversion of perspectives, the sometimes shocking reduction of complex intellectual and metaphorical constructions to their basic components, and the overlaying of seemingly unrelated topics onto the melody and memory of ‘Can vei’. They cast new light on the ‘original’ text while exhibiting the inventiveness of Bernart’s successors.

This memory of ‘Can vei’ has numerous possible applications, either as cipher for classical *canço* seen from the viewpoint of the suffering lover as in the *Carestia* lyrics and Dietmar’s *Wechsel*, or, for Philip the Chancellor, seen as emblematic of secular song. The *Breviari d’Amor* and *Conort* take it as the classic expression of the lover turning his back on women. More marked than any of these, however, is the interpretation dependent on power and authority, spreading from Bernart painting his lady as his lord, a feature dwelt on by Raimbaut d’Aurenga, through the Occitan *sirventes* to the mystery play. In both cases, the choice of Bernart’s melody or strophic form authorizes criticism, giving depth and nuance to the regard for God and the nobility. The citations in Old French romances see the possibilities for nuanced interpretation multiplied by the interplay of lyric and narrative context.

‘Can vei’ is thus a remarkably extensive poetic network stretching across Western Europe. It is a powerful demonstration of the need to approach medieval song as a holistic phenomenon: just as courtly ideals were traded and developed among the peoples of Europe, so too were the cultural artefacts, both textual and melodic, that carried the elaborations of these ideals. Without holistic study, these instances—of which there are many—remain roads leading off the edge of maps of France and other modern countries.<sup>109</sup> *Contrafacta*, like the topic of the next chapter, multilingual lyric, ask searching questions about the validity of contemporary subdivisions of literary works which do not easily fit our critical categories, and do not deserve to be consigned to the grey zones of literary study.

---

<sup>109</sup> I hope to publish at a later date tables of *contrafacta* which cross linguistic boundaries, compiled during the early stages of my research.

## 2. *Chanson, or puez aler par tout le monde*: Multilingual lyrics and linguistic boundaries

Polyglot texts, while sometimes viewed as mere literary curios, are valuable in the examination not only of the range of medieval ways of thinking about language in action, but also of what a literary language was. These texts also offer a particular insight into problems of manuscript culture and transmission. Most importantly, though, they throw light on some of the ways in which courtly culture dealt with, crossed, and problematized what we moderns habitually consider as the boundary between two languages. Recent scholarship has tended to overlook this striking component of medieval literary culture, instead focussing on what has been traditionally called ‘macaronic’, that is, poetry combining Latin and the vernacular.<sup>110</sup> The presence of Latin has tended to generate discussion of linguistic hierarchies in the Middle Ages: Latin-vernacular relations, called ‘perpendicular’ by Paul Zumthor, have tended to occlude the question of ‘horizontal’ polyglossia between one or more vernacular languages.<sup>111</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup> For an Anglo-centric overview, see Elizabeth Archibald’s ‘Macaronic Poetry’, in *A Companion to Medieval Poetry*, ed. by Corrine Saunders (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 277-88.

<sup>111</sup> Zumthor, *Langue et technique poétiques à l’époque romane: XIe-XIIIe siècles*. Bibliothèque française et romane, C4 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1963), p. 81.

Multilingual lyric can be divided into two distinct phenomena, which Ulrich Müller in his study of the German strophes of the *Carmina Burana* called *Sprachmischung* and *Mehrsprachigkeit*.<sup>112</sup> The first, literally ‘language mixing’, is the use of different languages to form a logical grammatical unit. A subcategory of this is *barbarolexis*, where foreign vocabulary is included in a work primarily of one language with no overall pattern.<sup>113</sup> These are most consonant with what has been studied under the heading of ‘macaronic poetry’.<sup>114</sup> The second, meaning ‘polyglossia’, indicates the parallel use of more than one language where a grammatical unit is entirely in one language. We will deal with both forms of multilingual lyrics in relatively equal measure, as they each offer different insights into the attitudes toward and uses of multilingualism.

There has been no overall or comparative study of multilingual lyrics as a phenomenon other than Theodore Elwert’s wide-ranging pieces on ‘Einsprengsel’, a term covering everything from *barbarolexis* to Double Dutch.<sup>115</sup> Important lyrics such as Raimbaut de Vaqueiras’s *descort* and *tenso* and Cerverí de Girona’s ‘Cobla en .vj. lengatges’ have been examined largely with philological questions in mind, for instance examining Raimbaut’s first literary use of Galician-Portuguese and Italian.<sup>116</sup> The literary aims and achievements of such lyrics, however, have on the whole

---

<sup>112</sup> ‘Mehrsprachigkeit und Sprachmischung als poetische Technik: Barbarolexis in den *Carmina Burana*’, in *Europäische Mehrsprachigkeit: Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Mario Wandruszka*, ed. by Wolfgang Pöckl (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1981), pp. 87-104. On the German strophes, see Cyril Edwards, ‘The German Texts in the *Codex Buranus*’ in *The ‘Carmina Burana’: Four Essays*, ed. by Martin Jones, King’s College London Medieval Studies, 18 (London: King’s College London Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 2000), pp. 41-70, and also Burghart Wachinger, ‘Deutsche und lateinische Liebeslieder: Zu den deutschen Strophen der *Carmina Burana*’, in *From Symbol to Mimesis: The Generation of Walther von der Vogelweide*, ed. by Franz Bäumle, GAG, 368 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1984), pp. 1-34. See also Olive Sayce, *Plurilingualism in the ‘Carmina Burana’: A Study of the Linguistic and Literary Influences on the Codex*, GAG, 556 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1992).

<sup>113</sup> See for instance Hugh Primas’s poem no. 16 ‘Iniuriis contumeliisque concitatus’, which combines Latin hexameters with words, even whole lines, in Old French in no particular pattern.

<sup>114</sup> See Simon Gaunt, ‘Sexual Difference and the Metaphor of Language in a Troubadour Poem’, *Modern Language Review* 83 (1988), 297-313 (301, n7).

<sup>115</sup> Elwert, ‘L’emploi des langues étrangères comme procédé stylistique’, *Revue de la littérature comparée* 34 (1960), 409-37, and ‘Fremdsprachige Einsprengsel in der Dichtung’, in *FS Wilhelm Giese: Beiträge zur Romanistik und allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft*, ed. by Harald Haarmann and Michael Studemund (Hamburg: Buske, 1972), pp. 514-45.

<sup>116</sup> See Jean-Marie D’Heur, *Troubadours d’Oc et Troubadours Galiciens-Portugais: Recherches sur quelques échanges dans la littérature de l’Europe au Moyen-Âge*, *Cultura Medievale e Moderna*, 1 (Paris: Fundação Calouste

been ignored. Some inspiration comes from instances where there is less difficulty in deciding exactly what language one is dealing with, as in the case of the English, Latin and French epistle ‘De amico ad amicam’. In his study of this poem, Ad Putter points to the nuanced linguistic connotations which enliven an otherwise unremarkable love letter by the constant cycling through the three languages, opposing the clerical and apothegmatic quality of the Latin phrases that close the versicles to the courtly French and the English.<sup>117</sup> The question ought, however, to be asked—not just of England—to what extent the foreignness of these words was a purely subjective matter. As Frédéric Duval reminds us, ‘le néologisme n’est pas un fait objectif mais le fruit d’un jugement’ [‘a neologism is not an objective fact but the result of a judgement’], one made by each listener or reader according to his own experience.<sup>118</sup> In examining multilingual lyrics too, the role of the audience and their knowledge and engagement will be essential. Bringing together this literary potential with the theoretical considerations of the time, then, it is the aim of this chapter to consider the multilingual lyrics of the high and later Middle Ages as literary objects in context.

I begin by examining some of the theoretical approaches taken toward language and languages in the Middle Ages, for instance, those of Dante in his *De vulgari eloquentia*, and the commentary of the Occitan *Razos de trobar*, a manual for aspiring poets. What is a language, what is the vernacular, what is it for, and what, if anything, distinguishes one language, or one vernacular, from another? Do perceptions of these characteristics change? In the first group of lyrics by Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Cerverí de Girona and Bonifacio Calvo, the light shed by this examination of theoretical works will be trained on a number of cases which use multiple languages in part to examine notions of literary *decorum*. These poets also think about the

---

Gulbenkian-Centro Cultural Português, 1973) and Giuseppe Tavani, *Fra Galizja e Provenza: Saggi sulla poesia medievale galego-portoghese*, Lingue e letteratura Carocci, 17 (Rome: Carocci, 2002).

<sup>117</sup> Putter, ‘The French of English Letters: Two Trilingual Verse Epistles in Context’, in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c. 1100-c. 1500*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al. (York: York Medieval Press; Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), pp. 397-408.

<sup>118</sup> Duval, ‘Les néologismes’, in *Translations médiévales*, ed. by Claudio Galderisi, I, pp. 499-534 (p. 499).

differences between categories of language according to the circumstances of their composition. The second group will build on the notion of difference between languages to think about communication in lyric culture, specifically to think about the priorities of those responsible for MS transmission and how this affects the artistic project behind multilingual poetry. The case of one MS witness of Dante's poem 'Aï faus ris' invites us to think about what this says about the audience and how it was supposed to access or relate to the text, and two poems by the Tyrolean Oswald von Wolkenstein follow up this strand, showing that audiences were problematic not just for Dante. In the conclusion, I will return to Raimbaut de Vaqueiras and his famous *tenso* with the Genoese in the attempt to place one of the earliest multilingual vernacular pieces in the context of the European practice of polyglossia which followed it.

### *Medieval Theories of Language.*

The status of languages in the high Middle Ages and the intellectual background for the poets and songs I discuss below is complex. It raises a number of fundamental questions: language as opposed to *grammatica*, the question of 'the' vernacular, and the taxonomy of languages. While my interest here is primarily in vernacular culture, it is necessary to begin with a brief discussion of the learned study of grammar as this provides the context for, and even cause of, the development of vernacular grammars such as Raimon Vidal's and later Jacques Legrand's *Archilogie Sophiae* (c. 1405). These treated Occitan and French respectively for the first time in the style of the *trivium*. Starting with Biblical exegesis, not only of the Babel episode itself, but also of Adam's naming of the beasts at Genesis 2, 17-20, and the trilingual placard on the cross above the crucified Jesus' head (John 19, 20), schoolmen questioned the origin of different languages

and their interrelation.<sup>119</sup> This work was taken up outside the academy in the thirteenth century by Dante in his tract *De vulgari eloquentia* and also by the writers of vernacular grammars, first in Occitan—although these were produced in Catalonia and Italy, and later in France.

The academic background involves two types of text: the purely intellectual and the practical. The most important development in the intellectual sphere was the emergence of the Modist school of grammar around 1200. The study of grammar, exemplified by the work of Pierre Hélié and Robert Kilwardby, had previously been a combination of the *artes dictaminis, praedicandi* and *poetriae*, a discipline based on detailed interpretation of *auctores*. By contrast, the Modists, whose appearance follows the rise of logic and the Sorbonne, and the concomitant fall of the study of classical *auctores* at Orléans and Chartres, rephrased it as an *ars intelligendi*.<sup>120</sup> The effect of this change in curricular emphasis was fundamental, as it shifted the discursive focus from the specifics of language use and development to language as a universal phenomenon. Any particularities were unimportant, or rather of secondary importance. What mattered was the application of logic. As one of the Modist tracts declares:

Omnes enim partes essentielles grammaticae sunt eodem apud omnes in nullo diversificate saltem secundum speciem. [...] Eadem enim sunt constructibilia et idem modi significandi et idem modi construendi apud Latinos et Graecos saltem secundum speciem. Ergo grammatica est eadem apud omnes homines in omni ydiomate.<sup>121</sup>

All essential parts of grammar are the same among all peoples and are in no way different at least according to race. [...] In fact the building blocks are the same, as are modes of meaning and understanding, among the Latins and the Greeks, at least according to race. Therefore grammar is the same among all people in all language.

---

<sup>119</sup> See Gilbert Dahan, 'Nommer les êtres: exégèse et théories du langage dans les commentaires médiévaux de *Genèse* 2, 17-20' in *Geschichte der Sprachtheorie*, ed. by Peter Schmitter, 6 vols (Tübingen: Narr, 1987-pres.), III: *Sprachtheorie in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, ed. by Sten Ebbesen (1995), pp. 55-77.

<sup>120</sup> Geoffrey Bursill-Hall, *Speculative Grammars of the Middle Ages: The Doctrine of 'Partes Orationis' of the Modistae*, *Approaches to Semiotics* 11 (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), p. 24. On this period, see also Martin Irvine, with David Thomson, 'Grammatica and literary theory', in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, ed. by Hugh Nisbet and Claude Rawson, 9 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005-2013), II, *The Middle Ages*, ed. by Alastair Minnis (2005), pp. 15-41.

<sup>121</sup> 'Summa grammatica' from *Johannis Daci Opera*, ed. by Alfred Otto, pp. 50 & 54. Quoted in Serge Lusignan, *Parler vulgairement: Les intellectuels et la langue française aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: Vrin; Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1986), pp. 30-31.

If language is at root the same, there is no point in distinguishing between what are effectively no more than variants. Or rather, while one may distinguish *species* in John the Dane's version, these can justifiably be ignored. Indeed, this conception of 'ydioma' in the singular is something which we see again in Dante's work, and provides a backdrop to a number of the multilingual lyrics discussed below, above all those of Raimbaut, which combine Romance languages.

By contrast, the study of language aimed at the learning of non-native languages engendered a different attitude to the vernacular. Here, language difference is seen not as an inconvenience in the elaboration of a universal theory of language but rather a means to an end. Thus the Franciscan Roger Bacon in his mid-thirteenth century Greek grammar adopts the particular characteristics of French in order to explain Greek grammar in a way not available to Latin. For instance, he uses French to explain elision and the use of the articles, both absent from *grammatica*.<sup>122</sup> In his study, Serge Lusignan reads this fact as part of the rising status of the French vernacular, to one dignified enough to be brought into explicatory dialogue with the 'sacred' languages. It could equally be a purely pragmatic solution. Beyond this, however, it is also indicative of an attitude among some according to which linguistic difference can serve a particular purpose without necessarily undermining the overall unity of language. In this respect Bacon shares with Dante the idea that 'une même langue (*lingua*) peut avoir plusieurs *idiomata* sans que plusieurs *idiomata* ne rompent l'unité d'une *lingua*' ['one language (*lingua*) can have several *idiomata* without these several *idiomata* breaking the unity of that *lingua*'].<sup>123</sup> All human language after Babel, with the exception of Hebrew (on which see *De vulgari eloquentia* I. VII. 8), is marked with sin, and thus all forms must have in one sense the same status, and this sentiment colours much of Dante's treatise and also agrees, as we shall see below, with his poetic practice.

---

<sup>122</sup> Lusignan, *Parler vulgairement*, p. 74.

<sup>123</sup> Lusignan, *Parler vulgairement*, p. 68.

*De vulgari eloquentia*, written around 1303-4,<sup>124</sup> represents in some way a bridge between the scholarly attitudes of the time and Dante's own immediate concerns with the vernacular, above all the foundation of a unifying vernacular for Italy. In terms of the relationship between vernacular languages, Dante has much in common with Roger Bacon, seeing all European languages as related. He divides them into three groups: northern, reaching from the Black Sea to England, where the word for 'yes' is derived from 'io', and the southern, Latinate sector. The third is Greece, belonging, so Dante, in part to Asia (I. VIII. 2). In a famous passage focussing on the southern 'ydioma', he begins:

Est igitur super quod gradimur ydioma tractando tripharium, ut superius dictum est: nam alii *oc*, alii *sí*, alii vero dicunt *oil*. Et quod unum fuerit a principio confusionis [...] apparet, quia convenimus in vocabulis multis, velut eloquentes doctores ostendunt: que quidem convenientia ipsi confusioni repugnat, que ruit celitus in edificatione Babel. (I. IX. 2)

The *ydioma* which we are discussing is thus threefold, as has been said above, as some say *oc*, others *sí*, and others *oil*. And because it appears to have been one language before the confusion [...], since we [sc. Latins] agree on many words, as the wise poets demonstrate, that harmony is opposed to that confusion which rained down immediately on the construction of the Tower of Babel.

What is particularly notable here is the choice of 'confusio', in line with the Vulgate, to describe the situation after God struck down the tower of Babel.

descendit autem Dominus ut videret civitatem et turrem quam aedificabant filii Adam et dixit ecce unus est populus et unum labium omnibus coeperuntque hoc facere nec desistent a cogitationibus suis donec eas opere conpleant venite igitur descendamus et confundamus ibi linguam eorum ut non audiat unusquisque vocem proximi sui atque ita divisit eos Dominus ex illo loco in universas terras et cessaverunt aedificare civitatem et idcirco vocatum est nomen eius Babel quia ibi confusum est labium universae terrae et inde dispersit eos Dominus super faciem cunctarum regionum (Gen. 11. 5-9)

And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded. And the Lord said, Behold, the people *is* one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city. Therefore is the name of it called Babel; because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth: and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth.  
[AV]

---

<sup>124</sup> Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia*, trans. and ed. by Vittorio Coletti, I grandi libri, 442 (Milan: Garzanti, 1991), pp. xiii-iv.

It clarifies Dante's position in a longstanding interpretative schism between *confusio* with its overtones of chaos and disorder, and those exegetes who held the situation to be rather a *divisio*, a more orderly separation of languages and peoples. Indeed *divisio* also means learned schema, echoed for instance, in Marco Polo's *Le Devisement du monde*.<sup>125</sup> Certainly this reasoned interpretation is much more apt for what follows in Dante's taxonomy of contemporary Italian. Thus Dante agrees more closely with the German scholastic thinkers of the preceding century than his Italian predecessors: where Germans such as Caesarius of Heisterbach were convinced of the surmountability of the Babylonian confusion through divine revelation, St Francis and his contemporaries insisted that human language was, as a whole, a broken tool.<sup>126</sup> Either way, *De vulgari eloquentia* is above all important for arguing for the unity of Romance languages on both theoretical and practical levels, that *unio* implicit in both *divisio* and *confusio*. This position finds its poetical expression in the multilingual lyrics of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras and Cerverí di Girona.

Equally enlightening is Raimon Vidal de Besalú's *Razos de trobar* which dates from 1190-1213, almost a century before Dante's work. The text is described as an introduction to 'la dreicha manera de trobar' (l. 2)<sup>127</sup> ['the correct way to compose poetry'], and Raimon not only notes famously those uses to which French and Occitan are best put, but also implicitly thinks about the boundary between them. In a manner anticipating Dante's taxonomy, it seems that he does not appear to consider them to be separate languages, writing that:

---

<sup>125</sup> Compare with the Z redaction of the *Devisement du monde*, in which the narrator notes that 'scire debitis quod per totam provinciam Mançi una servatur loquela et una manieres litterarum. Tamen in lingua est diversitas per contratas, veluti apud laycos inter Lonbardo<s>, Provinciales, Francigenas, etcetera; ita tamen quod, in provincia Mançi, gens cuiuslibet contrate potest gentis alterius intelligere ydionia' [you must know that in all the provinces of Mançi, one mode of speech is used and one script. Yet the language is different according to the region, as it is among the lay people of Lombardy, Provence, France etc.; in the same way, in the province of Mançi, people from one region can understand the idiom of the people of another]. Quoted by Simon Gaunt, *Marco Polo's 'Le devisement du Monde': Narrative Voice, Language and Diversity*, Gallica, 31 (Cambridge: Brewer, 2013), p.111. I reproduce his translation.

<sup>126</sup> Arno Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte der Meinungen und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker*, 4 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1959), II.2, pp. 745-48.

<sup>127</sup> *The 'Razos de Trobar'* p. lxx. Quotations from the B text.

Totz hom qe vol trobar ni entendre deu premierament saber qe neguna parladura non es naturals ni drecha del nostre langage, mais acella de Franza et de Lemosi et de Proenza et d'Alvergna et de Caersin. [...] Et tot l'ome qe en aquellas terras son nat ni norit an la parladura natural et drecha. (ll. 59-65)

All men who wish to compose or understand poetry must first of all know that no *parladura* is as natural or proper as our language, and further, that of France, the Limousin, Provence, the Auvergne and the Quercy. [...] And all men born or brought up in these lands have a natural and proper *parladura*.

*Parladura* I leave untranslated here since its various nuanced meanings invite quite different interpretations of Raimon Vidal's attitude to language: for instance, Levy offers 'idiom', 'dialect', and 'language', as well as 'discourse', as possible translations.<sup>128</sup> It is also important that Raimon, like Dante (*DVE* I, 1, 2), is keen to emphasize the learning of language with mother's milk, although the Catalan has as his target audience non-native users of Occitan. This is designed to be a practical grammar, though, as Marshall observes, it largely fails to live up to its initial promises.<sup>129</sup> Nonetheless, the *Razos de trobar* is also important for linking the ideal of *decorum* to the poet's choice of languages, and thus helps us better to understand the relative meanings of 'parladura' and 'lengua':

La parladura francesa val mais et [es] plus avinenz a far romanz et pasturellas, mas cella de Lemosin val mais per far vers et cansons et serventes. Et per todas las terras de nostre langage son de maior autoritat li cantar de la lenga lemosina qe de neguna outra parladura... (ll. 72-75)

The French tongue is more worthy and suitable for composing romances and pastourelles, but that of the Limousin is better for composing verse, and long songs, and *serventes*. And through all the lands of our language, songs in Limousin have greater authority than those of any other tongue.

Again, language here is singular, divided into *parladuras*, a universalism less extreme than that of the Modists, but still more pronounced than Dante's. Raimon's geographical specificity echoes Dante's taxonomy of Italian dialects: 'todas las paraolas qe ditz hom an Lemosin...d'autras gisas qe en outras terras, aquellas son propriamenz de Lemosin' (ll. 79-83) ['all those words which are said in the Limousin in a different way to other areas, these belong to the Limousin']. This ideal

---

<sup>128</sup> *PD*, p. 279.

<sup>129</sup> *The 'Razos de Trobar'*, p. lxxix

finds little reflection in the *chansonniers*, especially in the case of multilingual lyrics, where linguistic forms not identifiable as belonging to one particular area are often used, it seems, deliberately. As we shall see with Cerverí de Girona and others, this can be philologically troubling—although it is above all Raimbaut whose multilingual descort is symptomatic of an earlier freedom that Raimon’s strict literary *decorum* attempts to limit. Dante would also later spot the considerable grey area between different idioms when he noted that the Romance languages ‘multa per eadem vocabula nominare videntur, ut ‘Deum’, ‘celum’, ‘amorem’, ‘mare’, ‘terram’ (I. VIII. 5) [‘seem to name many things with the same words, as in ‘Deum’, ‘celum’, ‘amorem’, ‘mare’, ‘terram’]. Note too that Raimon uses the presumed knowledge of *grammatica* (l. 84) as a crutch when teaching the art of composing in Occitan, reversed the practice of Bacon’s Greek Grammar. The picture which emerges, then, is of medieval thinkers attempting with relatively limited success to align ideals of order and the confusion of the world around them. Their poetic counterparts, approaching the same problems with different means, come up with sometimes unexpected results to which we now turn.

### *Linguistic boundaries and literary conventions: Raimbaut and Cerverí*

‘Eras quan vey verdeyar’ (PC 392, 4) is by far the best known multilingual lyric from the late twelfth century. Raimbaut, an Occitan troubadour active in Italy, particularly at the Malaspina and Monferrato courts, includes a stanza in each of five romance languages, including both Occitan and French, the established literary languages of the age. The *tornada* is composed of rhymed couplets of each language in the order of their appearance in the main body of the lyric.

Joseph Linskill’s edition reads as follows:<sup>130</sup>

---

<sup>130</sup> All references to *The Poems of the Troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, ed. by Joseph Linskill (The Hague: Mouton, 1964), no. 16, pp. 190-98. I reproduce his translation, though he gives the following renderings: l. 3. “discord”, l. 7 ‘discordance’, l. 8 ‘In the rhymes, melodies and languages’, l. 15 ‘gladiolus *flower*’, l. 26

Eras quan vey verdeyar Pratz e vergiers e boscatges, Vuelh un descort comensar D'amor, per qu'ieu vauc aratges; Q'una dona-m sol amar, mas camjatz l'es sos coratges, per qu'ieu fauc dezacordar los motz e-ls sos e-ls lenguatges.	1    5	Now when I see the meadows and orchards and woods turn green, I would begin a 'descort' On love, on whose account I am distraught. For a certain lady was wont to love me, But her heart has changed, And so I produce discord In words, sounds, and languages.
Io son quel que ben non aio ni jamai non l'averò, ni per april ni per maio, si per ma donna non l'ò; certo que en so lengaio sa gran beutà dir non sò, çhe fresca qe flor de glaio, per qe no m'en partirò.	10    15	I am one who has no happiness Nor shall I ever have it Either in April or in May, If I do not have it from my lady; Certain it is that in her own language I cannot describe her great beauty Which is fresher than the gladiolus And that is why I shall not part from her.
Belle douce dame chiere, A vos mi doin e m'otroi; Je n'avrai mes joi' entiere Si je n'ai vos e vos moi. Mot estes male guerriere Si je muer per bone foi; Mes ja per nulle maniere No-m partrai de vostre loi.	20	Fair, sweet, dear lady I give and commit myself to you. Never shall I know perfect bliss If I have not you and you me. You are a most treacherous enemy If I die through my good faith; Yet I shall in no wise depart From my obedience to you.
Dauna io mi rent a bos, Coar sotz la mes bon' e bera Q'anc fos, e gaillard' e pros, Ab que no-m hossetz tan hera. Mout abetz beras haisos E color hresc' e noera. Boste son, e si-bs agos No-m destrengora hiera.	25    30	Lady, I surrender to you, For you are the kindest and truest Whoever was, and joyous and worthy, If you were not so cruel to me. Your features are most fair And your complexion fresh and youthful. I am yours, and if I possessed you Nothing would be lacking to me.
Mas tan temo vostro preito, Todo-n son escarmentado. Por vos ei pen' e maltreito E meo corpo lazerado: La noit, can jatz en meu leito, So mochas vetz resperado; E car nonca m'aprofeito Falid' ei en mon cuidado. <i>per qieu no men partirei</i>	35    40 40 bis	But I so fear your anger that I am in complete despair. For your sake I endure pain and torture And my body is racked: At night as I lie in my bed I wake again and again; And since I gain no advantage I have failed in my intent. <i>For which reason I shall not leave.</i>
Belhs Cavaliers, tant es car Lo vostr' onratz senhoratges Que cada jorno m'esglaio. Oi me lasso! que farò si sele que j'ai plus chiere Me tue, ne sai por quoi? Ma dauna, he que dey bos	45	Fair Knight, so dear to me Is your noble sovereignty That each day I am dismayed. Ah me! what shall I do, If she whom I cherish most Slays me I know not why. My lady, by the faith I owe you

'fairest' in place of my 'truest', l. 27 'that', l. 39 'And since I gain no advantage *for myself thereby*', l. 40 *bis* omitted, text here acc. MS *a*, l. 41 'precious', l. 46 ends '?', l. 50 'your *most* sweet discourse'.

Ni peu cap santa Quitera,  
 Mon corasso m'avetz treito  
 E mot gen favlan furtado.

50

And by the head of St. Quiteria,  
 You have wrested my heart from me  
 And stolen it with your sweet discourse.

The reason for this composition is given in the first, Occitan, strophe at lines 5-8. The changing language and melody (presumably—none of the surviving MSS *CEMR* *Sgaf* and  $\lambda$  contains music) are the enactment of the *persona*'s emotional turmoil. It is however in the rhyme words that the political programme emerges. By rhyming 'coratges' with 'lengatges', Raimbaut indicates that language is a matter of volition: intellectually, the choice of a *descort* would seem to place Raimbaut on the side of those thinkers who saw Babel in terms of the surmountable and ultimately manageable *divisio*. As the song proceeds, and the same commonplaces of courtly love are expressed as thematic variations in five languages, Raimbaut questions the extent to which these languages are so different, and, by extension, why they ought not all be considered fit for literary use. This paraleptic game of highlighting difference by ostensibly ignoring it becomes clear straight away. In the transition from the first Occitan stanza to the second, Italian stanza, the thread of the poem is entirely unbroken in ll. 9-12. Not only does it follow seamlessly as a complaint on the changing 'coratge' in the first stanza, it also links back to the *début printannier*. As if the same were not clear enough, Raimbaut's next move is to declare that he cannot express how lovely his lady is 'en so lengaio' (l. 13) ['in her language'], at once raising the question as to what exactly *her* language might be.

As Raimbaut's linguistic parade continues, it becomes increasingly obvious that his lady has no particular language. This can be read as referring to the void at the heart of the courtly discourse detected by some critics, particularly those with a psychoanalytic approach, who have underlined the emptiness of the courtly *domna*.<sup>131</sup> Given that the 'Belhs Cavaliers' to whom the poem is

<sup>131</sup> This arises primarily from Jacques Lacan's 'Courtly Love as Anamorphosis', in *The Ethics of Psychoanalysis: The Seminar of Jacques Lacan: Book VII*, ed. by Jacques-Alain Miller, trans. by Dennis Porter (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 171-90, but was later developed by Slavoj Žižek in 'Courtly Love, or Woman as Thing', in *The Metastases of Enjoyment: Six Essays on women and causality* (London: Verso, 1994), pp. 89-112.

addressed is generally identified with Beatrice de Malaspina, the fact that he declares in Italian, her mother tongue, the impossibility of praising her in her own language—which he then does—is the source of the knowing humour of the piece. More radically, it does not matter what language the lady is addressed in because courtly lovers the world over speak the same cultural grammar. Each language to which Raimbaut turns is invested with the full dignity of courtly lyric and its *topoi*, whether it has the acknowledged standing of a literary language or not. These echoes and variations, what Furio Brugnolo called the ‘rigido sistema di conessioni interne’ [‘rigid system of internal connexions’], bind together these Romance *parladuras* and demonstrate their linguistic ties.<sup>132</sup> Thus, the Italian—or Genoese—lines 15-16 ‘chu fresca qe flor de glaio, | per qe no m’en partirò’ are reprised in the Gascon ‘hresc’ (l. 30), and more obviously in the French ‘no-m partirai de vostre loi’ (l. 24). Not only does he therefore repeat the sense of the line as a whole, but does this at the close of both stanzas. By making these references in such an important position, he clearly bring his play to the audience’s attention. Linskill’s criticism of Raimbaut’s ‘poverty of invention’ is thus misplaced, and we see instead the troubadour questioning the fundamentals of poetical theory.<sup>133</sup> Italian is just as good for the expression of these ideas typical of the *canço* as French. Similarly, the image of the love servant offering himself to his *domna* because of her beauty with which the French strophe opens (ll. 17-18) is repeated almost *verbatim* in Gascon: ‘Dauna, io mi rent a bos, | coar sotz la mes bon’ e bera’ (ll. 25-26) [‘Lady, I give myself to you, for you are the best and truest’], again showing practically why schemata such as Raimon Vidal’s are mere convention. Just as they read like the discordant words of one single love servant, the strophes could function as a choir of lovers addressing their respective ladies.

This programme of disturbing conventions is embedded at the deepest level in Raimbaut’s *descort*.

As Furio Brugnolo shows, the stanzaic form is one borrowed from the French *trouvère* Canon de

---

<sup>132</sup> Furio Brugnolo, *Plurilinguismo e lirica medievale: da Raimbaut de Vaqueiras a Dante* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1983), p. 98.

<sup>133</sup> *Raimbaut*, ed. Linskill, p. 196

Béthune—whom Raimbaut knew and with whom he composed a bilingual *tenso* ‘Seigner Coine, jois et pretz et amors’ (PC 392, 29 = 115, 1)—and Gace Brulé.<sup>134</sup> Thus any language is capable of using the privileged forms of the *trouvères*. Beyond the formal, the content of these lines carries this notion of a poetic discourse available to all with their imitations of the work of Conon, signalled by the use of ‘Belle douce dame chiere’ (l. 17), incipit of one the *trouvère*’s most famous song, as well as the *-iere* rhymes from Conon’s first strophe.<sup>135</sup> This ‘omaggio dissimulato’ [‘disguised homage’] reinforces Raimbaut’s position on the nature of the community of Romance languages (a position shared with Dante in his *De vulgari eloquentia*).<sup>136</sup> There are greater similarities than there are differences between languages, and they have similar poetic potential. Indeed, far from the effect of *dezacordar* (l. 7) that Raimbaut has promised his readers on an emotional level, the intellectual proposal legible in the poem is much more that there exists a deep-seated harmony between these five languages. Indeed, given the isostrophic construction of the song, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the song would repeat the same melody for each strophe, thus reinforcing their consonance. Thus Raimbaut offers his own version of the singular *lingua* with plural *idiomata* or *parladuras* found in the theoretical writings of the Modists and Dante in his own differentiation between ‘los lengatges’ (l. 8), and the *domna*’s singular *lengaio* (l. 13). The *domna* speaks in a particular way because she is a *domna*, and not because she has any particular linguistic background.

The unity of *idiomata* certainly seems consonant with the judgement made by Jean-Marie D’Heur on Raimbaut’s fifth, Galician-Portuguese strophe, that this is little more than ‘une simple teinture galicienne-portugaise sur un fond occitan’ [‘simply a Galician-Portuguese veneer on an Occitan background’].<sup>137</sup> He notes that only ‘meu corasso’, ‘treito’ and ‘furtado’ are “real” Galician, with

<sup>134</sup> Brugnolo, *Plurilinguismo*, pp. 84-91.

<sup>135</sup> *Les chansons de Conon de Béthune*, ed. by Axel Wallensköld (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1921), no. 7, p. 12.

<sup>136</sup> Brugnolo, *Plurilinguismo*, p. 91.

<sup>137</sup> D’Heur, *Troubadours d’Oc*, p. 180.

‘corasso’ in particular singled out for having been chosen by Raimbaut as being typically Galician-Portuguese in flavour rather than for its appositeness at that part of the song. The surface Iberianization, however deliberate, troubles boundaries, not least of all in the fact that the motifs of the strophe are, according to D’Heur, typical of the literature Raimbaut is imitating. By being at once topically typical and linguistically atypical (or inaccurate), Raimbaut points the way to a new pan-European conception of courtly lyric not the preserve of any one language, giving the lie to the supposed supremacy of French and Occitan. It is this which may best respond to D’Heur’s perplexity that, for instance, ‘m’avetz treito’ is ‘morphologiquement bâtarde, puisque l’occitan eût exigé *m’avetz trayto*... [tandis que] de son côté, le galicien demandait le passé simple *me trouxestes*’ [‘morphologically mixed, since Occitan would demand *m’avetz trayto*, while on the other side Galician requires the past historic *me trouxestes*’].<sup>138</sup> The troubadour appears to be creating his own non-specific Romance *koiné*.

This project, however, met with difficulties in transmission, above all in the case of the Galician-Portuguese strophe. All but one MS witness (R is the exception) have a supplementary verse reading ‘mais que falhir non cuideyo’ (here the *C* text), apart from *a*, which gives ‘per qieu no men partirei’. This line glosses the final Galician-Portuguese couplet: ‘e car nonca m’aprofeito | falid’ ei en mon cuidado’ (ll. 39-40) [‘and as it has never brought me any advantage, I have failed in my intent’]. The implicit suggestion is that the Occitan audiences for whom *CR* were produced would not understand the last line. As the gloss slightly changes the original meaning to ‘I did not consider failure’, it seems that the Occitan scribes of *CEf*, like those of Italian *Ma* and the Catalan *Sg*, did not comprehend the line either. D’Heur, however, insists otherwise that:

Il est certain que, malgré l’omission de R qu’on peut tenir pour une rectification *a posteriori*, le vers existe dès l’archétype. Il est non moins certain qu’il n’existait pas dans l’original, parce que son caractère de glose, et de glose occitane est évident.<sup>139</sup>

---

<sup>138</sup> D’Heur, *Troubadours d’Oc*, p. 180.

<sup>139</sup> D’Heur, *Troubadours d’Oc*, p. 175.

It is certain that despite the omission of *R*—which may be taken as a correction *a posteriori*, the line is in existence from the first copy. It is also certain that it did not exist in the original, as its status as gloss, and an Occitan gloss, is clear.

The absence of the gloss in MS *R* is counter-intuitive. This witness is generally held to record a long Occitan performance tradition, dating from a century after the first Italian *chansonniers*. It is thus one where the lyric is recorded further from its point of origin, in an environment temporally, though not linguistically, removed from the moment of composition with a consequent diminution of comprehension. Alternatively, this correction evidences the later development of *chansonnier* as totem rather than functional *aide-mémoire*, and thus the irregularity which had its place in performance is an unwanted spot on the immaculate bookish record.<sup>140</sup>

The gloss encourages us to lend credence to Sarah Kay's insistence that: “‘Interpréter’ veut dire surtout “expliquer” mais prend parfois le sens de “traduire” à partir de la deuxième moitié du XIVe également’ [“Interpret’ means above all ‘explain’ but sometimes also has the sense of ‘translate’ from the second half of the fourteenth century’].<sup>141</sup> Raimbaut's unusual project was thus neither rejected out of hand by scribes nor entirely successful in the sense of functioning fully autonomously, suggesting discomfort on the part of the wider audience. It reflects Raimbaut's originality and the cautious acceptance by some of the troubadour's audience. Indeed we may compare the variety of Raimbaut's medieval transmitters with his modern editors, which range from Linskill's now standard text to Giuseppe Tavani's reconstruction of the ‘original’ text in the Italian neo-Lachmannian fashion. His text is striking, but bears limited resemblance to the MSS. One instance: in the Italian strophe, he gives the *a*-rhymes of the Italian strophe II as ‘aggio’, ‘maggio’, ‘lenguaggio’ and ‘glaggio’, as compared with Linskill, who is much closer to the MSS with his ‘aio’, ‘maio’, ‘lenguaio’ and ‘glaio’.<sup>142</sup>

---

<sup>140</sup> Compare with Galvez's description of this MS as embodiment of the ‘*renovatio* of a vernacular lyric tradition through the medium of the chansonnier’, *Songbook*, p. 113.

<sup>141</sup> Kay, ‘La seconde main’, p. 462.

<sup>142</sup> Giuseppe Tavani, ‘Per il testo del discordo plurilingue di Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (P.-C. 392,4)’, in *Studi Francesi e Provenzali* 84/85, ed. by Marc-René Jung and Giuseppe Tavani, *Romanica vulgata*, 8-9 (L'Aquila: Japadre, 1986), pp. 117-47 (p. 140-42).

Raimbaut clearly exercised considerable influence on the troubadour Cerverí de Girona in the composition of what is rubricated in the unique MS *Sg* as ‘Cobla en .vj. lengatges’ (PC 434a, 40). The ten-line strophe, which has caused considerable philological disagreement, is composed, according to Cerverí’s most recent editor Joan Coromines, of Portuguese, Aragonese, Occitan, French, Gascon and Catalan. He thus agrees with Angelo Monteverdi.<sup>143</sup> Coromines’ edition is as follows, along with other linguistic diagnoses:

		<u>Corom.</u>	<u>Monte</u> <sup>144</sup>	<u>Frank</u> <sup>145</sup>	<u>Torrents</u> <sup>146</sup>	<u>Riquer</u> <sup>147</sup>
	Nuncha querria eu achar	Port	Gen. Ib	G-P	Cast/ Gal	G-P
	ric-home con mal coraçon,	Arag	"	"	"	Cast.
3	mas volria seynor trobar	Oc	Oc	Oc	Oc	Oc
	que-m[i] donès ses demàn	"	"	"	"	"
	son do<n>;					
	e voldroye, touz les jors de ma vie,	Fr	Fr	Fr	Fr	Fr
6	dames trover oprès de tote jan;	"	"	"	"	"
	e si femna trobava ab enfàn,	Gasc	Gasc	Gasc/It	Gasc	Gasc
	pes miu cap! jo, micer, la pyllara.	Cat	It	"	Sicilian	" then It.
9	<i>Un</i> <e>sparver daria a l’Enfàn,	Oc	Oc	Oc	Cat	Oc
	de setembre, s’aytal cobla-m fazia.	"	"	"	"	"

*Sg* ll. 7-8 ‘E si femna trobava ab enfàn | Pos min cap io miser la pyllaria’.

I would never try to find a rich man with an evil heart, but would like to find a lord who would give me his gift unrequested; and I would like to find, any day of my life, ladies close to all people and if I found a woman with child, by my head, the shame, sir! I will give a September hawk<sup>148</sup> to the Infante if he composes such a stanza for me.

Riquer’s 1947 text differs in the following places, and forgoes all accentuation: **4** que-m, do; **5** le jors; **6** o pris de tota; **8** pos miu cap, pyllaria, **9** ni sparver, putting him much closer to the MS.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>143</sup> *Cerverí de Girona: Lírca*, ed. by Joan Coromines 2 vols, Autors Catalans Antics, 5-6 (Barcelona: Curial, 1983), II, no. 93, pp. 199-201.

<sup>144</sup> Angelo Monteverdi, ‘Intorno alla cobbola plurilingue di Cerveri di Girona’, *CN*, 8 (1948), 73-76 (74).

<sup>145</sup> Frank, ‘Cerveri dit de Girona, polyglotte et oiseleur’, *CN*, 10 (1950), 69-76, with whom Tavani agrees in ‘Sulla cobbola plurilingue di Cerveri di Girona’, *CN*, 28 (1968), 64-78.

<sup>146</sup> Jaume Massó Torrents, *Repertori de l’antiga literatura catalana*, (Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans/Alpha, 1932), I, *La Poesia*, p. 230.

<sup>147</sup> Martí de Riquer, *Los trovadores: Historia literaria y textos*, 3 vols, Ensayos Planeta de lingüística y crítica literaria, 34-36 (Barcelona: Planeta 1975), III, p. 1572, n. to l. 7. He describes that line as ‘un inconfundible provençal’ [‘unmistakeably Provençal’].

<sup>148</sup> A hawk will have finished moulting by September and so will have perfect plumage.

<sup>149</sup> See *Obras completas del trovador Cerverí de Girona*, ed. and trans by Martí de Riquer (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Estudios Mediterráneos, 1947), pp. 46-47. His 1975 text, by contrast gives variant readings: **4**

Giuseppe Tavani occupies a much more traditional, prescriptive position on Cerverí's languages, also reflected in his 'corrections' to Raimbaut noted above:

Le lingue della poesia, nella tradizione culturale catalana, sono quattro, non sei; ed è da questa premessa che ritengo si debba partire per individuare le lingue usate nella cobbola, non già dai caratteri linguistici del testo che, come si è visto, sono spesso ambigui sia per la scarsa differenziazione tra lingue romanze della stessa area regionale (portoghese e castigliano) sia per la conoscenza rudimentale che Cerverí poteva averne (guascone e italiano).<sup>150</sup>

The languages of poetry in the Catalan cultural tradition are four not six, and it is from this starting point that I believe one must set about identifying the languages used in the strophe, not from the linguistic characteristics of the text which, as has been seen, are often ambiguous either because of the scant differentiation between Romance languages of the same geographic area (Portuguese and Castilian) or through the basic familiarity that Cerverí might have had (Gascon and Italian).

It seems, therefore, that he is willing to overlook the only MS witness of the poem in favour of what we think we know about poetry in thirteenth-century Catalonia. A far more productive approach is that offered by Éric Beaumatin, who takes the position that the most important thing about 'Nuncha querria' is not the identification of the languages used in ll. 7-8, but rather that 'une seule langue y est réutilisée, et une langue non quelconque puisqu'il s'agit du provençal', reused 'en un lieu tout aussi signalé'<sup>151</sup> ['only one language is re-used here, and not just any language because it is Occitan... in a highly significant position']. This reading places Cerverí shoulder to shoulder with both Raimbaut and Bonifacio Calvo, a contemporary to whom I shall come shortly. However, while he may well have been influenced by Raimbaut, Cerverí's project here is quite different, above all in the sense that there is no thematization of linguistic concerns.<sup>152</sup> Instead we are dealing with a lyric where the programmatic content has been emptied out to the advantage of mere display. In this regard the lyric is in line with the overwhelming scholarly attitude to the practice of multilingual lyric, typified by Eduard Blasco

---

don; 8 pou mim cap! Sg can be consulted online at the following address (accessed 28th May 2014): <http://mdc.cbuc.cat/cdm/compoundobject/collection/manuscritBC/id/24511/rec/3>.

<sup>150</sup> Tavani, *Poesia del Duecento nella Penisola Iberica: Problemi della lirica galego-portoghese*, Officina romanica, 12 (Rome: Ateneo, 1969), p. 67.

<sup>151</sup> Éric Beaumatin, 'L'esparsa LXXXVI: une cobla carrée?' in *Ausiàs March (1400-1459): Premier poète en langue catalane*, ed. by Georges Martin and Marie-Claire Zimmermann, Cahiers de linguistique hispanique médiévale, Annexes 14 (Paris: Klincksieck, 2000), pp. 169-81 (p. 179).

<sup>152</sup> For discussion of Cerverí's position as a Catalan poet of Occitan poems, see Chapter 4.

on Bonifacio: ‘il suo plurilinguismo non è altro che un elemento dell’ *ars poetica*, della *τέχνη*’<sup>153</sup> [‘his plurilingualism is nothing other than an element of his poetic art, his skill’]. The emphasis placed on material gain (ll. 3-4) combined with the promised reward for the princeling of a moulted hawk if he writes ‘aytal cobla’ hints that multilingual lyric for Cerverí is merely a party trick. Any political or theoretical statement about vernacular poetry, or indeed about vernacular languages is incidental. Nonetheless, the lyric, excluding the slightly curious *tornada*, is composed entirely of *loci communi* from the vocabulary of courtly literature surely familiar to his audience. He thus demonstrates the seamlessly pan-European nature of courtly culture, or perhaps, more tellingly, that the aim of the poet or *joglar* is the same everywhere, to find a *seigneur* with deep pockets.

#### *A Genoese Yankee at the Court of King Alfonso*

A contemporary of Cerverí, Bonifacio Calvo was a Genoese troubadour known to be active at the court of Alfonso X ‘el Sabio’ between 1253 and 1255. Dated to this period is the polyglot *sirventes* ‘Un nou sirventes ses tardar’ (PC 101, 17), because of the encouragement made in it to the king of Castile and Leon to capitalize on the death of Thibaut of Navarre and to fulfil the long-standing designs of his house on Navarre.<sup>154</sup> In contrast to the Catalan poet, Bonifacio makes this lyric, formed of strophes in Occitan, Galician-Portuguese and French, into a political weapon, far removed from Cerverí’s party piece. Indeed, the decision to bring the *sirventes* into the multilingual field is remarkable if only for the reason that the other lyrics discussed in this chapter belong, more or less, under the rubric of ‘love lyric’. This alliance of political intent with Bonifacio’s only polyglot exercise (although he also composed two lyrics in Galician-Portuguese,

<sup>153</sup> Blasco, ‘Il mistilinguismo poetico medievale: una fata morgana? (Analisi della lingua dei *sirventès* plurilingue di Bonifacio Calvi)’, *Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie*, 26 (1987), 57-89 (77).

<sup>154</sup> Mario Pelaez, ‘Bonifazio Calvo: Trovatore del Secolo XIII’, *Giornale storico della Letteratura Italiana*, 28 (1896), 1-44; 29 (1897), 318-67.

the language of Alfonso's own poetical work, the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*) leavens a serious topic with an unusual form. The strophes are, in order, Occitan, Galician-Portuguese, Old French, while the fourth strophe and brief *tornada* are in Occitan. Appel's edition of the text reads as follows:<sup>155</sup>

Un nou sirventes ses tardar voill al rei de Castella far, car no-m sembla ni pes ni crei qu-el aia cor de guerrear Navars ni l'aragones rei; mas pos dig n'aurai zo qe dei,  el faz' o que quiser fazer.	1. 1    5	A new <i>sirventes</i> , without delay, I want to compose for the King of Castille For it does not seem to me, nor do I think or believe That he has it in his heart to fight Navarre or the King of Aragon; But because I say it, I shall have said about it what I must, So let him do what he wants to do.
Mas ieu ougz' a maintos dizer que el non los qer cometer si non de menassas, e qen qer de guer' ondrado seer, sei eu mun ben qe lli conven de meter hi cuidad e sen, cuer e cors, avoir et amis	10	But I also hear many say That he does not wish to commit If not for menaces, and that He does not desire to be distinguished in war, I know well what he needs To mobilize his thought and intention, Heart and body, means and friends
Por qoi ja dis au roi, se pris vuet avoir de ce q'a empris, .....sens menacier, que rien ne mont', au mien avis, que j'ai por voir oi comter que il puet tost au champ trover los dos reis, se talent en a.	15   20	For which reason I say to the king, if you wish To have honour from your undertaking ..... without menaces, That nothing is worth, to my mind, for I have in truth heard say That he could easily find on the field The two kings, if he so wishes.
E se el aora no-s fa vezer en la terra de la .....tend' e son confalon a lo rei de Navar' e a so sozer lo rei d'Aragon, a caniar avenra razon tal que solon de lui ben dir.	25	And if he does not now make himself Seen in the land over there ...tent and his banner To the king of Navarre and to His cousin the king of Aragon, Then they will have reason to sing Those who used to speak well of him.
E comenzon a dire ia que mais quer lo reis de Leon cassar d'austor o de falcon c'ausberc ni sobreseing vestir.	30	And they already begin to say That the King of Leon prefers To hunt with sparrowhawks or falcons Than to put on his mail-coat or breastplate.

The effect is thus to stage poetically the confrontation which 'should' have taken place on the battlefield, had Alfonso not waited, between him (represented by Galician-Portuguese), and

<sup>155</sup>*Provenzalische Chrestomathie mit Abriss der Formenlehre und Glossar*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Leipzig: Reisland, 1902), no 71, pp. 108-9. See also *Le Rime di Bonifacio Calvo*, ed. by Francesco Branciforti, Biblioteca della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, 11 (Catania: Università di Catania, 1955), no VII, pp. 95-98.

Thibaut de Champagne, king of Navarre, who, of course, composed in Old French. Thus while Mario Pelaez was wrong to identify strophe II as ‘forse aragonese’, the fundamental interpretation of conflict is correct. That is Bonifacio confronts the king with the language of his French enemies, rather than the Aragonese who allied themselves with Thibaut.<sup>156</sup> Key to nuancing this conflict is the Occitan language itself, classically *the* language of lyric—think of Raimon Vidal—which firmly places this conflict on the plain of poetry.<sup>157</sup> Occitan acts as a discursive marker which allows the confrontation to go ahead by displacing it to an intellectual rather than a physical level. In the event, the half-hearted annexation was rebuffed by an Aragonese-Navarrese alliance, but the poetical rejoinder made by the troubadour to the king has provided the basis for much scholarly debate. Bonifacio’s argument is straightforward: waiting for ‘menassas’ to which to respond will shame Alfonso, and anything less than immediate mobilization will undermine his authority. The only constant is the poet’s self-confidence, evident from the first strophe onward, and indeed we may identify these ‘manassas’ as much with this literary nudge from within his own court as with the bellicose threats from without. Not only does Bonifacio know what the king should do, he pretends to know ‘o que [sc. the king] quiser fazer’ (l. 7) [‘what the king wishes to do’]. This note of confidence at the end of the strophe covers over the previous vacillation: ‘no-m sembla, ni pes, ni crei, | qu’el aia cor de guerrear’ (ll. 3-4) [‘It does not seem to me, nor do I think or believe, that he is minded to make war’]. The fact that the last few words of the strophe in Bonifacio’s lyric is in the language of the following strophe as well as a repetition of vocabulary as usual in *coblas capcandadas* speeds the argument along. In performance this linguistic hint could be used as the occasion to play to the gallery. In terms of the conception of language Bonifacio points toward Dante’s syntactically coherent multilingual poem ‘Aï faus ris’, discussed below, though to a lesser degree as his lyric is

---

<sup>156</sup> Pelaez, Bonifacio ‘pensasse di punzecchiarlo, facendogli sentire qualche suoni di quel volgare che era il linguaggio del avversario’, ‘Bonifacio Calvo’, 12 [‘had the intention of needling him, of making them hear some of the sounds of the vernacular that was the enemy’s language’].

<sup>157</sup> It is striking that this thirteenth-century couching of new poetic languages among more established ones echoes one of the first appearances of Occitan as a lyric language in the St Martial MS A (Paris, BnF, lat. 1139), in which Occitan is ‘smuggled’ into script surrounded with Latin.

not fully linguistically integrated, and also because there is no explicit reference to thinking about language.

The first and fourth strophes and the *tornada* are clearly Occitan. The third is as clearly in Old French, while the second has been the object of much philological discussion. Pelaez's identification of Aragonese has been rejected by both Tavani and Jean-Marie D'Heur, likewise William Horan's vague 'Old Spanish'.<sup>158</sup> They see it instead as Galician-Portuguese, a trait which Tavani's own rather prescriptive edition of the text brings out more fully than Branciforti's, in line with the principles quoted above in relation to Cerveri's *cobla*. In this respect Tavani merely carries further Branciforti's own reasoning:

Bonifacio Calvo conosceva sicuramente il gallego-portoghese...e l'antico francese; quindi gli ibridismi, che si notano nelle due stanze sudette, debbono attribuirsi ai copisti provenzali. Con ciò tutto si risolve in una reintegrazione delle forme normali, nei limiti della tradizione manoscritta.<sup>159</sup>

Bonifacio Calvo certainly knew Galician-Portuguese and Old French, thus the hybridisms visible in the two strophes in question must be attributed to the Provençal scribes. In which case, everything can be resolved with the reintroduction of normal forms within the limits of the MS tradition.

This raises a number of problems. Firstly, manuscripts; 'Un nou sirventes ses tardar' is transmitted in MSS *IKa'd*. The first three are Italian manuscripts, *IK* are thirteenth-century. All save *a'* (a 1589 Italian copy of Bernart Amoros's songbook) share a direct common ancestor.<sup>160</sup> Provençal scribes then have little to do with the transmission of this lyric, and even if they did, it does not excuse Bonifacio's errors. Secondly, what could we consider to be 'normal forms'; and thirdly, is any attempt at reintegration not doomed to misrepresent the medieval text?

---

<sup>158</sup> Tavani, *Il mistilinguismo letterario romanzo tra XII e XIII secolo* (L'Aquila: Japadre, 1980), no. V, p. 16, and D'Heur, *Troubadours d'Oc*, pp. 230-35. William Horan, *The Poems of Bonifacio Calvi: A Critical Edition* (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), no. 15, pp. 69-71; Horan also calls the poem a 'descort', it seems in analogy to Raimbaut's 'Eras quan vey verdeyar'. Again, there is no justification for this usage.

<sup>159</sup> Branciforti, 'Bonifacio Calvo', p. 97.

<sup>160</sup> See *Intavolare: Tavole di canzonieri romanzi: I. Canzonieri provenzali, 2: Bibliothèque nationale de France I (fr. 854), K (fr. 112473)*, ed. by Walter Meliga (Modena: Mucchi, 2001).

The question of ‘knowledge’ of a ‘foreign’ language is not to be dealt with as easily as Branciforti seems to think possible. In her study of ‘second’ languages and medieval translation into French, Sarah Kay sheds light on both the problems of thinking about medieval writers’ capacities in languages not their own and the vagaries of manuscript transmission. She notes, importantly for the case of Bonifacio, that while French writers were careless about writing Occitan correctly, their Occitan and Italian colleagues were considerably more solicitous in their treatment of Old French, a trend which also finds expression in the MSS of ‘Un nou sirventes ses tardar’.<sup>161</sup> For these writers, however, it was, Kay suggests, building upon the Raupachs’ study of the transmission of Occitan lyric in French manuscripts, not grammatical correctness that was the key to being French, but rather the use of a *scripta* recognized as ‘French’ outside France.<sup>162</sup> She quotes Gustav Ineichen:

Il est encore légitime de poser qu’une langue exportée, soit le français du Moyen Âge, parlé ou plutôt récité hors des pays de France, est identifiée moins à l’aide de l’ensemble des traits distinctifs, mais à cause de certains traits phonologiques assumant une valeur différentielle et caractéristique par rapport à l’idiolecte de l’auditeur moyen.<sup>163</sup>

It is nonetheless legitimate to suggest that a language abroad such as French in the Middle Ages, spoken, or more probably recited, outside France, is identified less by the accumulation of individual traits but rather by certain phonological traits which take on a differential and characterizing value opposed to the idiolect of the average member of the audience.

This is, in short, a position close to Duval’s conception of the relative neologism, and should encourage an audience-focused approach to language definition.<sup>164</sup> As to Bonifacio, it is possible that the Galician-Portuguese strophe of his *sirventes* does not have to be perfect. As a consequence, when Tavani ‘corrects’ Branciforti’s ‘Mas eu ouz’a muintos dizer’ (l. 8) [‘But I hear many people say’] to ‘Mas eu ouç’a *muitos* dizer’ [my emphasis], he presupposes a clear division between these languages, and also that Bonifacio had the clear intention of composing in a

---

<sup>161</sup> Kay ‘Le seconde main’, p. 473.

<sup>162</sup> Manfred Raupach and Margret Raupach, *Französische Trobadorlyrik: Zur Überlieferung provenzalischer Lieder in französischen Handschriften*, Beihefte zur ZRP, 171 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1979).

<sup>163</sup> Ineichen, ‘Autour du graphisme des chansons françaises à tradition provençale’, *Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature*, 7.1 (1969), 203-18 (212-13). Quoted by Kay, ‘La seconde main’, p. 473.

<sup>164</sup> Duval, ‘Les néologismes’, pp. 506-7.

Galician-Portuguese as would have been written by native speakers of that language. The indistinct boundary between languages is particularly noticeable when we examine the strophe-endings. The use of *coblas capcandadas*, where the last rhyme of the preceding strophe becomes the first of the new strophe, necessitates—as already noted—closing the strophe with a few words of the language of the next strophe. He thus conforms with the almost universally observed rule that a poet can only make rhymes between words of the same language.<sup>165</sup> This gives rise to two irritations. First is Tavani's proposed correction to l. 14, from Branciforti's 'cuer e cors, aver et amis', to 'ave<i>r'. What a Modist universal grammar would have called an accidental characteristic, that which adds specificity to a more basic form of language, is removed in the MS transmission, perhaps even by the author, and has been replaced by the editor, fixing Bonifacio to a more definite linguistic form. 'Aver', available to both OF and Occitan, may originally have been preferable to the thoroughly French 'aveir', because of its greater universality. Alternatively, the accuracy of the French did not matter because it was already coded as French. The end of this French strophe is also worth comment. Here, after the poet reminds Alfonso how much worth he would gain from a decisive attack on his enemies 'sens menacier' ['without first being menaced'], he goes on to note how simple mobilization would be. Branciforti's text reads:

<p>qe j'ai por voir oï comter  que il puet tost au champ trover  les doi rois, se talent en a.</p>	<p>19    In truth I have heard it said  that he could quickly meet the two kings on the  [sc. battle-]field, if he desired it.</p>
--	--

This part of Bonifacio's criticism or exhortation could be read as a joke about Alfonso's considerable literary activity, that the king could 'tost au champ trover', which, when separated from the kings of Aragon and Navarre, seems to suggest that he could as well compose his poetry in the field. It is however the kings who are problematic, as MSS *IKa'* all read 'li doi rei', a reading falling between OF and Occitan, while Branciforti has, like Tavani, fixed Bonifacio's text to one specific *ydioma*. The impression given by the Italian MSS is that the change-over into

---

<sup>165</sup> To my knowledge, the first work to break this rule is Dante's *Commedia*, especially *Purg.* 26. 139-41 and 146-48, where Arnaut Daniel's Occitan is integrated into the Italian *terza rima*. See further: Zygmunt Baranski, "'Significar *per verba*': Notes on Dante and plurilingualism", *The Italianist*, 6 (1986), 5-18 (14), and also the discussion below of Dante's 'Aï faus ris'.

Occitan has begun earlier than in the other stanza-closing lines, or that the Italian scribes effaced Bonifacio's schema.

The end of this line, which the pattern of the *coblas capcandadas* demands be Occitan, that is, the language of the following strophe, is in fact perfectly French, with 'talent' in all MSS where we might expect Occitan 'talan'. One possible explanation for this is offered by Ineichen who suggests that 'le -t final [était] souvent une espèce de lettre quiéscence, le graphème -ant parfois la représentation générique de la nasale' ['final t was often a variety of silent letter, the grapheme -ant sometimes being the general representation of nasalisation'].<sup>166</sup> Thus, again, it is sound which wins out over constancy of orthography. That so little attention has been paid to this fact leads us to agree to some extent with Luciano Formisano's complaint about some scholars' 'attitude désinvolte' toward the OF strophe.<sup>167</sup> What it makes clear is the extent to which the removal of linguistic particularities begins relatively early in the transmission of the poem, if not with the author himself. More accurately, it is the removal of linguistic features specific to languages other than Occitan, for, in common with the opening stanza, IV and the *tornada* are relatively constant in the MSS. Let us close this section with a rather curious reading: in Branciforti's text these strophes ll. 27-8 read 'a caniar averan razon | tal que solon de lui ben dir' ['those who used to speak well of him can rightly change']. As both of MSS *IK* read 'cantar', and neither of Emil Levy's dictionaries makes any mention of 'caniar', 'cantar' would seem to be preferable.<sup>168</sup> This would be entirely in line with the singling out of the poet's position as keeper of the king's conscience.

---

<sup>166</sup> Ineichen, 'Autour du graphisme', 215.

<sup>167</sup> Formisano, "Un nou sirventes ses tardar": l'emploi du français entre pertinence linguistique et pertinence culturelle', in *O cantar dos trovadores: Actas do Congresso celebrado en Santiago de Compostela entre os días de 26 e 29 de abril de 1993*, [ed. unknown], Colección de difusión cultural, 2 (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1993), pp. 137-54 (pp. 140 and 145).

<sup>168</sup> See *PSW*, I, p. 200 and *PD*, p. 61. Equally, *FEW* 'CAMBIARE', II, pp. 120-25 offers only 'cangiare', which it identifies as Sicilian, hence irrelevant.

These problems with previous editions clearly call for a more circumspect and less prescriptive approach, and I would propose the following text, based on *IK* with limited emendations. In comparison with both Appel and, in particular, Branciforti and Tavani's versions, if we remain close to these MSS, not known for a hypercorrectness which artificially reinforces linguistic barriers, we can better appreciate the sometimes hazy and overlapping boundaries between romance *ydiomata*.

Un nou sirventes ses tardar Voill al rei de Castella far, Car no-m senbla ni pes ni crei Qu'el aia cor de guerreiar Navars ni l'aragones rei. Mas pos dig n'aurai zo q[ue] dei El fazo que quiser fazer.	1. 1     5
Mas ieu ougza mai[n]tos dizer Que el mon los quier cometer Si non de menassas e q[ue]n qer de guer ondrado seer. Sei eu mon ben que lli coven. De meter hi ciudad e sen Cuer e cors aver et amis.	   10   
Per quoi ia di au roi se pris Vuet avoir de ce qu'a enpris Quel guerriers sens menacier Que rien ne mont au mien avis Qe ia p[er] voir oi comtier Que el puet tost au champ trover li doi rei se talente n'a.	15     20
E se el aora nos fa Vezer en la terra de la Soe tend'e son co[n]falon A lo rei de Navarre, a so sozer lo rei d'Arragon. A cantar avenra razon Tal que solon de lui ben dir	   25   
E com[en]zon a dire ia Que mais quer lo rei de leon Cassar d'austor o de falcon C'ausberc ni sobresei[n] vestir.	  30  

6 n'aura *K*; 11 degueron drado *IK*; 15 se pas *K*; 16 unet *IK*; 17 mena clez *I*; 18 montau tiven avis *IK* 19 por e voir *K*; 22 terre<sup>a</sup> *K*; 30 Que mais overlo rei de la on *K*; 32 sobre seinh *K*.

Thus, in the corpus of thirteenth-century multilingualism, if Raimbaut and Cerverí represent two poles of the multilingual field, Bonifacio stands in the middle. At one end, Raimbaut, a sustained engagement with what is at stake in the choice of language in courtly lyric. At the other is Cerverí using linguistic prowess as an object of wonder and source of entertainment. By contrast, Bonifacio is concerned with immediate political goals, with serious affairs. But he does not, as Raimbaut did, consider his rhetorical and linguistic weaponry as such, and is, intellectually, on a par with Cerverí. For the next considered thematization of polyglossia we must look to Dante.

### *Dante's 'lingua trina'*

Combining both political and poetical aspects, in some senses the most radical contribution to the corpus of multilingual lyrics is 'Aï faus ris', a lyric now generally ascribed to Dante. As a result of the cloud of uncertainty which long hung over it, much of the work based on this important lyric is purely philological, and aims at linking it to the rest of Dante's œuvre. While this is a valuable exercise, if we take a step back, the intellectual motivation of this lyric, of creating linguistic unity out of plurality, leaves no doubt that 'Aï faus ris' has a clear place in the logical arch of Dante's philosophical programme. Guglielmo Gorni, responding to a new edition by Lucia Lazzerini, points to the technical refinement of the lyric as evidence in favour of its place in the Dantean canon. 'Non acquisto di poesia, ma tecnica notevolissima i sconcertante sì: tecnica rara che, non solo a parer mio, è il miglior indizio a sostegno dell'attribuzione a Dante.'<sup>169</sup> ['Without much poetry, but with a remarkable technique, and disconcertingly so: a rare skilfulness which, not only in my view, is the best indication in support of the attribution to Dante.'] Beyond this, however, the most compelling evidence for Dante's authorship is the idea

---

<sup>169</sup> Gorni, 'Nota sulla canzone "Aï faus ris" (Dante, "Rime" 18 [App. V])', *Studi Danteschi*, 69 (2004), 243-46 (243). Gorni is responding to: Lazzerini, 'Osservazioni testuale in Margine al Discordo Trilingue *Aï Faus Ris*', *Studi Danteschi* 68 (2003), 139-45. See also: Dante, *Opere Minori*, ed. by Domenico de Robertis and Gianfranco Contini, *La Letteratura Italiana: Storia e testi*, 5, 3 vols in 6 (Milan: Ricciardi, 1979-84), I.1 (1974), pp. 509-12 for Contini's edition.

of a ‘lingua trina’. This speaks clearly of the poet’s political programme, putting into practice the challenge to objective taxonomies in the *De vulgari eloquentia*. Indeed, if we follow Zygmunt Barański’s periodization of Dante’s career into pre-*Commedia* and the poem itself, ‘Aï faus ris’, which he mentions only in passing in his study of Dante’s plurilingualism, can be seen as a first attempt at the all-encompassing language which only came to fruition in the great poem.<sup>170</sup> In the *Commedia*, of course, these were not languages in the modern sense, apart from limited use of Occitan and Latin, but rather *sermones* high and low. In the lyric, three languages are made into one single syntactical and logical unit. This follows a strict pattern of rotation, based, as Furio Brugnolo has shown in his exhaustive study, on the fundamental unit of three lines of verse, each of a different language.<sup>171</sup> For instance it begins:

<p>Aï faus ris, pour quoi traï aves oculos meos? et quid tibi feci, che fatta m’hai sì dispietata fraude?</p>	<p>1 O false smile, why have you tricked my eyes? and what have I done to you, who have committed such impious trickery against me?</p>
---	---

172

The choice here of running the languages together in a way highlighted by the questions, is a clear declaration of intent. As Domenico De Robertis puts it, ‘non si tratta di plurilinguismo, ma di una vera lingua trina’ [‘this is not a case of polyglossia, but of a truly triple language’].<sup>173</sup> It is also striking that in each of these lines there is some vocabulary of deception or trickery; while the content of the poem is clearly about the deceit of the courtly lover it is very easy to see this as a thematization of Dante’s linguistic capabilities. It is above all the *tornada* which is of interest in terms of Dante’s intellectual goals, where he coins the phrase ‘lingua trina’. But what, before we come to the *tornada*, does he say in this triple language?

<sup>170</sup> Barański, “‘Significar per verba’”. He attenuates this division somewhat in ‘The Roots of Dante’s Plurilingualism: ‘Hybridity’ and Language in the *Vita nova*’, in *Dante’s Plurilingualism: Authority, Knowledge, Subjectivity*, ed. by Sara Fortuna et al. (London: Legenda, 2010), pp. 98-121.

<sup>171</sup> ‘Sulla Canzone Trilingue *Aï faus ris* attribuita a Dante’, in Brugnolo, *Plurilinguismo*, pp. 107-61.

<sup>172</sup> Dante, *Rime*, ed. by Domenico De Robertis, 3 vols in 5 (Florence: Le Lettere, 2002) III, pp. 244-56. Commentary on attribution in II. 2, pp. 1026-40.

<sup>173</sup> Dante, *Rime*, ed. by De Robertis, II. 2, p. 1040.

The body of the text is relatively conventional, belonging to the tradition of ‘Can vei’, where the lady’s eyes are the site not only of *innamoramento* but also of trickery. The lover’s wasted efforts in ‘aspettando il tempo perde, | né già mai tocca di fioretto il verde’ (ll. 12-13) [‘waiting, losing time, nor will he ever touch the green of the flower’], turn into a self-excoriation for an abandonment of ‘la loi’ (l. 16) [‘the law’] although, inevitably, the focus comes back to the *domna*, her ‘cuor di giacchio’ [‘icy heart’], and the lover’s unavoidable death if he does not see her face. ‘Mes je m’en doute, si grant dolor en ai: | amorem versus me non tantum curat’ (ll. 37-38) [‘But I suspect, so great is my pain: she does not harbour any love for me...’]. The underlying *topoi* are not inventive. However, the individual languages, bring different emphases to bear. For instance, ll. 10-11 ‘Ai Dieus, quante malure | atque fortuna ruinoso datur’ [‘Oh God, what misery and destructive fortune are given...’] combines the apostrophe of God with pagan *fortuna*, but qualified with a rare adjective found notably in Ezekiel in conjunction with the death by the sword of those living on the ‘wastes’, or building on the wasteland.<sup>174</sup> While this link has not been commented upon, the recondite references of the lyric have been mined by a number of commentators, and such a specific Biblical reference would not be out of place. Lucia Lazzerini for instance proposes Psalms 3: 2 ‘multi insurgant adversum me’ as a source for l. 18 ‘semper insurgant contra me de limo’.<sup>175</sup>

Gianfranco Contini in his edition of Dante’s poem proposes Philip the Chancellor’s lyric ‘Quisquis cordis et oculi’ as a possible source of inspiration. He notes that ‘tale scaricarsi di reponsibilità tra occhi e cuore non dipende esclusivamente dall’analisi stilnovistica del procedimento amoroso, ma si trova anche nella poesia didascalica’ [‘Such offloading of responsibility between eyes and heart is not wholly dependent on the stilnovistic analysis of

<sup>174</sup> See Ezech. 32: 24-7, and 36: 10 and 33, the only appearances in the Vulgate. ‘Waste’ acc. AV.

<sup>175</sup> Lazzerini, ‘Osservazioni testuali’, 155. Her text gives ‘de *limo*’ in l. 18, meaning ‘from the depths’.

falling in love, but is also found in didactic poetry’].<sup>176</sup> Dante’s lyric is if anything even more deeply concerned with these images than Philip, with both mentioned in both Italian and Latin, and the heart in French. The manipulation of the cycle of languages at ll. 24-27 creates a confrontation between the two:

<p>Ella sa ben che se ‘l mio cor si crulla  a penser d’autre, que de li amour lessoit,  li faus cuers grant paine an porteroit.  Ben avrà questa donna cuor di ghiaccio</p>	<p>24 She knows well that if my heart collapses at  the thought of another for whom love leaves  it [my heart], the false heart will have great  pain because of it. That lady must have a  heart of ice.</p>
---	---

By cycling through the chosen languages in such short order, the effect is one of moving forward, then backward, just like the lover circling around his situation, making no progress. The linguistic point made here, however, is manifest, and seems constant in the MS transmission, that ‘cor/cuers/cuor’ all refer back to the same location. The change of language in itself does not provide an exit or answer to the lover’s difficulty. If anything it seems only to intensify his emotion, along with the return to a language already tried, but which offers no release. There is no escape because the experience of love is unmodified by language. The only way in which anything comes out of the lyrical situation, as ever, is in the composition of the lyric itself. The *tornada*, which sees the *persona* reaching out, is a remarkable expression of Dante’s project, and deserves to be quoted in full. The gesture is expansive:

<p>Chanson, or puez aler par tout le monde,  namque locutus sum in lingua trina  ut gravis mea spina  si saccia per lo mondo. Ogn’uomo il senta:  forse n’avrà pietà chi mi tormenta.</p>	<p>40 Song, now you can travel the whole world,  for I have spoken in a triple language, so that  my dreadful travails be known throughout  the world. All men think it: perhaps she who  torments me will have pity because of it.</p>
---	---

That he repeats himself ‘par tout le monde’: ‘per lo mondo’ indicates the universalist goal, and, in a way comparable to Raimbaut de Vaqueiras’s thematic variations in the material covered in his strophes of different language, the direct overlap of sense hints at the fundamental equality of languages, as did the rapid repetition of ‘cor/cuers/cuor’. It is for this reason that such emphasis is placed in the end on ‘ogn’uomo il senta’: it is ultimately a matter of feeling which is transmitted

---

<sup>176</sup> Ed. Contini, p. 510, note to l. 14.

rather than words. This is brought to the surface in the text itself, which subordinates the *lingua trina* to the transmission of knowledge about the lover's suffering: it is a means to an end, nothing more.

The choice of languages is worth comment in two respects. Firstly, Dante has abandoned Occitan, formerly *the* poetic language, used by Bonifacio as discursive indicator, in favour of French. Occitan has, it seems, not fallen by the wayside, but has rather been elevated to the pantheon—troubadours are now historical, and, in the *De vulgari eloquentia* at least have achieved the status of *doctores vulgares*. This departure so disconcerted one editor that his text 'corrected' the French lines to out and out Occitan.<sup>177</sup> Instead, French is the new international language. Not only that but, (if we take his goal to be the promotion of Italian to recognized language of culture), one wonders why he does not open with Italian. One answer is that the cycle of languages, schematized in the below table, which, like a *sestina*, sees each language occupies each particular line of a strophe only once, means that Italian closes the first strophe, and by extension, the *tornada*.

Rhyme scheme	A	B	C	B	A	C	C	D	E	e	D	F	F
<hr/>													
<sup>177</sup> The 'French' lines in Dante, <i>La 'Vita Nuova' e Il Canzoniere</i> , ed. by Michele Scherillo, 2nd edn, (Milan: Hoepli, 1921), pp. 383-85, read:													
1	Ai fals ris! per que traitz avetz												
5	Sabon autras domnas, e vos sabetz												
9	Eu vai speran, e par de mi non cura												
10	Ai Dieus! quanta malura												
16	Vos non deuriatz aver perduto la lei												
19	Don eu sui mortz, e per la fe qu'autrei												
20	Fort m desplatz, ai paubres mei!												
25	A plazer d'autra, quar de s'amor s' lasset,												
26	El fals cors greus pena n emportet.												
28	Aitan co' l'aspis, que per ma fe es sors												
30	Ben sai l'Amor s'eu jes non ai secors												
34	S'ella no fai que per son sen vrai												
37	Mas ieu me 'n dopt, si gran dolor en ai												
40	Chansos, vos poguetz ir per tot lo mon												

Compared even with the vagaries of Canon. ital. 114 discussed below, the editorial reworking is plain to see, and it perhaps for this reason that Scherillo does not indicate his MS point of departure. It is a case not dissimilar to that of Richard the Lionheart's *rotrouenge*, the confected Occitan text of which was discussed in the Introduction, with moderns 'correcting' troublesome MSS to produce texts that fit the prevalent literary-historical narratives.

I	Fr	Lat	It	Lat	Fr	It	It	Lat	Fr	Fr	Lat	It	It
II	Lat	It	Fr	It	Lat	Fr	Fr	It	Lat	Lat	It	Fr	Fr
III	It	Fr	Lat	Fr	It	Lat	Lat	Fr	It	It	Fr	Lat	Lat

<i>Tornada</i> scheme	A	B	B	C	C
<i>Tornada</i>	Fr	Lat	Lat	It	It

As such the revelation that ‘ogn’uomo il senta’ comes in Italian, which is to say Italian plays the role of criticizing the usefulness of language as a whole.

Secondly, the poem is remarkable for making Latin and the vernacular equals. This is not in itself unusual; combinations of, say French and Latin are very common indeed. But the effect in many of these instances is that of *versus cum auctoritate*, the conclusion of Latin strophes with quotations from the Classics, an attempt at elevating the contemporary by inclusion of the acknowledged wisdom of the past or the divine. In ‘Aï faus ris’, however, Latin is not only quantitatively equal, it is also equal in substance. That is to say that, while it brings echoes of the Vulgate, unlike some instances, Latin is not confined to any particular topic or part of the discourse. The result is to place the three languages on a relatively equal footing, and as has been observed, if one language is given particular distinction, it is Italian not Latin. Given the linguistic integration at work in the lyric, it seems difficult to justify the use by Italian scholars of the term ‘discordo’ to describe the lyric. Where is the discord? Does this usage not, in fact, completely ignore the voiced intentions of the poem? A *discordo* should have a changing strophic form, and by extension melody.<sup>178</sup> This lyric shows neither of these features, and the only remaining consideration is whether ‘Aï faus ris’ is rubricated as a ‘discordo’ in the MSS. None of those I have been able to consult in British libraries do so (sc. Oxford, Bodleian, MSS Canon ital. 50 and 114, and London, BL, MS Harley

<sup>178</sup> Henry Chaytor, *The Troubadours* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), p. 34. *Pace* John Marshall who, in his article ‘The Isostrophic *descort* in the Poetry of the Troubadours’, *RPh*, 35.1 (1981-82), 130-57, demonstrates that heterostrophism was not, for the troubadours at least, *sine qua non*.

3478). Ultimately, as Claudio Galderisi has it, the three languages ‘ne s’opposent les unes aux autres, mais plutôt elles fusionnent dans une [sic] *unicum* syntagmatique et stylistique’ [‘are not in opposition, one against the other, but rather they are fused into a syntactical and stylistic *unicum*’].<sup>179</sup>

Despite the remarkable aspiration to universal communication evident in the lyric, the MS transmission of ‘Aï faus ris’ suggests that at least some of Dante’s transmitters, and by extension his audience, were not ready for his *lingua trina*. The failure of the poet’s project is most eloquently expressed by the inclusion in some 17 MS witnesses (out of a total of 74) of Italian translations for the French verses of the poem.<sup>180</sup> As De Robertis clarifies, ‘la modifica[no] di suoni e di formi con sostituzione e con equivalenti in lingua di sí (quando non si tratta di vera e propria traduzione...)’ [‘they modify it in sounds and forms with substitutions and Italian equivalents (where it is not a case of true and complete translation...)’].<sup>181</sup> The necessity of this translation is itself of interest given the major role played by Northern Italy in the composition

---

<sup>179</sup> Galderisi, “Cianson pouvés aler pour tout le monde”: Le chant entre diffraction linguistique et empreinte mémorielle”, in *Chanson pouvez aller pour tout le monde: Recherches sur la mémoire et l’oubli dans le chant médiéval en hommage à Michel Zink*, ed. by Anna Maria Babbi and Claudio Galderisi, *Medievalia*, 37 (Orléans: Paradigme, 2001), pp. 43-65 (p. 58).

<sup>180</sup> These MSS, with the *sigla* used by De Robertis are:

AD <sup>2</sup>	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Acquisti e doni 688
C <sup>10</sup>	Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi M. VII. LIV
Ox <sup>5</sup>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. it. 50
L85	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Mediceo Palatino 85
L122	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conventi soppressi 122
NA <sup>2</sup>	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Nuovi acquisti 482
Naz <sup>6</sup>	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II. iv. 126
R40	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1040
R823	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2823
Naz <sup>8</sup>	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II. viii. 40
NS <sup>2</sup>	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. soppr. F. 5. 859
R29a	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1029a
T <sup>5</sup>	Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziano, 1052
Si <sup>3</sup>	Sienna, Biblioteca Comuni degli Intronati, H. VI. 31
Pal <sup>6</sup>	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 182
R144	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1144
R340	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1340

<sup>181</sup> Dante, *Rime*, ed. by De Robertis, III, p. 244.

and transmission of Old French literature. De Robertis's edition gives the 'translated' French lines as follows:

	<u>French original</u>	<u>Italian translation</u>
1	Aï faus ris, pour quoi traï aves	Ahi falsa riso, perché hai tradito
5	Se ounques autres, dame, e vous saves	se niuno altro e tu sai
9	Je l'esper [t]ant, et pas de moi ne cure.	e io sperando di quel, punto di me non cura
10	Ai Deus, quante malure	A(i) Dio, quanto male
16	Vou ne dovries avoir perdu la loi	voi non dovrete avere perduta la legge
19	Dont je serai mort, par foi que je croi.	dond'io ne sarei morto, e per la fe(de) ch'io trovo
20	Fort me desplaît pour moi	che mi sarebbe forte dispiaciuto
25	A penser d'autre, que de li amour lessoit	a pensar d'altra che di lei amore il sa
26	Il faus cuers grant paine an porteroit.	el falso cor gran pena ne porterebbe
28	Et d'aspresse que, par ma foi, est fors	e tanto d'asprezza che per mia fede s'è
30	Bien set Amors se je n'en ai secors	ben sa Amor che se non à soccorso
34	S'elle ne fet que par soun sen vrai	s'ella già non fa che pel suo senno verace
37	Mes je m'en doute, si grant dolor en ai	ma io n'ò paura, sì gran dolor n'ò
40	Chanson, puez aler par tout le monde	Canzon, tu puoi andar per tutto il mondo

The designation 'translation', however, does not seem at all appropriate if we consider in detail one of these aberrant witnesses. Oxford, Bodleian, Canon. ital. 114 gives a text of 'Aï faus ris' which is very far indeed from a translation, if glossed in the conventional sense of rendering closely or directly a text in a language different to that of its composition. Instead it looks far more like the product of a scribe unfamiliar with the Dantean project, and above all unconcerned with preserving linguistic boundaries, so important to the intellectual import of the poem. The text is linguistically mixed, as can be seen by comparing the linguistic pattern of the printed edition in the middle column with the text on the left. The text on ff. 62<sup>v</sup>-63<sup>r</sup> reads as follows, opposite De Robertis's text:

l.1	<b>Al</b> falsa ris porche tradis aves Oculus meus e per tibi feri Che fatta m'ai così spietata fraude Iam audissent verba mea greci	F	Aï faus ris, pour quoi traï aves
		L	Oculos meos? et quid tibi feci,
		I	Che fatta m'hai sì dispietate fraude?
		L	Iam audivissent verba mea Greci!
5	Se sunq[u]is alt[re]s e vos tu saves. Che ingannator no[n] e degno di laude E sai ben come gaude Miserum meum cor qui prestulatur Çelis espettes pois d'amor non cure	F	Se ounques autres, dame, et vous saves
		I	Che 'ngannator non è degno di laude.
		I	Tu sai ben come gaude
		L	Miserum eius cor qui prestolatur:
		F	Je l'esper [t]ant, et pas de moi ne cure.
10	Andes quantes malur A que fortuna urginosa datur A cholui che aspetta il tempo perde Ne giamai toccha di fioretti al verde.	F	Ai Dieus, quante malure
		L	Atque fortuna ruinosa datur
		I	A colui ch'aspettando il tempo perde,
		I	Né già mai toccha di fioretto il verde.
	<b>Conqueror</b> cor suave a te primo	L	Conqueror, cor suave, de te primo,

15	Che per un matto guardamento d'occhi Uos du uius auos perdus la loe Ma e mi piacie col dar de li stocchi Semper <sup>per</sup> insurgant contra me de limo Úde mous e se non foe chege troe	I F I L F	Che per un matto guardamento d'occhi Vous ne dovries avoir perdu la loi; Ma e' mi piace che li dardi e stocchi Semper insurgant contra me de limo, Dont je serai mort, par foi que je croi.
20	Ben tine desproit p[er] moe Chison punito e aggio colpa nulla Nec dicit malum en deisto Unde querelam sisto Ella sa ben come il mio cor si sgrulla	F I L L I	Fort me desplait pour moi, Ch'io son punito ed aggio colpa nulla, Nec dicit ipsa: "Malum est de isto": Unde querelam sisto. Ella sa ben che se 'l mio cor si crulla
25	Al pensar datro callei amor soit Lei falsa cor gran pena portoit	F F	A penser d'autre, que de li amour lessoit, Li faus cuers grant peine an porteroit.
	<b>Ben</b> ara questa donna il cor di ghaccio Inse puls pren <sup>3e</sup> por fidens fors. Nisi pietate abuerit seruo	I F L	Ben avrà questa donna cuor di ghiaccio Et tant d'aspresse que, par ma foi, est fors, Nisi pietatem habuerit servo.
<i>fol. 63<sup>r</sup></i>			
30	Ben soit amor s'ell non mi socors Che perlei dolorosa morte faccio Neque plus uita <sup>3</sup> sperando conseruo Unque s'ungeo meo neruo S'ella non foit per lo sen verais.	F I L L F	Ben set Amours, se je n'en ai secors, Che per lei dolorosa morte faccio Neque plus vitam sperando conseruo. Ve omni meo nervo, S'elle ne fet qie par soun sen vrai
35	Ch'io vegna a veder sua faccia allegra Ai deus quanta allegra Gianson si son di lois Amorem ve sus me non tantum curat Quantum spes mea me dinparadurar	I I F L L	Ch'io venga a veder sua faccia allegra. Ah! Dio, quant'è integra! Mes je j'em doute, si grant dolor en ai: Amorem versus me non tantum curat Quantum spes in me de ipsa durat.
40	Cianson vus poves alies trattu limons Nam quam locutus sum in lingua trina Ut grave mea spina Si saccia perlo mondo, ognuomo il senta	F L L I	Chanson, or puez aler par tout le monde, Namque locutus sum in lingua trina Ut gravis mea spina Si saccia per lo mondo. Ogn'uomo il senta:
44	Forse pieta n'ara chi mi tormenta.	I	Forse n'avrà pietà chi mi tormenta.

Canon. ital. 114 is clearly the work of a scribe whose knowledge of the three languages is either limited or wishes deliberately to undo the linguistic experiment. While there are liminal cases—for instance, the Latin is clearly Italianized in a number of places, e.g. l. 29 'abuerit' in place of Lat. 'habuerit', and 'grave' in place of 'gravis' at l. 42, though this might equally be read as a Gallicism—the picture is as often one of downright ignorance. The line 'Quantum spes mes me dinparadurar' (39) is, it seems, a typical example of Ineichen's model of sounding 'foreign' trumping actual accuracy. In this instance the scribe brings the impressionistic representations of vernacular languages into dialogue with the long tradition of dog-Latin. And yet where this differs from the objects of Ineichen and Kay's discussions is that Latin, the medium for teaching

writing, had a different, possibly ‘semi-foreign’ status. Arguably, though this same status might be extended to the French lines, where confusion is to be found right from the first line with its unaccountable feminization of ‘ris’ and the invented past participle ‘tradis’. This last is an interesting coinage, mixing OF ‘traï’ with It ‘tradire’, exploiting unknowingly or otherwise the common root, TRADERE.

Alternatively, rather than considering this as the work of a poor scribe, it could be argued that Dante’s transmitter here is an acolyte in spite of himself. Going back to the medieval scribes, by obscuring the languages used in the original and, whether intentionally or not, rewriting much of the lyric in a generic Romance idiom, the scribe demonstrates the arbitrariness of language use in courtly lyric in a way which reinforces the Dantean sentiment that ‘ogn’uomo il senta’. It is a thing of no small irony that the intellectual import of a lyric with such a complex structure could be brought out to such effect by destroying that form. This should be taken as a reminder of the considerable contribution of scribes to our understanding of the mobility and nature of lyrics and the languages of lyrical texts in the Middle Ages as much as that of modern editors. In short, there are seldom easy answers, but the MSS must be allowed not only to bear their witness but to guide us.

### *Lyrics and Languages in Medieval England*

The witnesses of Dante’s lyric using, relatively systematically, hybrid linguistic forms raises the question of the extent to which multilingual lyrics are, or indeed can ever be, suited to their environments. While the case of Dante may have demonstrated the possible problems, later lyrics take evasive action. The MSS and accompanying translations of ‘Aï faus ris’ thus suggest that Dante’s lyric on its own was unsuited to the demands of the world in which it was composed. By contrast, the English trilingual lyric, ‘A celuy qui pluyt eime en mounde’,

illustrates one instance of a polyglot song closely suited to the circumstances of its composition. A trilingual epistle dated to around 1400 by Ad Putter, rubricated ‘De amico ad amicam’, it is composed in what the troubadours called *coblas meytadadas*.<sup>182</sup> The identical halves of the strophes, which might be called versicles, take French, English and Latin in the same order, with the Latin, with two exceptions (l. 9, ‘Laus Christo’ [‘Praise be to Christ’] and l. 36 ‘cum mora’ [‘with delay’]) always a single three-syllable word.<sup>183</sup> The rhyme scheme of the whole strophe is *aabccb*, which means that here Middle English rhymes with Middle French, balancing the syntactical unity of each line. In two of the three MS witnesses it is followed by ‘A soun treschere et special’, rubricated ‘Responcio’, written in the same stanzaic and linguistic form.<sup>184</sup> The song thus represents in miniature the trilingual state of England at the time. Instead the lover, as noted by Putter, is skilful in manipulating the various possibilities of the individual languages.<sup>185</sup> This is evident above all in the Latin verses which Putter calls *caudae*, where participial forms allow verbal brevity. For instance VII reads:

Icest est ma volunté, That I mightē be with the Ludendo;	37	It is my wish that I could be with you, dallying;
Vostre amour en moun goer Brennēth hote as doth the fyr Cressendo	40	your love in my heart, burns as hot as a fire flaring up’

The unity of these lines is one of spirit in that each makes sense separately, as opposed to Dante’s syntactical integration, but the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Indeed, this echoes Ian Short’s view of the earlier status of the French of England as ‘a ready and natural

<sup>182</sup> Cf. *Las Flors del Gay Saber*, ed. Anglade, ll. 3065-70. Putter, ‘The French of English Letters’, p. 397.

<sup>183</sup> *Late Medieval English Lyrics and Carols, 1400-1530*, ed. by Thomas Duncan (London: Penguin, 2001), pp. 13-15.

<sup>184</sup> Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 4. 27 and London, British Library, Harley 3362. Edited by Thomas Duncan in *Late Medieval English Lyrics*, pp. 15-17, which gives the Cambridge text, and again in *Medieval English Lyrics and Carols* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2013), pp. 194-97, with more extensive notes. The third (partial) witness is Manchester, Chetham’s Library, Mun. E. 6. 10 (4), edited by Christine Carpenter in *The Armburgh Papers: The Brokholes Inheritance in Warwickshire, Hertfordshire and Essex c.1417-c.1453* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998).

<sup>185</sup> Putter, ‘The French of English Letters’, p. 401.

bridge between the traditionally juxtaposed religious and secular cultures'.<sup>186</sup> Rhymes (or at least eye rhymes) across linguistic boundaries are, however, particularly important, for instance 'mounde': 'founde' (ll. 1-2) or 'tresamé': 'the'. Nonetheless, the poet only makes rhymes between the two vernacular languages, leaving Latin in splendid isolation. In balance with his bravery in questioning what Paul Zumthor characterized as a perpendicular boundary between vernaculars, the poet does not do the same to the supposed horizontal one between Latin and the vernacular.<sup>187</sup> This challenge to poetic and formal norms is, however, every bit as revolutionary as Dante's syntactic unity, and is more than sufficient evidence of these lyrics' importance. The attitude to multilingualism on display is thus at once thoroughly practical in origin, and comparable in a sense with Roger Bacon using French to explain articles in his Greek Grammar, manipulating the specific potential and connotations of each individual language, while also showing by means of a polyglot poetics that these three *ydiomata* are not so divergent in their applications.

At the same time as encouraging movement between separate languages as they are perceived around 1400, however, multilingual England evidences longer-term processes blurring boundaries between languages. This is clear above all in the adoption of French vocabulary by English. Thus we find 'peynest' (l. 20), 'daunger' (l. 29) used in its French sense of 'reserve' or 'domination', 'pere' ['peer'] (l. 44), good instances of what Ardis Butterfield calls the medieval 'histories of meaning, speaking, and writing that are both English *and* French, by a use of French that is English as well as French, that is homely *and* foreign'.<sup>188</sup> Most blurred are ll. 58-60:

---

<sup>186</sup> Short, 'Patrons and Polyglots: French Literature in Twelfth-century England', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1991*, ed. by Marjorie Chibnall, Anglo-Norman Studies, 14 (1992), pp. 229-49 (pp. 236-37). Indeed, when 'De amico ad amicum' was written c. 1400, French was no less an acquired language than was Latin; see Short's 'On bilingualism in Anglo-Norman England', *RPh*, 33 (1979-80), 467-79.

<sup>187</sup> Zumthor, *Langue et technique poétiques à l'époque romane*, p. 110.

<sup>188</sup> Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. xxi. Chapters 2-3 of her study are particularly useful for the light they shine on the diffuse nature of English, and also French at this time (both on the Continent and in the British Isles). Her emphasis.

De cestis portés entendement  
And in youre herte takēth entent  
Honorem.

Duncan's gloss suggests the translation 'Pay attention to this (i.e. this letter), and in your heart give heed to (my) devotion'.<sup>189</sup> First a grammatical point: 'honorem' is in the wrong case: it should be in the genitive not the accusative. Its declension has evidently been changed to rhyme with 'langorem' in l. 57, a rare instance in this otherwise artful lyric of a crowbar being used to fit the sense into a tight poetic form. Second and more substantial, the adoption of 'entent' raises the question of whether this is understood as French or English. The fact of its being in the English line suggests it is accepted as English, but what is its precise status in English vocabulary? Frédéric Duval, as we know, proposes that the identification of neologisms depends largely on the recipient's linguistic skills, writing that 'une unité lexicale n'est pas néologique par nature, ni pour tout le monde, ni au même moment'<sup>190</sup> ['a lexical unit is not neologic by nature, neither is it for everybody, nor at a given time']. Thus for the composer of 'A celuy qui pluyse yme en mounde' these words, given the evident mastery of French, are not neologisms as such. But because of their juxtaposition with blocks of French, the distinction between the two is troubled and their secure status undermined. Indeed this is confirmed by the lexicographical evidence: 'entente' is first recorded with the senses of 'purpose', 'desire' and 'attention' from the thirteenth century.<sup>191</sup> Thus 'entente' is clearly at home in some writers' English, which thus indicates the composer's lively appreciation of the stakes in this linguistic confrontation. Similarly, the accompanying lyric 'A soun treschere et special' manipulates the *aa* and *bb* rhymes of the stanza to bring together obviously Germanic and Romance vocabulary, for instance 'maladye': 'sykyrlye' (ll. 16-17) ['illness', 'certainly'], 'dolent': 'schent' (ll. 19-20) ['sad', 'ruined'], and 'pytē': 'tre' (ll. 25-6) ['pity', 'tree']. It also makes rather more dramatic use of the Latin verse. Particularly unexpected are the lines:

---

<sup>189</sup> *Late Medieval English lyrics*, p. 14.

<sup>190</sup> 'Les néologismes', p. 505.

<sup>191</sup> *Middle English Dictionary*, E-F, pp. 183-84.

Jeo suy dolorouse in tut manere,  
 Wolde God in youre armes I were  
 Sepulta

34 I am sorrowful in every way,  
 I wish to God that in your arms I were  
 Buried

This, along with a heavier reliance on eye rhyme, encourages the idea that these poems are in fact an exchange of letters, the response imitating the form of the first letter. Even if they were not originally letters, the witness of the Armburgh MS suggests that this *lingua trina* was once a successful means of communication, at least in the limited sense of conveying meaning between emitter and recipient and *vice versa*. In this MS ‘De amico ad amicam’ is included in a partial copy, apparently written down from memory directly after letters between husband and wife relating to an inheritance dispute. Here, the eye-rhyme, and the suggestion this invites that the writer might only *write* in French is a challenge to Kay and Ineichen and their emphasis on the importance of sound in the constitution of a *scripta* recognized as ‘French’. Of course, the content and context are not necessarily comparable; for instance, was the trilingual epistle sung? This might be the reason for the abbreviated witness of the Armburgh papers, which gives only five strophes as opposed to the twelve of Duncan’s edited text. That is to say that melody persists in a fashion that words sometimes do not, allowing for the abbreviation of song texts in transmission. The epistle closes with the unique envoi:

He that is youre man  
 I ensure yow to his laste  
 Sendyth to yow as he can  
 A rude letre y writen in haste.<sup>192</sup>

This encourages us to think of the lyric as either the re-use of an actual epistle, or, perhaps more likely, the adoption of an example of literary communication in real life—an instance then of a literary vision of communication being adopted back into the historical series, to use Yuri Tynyanov’s term.<sup>193</sup> That is to say the poeticization of communication has been judged to be of value in the real world. The investigations of the possibilities of polyglossia in Medieval England,

<sup>192</sup> Carpenter, *The Armburgh Papers*, p. 156.

<sup>193</sup> Tynyanov, ‘Über die literarische Evolution’, in *Texte der russischen Formalisten*, ed. by Jury Striedter, 2 vols, *Theorie und Geschichte der Literatur und der schönen Künste* 6 (Munich: Fink, 1969), I, pp. 432-61.

then, show one seemingly successful approach to problematizing linguistic boundaries while reaping the fruits of different languages. Another, yet more radical perspective on the intersection of lyric discourses and linguistic identities, indeed the most radical perspective on the intersection of lyric and linguistic identities, can be found in the work of a Tyrolean poet to whom we now turn.

### *The Multilingual Lyrics of Oswald von Wolkenstein*

Oswald von Wolkenstein holds a particular position in the corpus of Middle High German song. Known as the last *Minnesänger*, his songs—for which many of Oswald’s own melodies remain—are highly autobiographical, composed for a small familiar group and are transmitted in MSS probably produced under the direction of the author himself. The picture which emerges from both songs and documentary evidence is of a singularly cultured and cosmopolitan nobleman, sent as emissary by the Emperor Sigismund, who had abilities in a number of languages.<sup>194</sup> In one of his lyrics, ‘Es fügt sich, do ich was von zehen jaren alt’ (Kl. 18) [‘It occurred to me when I was ten’] he claims to speak ten languages:

franzosisch, mörisch, katalonisch und kastilian,  
 deutsch, latein, windisch, lampertisch, reussisch und roman,  
 die zehen sprach hab ich gebraucht, wenn mir zerran,  
 auch kund ich fideln, trummen, paugken pfeifen. (ll. 21-24)

French, Moorish, Catalan and Castilian, German, Latin, Slovenian, Lombard, Magyar and Romance, these ten languages I have used when I have spoken; I also know how to fiddle, play drum and tambour, and pipe.

His considerable interest in the usage and nature of language is made particularly clear in two lyrics, ‘Do fraig Amors’ (Kl. 69), and ‘Bog dep’mi was dustu da’ (Kl. 119). These multilingual lyrics represent an advance on the project sketched out by Dante in ‘Aï faus ris’ in that they both show various languages forming a single syntactical unit—and here they come from a variety of

---

<sup>194</sup> Qv. *VL*, VII, cols 134-69 and *MGG*, XII, cols 1462-67.

linguistic families (Romance, Germanic, Slavic and Magyar) as opposed to the solely Romance spectrum of Dante's lyric. They are also especially eye-catching because Oswald's poems come with translations. Oswald was active in the early fifteenth century (MS *A* was produced in 1425), thus more than one hundred years after Dante, and in quite different circumstances. Yet he is clearly interested in exactly the same questions about the status of individual *ydiamata* as was the Florentine. While he may not display openly the theoretical engagement represented by the *De vulgari eloquentia*, it will become clear that the last *Minnesänger* has a unique and essential contribution to make to the story of poets thinking about polyglossia, not least because of the unusually broad and diverse range of languages he uses. He is thus of considerable importance in this study, even if somewhat beyond the main time frame.

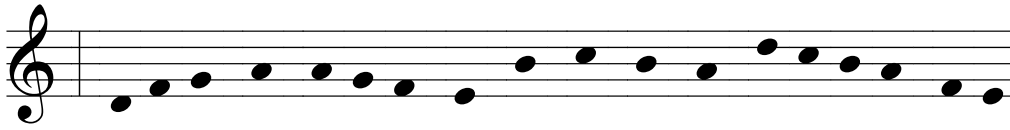
'Do fraig Amors' is, like 'Aï faus ris' and Raimbaut's multilingual poem before it, a lover's complaint. It is best approached as it appears in the manuscripts, as the standard edition, a revision of Karl Kurt Klein's 1962 edition causes considerable confusion in forcing the multilingual lyric into the same format as the monolingual lyrics.<sup>195</sup> More importantly, it institutes an inaccurate opposition between German and other languages by placing them in separate columns. I therefore reproduce the text as it appears in MS *A*, which was produced for the poet himself in around 1425.<sup>196</sup> The rest of the text is written, in common with the rest of the MS, between the pre-drawn staves.

---

<sup>195</sup> Klein's other shortcomings have been examined by Burghart Wachinger. See 'Zwei Desiderate zu Oswald von Wolkenstein: Revision der Textausgabe am Beispiel des Frühlingslieds Kl. 21', *ZfdPh* 131 (2012), 321-34.

<sup>196</sup> *VL*, VII, col. 143. Wolkenstein MS sigla are as follows: *A*- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 2777. *B*- Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, unnumbered. These contain both lyrics and melodies, MS *c* (Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum FB 1950) only the words. My transcription is from: *Oswald von Wolkenstein: Handschrift A: vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Vindobonensis 2777 d. Österr. Nationalbibliothek*, ed. by Francesco Delbono, *Codices Selecti Phototypice Impressi*, 59 (Graz: Akademischer Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1977).

fol. 31<sup>r</sup>



**D** O frayg amorß | adiuva me | ma loat mein orß | nay moy serce | rent mit



Eck loup eck slapp | vel quo vadio | wesegg | mein krap | na  
das dobro | Iu gslaff ee frankh | merschy voys gri | ec.

gedankh | fraw pur ä ty |

fol. 31<sup>v</sup>

### Repeticio



**T**ewczsch welchisch mach | franzoisch lach | congrischen wach | brot windisch bach



Mille schenna yme ma[n]n gür | Per  
om[ni]a | des leibes spür | Cenza befiw  
mett schoner war | Dutt serviray |  
pur schzäty gayß | nem tudem fray |

flemming so krach | latein die sybend sprach | kain falsche rayß | got wet wol twyw |  
eck de amar | R& Tewczsch welschisch mach etc ... ..

De mit mundesch | Margrita well | exprofundes | das tün ich snell | datt loff draga |  
griet per ma foy | In recommisso | dyors ee not | mi ti commando | wo ich trott | Iambre  
twoya | allopp mi troy | :: Repeticio Tewczsch welisch mach etc.

### Exposicio

franzoyß	latinisch	ungriech
Do frayg amorß	Ach wars mein lieb	Adiuuva me
Hilff mir zwar	Ma loat	mein pherd



considerable number of his amatory songs. The material of the song is, then, not in itself innovative, instead it is through the choice and use of language(s) that the poet comes into the limelight. What is initially most striking in contrast with all of the lyrics considered thus far is that Oswald identifies the languages he is using within the lyric itself, firstly in the *repeticio*:

Teutsch, welchisch mach!	13	Make German into Italian!
franzosisch wach!		Awake in French!
ungrischen lach!		Laugh in Hungarian!
brot windisch bach!		Bake bread in Wendish!
flemming so krach!		Make noise in Fleming!
latein die sibend sprach. <sup>198</sup>		Latin the seventh language'

Evidently, Oswald—or his scribe—is tentative about the possible alienation for his audience of these unknown and, presumably, uncomprehended languages, and thus feels the need to explain what these sounds are. Does this represent an admission that the position held by Dante, who joins together three languages without comment other than the line ‘poves aler par tout le monde | namque locutus sum in lingua trina’ (ll. 40-41) is untenable? It is certainly the case that the decision to pinpoint his language use within the lyric itself indicates to what extent Oswald is interested on an intellectual level in the definition of the boundaries between languages. Translation is provided only after the interrupted multilingual text, which serves to reinforce the coherence of the multilingual section or version. However, the intercalation of translated and ‘original’ texts leads one to suppose that this was designed to be read through after the performance of the multilingual version. Indeed, the fact that the German text does not form a coherent unit inverts the Babelic confusion, creating instead division within the one language of courtly conventions. The translation appears to be an entirely sing-able one. The lines of the translation are never more than one syllable longer than the original and in ways which could, it seems, be accommodated to the melody. This, then, is entirely consonant with Oswald’s practice

---

<sup>198</sup> Edition: *Die Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein*, ed. by Karl Kurt Klein, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn by Hans Moser et al., Altdutsche Textbibliothek, 55 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1975), no. 69, pp. 189-92. See also Albrecht Classen, *The Poems of Oswald von Wolkenstein: An English Translation of the Complete Works (1376/77-1445)* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

at large of reusing his own melodies with sometimes considerably different types of lyrics.<sup>199</sup> This is of course, however, to give primacy to the multilingual lyric, and indeed to presuppose that it is not a later rendering of what was originally a none too remarkable monoglot lyric. In view of the presentation of the text in MS *A*, we can at least say that Oswald's transmitters thought of it as primarily a multilingual lyric, which was then later explained.

Oswald's own engagement with manuscript culture and his evident contemplation of the posterity of his work is, depending on how closely we link him to the production of his MSS, an important consideration here.<sup>200</sup> If we hold him to be active in the creation of the MSS, he could thus be considered to be engaged with the integrity of his corpus—compare perhaps with Dante's invention of the *terza rima* for the *Commedia*—, as well as being uniquely placed to act to ensure this. By including translations he reveals his keenness to preserve the original use of the foreign languages. If these were not labelled and declared in an almost antiquarian fashion, future transmission could not be trusted to conserve them as we have seen in the case of 'Ai faus ris' and the witness of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. ital. 114. If we consider the MS *A* text given above (Klein's edition prints the *B* text), where interlinear annotations spell out for each phrase of the 'foreign' elements of the *exposicio* what language the audience is dealing with, it becomes clear that in fact Oswald's explanations did not go far enough. The fact that the spellings of the language names used in the gloss are markedly different from those used in the text of the song itself suggests that these are scribal additions. Perhaps, then, we might envisage two subsequent performances, the second almost a *contrafactum* of the first, giving the lie to the exoticism of the first.

---

<sup>199</sup> *VL*, VII, col. 147. Qv. *MGG*, XII, col. 1464. For instance, the groups Kl. 22-25 and 28-32 each use a single melody for radically different lyrics.

<sup>200</sup> Wachinger, however, notes that '*A* u[nd] *B* sind im Auftrag O[swald]s entstanden, aber kaum unter seiner beständigen Kontrolle' [*A* and *B* were created on Oswald's orders, but by no means under his constant supervision'], *VL*, VII, col. 143.

The other polyglot lyric ‘Bog dep’mi was dustu da’ (Kl. 119) [‘Greetings! What are you doing there?’], is quite different.<sup>201</sup> It is, according to Werner Marold, the more recent of the two lyrics.<sup>202</sup> His justification, that ‘Do fraig amors’ covers more languages, however, is unconvincing. Why must one presume that Oswald was using all the languages at his disposal at a particular point in time in these two lyrics? Similarly, is it not possible that the simpler organization of ‘Bog dep’mi’ was a reaction against the somewhat chaotic ‘Do fraig amors’? Here I reproduce Klein’s text:

Bog de p[ri]mi was duftu da	1	
<i>gramersi</i> ty sine cura		
Ich fraw mich zwar q[uod] video te		
cu[m] bon <i>amor</i> jassem toge		
Dut mi sperancz na te <i>stroio</i>	5	
wan[n] du bist glancz cu[m] gaudeo		
Op[er]ja m[e]a ich dir halt		
na dobri si slusba baß calt.		
Bis willen kum! was tustu da?		Greetings! What are you doing here?
an sorg vernamen dank ich dir ja.	10	Without fear, I thank you.
Ich fraw mich zwar, das ich dich sich,		Indeed I am pleased to see you,
mit lieb gar dein so bin ich.		For, in love, I am all yours
Mein geding ganz, der stat zu dir,		All my hope, it depends on you
wann du bist glanz mit freuden zir.		For you shine with decorous joy.
Zwar meine werkh ich dir doch halt,	15	Truly I offer you my works
Mit dinsten stark vil manigvalt.		With sure services of all kinds.
Kacu mores mich mach[e]n mat		
cha ge sum preß hoc me mirat		
Bedenk dein gnad [et] pietas		
ne gam maluat ne men dilaß	20	
ki ti cu[m]mand en iaßem dyal		
wo ichs bekant ab o[mn]i mal		
Hoc de[be]s me geniss[e]n lan		
troge moy G cu[m] bonwan[n] an.		
Wie magstu recht mat machen mich,	25	How can you fairly defeat me so,
dein gefangen knecht? des wundert mich		Your servant, a prisoner? I am amazed.
Bedenck dein genad mit guttikait!		Think of your mercy with good works!
in kainem phad thu mir nit lait!		In no way do me ill!
Was du verpant, das thet ich gern,		What you order, I would gladly do
wo ich[s] bekant an ubel kern.	30	Where I see it [to be] without evil change
Des lo mich, frau, genissen zwar		Let me enjoy that, my lady,
auff wol getreuen zu gutem jar.		In good faith for many years.
Jo te prosoo dein genad all da		
ge si grando et opti[m]a		
Halt mich nit sw[er] h[o]c rogo te	35	

<sup>201</sup> *Die Lieder Oswalds*, no. 119, pp. 305-7.

<sup>202</sup> Marold, *Kommentar zu den Liedern Oswalds von Wolkenstein*, ed. by Alan Robertshaw, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Germanistische Reihe, 52 (Innsbruck: Institut für Germanistik, 1995) p. 280.

q[u]o p[r]ope[n]ser na te troge  
 Flor well en piangk pomag menne  
 das ich dir dank cu[m] fidele  
 No[n] fac[is] hoc so bin ich tod  
 sellennem tlok .i tutel rot.

40

Dein gnad ich bit an argen list  
 mit gutten siten, wann die gross ist.  
 Halt mich nicht swer, gedenck an mich,  
 als ich angever gedenck an dich.  
 Plum, schon und plank, hilf mir auss pein,  
 da ich dank der treue dein.  
 Tustus nit pald, so bin ich tod,  
 aus gru<sup>e</sup>nem wald var ich in not.

45

I beg you grace without ulterior motive  
 With good manners, for it is great.  
 Be not unkind, think of me  
 As I think, benefactrix, of you.  
 Flower, pretty and white, help me from need  
 For I am grateful for your loyalty.  
 If you don't act quickly, I shall die,  
 From the green forest I travel in distress.

Here the construction is much more regular: each octosyllabic line is split evenly into two sections. These two halves are syntactically and logically unified, always following the following pattern, following Marold.<sup>203</sup>

Slovene—German  
 Italian—Latin  
 German—Latin  
 Italian—Slovene  
 Italian—Slovene  
 German—Latin  
 Latin—German  
 Slovene—Italian

Marold calls the Italian dialect used ‘Welsch’, the general phrase for Romance languages; here it seems that we are dealing with a form of northern Italian.<sup>204</sup> Which Slavic language this could be is not wholly clear, but given that Oswald names it ‘Windisch’, glossed as Slovene by Wachinger in ‘Do fraig Amors’, it seems likely that this is the same.<sup>205</sup> The three eight-line strophes are followed immediately by a translation into Middle High German, idiomatic rather than literal and which does not shy away from rearranging elements of the sentence in order to make the German flow better. In terms of the text proper, there are a number of occasions where the translation elaborates on the original, above all to fill in the necessary syllable count. This translation, like that of ‘Do fraig amors’, is clearly meant to be sung—or it can be if necessary.

<sup>203</sup> Marold, *Kommentar*, p. 280.

<sup>204</sup> cf. Wachinger, ‘Sprachmischung bei Oswald von Wolkenstein’, *ZfdA*, 106 (1977), 277-96, esp. 280.

<sup>205</sup> Wachinger, ‘Sprachmischung’, 280.

We find in ll. 37-39 (translated at ll. 45-47), for instance, the Slovenian ‘pomag menne’ [‘help me’], which is expanded in MHG to ‘Hilf mir auss pein’ [‘Help me out of pain’] in order to keep the correct syllable count. Similarly, the straightforward Latin ‘Non hoc facis’—which, incidentally, forces Latin into a typically German conditional construction with an implied ‘if’<sup>206</sup>—is rendered as ‘tustus nicht bald’ [‘if you do not do this quickly’]. By contrast, there is minimal loss between ‘Dut mi speranz na te stroio’ (l. 5), half French, half Slovene, and MHG ‘Mein ganz geding, der stat zu dir’ [‘All my hope depends on you’]. Overall, it is clear that the translation here aims at the transmission of sense, particularly in performance, rather than necessarily aiding the reader interested in, say, learning the foreign language. Here there is no such explicit thematization of language use as in ‘Do fraig Amors’, although the presence of the translation in the MS does itself flag up the intellectual occupations that underpin this song.

As to the content of the lyric, this is also a lover’s complaint—not a particularly innovatory one. The singer indicates the joy which the sight of his lady affords him in the first strophe before going on to encourage her to unbend: ‘Bedenk dein gnad [et] pietas’ (l. 19) [‘Think of your grace and honour’], as is his due as her love servant. The third strophe explains the lover’s suffering: ‘Jo te proso dein genad all da...No[n] fac[is] hoc so bin ich tot’ (ll. 33 & 39) [‘I beg you for your mercy here... If you do not do this, I shall die’]. It is fair to say that by the fifteenth century when Oswald was active, these are the most crashing clichés, and in the context of his otherwise thoughtful and inventive corpus, these lines are to be explained in a number of ways. Firstly, these are merely set phrases which Oswald has picked up on his travels and assembled into a unit, quotations from overheard songs. Some of the Slovenian phrases which appear, ‘Jo te proso’ [‘I beg you’], for instance, having something of the textbook about them.<sup>207</sup> While there

<sup>206</sup> Cf. Raphael Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. rev. by Friedrich Holzweissig et al., 2 parts in 3 vols (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchhandlung, 1966-71), part II, vol. 2, p. 441.

<sup>207</sup> Compare perhaps with the use in Ulrich von Liechtenstein’s *Frauendienst* of the Slovenian phrase ‘Buge was primi, gralva Venus’ (l. 592, 3) [‘God welcome you, Queen Venus’], a phrase which Ulrich, active in the mid thirteenth century in Carinthia, appears to have learnt in a magpie-fashion.

may be an element of this in action, other aspects of the lyric, however, are clearly part of an individual composition. The last line, ‘sellennem tok si tutel rot’, translated by Oswald as ‘aus grünem wald var ich in not’ [‘from the green wood I travel in distress’] is a case in point. But the ‘translation’ given departs very considerably, with an accurate rendering giving (if we read the MS as giving a version of what in modern Slovene and French would be ‘silnim tlakom suis total[ment] rompu’) ‘by great pressure I am completely broken’.<sup>208</sup> A possible explanation for the translation as given might be the homophony between MHG ‘wald’ [‘wood’] and the root ‘walt’ as in MHG ‘waltec’ [‘forceful’], or modern Ger. ‘Gewalt’ [‘violence’].<sup>209</sup> If this were the case, it suggests that Oswald had the help of a second party in rendering at least the Slovene elements.

Secondly, we might argue that Oswald, like Dante with his *lingua trina* in ‘Aï faus ris’, is attempting to construct a universal language of love, not bounded by particular idiomatic divisions. If this were the case, however, the inclusion by the author himself of a translation acts as an admission of the impossibility of the project. What seems far more likely is the third option which is that by including a translation of such a broad variety of languages, here Slovenian, German, Italian, Latin, French, Oswald is in fact using the revelatory aspect of translation to subvert the ‘exoticism’ of the foreign language. What sounds exciting and unusual is revealed to be a commonplace, made unusual solely by the gloss of an unknown language. In this sense, Oswald’s method is essentially comedic, poking fun at the projection of nobility or intellectual rigour onto poetry simply because of the language in which it is written. This trait is also picked up on in Raimbaut’s *tenso* with the Genoese to which we will turn shortly.

What we are dealing with in Oswald’s poems is a subtle engagement and deconstruction of the phenomenon described by Gustav Ineichen in the case of the Occitanized French of troubadour

---

<sup>208</sup> This solution for ‘si total rot’ is suggested by Marold, *Kommentar*, p. 278, which I find convincing, despite his wondering ‘Oder steckt hier doch Windisch dahinter?’ [‘Or is Slovene hiding behind it after all?’].

<sup>209</sup> ‘walt’ see BMZ, IV, cols. 476a-77a.

lyrics transmitted in OF *chansonniers*. In these Romance MS witnesses it is the sound of the supposedly ‘foreign’ text which is what matters in coding it as one language or another, sometimes, as Sarah Kay demonstrated, requiring only a thin veneer to be presented to the world as Occitan.<sup>210</sup> In the case of ‘Bog dep’mi’, that Oswald explains what the phrases mean, suggests there is a more active conception of what a foreign language might be and, importantly, mean in a logical fashion, rather than simply being euphonious exotic noises. The idea of sound being the deciding factor for the reception of ‘foreign’ languages finds particular support in the case of ‘Do fraig Amors’, in instances such as ‘frau puräti’ and ‘man gür’ (ll. 6 and 20). The first is German *Frau* followed by ‘porre a ti’, ‘closer to you’ in Italian, and the second is ‘mon cœur’ written with a thick Alemannic accent. Indeed this would seem to confirm Ineichen and Kay’s theory in that the sound of French is determined relative to the original audience of the lyric, so that the “original” phonemes [mõ kœR] have in effect been transliterated into Oswald’s, or his scribe’s, regional accent. ‘Bog dep’mi’ is similar in the lines ‘Flor well en piank pomag menne’, the first four words in the place of Modern French ‘Fleur belle et blanche’. [w] in place of [b] is a classic marker of Upper German, making for a Tyrolean French.<sup>211</sup> More interesting is the neologism *plank* used at l. 45 to translate ‘piank’ (Fr. *blanc*) [‘white’], not mentioned by either Lexer or BMZ.<sup>212</sup> Certain of the elements in German (‘Ich fraw mich zwar’ (l. 3) [‘In truth I am joyous’], ‘Bedenk dein gnad’ (l. 19) [‘Think on your grace’]) are commonplaces offering the audience pin-pricks of understanding to maintain its interest. They suggest to the audience that the intervening ‘foreign’ phrases are similarly cliché, pointing to the final ‘reveal’, leavened along the way by the explanation that the dedicatee here is again the poet’s wife.

---

<sup>210</sup> Kay, ‘La seconde main’. See also D’Heur, *Troubadours d’Oc*, on Raimbaut’s Galician-Portuguese gloss on an Occitan background, p. 180.

<sup>211</sup> BMZ, I, col. 75. Qv: Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, I, col. 1054 (no. 8). The closest we find is the borrowed lexeme ‘blanche’, used *hapax* by Gottfried in his *Tristan*.

<sup>212</sup> BMZ, I, col. 200. The use of ‘blanche’ in *Tristan* itself preceded by a translation, whether we read it as a declared one or not: ‘diu wîzgehande Isôt, Blanschemanîs’ (l. 19048).

As well as the performative purpose of this linguistic mix, there is a clear intellectual object. German in Oswald's world view is part of a cultural family, and the translation shows how the ideological mould which produces courtly phrasing and imagery can be used for one individual language or in combination for several European languages because it is a shared *imaginarium*. Not to have included German in the 'foreign' strophes would have been to establish a tension between 'Germany' and the rest of the European cultural space. As imperial emissary charged with diplomatic missions aimed at the maintenance of the Empire, itself a polyglot union, there could be no question of Oswald seeking to undermine the fundamental cultural and intellectual oneness of these different people. Indeed he himself as a historical figure, a German poet living in 'Italy' owing fealty to the Austrian court, but working for the Emperor Sigismund, embodies the flexibility of the medieval attitude to the interactions of language and identity formation. We may go further and suggest that, far from being an admission of any kind of failure in the linguistic *de pluribus unum* attitude which drives these two lyrics, Oswald's approach in including translations, whether brought about by the practical reasons of audience incomprehension, or from concerns about the inter-changeability of individual languages mark a significant advance on the presumption of Dante about his audience's understanding. As we saw in the case of Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Canon. ital. 114, the Florentine's transmitters were thoroughly mystified by his text, and because of this one cannot doubt that the grandeur of his project was lost, which has doubtless contributed to the doubts about its attribution. Whereas Dante had recourse to his own vernacular to declare that 'ogn'uomo il senta' (l. 43), Oswald goes one better in using his vernacular not merely to ensure that all readers may understand what he has to say, regardless of the language in which he reads it, but more subversively to point to the arbitrariness of language choice itself. The ultimate effect, Oswald shows, is the same, regardless of the means by which the signified has been communicated, and it is the inclusion of translations which ensures the success of his project.

In this final section, let us turn, with the benefit of the preceding discussion, to one of the best-known multilingual lyrics from the troubadour corpus, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras's much anthologized 'Domna tant ai vos preiada' (PC 392, 7), which was probably composed before 1185.<sup>213</sup> In it, a *joglar* or poet usually identified with Raimbaut himself attempts to win over a woman of Genoa, not, as was held to be the case by his editor, Linskill, 'plebeian and even vulgar' woman, but rather a *bourgeoise*.<sup>214</sup> He addresses her in Occitan, while she replies in her own *ydioma*, one of the first instances of written Italian in a literary context.<sup>215</sup>

Domna, tant vos ai preiada,	1	Lady, I have asked you so much,
si-us plaz, q'amar me voillaz,		If it pleases you, if you would love me,
q-eu sui vostr' endomenjaz,		That I am your indentured servant,
car es pros et enseignada		For you are fair and well-educated
e toz bos prez autreiaz;	5	And give all good prizes.
per qe-m plai vostr' amistaz.		Therefore your friendship pleases me.
Car es en toz faiz cortesa,		Since you are courteous in all things
s'es mos cors en vos fermaz		my heart is set on you
plus q'en nulla Genoesa,		More than any other woman in Genoa-
per q'er merces si m'amaz;	10	So it will be an act of mercy if you love me
e pois serai meilz pagaz		And then I will be better rewarded
qe s'era mia-ill ciutaz,		Than if the city were mine
ab l'aver q'es ajostaz		Including all the riches
dels Genoes.		Of the Genoese.
Jugar, voi no sei corteso	15	Joglar, you are not courteous
qe me chaidejai de zo,		Who asks me that
qe niente no farò.		For I shall do nothing.
Ance fossi voi apeso!		I would rather you were hanged!
Vostr' amia non serò.		I will not be your lover.
Certo, ja ve scanerò,	20	In fact I will do you over
Provenzal malaurao!		Miserable Provençal!
Tal enojo ve dirò:		I shall tell you this curse:
sozo, mozo, escaltao!		Nasty foolish skin-head
Ni ja voi non amerò,		Nor shall I ever love you,

<sup>213</sup> Date based on the death of Obizzo I; see Gilda Caïti-Russo, *Les Troubadours et la cour des Malaspina* (Montpellier: Publications Montpellier-3, 2006), pp. 27. Text from: Raimbaut, ed. Linskill, no. 3, pp. 98-102. The translation is my own, though done with reference to Linskill and Gaunt, 'Sexual Difference'. The song appears in Crescini's *Manuale per l'avviamento agli studi provenzali: Introduzione grammaticale, crestomazia e glossario*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, (Milan: Hoepli, 1926), p. 245, with the following variants: **27** en tempo; **28** millorado; **30** gaia; **33** cortesia; **49** né no faria tal cosa; **52** qu'e'sia; **57** no siaz; **67** non sai; **78** si lo sa lo meu marì; **80** di'; **90** poraz; **92** poss'; **93** sara. Qv. Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, no. 92, p. 131-32.

<sup>214</sup> Raimbaut, ed. Linskill, p. 104

<sup>215</sup> Giulia Petracco Sicardi, "'Scripta" volgare e "scripta" dialettale in Liguria', in *Bibliografia dialettale ligure*, ed. by Lorenzo Coveri, Giulia Petracco Sicardi et al. (Genoa: Compagna, 1980), pp. 3-22, (p. 5), suggests that the Italian here is less Genoese than Monferrino, which would fit with Raimbaut's presence there.

q'eu chu bello mari ò qe voi no sei, ben lo so. Andai via frar', eu temp' ò meillaurà!	25	I who have a handsome husband, And it's not you, and well I know it. Go your way, brother, I am having A better time [sc. without you].
Domna gent' et essernida, gai' e pros e conoissenz, valla-m vostr' enseignamenz, car jois e jovenz vos gida, cortesi' e prez e senz e toz bos captenemenz; per qe-us sui fidels amaire senes toz retenemenz, francs, humils e merceiaire, tant fort me destreing e-m venz vostr' amors, qe m'es plasenz; per qe sera chausimenz, s'eu sui vostre benevolenz e vostr' amics.	30      35   40	Lady, gentle and distinguished Gay and noble and refined Let your teaching be valuable to me, For joy and youth guide you; Courtesy, and worth and sense And all good characteristics. For this reason I am your faithful lover Without any reserve, Free, humble and mercy-seeking, So tightly does your love bind me And conquer me that it pleases me; And so it will be a delight If I am your well-wisher And your lover.
Jujar, voi semellai mato, qe cotal razon tegnei. Mal vignai a mal andei! Non avei sen per un gato, per qe trop me deschasei, qe mala cosa parei; ni no volio qesta cosa, si fossi fillo de rei. Credi voi que sia mosa? Mia fe, no m'averei! Si per m'amor ve chevei, oguanò morrei de frei: tropo son de mala lei li Provençal.	45      50   55	Joglar, you seem dumb, Who continue such a theme. Evil you came, and evil you go! You do not have the sense of a cat, So you displease me too much That you look like a bad lot. And I do not want this thing, Not if I were the daughter of a king. Do you believe that I am a fool? By my faith, you will not have me! If you set yourself on my love, This year you will die of cold. They have such bad customs, The Provençaux.
Domna, no-m siaz tant fera, qe no-s cove ni s'eschai; anz taing ben, si a vos plai, qe de mo sen vos enqera e qe-us am ab cor verai, e vos qe-m gitez d'esmai, q'eu vos sui hom e servire, car vei e conosc e sai, qant vostra beutat remire fresca cum rosa en mai, q'el mont plus bella no-n sai, per qe-us am et amarai, e si bona fes mi trai, sera pechaz.	60     65   70	Lady, do not be so vicious to me, As it is neither seemly nor right; Rather it is proper, if it pleases you That I pursue you with my wisdom And love you with faithful heart, You who must cast me from dismay, I who am your man and servant, For I see and recognise and know, When I admire your beauty Fresh like a rose in May, That in the world there is nothing more beautiful, so I love you and will love you And if good faith betrays me It will be a sin
Jujar, to proenzalesco, s'eu aja guazo de mi, non prezo un genoì. No t'entend plui d'un Toesco o Sardo o Barbari, ni non ò cura de ti.	75	Joglar, your Provençal speech, If I may have joy of my person, I value less than a Genoese coin. I do not understand you any more than a German or Sardinian or Berber, Nor do I care for you.

<p>             voi t'acaveilar co mego?              Si-l saverà me' mari,              mal plait averai con sego.              Bel messer, ver e' ve di:              no vollo questo lati;              fraello, zo ve afi.              Proenzal, va, mal vesti,              largai me star!           </p>	80	<p>             You want horseplay with me?<sup>216</sup>              If my husband knows it,              You will have a poor case with him.              Dear sir, I tell you in truth              I do not want this discourse;              Brother I swear it to you.              Ragged Provençal, go,              Leave me be!           </p>
<p>             Domna, en estraing cossire              m'avez mes et en esmai;              mas enquera-us preiarai              qe voillaz q'eu vos essai,              si cum Provenzals o fai,              qant es pojatz.           </p>	85  90	<p>             Lady into a painful sadness              You have put me, and in dismay              But again I shall ask you              That you let me show you              How a Provençal does it              When he is mounted.           </p>
<p>             Jugar, no serò con tego,              pos' asi te cal de mi;              meill varà, per sant Marti,              s'andai a ser Opeti,              que dar v'a fors' un ronci,              car sei jugar.           </p>	95	<p>             Joglar, I will not be with you              For you are bothered enough about me              It would be better, by St. Martin              If you sent to Lord Obizzino              Who might give you a cart-horse,              Because you are a joglar.           </p>

What is immediately striking about the *tenso* is the extent to which it differs from all the other multilingual lyrics considered in this chapter. They have tended toward universalism and the extension of literary status to more languages than was traditionally the case, and to suggest that all vernaculars could effectively be subordinated to the overarching language of the courtly lyric. Here, however, Raimbaut thematizes difference, as one would expect in a *tenso*, a genre which naturally pulls in two directions at once, here with the male poet and female respondent at cross-purposes. We can, however, go further and problematize this opposition: while the *tenso* form stacks the two sides of the argument neatly against each other, the two actors are nonetheless both present in the other's strophes, and, of course, use the same strophe form—one unique to this poem. The two are imbricated with the other. However, language choice is, as it has been in all the examples considered in this chapter, crucial: the Genoese understands perfectly well both the surface and underlying meanings of Raimbaut's strophes, but refuses to be drawn into that discourse ('Bel messer, ver e' ve di: | no vollo questo lati', ll. 80-81). Raimbaut's decision, then, to

<sup>216</sup> Gaunt, 'Sexual Difference', n. 2, p. 300, translates 'Do you want to ride with me?' in reaction against Linskill's reading of 'acaveilar' as related to Mod It 'accapigliare', translated by Linskill as 'scuffle'.

make this *tenso* a confrontation between languages and genders as well as the courtly and bourgeois worlds, allows him to elaborate the particular value of language as a marker of difference.<sup>217</sup> The form creates the scene of engagement, and in this case at least, it is the value of the lyric form that it allows this difference while setting it out clearly, suggesting within a courtly framework that there exist worlds beyond the seigneurial hall supposedly the scene for troubadour performance. The poetic encounter with the Genoesa therefore reminds us to what extent it has in fact been the discursive foundations of courtly civilization that have underpinned the polyglossia of Bonifacio, Dante and Oswald, and how this shared world and world-view show the limited usefulness of modern linguistic conceptions for this text-type and others.

It is above all in her use of the concept ‘lati’ that underlines the Genoesa’s awareness of the metaphorical value of language, and the way in which here Occitan stands metonymically for courtly practice as a whole, and for courtly poetry in particular.<sup>218</sup> Marcabru, for instance, uses the word in the sense of a kind of speech, or equally with reference to his singing: ‘Dirai vos e mon latin | D’aizo qu’eu vei e q’eu vi’ [I shall tell you in my way what I see and have seen’].<sup>219</sup> It is clearly in the same way that the Genoesa uses the word. In Angelica Rieger’s phrase,

In der Tat prallen hier nicht nur zwei Sprachen aufeinander, sondern, vertreten durch den Trobador Raimbaut auf der einen Seite und die Genueserin auf der anderen, zwei Kulturen, zwei Ideologien.<sup>220</sup>

In fact, it is not only two languages that collide with each other here, but rather, represented by the troubadour Raimbaut on the one hand and the Genoesa on the other, two cultures and two ideologies.

---

<sup>217</sup> Compare for instance with Cielo d’Alcamo’s *contrasto* ‘Rosa fresca aulentis[s]ima ch’apari inver’ la state’, (before 1250) which similarly alternates strophes between an imploring would-be courtly wooer and an unimpressed woman. The two however, speak the same language. See *Poeti del duecento*, ed. Gianfranco Contini, 2 vols (Turin: Einaudi, 1960), I., pp. 173-85.

<sup>218</sup> LR, IV, p. 25.

<sup>219</sup> *Marcabru: A Critical Edition*, ed. by Simon Gaunt, Ruth Harvey and Linda Patterson, (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000), no. 17, pp. 226-36.

<sup>220</sup> Rieger, *Trobairitz: Der Beitrag der Frau in der altokzitanischen Lyrik: Edition des Gesamtkorpus*, Beihefte zur ZRP, 171 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991), p. 434.

In this sense, Raimbaut's poem is radical as it demonstrates not only the fact that courtly language and modes are constructs, but also the way in which they are elaborated: in opposition to that which is not courtly, or does not acknowledge the same rules. Hence, it is enlightening to note that while on a communicative level there is no transfer between the two (inter-)locutors, both are constantly present in all strophes, necessary as they are to their respective definition. The *borgbesa* is thus, in the theoretical sense, the supplement of the *jujar*: that which lies beyond his boundaries and by her very existence defines his limits; Furio Brugnolo describes their 'reciproca illuminazione', borrowing from Bakhtin.<sup>221</sup> One must therefore disagree with him in approaching the *tenso* as an essentially parodic text, nourished literarily in particular by the *saluts d'amour* of Arnaut Marueilh, but also as a linguistic parody.<sup>222</sup> He writes 'non v'è dubbio che qui al genovese sia assegnato questo ruolo di lingua contrafatta (rappresentata, oltre che rappresentante) ['there is no doubt that here it must be to Genoese that we consider as the counterfeit language (that is, represented and not representing)']'.<sup>223</sup>

On a linguistic level, however, this does not apply as the transmission of the *tenso* does not display clarity of linguistic identity. The poem appears in four MSS: *D<sup>a</sup>IKa<sup>l</sup>*, the first of which Linskill takes as his base. All MSS show a tendency to Occitanize the Genoese strophes, most particularly *a<sup>l</sup>*, although this witness also shows a distinct tendency to Italianization (eg. ll. 49-50 'mi no volio gesta cossa, | si fossi filhol de rei'). Typical are the versions of l. 21, in Linskill 'Provenzal malaurao!' which offer the following readings:

<i>D<sup>a</sup></i>	Provenzal malagurato!
<i>I</i>	Proensal malagurado!
<i>K</i>	Proensal malagurado!
<i>a<sup>l</sup></i>	Proensal mal(a)urao!

<sup>221</sup> Brugnolo, 'Parodia linguistica e parodia letteraria nel contrasto bilingue 'Domna tant ai vos preiada' di Raimbaut de Vaqueiras', in *ibid.*, *Plurilinguismo*, pp. 1-68, (p. 26).

<sup>222</sup> Brugnolo, 'Parodia linguistica', p. 49.

<sup>223</sup> Brugnolo, 'Parodia linguistica', p. 21.

Thus only *D'* is particularly Italian, with the restitution of the etymological 'g' and 't' along with the non-elipsis of the 'v' in 'Provenzal'. The rest tend, as we have seen a number of times in this chapter, to give a generic Romance, neither fish nor fowl, suggesting Raimbaut's Italian transmitters did not conceive of linguistic difference in the same way as the author. This then leads us to the question of what later audiences thought of Raimbaut's song: in their eyes, was it language or discourse or gender that generated the tension of the lyric and sustained their interest? As in other instances, not least of which is Raimbaut's own 'Eras quan vey verdeyar', the propulsion of these songs as we find them in the MS transmission is not interest in language themselves but rather an interest in the baggage of those languages, and the literary effects that these may achieve. Hence the adoption, flagged by Brugnolo writing of the Italian strophes, of 'alcuni dei suoi tratti [sc. 'genovesi'] più tipici'<sup>224</sup> ['some of its most typical [genoese] traits'], suggests that Raimbaut is engaged more in deixis than in accurate representation. The signifying system is, then, for the poetic field, while a thing of abstract interest and intellectual occupation throughout the Middle Ages as we have seen, fundamentally about self-reflexion, *Dichtung über Dichtung*, or poetry about poetry, to quote the title of Winfried Wehle's study of the *Vita nova*.<sup>225</sup>

It was not by accident that so many of the lyrics examined here have amatory subject matter. The linguistic experimentation and play they represent depend upon the spread of courtly culture, and love in particular, across Europe. Cultural exchanges and adoptions created the intellectual foundations and along with them, an awareness of a shared interest. Simultaneously, poets were engaging critically with the medium of their contribution to and elaboration of courtly culture. Without a shared philosophy, there could not have emerged the idea of having a single unified language in which to talk about it—as we see in the case of the Genoese. The result is a developing interest in dissolving the boundaries between languages, in bringing the same unity to

---

<sup>224</sup> Brugnolo, 'Parodia linguistica', p. 20, n. 14.

<sup>225</sup> Wehle, *Dichtung über Dichtung: Dantes 'Vita Nuova'* (Munich: Fink, 1986).

communication as had been brought to the vocabulary of love. This intellectual adventure was not, it must be said, wholly successful, as the MS transmission of so many of these songs reveals. The elaboration of a polyglot culture requires a certain degree of linguistic competence among one's transmitters and audience. This is not always to be relied upon. The provision of translations in Oswald's MSS and the linguistically varied witnesses of Dante's 'Aï faus ris' remind us of the important role of scribes as mediators in the success or otherwise of the investigation of linguistic barriers in the Middle Ages. Given the polysemous nature of literary texts open to many interpretations and approaches, these authorial interests may not be a transmitter's priority. Yet further, in the case of many of the lyrics we have examined, particularly Bonifacio and Raimbaut, and to a lesser extent Oswald, we see to what extent the multilingual lyrics continue to pose a challenge to modern editors. Modern conceptions of languages as having a fixed identity with a more or less clearly definable boundary struggle to respond to a medieval world view *sub specie aeternitatis* in which languages could not only be interchangeable but also merge into each other, and to MS witnesses with less linguistic definition than we are now comfortable with. The obsession with the consequences of the Babel episode was a far-reaching one as we have seen. Medieval authors' attempts at understanding it, attenuating its continuing shockwaves and, in some cases, at overcoming it were remarkably inventive and took full advantage of the formal and discursive particularities of song. The next chapter will focus in greater detail on these characteristics and on the special value that these give to lyric poetry in the Middle Ages.

### 3. Lyric poetry in and out of context

Citation and the search for *auctoritas* it embodies is, as has often been noted, an unavoidable part of medieval thought and its presentation.<sup>1</sup> Thought moved by mastering and surmounting an accretion of existing ideas; in Bernard of Chartres' metaphor, scholars were dwarves standing on giants' shoulders.<sup>2</sup> Closely related to the thought processes of academic glosses and annotation, the intercalation of songs into romances and other narrative and learned texts is a phenomenon which grows rapidly. Beginning with Jean Renart's *Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole* in around 1210, it becomes a practice common to most of the courtly West. As well as reflecting academic practice of the time, it also springs from a way of thinking about song already present in the earliest troubadours, a poetic tradition which apparently emerges fully formed in the work of Guilhem IX. Poets engaged from the start with their fellows' compositions as expressions of knowledge. Song reveals the depth of one's initiation into courtly love and literary practise, and is treated accordingly. Quotation and lyric insertion, an area much discussed in its individual parts—for instance Sylvia Huot's *From Song to Book* or Maureen Boulton's *The Song in the Story*, both of which focus on Old French romances with intercalated songs—is part of this intellectual

---

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, the introduction to Albert Russell Ascoli's *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> Bernard is cited by John of Salisbury in his *Metalogicon*, bk. 3, chap. 4.

and poetical phenomenon.<sup>3</sup> Work on French romance has tended to focus on the ironies and *realia*-effects generated by intercalation. While this is appropriate for much of the French corpus—Renart’s *Roman de la Rose* and the *Roman du Chastelain de Coucy et de la dame de Fayel* being the most famous—it divorces this group of texts from a European phenomenon: the treatment and movement of poetry considered as a form of wisdom or knowledge.<sup>4</sup>

It is the proposition of this chapter that the conceptualization of poetry’s freight as quoted in longer texts reveals the value of lyric poetry, its form and content, that is, what motivates lyric intercalation throughout Europe and, by extension, other modes of lyric mobility. As noted, the study of lyric insertion has tended to be parochial. By bringing together French and Occitan narratives, Dante’s *Vita Nova*, and the *Frauendienst* by Ulrich von Liechtenstein with more learned works like Matfre Ermengaud’s *Breviari d’Amor* and the *De vulgari eloquentia*, as well as the prose *Tristan*, I will show it to be a European phenomenon. These contextually often disparate texts share the conception of lyric poetry as privileged form of knowledge about both courtly civilization (often in the sense of *savoir-faire*) and poetry, thereby justifying its repetition. Not only does that recorded experience or teaching exist in the subject of lyric, but its wisdom is built into the very form of lyric, requiring special audience engagement.

This chapter builds upon the approach taken to poetry in its broadest sense by Adrian Armstrong and Sarah Kay in their *Knowing Poetry*. They explore the particularity of poetry after

---

<sup>3</sup> See Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987) and Boulton, *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction, 1200-1400* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993). Also important are the articles by Jacqueline Cerquiligni-Toulet, ‘Pour une typologie de l’insertion’, *Perspective Médiévales*, 3 (1977), 9-14 and Jane H. Taylor, ‘The Lyric Insertion: Towards a Functional Model’, in *Courtly Literature: Culture and Context: Selected Papers from the 5<sup>th</sup> Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, Dalfsen, The Netherlands, 9-16 August, 1986*, ed. by Keith Busby and Erik Kooper (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1990), pp. 539-48 for general discussion.

<sup>4</sup> Kay’s *Parrots and Nightingales*, while it has a broad scope, including the *Breviari d’Amor*, discussed below, and Dante and Petrarch’s use of troubadour quotations, focusses exclusively on the use of Occitan troubadours, and does not go beyond France, Italy and Catalonia. It thus falls somewhat short of the ‘European Poetry’ of its subtitle.

the ‘rise of prose’ and its status as a medium for knowledge, verbally inexpressible, marked out by the lyric form, an approach developed by Kay in her recent *Parrots and Nightingales*. I contend that much of what they say of lyric and prose is applicable to texts in rhyming couplets from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The phenomenon they demonstrate in the later Middle Ages (their corpus runs from 1270 to 1530) can be traced back further; indeed, it grows out of lyric itself. One fruitful way of working through the interaction of quotation and the intellectual freight of lyric poetry, adopted to considerable effect by Armstrong and Kay, is Jean-François Lyotard’s deictic valorization of knowledge, a model developed in *La condition postmoderne*.<sup>5</sup> While knowledge exists anyway, he suggests it needs to be pointed out and labelled before it acquires full authority and value. Citation, the act of indicating that a phrase, idea or image, is worth transporting from its ‘original’ context to a new one is one such mode of deixis. Lyric insertion underlines this movement by the formal differences obvious either in reading aloud or in manuscript transmission. However, Lyotard’s proposed model raises a question: which of the two parts of the text, frame or lyric, authorizes which? For instance, while the lyric provides the *Breviari d’Amor* with the distilled wisdom of the troubadours, these poets also owe their explicitly authoritative position to Matfre’s citation of their poetry. Similarly, in the *De vulgari eloquentia*, without the *doctores vulgares* whom he cites, Dante’s propositions about vernacular poetry, given his treatise’s scholastic aspirations, would be mere assertion. This symbiotic relationship, as will be seen, is often troubling.

Finally a feature barely acknowledged in previous work: many of these texts with lyric intercalation are produced, or situated by narrative or content, in geographically liminal zones or in the cultural beyond.<sup>6</sup> That is, the confrontation of textual forms—lyric and ‘frame’, either prose or rhyming couplets—mirrors the interaction of cultures, literary traditions, and languages.

---

<sup>5</sup> Lyotard, *La condition postmoderne*; see Adrian Armstrong and Sarah Kay, *Knowing Poetry* for their exposition of Lyotard, pp. 19-20.

<sup>6</sup> This has been taken up in Sarah Kay’s article, ‘La seconde main’.

One example: the *nova* ‘Abrils issia’ by Raimon Vidal de Besalù includes among many troubadour quotations the *exemplum* of the Almohad capture of Al-Andalus after the Almoravids ‘torneron flac e recrezen | e fals, e mantengro gran tort’ [‘became weak and lazy and false and committed great wrongs’] (ll. 512-13).<sup>7</sup> The Christian Catalan nobility, Vidal suggests, should counter such weakness in their rulers. While not all such instances juxtapose such contrasting civilisations, there is an undeniable tendency to code lyric and its *cognoscenti*—it is a *joglar* who recounts the decline of the Almoravids—as privileged transmitters of wisdom. Poetry is knowledge easily transported and brought to bear far from its origin, temporally, spatially, and linguistically. When lyric poetry does move, then, it allows the creation of an intellectual community of poets and their fellow-travellers, both explicitly and deliberately, and in less obvious ways. Building on previous chapters, then, I want to demonstrate not only how lyric moves in the high Middle Ages, but why this was so important to the cultural and mental landscape of medieval Europe.

This chapter considers together, to my knowledge for the first time, some of the most important European texts which quote song.<sup>8</sup> One aspect which has tended to be omitted from accounts is the learned background to the practice of quotation. Therefore I begin with the Occitan encyclopaedia, Matfre Ermengaud’s *Breviari d’Amor*, and Dante’s unfinished treatise on the romance languages and their poetry, the *De vulgari eloquentia*, to provide the intellectual framework for the discussion of the narrative texts.<sup>9</sup> However, before moving onto narrative, a brief section demonstrates the extent to which lyric intercalation merely draws attention to the network of poets already present in lyric and the ways that citation often decontextualizes and

---

<sup>7</sup> Quotations from: *Nowelles occitanes*, ed. Huchet, pp. 37-140.

<sup>8</sup> The only other work to attempt a European overview was concerned with analysing poetic pseudo-autobiographies (which I include in my discussion), but did not consider the effects and conceptualisation of quoting poetry. See Gerald Gybbon-Monypenny, ‘Guillaume de Machaut’s erotic ‘autobiography’: Precedents for the form of the *Voir Diŕ*’, in *Studies in Medieval Literatures and Languages: In Memory of Frederick Whitehead*, ed. by William Rothwell *et al.*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974), pp. 133- 152.

<sup>9</sup> One exception is Thomas Stillinger’s *The Book of Troilus: Lyric Authority in the Medieval Book* (Philadelphia: Penn, 1992), which traces High Medieval insertion from glossed psalters.

deforms it. My example is Marcabru's 'Cortesamen vuoill comensar' (PC 293, 15), quoted in the *Breviari*. In this new light, I go 'back' to *Le roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, the first narrative text to include lyrics, and remarkable for including Occitan texts. Raimon Vidal de Besalù's short narratives provide a near-contemporary counterpart from Occitan Catalonia, never considered alongside Renart's *Rose*. Next, I examine two cases of autocitation from the later thirteenth century: Ulrich von Liechtenstein's *Frauendienst* and Dante's *Vita Nova*, a pairing often suggested but never examined in detail, both of which demonstrate the influence of the development of written transmission in the conception of quotation and textuality. In the concluding section, I look at the transmission of lyrics written for the *Tristan en prose* apart from their original context, and consider how this enriches our understanding of the medieval conceptualization of song.

#### *'Doctores vulgares'*

The Occitan encyclopaedia, the *Breviari d'Amor* by Matfre Ermengaud (c. 1290), a lawyer from Béziers, and Dante's treatise *De vulgari eloquentia* (c. 1303-4) are the high points of learned use of vernacular poetry. They create a super-regional body of poets who authorize their arguments about courtly love, the superiority of courtly lyric, and its validity as a model for the future of the vernacular. While late in the time-frame of this study, I shall begin with their adoption of troubadour and *trouvère* poetry in learned debate as they are enlightening and, as already noted, seldom brought into dialogue with the narrative texts I shall examine below. Dante and Matfre make explicit stakes only implicit in earlier instances of lyric intercalation, which makes them an excellent starting point.

The 35,000 line *Breviari d'Amor* maps the world onto the tree of love, separating *amor spiritualis* from *amor naturalis*. The final 7,000 lines, the 'Perilhos tractat de amor de donas, segon qu'en han tractat li antic trobador en lurs cansos', ['Dangerous tract of the love of women, according to

what the old troubadours said about it in their songs'] focuses on courtly love, before turning to marriage and love of children, after which it breaks off. The *Tractat* starts with a scholastic-legalistic debate in which the diegetic Matfre represents the troubadours against the *lausengiers*, demonstrating 'los bes que d'amor pren | qui domnas ama leialmen' ['the good things that he who loves ladies faithfully takes from love'] (ll. 27809-10).<sup>10</sup> Both sides quote from troubadours—the quotations total 260—to reinforce their stance, often quoting from the same lyrics. This process, then, attributes the lyrical texts with didactic value and authority not otherwise available. Matfre only quotes troubadours, thus agreeing with the *De vulgari eloquentia* and the *Razos de trobar* that love is properly discussed in the Occitan *canço*.<sup>11</sup> An example: Bernart de Ventadorn's song 'Lo rossignols s'esbaudeja' (PC 70, 29) is used to exemplify the problem of false lovers:

Après son vengut trobador	28448	Afterwards, some troubadours came
alqu demandan d'est'amor		asking about this love [and]
que deu esser drechuriera,	28450	what its right way should be,
per que et en qual manieira		why and in what fashion
se pot de lieis esdevenir		one might obtain from it
que fassa-ls <i>ergolhos</i> gauzir		that which makes the proud rejoice—and
e cels que <i>domenejo</i> ab <i>engan</i> ;		those who serve ladies with cunning, too—
e cells que-s van <i>humilian</i>	28455	while it abandons those who humble
dezampara <i>e-ls francs e-ls ffs</i>		themselves and the free and the fine who
que n'ueg e jorn li son aclis,		prostrate themselves to love day and night,
quar aisso s'esdeve tot jorn,		for this happens all the time,
don digs Bernatz de Ventadorn,		about which Bernart de Ventadorn says,
lieis blasman que far non deia:	28460	blaming them, which he should not do:
Mais ha d'amor <i>domneja</i>		'He gains more from love who serves
ab <i>ergueilh</i> et ab <i>enjan</i>		with pride and cunning
que cell qui tot jorn sopleja		than he who always supplicates himself
e-s vai trop <i>humilian</i> .		and humbles himself too much.
A penas vol amors celui	28465	Love hardly wants him
qu'es <i>francs e ffs</i> , si cum hieu sui;		who is free and fine, as I am.
so m'a tout tot mon afaire		This has robbed me of all my goods,
quar no sui fals ni trichaire.		because I am not false or a cheat'

The integration of Bernart's lines into the *Breviari* fits the two texts together perfectly, effacing the divide between quotation and framing text. The italicised words are lifted from Bernart and

<sup>10</sup> Quotations from: *Le Breviari d'Amor*, ed. Ricketts.

<sup>11</sup> Qv. *The Razos de Trobar*, ed. Marshall, ll. 72-75.

adopted, in this case in the same order, in the text of the *Breviari*. This seamlessly overlays Matfre and his opinion on his poetic forebear, allowing him to bask in stolen glory. Simultaneously, Bernart (for the reader of the *Breviari*) is preceded by Matfre, making it *him* who agrees with the lawyer from Béziers. Indeed, it is difficult to know where the quotation begins in that the *deia: domneja* rhyme erodes the boundary for a listening audience. The MSS, as Sarah Kay shows, sometimes open quotations with paraphs or *litterae notabiliores*, but with the progression of the manuscript, such markers tend to disappear. Quotations' conclusions are rarely marked.<sup>12</sup> What we see, then, is Hegelian *Aufhebung*, the simultaneous preservation and destruction of the previous generation's work as it is adopted and adapted by their successors.<sup>13</sup> This process in the *Breviari d'Amor* is another instance of Gruber's *Dialektik des Trobar* (see the introduction to Chapter 1), with poets in constant competition with predecessors and contemporaries. While his study focussed on metrical imitation, such motivations are equally visible in lyric intercalation, where later poets cannibalize their artistic ancestors.

As the reader continues, diachronic engagement becomes less straightforward than the Bernart passage might suggest. He is followed by Uc Brunenc de Rodes, active until 1190, some thirty years later. Again, the quotation-frame boundary is blurred, with the troubadours adopting Uc's 'grazir': 'sufrir' rhyme (ll. 28475-76). Again, Matfre uses Uc's in his response, which quotes 'Pus l'adrechs temps va chantan e rizen' (PC 450, 7), to prove the true value of love lies in suffering.

As Matfre's gloss says:

<p>D'autra part mais creis e dura qui sso que-n aten endura, et enduran es hom plus gens e plus gais e plus avinens</p>	<p>28542</p>	<p>Besides, the man who endures this as he wants grows more and lasts longer, and a man who stays the course is nobler, and happier and more gracious.</p>
---	--------------	--

<sup>12</sup> Kay, 'How long is a quotation?' Quotations from the troubadours in the text and manuscripts of the *Breviari d'Amor*, *Romania*, 127 (2009), 1-29.

<sup>13</sup> This can also be seen in the ten instances noted by Reinhilt Richter where Matfre has fitted a quotation's line-length to that of the *Breviari* or manipulated its rhyme-scheme to create an opening couplet. See *Die Troubadourzeit*, pp. 46-47.

The return to the same troubadour after quoting a song by Guiraut d’Espanha, though not commented upon, falls into the quasi-legal pattern established with the cross-examination at the beginning of the ‘Perillos tractat’. Troubadour lyric, Matfre suggests, is of limitless applicability and must be worked through in careful detail. There is one problem: the quotation attributed to Uc Brunenc is actually by Uc de St-Circ, active in the 1220s in Italy and Spain, composer of many *vidas* and *razos*.<sup>14</sup> The erroneous attribution is repeated when ll. 1-10 of the same poem, ‘Anc enemics q’ieu agues’ (PC 457, 3) are quoted (*Breviari* ll. 29476-85). What, then, is the importance of attribution? It is evidently of great value to Matfre: only 21 of 266 quotations are anonymous. Five of these are attributable to Aimeric de Peghuilhan, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Peire Cardenal, all famous troubadours, as well as to Matfre himself.<sup>15</sup> To have a name, an *auctor*, of any kind is better than none. For Matfre the value of poetry was not confined simply to its form, but—betraying his legal training—was one of *auctoritas*, which in this case betrays a certain tidy-mindedness.

The troubadours’ wisdom and knowledge is inherently inaccessible, perhaps unusable, unless properly explicated and filleted by the cleric. Part of this preparation is to decontextualize it. Temporal and geographical movement creates a community of troubadours, notionally joined together by the lyric form of their work, regardless of their generation, surrounded by Matfre’s rhyming couplets. There is no regard for what we now consider to be their relative merits, thus many troubadours Matfre cites are little-known, some only appear in the *Breviari*, suggesting that he himself created ‘authorities’, putting him in a long tradition of medieval writers inventing authoritative and ancient sources. This points us back to the question of precisely what the purpose of such citation is, and whether it matters if these lines are by a particular troubadour or

---

<sup>14</sup> See the introduction to William Burgwinkle, *Razos and Troubadour Songs*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, ser. B 71 (New York: Garland, 1990), and Maria Meneghetti, ‘Uc e gli altri: Sulla paternità delle biografie trobadoriche’, in *Il racconto nel Medioevo romanzo: Atti del convegno, Bologna, 23-24 ottobre 2000* (ed. unknown] (= *Quaderni di Filologia Romanza*, 15 (2001)), pp. 147-62, which suggests Uc was responsible for the majority of the *vidas*.

<sup>15</sup> Ricketts singles out 7 quotations as possibly by Matfre, PC 297, 1-7.

not. Much of their authority (but, given his emphasis on attribution, not all) comes from the simple fact of being in verse. In the section entitled ‘De conoischensa’ Matfre says that all knowledge comes ultimately from love. Couple this with the premise of the debate with the *lausengiers* at the beginning of the *Perillhos tractat* (that the opponents of love cannot begin to understand in the same way as lover-poets), and it appears that knowledge coming from love is synonymous with knowledge coming from poetry. To write in verse is to code something as knowledge. This bears out Lyotard’s deictic valorization, and is also formative in the creation of a community of poets from the outside. These, Matfre suggests, are the people who know. And by being able to do this, he is himself marked out as one of the *cognoscenti*, taking his audience along with him.

The poetic community in the *Breviari d’Amor* is geographically undifferentiated. Most striking are the French lyrics Matfre quotes. While there are only four *trouvère* quotations, all are given in the original, with two attributed to Thibaut de Champagne, most admired of the French lyricists. Although their composers’ names are given, they are otherwise differentiated by language alone. The implication is that there is no substantial difference, and that the community of poets—as is the case in the *De vulgari eloquentia*, or indeed with the *contrafacta* of ‘Can vei’—is fundamentally ‘bigger’ than language. This mirrors the intellectual focus of the *Breviari*, the fundamental oneness of Creation, mapped out as the branches of the Tree of Love. The same *reductio ad unum* is, as has been discussed in Chapter 2, at work in the conception of language in Dante’s treatise. The French lyrics thus undergo the same integration, the same merging of the beginning and the close of the quotation with the *aabb* rhyme scheme around it.<sup>16</sup>

Mas qui non a d’amor talen  
 lais’ amar l’amoroza gen,  
 e si lur ve gaug e plazer,  
 non aia mal ni desplazer,

---

<sup>16</sup> Kay, ‘How long is a quotation?’ analyses the presentation of quotations in the *Breviari* MSS, but does not mention the Old French quotations.

*e guar se que mal non dia,*  
autramen grans dregz seria  
quez om li trenques la guarra.  
Le valens reis de Navarra  
non hac ges aital manieira,  
don digz, quar saup la carrieira  
que devon far li fin aimant:

Ge ne sui pass [*sic*] si cum sel'autra gant  
qui ont amé, pueis y voelent contendre  
e dient mal par vilain mautalant,  
mas nus ne doit seignor servize vendre  
n'encontra *li mesdire ne mainsprendre*;  
e, s'il s'en part, parte s'ant bonemant.  
Endroit de moi, vuou ge que tust aimant  
aient gran bien, quant ge plus n'i puis prendre.

Aisso fai mout bon aprendre: (ll. 28411-30)

But he who does not wish to love should leave love to the lovers, and if joy and pleasure are theirs, let him not be unhappy or displeased, and hold himself from speaking ill. Otherwise it would be quite right to cut his throat. The noble King of Navarre has never needed such measures, which is why he says—for he knows the route that true lovers must take: 'I am not like the other people who have loved, for they want to argue, and then to speak ill out of evil desires; no-one would sell their services to their lord nor slander or disrespect him and, if he leaves him, he would leave on good terms. I swear that all the lovers should do well, since I can do no better.' This teaches much that is good.

While the quotation is fitted into the rhyme scheme, it is not merged into the thought process as was the case with Uc Brunenc; the closest we find to the verbal integration is the italicized paraphrase on 'mis-speaking'. More striking is how the boundary is dissolved by replacing the 'proper' Occitan 'aiman' with French 'aimant', a decision present in almost all MSS. The only variation in this rhyme pair is in MSS *BDK* which give 'gen' and *HL* which give 'gent'.<sup>17</sup> This suggests that Matfre places greater importance on maintaining the rhyme and thus textual integrity than on its linguistic identity. This can be read either as ignorance on Matfre's part—not knowing what these foreign words sounded like—or as wilful disregard for the separation of the two idioms. Matfre's flattened-out geography and history encourages one to think it is the latter;

---

<sup>17</sup> For a table of Breviari *sigla* see ed. Ricketts, pp. 1-5.

his presentation of the troubadours makes them almost into a single interlocutor. There is only *pre-* and *post-*Matfre. Indeed, the use of the term ‘troubadour’ does not acknowledge these poets’ origins in Occitania ‘proper’, central France, Catalonia and Italy, and their various social positions over a number of centuries.<sup>18</sup> Alongside the three French poets, there are sixty-five ‘troubadours’ quoted, who probable areas of activity are:<sup>19</sup>

Occitania (incl. Languedoc, Gascony, Provence, Périgord, Limousin, Quercy, Auvergne)	43
Poitou	11
Catalonia	6
Italy	2
Unknown	3

Matfre’s troubadours then, like Gruber’s, are a stretched-out network, secured only primarily by linguistic choice and the discourse to which they aspire. They are the counterpart to the writers of the *volgare illustre* idealized by Dante in his *De vulgari eloquentia* in terms of style. This, then, proves Matfre’s intellectual structure: all things are the product of *amor*, either *spiritualis* or *naturalis*. As his little-differentiated adoption of Old French poets and his wide-ranging poetic field suggest, these can be spoken of in many languages because both people and language itself spring from that one universal tree of love. In short, then, Matfre’s *Breviari* uses lyric intercalation as a means of ordering courtly knowledge, of integrating it into his own framework. Intercalation flattens out the differences, geographical and temporal, between Matfre’s authorities. As they become *auctores* in the eyes of the lawyer, they are dislocated and de-historicized.

By contrast, Dante’s approach to quotation in his *De vulgari eloquentia*, which may be glossed as a search for the linguistic One, is more radically transgressive. As is well known, his project here is to define a language, *aulicus*, *cardinalis* and *curialis*, which will bind together a disparate Italy, a *micro*

<sup>18</sup> On the troubadours’ social variety, see Linda Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society, c.1100-c.1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

<sup>19</sup> According to the *BEDT*. Poitou is separated from Occitania by Charles Tourtoulon and Olivier Bringuier, *Etude sur la limite géographique de la langue d’oc et de la langue d’oïl* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1876). See Jakob Wuest’s detailed study, ‘Sprachgrenzen in Poitou’, *Vox Romanica*, 28 (1989), 14-58 (34-36), for the historical variations in the boundary between Oc and Oïl.

version of the larger *ydroma tripharum* which is Romance, subdivided into *oc*, *oïl* and *sí*. That is, he wishes to create an Italian *koiné* to match the Occitan one and use it to social ends. Conceived less in purely linguistic terms—although the dialectal variety of Italy provides much of his material for the first book—Dante’s subjects are style and politics. ‘Languages’ thus disappear in favour of ‘language’ *tout court*. What will characterize the *volgare illustre*, common to all, yet belonging to none,<sup>20</sup> is its appropriateness to handle the most elevated topics: morality, war, love:

Quare hec tria, salus videlicet, venus et virtus, apparent esse illa magnalia que sint maxime pertractanda, hoc est ea que maxime sunt ad ista, ut armorum probitas, amoris accensio et directio voluntatis. (II. ii. 7)

Thus these three, which is to say welfare, love and virtue appear to be those glories which ought to be treated most grandly, that is those which are in themselves grandest, such as prowess with arms, falling in love and controlling the will.

The language used to express this is unimportant: Dante’s examples are drawn from three troubadours (Giraut de Bornelh, Arnaut Daniel, Bertran de Born) and two Italians (Cino da Pistoia and *amicus eius* standing for Dante himself). Like Matfre’s French poets, there is, other than the quotation’s language itself, no indication of the provenance of his examples. Only Cino is localized. Thus Dante’s treatise is as opposed to the movement of lyric as it is to the *Aufhebung* of Matfre’s *Breviari*: poets are held to originate ‘somewhere else’, which is the same as nowhere in particular. Having no fixed point of departure, their lyrics cannot be moved definitely, and merely continue their peregrination.<sup>21</sup> This is typical of the deep-rooted contradictions in the treatise.<sup>22</sup> For the reader, the language of these quotations is a sure indication that they do come from somewhere—most importantly, from outside the academy. In this way exile makes itself felt in the *De vulgari eloquentia*, although it is not mentioned explicitly until II. vi. 4. Dante manipulates a certain dislocation which he seems to extend to all poets, seeing it as this

---

<sup>20</sup> ‘quod omnis latie civitatis est et nullius esse videtur’ (I. xvi. 6). References to: Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia* ed. Coletti.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Eliza Zingesser: ‘Without a voice, a position of enunciation, one is unquotable and uncitable’, ‘The Vernacular Panther: Encyclopedism, Citation and French Authority in Nicole Margival’s *Dit de la panthère*’, *Modern Philology*, 103 (2012), 301-11 (311).

<sup>22</sup> Such contradictions are much discussed. For instance, Ascoli, *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author* asks how a culture, figured by Dante, could be so radical intellectually and yet so conservative socially (p. 10).

dislocation that qualifies lyrics to transmit wisdom impartially. While not as extreme as the classical notion of the poet-prophet transmitting divine insights, poetry is differentiated by its almost alienating rules, form and conventions.

Similarly, when compared with Matfre, Dante's conception of time is somewhat more nuanced. By contextualizing his discussion of the development of language in Book I in salvation history, he suggests that poets, by treating the highest topics in the grandest style, are expressing the transcendental in man. Time is also coloured for the reader of Dante's tract by the presence of the Latin *auctores* who prepare for the later appearance of the troubadours. Thus we find Horace at II. iv. 4 ('Magister noster Oratius'), a passing reference to the *Aeneid* at II. iv. 10, and what Coletti rightly calls a 'lista, questa, assai singolare' ['this rather strange list'] at II. vi.7-8.<sup>23</sup> This passage, which follows the longest group of intercalated *incipits*, rewards closer examination, and explains his use of lyric insertion:

Nec mireris, lector, de tot reductis autoribus ad memoriam: non enim hanc quam supremam vocamus constructionem nisi per huiusmodi exempla possumus indicare. Et fortassis utilissimum foret ad illam habituandam regulatos vidisse poetas, Virgilium videlicet, Ovidium Metamorphoseos, Statium atque Lucanum, nec non alios qui usi sunt altissimas prosas, ut Titum Livium, Plinium, Frontinum, Paulum Orosium, et multos alios quos amica sollicitudo non visitare invitat. Subsistant igitur ignorantie sectatores Guictonem Aretinum et quosdam alios extollentes, nunquam in vocabulis atque constructione plebescere desuetos. (II. vi. 4)

Do not be surprised, reader, by my recalling so many authors to memory, for what I call the highest construction could not be made clear without using examples such as these. And also it will be very useful to the process of acquiring this [sc. construction] to consult canonical poets, that is, Vergil, the Ovidian *Metamorphoses*, Statius, Lucan as well as those best prose writers: Livy, Pliny, Frontinus and Orosius, as well as many others whom familiarity forbids me from mentioning. As such they are acolytes of ignorance who praise Guido d'Arezzo and others, who never cease to be wretched in both words and construction.

Among themselves, however, Dante's combined group of Golden and Silver Age poets—with the addition of the fifth-century Orosius—are de-historicized in stark contrast to the vernacular poets. In the *De vulgari eloquentia*—the same cannot be said of the *Commedia*—Dante carefully

---

<sup>23</sup> ed. Coletti, p. 133, n. 18.

distinguishes vernacular writers ('autores') from classical ones ('regulati poetae'). And yet these Classical *auctores* are so familiar as to require no developed treatment: unquoted, they remain separate from contemporary poets as bearers of wisdom.<sup>24</sup> Dante's vernacular poets are all, although this remains implicit, from the third and fourth generations of troubadours, with the Italians from the mid-thirteenth century. Thibaut de Champagne (early C13) bridges the gap. The poets form an apostolic succession of vernacular *auctores*, quite the opposite of Matfre's mode, giving the tractate a striking contemporary *telos*.

The relation of quotation and frame is sometimes puzzling. Thus, for the nature of the high style, the *sermo gravis*, Dante's first example is in Latin prose: 'Eiecta maxima parte florum de sinu tuo, Florentia, nequicquam Trinacriam Tolita secundus adivit' (II. iv. 4) ['Having pushed away the greatest number of your flowers from your breast, Florence, the second Tolita will go to Sicily to no avail'].<sup>25</sup> This, he implies, is directly applicable to vernacular lyric without thought for formal or linguistic differences—formal deconstruction comes only later. Indeed, *De vulgari eloquentia*'s reliance on references by *incipit* requires readers who have developed knowledge of the field.<sup>26</sup> He follows this with his quotations:

Hoc solum illustres cantiones inveniantur contexte, ut Gerardus:

*Si per mos Sobretos non fos;*

Folquetus de Marsilia:

*Tan m'abellis l'amoros pensamen;*

Arnaldus Danielis:

*Sols sui che sai lo sobraffan che-m sorz;*

Namericus de Belnui:

*Nuls hom non pot complir addreciamen [sic DM]*

Namericus de Peculiano:

<sup>24</sup> The exception are tags: Horace at *DVE* II. iv. 4, 'Sumite materiam vestris ...viribus' (*Ars poetica* ll. 38-39) and Vergil at *DVE* II.viii.4, 'Arma virumque cano' (*Aeneid* I. 1)

<sup>25</sup> The line refers to Charles d'Anjou's attempt to conquer Sicily, one of the causes of Dante's exile with the other White Guelfs, after Boniface VIII allied himself with Charles and the Black Guelfs.

<sup>26</sup> Ascoli, in an attempt at aligning the different conceptions of the *vulgare illustre* at the start and conclusion of Book I of the treatise falls on the rather thin argument that the two are explained by the force of Dante's 'desire' to create a united vernacular for Italy; *Dante and the Making*, p. 139. For a stimulating reading of the *De vulgari eloquentia* as a politically motivated Scholiast treatise, see Espen Grønlie's 'The Domestication of vernacular poetry: Measuring authority in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*', in *Dante: A Critical Reappraisal*, ed. by Unn Falkeid (Oslo: Unipub, 2008), pp 145-76.

*Si con l'arbres che per sobrecarnar;*  
 Rex Navarre:  
*Ire d'amor que en mon cor repaire;*  
 Iudex de Messana:  
*Amor che l'aigua per lo foco lassi;*  
 Guido Guinizelli:  
*Tegno de folloe empresa a lo ver dire ...*  
 Cynus de Pistorio  
*Avegna che io aggia più per tempo;*  
*amicus eius*  
*Amor che ne la mente mi ragiona.*<sup>27</sup>

Dante then suggests his point can only be made clearly—if at all—by quotation. Evidently, the value of lyric poetry for Dante is fundamentally inexpressible in any other fashion, indeed almost non-verbal, further evidence of the irreducibility of poetry to its contents.

Giving only the *incipits* underlines Dante's written frame of reference. His conception of lyric—and this is fundamental to his use of the troubadours as *doctores vulgares*—is of an object fixed in writing somewhere, whereas for Matfre song was only just coming to be written and 'fixed' in the burgeoning Occitan *chansonniers*. Hence, Matfre gives the troubadour's building block: the whole stanza. The discursive shift leads Dante to give typically Scholastic slews of abbreviated references at II. vi. 6 and chapter II. xiii, but also makes impossible Matfre's verbal integration. The effect, heightened by the striking linguistic juxtaposition, is to increase the alterity of the quotations. The frame, while illuminated by the presence of these vernacular poets and their works, is operative in elevating them to a higher discursive level by integrating them into a Latin text. This is a double deixis of quotations, attributed to particular authors separated by the linguistic difference. Dante is fully aware of the value of the process later described in terms of knowledge by Lyotard, and in fact outstrips simple deixis. In his poem 'Aï faus ris' (discussed in chapter 2) Dante challenged the Latin-vernacular hierarchy. By contrast, in the treatise, which shows human Language to be all the same,<sup>28</sup> he demonstrates his cunning in emphasizing that

---

<sup>27</sup> 'Geraldus' refers to Giraut Bornelh, 'Iudex de Messana' to Guido delle Colonne.

<sup>28</sup> Hebrew, however, is privileged because Jesus spoke it (I. vii. 6).

linguistic division in order better to display the stylistic unity and poetic practice which will create the *volgare illustre* and thus overthrow the supposedly unassailable Latin.<sup>29</sup> This sits uneasily alongside his remark in Book I that ‘inquirere intendamus de hiis in quibus nullius auctoritate fulcimur’ (I.ix.1) [‘I intend on investigating a subject on which no authority can be brought to bear’], another contradiction of the treatise, as these poems clearly already have considerable *auctoritas*.

While the *De vulgari eloquentia* is not concerned with mobility of lyric as such, it takes examples of lyric from three separate literary traditions (four if we separate the Tuscan and Sicilian groupings<sup>30</sup>), capitalizing on the easy dissemination of lyric poetry of the thirteenth century. It views lyric primarily as a medium emptied of its original courtly content, a channel for political networking. This move is simplified by the paradigmatic shift in the interests of the highest forms of poetry as they moved from the courtly troubadours to the intellectualizing clerics in Italy. Dante’s project’s intellectual superstructure thus builds on foundations built by previous poets. They created a pan-European discourse, both in obvious ways such as Frederick II’s importation of Occitan influences (see Chapter 4 on the beginnings of Italian language lyric), and in the implicit dialogue between poets (see the section on Marcabru below). Thus in settling upon the *canzo* as highest form of lyric, Dante is merely stating that which is already known, already shown in the ordering of those troubadour *chansonniers* where *cansos* come first.<sup>31</sup> This thus enriches Lyotard’s theory of deictic valorization, for, as indicator, Dante is credited with knowing what knowledge is worth being pointed out. As he himself writes, ‘illa videntur

---

<sup>29</sup> The date of ‘Aï faus ris’ is not certain. In view of the thought processes which it reveals, above all in the envoi on the *lingua trina*, it would appear logical to place it at around the same time as the *De vulgari eloquentia*, i.e. 1304.

<sup>30</sup> On the Sicilian school’s links to the early Tuscan poets, see Emilio Pasquini, *Le origini e la scuola siciliana*, Letteratura italiana Laterza, 2.1 (Rome: Laterza, 1975).

<sup>31</sup> Further it is evident from his remark at II. iv. 5, where he says that a *canzo* is complete with no further additions, where a *ballata* requires music and dancers for completion, he reveals the distance between his understanding of the poetic discourse and that of the troubadours. It is however intriguing to note Dante’s foreshadowing of Paul Zumthor’s term ‘œuvre’, the realization of the manuscript in performance. See Zumthor’s *La poésie et la voix dans la civilisation médiévale* (Paris: Presses Universitaire de France, 1984).

nobiliora esse que conditori suo magis honoris afferunt' (II. iii. 6) ['that which seems most noble brings greatest honour to its author'], a self-serving aspect of quotation not emphasized often enough.

In both the *Breviari d'Amor* and the *De vulgari eloquentia*, the value of the lyrics quoted and the poets cited come from poetic form itself, from writing in the vernacular, and the development of poetic forms across geopolitical boundaries. Once adopted, however, and *aufgehoben*, these originary networks, like the finest roots, are lost in the process of transplantation, while this process gives a new superimposed value to lyric, quoter, quoted, and the new textual surrounding. Value comes not only from the 'science' of lyrical form, but from knowing something from 'elsewhere'. Pithy and memorable, lyric is well suited to movement, and thus figures the mobility of cultural knowledge. Yet, as has already been noted, mobility is already implicit in cultural artefacts, which are from the beginning witnesses to particular interactions which their later man-handling sometimes obscures.

*Marcabru: Always already community*

The manipulation of poetic history to the glorification of the poet is a common trait of courtly lyric. So too is the conceptualization of a particular kind of knowledge as encoded in the lyrical form, ill-expressible in any other way, and coupled with the creation of a community of poets. This is implicit, but understood by *cognoscenti*. Though it is not pointed out in detail before Matfre and Dante, we find clear evidence even in the earliest troubadours of a network of song. Though authored by a single poet, these works resound with the voices and influences of the author's interlocutors, past and present. Thus Jacqueline Cerquiligni-Toulet's suggestion that the later Middle Ages are radically different from the preceding centuries is untenable. 'Le lyrisme des XIVe et XVe siècles multiplie les voix. Il les fait se lever au sein de l'œuvre ou surgir en écho à

l'extérieur. La polyphonie est son art.<sup>32</sup> [‘The lyric poetry of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries multiplies the number of voices. It makes them rise in the heart of the work, or surge like an echo outside. Polyphony is its art.’] A polyphonic quality is noticeable from the earliest days: citation, community, and the exchange of knowledge do not require deixis; nor does lyric mobility, and indeed this can be observed within a single lyric. This can be seen clearly in Marcabru’s ‘Cortesamen vuoill comensar’ (PC 293, 15).<sup>33</sup>

Cortesamen vuoill comensar un vers, si es q̄i l'escoutar; e pos tant m'en sui entremes, veirà si·l poirà afinar, q'era voill mon chan esmerar, e dirai vos de mantas res.	1    5	I want to begin courteously A song, if someone will listen; And since I have gone so far with it I will see if I can finish it, For now I want to purify my song, And I will tell you many things.
Assaz pot hom vilaneiar q̄i cortesia vol blasmar; qe'l plus savis e·l meils apres no·n sap tantas dire ni far c'om no·n li puosca ensinar petit o pro, tals hora es.	10	A man can become very base Who wants to criticize courtliness; For the wisest and the best is not so clever in their words or deeds, That one cannot teach them Something or other occasionally.
De cortesia·is pot vanar qui ben sap mesura esgardar; e qui tot vol auzir cant es ni tot qant ve cuida amassar, lo tot l'es ops amesar, o ja no sera trop cortes.	15	He can be proud of his courtliness Who knows well how to contain himself; And he who wishes to hear everything or thinks of acquiring all he sees needs to contain 'all this', Or he will never be very courtly.
Mesura es en gent parlar e cortesia es d'amar; et qui no vol esser mespres de tota vilania·is gar, d'escarnir e de foleiar, puois sera savis, ab que·ill pes.	20	There is moderation in fine words And courtliness in fine love; And he who does not wish to be despised Should keep himself from all evil, From joking and foolery, Then he will be wise, provided he thinks.
C'aissi pot savis hom regnar e bona dompna meillurar; mas cella q'en pren dos o tres e per un no si vol fiar – be·n deu sos prez asordeiar e sa valors a chascu mes.	25   30	In this way a wise man may rule And a good woman may improve herself But she who takes two or three [sc. lovers] And does not want to be true to just one-- must diminish her worth And her value with every passing month.
Aitals amors fai a prezar		Such love makes value

<sup>32</sup> Cerquilini, 'Le lyrisme en mouvement', *Perspectives Médiévales*, 6 (1980), 75-86 (80).

<sup>33</sup> *Marcabru: A Critical Edition*, ed. by Simon Gaunt et al. (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000), no. 15, pp. 200-207.

que si mezeissa ten en car;  
 e s'ieu en dic nuill vilanes  
 per lleis, que m' o teingn' a amar;  
 be·ill lauzi fassa·m pro musar,  
 qu'eu n'aurai so qe·m n'es promes.

35

That holds itself in high esteem  
 And if I say any evil thing about her  
 Due to her, let her not take it for love.  
 She should keep me waiting  
 So I shall not have that which was  
 promised.

Lo vers e·l son voill enviar  
 a·n Jaufre Rudel oltramar,  
 e voill que l'aion li Frances  
 per lor coratges alegrar,  
 que Dieus lor o pot perdonar,  
 o sia peccaz o merces.

40

I want to send the words and music  
 To Sir Jaufre Rudel across the sea  
 And I want the French to have it too  
 So as to raise their spirits  
 Since God can forgive them for this  
 Whether it is sin or grace.

The lyric departs from Marcabru's normally abrasive and forthright fashion, signalled at the outset by the intention of writing 'cortesamen'—no doubt an opportunity for the *joglar* or Marcabru himself to play up to the audience. There are no crude words here, instead Marcabru has adopted wholesale the vocabulary of Bernart de Ventadorn: 'cortesia' (ll. 8 & 13), 'mesura' (l. 14), and 'bona dompna' (l. 26). He criticizes those who do not sufficiently esteem courtliness, and do not realise that it is an on-going process of improvement and learning: 'ja no sera trop cortes' ['he will never be *too* courtly', my emphasis] (l. 18). Most striking is the suggestion that one may have courtliness, 'provided he think' (l. 24). Marcabru emphasizes repeatedly the fundamental importance of knowledge and *entendamen*, which extends even to the *savis*. Marcabru, however is, apparently, wiser than the wise. He criticizes ill-behaved women brutally in strophe V; emphasizing 'per un no si vol fiar' (l. 28), Marcabru follows the habit of bemoaning woman's inconstancy from the perspective of the 'wronged' poet-lover.

So much for the straightforward reading. What we are dealing with is a highly sophisticated literary fact, organically linked to its context. As noted, Marcabru consistently uses vocabulary typical of Bernart de Ventadorn. A more obvious indicator of the dialogue fundamental to this lyric is the *tornada*: Marcabru intends on sending his song to Jaufre Rudel, supposedly in the Levant. The poet thus moves between two contemporaries in the course of his lyric. Explicit reference to Jaufre anchors Marcabru's lyric to the *amor de lonh* topos. It is, however, a verbal nod

to a third troubadour which provides the ‘hook’ for the lyric: the wise man can rule, and the ideal woman improve (ll. 25-6). This is followed by reference to Cercamon’s lyric ‘Ab lo pascor m’es bel q’eu chant’ (PC 112, 1a) in the lines ‘mas cella q’en pren dos o tres | per un no si vol fiar’. Both poets were active at the court of Guilhem X of Aquitaine, an association still present in Marcabru’s *vida* in MS *A*.<sup>34</sup> Compare with Cercamon’s strophe VI:

Non a valor      d’aissi enan	36	She has no worth anymore
Cela c’ab dos ni ab tres jaï,		Who lies with two or with three
Et ai! n’encor      lo cor tristan		And I still, alas, have a sore heart from it
Qe Dieus tan falsa non fetz sai;		That God made such a false woman here;
Miels li fora ja non nasques,	40	It would be better if she had never been born
Enanz qe failliment f[ez]es		Before she committed a misdeed
Don er parlat tro en Peitau. <sup>35</sup>		That will be talked about all the way to Poitou.

Marcabru is hinting at the rumours that Eleanor of Aquitaine had an affair with her uncle Raymond at Antioch while accompanying her first husband, Louis VII, on the Second Crusade.<sup>36</sup> The echoes in Marcabru’s poem are unmistakable, and combined with the appearance of Jaufre, representative of *amor de lonh*, create a new and typically caustic compound in the adulterous love *heard of* from afar, parodying Jaufre’s suffering for his *amor de lonh*. The homophonous reference to Tristan in Cercamon’s l. 38 is also a biting reference to the famous adulterers, although their abuse of the avunculate was less scandalous: Tristan stole his uncle’s wife, where Eleanor was supposed to have slept with hers. Ruth Harvey has suggested that Marcabru is responding to the content of Jaufre’s ‘Belhs m’es l’estius e-l temps floritz’ (PC 262, 1), and it is possible to see in the rhyme scheme a signalling of his attempt at reversing Jaufre’s train of thought, inverting his *8abbaccd* to *8aabaab*.<sup>37</sup> Whether this metrical similarity is deliberate or coincidental, it is undeniable that Eleanor’s ‘failliment’, fictitious or otherwise, generates a poetic network across the Mediterranean. As Gayle Rubin has it: ‘If it is women who are being transacted, then it is the

<sup>34</sup> See *Marcabru* ed. Gaunt et al., pp. 1 and 37.

<sup>35</sup> Edition: *The Poetry of Cercamon and Jaufre Rudel*, trans. and ed. by George Wolf and Roy Rosenstein, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, ser. A 5 (New York: Garland, 1983), no. 7, pp. 54-59.

<sup>36</sup> Rita Lejeune first proposed this: ‘L’Allusion à Tristan chez le troubadour Cercamon’, *Romania*, 83 (1962), 183-209.

<sup>37</sup> Harvey, *The Troubadour Marcabru and Love*, Westfield Publications in Medieval Studies, 5 (London: Westfield College, 1989), p. 234, n. 23.

men who give and take them who are linked, the women being a conduit of a relation rather than a partner of it'.<sup>38</sup> That is, while we know the historical Eleanor had extensive literary connections, in poetry she becomes—like a song—a token passed between male poets, the object that instantiates an extensive cultural network. Marcabru in his first stanzas says he will see if he can 'afinar' his lyric: he never does. Similarly, the reference to the *Frances*, evidently sarcastic—how could they not be offended rather than *allegratz* by Marcabru's sermonizing about their queen's adultery?—gives the lie to any attempt to speak *cortesamen*. He never intended on being courtly. Simon Gaunt has noted that on the three other occasions where Marcabru uses *cortes* he appears to be satirizing those who only appear to be courtly.<sup>39</sup> Thus 'Cortesamen vuoill comensar' is itself a complex piece in which Marcabru sends up his own persona for his vocabulary-deep courtliness. In so doing, this early troubadour demonstrates the broad horizons of twelfth-century lyric, a foundation upon which Dante would attempt to build a super-regional style.

As such, the dialogic nature as well as the practice of citation, both marked and unmarked, is clearly present from the earliest days of troubadour lyric. As noted in the Introduction, the early audience for such poetry was very limited, only opening out in the last quarter of the twelfth century; thus in the early days the implicit was sufficient for an intimate and initiated audience of *entendedors*.<sup>40</sup> By the end of the century, this was not enough. When Marcabru's lyric is quoted in Matfre's *Breviari*, putting what is already a 'networked' poem into a new context, a different network is superimposed, but does not destroy the one underneath. Notably, Matfre shifts Marcabru's lyric into a different discourse, where explanation is more explicit. He quotes strophes III and IV in short succession in ll. 32242-56, crediting Uc de la Bacalaria.

---

<sup>38</sup> Rubin, 'The Traffic in Women: Roles in the "political economy" of Sex', in *Towards an Anthropology of Women*, ed. Rayna Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), pp.157-210 (p. 174). Quoted in Rouben Cholakian, *The Troubadour Lyric: A Psychocritical Reading* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 76.

<sup>39</sup> Simon Gaunt, *Troubadours and Irony*, Cambridge Studies Medieval Literature, 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 76-77. The other lyrics are nos. VII, XXXII, and XXXIX in *Marcabru*, ed. Gaunt et al.

<sup>40</sup> Meneghetti, *Il pubblico*, p. 66.

Misattribution moves the lyric one step further from its origin, and thus hastens the process of abstraction attendant on the movement of lyric. That is, transmission tends to remove specific historical references and the names of the author as a literary fact moves away from its original *Sitz im Leben*, making it a generally applicable courtly artefact. Matfre evidently appreciates both the passage's clear definition of *cortesia*, and the way in which this can be mapped so neatly onto the directly preceding quotation. The quotation from Garin lo Brun's *ensenhamen* 'El tremini d'estiu' (PC 163, 1) concludes:

De cortezia es leus	32236	It is easy to talk about courtliness,
lo dirs e-l tener greus:		but difficult to accomplish it:
cortezia es en guarnir		courtliness lies in dressing well
et en gent aculhir;		and being welcoming,
cortezia es d'amar	32240	courtliness is being noble in
et es de gen parlar.		both love and talk.

The final two lines are very close to Marcabru/ 'Uc de la Bacalaria's 'Mesura es en gent parlar | e cortesia es d'amar' (ll. 19-20). The troubadour is now in a quite different context in which surface and verbal agreement matter more than intended meaning. Fixing lyric in a particular interpretative frame is reductive, not in the logical sense of the *reductio ad unum* shown by Dante in its exhilarating potential, but in the mundane sense. Marcabru's engagement in an intricate web of allusion and intertextuality has been diminished by the citation of a section of the lyric because of its general usefulness.<sup>41</sup> In this instance, it is plain that while deixis, if we follow Lyotard, may valorize the passages quoted, it reduces the recipients' overall knowledge, by trimming away the rough edges where Marcabru shades into Cercamon, and where he cites Jaufre. The added value of the lyrical form in a poetic network is not to be overlooked when recontextualized, as one cannot always be sure that it will survive implantation.

---

<sup>41</sup> Qv. Luke Sunderland, 'Marcabru in Motion: "Dire vos vuoill ses duptanssa" in Chansonniers A and C, and Matfre Ermengaud's *Breviari d'Amor*', *Glossator*, 4 (2011), 115-30. Sunderland's reading of Marcabru's 'Dire vos vuoill ses duptanssa' in the *Breviari* considers the question of knowledge, seeing Marcabru as advocating objective and Matfre subjective knowledge of love. He does not, however, consider the implications of quotation.

What happens when lyrics, which already form part of a personal and intellectual network, are adapted and adopted in narrative texts? Perhaps the most striking and attractive aspect of Renart's *Roman de la rose*, and one which has generated sustained scholarly interest is the display of how song might “really” have been performed and used. Where Dante and Matfre take up the lyric as a concentrated but abstract expression of courtly *doxa*, Jean Renart, writing around 1210, shows it in action, or rather plays through uses of song. Song has practical cultural value on a number of levels here: diegetically, as the way in which characters can demonstrate their courtliness, and, according to older readings, express their emotions.<sup>42</sup> For Jean Renart, it is a way to distinguish his work, and to create, by manipulating insert and frame, an added literary dimension. The prologue foregrounds this professional interest, a much discussed elaboration of the nature and purpose of lyric intercalation. Lyric is a means of distinction, and of creating a community:

car aussi com l'en met la graine	8	For just as people dye their clothes scarlet
es dras por avoir los et pris,		to gain praise and value,
einsi a il chans et sons mis	10	he has put songs and music
en cestui <i>Roman de la Rose</i> ,		in this <i>Roman of the Rose</i>
qui est une novele chose		which is a new thing.
et s'est des autres si divers		And it is so different from other romances,
et brodez, par lieus, de biaux vers		embroidered in places with fine verses
que vilains nel porroit savoir.	15	that a lowly man would not appreciate.
Ce sachiez de fi et de voir,		Know this, for it is honest and true:
bien a cist les autres passez.		it has surpassed all others.

Knowledge, then, is tied from the outset to ‘biaus vers’, critical capacity, and the social standing derived from it. These cultural and societal criteria, in tandem with the power of lyric, and ‘literature’ at large, as a channel for deploying knowledge, create a community of those who understand song. A good example is when Jouglet tells the story of a knight from Champagne who loved ‘une dame en France, | en cele marche de Perthois’ [‘a lady of the Ile de France in the

---

<sup>42</sup> See, for instance, Dufournet's introduction to the *Roman de la Rose*, or Rita Lejeune, *L'Œuvre de Jean Renart: Contribution à l'étude du genre romanesque au moyen-âge*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 61 (Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres; Paris: Droz, 1936).

lands around Perthois'] (ll. 665-66) which triggers Conrad's love for Liënor. Conrad interrupts the narrative, declaring that he wishes to know such a lady before asking the entertainer to go on:

Por Deu, Juglet, or di avant	687	For God's sake, go on, Jouglet, and say
se la dame fu si plesanz		if the lady was as pleasant
endroit soi com cil fu vaillanz:		in herself as he was valiant;
ce fust mervelle, ce m'est vis.		that would be a wonder, as I see it.

This scene, the foundation for the remaining narrative, clearly reveals the importance of recognizing literary constructs as markers of intellectual and cultural capital. Conrad, though, by wondering if the hero was as noble as the woman beautiful, a question to which the answer could only possibly be 'yes', lays bare his ignorance of the basic literary constructs which were the normal standards of this genre of medieval poetry. In this sense, in Renart's *Rose*, literature not only transmits specific knowledge but also offers an opportunity for display. The irony generated by the slippages is less a stylistic device than that which points to the importance for medieval audiences of knowing, understanding, and using song. Michel Zink's opposition of Chrétien and his *bele conjointure* to Renart rests on the disruptive effects of lyric intercalation.<sup>43</sup> Renart invites 'son lecteur à analyser le roman, à le décomposer en ses divers éléments de façon de saisir le sens de chacun d'eux en prenant conscience du travail de l'écriture qui s'exerce sur lui' ['his reader to analyse the romance, to break it down into its composite parts, in order to grasp the meaning of each of them, aware of the process of writing which affects it']. The well-judged use of poetry in this romance is principally about membership of an informed community. It is, in short, a shibboleth, both inside the narrative and outside it.

Conrad, like the Ephraimites, does not master the password, though he sees its importance. His unsuccessful relation to song, highlighted by other singers' practice, occasionally becomes laughable. On awaking the morning after Jouglet's narrative, when his *jongleur* has set out to bring Guillaume de Dole to court, his grand song seems somewhat misplaced:

---

<sup>43</sup> Zink, *Roman rose et rose rouge: Le 'Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole' de Jean Renart* (Paris: Nizet, 1979), p. 121.

au matin, quant il se leva,  
 si fist ovrir une fenestre.  
 Li soleils, plus clers que puet estre,  
 geta ses biaux rais par son lit;  
 de sebelin et de samit  
 ot coverytoir a roses d'or.  
 Por l'amor bele Liënor,  
 dont il avoit el cuer le non,  
 a comencié ceste chançon:  
 Li noviaus tens et mais [et violete]  
 et rossignox me semont de chanter  
 et mes fins cuers me fet d'une amorete  
 un doz present que je n'os refuser.  
 Or m'en doint Dex en tel honor monter,  
 cele ou j'ai mis mon cuer et mon penser  
 q'entre mes bras la tenisse nuete  
 ainz q'alasse outremer.  
 Einsi se conforte en chantant.

914 When he rose in the morning,  
 he has a window opened.  
 The sun which was as bright as it could be,  
 cast its bright rays on his bed  
 with its sable and silk cover  
 with gold-embroidered roses.  
 920 For the love of fair Liënor,  
 whose name was in his heart  
 he began this song:  
 "The good weather, May, the violet  
 and the nightingale make me sing,  
 925 and my delicate heart makes me a sweet  
 gift of a love which I dare not refuse.  
 May God let me rise in honour  
 she in whom I have invested my heart and  
 my thoughts, so that I can hold her naked  
 930 in my arms before I go to the Holy Land"  
 Thus he comforted himself with song.

Two details are immediately obvious: firstly, Conrad is not going to the Holy Land, or indeed anywhere at all—Liënor is brought to him. Secondly, he evokes the nightingale at sunrise entirely inappropriately. Equally, here, unlike most instances in the romance, the quotation is not absorbed into the framing text by opening a rhyming couplet to match the first line of the intercalated strophe. The Emperor has missed his cue. Jean Dufournet, when he writes that 'les chansons sont donc pour Conrad le moyen le plus personnel pour exprimer ses pensées les plus secrètes, sa douleur et sa joie' ['the songs are thus for Conrad the most personal means of expressing his most intimate thoughts, his pain and his joy'] overlooks the clear divergence between insert and context.<sup>44</sup> How can quotation be personal in Dufournet's sense? Maureen Boulton is closer to the mark with her observation that 'a comparison between poet and performer emerges clearly, but it is one that redounds to the detriment of Conrad, who is not equal to the genre he borrows'.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *Roman de la Rose*, ed. Lecoy, p. 30.

<sup>45</sup> Boulton, 'Lyric Insertions and the Reversal of Romance Conventions in Jean Renart', in *Jean Renart and the Art of Romance*, ed. by Nancy Vine Durling (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), p. 91.

This comparison is the point at which Jean's audience is invited to join the literary community—an offer not made by Dante and Matfre in their tightly woven texts. By contrast, Renart's use of poetry to create a community of *cognoscenti* escapes the bounds of the text. As Emmanuèle Baumgartner has suggested, Conrad, aspiring poet-prince, is himself the crystallization of a figure from the traditions of troubadour and *trouvère*, who, 'vivant et chantant son désir sur la mode de l'*amor de lonh*, oscillant, d'une chanson à l'autre, entre *joie* et *dolor*, [est] incapable surtout de passer seul du rêve à la réalité' ['living and singing of his desire in terms of love from afar, oscillating from one song to another, between joy and pain, he is incapable above all of moving on his own from dream to reality'].<sup>46</sup> He seems not to recognize his adherence to this model. Instead Jean's audience must spot his motivation, its attention piqued by the reversed polarities of *amor de lonh* with the Chastelain's leaving his lady, where Jaufre by contrast went to the Countess of Tripoli.<sup>47</sup> It also falls to the audience to supply the original Crusading context for 'Li noviaus tens'. As with Marcabru's 'Cortesamen vuoill comensar' in his *Breviari*, the song 'Li noviaus tems et mais et violete' has its own external life. Transmitted in MSS *ACKLMOPRUTVXau*, the song is not attributed in the romance, but the very broad transmission suggests it was well-known and had a certain canonical value. In short, it is quoted *because* of that authoritative stamp.

The song thus has undeniable value, but Conrad is unable to deploy it properly, in part a result of his *persona*'s uneasy welding-together of lover and ruler. Nowhere is Conrad's stilted use of song thrown into greater relief than in the scenes with intercalated *chansons de toile* or dance songs. The *caroles* danced at the Saint Trond tournament have a clear *Sitz im Leben*: the original purpose of the songs embeds them in a 'natural' environment, and highlight *ex negativo* the dislocation of Conrad's singing:

---

<sup>46</sup> Baumgartner, 'Les citations lyriques dans le *Roman de la Rose* de Jean Renart', *RPh*, 35 (1981), 260-66 (263).

<sup>47</sup> See Jaufre's *vida* in *Biographies des Troubadours*, ed. by Boutière and Schutz, no. 60, pp. 202-3.

Tuit li duc et tuit li demaine qui sont as ostex ou marchié si ont et beü et ragié c'onques d'armes n'i ot paroles, ainz i sont si granz les karoles c'on les oit de par tot le borc. Li biax Galerans de Lamborc, qui ne s'envoisa mes pieça, ceste chançon i comença:	2360	All the dukes and all the nobles in the hostels on the market place, have now eaten and drunk and made merry so that there is no talk of deeds of arms; instead the <i>caroles</i> are so loud
La jus desouz l'olive, ne vos repentez mie, fontaine i sourt serie: Puceles, carolez! Ne vos reprentez mie de loiaument amer.	2365	that they are audible throughout the town. Handsome Galeran of Limburg who had not laughed for a long time began this song: "Over there beneath the olive tree,
Ceste n'a pas .III. tors duré quant li fils le conte de Tré, qui mout s'en sot bien entremetre, commença ceste chançonete: Mauberjon s'est main levee; Dioree buer i vig. A la fontaine est alee, or en ai dol. Diex! Diex! or demeure Mauberjons a l'eve trop.	2370	have no regrets, there plays a gentle fountain: Dance, girls! Have no regrets for loving loyally."
	2375	This one had not gone on for more than three rounds when the son of the Lord of Tré, who knew all about these things, began this little song: "Mauberjon got up early one day,
	2380	All dressed up, Most luckily she came. <sup>48</sup> She went to the fountain, it hurts me to say. My God, my God
	2385	Mauberjon stays by the water too long."

Songs are integral to a festival. That Galeran, a man not noted for his levity, sings, underscores the pleasure which could be gained from the appropriate deployment of cultural knowledge, as well as the *kudos* the singer gains from it. Later, the son of the Lord of Tré (now Maastricht) is described as one who knew how to 's'en entremetre', which has a range of meanings, not merely physically 'putting oneself in the middle', but also to 'translate', and act as prompter.<sup>49</sup> Knowing how to take part, and how to take a leading role in these events, is a skill worth serious consideration in the eyes of Jean Renart. As Sylvia Huot has it, here, 'the society collectively acts out the code of values and manners on which it is based, through a code of diction and performance'.<sup>50</sup> This society built on song celebrates its literary roots.

<sup>48</sup> I follow Regina Psaki's reading of this line in *The Romance of the Rose*, but note that Godefroy glosses 'buer' as 'laver, lessiver' (I, p. 750), which might make more sense given the water-edge setting.

<sup>49</sup> Qv. Godefroy, III, p. 291.

<sup>50</sup> Huot, *From Song to Book*, p. 109.

It is also worth considering the extent to which, even in this courtly festival, the songs sung transmit knowledge of the beyond—the olive tree in Galeran’s song is far from home in either Saint Trond or his home, Limburg. Little songs travel the furthest, it seems. Indeed it is remarkable how thoroughly European Renart’s *Rose* is.<sup>51</sup> From the very opening of the prologue where Jean focuses on an audience in Champagne and Nanteuil, the drama plays out across the Low Countries and Northern France beneath the gaze of the German Emperor, surrounded by his Rhein-Maas potentates. The addition to this already broad horizon of songs from the south, both French—such as Galeran of Limburg’s—and unusually the three stanzas quoted from troubadour lyrics further emphasizes the span of Jean’s compass. Copied in a *francisée* version which plays at translation, a number of troubadour lyrics are included in a linguistic form between two stools (see Chapter One for the quotation of ‘Can vei’). For instance, Renart quotes from Daude de Pradas’s song ‘Bela m’es la votz autana’ (PC 124, 5) on the presentation of a crying Liënor to Conrad’s court in Mainz. Here is the Occitan original facing Jean Renart’s version:

Cil chanteor ne lor chançon	4646	
ne la poënt esleecier;		
si oï ele commencer		
iceste chançon auvrignace.		
Se ne fust cil, cui Diex mal face,	4650	
qui la cuida desloiauter,		
mout sèust bien cest vers chanter:		
Bele m’est la voiz altane		Belha m’es la votz autana
del roissillol el pascor		del rossinhol en pascor,
que foelle est verz, blanche flor,	4655	quan fuelh’ es vertz e blanca flor
et l’erbe nest en la sane		nays e l’erbet’ en la sanha
dont raverdissent cil vergier.		e retendeysson li vergier;
Et joi m’avroit <sup>52</sup> tel mestier		e ioys auria-m tal mestier
que cors me garist et sane.		que tot mi reve e-m sana. <sup>53</sup>
A poi que li rois ne forsane	4660	

<sup>51</sup> John Baldwin suggests that Conrad is modelled on the highly cosmopolitan, though ultimately unsuccessful Welf emperor, Otto IV. See “‘Once there was an emperor...’: A Political Reading of the Romances of Jean Renart”, in *Jean Renart and the Art of Romance*, pp. 45-82. Otto held a tournament at St. Trond in 1212; see further Bernd Hucker, *Otto IV.: Der wiederentdeckte Kaiser* (Frankfurt a.M.: Insel, 2003), pp. 296-300.

<sup>52</sup> The MS gives ‘mamor’ in place of Lecoy’s ‘m’avroit’. Otherwise the printed edition is relatively faithful. Cf. Pskai, *The Romance of the Rose*, a diplomatic text using Lecoy’s line numbers.

<sup>53</sup> Text: Carl Appel, *Provenzalische Inedita aus Pariser Handschriften* (Leipzig: Fues-Reisland, 1890), pp. 87-88.

en l'autre sale ou il estoit;  
nule riens ne le confortoit  
qu'en li die, n'en fet n'en chant.

Neither these singers nor their song could raise her spirits, even if she heard them begin this song from the Auvergne. If it had not been for the man who planned to betray her—may God punish him—she could well have sung this song: “The high voice of the Easter nightingale is beautiful to me, and that the leaf is green, the flower white, and the grass is born in the ... which makes the gardens green again. And joy would have the job of healing my body and making me better.” The king very nearly goes mad where he was, in the next room; nothing could calm him, whatever is said, done or sung to him.

There are a number of points to make here—firstly this quotation is differentiated by Renart’s calling it ‘auvignace’, a curious neologism invented to rhyme with the subjunctive ‘face’ in the following line.<sup>54</sup> Is this to be considered an excuse for the not-quite-French that follows? The rhyme words in particular do not fit: ‘altane’ in place of the Occitan ‘autana’ is divorced from the Old French ‘altaine’ by the changed vowel sound, necessary to make the rhyme with ‘sane’ in the final line of the strophe *abbacca*. The middle *a* rhyme shows an insuperable crux in the translation: the Occitan ‘sanha’ [‘water meadow’] has no relative in French. Instead the poet has mimicked the sound of the original, discarding the meaning.<sup>55</sup> We are confronted, then, with another instance where, as Gustave Ineichen and later Sarah Kay have demonstrated, sounding foreign counts most. This chimes with Renart’s calling the other two Occitan quotations ‘sons’, emphasizing their musical or aural nature.<sup>56</sup> This is the case at the end of the line, although the final line of the strophe, where the difficulty comes at the beginning of Daude’s line ‘que tot mi reve e-m sana’. Oc. ‘Sanar’ is easily given as OF ‘saner’, and this allows the preservation of the rhyme scheme. ‘Reverer’ is completely changed into OF ‘garir’.<sup>57</sup> The movement from ‘tot mi’ to ‘cors me’ also affects the interpretation of the line, making Daude’s line more clearly corporeal.

---

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Godefroy, I, p. 504, ‘auvernois’. No mention in *TL*.

<sup>55</sup> Godefroy lists ‘sane’ as an alternative to ‘sene’, [‘synod’], VII, p. 377.

<sup>56</sup> Kay, ‘La seconde main’, p. 477. William Paden, by contrast, interprets the deformation of Occitan as a sign of the waning interest in southern poetry at the time among French poets, caused in part by the Albigensian Crusade. See ‘Old Occitan as a Lyric Language: The Insertions from Occitan in Three Thirteenth-Century French Romances’, *Speculum*, 68 (1993), 36-53 (52-53).

<sup>57</sup> *PSW*, VII, p. 313 ‘wieder zu sich bringen’, ‘beleben’ or ‘stärken’.

In literary terms, the treatment of the quotation is noteworthy, especially for the remarkable cohesion between song and scene, which together look forward to the seneschal's attempt to undo Liënor and Guillaume by accusing her of fornication. By indicating that the high courtly mood of the song will soon be destroyed by the seneschal, Renart gains maximum poetic impact.

The *Roman de la Rose* then, the first romance with inserted lyrics, set a tone of permeability, cultural and literary, on both diegetic and extra-diegetic levels, one that mirrors its origins in the liminal space of the Imperial heartlands. There was, however, a distinct hierarchy to this interaction, with the narrative superior to inserted lyrics—ultimately a disavowal of the lyrical roots of courtly modes central to the romance. The maladroit domestication of Occitan lyric shows the same disavowal on a larger scale: the stifling absorption of exterior literature, and, in the case of Bernart de Ventadorn and Jaufrè Rudel, the mistreatment and suppression of those *auctores* of courtly love without whom Renart's romance would be unthinkable. The openness of the text has the important effect of providing a poetics of contrast between lyrical ideal and narrative reality. This invites the audience to act and critique the appositeness of Renart's quotations and their relation to their surroundings. The interstices of the text are there for all to see in a manner unthinkable to Dante in either the *De vulgari eloquentia* or, as we shall see below, the *Vita Nova*: poetic knowledge was not as open an invitation for the Florentine's audience. Before examining Dante's *libello*, however, I turn to Jean Renart's Catalan contemporary, Raimon Vidal, whose knowledge-driven approach to lyric echoes that of Matfre Ermengaud, while freeing it from the constraints of legalistic repetitiveness.

#### *Raimon Vidal: Poetic Knowledge in Catalonia*

We have already met Raimon Vidal de Besalù as the author of the *Razos de Trobar*, his attempted codification of troubadour practice. It is to his two short narratives that I now turn. In these he

considers not only the place of knowledge in courtly culture, especially its importance to those involved in the production and dissemination of literature, but also of the authoritative value of courtly poetry. ‘Abril issi’ e mays intrava’ and ‘En aquel temps c’om era jays’, composed between 1196 and 1213, probably in that order, are important for the Catalan view on troubadour culture they record.<sup>58</sup> Just as Renart’s *Rose*, these two represent the playing out of lyric *topoi* on a grander scale and attempt to bring the cultural value of the poetic form and poetic discourse to a new narrative form and audience. Unlike Renart’s text, however, the attitude to the value of lyric poetry is far closer to the learned, authoritative approach of Dante in his *De vulgari eloquentia* or Matfre in the *Breviari*.<sup>59</sup>

The earlier text, ‘Abril issia’, called the apotheosis of the *sirventes joglaresc* by Don Monson, revolves around the story told by a *joglar* to Raimon Vidal’s *persona* of advice offered to him by the troubadour and patron, Dalfi d’Alvergne.<sup>60</sup> This passage encompasses 600 lines. Raimon then spends some 1100 lines educating the *joglar* in the importance of courteousness, citing troubadours seven times in support. Lyric here is a readily appropriated authority, much as in the *Breviari*. The similarities with Matfre’s text continue in Raimon’s intercalatory techniques, even if he, unlike Matfre, clearly thinks of lyric in oral terms. For instance Dalfi quotes Arnaut de Marueilh when teaching the *joglar* that heredity is nothing without application and *saber*:

<p>A far faitz onrat, pretz valen, venon per cor e per saber, non per parens ni per poder; e per bon cor venon li loc, non per paratje ni per joc,</p>	<p>590</p>	<p>Doing honourable things, being of value come because of (sc. noble) heart and wisdom, not because of relatives or power; and positions come because of a good heart, not from lineage or frivolity,</p>
--	------------	--

<sup>58</sup> Text, unless otherwise stated, from *Nouvelles occitanes*, ed. Huchet, pp. 16-. Huchet’s dating is based on the more sophisticated narrative processes and the greater number of lyric passages quoted in ‘En aquel temps’. Erich Keller, on the contrary takes the opposite view, seeing the more didactic ‘Abril issi’ as the later text: *Die altprovenzalische Versnovelle*, Romanistische Arbeiten, 15 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1930), p. 86.

<sup>59</sup> It is thus unsurprising that Keller (p. 85) brackets the *Breviari* and ‘Abril issi’ together under the subtitle ‘Lehrgedichte mit novellistischer Einkleidung’ [‘Didactic poems disguised as novellas’].

<sup>60</sup> Monson, *Les ‘Ensenhamens’ Occitans: Essai de définition et de délimitation du genre*, Bibliothèque Française et Romane, 75 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1981), p. 86.

e-l ris e-l jocx e li plazers.	595	and laughter and jokes and being pleasing. <sup>61</sup>
Per que-ls pros conqueron poders		For the noble will beat the powerful
a far proezas e faitz fis,		in prowess and fine deeds,
si com n'Arnaut de Maruelh dis		as Sir Arnaut de Maruelh once said
ad enans de totx mestiers:		of all matters:
"Que vers es que hueys e ier	600	'For it is true that today and in the past
que totz prozoms conquer		that all noble men conquer power
ab sen et ab saber		with reason and wisdom
et ab bon pretz poder".		and their worth'.
Malvatz remans ab son dever		The evil one is left with his due
e-ls pros son ric e conoissen.	605	and the noble have power and understanding.

This passage demonstrates well the intercalation of both content and language practiced by Raimon in both his *novas*. The first and last lines of the quotation form a couplet with the frame text and anchor the quotation, even where the line lengths and rhyme contrast with the octosyllabic frame, unlike here. Equally, the variance between Arnaut's rhyme scheme and Raimon's comes out in the *aaabbb* rhymes 'mestiers': 'ier': 'conquer', and 'saber': 'poder': 'dever'. Evidently, Raimon's material grows to some extent out of his quotations in a manner seen already in the construction of Matfre's *Breviari*. Here, the pair 'saber': 'poder' (Arnaut ll. 602-3) is repeated in Raimon's ll. 591-92. The collocation 'prozoms conquer' (l. 601) is reworked as 'pros conqueron poders' (l. 596). As with the *Perilhos Tractat*, there results a blurred boundary between the probable inspiration and its frame, inverting the direction of Raimon's poetic inheritance by putting him first in the audience's experience of his narrative. We are dealing again, then, with the creation *ex post facto* of a new community of troubadours and their network as communicators of knowledge. Raimon explicitly links poetry and knowledge:

Ni vos mezeys m'avetz pregat	947	And you yourself have asked me
per cal manera son prezat		why such men are prized
aitals homes ni mielh apres.		and well educated.
Saber devetz qu'el mon [ <i>non</i> ] es	950	You must know that, in the whole world, no
sabers ni mestiers que tan valha		knowledge or profession that is as worthy
ad [a]zaut hom, si tot s'i malha		for the exalted man, even if a vain fool
vas fols, com joglaria [ <i>fay</i> ].		hammers away at it, as does the <i>joglar's</i> art.

<sup>61</sup> Huchet's translation of this phrase reads 'les occasions de ces actions, les rires, la gaieté et les plaisirs proviennent d'un noble cœur, non de la naissance et de la frivolité', effectively parenthesizing 'non per paratje ni per joc' (l. 594).

It would be difficult to overstate the value of poetry for Raimon, and that of its transmitters. The wise have a duty to share their intellectual riches with those around them. Elizabeth Wilson Poe's study of the place of wisdom in 'Abril issia' focuses on the diegetic use of *saber*. This she glosses as 'the practical means whereby the ambitious man can substantially improve his lot in life'.<sup>62</sup> Poe, however, does not mention Raimon's lyric intercalations, indeed she only once notes *saber*'s use with reference to poetry.<sup>63</sup> Yet poetry is central to Raimon-*persona*'s advice to the hapless *joglar* about his inability to advance himself. After all, the narrator describes Raimon as:

seluy c'aisi-m vi denan,	85	he whom I saw before me,
adreg e franc ab un semblan,		proper and affable with a look
aital com cove a saber.		such as suits wisdom.

There is a clear imbrication of knowledge with the vocabulary of composing lyric poetry, with Raimon taking full advantage of possible double-references.<sup>64</sup> Any consideration of Raimon's thinking about *saber* which ignores poetry can be only partial. As Alberto Limentani makes plain, the *joglar* has a privileged position in the dissemination of wisdom:

Il giullare è latore di verità, di una verità che non vale in se stessa, ma si deve riflettere come forza educatrice della società cortigiana. Funzione specifica del giullare è quella di diffusore della letteratura-civiltà, e l'assimilazione di essa da parte di chi ha ascoltato la storia è in fondo ciò a cui tende quella particolare struttura narrativa allestita da Raimon.<sup>65</sup>

The *joglar* is the bearer of truth, of a truth which is worthless in and of itself, but which must be reflected as an educative force in courtly society. A specific function of the *joglar* is that of spreading literature and civilization; and the assimilation of this by those who have heard the story is, at base, the goal of this particular narrative structure set in action by Raimon.

---

<sup>62</sup> Poe, 'The Meaning of *Saber* in Raimon Vidal's *Abril issia*' in *Studia Occitanica in memoriam Paul Remy*, ed. by Hans-Erich Keller, 2 vols (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 1986), II: *The Narrative—Philology*, pp. 169-78 (p. 170).

<sup>63</sup> Poe, 'The Meaning', p. 170.

<sup>64</sup> See for instance, ll. 1010-13:

Aquels, segon que-ls trobaretz,  
vulhatz menar car, que per vos  
no serian mas tensonos  
e pec e de mal escuelh.

[‘Those who, according to how you find/compose them, you should treat with care for to you they will not be anything if not argumentative/*tenso*-like, foolish and ill-schooled.’]

<sup>65</sup> Alberto Limentani, *L'eccezione narrativa: La provenza medievale e l'arte del racconto* (Turin: Einaudi, 1977), p. 56.

References to the troubadours, and the verses they quote to support their arguments are almost always attributed to the correct author. Dalí's own poetic activity, surely known to Raimon, is submerged beneath his patronage.<sup>66</sup> Limentani observes that his court represents 'una vicenda nella quale domina la personalità mecenatesca del Delfino d'Alvernia (forse raffigurato nell'autorevolezza della sua tarda età)' ['an environment dominated by the patronage and personality of Dalí d'Alvernia (perhaps recast into the authority of old age)].<sup>67</sup> It is perhaps because of his particularly elevated position that Raimon Vidal places in his mouth the *exemplum* of the *almansor* and his cap (ll. 287-458). More importantly, while the *nova* benefits from Dalí's status, it leaves Raimon himself as the most prominent poet.<sup>68</sup> Not only does this emphasis on Dalí (and his own status) reinforce the position of poet as professor, it also gestures to a correlation between standing and a broad intellectual network. Raimon Vidal's own knowledge of and relation to Occitania 'proper' deserves comment, given his 'peripheral' position in Barcelona, although, as discussed in Chapter 4, geographical location and literary importance are seldom coterminous. And yet, when the *joglar* in 'Abril issi' travels, he is given a neat itinerary which suggests intimate knowledge of the whole region: 'Per Alvernhe e per lo Puey | m'en vinc en Proensa de sai...' (ll. 620-36), passing through the Toulousain, to Savartes, Foys, Alberu, Castillon, finally coming to Mataplana, identified by Huchet as Nuestra Señora de Montgrony near Ripoll in Catalonia.<sup>69</sup> His journey leads thus eventually to Raimon Vidal, and tracks knowledge coming to the author.

Raimon Vidal's other short narrative text is rather different. 'En aquel tems' is a debate between a lady and a knight; after seven years' faithful and chaste service, he wishes to consummate the

---

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales*, Appendix 1, 'Quotations from the Troubadours', pp. 221-22, Dalí's own song is not quoted outside the *vidas* and *razos*.

<sup>67</sup> Limentani, *L'eccezione narrativa*, p. 52.

<sup>68</sup> This keenness tallies well with his self-promotion in 'En aquel tems', in which Raimon regularly intrudes himself as eyewitness, which creates a dissonance between narratorial, experiential knowledge and inherent wisdom, important to the debate in that text.

<sup>69</sup> p. 75, n. 4.

relationship. She refuses him and the knight takes up with her maid.<sup>70</sup> This new relationship is structured from the start:

Aisi fon fag en bona fe	497	And so were closed in good faith
l'amor et l'amistat d'amdos:		the love and friendship of these two:
qu'el li servis e qu'el-l fos		he would serve her and be
lials dona per tostemps mays	500	faithful to her for evermore,
e que-l vengues de liey un bays		and he would receive a kiss from her
dins un an que marit agues.		within a year of her marriage.
E l'un de l'autre duysses		And between times, they must
en est mieg majas et anels.		wear each other's sleeve and ring.

Where in 'Abril issia' there were only nine quotations, almost entirely disappearing in the *ensenhamen*, in 'En aquel tems' we find thirty-six, spread throughout the text. They originate from throughout Occitania during the later twelfth century. Striking evidence of the text's broad cultural horizons, and indeed its own role in the movement of lyric poetry around early thirteenth-century Europe, is the quotation of a French *jeu-parti*.<sup>71</sup> The *nova* is transmitted by four fourteenth-century troubadour MSS *RNL<sup>a</sup>*, the first Occitan, the others Italian. While in MS *R*, edited by Huchet, the *jeu-parti* is given in Occitan, MSS *LNa'*, the basis for Hugh Field's edition, give the original French.<sup>72</sup> The two texts are presented below with a translation of the *LNa'* text.

ll.	<u>MS R acc. Huchet</u>	ll.	<u>MS LNa' acc. Field</u>
625	Anc non auzis ni aprezes So que dis us Franses d'amor? "Cosselletz mi, senhor, D'un joc partit d'amor ab cal je me tendrai.	664	Anc non auçist ni apreçes So que-n dis us francés d'amor?: "Conseillez moi, seignor, D'un joc partit d'amor Auqeul je mantendrai:
630	Sovant sospir e plor Per seluy cuy azor E greu martire tray.	670	Sovent suspir e plor Por celi cui j'ador E grieff martir en trai.

<sup>70</sup> Meritzell Simó has proposed that Raimon was in fact completing and redirecting a text of 725 lines already begun by Raimon de Miraval, a poet from the other side of the Pyrenees in order to make it more favourable to his patron Uc de Mataplana. See: 'Les citations lyriques des *novas rimadas*: Raimon Vidal vs Jean Renart', *Revue des Langues Romanes*, 115 (2011), 229-49, (pp. 226-27). He justifies his reading as Raimon de Miraval's *vida* mentions his leaving his wife for five years, to which Uc de Mataplana objected, and that it closes with his 'calling card', the word 'tostemps'.

<sup>71</sup> There is also a Hispanic strophe quoted in 'En aquel tems' at ll. 625-32 the object of much discussion, which I omit for reasons of space. See most recently Gerald Hilty, 'El poema iberrománico citado por el trovador Ramón Vidal', in *La Corona d'Aragó i les llengües romàniques: Miscel·lània d'homenatge per a Germà Colon*, ed. by Günther Holtus et al. (Tübingen: Narr, 1989), pp. 91-104. D'Heur had previously argued that it was Galician-Portuguese in origin; see *Troubadours d'oc*, pp. 195-209.

<sup>72</sup> Raimon Vidal, *Obra Poètica*, ed. by Hugh Field, 2 vols, Autors Catalans Antics, 7-8 (Barcelona: Curial, 1989-91), II, pp. 6-173.

	Mas un' outra-n prejai No sait s'i fi folor,		Meis un' autre-n prejai —ne sai si fis folor—
635	Que me donet s'amor Ses pene, ses esglay. Lauzengier trichador Volrian que com lor Fos fals, mas no serai,	675	Qui m'a donet s'amor Senz poine et senz delai. Losengier menteor Vouldroyent que de lor Fusse, mais ne serai. <i>Se je a celi m'ator,</i>
-	-		
-	-	680	<i>J'aurai fait traïtor De mon fin cuer verai.</i>
-	-		
640	C'ab seluy me tenray Que-m fe chاوز amor. Penrai a gran honor Son fin joy, can l'aurai.” Aquest avia cor verai,	685	A celi me tendrai Por cui sui en error, E tendrai a greignor Mon fin joi quant l'aurai.” Aquest avia cor verai
645	dis la dona, que non pas vos, ains l'avetz tan fals e doptos		E de bon part, que non vos, Que l'avetç tant fals e doptós
647	c'ades prendetz ades laissatz.	689	Qu'eras voleç eras laisatç.

627 R D'un joy partir d'amor in ed. Field 633 R prejarai. Corr. Huchet acc. L (Field keeps 'prejarai')

Did you not ever hear or learn what a Frenchman said of love? “Advise me, sire, about a *joc partiit* about love, and I will adhere to it. I often sigh and cry for the one I adore and suffer a terrible martyrdom for it. But another woman asks for it—I do not know if she is mad—who has given me her love with no grief or delay. Lying calumniators would like me to be of their number, but I will not. *If I turn to her, I would have made a traitor of my fine, honest heart.* I will keep with her, for whom I have erred, and hope that my joy shall be greater when I have it. He had an honest heart and on the right side—unlike you who have such a false and uncertain one that you were inconstant and sullied. (My italics)

Field attributes the differing lengths of the witnesses to the French transmission of the *jeu-parti*, where at some point ll. 11-13 have been omitted, and then inserted in the margin. ‘Açò explica el fet que el copista del model de L, N, a<sup>1</sup> inserís incorrectament aquests versos després dels vs. 14-16, mentre que el model de R els omet tots plegats.’<sup>73</sup> [‘This explains the fact that the copyist of the model for MSS *LNa*<sup>1</sup> falsely inserted these verses after vv. 14-16, whereas the model for R omits them altogether.’] The song comes down independently only in OF MS *C* (f. 41<sup>v</sup>), which displays Picard traits such as ‘k’ for ‘qu’ and the forms ‘doneir’ and ‘ameir’ in the fourth strophe.<sup>74</sup> Thus we see to what extent the actions of the French scribe’s oversight reverberates in

<sup>73</sup> ed. Field, p. 91, n. 249.

<sup>74</sup> ed. Field, pp. 90-91, n. 249. The first two strophes of the French MS *C* text read:

Conseilliez moi signor  
dun ieu parti damors

the manuscript tradition of a narrative composed in a second land and copied in a third. This is to say that one scribe of Raimon's text has adapted his model, either adding (if he knew *LNa*) or subtracting (if he knew *R*), to match one of two groups of French song witnesses. The reverse is equally true. Firstly, the *LNa'* text which preserves the original French, departs from the *nova* text and that of *chansonniere C* at l. 15 ('losengier iangleour'), giving instead 'losengier menteour'. This is public relations work in favour of the joglars: the suggestion that these privileged transmitters of *saber* might have ulterior motives would severely undermine the ideological drive of Raimon's text. Notable too is the shift between the two *nova* texts from Field's l. 683 'por cui sui en error' to that in *R*, Field's 'second, revised version', the less dramatic, less appropriate 'que-m fe chاوزir amor' (l. 641 ed. Huchet), pointing to either scribal incomprehension or a deliberate attempt to underline the activity of the lover. Secondly, and perhaps more interesting, MSS *LNa'* preserve the Occitan term 'joc partit' in the 'French' text. This could be a nod for the benefit of the Occitan audience to their 'ownership' of that genre. But it also serves, in Sarah Kay's Derridean-inflected terms, to reinforce the cultural monolingualism of the lyric discourse, 'the colonizing otherness of language to the speaker, the fabrication in language of identities and desires'.<sup>75</sup> It is, however, more convincingly read as an indication of the language-less nature of lyric. While

---

akeil ie me tanrai  
souent sospir et plour  
por celle cui iaour  
et grief martyre en ai  
maix une autre en proai  
ne sai se fix folour  
ke motriat samor  
sens poene et sens delai.

Se iai celle matour  
ie ferai traitour  
de mon fin cuer uerai  
losengier iangleour  
uouldroient ke des lour  
fuxe maix nel serai  
a celi me tanrai  
por cui ceux en errour  
se tanrai a grignor  
ma ioie se ie lai.

<sup>75</sup> Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales*, p. 118.

modes and knowledge may change in what the Modist grammarians called accidental characteristics, the underlying bedrock—the lyric as language itself—does not. *Joc partit* or *jeu-parti*, it is essentially the same. Indeed, as Raimon’s *persona* himself advises the *joglar*:

Per qu’ieu vos dic, per so car guitz vos er el segle gen menar, c’al canjamen vulhatz canjar vostre sen e vostre saber.	1058	For I say to you that, since you wish to move easily through the world, you must change your mode and your knowledge according to circumstances.
--	------	---

By easing the intercalated text into the frame at large, Raimon and his transmitters are making it more pleasing for his audience, which, he says (ll. 1068-75), is the whole purpose of the *joglar*. Either way, this *jeu-parti* insert is the longest in the text, and he thus gives pride of place to a lyrical text regardless of its origins, with no prospect of *kudos* from referring to a major foreign poet because it is anonymous. Perhaps we can go further, and suggest that this is Raimon’s most important quotation, having come furthest and being, even in the ‘revised’ R witness, the most apposite for his narrative. If Dalí in ‘Abril issi’ only had a story from the Caliphate, Raimon can give his readers a concrete artefact.

The MSS of ‘En aquel tems’ are also clearly engaged with the deictic process. R capitalizes the first letter of each quotation, and writes them out in continuous paragraphs—the conventional way of writing lyric in the *chansonniers*—distinguishing them from the narrative.<sup>76</sup> There is also liberal use of paraps to mark out important *loci* in both frame and lyrical text, joining Raimon’s *novas* to the written world of Matfre’s *Breviari*. Again, however, nothing highlights the close of the quotations. But for Raimon, song only ever has one foot in the written world, for, as has been seen, the diegetic circulation of song as knowledge remains oral, tied to the figure of the *joglar*, ensuring the persistence of an experiential, personal element to the knowledge transmitted in Raimon’s narratives. The *novas* thus elaborate a different conception of lyric knowledge from that in Renart’s *Rose*. Whereas Renart foregrounds the social and practical implementations of song as

---

<sup>76</sup> MS R is available online at: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60004306> (accessed 29th June 2014).

a means of building a community, regardless of the singers' stakes in poetic authorship, Raimon is concerned with a far smaller, essentially professional, group. This is evidently a reflection of the context of his activity in Catalonia where, even if troubadour song was habitually composed in Occitan, it remained a 'foreign' language reserved for the few, a state of affairs more constricted than the French language romance with (mainly) French quotations, Renart's *Rose*. The value of the lyrical form as a container for important social knowledge reserved for *cognoscenti* brings Raimon Vidal into dialogue with the Dante of the *Vita Nova*. First, however, let us turn to Ulrich von Liechtenstein's fictional autobiography, the *Frauendienst*, which bridges the century between Raimon and Dante, and shows the impact of the developing written transmission of song on the conception of lyric and its contents.

*Ulrich von Liechtenstein: 'Nu hæret! die wise sprachen alsô'*

While Raimon Vidal's use of intercalation may serve to create a community of the producers of courtly lyric, the turn taken by Ulrich and Dante to write works—admittedly quite different—around poems which they had themselves written in a pseudo-autobiographical frame focuses on the audience and its engagement. The *Frauendienst* is a remarkable example of a medieval author thinking about his audience and the way he wants it to engage with his work. It is the only MHG text with lyric insertions. Ulrich von Liechtenstein, a Styrian *curialis* with a well-documented public career, was one of the most prolific and accomplished post-classical *Minnesänger*, and composed his *Frauendienst* in around 1256.<sup>77</sup> Ulrich quotes in full fifty-eight of his own songs, including all major and many minor genres, creating what Gert Hübner neatly describes as a

---

<sup>77</sup> On the traces left by Ulrich in inscriptions and charters, see the introduction to *Frauendienst*, ed. Bechstein, pp. XIX-XXX and Franz Viktor Spechtler, *Untersuchungen zu Ulrich von Liechtenstein* (unpubl. *Habilitationsschrift*, University of Salzburg, 1974). See also translation of the first half of the text by John Wesley Thomas, *Ulrich von Liechtenstein's Service of Ladies: Translated in condensed form into English Verse with and introduction to the poet and the work* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969).

‘Panoptikum der Kanzone’ [‘a panopticon of courtly songs’].<sup>78</sup> He also includes three *Büchlein* or tracts on the theory of courtly love in rhyming couplets, and a number of prose letters.<sup>79</sup> The first-person narrative is relatively straightforward, belonging clearly to the feudal-courtly sphere: Ulrich grows up hearing stories of courtly love and *Minnediener* and determines to imitate them, setting his sights on an anonymous lady. By means of a common relative, he sends her songs, *Büchlein*, and even the end of his finger when it is broken off when he is jousting for her (*Büchlein* II, ll. 255-59), mounting it *qua* relic on the cover of his second tract. Having exhausted common *topoi*, Ulrich moves further into the comic and parodic, staging a long tour of Austria and the Friaul dressed as the goddess Venus, challenging all comers (Str. 470-985), later in the guise of King Arthur (Str. 1425-1620). During these tours there are no intercalated songs. After abortive attempts to win over his lady, he finds a lady who both responds to his overtures and admires his songs. Now, around three-quarters of the way through the text, there is a marked increase in the regularity of songs and a decline in the strength of the narrative as organizing principle. It dwindles away, the impetus taken over by the lyric. Lyric, the starting point for the composition of the *Frauendienst*, comes to dominate it completely.

Given the range of song types used and the varied circumstances in which songs are quoted, the techniques of lyric intercalation vary. What remains true throughout, however, is the distinct boundary between the rhyming couplets and lyric. There is no attempt to blur the division with rhymes straddling the boundary as does Jean Renart. Each song is clearly announced in the text, rubricated, and then given in full. In the only complete manuscript (Munich, Bayerische

---

<sup>78</sup> Hübner, *Frauenpreis: Studien zur Funktion der laudativen Rede in der mittelhochdeutschen Minnekanzone*, 2 vols, Saecula Spiritalia, 34-35 (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1996), II, p. 255.

<sup>79</sup> Ulrich’s use of the phrase ‘Büchlein’ for his casuistic texts—along with their physical form—bears a marked similarity to Dante’s choice of ‘libello’ for his *Vita Nova*, and with its reference to Ovid’s prologue to his *Remedia amoris* links Ulrich’s text with a more learned tradition than is often supposed to be his starting point. See further discussion below, and H. Wayne Storey’s article, ‘Following Instructions: Remaking Dante’s *Vita Nova* in the Fourteenth Century’, in *Medieval Constructions in Gender and Identity*, ed. by Teodolinda Barolini, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 293 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), pp. 117-32.

Staatsbibliothek, *cgm* 44) the songs are written out in continuous paragraphs while the rhyming couplets are written as verse, organized into eight-line groups by *litterae notabiliores*. There are two principal circumstances for the inclusion of a song in the majority of the *Frauendienst*: firstly, as a befitting courtly activity at that moment—thus song VI is sung while Ulrich is riding to Bozen, because ‘mîn herze singen mir dô riet|von mîner vrowen disiu liet’ [‘My heart told me to sing this song about my lady’] (351, 7-8); secondly, and more commonly, they are part of a message sent to his lady. In these cases, rather than emphasizing the cultural value of the lyric *tout court*, they are important as means of exhibiting this knowledge in transmission.<sup>80</sup> So the tenth song, the first to be sent after an interruption in Ulrich’s service caused by the jousting season, is announced in the following way:

Der sumer was mit freuden hin. dô bat ich vlîziclichen in (ich meine den boten mîn), daz er die guoten gesæhe: daz was mîn ger.	420, 1	The summer, with its joys, was over. Then I hurriedly commanded him (I mean my messenger)
er sprach: “ich rîte vil gern dar und sage ir iweren willen gar und iwer senelîchen leit: diu werdent ir von mir geseit.”	420, 4	That he see the good one: that was my will. He said, ‘I will gladly ride there and tell her all about your desire and your sorrowful pain: that is what I will say to her’.
Do enpfalh ich im mit worten sâ mîn botschaft vil palde dâ und sande ir aber mîni <del>n</del> liet. mit freuden er sâ von mir schiet.	421, 1	Then I gave him in words my message straight away and sent her again my song.
dô er kom zuo der vrowen mîn, diu hiez in willekomen sîn.	421, 4	So he left me joyfully; when he came to my lady, she welcomed him.

After praising her ‘stæten dienstman’ [‘constant servant’] (425, 2) at some length, the messenger mentions the many knightly deeds Ulrich has performed for her, before performing the song:

er hât iu niuwe liet bî mir dâ her gesant, diu gerne ir hæren müget: si tuont iuch frô. diu liet diu sprechent von iu sô: EIN TANZWÎSE, UND IST DIU ZEHENDE WÎSE	426, 5	He has sent me with new strophes for you, which you may by all means hear: they will make you glad. The strophes say this about you: A DANCE SONG- THE TENTH MELODY
Wie kanstu, Minne, mit sorgen die sinne, den muot betouben mit seneder klage! In vreuden wâne	X, l. 1	Love, how can you make blunt both senses with sorrows and my mood with melancholy woe! In erroneous joy

<sup>80</sup> Compare with Str. 358, discussed in the Introduction, which shows Ulrich learning a Romance melody and composing a new German lyric to fit it.

bin ich vreuden âne von dir gar al mîne besten tage. An eine stat riet mir dîn rât dienen vil schône mit stætekeit, dâ mir ze lône geschiht niwan leit.	1. 5	I have no joy from you at all, [though these are] my best days. But once you advised me to serve most beautifully with constancy, yet my recompense is nothing but sorrow.
--	------	---

The value of lyric here is as mobile proof of Ulrich's courtly credentials. While in other texts considered thus far, mobility has simply been the use of something chosen from the work of another, Ulrich's romance not only goes beyond the biographical fiction of the *Chastelain de Couci* by framing his own songs, but also details their dissemination, the physical presence of courtly culture.<sup>81</sup> Thus where in the *Breviari*, and Raimon's *novas*, poetry is a form of wisdom, for Ulrich the science of prosody and the act of transmission often takes precedence over its contents.

In the *Frauendienst* the connection between the intercalated song and the narrative is relatively loose. As Volker Mertens puts it, 'grundsätzlich wäre auch eine andere *vida*, wären andere *razos* zu den Liedern denkbar' ['in principle, one could imagine a different *vida* and different *razos* for these songs'].<sup>82</sup> What is notable here, however, is the implication in the messenger's presentation to the lady that she will appreciate the song. Elsewhere, as shall be seen, there is a keen awareness of the formal ingredients that make a good song. So much for the diegetic level. The audience is put in the place of the *Minnedame* and invited to consider the lyric aesthetically, at least partly abstracted from the narrative. This separation of the lyric is evident in the rubrication, which underlines the difference between the poetry and the rhyming couplets.<sup>83</sup> Even if these

<sup>81</sup> For a reading the *Frauendienst* from the perspective of 'Präsenz', see Christian Kiening's *Zwischen Körper und Schrift: Texte vor der Literatur* (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 2003), Chapter 8, pp. 199-222.

<sup>82</sup> Mertens, 'Liebesdichtung und Dichterliebe: Ulrich von Liechtenstein und Johannes Hadloub' in *Autor und Autorschaft im Mittelalter: Kolloquium Meissen 1995*, ed. by Elizabeth Andersen et al. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), pp. 200-10 (p. 201). The comparison with the *vidas* and *razos* reflects a longstanding but unproven belief that Ulrich knew the troubadour paratexts composed in northern Italy. See Anthonius Touber, 'Ulrichs von Liechtenstein *Frauendienst* und die *Vidas* und *Razos* der Troubadours', *ZfdPh*, 107 (1988), 431-44.

<sup>83</sup> The numbered description of the *wîsen* or melodies, out of sequence when compared with the numbers of the intercalated lyrics, is held to be a reference to a separate booklet—now lost—containing musical

rubrics are an innovation of the copyist of MS *cgm* 44, dated to within three decades of Ulrich's death in 1275-76, the text itself is highly aware of written culture and the transmission of lyrics along with letters and other texts. As Jürgen Wolf writes, 'Schriftlichkeit avanciert bei [Ulrich]...zu einem Protagonisten der erzählten Geschichte' ['literacy becomes in Ulrich's work a protagonist in the narrative'].<sup>84</sup>

This is, however, only the case in Ulrich's first love service, since in the second, the boundary between lyric and frame is sufficiently permeable that what results is quite unique against the background of the texts examined in this chapter. In narrative terms the fulfilled nature of his relationship with the lady obviates the repeated attempts to gain the recognition of the first lady which structure the first *Minnedienst*. Thus the narrative begins to cede to a lyrical stasis, and the generic boundary starts to blur. Not only do we find a song, XLVI, which has the rubric-like *incipit* 'Disiu liet diu heizent vrowentanz' ['This song is called the Ladies' Dance'],<sup>85</sup> there are also cases of the lyric both taking over the development of the narrative and leeching into the framing rhyming couplets. In Song Forty-Five, after a passage on the death in battle of the last Babenburg ruler of Austria, Friedrich II, and the ensuing anarchy (str. 1669-84), Ulrich says that the robbers who are 'selten vrô' ['rarely happy'] (1684, 1) are misdirecting their energies:

Ez sol des edelen jungen lîp sîn hôchgemuot durch ein guot wîp. und ist er niht von wîben vrô sô muoz er immer leben sô, daz er an freuden ist verirt. sîn trûren im unsælde birt: schelten, spotten alle zît im sîn swachez trûren gît.	1686, 1	The youthful noble should find happiness <sup>86</sup> in a good woman, and if he has no joy with women, he must always live unhappily, as he is lost without joy. His sorrow leads to perdition: cursing and mocking the whole time gives him his pathetic sorrow.
---	---------	--

---

notation. See Jürgen Wolf, 'Überlieferung, Handschriften: Ulrich von Liechtenstein im Buch' in *Ulrich von Liechtenstein: Leben—Zeit—Werk—Forschung*, ed. by Sandra Linden and Christopher Young (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), pp. 487-514 (p. 498).

<sup>84</sup> Wolf, 'Überlieferung', p. 488.

<sup>85</sup> Note that in MHG a single song is often referred to in the plural, 'diu liet' indicating the individual strophes. Cf. BMZ, I, col. 984a.

<sup>86</sup> BMZ, II, col. 261a gives the following translations from 'hochgemuot': 'edle, mannhafte gesinnung; freude; übermuth' ['noble, manly mood; joy, boisterousness']. In many contexts, though not here, it can have the sense of *superbia*.

In the romance's first half, such sentiments were the exclusive preserve of the lyric intercalations. Indeed, were it not for the rhyming couplets, there would be little difference: the only boundary marker is the almost perfunctory final line of Strophe 1688:

Mich hât ein reiniu vrowe guot vor trûren alsô her behuot, daz ich bin vrô in aller zît. ir güete mir hôchgemüete gît: ich bin ir stäter dienstman, mit triwen dienstes undertân vil stæteclîchen sunder wanc. diu liet ze dienst ich ir sanc: XLV.	1688, 1	A pure, good woman has shielded me from sorrow, for which I am always glad. Her goodness gives me joy:
Wâfen über die gar unguoten, die dâ selten werdent frô. Die heiz ich die ungemuoten: dêst ir nam von reht alsô. Wâfen über sie immer mêre: sie verliesent mit ir trûren sælde und êre.	1688, 5	I am her constant servant, bound by loyal service, most constantly without deviation. I sang these verses to serve her: XLV
Swâ ein wîp niht vrô gemachen kan ir herzenlieben man Mit ir triuten, mit ir lachen, dem ist freude gar zergân. Freut in niht ir sîezez lôsen, in gemachent nimmer vrô des meien rôsen.	XLV, 1	A curse on the good-for-nothings, who are seldom happy. I call them the awful ones that is truly their name.
	XLV, 5	A curse on them from now on: with sorrow they give up grace and honour. Whenever a woman cannot make happy her beloved man
	XLV, 9	with her caresses and her laughter he has no hope of happiness. If her sweet nothings cannot please him the May roses will never make him happy.

This song, closely linked to the preceding rhyming couplets, crystalizes out of its context, rather than being mounted on it. In the 'realistic' scenes of sending songs by messenger in the first section, Ulrich played through the rituals of lyrical production and examined the logistics of the community of poetic consumption.<sup>87</sup> Here, by contrast, he goes beyond simply delivering his lyrics, by explaining them and explicating the social knowledge they transmit to their recipients. The effect is similar to Dante's practice examined below, though here, there is no aspiration to scholarliness. Illuminating comparison can also be drawn with the *Chastelain de Couci*, a romance that also provides the *vida* for an extant corpus of courtly songs. In that case, however, the

<sup>87</sup> The transportation of lyrics is shown in a highly accurate manner: Jürgen Wolf calls it a 'Spiegel der Schriftlichkeit', 'Überlieferung', p. 514. See also Karina Kellermann and Christopher Young, 'You've got mail! Briefe, Büchlein, Boten im *Frauendienst* Ulrichs von Liechtenstein', in *Eine Epoche im Umbruch: Volkssprachliche Literalität 1200-1300: Cambridger Symposium 2001*, ed. by Christa Bertelsmeier-Kierst and Christopher Young (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003), pp. 317-44 (p. 333), where they describe the *Frauendienst* as a 'Kommunikationsroman'.

corpus is of ‘another’, very famous, poet rather than that of the narrative author, and is combined with narrative not to auctorialize the corpus, but rather as the peg on which to hang a narrative in the eaten heart tradition.<sup>88</sup>

In Ulrich’s text, then, lyric form must be particularly important to explain the need to express these sentiments in both rhyming couplets and in song. There are a number of possible readings. Firstly, one related to the idea that form should match content: love can only properly be discussed in lyric poetry. Secondly, ease of memorization: if these are designed to be ‘cut-out and keep’ nuggets of courtly wisdom, they are more memorable in lyric form with the benefits of rhyme and, perhaps, music. Thirdly and most alluringly, Ulrich is perhaps showing the stages of his composition in action. That is, the rhyming couplets are his *inventio*, setting out his raw material, with some elements of *dispositio*, and the lyric itself shows *ornatio*. It is this compositional process that generates the value of the poetic form. In this light, the *Frauendienst* would be of as much use to aspiring poets as to an appreciative audience, and is thus clearly related to the *ensenhamen* strand of Raimon Vidal and Dante’s literary *excursus* and *divisiones textus* in the *Vita Nova*. This confirms Sandra Linden’s judgement that ‘Er scheint den Minnesang weniger diskutieren als affirmativ vorführen zu wollen...’ [‘he [sc. Ulrich] appears to want less to discuss *Minnesang* than to affirm and demonstrate it’].<sup>89</sup> There is also the point to make here, with Hartmut Bleumer, that the listening audience would be able to distinguish the rhyming couplets from the lyrics, even if these were read rather than sung, as has also been suggested by Dieter Kartschoke. Bleumer proposes that the second half of the romance is occupied with *Leselyrik* rather than with sung lyrics, matching the change in the presentation of the inserted lyrics away

---

<sup>88</sup> See ‘Introduction’, *Le Roman du Châtelain de Coucy et de la Dame de Fayel*, trans. and ed. by Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas, Champion Classiques du Moyen-Âge, 26 (Paris: Champion, 2009), esp. pp. 63-82.

<sup>89</sup> Linden, *Kundschafter der Kommunikation: Modelle höfischer Kommunikation im ‘Frauendienst’ Ulrichs von Liechtenstein*, Bibliotheca Germanica, 49 (Tübingen: Franke, 2004), p. 263.

from the rubric with details about the melody.<sup>90</sup> The *Frauendienst* tracks medial and literary evolution in real time.

The audience holds a particular place in Ulrich's literary project, which is best divided into the diegetic and the extradiegetic. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the *Frauendienst* is that audience interaction takes such a central position in a way similar to the festivals in Renart's *Rose*. But where Renart's audience demonstrates, Ulrich's is manipulated to act as directed sounding board for his lyrics. Their comments include the response of his lady, in a receptive mood:

Dô sî diu liet gelas dô gar diu reine, süeze, wol gevar sprâch alzehant...	1101, 1	When she then read the song in full, the pure sweet one, fair of face spoke straight-away:
“für wâr ich dir doch sagen wil diu liet diu sint ze wâre guot: ich wils behalten, daz ist mîn muot.	1101, 6	‘Truly, I want to say to you that the song is really very good: I want to keep it,—that is my fancy.’

Great care is taken to describe accurately Ulrich's written reception. Other comments, like that following song XXXIII, are an explicitly aesthetic critique. It considers words and music and their interaction, offering valuable insight into the criteria for judging *Minnesang* in the mid-thirteenth century:

Diu liet vil maniger niht verstuont, als noch die tumben ofte tuont; swer aber was sô rehte wîs, der sî verstuont, der gabe in prîs. sî wâren getihtet wunderlîch, die rîme gesetzt, meisterlîch: diu wîse kunde bezzer niht gesîn: ich redet drinne mit der vrowen mîn	1398, 1	Many did not understand the song, as is often the case with stupid people; but those whoever was truly intelligent, understood it and praised it.
Dar nâch ze rehter zît ich sanc vier wîse, als mich mîn wille twanc, ze dienst aber der vrowen mîn. diu wîse kunde niht gesîn bezzer noch für wâr diu wort: die giengen ûz der sinne hort,	1398, 5 1399, 1 1399, 5	It was miraculously well-composed, the rhymes were masterfully done, the melody could not have been better; in it, I spoke with my lady. Then, in due course, I sang four melodies, as my mood dictated, But again in the service of my lady; the melodies could not have been better nor indeed the words— they came from the heart—

<sup>90</sup> Bleumer, ‘Narrativik: Der *Frauendienst* als narrative Form’ in *Ulrich von Liechtenstein*, ed. Linden and Young, pp. 358-97 (p. 391). Qv. Kartschoke, ‘Ulrich von Liechtenstein und die Laienkultur des deutschen Südostens im Übergang zur Schriftlichkeit’, in *Die mittelalterliche Literatur in Kärnten: Vorträge des Symposiums in St. George/Lägesee vom 8. bis 13. 9. 1980*, ed. by Peter Krämer, Wiener Arbeiten zur germanistischen Altertumskunde und Philologie, 16 (Vienna: Halosar, 1981), pp. 103-44.

si lobten die vil guoten hô  
nu hœret! die wîse sprachen alsô

and she praised them to the skies.  
Now listen, the melodies went like this.

The literary field is opened to the audience, Ulrich offers them a useable model, not just in terms of composition, as discussed above, but also criticism and active appreciation (naturally positive) of song. Where Dante in his *De vulgari eloquentia* (Raimon and Matfre, too) create a gallery of vernacular *auctores*, Ulrich opens up the debate to non-practitioners.<sup>91</sup> As Jürgen Ruben has it, ‘das Publikum hat den Eindruck, unmittelbar und wahrheitsnah am Geschehen beteiligt zu sein [...und (DM)] vom Dichter eng ins Vertrauen gezogen zu sein’ [‘the audience has the impression of being involved directly in what happens—close enough not to be fooled, and of being taken deep into the poet’s confidence’].<sup>92</sup> Nowhere is this clearer than in the final strophes of the

*Frauendienst*:

Swaz ich in niuwen dœnen ie dar von gesanc, daz vindet man hie allez an dem buoche stân. noch wil ich vrowen lop niht lân: ich wil si gerne loben mê. swer welle, daz ez hier an stê, swenne ichz gesinge, der schribe es dran: der hât sîn zuht dar an getân.	1847, 1    1847, 5	Whatever I have sung to new melodies about [my lady], you will find here, all in this book. Nor do I wish to stop praising women, I will gladly praise them more. Whoever wants it [a song] to be in here, whenever I sing it he should write it in:  that is how he can show his good grace’
--	--------------------------------	---

Astonishingly, the MS transmission of the *Frauendienst*, though not extensive, suggests that Ulrich’s audience took up this invitation. It is the relationship between the three testimonies of his romance and the witnesses of Ulrich’s songs which reveal his place in a network of poets and poetic receivers.<sup>93</sup> As well as showing knowledge of the narrative works of the *Blütezeit* such as

<sup>91</sup> Indeed Ulrich plays through his responses to audience criticisms in the passage on *Tagelieder* (Str. 1622-1632), where he objects to the topos of the lovers being woken by a watchman because ‘gebûren art kan niht verdagen’ [‘rustics cannot keep quiet’] (1623, 5), before writing a dawn song in which the lovers are woken not by a night watchman but by a maid. He thus expects and engages with a knowing audience.

<sup>92</sup> Ruben, *Zur “gemischten Form” im ‘Frauendienst’ Ulrichs von Liechtenstein: Untersuchungen über das Verhältnis der Lieder, Büchlein und Briefe zum erzählenden Text* (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Hamburg, 1969), p. 51.

<sup>93</sup> Ulrich’s MS witnesses are as follows: *Frauendienst*: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *cgm* 44. Fragments: Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, fragm. germ. 10, and Landshut, Staatsarchiv, Vom Einband der Fischmeisteramtsrechnungen 1510. Ulrich’s songs: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, *cpg* 848 (‘Große Heidelberger Liederhandschrift’ sigla C), Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, *cpg* 357 (‘Kleine Heidelberger Liederhandschrift’ sigla A). On these see further the Marburger Repertorium: [www.mr1314.de](http://www.mr1314.de) (accessed 30<sup>th</sup> June 2014).

those of Wolfram and Hartmann, Ulrich's messenger sings a strophe of Walther von der Vogelweide's song 'Ir sult sprechen willekommen' (L 56, 14<sup>94</sup>) after Str. 776 as a signal that he brings a response from his lady. The strophe, one of Walther's most famous, passes without comment. The main witness of his songs outside the *Frauendienst* manuscript, the Manesse Codex, includes a full-page portrait of all 141 poets, ranked in order of social standing from the Holy Roman Emperor Heinrich VI down to the burghers and singers. Ulrich, number 78, is depicted in armour suitable for a knight. His head dress is crowned with the figure of Venus—evidently inspired by the Venus journey in the *Frauendienst*. Ulrich's presence in this manuscript represents a striking change of context, with the feudal servitor being transplanted into the hands of the burgher Rudolf Manesse, for whom it was produced in Zurich around 1300. All Ulrich's songs appear in almost exactly the same order as in the romance, though some have been altered, evidence of the 'bewusst planerisches Eingreifen des C-Redaktors' ['conscious and orderly intervention by the redactor of MS C'].<sup>95</sup> Thus his transmitters did indeed take the active role that Ulrich offered them in his romance. The *Frauendienst*, then, represents an unusually active engagement with the logistics of mobile song and also the role of the audience, questions also considered by Dante. But his answers in the *Vita Nova*, and their consequences, as is to be expected given its composition in an Italian city state, not rural Carinthia, were quite different.

*'Vita Nova': Dante, the 'libello', and the creation of poetic identity*

Dante's *Vita Nova* is perhaps the most famous text with lyric intercalation, and has received a great deal of attention from many perspectives. It has been accorded great importance; Domenico De Robertis called it 'il primo libro della letteratura italiana' ['the first book in Italian

---

<sup>94</sup> Walther's songs are conventionally referred to by the page and line numbers in the original Lachmann edition.

<sup>95</sup> Wolf, 'Überlieferung', p. 498.

literature’].<sup>96</sup> What is interesting for this study, however, is the value accorded to lyric poetry and the lyrical form and the extent to which Dante is engaging with the mobility of the lyric. However, while Dante scholarship has devoted considerable attention to his attempt at directing the reception of his juvenile poems by use of the prose text, little has been said of the seemingly deliberate effect this has on the afterlife of these poems. As Ulrich’s *Frauendienst* demonstrated, lyric insertion can have a lasting effect on future transmission. More importantly, while the *Vita Nova* has been considered in relation to other romances of the period, it has seldom been viewed in dialogue with a European tradition of lyric intercalation as here.<sup>97</sup>

Throughout the *Vita Nova* it is clear that Dante’s choice of the mixed form is motivated by concerns about the transmission of knowledge, directing both it and his readers. In his literary excursus (G 16.6, B XXV.6), he writes of the choice of the vernacular over Latin as being motivated by the desire to reach a larger audience, and in particular female readers.<sup>98</sup> The implication is that Dante is concerned with creating, at least in Italy, a new audience. Drawing a parallel with the Occitan *vidas* and *razos*, often held to be an inspiration for the *Vita Nova* as for the *Frauendienst*, Winfried Wehle describes the power of supplementing an audience’s literary knowledge:

Jeder, der ursprünglich am Minneritual teilnehmen wollte, mußte in seine höfischen und ästhetischen Abmachungen eingeweiht sein. Seine Kultur wurde vorausgesetzt, brauchte daher selbst kaum versprochen zu werden. Die Prosa der *Vita Nuova* aber nimmt sie

---

<sup>96</sup> De Robertis, *Il libro della ‘Vita Nuova’*, (Florence: Sansoni, 1961), p. 8. As will be seen below, the rest of De Robertis’s sentence is highly perceptive: ‘Il primo libro della letteratura italiana non è, questo è certo, un libro candido. È anzi un libro estremamente tendenzioso’. [‘The first book in Italian literature is not, this much is certain, a candid book. It is, on the contrary, an exceptionally partial book.’]

<sup>97</sup> See Michelangelo Picone, ‘*Vita Nuova*’ e tradizione romanza, *Ydioma tripharium*, 5 (Padua: Liviana, 1979), which contrasts the *libello* with the *Roman de la Rose*. It is not just the Italian scholars who tend to isolate Dante from the European current: for instance Maureen Boulton’s *The Song in the Story*, a study of French lyric intercalation, mentions the *Vita Nova* in a single footnote.

<sup>98</sup> Text from *Vita Nova*, ed. by Stefano Carrai (Milan: BUR, 2009). Carrai follows the chapter divisions proposed by Guglielmo Gorni, which deviated from the traditional one initiated by Michele Barbi in his 1907 edition. In the following, I give references in both forms, preceded by G or B. I follow Carrai and Gorni in naming the text *Vita Nova* (Latin or Florentine); *Vita Nuova* is never used in the text. See also the English translation, *Vita Nuova (Poems of Youth)*, trans. by Barbara Reynolds (London: Penguin, 1969).

mit in ihre Darstellung auf. Dadurch macht sie sich von einem Vorwissen, von stillschweigender Kennerschaft sehr viel unabhängiger.<sup>99</sup>

Originally, all who wished to participate in the love ritual had to be initiated into its courtly and aesthetic ways. Its culture was a pre-requisite and thus scarcely needed to be verbalized. The prose of the *Vita Nova*, however, takes it up in its representation. Thus the text substantially liberates itself from previous knowledge and unspoken understanding.

This enfranchisement from the mass of contextual knowledge required to understand troubadour poetry—exploited for instance by Matfre Ermengaud in his *Breviari*—is essential to Dante’s work of future-proofing and vulgarization. While Dante might declare that he writes for the ‘fedeli d’Amore’, ultimately, his prose creates a paratext for his poems to control them from a distance, even from beyond the grave. And yet at one point, discussing the purpose of the prose, he says he fears having communicated his meaning ‘a troppi’ [‘to too many people’] (G 10.33, B XIX. 22). This typifies the *Vita Nova*’s often contradictory nature. If we consider the presentation of ‘Amore e ’l cor gentil’, we see how his procedure privileges one interpretation of the lyric over others.

[1] Appresso che questo canzone fue alquanto divulgata tra le genti, con ciò fosse cosa che alcuno amico l’udisse, volontà lo mosse a pregarmi ched io li dovesse dire che è Amore, avendo forse, per le udite parole, speranza di me oltre che degna. [2] Ond’io, pensando che appresso di cotale trattato bello era trattare alquanto d’Amore e pensando che l’amico era da servire, propuosi di dire parole nelle quali io trattassi d’Amore. E allora dissi questo sonetto lo qual comincia *Amore e ’l cor gentil*:

- |     |  |    |
|-----|--|----|
| [3] | Amore e ’l cor gentil sono una cosa,<br>sì come il saggio in su’ dittare pone,<br>e così esser l’un senza l’altro osa<br>com’alma razional senza ragione;  | 1  |
| [4] | falli Natura quand’è amorosa:<br>Amor per sire e ’l cor per sua magione,<br>dentro la qual dormendo si riposa<br>talvolta poca e tal lunga stagione.   | 5  |
| [5] | Bieltate appara in saggia donna poi,<br>che piace agli occhi sì che dentro al core<br>nasce un disio de la cosa piacente<br>e tanto dura, talora, in costui<br>che fa svegliar lo spirito d’Amore,<br>e simil face in donna omo valente. | 10 |

---

<sup>99</sup> Wehle, *Dichtung über Dichtung*, p. 25.

[6] Questo sonetto si divide in due parti. Ne la prima dico di lui in quanto è in potenza, nella seconda dico di lui in quanto di potenza si riduce in atto. La seconda comincia quivi: *Bieltate appare*. [7] La prima si divide in due. Nella prima dico in che soggetto sia questa potenza, ne la seconda dico sì come questo soggetto e questa potenza siano prodotti in essere, e come l'uno guarda l'altro come forma materia. La seconda comincia quivi: *falli Natura*. [8] Poi quando dico "Bieltate appare" dico come questa potenza si riduce in atto; e prima come si riduce in omo, poi come si riduce in donna, quivi: *e simil face in donna*. (G 11, B XX)

After this *canzone* had been disseminated a little among the population, enough that a friend heard it, he was moved to request that I should say what Love is, having greater hopes of me perhaps, after hearing those words, than I merited. [1] So I, thinking that after such a handsome tract that I ought to treat something of Love, and also thinking that a friend's role is to serve, I proposed to speak words in which I would treat Love. And then I wrote this sonnet which begins 'Love and a gentle heart':

- |     |   |    |
|-----|---|----|
| [3] | Love and a gentle heart are a single thing,<br>Just as the wise man says in his verses<br>The one dares as much to exist without the other<br>as a rational soul does without reason;   | 1  |
| [4] | Nature fails when it is the moment for falling in love:<br>Love the chatelaine and the heart her mansion,<br>in which she rests asleep<br>Sometimes for a short time, sometimes long.   | 5  |
| [5] | Beauty appears then in the wise lady,<br>who pleases the eyes just as within the heart<br>there is born a desire for that which pleases<br>And it lasts so long there, then,<br>that it awakens the spirit of Love,<br>as does a worthy man in women. | 10 |

[6] This sonnet is divided in two parts; in the first I say about love when it is in power, in the second I say about Love when it is changed from potential to action. The second begins here 'Beauty appears'. [7] The first is divided in two. In the first I say in which subject this power might exist, in the second I then say how this subject and this potential are produced in essence, and how the one holds the other in material form. The second begins here: 'Nature fails'. Then when I say 'Beauty appears', I say how this potential is changed into action; and first how it changes in man and then how it changes in woman, here 'as does a valorous man'.

A number of points can be made. The conditioning of the reader starts early: the lyric becomes unthinkable in any other situation where it is not a response to the anonymous Cavalcanti's request. The prose positions the author—not quite so self-effacing as the Dante of the *De vulgari eloquentia*, where he relegated himself to the status of Cavalcanti's anonymous friend. He presents himself as aiding both reader and friend by directing the flow of knowledge in his authority in a learned fashion ('trattare'). More seriously, Dante diminishes Cavalcanti's role as initiator and

interlocutor, and isolates ‘Amor e ’l cor gentil’ from the literary context: Dante has begun to remove himself from the dialectic network of poets studied by Jörn Gruber, here an intellectual network. The advantage of the enfranchisement of the reader for Dante, as described by Wehle, is that he can determine the limited area into which his readers are released. He gives two separate provenances for the sonnet with his own decision following and obliterating the actual version in which he was incited by his friend Cavalcanti. This move becomes all the more astonishing when one sees this lyric’s indebtedness to its contemporaries. The first two lines, ‘Amore e ’l cor gentil sono una cosa, | sì come il saggio in su’ dittare pone’ appear to have been inspired by lines 3-4 of Guido Guinizzelli’s *canzone*, ‘Al cor gentil rempaira sempre amore’, which read ‘né fe ’amor anti che gentil core | né gentil core anti ch’amor Natura’ [‘Nature neither creates love before a gentle heart nor a gentle heart before love’]. Yet further, the term *saggio* could, according to De Robertis, refer to the ‘predicato del poeta nelle tenzoni, dove si faceva appello alla competenza dell’interlocutore’ [‘the predicate for a poet in a *tenzone* where the other poet’s competence is called into question.].<sup>100</sup> This sonnet thus bears witness to Dante’s rather disingenuous relations with the poetic community.

The *divisioni*, the detailed and often lengthy explications of the poems, evidence Dante’s aspirations to learned forms and, indeed, the particular intellectualization of poetry in the Italian cities. These structural analyses demonstrate the rhetorical structure and logical development of the poem’s argument, in a manner unknown for vernacular poetry in the thirteenth century. As Dante states when justifying the inclusion of scholastic *divisiones textus*, ‘la divisione non si fa se non per aprire la sentenza de la cosa divisa’ (G 7.13, B XIV.13) [‘*divisioni* are used only to open up the sense of those things which are divided’]. Steve Botterill notes that only 6 of the 31 intercalated lyrics have no *divisione*: evidently it is imperative for Dante that their argument be

---

<sup>100</sup> *Vita Nuova*, ed. by Domenico De Robertis, in *Opere minori*, ed. De Robertis and Gianfranco Contini, 2 vols in 3 (Milan: Ricciardi, 1984), note, p. 134.

properly understood.<sup>101</sup> He is primarily interested in poetry as an intellectual endeavour and its potential for displaying his mental accomplishment. There is no explicit consideration of the lyrics' artistic value, no mention of the use of figures, sound or other elements of the poetic tool-kit. The only exception is the literary *excursus*, where he notes that 'se alcuna figura o colore rettorico è conceduto a li poete, conceduto è a li rimatori' (G16.7, B XXV.7) ['if any rhetorical figure or colour has been given to poets at large, it has been given to the writers of verse']. In fact, Dante, in a veiled sleight on Guittone d'Arezzo, is damning about the lowly *rimatori* who allow linguistic play to obscure intellectual rigour:

E acciò che non ne pigli alcuna baldanza persona grossa, dico che né li poete parlano così senza ragione né quelli che rimano deono parlare così non avendo alcuno ragionamento in loro di quello che dicono...sotto vesta di figura o di colore rettorico... (G16.10, B XXV.10)

And in order that over-confidence not shame a rude person, I say that neither should the poets speak thus without reason nor should those who compose rhymes speak thus, not having any idea about what they say...beneath the veil of rhetorical figures or turns of phrase...

And yet this is to deny the implicit importance accorded to the lyrical form, and to some lyrics above others—for instance, the way Dante uses lyrics to structure the *Vita Nuova* into two parts, pivoting around 'Donne ch'avete intelletto d'Amore'. We need only think of the opening lines of the *Vita Nuova* to be reminded of this, when Dante states programmatically that:

In quella parte del libro de la mia memoria dinanzi a la quale poco si potrebbe leggere si trova una rubrica la qual dice: *Incipit vita nova*, sotto la qual rubrica io trovo scritte le parole le quali è mio intendimento d'assemblare in questo libello; e se non tutte, almeno la loro sentenza. (G 1.1, B I)

In that part of the book of my memory in front of which little can be read there is a rubric which says *Here begins the new life*, underneath which rubric I find written the words which it is my intention to bring together in this little book—and if not all of them, at least their meaning.

---

<sup>101</sup> Botterill, 'Però che la divisione non si fa se non per aprire la sentenza de la cosa divisa' (VN XIV, 13): the *Vita Nuova* as commentary', in *La Gloriosa donna de la mente: A Commentary on the 'Vita Nuova'*, ed. by Vincent Moleta (Florence: Olschki, 1994) pp. 61-76, (pp. 73-74). It is interesting to note that both Quintillian and Hugh de St. Victoire favoured *divisio textus* as a means of memorizing texts, a purpose no longer as important in Dante's written world. See further Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), p. 52.

This is to say that, for Dante, there is a value to those lyrics which he has chosen to include in the *prosimetrum*, and yet this remains below the line, as the learned manner in which the lyrics are treated valorizes their contents, not their form as such. *Vita Nova* not *Poetria Nova*—the emphasis is on the narrative. The partial disavowal of the importance of lyric is certainly apparent from the edited text. The evidence of the manuscript transmission, however, recommends a more circumspect approach to the intercalated lyrics.

An important feature on the boundary between the literary and the material is the citation in the prose of the incipits of the lyric, generally immediately before the lyrical text is quoted in full.<sup>102</sup> This can be seen as the attempt to underline the auctorial status of these lyrics, part of Dante's campaign, according to some, to imitate not contemporary lyric cycles but classical texts, above all Ovid's *Remedia amoris*.<sup>103</sup> Indeed we might also suggest, looking back to Armstrong and Kay's use of Lyotard's figure of deictic valorization of lyric as a particular knowledge, that Dante is trying to insert himself into this model of thinking about poetry and its value. His interest in raising the profile and value of his own poetry merely confirms this. From the perspective of manuscript production, H. Wayne Storey, by contrast, proposes convincingly that the naming of the poems—and their genre—in advance is further evidence of Dante's engagement with the future manuscript transmission of his work. Not only does it prepare the copyist for the impact of the insert on his *mise en page*, it also supports the textual integrity of the *libello*.<sup>104</sup> These announcements echo Dante's practice in the *De vulgari eloquentia* of citing songs by *incipit* alone,

---

<sup>102</sup> The exceptions are the poems 'Li occhi dolente per pietà del core' (G 20, B XXXI), 'Venite a 'ntender li sospiri miei' (G 21, B XXXII), and 'Quantunque volte' (G 22, B XXXIII), in which *divisione* precedes poem. Similarly, the last two lyrics quoted, 'Deh, peregrini, che pensosi andate' (G 29, B XI), and 'Oltre la spera' (G 30, B XII) have a considerable delay between the citation of the incipit and their actual quotation.

<sup>103</sup> The texts are also linked by Ovid's programmatic use of the diminutive 'libellus': 'Legerat huius Amor titulum nomenque libelli: | 'Bella mihi, video, bella parantur' ait' (ll. 1-2) ['Cupid read the title and name of this little book | 'I see they are nice about me; they seem good', he said.].

<sup>104</sup> Storey, 'Following Instruction', p. 118.

without quoting the text *in extenso*.<sup>105</sup> While this seems almost to invite the compilation of ‘no lyric’ MSS of the *Vita Nova*, the fact that none exists reaffirms the fundamental importance of the lyric form to Dante’s transmitters, as do the ‘lyric only’ witnesses, of which there are 40, as many as there are witnesses with the prose.<sup>106</sup>

Dante’s audiences, then, disagreed with him about the nature of lyric poetry, seeing it as fundamentally mobile, and resisted his attempts to control his *œuvre*. But what about the literary effect of the paratext drawing the eye to the formal boundary? The result is to make the lyrics the object of the *Vita Nova* in the sense of being the text’s *telos*, not its source. As such, comments such as Michelangelo Picone’s on the total assimilation of the lyrics into the *Vita Nova* must be treated with caution:

Ritengo in fatto che una lirica, una volta che è stata inclusa nella *Vita Nuova* o nel *Convivio*, ha perduto il suo carattere di prova estemporanea, per entrare a far parte di una totalità letteraria e di un ingranaggio compositivo dai quali soltanto riceve il suo significato.

I maintain in fact that a lyric, once it has been included in the *Vita Nuova* or the *Convivio*, has ceased to be an extempore venture by becoming part of a literary whole and of a compositional mechanism which alone give it its meaning.<sup>107</sup>

He does not respond to the formal difference, which is made very clear in different ways in the manuscripts, even if Dante himself acknowledges it only obliquely.<sup>108</sup> Picone also overlooks both the fact that at least some of the intercalated lyrics were composed specifically for inclusion in the *Vita Nova*, as Stefano Carrai notes, and, more importantly, the long tradition of lyric-only

---

<sup>105</sup> Barański, “‘Lascio cotale trattato ad altro chiosatore’”: Form, Literature, and Exegesis in Dante’s *Vita nova*, in *Dantean Dialogues: Engaging with the Legacy of Amilcare Iannucci*, ed. by Maggie Kilgour et al. (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2013), pp. 1-40. I am grateful to Prof. Barański for allowing me to read this essay before it went to press.

<sup>106</sup> *La Vita Nuova di Dante Alighieri*, ed. by Michele Barbi, Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Dante 1 (Florence: Bemporad, 1932), p. XIX.

<sup>107</sup> Picone, ‘Dante rimatore’ in *Le Rime di Dante: Letture classensi* 24, ed. by Michaelangelo Picone (Longo: Ravenna, 1995), pp. 171-87 (p. 174).

<sup>108</sup> See reproductions of Boccaccio’s MSS and other early witnesses in Storey, ‘Following Instructions’, and also in Barbi’s edition.

transmission of the *libello*'s poems as a group.<sup>109</sup> As we have seen in the case of the multilingual lyrics examined in Chapter 2, however, there is often a substantial difference between the authorial intentions which may be inferred from a literary text and what happens to it in transmission, and, while Dante may not have explicitly emphasized the lyrics of the *Vita Nova*, they have always had a peculiar position in relation to his other *rime*. This has been the case from the very beginning, when Boccaccio copied the *divisioni* in the margins of his four manuscript copies, read by Jason Houston as an attempt to free Dante's poetry from the author's own authorized interpretation. Houston quotes Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum gentilium* XIV.12.7 and his goal of presenting texts '[ut] labore ingeniorum quesita et diversimode intellecta comperta tandem faciant cariora'<sup>110</sup> ['so they may be examined by the work of the intellect and understood variously, and made more valuable when finally known']. Editing Dante's lyrical poetry is a particularly fraught act: one need only consider the disagreement between Gianfranco Contini, De Robertis and Picone about the inclusion of the poems of the *Vita nova* among the *Rime*.<sup>111</sup> Ultimately this is brought about by the author's own literary choices; in Teodolinda Barolini's happy phrase, 'Dante left the editorial transmission light-years in his wake'.<sup>112</sup> In short, he wishes to insure himself against the exappropriation and disavowal to which he himself subjected the troubadours in the *De vulgari eloquentia*.<sup>113</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> Carrai, *Dante Elegiaco: Una chiave di lettura per la 'Vita Nuova'*, Saggi di "Lettere italiane", 62 (Florence: Olschki, 2006), p. 98-101, discusses the likelihood that 'Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore' was conceived specifically for *Vita Nova*, deciding that 'niente vieta' ['nothing forbids'] this interpretation (p. 100).

<sup>110</sup> sc. Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares [Biblioteca del Cabildo], 104.6 and the "Chigiano" MS, now two separate MSS: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi L.V. 176 and L.VI. 213., the first of which contains the text of the *Vita Nova*. The "Chigiano" copy is copied with little alteration in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1035. See Houston, *Building a Monument to Dante: Boccaccio as 'Dantista'* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), pp. 25-42 (pp. 41-42). He quotes Vittorio Branca's edition of the *Genealogia*. It is also interesting to note the etymological echo here of the Carestia debate discussed in Chapter One in the desire to make lyrics 'carior'—desirability and value come through hard work and exclusivity.

<sup>111</sup> Teodolinda Barolini, 'Editing Dante's *Rime* and Italian Cultural History: Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarca...Barbi, Contini, Foster-Boyde, De Robertis', in Barolini, *Dante and the Origins of Italian Literary Culture* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006), pp. 245-78 (p. 256).

<sup>112</sup> Barolini, 'Editing Dante's *Rime*', p. 251.

<sup>113</sup> Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales*, p. 161

Thus the *Vita Nova* offers one of the more complex instances of lyric intercalation. Dante's use of the mixed form to create his own poetic identity and to give a protecting cover to his lyrical corpus have a cyclical relationship with his dominance of Italian literary history, the one feeding the other. Unlike the majority of the texts considered in this chapter, the *libello* is actively engaged in the denial of the poetic community, in the re-situation of lyric poetry—of love poetry—in a firmly individualist context, with the experiences that give rise to the individual lyrics being made inaccessible to the population at large. At the same time, Dante in his role as initiator of a manuscript tradition has developed the practicalities of lyric intercalation to offer his text integrity and security, a goal which, we have seen, he only partly achieved.

#### *Conclusion: The Prose Tristan and its lyric contexts*

All of the works considered thus far have been attributed to a single author, though it has also become clear that they draw their strength from a far-reaching network of other poets. The vast *Tristan en prose*, already encountered in the Introduction, offers a valuable fictional side-light on the questions of both the afterlife of poetry and the status of the poet. More widely transmitted in the Middle Ages than the better-known and better-studied *Lancelot-Graal*, it exists in numerous redactions and variant forms, the work of many hands. It is attributed to the probably mythical Luce del Gast and Hélie de Boron. Bringing together Tristan and Yseult's affair with the adventures of the Round Table, the text includes a score of *lais* and verse letters.<sup>114</sup> Though different in form to the majority of lyrics considered above, the *lais* nonetheless reinforce the importance of song as a mode of expression and communication to courtly culture. Even prose

---

<sup>114</sup> See Emmanuèle Baumgartner, *Le "Tristan en Prose": Essai d'interprétation d'un roman médiéval*, Publications romanes et françaises, 133 (Geneva: Droz, 1975), pp. 298-307, for a brief overview. *Les Lais du Roman de Tristan en Prose d'après le manuscrit de Vienne 2542*, ed. by Tatiana Fotitch and Ruth Steiner, Münchener romanistische Arbeiten, 38 (Munich: Fink, 1974), gives a critical edition with *apparatus criticus* comparing them with all other MSS. This MS provides melodies for 17 *lais*—the only other *Tristan* witness to include notation is BnF fr. 776, which gives three melodies. On these two MSS' musical components, see John Haines, 'Espaces musico-poétiques dans le *Tristan en prose*', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 50 (2007), 11-31. He believes the songs circulated before their inclusion in the romance (18).

romance, or perhaps especially, given the absent possibility for formal *élan* available to lyricists, needs to restate the anchoring of courtly love in the lyric mode. The *lais* generally serve as lyric interludes, and are notable for being the occasion for diegetic description of lyric dissemination (like the passage quoted in the Introduction).<sup>115</sup>

A number of these songs also circulated on their own. That is to say, they move in the opposite direction to those lyrics discussed in the body of this chapter. There are three such instances: Paris, BnF, fr. 795 quotes ‘Folie n’est pas vasselage’ (Löseth § 100<sup>116</sup>), a text also present in Milan, BN Braidense AC. X. 10, a MS of the *Bestiaires d’Amour* of Richard de Fournival.<sup>117</sup> Paris, BnF fr. 12599 contains the verse letters from Tristan to Lancelot in a separate quire, semi-detached from the rest of the text.<sup>118</sup> The epistolary transmission includes BAV, Barb. lat. 3953, which includes Löseth 71a, a letter from Yseult to Tristan, alongside a collection of Italian lyric poetry, including the *canzoniere* of the Trevisan Nicoló de’ Rossi. It thus puts the fictional courtly lovers *par excellence* alongside one of the poets whose ‘real’ poetry was influenced by such fictions.<sup>119</sup> In all these cases, the lyric, which originally depended on the narrative for its existence and its status, also closely bound up with the figure who sang or wrote it in the romance, is detached in a way that allows this fictional authority to go with it along a new stretch of its transmission, moving from the fictional series to the historical. These cases offer a remarkable insight into the nuanced understanding of the figure of the courtly poet by medieval audiences

---

<sup>115</sup> The need to shore up the lyric foundations of the text seems particularly clear in BnF fr. 776, which gives in all three cases enough notation to take up almost a whole folio, even if this means, as on f. 181r, repeating the same melody four times.

<sup>116</sup> Due to the vast MS tradition of the *Tristan* and the separate modern editions of the long and short versions of the narrative, the most reliable means of reference remains the paragraphs of Eilhart Löseth’s *Analyse critique du ‘Roman de Tristan’ en Prose Française*, Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Sciences Philologiques et Historiques, 82 (Paris: Champion, 1890). See also Eugène Vinaver’s overview of the MSS: *Etudes sur le ‘Tristan’ en Prose: Les sources—Les manuscrits—Bibliographie critique* (Paris: Champion, 1925).

<sup>117</sup> This witness has been edited by Fabrizio Cigni: ‘Il lai tristaniano “Folie n’est pas vasselage” e i suoi contesti (con edizione del manoscritto braidense)’, in *Dai pochi ai molti: Studi in onore di Roberto Antonelli*, ed. by Paolo Canettieri and Arianna Punzi (Rome: Viella, 2014), pp. 587-95.

<sup>118</sup> See Cigni, ‘Guiron, Tristan e altri testi arturiani’, *Studi mediolatini e volgari*, 45 (1999), 31-70 (42-45).

<sup>119</sup> There is a brief notice in Brugnolo, *Il Canzoniere di Nicoló de’ Rossi*, 2 vols, Medioevo e umanesimo, 16 and 30 (Padua: Antenore, 1974-77), I, pp. XLVII-IX.

and transmitters, an understanding perhaps more willing to contemplate questions of fictionality than previous generations of modern scholars. Let us consider one instance in greater detail.

In the romance, the verse letter ‘Folie n’est pas vasselage’ comes after Kahedin sends a song (‘A vou, Amours, ains c’a nului,| Se plaint Kahedins de celui’, ed. Ménard, vol. 1, § 154, p. 230) to his beloved Yseult *via* a harpist who has praised his poetry. Yseult is not pleased to realize Kahedin still loves her: ‘le tient ele plus a fol qu’ele ne fesist onques mais a nul jour, car par ces vers aperçoit ele bien k’il n’estoit encore pas retrais de s’amour. Bien a du tout le sens perdu quant il i bee!’ (§ 155, p. 231) [‘Now she holds him even madder than she ever did, for by these verses she sees that he had not yet retreated from his love. He had completely lost his senses when he spoke!’. She sends him back to Petite Bretagne with a letter each for Kahedin and the absent Tristan. Her response to Kahedin (Ménard § 158, p. 233) begins:

Folie n’est pas vasselage!	1	Madness is not enfeeblement!
D’emprise ki vient de folage		The prison that comes from madness-
Ne poi je onques preu veoir.		I can never see its advantage.
Cascuns hom se doit pourveoir,		Each man must foresee
Quant il conmenche a quele fin	5	When he sets out to what end
Ses fais venra a la parfin.		his deeds will come on completion.
S’il voit que maus l’empuist venir,		If he sees that evil might come of it
Il se doit de cel fait tenir		He should hold back from that act
Et faire autre dont li soit preus.		And do another, from which he may gain.
Donc dist on k’il est sage et preus.	10	For which it will be said he is wise and noble.
Ki ainme et set k’il n’est amés		He who loves and knows he is not loved
Bien devroit estre faus clamés!		Should certainly be called mad.

The verse finishes by alligning Tristan (and Yseult) with the eagle and lion, suggesting that Kahedin faces insuperable odds. He suffers: ‘Ha! Diex, com il fait male fin, estrange dementeis pour les amours de madame Yseut! Il meurt de si estrange mort que onques mais nus hom ne morut a si grant dolour com il meurt!’ (§ 195, p. 235) [‘Oh God! What a bad end he has, strange madman because of the love of Lady Yseult. He dies such a strange death that no man ever died

in such great pain as he does!']. He sickens for three months, collapses next to a fountain, and dies four days later.

BnF fr. 795 includes 'Folie n'est pas vasselage' side by side with troubadour lyric—the first 2 folios of the MS which precede 'Folie n'est pas vasselage' are devoted to a short selection of Peire Cardenal's lyrics (the codex is also known as troubadour *chansonnier* Y). They have been copied together onto the flyleaves of a late thirteenth-century narrative miscellany, including the *Chanson d'Antioche* and the *Chevalier au Cygne* by a pair of fourteenth-century hands possibly from Lorraine. The *lai* is labelled at the foot of the folio 'cest la letra qu'envoia la roine / Ysolt la Blonde a Keedin li / fuis le roy Hoel de la Petite Bretagne'.<sup>120</sup> This codicological location sees the poet-lover, a narrative figure partly built on the model of the hopeless lover in troubadour lyrics, *vidas* and *razos*, mediated by Thomas and Chrétien, returning to the poetic fold after amatory and narrative adventures. This is only appropriate since Kahedin will die from his unreciprocated love, thus clearly participating in the Jaufré Rudel tradition. The songs of Peire Cardenal witnessed here are PC 335 nos. 62, 66, 5, 25, 62, 57 and 59. All *sirventes*, they treat a range of subjects relating to dishonesty and misrepresented truths, and their punishment. The final piece turns to the value of true friendship. There are two possible readings; both reinforce the didactic potential of this group of songs. Firstly, these are advice to those who have not learnt how to behave correctly. Secondly, given the overwhelming emphasis in Peire Cardenal's songs on the perversions of power, by clerics or laity, Yseult becomes a forceful example of one who has misused her power, here erotic. She has badly mistreated Kahedin—this much is clear from the rubric in fr. 795, even if readers were not aware that this in the *Roman* then causes his death.

The compilation is symptomatic of thirteenth-century reflection on the underlying construction of lyrical culture and notions of what a poet is. That is, just as the *Tristan* observes very closely

---

<sup>120</sup> For a full list of the witnesses of the *Tristan*, see Cigni, 'Per un riesame della tradizione del "Tristan" in prosa, con nuove osservazioni sul ms. Paris, BnF, fr. 756-757', in *Culture, livelli di cultura e ambienti nel Medioevo occidentale—Atti del VII Convegno triennale della Società Italiana di Filologia Romanza* (Bologna, 5-8 ottobre 2009), ed. by Francesco Benozzo et al. (Rome: Aracne, 2012), pp. 247-78 (pp. 255-66).

the logistics of poetic production and transmission, the tuning of instruments, the learning of lyrics by messengers, and the place of written exemplars, it also invites contemplation of the nature of the poet. In balance with the individualization of the figure of the poet, a process bound up with the privileging of lyric as a means of encapsulating and deploying *savoir-faire*, there is here a move to bring him back into the poetic community, regardless of his status as real or fictional. Why should Yseult's song not feature in a *chansonnier*? Her song makes her as real as any troubadour. The careful attribution of the song to Yseult thus makes for a radical flattening-out of a kind not seen before: where Matfre and Dante, for instance, bring together temporally and geographically disparate poets, the compiler of fr. 795 whittles away at the boundary between fictional and real authors, making a tacit acknowledgement that the figure of poet as constructed by the *chansonniers* and texts such as the *Chastelain de Couci* and *Frauendienst* is a fiction himself. Indeed, fr. 795 can be seen as:

die Demonstration der prinzipiellen Vereinbarkeit von lebensweltlicher Relevanz und fiktionalem Sprechen [...und] dass die lebensweltliche Relevanz von Dichtung weniger mit Referenz zu tun hat als mit der Wahrnehmung von Ähnlichkeiten und Analogien zwischen der dargestellten Welt einerseits und der Wirklichkeit andererseits.<sup>121</sup>

the demonstration of the conceivable unifiability of real-world relevance and fictive speech, and that the real-world relevance of literature has less to do with referentiality than with the perception of similarities and analogies between the diegesis on the one hand and reality on the other.

This move poses serious questions about the reciprocal authorization of the texts by songs and the songs by the texts which quoted them, that Lyotardian deictic authorization of knowledge. And yet this structure holds together, because what matters is not the truth value of the lyric but rather lyrical form and the meaning of song as a mode of communication not reducible to its contents. This outweighs the contents of the various lyrics and indeed it is the nature of the lyric enunciation which permits the bringing together of ostensibly disparate material in the Tristan diaspora. Just as it is being a “troubadour” that joins together those *doctores vulgares* quoted by

---

<sup>121</sup> Mark Chinca, ‘Fiktionalität: Der *Frauendienst* zwischen Fiktivität und Fiktionalität’, in *Ulrich von Liechtenstein*, ed. by Linden and Young, pp. 305-23 (p. 322).

Dante and Matfre, regardless of the other factors that might separate them, it is being poets that surmounts the boundaries between historical and fictional series so clearly defined for moderns. Yseult, in a sense, succeeded where Conrad in *Guillaume de Dole* failed: she managed to pass—or more accurately to be passed by ‘her’ transmitters—‘du rêve à la réalité’.<sup>122</sup> This instance also shines a light on the obsession seen in a number of the texts examined above with attributing songs to authors, for this grows out of what can be called the fiction of the lyric utterance. The value attributed to emotive declaration in a particular delineated form by a subject is reinforced by attribution which certifies its subjectivity and the authenticity of the knowledge it transmits. The fact that this attribution follows ‘Folie n’est pas vasselage’ out of the romance suggests that while the lyric form may be *conditio sine qua non*, the use to which that form and mode are put by a particular individual is the second motor for the importance of lyric.

Finally, what becomes clear from these *Tristan* witnesses is that the energy of lyric poetry and lyric culture consists, somewhat paradoxically given the value attributed to the subjective utterance, in its connective potential, and that this remains true in numerous different social and cultural contexts. Throughout this examination of the quotation and manipulation of poetry we have seen the highly reactive interplay of different texts and the creation of networks, and their destruction when poems are taken from their original context and placed in new circumstances in which new networks are formed. The same goes for poets and their collective endeavours, even when, say, Dante attempts to hide this interconnection. In this environment, language, while connotative, is secondary: to be lyric is itself enough. Without the potential for reading in the close weave of the lyric form the technical and intellectual community of poets and for harnessing this to seemingly limitless purposes, lyric intercalation would not have become so pervasive a feature of medieval literature. It offered an irresistible way of representing in text the aspirational world of the poet and the engaged audience.

---

<sup>122</sup> Baumgartner, ‘Les citations’, 263.

## 4. Choosing a Language for Song: The Lyric Beyond

The lyric landscape of Medieval Europe is, as has been seen, a place of sometimes hazy boundaries, where not only poets but also their transmitters negotiated and sometimes manipulated linguistic difference. Given their different priorities, artistic and intellectual on the one hand, more pragmatic on the other, these two groups' responses are varied and sometimes antagonistic. Both, however, privilege lyric poetry as a particular personal enunciation. That is, poetry is a particular way of encoding wisdom and knowledge in the very fabric of a text. Where so far I have considered individual literary connections reaching across boundaries, it is the purpose of this chapter to examine cultural interaction on a larger scale. Here, lyric poetry becomes not merely a personal expression, but the cipher of a society and culture at large. This change of scale takes us into more political territory, where thirteenth-century rulers adopted or promoted a language to position their dominion by cultural means. In these circumstances, language choice has a particular value, difficult to define, one similar to the value ascribed to lyrical form against prose or narrative verse. Languages used 'abroad', contrast in particular with the native language. Thus, for instance, the flourishing poetic production in Middle High German at the Bohemian royal court served to reinforce the last Přemyslids' credentials as European monarchs within the Holy Roman Empire, while concurrently differentiating themselves and their nobility from their Czech-speaking underlings. They also, and this is the

subject of this chapter, contrast with the way in which ‘native’ users of that borrowed language write their poetry.

The idea of choosing a language presupposes a certain stable linguistic identity: consequently this chapter approaches the mobility of lyric in a way that contrasts with Chapter 2, which examined the instability of medieval linguistic identity. This is not to suggest that the boundaries between Romance languages were any less difficult to trace for these actors than others. Nonetheless, ‘top-down’ choices seem to presume linguistic difference without necessarily elaborating what that might actually be. They can thus reinforce divisions and, through the implicit value judgement, generate a hierarchy of literary production in a region. For instance, Old French and Occitan had a preferential status in Italy in the first half of the thirteenth century before the advent of Italian-language production discussed below. Thus Occitan-language poets like Lanfranc Cigala and Bartolomeo Zorzi, for instance, are ‘semi-detached’ from ‘Italian’ literature and considered a kind of pre-history.<sup>1</sup>

The nature of the language used for lyric revolves in this chapter around two poles: the ‘foreign’ language and the *koiné*. Foreignness is a somewhat contentious notion which will be discussed further in more specific terms: I take it to mean a language, used where it is not the language of everyday speech, and where its use is artificial.<sup>2</sup> Even in situations where one foreign language is dominant, there is still a choice open to the poet and his patron, and thus a decision has been made. For instance, the use of Occitan in both Northern Italy and Catalonia is an unnatural one,

---

<sup>1</sup> Compare de Sanctis’ classic 1870-71 history of Italian literature, which begins with the Sicilians and does not mention Occitan-language writers. See *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, ed. by Niccolò Gallo, Biblioteca della Pléiade, 22 (Turin: Einaudi-Gallimard, 1996).

<sup>2</sup> There is also a certain foreignness about the use of Latin, but that differs substantially from the vernacular interactions that are the subject of the present work given the extent to which it is imbued with varying notions of authority, both secular and religious. There is also the separate matter, discussed in the previous chapter, of the difference between the lyric enunciation and other speech, and of Derrida’s conceptualization of all language as foreign to the speaker. See Sarah Kay’s gloss of *Le monolinguisme de l’autre* in *Parrots and Nightingales*, p. 10.

motivated by the perceived prestige of that language. The Occitan poetic *koiné*, divorced from everyday usage, is in some senses foreign, but not in the degree of the languages as used by the poets considered here. The term *koiné* is understood here as a combination of several related dialects or linguistic subsystems into a single diatopic variety. As Jeff Siegel writes, ‘Use of a stabilized koiné may be extended to other areas besides intergroup communication. For example, it may become a literary language or the standard language of a country’.<sup>3</sup> In the case of the Sicilian School poets around Frederick II (though these only began the development of literary Italian) the corporate response to the hazy linguistic identities of the High Middle Ages is to create a *koiné*.<sup>4</sup> By contrast the Occitan poetic corpus from the start existed in a supra-regional form, which, although called ‘lemosi’ in the Middle Ages and ‘Provençal’ in older scholarship, does not bear a strong affinity to any individual part of the greater Occitania. The differentiation between standardized and everyday language can in fact be closer to a question of style. Indeed, the problem for literary critics of judging non-native poets’ language and output in general is an important consideration, not least because of the questions it asks of the centrifugal forces that underpin most traditional literary histories. To what extent can we hold, say, Cerverí de Girona up against Marcabru? How does he appear to measure himself? My examples all come from the thirteenth century, and all three areas of interest for this chapter—Iberia, Italy, and Bohemia with Silesia—are generally considered to be latecomers to the vernacular literary party, after France, Germany and England because their ‘national’ language was not yet in literary use.

The elaboration of European poetic traditions is complex, and consequently attitudes such as Anton Toubert’s over-simplistic gloss on the troubadours (‘Cette influence a fait naître dans ces pays une lyrique nationale’ [‘this influence caused the birth in these countries of a national lyric’])

---

<sup>3</sup> ‘Koinés and koineization’, *Language and Society*, 14 (1985), 357-78 (373-74). On the Occitan *koiné* see Martin-Dietrich Gleßgen and Max Pfister, ‘Okzitanische Koine’, in *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik*, ed. by Günther Holtus et al., 7 vols (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990-2010), II.2: *Die einzelnen romanischen Sprachen und Sprachgebiete vom Mittelalter bis zur Renaissance* (1995), pp. 406-11.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Alfonso X’s *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, another major top-down literary project important in the creation of a new *koiné*.

must be reconsidered.<sup>5</sup> After all, what were these national lyrics, given that the ‘nations’ to which they are attached would not come into existence for centuries, and how we can envisage a single, clearly defined influence? As seen in preceding chapters, there are many locations of interaction and transfer between European poets. It is one of the aims of this chapter to reframe the conscious adoption of a non-native language as a part of a comprehensive history of literature in medieval Europe. The fact that all the texts discussed date from the thirteenth century (not by any design) is of importance, therefore, indicating the extent to which linguistic borrowing answered the cultural requirements of different communities at this historical moment. ‘Borrowing’, however, implies possession, a thing inherently opposed to the interregional, interlinguistic nature of lyrical culture that has emerged in the preceding chapters. It underlines the fundamental problems with writing national literary and linguistic histories, so often founded on nineteenth-century nation states, themselves created in reaction to the heteroglossia and heterogeneity of the world it inherited from the later middle ages.<sup>6</sup> The question of how literary history is written also demands a more critical approach to literary corpora and editions.<sup>7</sup> The lyric poetry of Wenzel II of Bohemia, for instance, (also King of Lesser Poland and, briefly, Hungary) is primarily known to scholars from Kraus’s *Deutsche Liederdichter des 13. Jahrhunderts*, a collection which binds it firmly to a nineteenth-century notion of ‘Germanness’ alien to its composer. While this grows out of the German transmission of these lyrics, the non-German elements point to a rather different history. The *scuola siciliana*’s transmission in northern Italian

---

<sup>5</sup> Toubert, ‘Troubadours—siciliens—minnesänger: le manuscrit P (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pl. XLI, 41)’, in *Le Rayonnement de la civilisation occitane à l’aube d’un nouveau millénaire: 6e Congrès de l’Association internationale des études occitanes*, ed. by Georg Kremnitz et al. (Vienna: Praesens, 2001), pp. 254-69, (p. 254).

<sup>6</sup> On possible alternatives to the unusable concept of ‘internationality’, see Hartmut Kugler’s introduction to *Interregionalität der deutschen Literatur im europäischen Mittelalter*, ed. Kugler (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), pp. 1-10. Interregionality is the structure by which ‘[Es] zeigt sich das, was eine Kulturregion ausmacht, nicht erst dann in seiner eigentlichen Form, wenn alle ‘Fremdeinwirkungen’ weggefiltert werden, sondern es entsteht und besteht substantiell in solchen Fremdeinwirkungen. Das gilt im besonderen Maß für Literatur’ [‘It is evident that what makes a cultural region is not that which remains after all foreign influences have been filtered out, but rather it emerges and consists in to a considerable degree in those foreign influences. This is particularly the case for literature.’ (p. 3). On the difficulties posed by the ideal of adequate literary history, see David Perkins, *Is Literary History Possible?*

<sup>7</sup> See further the final chapter of Marissa Galvez’s *Songbook*.

witnesses has similar repercussions, seen also in many of the poets writing in Occitan in Northern Italy.<sup>8</sup>

This chapter opens with the earliest instance of geographically ‘exterior’ poets, the ‘Catalan troubadours’ Guillem de Berguedà and the later Cerverí de Girona, positioning themselves in relation to poets working in Occitan in Occitania, demonstrating how the use of a *koiné* connects while sometimes disavowing difference. From there it moves on to the early days of lyric poetry in Italian, when the poets of the *scuola poetica siciliana* took their first impulse from translating Occitan troubadours, an act that allowed them to clarify their position and that of their work, and to announce the arrival of their own language. The partial translation of Rigaut de Berbezilh’s ‘Atressi cum l’orifans’ opens up some of the difficulties that Italian had in establishing itself as a lyric language in the North where Occitan was already deeply embedded. An examination of the early manuscript transmission of Italian-language lyric shows the importance of linguistic forms in thinking about literary evolution. Evolution was facilitated in Sicily by the influence of the Emperor Frederick II, and so in the final section, I turn to another instance of thirteenth-century rulers making cultural policy, the sometimes overlooked Middle High German poetry of Bohemia and Silesia, where MS transmission reveals the role of non-native poets in forming the ‘German’ lyric tradition.

### *Catalonia I: Guillem de Berguedà*

Catalonia’s poetic relations with Occitania exist against the background of very deep regional connections, ties that patriots claim to pre-date the Roman occupation.<sup>9</sup> In the early medieval

---

<sup>8</sup> For instance, Stefano Asperti, *Carlo I d’Angiò e i trovatori: Componenti “provenzali” e angioine nella tradizione manoscritta della lirica trobadorica*, Memoria del Tempo, 3 (Ravenna: Longo, 1995) on the Neapolitan origins and influences on Occitan MSS EFHMPWf.

<sup>9</sup> Manuel de Montoliu, *La llengua catalana i els trobadors* (Barcelona: Alpha, 1957), p. 7.

period, northern Spain formed part of the See of Narbonne; Perpignan later became capital of the transpyrenean kingdom of Catalonia.<sup>10</sup> Interactions were furthered by the personal union of the counties of Barcelona and Provence in 1112 under Raimon Berenguer (III of Barcelona, I of Provence). King Alfonso II of Aragon (r. 1164-96) is attributed with introducing Occitan as the language of lyric poetry. He is also credited with composing a *tenso* with Giraut de Bornelh, ‘Bem plaria, seigner en Reis’, on whether it is honourable for a *domna* to take a lover richer than herself (PC 242, 22 = 23, 1a). The presence of Giraut is a reminder of the importance of the visits made by troubadours such as Marcabru and Peire d’Alvernha in the elaboration of close poetic bonds. Catalan monarchs continued to write poetry in Occitan well into the fourteenth century, ‘a very defective kind of Provençal, [but] they clearly had no intention of using their own language’.<sup>11</sup> As such, Catalonia, its monarchs and language choice, is of fundamental importance to any history of lyric in Occitan.<sup>12</sup>

Strong cultural and political ties across the Pyrenees are mirrored by similarities between Occitan and Catalan. Friedrich Diez, father of romance philology, did not entirely separate the two languages, regarding Catalan as an important variety of Occitan, though he later, like Gustav Gröber in his *Grundriß der romanischen Philologie*, proposed the opposite. Later commentators instead focussed on affinities with Iberian languages.<sup>13</sup> More recent attention has been paid by

---

<sup>10</sup> Arthur Terry, *A Literary History of Spain: Catalonia* (London: Benn; New York: Barnes and Noble, 1972), pp. 1-2.

<sup>11</sup> Terry, *A Companion to Catalan Literature* (Woodbridge: Thamesis, 2003), p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> See Irénée Cluzel, ‘Princes et troubadours de la maison royale de Barcelone-Aragone’, *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 27 (1957-58), 321-73. Astonishingly, Catalan literary circles continued to refer to Catalan as ‘llemosí’ [lit. ‘limousin’, but used to refer to the Occitan poetic *koiné*] into the early nineteenth century. See Germà Colón, ‘Llemosí i llengua d’oc a la Catalunya medieval’, in Colón, *Llengua catalana en els seus textos*, 2 vols (Barcelon: Curial, 1978), I, pp. 39-59 (p. 41). This emphasizes the place of Occitan in Catalan literary history, and, by extension the strangeness of Emili Casanova’s surprise, even after noting the Occitan poetry produced in Catalonia that ‘Además nasce la lengua literaria ya madura y desarrollada y no en la etapa de balbuceos que presentan otras lenguas’ [‘Besides, the literary language is born already mature and developed and not in the stammering stage shown by other languages.’] ‘Katalanisch: Sprache und Literatur’, in *Lexikon der romanistischen Linguistik*, V, 2 (1991), pp. 218-31 (p. 219).

<sup>13</sup> Montoliu, *La llengua catalana*, p. 5.

Catherine L  glu and Simon Gaunt to the conscious manipulation of the linguistic boundary, especially in the case of the short narrative ‘Frayre de Joy e Sor de Plaser’, recorded in a mixed linguistic form and which appears to play the Occitan *koin  * against Catalan.<sup>14</sup> It is in this same playful no-man’s-land that we find our two poets: Guillem de Bergued   and Cerver   de Girona. Respectively from the beginnings and the final days of Occitan as *the* poetic language in Catalonia, these two demonstrate some of the ways in which poets situated themselves in the literary field, at once demonstrating their proximity to and distance from their trans-Pyrenean colleagues.

Against this historical background, there arises the question of just how foreign Occitan was for the poets of Catalonia, and further, by what criteria that the reader ought to judge them. The case of Guillem de Bergued  , a poet of the third generation (i.e. the last decades of the twelfth century) is instructive in the use of the Occitan language ‘outside’ Occitania. But, as will be appreciated from the sketch of the ties across the Pyrenees, this differentiation is at best artificial, and, as we shall see, best appreciated from a diachronic rather than a geographical perspective. It also further undermines the universal applicability of place as a tool in writing literary history. Active in late twelfth century, Guillem is universally praised for the quality of his poetry, and, in spite of the fact that he was by birth a Catalan speaker, the quality of his Occitan. ‘[Guillem—D.M.] escriu un proven  al tan correcte que supposa un atent aprenentage fet potser en estades a terres de m  s enll   del Pirineu o, tal vegada, per haver rebut lli  ons d’un “mestre de trobar”’ [‘Guillem writes Occitan so correctly that one presumes he undertook a thorough apprenticeship maybe done while visiting landholdings closer to the Pyrenees or, perhaps, from having taken

---

<sup>14</sup> Gaunt, ‘Linguistic Difference, the Philology of Romance, and the Romance of Philology’, in *A Sea of Languages: Rethinking the Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, ed. by Susan Akbari Conklin et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto: 2013), pp. 43-61, (pp. 45-47), and L  glu, *Multilingualism and Mother Tongue in Medieval French, Occitan and Catalan Narratives* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

lessons with a “master of poetry”].<sup>15</sup> In balance with this linguistic perfection, however, is a remarkable independence in his prosody, which often uses unusual strophic forms. Of his 31 surviving lyrics of certain attribution (there is one further lyric, the authorship of which is debated), eleven are formally unique.<sup>16</sup> This distinguishes Guillem from the many poets, as seen with ‘Can vei’ in Chapter 1, who used well-known metrical forms created by others as the starting point for poetic debate. Consequently, the only two instances where this may be the case in Guillem’s work are particularly noteworthy. They are his songs XVII, ‘Cavalier, un chantar cortes’ (PC 210, 6a), and VI, ‘Chansson ai comensada’ (PC 210, 7). The first uses the same melodic form as Guilhem IX’s song ‘Farai un vers pos mi someill’ (PC 183, 12), *8a8a8a4b8a4b*, and is the only song to imitate this song by the oldest recorded troubadour. However, as Jörn Gruber has shown, the Catalan poet is more familiar with William’s metre than some of Guillem’s modern editors (he singles out Riquer, and by extension István Frank), who overlook the fact that what the first troubadour’s fifteen strophes give as two separate lines of eight and four syllables have been amalgamated by the Catalan in most cases.<sup>17</sup> But two strophes (6 and 10) not only conserve the original rhyme scheme—this is presented as incidental interior rhyme by Guillem’s editors—and the latter also re-use rhyme sounds from Guilhem IX’s strophes 11, *a* rhyme –*at*, and *b* rhyme –*on*. In this light, the opening of the song, ‘Cavalier, un chanter cortes | aujatz en qest son q’ai apres’ [‘Knight, listen to a courtly song to this melody that I have learnt’] not only declares a contrafacture, but sets up for the identification of the name of the target of this *sirventes* in the next line as En Guillem. This particular knight has not been identified, and it is entirely conceivable that the Catalan is making a joking reference to the Count of Poitiers, even if his work was not, as Gruber notes, widely transmitted. Guillem is thus providing for informed reception of his song, for, ‘soll das Sirventes adäquat rezipiert werden, so muß das Publikum die

<sup>15</sup> *Les poesies del trobador Guillem de Berguedà*, trans. and ed. by Martí de Riquer (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 1996), pp. 17–18.

<sup>16</sup> *Guillem de Berguedà*, ed. by Martín de Riquer, 2 vols, Scriptorium Populeti, 5–6 (Poblet: Abbadia de Poblet, 1971), I, p. 212. The unique poems are, in Riquer’s numbering, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XIV, XVI, XVIII, XX, XXIV, XXVI, (sc. PC 210, 21; 15; 4; 8; 18; 9; 10a; 22; 17a; 3, and 16)

<sup>17</sup> Gruber, *Die Dialektik*, p. 182.

Vorlage erkennen und “mithören”, “mitverstehen” [‘if the sirventes is to be properly received, the audience must recognize the model, and ‘listen along’ to it and understand it alongside (sc. the original—D.M.)’].<sup>18</sup> Guillem is capable of making delicate references, but also supports his audience. Similarly, ‘Chansson ai comensada’ appears to reveal its own history, in the opening strophe which reads as follows.<sup>19</sup>

Chansson ai comensada	1	I have started a song
que sera loing cantada		that will be sung far and wide
en est son vieil antic		to this very old melody,
que fetz N’Ot de Moncada		created by Sir Ot de Moncada
anz que peira pausada	5	before they laid the foundation stone
fos el clochier de Vic.		for the bell tower at Vic.

Ot de Moncada is a shadowy figure, and if he existed at all, none of his songs come down to us. The tower of Vic cathedral was consecrated in 1038, so Ot would be one of the very earliest troubadours, predating even Guilhem IX. Alternatively, Guillem is merely using it as a hook for a characteristically forceful attack on the bishop of Urguell, Arnau de Preixens, in a relatively simple metrical form (7a’a’ba’a’b). Indeed it appears that Guillem is, in this rare *contrafactum* playing with his audience, for his metrical scheme is not from Ot, old as the hills, but rather from a poem, ‘Una ren-us dirai en Serra’ (PC 294, 2), by the only marginally less obscure Marcoat, a troubadour active c. 1150-70.<sup>20</sup> These two cases of contrafacture show Guillem positioning himself both as master of his own work, answerable only to the ‘founder’ of poetry in Occitan, Guilhem IX, and simultaneously as a poet like any other.

It is in the light of his self-fashioning relative to the origins of troubadour poetry that we turn to the question of language. As has been noted, Guillem’s Occitan is by and large faultless, and therefore the two most notable ‘slips’ acquire particular significance. Both are witnessed by MS

<sup>18</sup> Gruber, *Die Dialektik*, p. 184.

<sup>19</sup> *Les poesies*, ed. by Riquer, no. VI, pp. 138-47.

<sup>20</sup> Maria Luisa Meneghetti, ‘In limine: Qualche osservazioni sui due primi esempi di satira ‘personale’ romanze (BdT 294, 1-2), in *Cecco Angiolieri e la poesia satirica medievale: Atti del convegno internazionale: Siena, 26-17 ottobre 2002*, ed. by Stefano Carrai and Giuseppe Marrani, *Archivio Romanzo*, 9 (Florence: Galluzzo, 2005), pp. 1-12 (p. 2).

*Sg*, a fourteenth-century Catalan collection of considerable importance, which contains only four songs by Guillem.<sup>21</sup> The first instance is ‘Cantarey mentre m’estau’ (PC 210, 8a), a *Sg unicum*. The first strophe reads as follows:<sup>22</sup>

Cantarey mentre m’estau	1	I shall sing while I must
chantaret bon e leiau		A little song, good and loyal,
qe xanton macips de Pau		That the lads of Pau sing
del fals veill coronat bisbau		About the false, old, enthroned bishop
e d’En Folcalquer lo barrau:	5	And Sir Folcalquer, the barrel:
can re-ls sofrain dinz lur ostau		When something is lacking at home
van sojornar en cort reiau.		They go to stay at the royal court.
Puis van xantan lirinunvau,		And then they go, singing tralala
balan, notan gent e suau.		Dancing and playing delicately and sweetly.

In this first strophe there are clear Catalan influences, among which the striking graphic forms ‘xanton’ and ‘xantan’ (ll. 3 and 8). It is, however, ‘cantarey’ that is most noteworthy, using a Catalanism in place of Oc ‘cantarai/chantarai’ (cf. mod. Cat. ‘cantaré’) at the head of the song, and further in order to talk about the most fundamental interest of all troubadours: singing. More problematic is the final strophe, which shows a marked reliance on Catalan graphic forms, made all the more eye-catching by the monophonic *coblas singulares*:

Mon chantar volvv en biaix	37	I turn my song to one side
e met l’a-N Folc el caraix		And throw it in Sir Folc’s face-
e valgra li mais us laix;		It would be worth another lay <sup>23</sup> to him,
e pes del joy de que engraix,	40	And I think of the joy that fattens me
que-m ten joyos e-m vest e-m paix,		That keeps me joyful, clothes and feeds me
e no son chuflas de Roaix,		And they are not lies from Edessa <sup>24</sup>
c’ans es jois novels c’ades naix.		Rather there is new joy being born now.
Puis van xantan lirinunvaix,		Then they go about singing ‘lirinunvaix’
balan, notan autet e baix.	45	Dancing and singing high and low.

In the notes to his earlier edition, Martí de Riquer observes that words rhyming with those closing the lines of this strophe are used in Guillem’s other song, ‘Qan vei lo temps’ (no. 24),

<sup>21</sup> Miriam Cabré and Sadurni Martí, ‘Le Chansonier *Sg* au carrefour occitano-catalan’, *Romania*, 128 (2010), pp. 92-134, (97-103).

<sup>22</sup> *Les poesies*, ed. Riquer, no. V, pp. 126-37. The bishop is Arnau de Preizens, encumbant at Urguell, and ‘En Folc’ refers to Ramon Folc de Cardona, whom Guillem killed in 1175 (p. 126).

<sup>23</sup> Neither of Riquer’s editions translates this word.

<sup>24</sup> The ‘lies from Edessa’ appears to refer to the tall stories told by returning Crusaders; see *Guillem de Berguedà*, ed. Riquer, II, pp. 68-69, n. 42.

with a standard Occitan *-ais* ending, and are inconceivable with the ending *-aix*. Therefore, as Riquer says:

‘decidemos que es imposible dar a las rimas de esta canción una forma catalana, y ello nos podría llevar a concluir que el copista de *Sg* ha catalanizado en *-aix* una solución fonética que también en *Cantarey* (V), Guillem de Berguedà habría resuelto en *-ais*.<sup>25</sup>

we decide that it is impossible to give the rhymes of this song a Catalan form, and could lead us to the conclusion that the copyist of *Sg* has used a Catalanized phonetic solution with *-aix* that, also in ‘*Cantarey*’ (no. 5), Guillem de Berguedà would himself have ended in *-ais*.

If this is the case, then, it is merely another example of scribes muddling the linguistic forms of their model. However, given that the single scribe spells the word in the standard fashion elsewhere, and that the presentation of *Sg* points to considerable professionalism and accuracy, this may not be a mistake.<sup>26</sup> According to François Zufferey, this usage is reserved mainly for Guillem and the opening of the selection of poems by Raimbaut de Vaqueiras.<sup>27</sup> As in the case of ‘*Cel so qui capol’e dola*’ to which I will come shortly, ‘*Cantarey*’ is best viewed as an instance of Catalanism used to stylistic effect, and where the contrast with the Occitan *koiné* emphasizes their otherness.<sup>28</sup> The closing strophe, then, takes up and develops the small variations in the ‘*Puis van xantan lridunva-*’ refrain in the previous strophes. Further, given that the grapheme ‘x’ is used throughout the song to represent the phoneme /ʃ/ or /'tʃ/ (as in ‘*xantan*’) this at least alters the appearance of the final strophe, though thirteenth-century changes in phonology suggest that *-ais* and *-aix* were probably homophonous.<sup>29</sup> Consequently, the declaration that this strophe ‘*volv a biaix*’, while translated by Riquer as ‘*giro el meu cantar de biaix*’ (ed. 1993, p. 137), that is, ‘I turn my song on the bias’, can be seen quite differently in light of the closing

---

<sup>25</sup> *Guillem de Berguedà*, ed. Riquer, I, pp. 234-35.

<sup>26</sup> Cabré and Martí, ‘*Le Chansonier Sg*’, p. 101.

<sup>27</sup> Zufferey, *Recherches linguistiques*, p. 255.

<sup>28</sup> Some commentators have stressed the problems with over-emphasizing the evenness of the *koiné* across the troubadour corpus, but in the context of *Sg* this evenness is well grounded. See Andrea Poli, ‘*La lingua dei trovatori: Un rassegna critica degli studi*’, *Studi Medievali*, 38 (1997), 891-929, and Alberto Varvaro, ‘*La formazione delle lingue letterarie*’, in *Lexikon der romanistischen Linguistik*, II.2, pp. 528-37.

<sup>29</sup> Simone Ventura (private correspondence, August 2014)

passage of Raimon Vidal's *Razos de Trobar* quoted below. There 'biaix' takes on the meaning of dialect ('paraulas en biais'), and all those spellings and words which diverge from the Occitan *koiné*. It seems that in Guillem de Berguedà's song, it also covers those sounds that depart from the norm, thus drawing attention to his access to this differentiated toolkit.

Equally striking is the only other departure from standard Occitan in Guillem's corpus, in the fourth strophe of 'Cel so qui capol'e dola'.<sup>30</sup> The attribution to Guillem de Berguedà of the final two strophes of the five which compose the song is complicated by the appearance of the same strophes with minimal changes as the first strophes of the poem 'Una, duas, tres e quatre' by Guillem de la Tor (PC 236, 10). Sansone in his article and later edition of the Guillem de la Tor poem reads the multiple appearances as an act of theft on Berguedà's part, while Riquer does not take sides.<sup>31</sup> Whoever wrote it is making a point. The fourth strophe of the poem reads:

Un'e duas e tres et quatre, <sup>32</sup>	25	One and two and three and four,
cinc e seis e set e uit,		Five and six and seven and eight [sc. times]
m'avenc l'autrer a combatre		It befell me the other day to fight
ab ma osta tota nuit,		with my hostess all night long
e si-m trobes flac ni buit,		So you find me soft and spent
per la que-us dey, bel fratre,	30	For what I owe you, dear brother,
io agra tost mon pan cuit,		I will soon have cooked my bread
e puis fora fins de batre.		And then the fight will be over.

The tone is rough as befits the sexual content, while the first two lines give a popular overtone, for which reason Riquer suggests they 'podrien procedir de la tradició catalana, com sembla revelar l'ús del pronom personal *io*' ['could descend for the the Catalan tradition, as the use of the personal pronoun *io* seems to reveal'].<sup>33</sup> This is the only instance of the Catalan *io* in place of Occitan *ieu* in the section of *Sg* copied by that particular scribe, consistently conscientious and

<sup>30</sup> Riquer gives it the PC no. 210, 6b, though it is not included in the Bartsch, Pillet-Carstens or Frank repertories. See *Les poesies*, ed. Riquer, no. 15, pp. 223-29.

<sup>31</sup> 'Guilhem de Berguedan e Guilhem de la Tor: plagio?', in *La filologia romanza e i codici: Atto del convegno, Messina, Università degli studi, Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, 19-22 Dicembre 1991*, ed. by Saverio Guida et al. (Messina: Italy, 1991), pp. 649-84.

<sup>32</sup> The change from 'una' to 'un'e' is original.

<sup>33</sup> *Les poesies*, ed. Riquer, p. 223.

careful. Guillem de Berguedà—or at least his transmitter—is able to pick up elements of his and his audience’s native language and deploy them to special effect because of his linguistic training and ability in Occitan, not in spite of it, as Riquer suggests. The combined accuracy of the poet and the *Sg* scribe do not make one think departures from the norm are errors. Rather, here we can read the Catalan pronoun in this sexually-charged context as Guillem subverting more polite social norms identified, particularly in poetry, with the Occitan language. He may write Occitan poetry, but the man—or *persona* at least—is Catalan, and this interpretation accords with the Guillem that emerges from his corpus.<sup>34</sup> As such, Guillem uses a technique similar to that we will see below in the ‘first poet’ in Italian, Giacomo da Lentini, who, rather than using elements of his own native tongue to anchor a poetic language, uses Occitan echoes to elevate and position his own language as one fit for literature.

The demand for texts such as Raimon Vidal’s *Razos de trobar*, a guide to the composition of Occitan lyric by non-native users dated by John Marshall to 1190-1213, seems to suggest, however, that within a generation or so, Occitan was sufficiently abstracted for a poet in Catalonia to require formal learning aids.<sup>35</sup> As Raimon writes in the opening sentence:

ieu Raimonz Vidals ai vist et conegut qe pauc d’omes sabon ni an saubuda la dreicha manera de trobar, voill eu far aquest libre per far conoisser et saber qals dels trobadors an mielz trobat et mielz ensenhat, ad quelz qe-l volran apenre, con devon segre la dreicha manera de trobar.<sup>36</sup>

I, Raimon Vidal, have seen and recognized that few men know or have known the correct way to compose poetry, so I want to write this book to improve familiarity with and knowledge of those troubadours who have composed and taught best, to those who want to learn it, how they should follow the correct way to compose poetry.

It is also instructive that Raimon’s work, though he says *trobar* is the subject, is fundamentally an Occitan grammar, covering declension, conjugation and other topics. Only in the last paragraphs

---

<sup>34</sup> This song in particular appears to have had a considerable popularity among Catalan audiences into the later Middle Ages, being quoted both in the Catalan *Decameron* and the prose romance *Curial e Güelfa*. I am grateful to Simone Ventura for this information.

<sup>35</sup> *The ‘Razos de Trobar’*, p. lxx.

<sup>36</sup> *The ‘Razos de Trobar’*, acc. MS. B. p. 2. MS B is *chansonniier P*.

does he deal with style and composition, but even here his occupation is at base linguistic, indeed antiquarian, as he shows himself to be concerned about the preservation of the Occitan *koiné*:

Et tug aqill qe dizon *amis* per *amics* et *mei* per *me* an faillit, et *maintenir*, *contenir*, *retenir*, tut fallon, qe paraulas son franzezas, no las deu hom mesclar ab lemosinas, aquestas ni negunas paraulas biasas.... Et crei ben qe sia terra on corron aitals paraolas per la natura de la terra, et ges per tot aiso non deu dir sas paraulas en biais ni mal dichas negun hom qe s'entenda ni sotilezza aia en se.<sup>37</sup>

And all those who say *amis* instead of *amics*, and *mei* instead of *me* have erred, and *maintenir*, *contenir*, *retenir*, they are all wrong, for these words are French: one should not mix them with Limousin ones, nor any dialectal words... I do indeed think there are areas where such words are used naturally but all the same he who has understanding and subtlety must not use words from his dialect nor poor expressions.

Indeed Raimon Vidal's other works, *En quel temps* in particular, discussed in the previous chapter, share a backward-looking tone, moving away from the preference for using one's poetry to engage with immediate and pressing contemporary happenings that characterizes the work of Guillem de Berguedà. Even allowing for the post-lapsarian quality of much courtly literature and discourse, in which even the earliest literary works are phrased as looking back to an irretrievable golden past, this moment seems to be consciously opposed to the mainstream. It kicks against the un-selfconscious, non-prescriptive usage of Guillem de Berguedà and looks forward to the fourteenth-century institutionalization of Occitan lyric epitomized by the *Consistori* in Toulouse.<sup>38</sup> In this instance, the question of how much spatial distance influences stylistic and literary norms, and the supposed tendency toward conservatism in linguistic colonies, is answered in the negative: Guillem de Berguedà, though sometimes deliberately idiosyncratic, does not conceive of himself as fundamentally different.

---

<sup>37</sup> The 'Razos de Trobar' (acc. MS. B), ll. 461-68, p. 24. Interestingly, the later fourteenth-century Catalan MS *H* specifies that such words are only used in the county of Fores (l. 292, p. 25). *H* is Barcelona, Bibl. Central, 239.

<sup>38</sup> These are Curtius' 'mannerist' tendencies, 'die der Klassik entgegengesetzt sind, mögen sie vorklassisch oder nachklassisch oder mit irgendeiner Klassik gleichzeitig sein...[Manierismus] ist die Komplementär-Erscheinung zur Klassik aller Epochen.' ['...which is opposed to classical style, be it before or after that style, or at the same time. [Mannerism] is the complementary phenomenon to the classic style of all periods.' *ELLM4*, p. 275.

The work of Cerverí de Girona is vivacious and innovative, both in its form and its contents, taking its energy from the reaction to and 'correction' of the attitudes underlying the work of other poets and other intellectual stimuli.<sup>39</sup> Active both at the royal court at Barcelona during the end of the reign of Jaume el Conqueridor and, after 1276, Pere el Gran, and in the retinue of the powerful counts of Rodez (where he may have met Guiraut Riquier), Cerverí's corpus is among the largest of any troubadour, including one hundred and fourteen poems.<sup>40</sup> It also includes the *Proverbis* and the allegorical narrative, *La Faula del rossinyol* written on the reconciliation of Jaume and his heir Pere in December 1273.<sup>41</sup> Cerverí has a particular position in literary historical terms too, which grows in part from his proximity to the royal court, as he is regarded not only as the last 'troubadour' in Catalonia and, simultaneously, as the harbinger of Catalan literature, even though he wrote only in Occitan.<sup>42</sup> Miriam Cabré, whose two monographs are the most considerable recent contributions to Cerverí studies, takes a largely historical approach to his corpus, noting that 'l'obra de Cerverí està estretament relacionada amb la protecció reial, i les dades que posseïm sobre Pere el Gran i el seu entorn són eines interpretatives de primer ordre' ['Cerverí's work is closely linked with royal patronage, and the details that we possess about Pere el Gran and his circle are interpretative tools of the utmost importance'].<sup>43</sup> While the contextualization offered by such scholarship is extremely valuable, the following is concerned above all with his manipulation of poetic style and technique, and what it suggests about how a Catalan poet saw himself a century after Guillem de Berguedà.

---

<sup>39</sup> On the evidence for Cerverí's considerable education see Miriam Cabré, *Cerverí de Girona: Un trobador al servei de Pere el Gran*, Col·lecció Blanquerna, 7 (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona; Palma de Mallorca: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2011), p. 54.

<sup>40</sup> Cabré, *Cerverí de Girona: Un trobador*, p. 346.

<sup>41</sup> The *Faula* includes a quotation, not included in Sarah Kay's appendices to *Parrots and Nightingales*, from Giraut de Bornelh, 'Per solatz revelhar' (PC 242, 55), and Aimeric de Peguilhan, 'Qui sofrir s'en pogues' (PC 10, 46) at ll. 261-63 and 187-89 respectively, further indication of the Catalan's knowledge of his forebears' work. For the text of the *Faula* see Cerverí, ed. Riquer, pp. 347-58.

<sup>42</sup> *Historia de la Literatura Catalana*, by Martí de Riquer, 4 vols (Barcelona: Ariel, 1964), I, p. 15 calls him a 'bella prometença' with one eye on Ausias and Jaume March, the first poets to write in Catalan.

<sup>43</sup> Cabré, *Cerverí de Girona and his Poetic Traditions*, Colecció Tàmesis A, 169 (London: Thamesis, 1999) and more recently, *Cerverí de Girona: Un trobador*, here p. 343.

Cerverí's poetry demonstrates a particular interest in questions of language, but apart from the case of the so-called 'Cobla en sis lengatges' discussed in Chapter 2, he is not concerned by languages. Instead he is concerned with linguistic manipulation, both poetic and in the sense of *ydiomata*, as a marker of style. One of the most dextrous instances is the 'Canço de les letres'. In it, the first letters of the two parts of the ten decasyllabic lines in each strophe, divided by a caesura after the fourth syllable, spell out the alphabet, as can be seen in the first strophe:<sup>44</sup>

<i>A</i> vós me suy, <i>B</i> ona domna, donatz, <i>C</i> us sols no-us fuy <i>D</i> e totz enseynamenz, <i>E</i> pretz vos te <i>F</i> ís ab finas beutatz <i>G</i> rans jays; per que, <i>J</i> a non sera parcens <i>L</i> e meus cors, ans <i>M</i> e força e-m ençen	5	I have given myself to you, good lady, Because not one of all refinements escapes you And worth keeps great joys loyal to you with delicate beauties, which is why my heart shall never leave [you] rather it forces me and sets me aflame
<i>N</i> uitz, jorns, mes, ans, <i>O</i> n m'a enamoratz.		Nights, days, months, years, where it made me fall in love.
<i>P</i> er tal m'esjau <i>Q</i> u'en cors ses falimen <i>R</i> emanon lau <i>S</i> es tot blasm'avilatz. <i>T</i> ot or ab fi <i>V</i> alerós cor sirven:	10	And so I am gay (for in a faultless body praises remain with no base reproach). Always I serve you with a fine, honourable heart:
<i>c</i> ar hom axi <i>c</i> onquer pretz affinatz.		So, like this, one gains the purest worth.

The alphabet is the usual Latin one of the age, unifying *i*, *y* and *j*, and *u* and *v*, and eliminating the non-Catalan initials *h*, *k*, *x*, and *ç*.<sup>45</sup> Here, it is the formal play that makes an otherwise largely conventional song interesting, not least the additional combination of elements through the internal rhyming couplets at the caesura, adding complexity to the terminal rhyme scheme *abababcdcd*.<sup>46</sup> The poem, composed of *coblas singulars* inverts this scheme in strophes II and IV to give *dcdcdcbaba*. Further, it is not only the sounds that repeat, but also, in a clearly deliberate fashion, Cerverí cycles through the central lexis of courtly love service with ironic rapidity. Thus 'beutatz' appears in rhyme position in the third line of both strophes I and II, and 'pretz' is also in both lines. Similarly, the lines 'Plazers estraitz, *Que* fay peitz de turmen. | Respos gen faitz,

<sup>44</sup> Cerverí de Girona, *Obras Completas*, ed. by Martí de Riquer, here no. 53, pp. 149-53 (Riquer's italics). The poem also appears in *Lírica*, ed. by Joan Coromines, I, no. 48, pp. 298-96.

<sup>45</sup> The eighteen-letter alphabet that Cerverí uses is the same as that used by Uc Faïdit for his Occitan-Latin glossary; see *The 'Donatz Proensals' of Uc Faïdit*, ed. by John Marshall (London: Oxford University Press), sections 12b-16a (pp. 152-79).

<sup>46</sup> Note that Riquer's edition, by 'correcting', for instance *enamoratz: avilat: affinat* to *enamoratz: avilatz: affinat* creates a different rhyme scheme *ababcacaca*. See his 'La canço de les letres del trovatore Guilhem de Cervera detto Cerverí', in *Atti del VIII Congresso Internazionale di Studi Romanzi (Firenze, 3-8 aprile 1956)*, 2 vols (Florence: Sansone, 1959-67), II.1, pp. 339-46.

Ses do, m'a turmentatz', are echoed at the end of l. 44, which has 'turmentatz' in rhyme position, and also 'valenz' the terminal rhyme in ll. 15 and 51. The poet picks away at the repetitiveness of much courtly lyric, a tendency underlined by his exploitation of a complex strophic form. That is to say that he is well aware of the limited range of words on offer to the poet, according to the norms of the Occitan troubadours, and embarks on a stylistic criticism of their practice.<sup>47</sup> The alphabeticization of the half verses harks back, it seems, to reference books or to the very first steps at school, so facile is the poetry under attack. One novel solution to this monotony is offered by the paired poems 'Vers breu' and 'Vers estrayn' (PC 434a 68 and 66), no.s 97 and 98 in Riquer's edition. These are the first strophes:<sup>48</sup>

Tart fa hom mal pus sia entre bonas gens,  
e fal leumens qui via pren ab desleial,  
car tuyt lo tenon per aytal.

*Taflamart faflama boflomom maflamal puflumus sijlima eflementrefleme boflomonaflamas geflemens  
efleme faflamal lefleumejlemens quijlimi vijlimiaflama preflamen aflamab deflemesleflameyaflamal  
caflamar tuflumuyt loflomo teflemenoflomon peflemer aflamaytaflamal* (ll. 1-3)

The man is unlikely to do ill who frequents good people, and he errs easily who takes the road with the disloyal, for everyone holds him to be as such.

The first verse of the 'Vers estrayn' gives the same translation, but in order to read it, one must first see that Cerverí has broken his original three lines into syllables, and inserted the nonsense 'flama', 'flomo', or 'fleme' into the middle of each, depending on the vowel sound of the syllable in question. It is, in short, medieval Pig Latin; Coromines calls it, somewhat censoriously, 'la infantil humorada'.<sup>49</sup> There is, however, a more serious purpose behind the ludic façade. Just as the 'Canço de les letres' poses questions about the limited repertory of interests in courtly discourse, so too do the 'short' and the 'strange' poems pick away at the edifice of poetry, playing at the creation of an impenetrable vatic language. The fact that this is not only brought

<sup>47</sup> Fitzpatrick in the notes to this poem writes that Riquer in his edition 'consistently violates the two-cases declension of Old Occitanian nouns and adjectives' (ed. Coromines, II, p. 289). Qv. Riquer, *Obras Completas del trovador Cerverí de Girona*, p. 130. Riquer in fact reproduces the witnesses of *ſg*, accepting the development of Occitan away from inflection in the fourteenth century.

<sup>48</sup> Ed. Riquer, pp. 297-81.

<sup>49</sup> Ed. Coromines, II, p. 235.

into existence by childish means but also hides a laughable topic serves to undermine the impenetrability of *trobar clus*, a move perhaps inspired by an acquaintance with the works of Giraut de Bornelh. The prosaic nature of the matter in hand becomes clear in the remainder of the ‘short’ poem:

No-m pac d’ostal on ria la domn’e-l sirvens can tristamenz estia le dons, del jornal Mal, c’an fait, e non aus dir al.	4	I do not care for houses where the woman and the servant joke when the lord is saddened by the bad day he has had, I don’t dare to say more.
Per be cabal tenria terra on argens fos presatz menz que via de pro natural, qui fa be caresm’ e carnal.	7	I would hold the land truly perfect where money (which is good come feast or fast) is less valued than the course of natural fortune.
En cort reyal seria gays e residens, si dels valens avia solatz cominal, esgardan ma obra si val.	10	In a royal court, I would be gay and comfortable, if I had solace from all the wealthy, at least considering my work.
Un sol nadal volria aver mandamens sobre-ls manens: c’auria de totz l’un caixal, o serion oltramar sal.	13	I would like, just one Christmas, to have dominion over the powerful, and I would have a back tooth from them all, or they would escape <i>outremer</i> .
Sobrepretz sens cuyndia, ab sen natural fay vos, e leys dels Cartz, cabal.	16	‘Superworth’, without flattery, with natural sense, I make you and those of the Cards better [sc. than all others].
[Cinch] reys valens volria lay on Deus pres mal, e-l nostres fos caps, car mays val.	19	I wanted five noble kings where God suffered, and ours would be greatest because he is worth more.

The quotidian nature of the song when considered like this is evident. The result of his Pig Latinization, therefore, is to subvert the privileging of certain forms of language over others. This problematization does not, however, ever extend to the Occitan language itself, which passes largely unquestioned. It is nonetheless constantly clear that Cerveri’s frame of reference is often not classic troubadours; this emerges particularly clearly from the rubrics for his song in the major witness for his songs, MS *Sg*. Each of the songs here is given a particular title or description, often almost becoming a short *razo*, most strikingly Riquer no. 66, ‘Lo vers que ditz per que avia celatz tan los vers e las xanços’ [‘the *vers* composed because he had hidden for so long the *vers* and the *cansos*’]. This reflects the period of Cerveri’s activity, a parallel both to the growth in lyric intercalation in the later thirteenth century and the composition of the *razos* and

*vidas*, that is, the coalescence of lyric and narrative related to the changing circumstances of poetic performance and dissemination. The rubrics may also be read as proof of the witness's authority. As Giuseppe Sansone notes 'la caratteristica ...di addurre i titoli dei componimenti, [...] fa lecitamente supporre che si tratta di una copia di un originale abbastanza ordinato e forse definitivo' ['the characteristic of including the titles of the compositions, [...] invites us to suppose with good reason whether it is a copy of a relatively organized and perhaps definitive original'].<sup>50</sup>

The critical engagement with the preceding generations of troubadours is not confined to those also working in Occitan, as evidenced by the *contrafactum*, the *gelosesca* 'Al fals gelos Deus mala ventura' (PC 434a, 1a)<sup>51</sup> of the song 'Tant ne me sai dementer ne complaindre' (R 127) by the Chastelain de Couci, which also shares its strophic form with Robert de Blois' 'Tant con je fusse fors de ma contree' (R 502).<sup>52</sup> As Paolo Gresti has proposed, 'scegliendo lo stesso metro dello Chastelain e di Robert per la sua "gelosesca" al femminile, Cerveri ha forse voluto esercitarsi in una specie di contracanto, quasi una parodia, del carattere convenzionalmente cortese delle canzoni' ['by choosing the same metrical form as the Chastelain and Robert for his *gelosesca* with a female view-point, Cerveri perhaps wanted to place himself in opposition to, almost to write a parody of, the conventional courtly character of the songs'].<sup>53</sup> This is certainly supported by the tone of the poem itself, in which the female lover complains of the 'fals gelos' who 'lo solatz me tol de mon amich | e-m da mal, pus lo pris, car tan me dura' (ll. 2-3) ['takes from me the solace of my lover, and gives me unease, because she has taken it, as long as I have had it']. As she goes on in her condemnation,

---

<sup>50</sup> Sansone, *La Poesia dell'antica Provenza*, p. 639.

<sup>51</sup> Ed. Riquer, no. 8, p. 16, and also ed. Coromines, II, p. 232, who incorrectly numbers it PC 434a, 12.

<sup>52</sup> See for Robert's song, see *Robert von Blois: Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 2, p. 147. Linker in his *Bibliography of Old French Lyrics* attributed the song to the Vidame de Chartres; see J. A. Noonan, *A Critical Edition of the Works of Guillaume de Ferrières (Le Vidame de Chartres) with a study of his life* (University of Oxford: unpub. DPhil thesis, 1933).

<sup>53</sup> Gresti, 'Ancora sui *contrafacta* provenzali di modelli francesi: Il caso di Cerveri de Girona', *Aevum* 2 (1996), 263-71 (269).

Pero d'aytan me tenc per be segura		But, for this reason, I am quite certain
que no viura catre jorns, aço-us dic:	5	That he shall not live four days, I tell you:
que-l pausaray sus el pols tal untura		I will put such poision on his pulse
que-l auzira, lo fals gelós enich.		that will kill him, the miserable jealous
E a'm fatxa una bon'escriptura		cheat. And my sweet love has made me a
mos amis douz, que sus el col li lic,		good note that will reach his neck—and
e ma mayre, que tot jorn lo conjura.	10	my mother will swear [sc. 'for me'] all day.

The tone is a vigorous corrective not only to the male-voiced *cansos* which typify the production of the Chastelain, and none more so than his model, 'Tant ne me sai dementer ne complaindre', but also to the restraint of the majority of *chansons de mal mariée*, which seldom contemplate murder. It is thus perhaps not too far-fetched to view Cerverí's poem as accepting the invitation, conventional though it may be, in the final strophe of the Chastelain's song:

Vainque pitié, douce dame, et droiture!  
 Ne m'i lessiez morir a tel torment!  
 Tant par vous truis touz tens sauvage et dure  
 Que m'ocirrez se vous vient a talent;  
 De vos penser ne puis fere mesure;  
 Dame, merci! Trop me secorez lent,  
 Si me merveil con vostre cuers l'endure. (ll. 29-35)<sup>54</sup>

Let pity and what is right win out, sweet lady! Do not let me die from such torment! Because of you I find every moment so vicious and hard that you will kill me if you desire it. I cannot keep track of your thoughts: Lady, have mercy! You are too slow to help me; I am astonished that your heart endures it.

The *gelosesca* is, then, a perfect response, developing the idea that the male lover has no idea of his lady's thoughts, and it shows Cerverí taking advantage of the temporal distance as well as his own poetic independence from the conventions he is sending up. The extent to which this is the case on a linguistic level is not entirely clear: the *gelosesca* has a single witness, *Sg* f. 34r. Throughout the poems attributed to Cerverí in manuscript *Sg* we find Catalan graphies, most often 'x', used here in the first strophe in ll. 6 ('unxtura') and 8 ('fatxa'). However, these are used throughout, in François Zufferey's words, 'tout naturellement [et] il est difficile de savoir s'ils

<sup>54</sup> *Chansons attribuées au Chastelain de Couci*, ed. by Alain Lerond, Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Rennes, 7 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), no. 13, pp. 115-18. Lerond judges the attribution to the Chastelain as 'pas solidement étayée; elle reste seulement possible' [not securely founded. Either way, it is reasonable to consider this the model for the Catalan, who may well have supposed it to be by the Chastelain, given that this attribution appears in MSS *KPX*, with two anonymous witnesses *CV*.

appartiennent à l'auteur ou au copiste' ['quite naturally [and] it is difficult to know whether these belong to the author or scribe'].<sup>55</sup> More interesting, and more consonant with the emphasis among critics on the poet's adoption of Catalan stylistic inflections in his lower-register songs, is Coromines' suggestion that 'que' in l. 10 echoes its emphatic use in Catalan narrative. The extent to which the Catalan elements are attributable to the *Sg* scribe is difficult to judge, and the other witnesses of his songs do not help. The other two MSS that contain Cerverí's song, MSS CR from the Languedoc, tend respectively slightly to Gasconize and strongly to Catalanize.<sup>56</sup> Coromines suggests that they are more given to intervention than *Sg*.<sup>57</sup> 'De pena-n mal e de mal en martire' (ed. Riquer, no. 113, pp. 318-21), the only poem by Cerverí to be transmitted in MS *VeAg* (sc. Biblioteca de Catalunya MSS. 7-8), which is generally labelled 'Catalan', even though it also has substantial Occitan and Old French elements, is *unicum* and so offers no opportunity for comparison.<sup>58</sup>

Thus both Guillem and Cerverí show on the one hand how problematic the compositions by non-native speakers were for scribes, themselves non-natives and thus with a compromised authority, and, on the other, for the modern scholar and editor. The central difficulty that emerges is dealing with a form that differs from established norms—norms as noted, that are often back-projections by later medievals, and medievalists. Both seem to be resisting koineization both on a linguistic level and in terms of content in a way that highlights their

---

<sup>55</sup> Zufferey, *Recherches linguistiques*, p. 249. Zufferey notes that the middle section of the MS, which contains a selection of classic troubadours' poems, does 'laisser subsister les différents substrats graphiques qui figuraient déjà dans son exemplaire, tout en n'intervenant lui-même que très discrètement' (ibid.) ['allow to remain the different graphic undercurrents which were present in his model, and only intervene himself very discretely'].

<sup>56</sup> Zufferey, *Recherches linguistiques*, p. 314.

<sup>57</sup> Ed. Coromines, I, p. 8.

<sup>58</sup> On *VeAg* see: *Intavulare: tavole di canzonieri romanzî. I, Canzonieri provenzali. 11, Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, VeAg (7 e 8)*, ed. by Anna Alberni, and Fabio Zinelli's recent study of the interaction of Catalan and Occitan (which appeared too late to be included), 'Occitanico e catalano "dialetti in contatto" nel canzoniere Vega Aguiló (Biblioteca de Catalunya, 7-8)', in *Transcrire et/ou traduire: Variation et changement linguistique dans la tradition manuscrite des textes médiévaux: Actes du congrès international, Klagenfurt, 15–16 novembre 2012*, ed. by Raymund Wilhelm (Heidelberg: Winter, 2013), pp. 111-50.

Catalan background as a feature of their poetic identity, which is to say that this is something done deliberately and for particular effect, not out of ignorance. This intelligent use of a ‘foreign’ language was also, we shall see in the next section, of central importance to the development of Italian as a literary language

### *Italy I: A New Beginning?*

Italy was part of the second poetic generation, which joined the cultural Common Market in the thirteenth century. This process had two main aspects. Both were part of more or less deliberate cultural policies, and both, as is well known, involved the troubadours. First was the activity of a large number of Occitan-language poets in northern Italy from Peire de la Cavarana and Alberto Malaspina in the late twelfth century and Sordello at the end of the thirteenth, both native Occitan speakers and also Italians, who adopted the poetic *lingua franca*.<sup>59</sup> This was part of a major tradition of non-native use of Occitan, one which produced more than two thirds of the major *chansonniers*.

Second was the adoption of some contents of troubadour songs in a new Italian vernacular lyric by the poets of the *scuola siciliana* under the aegis of Frederick II.<sup>60</sup> The most striking difference between these two elements of Italy’s literary history is, clearly, the question of language, and of why the Occitan production persisted in the north—similar to the case of Catalonia—while it never gained ground in the south, where poetic production appears to have found immediate expression in a new Italian. There is also, however, perhaps a more fundamental question of what was said in these different poetries, and by extension what this in turn reveals about how

---

<sup>59</sup> For an old but valuable introduction to this period, see Giulio Bertoni, *Il Duecento*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn rev. by Aldo Vallone (Milan: Vallardi, 1973), pp. 19-34.

<sup>60</sup> As is conventional, ‘Sicily’ in the following refers to the whole of the *regno*, including Campania and Apulia, not just the island.

poets and patrons thought about their poetic identity as distinct—or perhaps defined against—those of other poets, particularly the Occitan troubadours. Given the controlling way in which Frederick II directed Sicily—though as David Abulafia has shown, this differed little from other rulers of the time<sup>61</sup>—the *scuola siciliana* differs little from the politically-coloured poetic choices of the Barcelonan-Aragonese circle. Whereas in Catalonia, poets merely responded to and were encouraged by the crown, here this involvement seems decisive.<sup>62</sup> In the words of Roberto Antonelli, ‘è difficile sfuggire all’idea che l’iniziativa risalga all’imperatore o a persona a lui vicina, tanto bene si inserisce la Scuola siciliana nel disegno complessivo che è possibile scorgere dietro la politica culturale di Federico II’ [‘it is difficult to escape the idea that the impulse [sc. to write in Italian] might be traced back to the emperor or someone close to him, so well does the Sicilian School fit in the complex plan which can be traced behind Frederick’s cultural policy’].<sup>63</sup> Further, as Michaelangelo Picone has observed, it appears that Frederick was creating a language to drive his anti-Papal campaign that was not clerical Latin.<sup>64</sup>

Of fundamental importance for the beginnings of lyric in Italian is the small cluster of versions in Italian of Occitan songs by three Sicilian poets which demonstrate in detail the moments and nature of connection with troubadour song. The first is by Rinaldo d’Aquino, ‘Por li piace c’avanzi suo valore’, parts of which translate Folquet de Marseille’s ‘Chantan volgra mon fin cor descobrir’ (PC 155, 6), and the second by Jacopo Mostacci, ‘Umile core e fino e amoroso’, which

---

<sup>61</sup> Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London: Pimlico, 2002); on his cultural activities, see chapter 8, pp. 251–288. Abulafia’s work is a convincing response to Ernst Kantorowicz’s powerful, but often exceptionalizing classic, *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* (Berlin, 1927; repr. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1998).

<sup>62</sup> Much work was done in the attempt to find German compositions by and around Frederick, but these have so far proven fruitless. See István Frank’s incomplete final work, *Poésie romane et Minnesang autour de Frédéric II* (Palermo: Mori, 1955). On Frederick’s own poetry, see Eugen Turnher, ‘Kaiser Friedrich II. als Dichter’, *Ladinia et Romania. FS Guntram A. Plangg zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Maria Iliescu et al., Mondo Ladinio, 21 (Vich/Vigo di Fassa: Institut Cultural Ladin, 1997), pp. 591–603.

<sup>63</sup> Antonelli, ‘Politica e volgare: Guglielmo IX, Enrico II, Federico II’ in *ibid.*, *Seminario Romanzo* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1979), pp. 9–109 (p. 83).

<sup>64</sup> Picone, ‘The Formation of literary Italian: Aspects of poetic tradition and translation in the thirteenth century’, *The Italianist*, 16 (1996), 5–19, (11).

translates ‘Longa sazón ai estat vas amor’ (PC 276,1) by Gaucelm Faidit.<sup>65</sup> However, I will focus on the two by Giacomo de Lentini, ‘Madonna dir vo voglio’, based on Folquet de Marseille’s ‘A vos, midontç, voill retrair’ en cantan’ (PC 155, 4), and ‘Tropo son dimorato’, based on a song attributed variously to Perdigon and Gaucelm Faidit, ‘Trop ai estat mon Bon Esper no vi’ (PC 370, 14). These are particularly important as Giacomo’s corpus is privileged by being first in the *canzoniere Vaticano*, by far the most important collection of Sicilian school poems. First comes ‘Madonna, dir vo voglio’, which thus becomes, at least in the account of the Florentine *borghese* who compiled the manuscript, the first poem in Italian.<sup>66</sup> Close examination of these pieces opens up the process by which troubadour poetry was made useable by poets working in Italian, which, along with Giacomo’s invention of the sonnet, was the major innovation of the *scuola siciliana*. As Karla Mallette has observed, these developments were of fundamental importance to the future of Italian literature, for while there is ‘a persistent perception among literary historians that they were mere imitators of continental traditions, these were substantial [and] consist mainly of *limitations* of received poetic traditions’.<sup>67</sup> The limitations we find in the Sicilian corpus are both formal and thematic: formally, the poems avoid the most complex metrical developments of troubadours such as Arnaut Daniel. The generic variety of Occitan poets is also missing, with essentially only the *canço* being adopted in Sicily. There is no evidence of sung performance.<sup>68</sup> Comparison with the poets around Guittone d’Arezzo and later *stilnovisti* bears witness to the decisive importance of these decisions for later poets in Italy.

---

<sup>65</sup> These songs are given in full by Furio Brugnolo in his article ‘I siciliani e l’arte dell’imitazione: Giacomo da Lentini, Rinaldo d’Aquino e Iacopo Mostacci “traduttori” dal provenzale’, *La Parola del Testo*, 3 (1999), 45-74. Also of central importance on the Sicilian ‘translations’ are Aurelio Roncaglia, ‘De quibusdam provincialibus translatis in lingua nostra’ in *Letteratura e Critica: Studi in Onore di Natalino Sapegno*, ed. by Walter Binni et al., 5 vols (Rome: Bulzoni, 1974-79), II (1975), pp. 1-36, and Roberto Antonelli, ‘Traduzione—tradizione: La tradizione manoscritta provenzale e la Scuola siciliana’ in *E vós, tágides minhas: Miscellanea in Onore di Luciana Stegano Picchio*, ed. by Maria José de Lancastre et al. (Viareggio-Lucca: Baroni, 1999), pp. 49-62.

<sup>66</sup> Roberto Antonelli, ‘Struttura materiale e disegno storiografico del Canzoniere Vaticano’, pp. 5-6.

<sup>67</sup> Mallette, *The Kingdom of Sicily, 1100–1250: A Literary History* (Philadelphia: Penn, 2005), p. 11. Author’s emphasis.

<sup>68</sup> On the place of music see: Nino Pirrotta, ‘I poeti della scuola siciliana e la musica’, *Yearbook of Italian Studies*, 4 (1980), 5-12.

This process of refinement, can be seen in the details of the individual poems. ‘A vos midontç voill retrair’ en cantan’ is only transmitted in late thirteenth-century Italian *chansonnier* T, and appears to be incomplete. In Paolo Squillacioti’s edition it reads as follows.<sup>69</sup>

A vos, midontç, voill retrair’ en cantan cosi-m destreign Amor[s] e men’ a fre vas l’arguogll gran, e no-m aguda re, qe-m mostras on plu merce vos deman;	1	To you, madam, I want to relate in song How Love torments me and directs me To great pride, and it does not help me That you show me there where many more ask you for mercy,
mas tan mi son li consir e l’afan qe viu quant muæ per amæ finamen. Donc mor e viu? non, mas moç cors cocios mor e reviu de cosir amoros a vos, dompna, c[e] am tan coralmen; sufretç ab gioi sa vid’ al mort cuisen, per qe mal vi la gran beutat de vos.	5	But so great are my worry and travails That I live as I die, from loving exquisitely. So I live and die? No, but my eager heart Dies and lives again from love’s worry About you, lady, whom I love so deeply;
	10	Accept with joy his life on painful death, For I ill saw your great beauty.
Parer non pot per dic ni per senblan lo bens ce vos vogll ab † len carna fe† <sup>70</sup> mas nie[n]s es so ce vos dic: si-m te al cor us fio[c]s que no-s † remuda o dan† <sup>71</sup> Per cals raisons no-m ausi consuman? Savi dion e-l autor veramen qe longin <sup>s</sup> us, segon dreic e raiso[s],	15	Neither in speech or in appearance could the goodness appear that I wish you with ...faith But what I say to you is nothing, so I hold To my heart a flame that does not... Why it does not kill me [by] consuming [me]? The wise and the authorities say truly that longstanding custom, as is right and reasonable, Changes itself into nature, from which you
si convertis e natura, don vos deves saber car <i>eu</i> n’ai eissamen per longin <sup>c</sup> us en fioc d’amor plaisen .....	20	Must know for from you I have also A flame of pleasing love from long habit .....

Folquet’s song exemplifies several major preoccupations of troubadour poetry: love from a distance, the vital importance of a lady’s recognition of her lover and the centrality of the gaze, here developed by Folquet’s suggestion (l. 11) that he ‘mal vi la gran beutat’ against the topos of the pain caused by the sight of the *domna*. Living death brought on by the absence of Folquet’s lady’s response (ll. 5-11) is particularly striking, and, although this is not an unusual figure, the troubadour brings particular emphasis to bear on it. That is ll. 7-8 not only repeat ‘mor e viu’

<sup>69</sup> *Le Poesie di Folchetto di Marsiglia*, ed. by Paolo Squillacioti, Biblioteca degli studi mediolatini e volgari, ns 16 (Ospedaletto: Pacini, 1999), no. 22, pp. 414-41. Squillacioti reproduces Stanislaw Stroński’s text from *Le Troubadour Folquet de Marseille: Édition critique, précédée d’une étude biographique et littéraire et suivie d’une traduction, d’un commentaire historique, de notes, et d’un glossaire*, (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1910), no. 22, pp. 94-95, making a number of improvements suggested by Roncaglia in ‘De quibusdam’, p. 26.

<sup>70</sup> The daggers mark Squillacioti’s suggestions which I do not translate. Appel suggests the line might read ‘lo bens c’ie-us vogll ab entera ma fe’, *Provenzalische Inedita*, pp. 94-95.

<sup>71</sup> Neither Appel nor Stroński offer a reading for this line.

*verbatim*, with l. 8 ‘reviu’ a kind of emphatic *mise en abyme*, but the phonetic proximity of the two line endings also serves to underline the importance of this imagery. Lentini has taken this up in the first two strophes of his version of the song, where the ties between the lyrics are closest.<sup>72</sup>

Madonna, dir vo voglio como l'amor m'ha priso inver' lo grande orgoglio che voi, bella, mostrate, e no m'aita, oi lasso, lo meo core, che 'n tante pene è miso che vive quando more per bene amare, e teneselo a vita. Donqua mor'u viv'eo? No; ma lo core meo more più spesso e forte che no faria di morte—naturale, per voi, donna, cui ama, più che se stesso brama, e voi pur lo sdegnate: amor, vostr'amistate—vidi male.	1 5 10 15	My lady, I want to say to you How love has taken me Towards the great pride That you, beauty, show, and do not help me, Alas, my heart, Which is placed in such pain that it lives as it dies From loving well, and keeps itself alive. So do I live and die? No, but my heart Dies more often and more forcefully Than it would from natural death From you, lady, whom it loves And craves more than itself, And you just disdain it; Love, I did not see well your friendship.
Lo meo 'namoramento non pò parire in detto, ma sì com'eo lo sento cor no lo penseria né diria lingua; e zo ch'eo dico è niente inver' ch'eo son distretto tanto coralemente. Foc'aio al cor, non credo mai si stingua, anzi si pur alluma: perché non mi consuma? La salamandra audivì che 'nfra lo foco vivì—stando sana; eo sì fo per long'uso: vivo 'n foc'amoroso, e non saccio ch'eo dica: lo meo lavoro spica—e non ingrana.	20 25 30	My falling in love Cannot be presented in words, But as I feel it, thus, A heart would not think it nor tongue say it. And what I say is nothing In truth, so I am distraught So heartily. I have fire in my heart, I do not believe it will ever go out, rather burn on Why does it not consume me? I heard the salamander That lives under the fire, remains healthy. As do I from long practice: I live in the fire of love And I do not know what I might say: My trouble hurts, and does not bind.

Lentini's poem takes the central statement of the lover's sacrifice—one that is not in fact a sacrifice as he is never either consumed by his fire (l. 26) or conclusively bound up (l. 32)—combined with Folquet's fire imagery and develops it. Furio Brugnolo has drawn attention to the 'tendenza razionalizzatrice' at work in the poem, not least of which is the division of *ieu* into clearly separated *io* and *cuore* (ll. 9-10).<sup>73</sup> This can, however, be seen as the development of an emphasis on the heart in the line endings ll. 6-9, 'finamen', 'mos cors cocios', 'amoros', 'ce am tan

<sup>72</sup> Text ed. Contini, *Poeti del Duecento*, I, pp. 51-54.

<sup>73</sup> Brugnolo, 'I siciliani', 49.

coralmen', which is likely given the repeated use that Lentini makes of rhyme position to underline key elements of his lyric. One might also wonder if the separation of *ieu* into two actors is not the influence of the Schools, a change not dissimilar to the disputation-inspired reworking of 'Can vei la lauzeta mover' by Philip the Chancellor considered in Chapter 1. It is perhaps the most striking trait of the *scuola siciliana* that most poets were clerics with university educations, thus differentiated from the largely noble *trouvères* and the more heterogeneous troubadours and *Minnesänger*.<sup>74</sup>

Also particularly instructive is the change from the more corporeal 'gran beutat' seen by Folquet to a metaphorical misapprehension by the Notary: 'vostr'amistate vidi male' (l. 16), which chimes with the intellectualizing tone of the Italian lyric among Lentini's poetic successors. It reinforces the sense of these poets as a half-way house, also seen in the inclusion of the salamander in Lentini's text, a figure much used by the troubadours, which refers in part to the bestiary-inspired poem of Rigaut de Berbezilh, 'Atressi com l'orifans' (PC 421, 2), the translation of which in the late thirteenth-century work *Il Novellino* is discussed below. Intellectualization by Giacomo, however, comes at the expense of Folquet's emphasis of the *domna's* distance, and also, importantly, her right to mistreat her lover, part of the feudal justification of the troubadour's *midons* rarely adopted in the Italian tradition. Instead, the third and fourth strophes develop the image of the poet's inner fire, his perilous situation contradictorily figured as a ship in stormy seas:

Lo vostr'amor che m'ave	49	Your love that had me
in mare tempestoso,		in a stormy sea
è sì como la nave		is like the ship
c'a la fortuna getta ogni pesanti,		that throws anything heavy to its fate,

---

<sup>74</sup> See, for instance, Roberto Antonelli, 'Politica e volgare'. He notes 'la partecipazione all'operazione [sc. 'letteraria' DM] non del solo celo nobiliare ma dell'intera burocrazia statale, ciò che individua senza possibilità di dubbio la dimensione laica e *centralizzata* della Scuola' (p. 72) ['the involvement in the literary project not only of the nobility, but of the entire civil service, which characterizes without the shadow of a doubt the lay and centralized aspect of the School']; Antonelli's italics. On the troubadours, see Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours*.

e campan per lo getto<sup>75</sup>  
di loco periglioso.

54

and escapes with that throw  
a dangerous circumstance

The majority of the ‘rationalization’ here, however, is limiting, especially Lentini’s replacement of the reflexive ‘retrair’ en cantan’, an explicit reference to song on top of the already suggestive ‘retraire’, with the flat ‘dir’. This gains in weight given the exordial placement of both the original and the change, and must therefore be read as a declaration. This is no doubt at least partly motivated by the changed circumstances of performance and the shift from singing with musical accompaniment to reading aloud. As Aurelio Roncaglia observed, the difference between sung and spoken lyrics was a considerable one in medieval literary theory, and one which makes the Sicilian translations appear more and more problematic.<sup>76</sup> He quotes Dante’s *Convivio*: ‘nulla cosa per legame musaico armonizzata si può de la sua loquela in altra trasmutare senza rompere tutta la sua dolcezza e armonia’, [nothing that has been bound with musical harmonies can be changed from its own language to another without breaking all its sweetness and harmony] (I, 7, 14). Not only does Lentini get rid of the music, he also changes the metre of the lyric, from 10ABBAACDdCCD to the more complex and staccato abaCdbdCeef(f)Gbbi(i)G where the bracketed rhymes are internal. Against the general trend for simplification, his formal changes change the rhyme scheme to make it more complex—bringing together, for instance, *sdegnate* with *vostr’amistate* in ll. 15-6, thus underlining the lover’s complaint.

The question of rhyme, however, demands consideration of the particular transmission of the poets of the *scuola siciliana*. Our only witnesses are the *canzonieri* produced in northern Italy. Written by northern scribes, these tend to regularize the linguistic forms supposedly used by the southern poets. Consequently, the *scuola siciliana* comes down to us largely in a later Italian *koiné*. ‘Madonna dir vo voglio’ appears in 4 MSS, *VLP* and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,

---

<sup>75</sup> cf. *PSW*, I, p. 195, ‘campar’, ‘retten’ [‘to save’].

<sup>76</sup> ‘De quibusdam’, p. 10.

MS 14389.<sup>77</sup> The text includes a number of *rime siciliane* which for later poets would be insufficient, though as Glauco Sanga writes:

fino a Dante, ogni *i* poteva rimare con ogni *e*, ogni *u* poteva rimare con ogni *o*, non per ragioni fonetiche o grafiche ma per ragioni culturali, come eredità della precedente e coesistente rima trivocalica mediolatina.<sup>78</sup>

until Dante, any *i* could rhyme with any *e*, any *u* could rhyme with any *o*, not for phonetic or graphic reasons, but for cultural reasons, as the inheritance of earlier and contemporary trivocalic rhymes in Medieval Latin.

Lentini rhymes ‘long’uso’ with ‘amoroso’ (ll. 29-30) and attention is brought to the ‘forme più o meno perfettamente siciliane’ by placing them in rhyme position (e.g. *audivi: vivi*, ll. 27-28, in place of the standard ‘*audive*’ and ‘*vive*’).<sup>79</sup> The linguistic play is, however, not purely between Sicily and the Italian mainland, in so far as linguistic details can be attributed to Lentini himself. As Simonetta Bianchini has shown, both here and elsewhere, Lentini uses conjugations and lexis typical of Occitan, most strikingly the non-periphrastic conditional form (‘soffondara’) in rhyme position:<sup>80</sup>

ché, s’eo no li gitasse, parria che soffondasse (a bene soffondara) lo cor, tanto gravara—in suo disio	57    60	Which, if I were not to throw them, it would appear that it should sink (and it would sink) my heart, so it would oppress it in its desire.
---	----------------------	--

<sup>77</sup> For these *signla* see Appendix I. The song also appears in Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Memoriali 47, sigla *Mm* one of a sizeable number of instances where poems were copied into legal documents by notaries to prevent fraud. On these, see *Rime dei memoriali bolognesi 1279- 1300*, ed. by Sandro Orlando Collezione di poesia 171 (Turin: Einaudi, 1981).

<sup>78</sup> Sanga, ‘La “rima siciliana” e la lingua della Scuola poetica siciliana’, *Lingua, rima, codici: Per una nuova edizione della poesia della Scuola siciliana: Atti della Giornata di Studio, Bologna, 24 giugno 1997*, ed. by Andrea Fassò and Luciano Formisano (= *Quaderni di filologia romanza*, 12-13, (1999)) (Bologna: Pàtron, 1999), pp. 11-23 (pp. 18-9). Furio Brugnolo in the same volume criticizes those, such as Sanga, who insist on perfect rhymes whether in a trivocalic or a pentavocalic model; ‘La teoria della “rima trivocalica” e la lingua della Scuola poetica siciliana’, pp. 25-44 (p. 34). Comparable flexibility is found in the earliest, so-called ‘Danubian’ *Minnesang*, c 1150-70.

<sup>79</sup> Contini, *Poeti del Duecento*, vol. 1, p. 51. It is also worth noting the presence of the forms ‘despiache’ and ‘fache’ in ll. 43-4 in the witness of *Mm* 74 (fol. 238r), which Orlando characterizes as ‘notevoli sicilianismi grafici’, *Rime dei memoriali*, p. 50, as against Contini’s ‘dispiace’ and ‘face’, as in the literary MSS. It seems this is a kind of hypercorrectivity on the part of notary, placing the *scuola poetic siciliana* in an almost archaic relationship to contemporary Tuscan poets.

<sup>80</sup> “‘Per non vestire le penne del pavone’ (ancora sulla “ri-creazione” poetica nell’Italia del Duecento)”, *Medioevo letterario d’Italia* 2 (2005), 9-16, (11-12).

This form stands out in the poem against other standard conditionals ending *-ia* ('dispiacera' l. 68). While it could also be read as the Italian future tense, ('it *will* sink'), Contini insists on its derivation from the Latin pluperfect, and it is reasonable to conclude that Giacomo is gesturing to his Occitan inheritance.<sup>81</sup> Scribal interventions or shortcomings are unlikely explanations: as Glauca Sanga reminds us, 'i testi della Scuola siciliana ci siano stati trasmessi da testimoni sostanzialmente fededegni, con solo una leggera, superficiale e non sistematica toscanizzazione' ['the texts of the Sicilian school have been transmitted in largely reliable witnesses with only slight, superficial and non-systematic Tuscanization'].<sup>82</sup> The adoption of Occitan lexis such as 'blasmar' (l. 47), and 'chito' (l. 39) reinforces the impression that the Notary is declaring his poetical borrowings and inspirations, indeed that Giacomo is speaking the same (poetical) language. Bianchini suggests his lesson for younger poets is 'tutto si può fare, ma con stile e apertamente' ['one may do anything provided it is done with style and openly'].<sup>83</sup> The injunction to be open secures literary network spread across the Tyrrhenian. But more important for the purpose of this work is that Lentini's lexical choices indicate the 'old' language of poetry, while at the same time demonstrating what can be done with the new. As Michèle Goyens puts it:

on ne traduit pas simplement d'une langue à l'autre, mais on traduit un texte inscrit dans une tradition, dans l'histoire d'une communauté socioculturelle, ce qui nous amène à définir les confins de langues comme confins de cultures.<sup>84</sup>

one does not simply translate from one language to another, but rather one translates a text which has been inscribed in a tradition, in the history of a socio-cultural group, and this encourages us to define linguistic boundaries as cultural boundaries.

This view is problematic in view of the work done by the poets examined in Chapter 2 in chipping away at linguistic boundaries, while leaving large cultural structures intact. Nonetheless, in the case of the bilateral relationship between *scuola siciliana* and troubadours, language does

---

<sup>81</sup> Contini, *Poeti del Duecento*, p. 53, note to ll. 58-59.

<sup>82</sup> Sanga, 'La "rima siciliana"', p. 21.

<sup>83</sup> Bianchini, "'Per non vestire...'", p. 15. For an overview of the use and study of Occitan borrowings in Italian, see Ulrich Hoinkes, 'Der okzitanische Lehnwortschatz im heutigen Italienisch', in *Okzitanistik, Altokzitanistik und Provenzalistik: Geschichte und Auftrag einer europäischen Philologie*, ed. by Angelica Rieger (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 189-203.

<sup>84</sup> Goyens, 'La traduction comme critère définitoire des confins des langues', in *Translations médiévales*, ed. by Claudio Galderisi, I, pp. 487-97 (p. 488).

figure smaller cultural groups, perhaps to be thought of the peaceful passing of poetic generations. There is as such no ‘Oedipal desire’, in Alison Cornish’s phrase, to replace the original text with a new one, rather a more complex intent of tracking the movement of literary history.<sup>85</sup> Lentini, conscious of his position, sets this out for all to see, a move that had the desired effect in putting him at the ‘start’ of the Italian lyric tradition.

### *Italy II: South to North with Elephants*

‘Madonna, dir vo voglio’ is not, as was noted, the only one of Lentini’s poems revealing the close ties between different Romance literatures. ‘Troppo son dimorato’ takes up the lover’s sorrow at his distance from his lady and the *lausengiers*’ access to her.<sup>86</sup> Lentini’s poem reworks a song attributed to Perdigon, ‘Trop ai estat mon Bon Esper no vi’ (PC 370, 14). Again, as in ‘Madonna, dir vo voglio’, the first two strophes show the closest links; I give these below with the relevant lines in parallel:<sup>87</sup>

Troppo son dimorato i-llontano paese: non so on che guisa possa soferire, che son cotanto stato senza in cui si mise tutte bellezze d’amore e servire. Molto tardi mi pento, e dico che follia me n’à fatto alungare; lasso, ben veggio e sento, mort’e’ fusse, dovria a madonna tornare.	1          5   10	Trop ai estat mon Bon Esper no vi, per qu’es ben dregz que totz joys mi sofranha, quar ieu me luenh de la sua companha per mo folh sen, don anc jorn no-m jauzi;   Si ma foudatz m’enguana e m’auci,  ailas! quals peccatz me rete? Que s’agues mortz estat un an, si-l degr’ ieu pueis venir denan.	1            9  22
Ca s’io sono alungato, a null’om non afesi quant’a me solo, ed i’ ne so’ al perire;	15		

<sup>85</sup> *Vernacular Translation in Dante’s Italy: Illiterate Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 10.

<sup>86</sup> Giacomo da Lentini, *Poesie*, ed. by Roberto Antonelli, *Instrumenta Philologiae*, 1 (Rome: Bulzoni, 1979), no. 8, vol. 1, pp. 109–120.

<sup>87</sup> Text of ‘Trop ai estat’ from Paolo Squillacioti’s new critical edition of the text in *ZRP*, 121 (2005), 543–62, based on all 22 MS witnesses, a number of which H. J. Chaytor did not consult for his *Les Chansons de Perdigon*, ed. by H[enry] J. Chaytor (Paris: Champion, 1926), no. 3, pp. 8–11.

io ne so' il danneggiato poi madonna misfesi mio è 'l dannaggio ed ogne languire; ca lo suo avenimento d'amar mi travaglia, a comandami a dare, a quella a cui consento, core e corpo in baglia, e nulla non mi pare.	20	sivals a lieys non costa re, qu'el dans torna totz sobre me; et on ieu plus m'en vau lunhan, meyns n'ai de joy e mais d'afan.  e s'ieu pert lieys cuy me coman, perdut ai me e joy e chan.	5      31
---	----	--	-----------------------------

As in the previous lyric, there is on the one hand a tendency toward giving in greater detail that which the Occitan song leaves as implicit: the lady's *bellezze*: in strophe III 'cotanto di dolzore | amore e bona voglia' ['with so much sweetness, love and good will'], also the lingering on the moment of realization when 'veggió e sento' (l. 10) ['I see and feel'] that he must return, as compared with Perdigon's more direct 'Si-l degra' ieu pueis venir denan' ['So I must go back to her'] (l. 24). On the other hand, where Perdigon's *foudatz* manipulates and kills him, Giacomo's *follia* was rather that which caused him to leave his lady. The Italian has chosen his particular point of interest from the troubadour, and zooms in on it. The two poems' divergence is clearest in their conclusions. Perdigon in his first *tornada* reaffirms his devotion, while underlining his lady's inconstancy in classic Bernardian fashion:

Selh que ditz qu'al cor no sove de so c'om ab los huelhs no ve, li mieu l'en desmento ploran e-l cor planhen e sospiran.	41	She who says her heart does not remember that which one does not see with eyes— my eyes refute her with tears
	44	and my heart with complaints and sighs.

Lentini, by contrast, concludes by reprimanding his lady, encouraged by personified Amors, absent from Perdigon's song:

Non vo' più soferenza, né dimorare oimai senza madonna, di cui moro stando; c'Amor mi move 'ntenza e dicemi: "che-ffai? [ <i>sì</i> ] la tua donna si muor di te aspettando." ...	49	I do not want to suffer more nor to remain any longer without my lady, for whom I am dying, and love moves my understanding and says to me, "What are you doing? Your lady is dying waiting for you."
tosto farò reo stare di lei e di me dannaggio.	54	...
		Soon I will make nothing remain of you and my damage.

Lentini moved to rhyme position and, importantly, to the poem's *pointe*, the word 'dannaggio', used once by Perdigon, magnified to become the new poem's central concept, and which serves

to bind the poem together verbally, linking back to the second strophe. As with ‘Madonna, dir vo voglio’, he is engaging with his poetic predecessors, and, although without imitating their metrics, does reveal his point of departure. Instead he adopts the otherwise unique metrical form of the Italian troubadour Lanfranc Cigala’s poem ‘Gloriosa Santa Maria’ (PC 282, 10), 8’*abcbcdedfdef*. This adds significance not only in terms of content, with the imbrication of Marian devotion and courtly love-service, but also in literary historical terms, as Cigala’s poem is considered a forerunner of the sonnet supposedly invented by Lentini.<sup>88</sup>

Giacomo is, then, involved in a complex triangulation between Occitan, Italian and Occitan-in-Italy, while also negotiating the interaction of secular and sacred, creating an elaborate synthesis. His practice thus supports Bianchini’s insistence that, for medieval literary theorists, when working on existing poetic material, improvement, made particularly by cutting away extraneous poetical figures was most desirable. Further, if ameliorations made are to be visible, the identity of the model must also be clear—hence Giacomo’s placement of *dannaggio*, gesturing to his forebear. Matthew of Vendôme in his *Ars versificatoria* stresses this aim of improving—echoed in Gruber’s *Dialektik des Trobar*.<sup>89</sup>

varianda est materia, retenta sententiarum equipollentia sed modo dicendi in melius permutato, ut quod dictum est a poeta quodam confusionis involucro, equipollentia narrationis dilucidetur propatulo. (IV, 14)<sup>90</sup>

The material should be changed, the balance of the ideas retained but with the way it is said changed for the better, so that what was said by the poet with a wrapping of confusion is made clearer by the polishing of the narration.

The approach taken by the third player in this literary exchange is rather different from that of the Notary. Chiaro Davanzati, a productive but little-documented Florentine poet, active before

---

<sup>88</sup> Roberto Antonelli quoted in Brugnolo, ‘I siciliani’, p. 58. Branciforti’s edition of Lanfranc Cigala: ‘Gloriosa Santa Maria’ is available online (accessed 17<sup>th</sup> February 2014): <http://www.rialto.unina.it/LanfCig/282.10%28Branciforti%29.htm>.

<sup>89</sup> *Die Dialektik*, p. 256.

<sup>90</sup> Quoted in “Per non vestire”, p. 10, from *Mathei Vinocinensis Opera*, ed. by Franco Munari, 3 vols, *Storia e Letteratura* 144, 152, 171 (Storia e Letteratura: Rome, 1977-88), III, *Ars versificatoria*, p. 202.

the *stilnovisti*, composed a lyric, ‘Troppo ag[gi]o fatto lungia dimoranza’, which shows considerable fidelity to Perdigon’s text.<sup>91</sup> In full his poem reads:<sup>92</sup>

Troppo ag(g)io fatto lungia dimoranza, lasso, ch'io non vidi la dolze speme a cu' i' m'era dato: sonne smaruto a vivone in pesanza, ohimè, ché non m'avidì del folle senno mio, che m'ha 'nganato ed allungiato da lo suo comando: però è diritto ch'ogni gioia m'infrangna, poi ch'io m'alungo da la sua compagna: e come più me ne vo alungiendo, men'ho di gioia e più di doglio affanando.	1     5    10	I have stayed so long Wretch, that I have not seen The sweet hope to which I gave myself; I am condemned to live weighed-down, O my, do not envy me My madness, which has tricked me And taken me away from her command: But it is correct that all joy crushes me Since I am far from her company: And as I go yet further away, I have less joy and more dread sorrow.
Se mia follia m'inganna e m'aucide e dà pena e tormenti, ben è ragion che nullo omo mi pianga,  ch'io sono ben come quei che si vide ne l'agua infino a' denti e mor di sete temendo no afranga: ma no rimanga io ne lo scoglio afranto. Così ag(g)io per somigliante eranza smisurata la sua dolze speranza: e so, s'io perdo lei cui amo tanto, perdut'ho me a gioia e riso e canto.	15    20	If my [own] folly tricks and kills me And causes pain and torment That is good reason for nobody to mourn me, Who am like him who sees himself Up to his neck in water And dies of thirst not touching it for fear But it does not remain. I pick up the broken-hearted one. Thus I have by errant appearance Mismeasured the sweet hope of her: And I know, if I loose her whom I love so much, I have lost joy, laughter and song.
Tant'aio minespreso feramente, ch'io-n mi sao consigliare: gran ragion'è ch'io perisca a tal sorte, ch'io faccio come 'l cecer certamente, che si forza a cantare quando si sente arossimar la morte. E più m'è forte la pena ov'io son dato, quand'io non veg(g)io quella dolze spera, che ne lo scuro lo donò lumera: ohmè, s'io fosse un anno morto stato, sì doverei a-llei es(s)er tornato.	25    30   35	I have so proudly misjudged That I do not know how to advise myself Properly. I should perish from such a fate, Truly I act like the swan Who forces itself to sing When it feels death approaching. And it is stronger, The torment I have been given to, When I do not see that sweet hope, That gave light in the darkness. Oh me, had I been dead a year I would still return to her.
Sì come non si puo(te) rilevare, da poi che cade giuso, lo lëofante, ch'è di gran possanza, mentre che gli altri co lo cor gridare	40	Just as it cannot lift itself up After it falls down, The elephant, which is very strong, while the others call with their 'horn',

<sup>91</sup> See Johnathan Usher, 'Chiaro Davanzati', *The Oxford Companion to Italian Literature*, ed. by Peter Hainsworth and David Robey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 125.

<sup>92</sup> Chiaro Davanzati, *Rime*, ed. by Aldo Menichetti, Collezione di opere inedite o rare, 126 (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di Lingua, 1965), no. 9, pp. 39-42. Menichetti suggests, based on the placement of the elephant in Chiaro's song in strophe IV, that he must have known a version that came down with with strophe order I, II, IV, V, III, i.e. MSS *ACNOR* (p. 40).

vegnon, che-levan suso  
 e rendorli il conforto e la baldenza;  
 a tal sembianza,  
 canzon, vatene in corso  
 ad ogne fino amanta ovunque sede,  
 che deg(g)iano per me gridar merzede;  
 ché se per lor non m'è fatto soccorso,  
 fra i ternafin' del disperar son corso.

45

Come, and lift them up  
 And give him comfort and aid,  
 In the same way,  
 Song, go on your way  
 To all fine lovers wherever they are  
 Who should cry for mercy for me;  
 For if help does not come to me from them,  
 I have run between the three-tailed whip of  
 despair.

Striking in Davanzati's poem is the self-reflexive turn, absent in Lentini, which brings back to the fore the commonplace that to be a lover is to be a poet and *vice versa* (ll. 23-24). Structuring his final two strophes around the image of the dying swan and the elephant calling to others to lift it after a fall is, like Lentini's development, an act of triangulation. The final strophe, with its elephant, is closely modelled on another, enormously popular troubadour song, Rigaut de Berberzilh's 'Atressi cum l'orifans' (PC 421, 2). It has twenty witnesses, Occitan *chansonniers* *ABCDaDcGHIJKL NOPQRUab*, as well as two appearances in the Catalan MS *VeAg* and the French *chansonniers* *WXz*.<sup>93</sup> One unusual proof of its popularity abroad is its quotation in a mixed linguistic form in *novella* 64 of *Il Novellino*, also known as the *Cento antiche novelle*. This, more *translatio* in the etymological sense of 'bringing-across' than a modern translation, offers the chance to consider the attitude toward lyric and the languages in which it was composed in a post-*scuola siciliana* world. The *Novellino* was composed near Treviso, open to both French and Occitan influences, in the last decades of the thirteenth century.<sup>94</sup> Chapter 64 is based on the *razo* for Rigaut's song in MS *P*, probably composed in Italy.<sup>95</sup> In it, a *puu* is held to mark the knighting in Occitania of count Ramondo's sons; the knight Alammano is abandoned by his lady Grigia because of the intrigue of the *donzelle del Po* (l. 24). He is champion of the tournament, but the

<sup>93</sup> Menichetti suggests that, based on the placement of the elephant in Chiaro's song in strophe IV, that he must have known one of those witnesses with strophe order I, II, IV, V, III, i.e. MSS *ACNQR* (p. 40).

<sup>94</sup> *Il novellino*, ed. by Guido Favati, *Studi e testi romanzi e mediolatini*, 1 (Genoa: Bozzi, 1970) p. 82. The text of the novella at pp. 269-75. A more recent edition is *Il novellino* ed. by Alberto Conte, *I Novellieri italiani*, 1 (Rome: Salerno, 2001), in which novella 64 appears on pp. 104-11.

<sup>95</sup> Rigaut de Barbezicux, *Rime*, ed. by Alberto Varvaro, *Biblioteca di filologia romanza*, 4 (Bari: Adriatica, 1960), p. 80, 'più che probabile'. He gives the text pp. 80-83. Maria Luisa Meneghetti suggests that the *razo* itself is modelled on the 'Fausse Genièvre' episode in the prose *Lancelot*, noting that any changes 'non sembrano in grado di comprometterne la struttura profonda' ['do not appear to be serious enough to undermine the underlying structure'], 'Uc e gli altri', 155.

lady insists he must have one hundred each of barons, knights, ladies and *donzelle* ask forgiveness, without their knowing it. He performs the song from the pulpit at Candlemas. I give Vàrvaro's text in the left column against that given in the *Novellino*, omitting the two tornadas, with a translation of the Occitan text:<sup>96</sup>

Atressi con l'orifanz, que quant chai no's pot levar tro li autre, ab lor cridar, de lor voz lo levon sus, et eu voill segre aquel us, que mos mesfaitz es tan greus e pesanz que si la cortz del Puoi e lo bobanz e l'adreitx pretz dels lials amadors no'm relewon, iamaiz non serai sors, que deingnesson per mi clamar merce lai on preiars ni merces no'm val re.	1	Altressi come il leofante Quando cade non si può levare Tutti li altri a lor gridare Di lor voce il levan suso, Et io voglio seguir quell'uso: Ché 'l mio misfatta è tan griev' e pesante Ch'è-la corte del Poi n'è gran burbanza E se 'l pregio de' leali amanti Non mi rilevan, giamai non saroe suso: Che degnasser per me chiamar merzé Là ove poggiarsi con ragin non val ren.	1
E s'ieu per los fis amanz non puosc en ioi retornar, per tostemps lais mon chantar, que de mi no'i a ren plus, anz viurai com lo reclus, sols, ses solatz, c'aitals es mos talans, e ma vida m'es enois et affans e iois m'es dols e plazers m'es dolors; qu'eu non sui ges de la mainera d'ors, que qui be'l bat ni'l te vil ses merce el engrassa e meillur'e reve.	15	E s'io per li fini amanti Non posc ma gioi recobrar Per toz temps las mon chantar Que de mi mon atent plus E viurai si con relus, Sol, sanz solaz, car tal es mos talens Que m'invia ..... .....d'onor e plager..... Car ie non sui de la maniera d'ors Che qui bat non tien vil sen merzé Adonc engras e milliura oruen	15
Ben sai c'Amors es tan granz que leu mi pot perdonar s'ieu failli per sobramar ni reingnei com Dedalus, que dis qu'el era Iezus e volc volar al cel outracuidanz, mas Dieus baisset l'orgoill e lo sobranz; e mos orgoills non es res mas amors, per que Merces me deu faire socors, que mant loc son on rasos venz merce e luoc on dreitz ni rasos non val re.	25	[omitted in <i>Novellino</i> ]	
A tot lo mon sui clamanz de mi e de trop parlar, e s'ieu pogues contrafar fenis, don non es mais us, que s'art e pois resortz sus, eu m'arsera, car sui tan malanans e mos fals ditz messongiers e truans; resorsera en sospirs et en plors la on beutatz e iovenz e valors	35	Ab roth le mon sui clamtz De mi trop parlar: E s'ie' poghes fenis contrefar, Che non es mai c'uns, Que s'art et poi resurt sus, Ieu m'arserei, car sui sui tan malananz E mis fais dig mensongier, truans, E sortirei con spir' e con plor La u giovenz e bieta e valor	25

<sup>96</sup> ed. Varvaro, no. II, pp. 106-34.

es que no·i faill mas un pauc de merce  
que no·i sion assemblat tuit li be.

Es, que non deu fallir un pauc di merses  
La u Dieu asis tutt'altri bon.

Ma chansos er drogomanz  
lai on eu non aus anar  
ni ab dretz oillz REGARDAR,  
tan sui conques et aclus.  
E ia hom no m'en escus,  
Miels de domna, don sui fogiz dos ans;  
ar torn a vos doloros e plorans;  
aissi co·l sers, que, cant a faig son cors,  
torna morir al crit dels cassadors,  
aissi torn eu, domn', en vostra merce,  
mas vos non cal, si d'amor no·us sove.

45 Mia canzon e mio lamento 35  
Va' dov'ieu non auso anar  
Né de' mie' occhi sguardar:  
Tanto sono forfatto e fallente,  
Già re no me n'escus:  
50 Né nul fu Mei-di-donna chi fu 'n dietro au' an. 40  
Or torn' a voi doloroso e piangente  
Sì come 'l cerbio, c'ha fatto su' lungo cors,  
Torn' al morir al grido delli cacciatori:  
Et io così torno alla vostra mercé;  
55 M'a voi non cal se d'amor no-u[s] soven.

Just like the elephant that, when he falls and cannot raise himself until the others, crying, lift him up with their voice—I want to follow that practice, for my misdeed is so grievous and hefty that if the court of the Puy and its festivity and the correct value of true lovers do not lift me up, I shall never be righted; let them deign to implore mercy for me, there where prayer and mercy do not help me.

And if I cannot return to joy thanks to the fine lovers, I shall leave my singing forever, for there will be no more from me, and I shall live like a hermit, alone, without solace, such is my wish, and my life is a trial and burden for me and joy is pain and pleasure grief for me. For I am not at all like the bear who, whoever beats it or holds it vilely and mercilessly, grows fat and improves and comes back.

I know well that Love is so great that it can easily pardon me if I fail by loving too much and did the same as Daedalus, who said that he was Jesus and wanted to fly, disbelieving, to the sky; but God brought low his pride and haughtiness. And my pride is nothing but love, and so Mercy must come to my aid, and there are many places where reason trumps mercy, and [other] places where rights and reasons are worthless.

I accuse myself to the whole world of talking too much, and if I could imitate the phoenix (which is unique), which burns itself then comes back, I would burn myself for I am so sick and my false sayings so deceptive and treacherous. I shall go back in sighs and tears, there where beauty, youth and valour are and there lacks nothing but a little mercy, otherwise all virtues would be assembled there.

My song will be my messenger, there where I do not dare go, nor look with my own eyes, I am so defeated and trapped. And no-one ever excuses me for it, *Miels de domna* ('Better than a lady') that I have fled for two years. Now I return to you pained and crying. Like the buck that, when he has run his course, turns to die at the huntsman's cry, I turn too, madam, to your mercy. But you do not care, as you do not remember love.

The interest of this *novella* as a whole is two-fold. First, in terms of literary archaeology, the narrative taken up here underlines the commonality of courtly culture in later thirteenth-century

Europe. As Favati notes, ‘la novella risale ad un perduto testo francese (particolarmente infarciti di francesismi sono i versi della poesia) della stessa biografia che Uc de Saint Circ aveva dedicato a Rigaut de Berbezilh’ [‘the novella goes back to a lost French text (the lines of the poem are particularly full of gallicisms) of the same biography that Uc de Saint Circ had dedicated to Rigaut de Berbezilh’].<sup>97</sup> It is thus an instance of the coalescence of French and Occitan cultural influences in an Italian text, offering a probably unintentional commentary on the status given to different cisalpine cultures in Italy. Secondly, as Favati notes, it is of considerable linguistic interest. Not only are ‘maniere’ and ‘tien’ in l. 20 gallicisms—though ‘tien’ could be a generic Romance form, dropping the specifically Italian ending (cf. ‘tiene’)—they follow ‘plager’ in the previous line, given in place of Oc ‘plazer’, a strange contamination of no determinable origin.<sup>98</sup> Of particular interest in terms of Occitan outside Occitania are the final four lines of the third strophe, where the *Novellino* drops the nominative ‘s’ from ‘valor’: ‘plor’, while introducing it to ‘merces’ in the preceding l. 32. ‘Merce’, a *mot refrain* in the penultimate line of the strophes is otherwise given in the *Novellino* as ‘merzé’. It seems the scribe has decided that ‘valor’ and ‘plor’ look ‘wrong’ without the ending and added it haphazardly, and incorrectly, to Fr. ‘merzé’. Further, the rhyme scheme is almost entirely ignored, as the first strophe, in place of an Occitan *a* rhyme on *-anz*, gives the defective *-ante:-ante:-anz*. Line length varies similarly, with only a quarter of lines being the correct number of syllables, and half of those in the Occitan passages. Particularly hypermetric is the final strophe where the author makes a renewed effort to write in Italian, for instance in ll. 39-40, where the calquing of ‘doloroso’ and ‘piangente’ on Oc. ‘doloros’ and ‘plorans’ immediately lengthens the line by two syllables. As such there is no particular

---

<sup>97</sup> Ed. Favati, p. 269. Gaston Paris suggested the existence of a further lost source, given the considerable differences from Rigaut’s *razo*. See ‘Jaufré Rudel’, *Revue historique*, 53 (1893), 225-60. Further, Martí de Riquer notes that *Novellino* 64 in turn was the basis for the fifteenth-century Catalan prose romance *Curial e Güelfa* (*Los trovadores*, I, 287), though the lyric is not quoted in it. The first four lines are also quoted, translated, in the sixth song of the last day of the Catalan translation of the *Decameron*, although that narrative is about the amatory adventures of the senescent Charles d’Anjou. See Massó Torrents, *La cançó provençal en la literatura catalana*, pp. 441-2.

<sup>98</sup> *REW* lists ‘piagere’ as Logudarese, a NW Sardinian dialect, retaining the ‘i’ from *PLACERE*. *FEW* does not include this form. The surrounding text also includes a number of gallicisms, including ‘procianamente’ and ‘mostiere’, in place of It. ‘entro breve’ and ‘chiesa’.

reverence for the Occitan text, which is subsumed into the wider purposes of the narrative. It might instead be better to think of it as reverence for the poetic text, as *Novellino* 64 is a good example of the *Aufhebung* of lyric material, both in form and content, when played out in or adapted into narrative, and along with it, the culture of the troubadours in Goyens' model of languages as partly coterminous with cultures.<sup>99</sup> Indeed, in her study of the mutations and developments of troubadour poetry in transmission, Amelia van Vleck draws attention to ll. 36-37 of this poem, the wish to 'contrafar fenis'. She writes that 'to transmit a song is to transform it: a single poem, both by the rearrangement of stanzas and by abundance of variants in detail, comes down to us in a great many avatars. The lyric 'phoenix' could take many different shapes, emerging into each new life with its structure significantly altered'.<sup>100</sup> Even if it was not picked up in the *Novellino*, the figure of the phoenix does make Rigaut's poem a particularly fitting one to cross the linguistic boundary, simultaneously the same and new.

The exact purpose of this 'translation' is a matter of some interest. As Cesare Segre writes of Italy's investment in Occitan and Francophone literature in the thirteenth century, 'traduzioni non erano [...] necessarie, in senso divulgativo, trattandosi di una letteratura aristocratica e rivolta a letterati; e furono difatti rare' ['translations were not necessary for educational purposes, as this was an aristocratic literature oriented at the well-educated, and were in fact rare'].<sup>101</sup> Further, given that Rigaut was so well-known in Italy, while we might think about it as a reminder of a familiar song, this sits uneasily along the narrative which names the hero Ramondo and the lady Grigia, which an audience of *cognoscenti* would recognize as a departure from Rigaut's *razo*. There is also a narratological problem in that the lapsing into pure-ish Occitan in the third strophe of the *Novellino* text reminds the audience of the fact that the previous conversations at the Puy de Notre Dame, logically in Occitan, were given in Italian. The fact that the lyric text has

<sup>99</sup> Goyens, 'La traduction comme critère définitoire', p. 488.

<sup>100</sup> van Vleck, *Memory and Re-creation in Troubadour Lyric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 194. She does not mention the poem's quotation in the *Novellino*.

<sup>101</sup> *Volgarizzamenti del Due e Trecento*, ed. by Cesare Segre, *Classici italiani*, 5 (Turin: UTET, 1953), p. 50.

a foot in both linguistic camps in a relatively unstructured way—this is far from Giacomo’s careful picking up of Occitan forms—chimes with a confidence in Italian lyric owed in part to the *scuola siciliana*. There is no attempt to give the Italian an Occitan gloss as was the case with ‘Can vei la lauzeta mover’ in the *Roman de Rose* of Jean Renart, and this may well relate to the reception of the work, for where the OF romance at the beginning of the century was a mixed oral-literary fact, the same cannot necessarily be said of the situation in Italy.

Consequently, this version of Rigaut’s song should be read as a political statement in the broadest sense, witness to a new poetic sensibility in Italy where the choice of a language was no longer pre-determined. Looking back to the instances of lyric intercalation in the last chapter, all that matters is that the knight chooses to express himself in verse. In this sense it gives the lie to Stefano Asperti’s declaration that the *scuola siciliana* ‘è l’ultimo periodo veramente ‘internazionale’ prima dell’evidente brusco restringimento nazionale e regionale che caratterizza nella generazione successiva gli ambiti di attività e di influenza di Giraut Riquier e di Cerverí di Girona’ [‘is the last truly international period before the rapid national and regional narrowing that is characteristic, in the following generation, of the areas of activity and influence of Giraut Riquier and Cerverí de Girona.’].<sup>102</sup> The drive to cross boundaries continues not only in the Italian sphere, but also, as we have seen in Catalonia, well beyond the rise of the Italian language as a literary force, and in this respect Asperti seems to be looking for the moment when the History of Italian Literature can begin, and though he does not say this explicitly, it appears to coincide with the arrival of Dante.

The reworkings of Occitan poetry in both Sicily and the linguistically heterogeneous Veneto, then, offer a complex and shifting picture of the way poets in Italy thought about poetry in the thirteenth century. There was clearly a confidence in Italian as a worthy language for lyric, but

---

<sup>102</sup> Asperti, ‘Sordello tra Raimondo Berengario V e Carlo I d’Angiò’, *CN*, 60 (2000), 141-59 (157).

even in the otherwise Occitan-free zone of Sicily, poets were at pains to demonstrate their debt both metrically and verbally, reinforcing their claim to independence and clarifying their place in literary history. Indeed this triangulation was not an unwise move given the varying reception of those poets working with material in foreign language. Dante famously castigated Sordello for abandoning his maternal tongue, suggesting that ‘tantus eloquentie vir existans, non solum in poetando, sed quomodocumque loquendo patrium vulgare deseruit’ [‘such a man of eloquence exists, who deserted the common tongue of his country not only in composing songs, but in all speech whatever’] (*De vulgari eloquentia* I, 15, 2). This also chimes with the *Convivio* which points to the ‘perpetuale infamia e depressione de li malvagi uomini d’Italia, che commendano lo volgare altrui e lo loro proprio dispregiano, dico che la loro mossa viene da cinque abominevoli cagioni’ [‘eternal infamy and devaluation of the evil men of Italy who praise other vernaculars and deprecate their own, I say that their action stems from five abominable causes’] (I, 11, 1).<sup>103</sup> Dante, however, also notes the importance of the Sicilians, without buying into their unavoidable superiority:

quia regale solium erat Sicilia, factum est ut quicquid nostri predecessores vulgariter protulerunt, sicilianum vocetur: quod quidem retinemus et nos, nec posteri nostri permutare valebunt. (*DVE* I, 12, 4)

since Sicily alone was a kingdom, it came about that whatever our predecessors wrote in the vernacular is called Sicilian, which we ought to take to heart, though those who follow us will be able to change this.

In terms of literary history and criticism, both examples pose difficulties, with the Sicilians both declaring their links with their Occitan forebears and, by means of their narrowing focus on love, changing the specifications by which they measure their response. The Sicilian nature of this material is not only debateable, it is also deliberately qualified from its very beginnings.<sup>104</sup> In the

<sup>103</sup> On the interpretation of this passage of the *DVE*, see further Zygmunt Barański, “Sordellus...qui...patrium vulgare deseruit””: A Note on *De vulgari eloquentia*, I, 15, Sections 2-6’, in *The Cultural Heritage of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honour of T. G. Griffith*, ed. by C[live] Griffiths & R[obert] Hastings (Leiston: Mellen, 1993), pp. 19-45.

<sup>104</sup> The relationship of the *scuola siciliana* with the troubadours is reminiscent of Montaigne’s to the classics as glossed by Hugo Friedrich: ‘Ich kann und will nicht sein was die Alten waren, aber wäre arm ohne

case of Rigaut and the *Novellino*, putting aside narratological concerns momentarily, the lyric as quoted clearly substantiates the considerable debt of Italy to the troubadours. Simultaneously, by violently corrupting the fabric of the poem, privileged centre of this long-term collaboration, it shows the *Novellino*'s Trevisan author making a striking declaration of independence. It also demonstrates the difficulties of this process of developing the native language in the North, where Occitan was, as Segre puts it, 'quasi a casa', and, *ex negativo*, the advantages of those poets active in the south where this was also not the case but there was a distinct policy in favour of the new vernacular.<sup>105</sup> It is however of utmost importance that this linguistic positioning occurs particularly in lyric poetry: the form which has acted as the harbinger of literary historical developments throughout the Middle Ages is yet again at the forefront of a new era and a new literary language. As the case of Wenzel II and Heinrich von Breslau shows, however, linguistic change is not always necessary for differentiation.

#### *Middle High German at Large: Prague, Breslau and beyond*

While it is common to think of French as a literary *lingua franca* in the Middle Ages, this label has never been taken up by scholars working on Middle High German. It is clear, however, that MHG did have this status from the modern Netherlands to Eastern Europe and parts of Scandinavia where it is spread partly through settlement, the Prussian Crusades, and, particularly important in the case of courtly literature, the social connections between ruling families, often secured by marriage.<sup>106</sup> The poetry of both Frauenlob and Tannhäuser reveals the extent to which one might consider these courts, above all in Bohemia, Silesia, and Eastern Europe up

---

Verkehr mit ihnen' ['I cannot and do not want to be what the ancients were, but would be impoverished without engaging with them'], *Montaigne* (Bern: Francke, 1949), p. 43.

<sup>105</sup> ed. Segre, *Volgarizzamenti*, p. 5.

<sup>106</sup> On German colonization of the East see Robert Bartlett's *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (London: Allen Lane, 1993).

into Denmark and the Baltic, as a ‘circuit’.<sup>107</sup> Tannhäuser, in his sixth *Leich*, writes of the fifteen most distinguished patrons of the day, moving chronologically and hierarchically from the Emperor Frederick II and his father King Heinrich VI, to the rulers of Austria, then Hermann of Thuringia and Eric VI of Denmark.<sup>108</sup> Before concluding his list with the rulers of Saxony, Brunswick and Brandenburg, Tannhäuser mentions two patrons:

Herzogen Heinrich eren rich,	77	Most honourable Duke Heinrich
von Pressela genennet,		called ‘of Breslau’
den wil ich loben sicherlich [...]		I certainly wish to praise him [...]
Het er tusent fürsten guot,	82	If he had a thousand good nobles,
seit man in tiutschen richen,		So they say in the German kingdoms
daz vergæb sin milter muot		He would distribute generously
und taet ez willeclichen. [...]		And would do it gladly [...]
der junege künec uz Beheimlant,	88	the young king of Bohemia,
der lebt in küneges maze.		he lives in regal moderation.
Wer gesach bi manegen ziten ie		Who has seen for many years
so werdes fürsten krone,		the crown of such a worthy prince
als er in Beheimlande truoc,		as he wore in Bohemia,
dem si stüende also schone?	93	and whom it might suit so well?

Heinrich was a member of the Piast dynasty that ruled Silesia and Masovia throughout the Middle Ages, extending their power to encompass much of Poland in the reigns of Heinrich II and Heinrich IV.<sup>109</sup> The young king of Bohemia is identified by Bumke as Ottokar II.<sup>110</sup> Both these Slavic rulers created welcoming environments for German poets, with such effect that their sons (Heinrich IV and Wenzel II respectively) are attributed with a number of poems in German. I shall return to these below. The activity of the German lyric poets bears witness to

<sup>107</sup> This Eastern circuit, and indeed the whole region, is overlooked in the forthcoming *Europe: a Literary History, 1348-1418*, ed. by David Wallace (Oxford University Press). See the maps provided at: <http://www.english.upenn.edu/~dwallace/europe/index.html> (accessed 11th Nov 2014).

<sup>108</sup> See Joachim Bumke, *Mäzene im Mittelalter: Die Gönner und Auftraggeber der höfischen Literatur in Deutschland 1150-1300*, (Munich: Beck, 1979), pp. 186-87 for his identifications of the patrons to whom reference is made. Bumke reproduces (pp. 570-75), with emendations from the MSS, Johannes Siebert’s text in *Der Dichter Tannhäuser: Leben—Gedichte—Sage*, ed. by Johannes Siebert (Halle: Neimeyer, 1934; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1980). The full title of Bumke’s study, with its specification of ‘Germany’ misrepresents his work. He examines the patronage of Erik VII of Denmark (pp. 227-29), as well as the courts at Kleve and Loon, now Looz, both of which had close links with the modern Netherlands (pp. 155-56)—but is symptomatic of the unnuanced annexation of outlying regions by ‘German’ literary history.

<sup>109</sup> Bumke, *Mäzene*, p. 203.

<sup>110</sup> Bumke, *Mäzene*, p. 187. Personal names are given in the forms, mainly German, in which these individuals are best known to literary scholars.

the changing priorities of the Bohemian crown between the reigns of Přemysl Ottokar I (r. 1197-1230) and Wenzel II (r. 1283-1305). The earlier, less politically secure period, is dominated by the *Spruchdichtung* (political poetry) of Reinmar von Zweter in the second third of the thirteenth century and later courtly era with Frauenlob and Wenzel II's own three surviving songs.<sup>111</sup> Throughout the later Přemyslid period, the Bohemians engaged in 'German' literature preferred narrative texts, such as Ulrich von dem Türlin's prequel to Wolfram's *Willehalm*, and the two major works of the Bohemian-born Ulrich von Etzenbach: the *Alexander* and *Wilhelm von Wenden*.<sup>112</sup> While there is no doubt a political element to the engagement with the culture of powerful neighbours, this is not the only motivation to this deliberate policy, and overlooking it has skewed their position in literary histories. It is my contention that there are artistic motivations at work, and that beyond the initial choice of language, poetry from this milieu shows evident aesthetic and critical engagement. Thus when Hans-Joachim Behr dismisses the choice of German over Czech as a purely political matter, some qualification must be given:

Literarische Texte, soweit sie vom Königshof gefördert wurden, sind im 13. Jahrhundert ausschließlich deutschsprachig, was bei der gerade wiederbelebten Rolle der böhmischen Herrscher als Reichsfürsten auch nicht weiter verwundert. Für tschechische Literatur, die es in Ansätzen gab, bestand aus gleichem Grund kaum Konjunktur.<sup>113</sup>

Literary texts commissioned by the royal court are exclusively German in the thirteenth century, which, given the renewed role of the rulers of Bohemia as imperial princes, is unsurprising. As for Czech literature, this existed fitfully, but for the same reason was hardly in demand.

---

<sup>111</sup> Jörg Hoensch, 'Höfische Kultur in Böhmen unter Wenzel I. und Přemysl Otakar II.' in *Aspekte kultureller Integration: Festschrift zu Ehren von Prof. Dr. Antonín Meštan*, ed. by Karel Mácha and Peter Drews, *Integrale Anthropologie*, 7 (Munich: Minerva, 1991), pp. 175-89.

<sup>112</sup> There is debate as to the extent to which the MHG *Alexander* influenced the composition of the Czech *Alexandreida*. See, for a brief sketch, Alfred Thomas, *Anne's Bohemia: Czech Literature and Society, 1310-1420*, *Medieval Cultures*, 13 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), pp. 30-32. On Ulrich von Etzenbach, see Behr, *Literatur als Machtlegitimation: Studien zur Funktion der deutschsprachigen Dichtung am böhmischen Königshof im 13. Jahrhundert*, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der älteren Deutschen Literatur*, 9 (Munich: Fink, 1989), pp. 143-205, and *VL*, IX, cols. 1256-64. In the opposite direction, Rudolf Mattausch considers the predilection displayed by both Türlin and his contemporary Heinrich von Freiburg, who continued Gottfried's *Tristan*, for diminutives and familiar names as evidence of the influence of the Czech language; see *Die deutsche Literatur in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien als kulturgeschichtliches Problem*, (Königstein/Taunus: Königsteiner Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Ostmitteleuropas, 1963), p. 60.

<sup>113</sup> Behr, *Literatur*, p. 26.

While there is no doubt a major political element, the continued efforts made suggest a more deep rooted engagement. The position of the Přemyslid domain is in some respects peripheral: institutionally, it falls beyond the core canon of ‘Germanistik’, and discursively it is far from the spot-lit *Blütezeit*, the period of thirty years around 1200 which saw the activity of the classic MHG poets such as Gottfried von Straßburg and Walther von der Vogelweide. However, geographically and culturally, it lies directly between Vienna and Brunswick, both major literary centres. This peripherality arises partly from the difficulty in judging this poetry which, while it obeys many rules of classic *Minnesang*, is not dogmatic. The long duration of its engagement with a non-native language is remarkable. In spite of noble opposition to a broadly Germanizing programme—which later resulted in the nobility’s adoption of the Czech language as means of rebellious literary expression—the German policy continued unabated.<sup>114</sup>

The result is that one of the most prolific poets connected with the Přemyslid court was the German Heinrich von Meißen, called ‘Frauenlob’ [‘Ladies’ Praise’]. Debate surrounds the actual location of his activity, a process made more fraught by his tantalizingly far-ranging peregrinations—he travelled from his native Saxony to Prague via Vienna. He also appears at the court of Witzlav, the last Slavic ruler of Rügen, at the Danish royal court (under Eric VII), before returning to ‘Germany’, appearing in records relating to the episcopal court of Bremen. He was later in the service of the Archbishop of Mainz, Peter von Aspelt, previously head of Wenzel II’s chancery.<sup>115</sup> The detail with which Frauenlob’s career can be traced is thus unusual, and these

---

<sup>114</sup> Bumke, *Mäzene*, p. 199. ‘Am böhmischen Hof hat es immer wieder starke Widerstände gegen den deutschen Einfluß gegeben, der nicht nur in der Förderung deutschsprachiger Dichtung durch die Přemyslidenkönige zum Ausdruck kam, sondern auch in ihrer Kloster- und Siedlungspolitik und in der Privilegierung deutscher Kaufleute.’ [‘There was again and again forceful opposition at the Bohemian court to German influence, evident not only in the encouragement of German poetry by the Přemyslid kings, but also in their policy of founding monasteries and towns, as well as the trading privileges conceded to Germans’].

<sup>115</sup> Behr, *Literatur*, p. 237.

travels are evident in his poetry—another instance of the poet as ‘latore di verità’<sup>116</sup> [‘bearer of truth’]—for instance in strophes in the *Langer Ton* (V, 14).<sup>117</sup>

Der sehste künig in Beheim ritter wart: dabi  
 vor schanden fri  
 was ie sin swert umvahan.  
 ich was ouch vil [ ] nahen,  
 zu Beheim da [ ] künig Rudolf hiez      gein den vinden gaben,  
 daz er mit siner ritterschaft      sie [ ] gunde sere krenken

So hoher ordenunge, e zierlich, rich vollbracht  
 und baz betracht.  
 in ritterschaft zu prise  
 [ ] hete der fürste wise  
 von Presla wol den vollen rat      [ ] maneger eren spise,  
 sin lob, sin nennen immerme:      wol tut mir sin gedenken.

The sixth king of Bohemia became a knight; there his sword was strapped on forever, free from dishonour. I was also very close to Bohemia when King Rudolf called for a rush against the enemies, so he could injure them badly with his chivalry with such high orders: carefully, powerfully carried out, and even better considered. In the cause of chivalry, the wise prince of Breslau had the full benefit of the nourishment of many honours, his praise and his name for ever more: the thought of him does me good.

The lack of clarity stems in particular from ‘dabi’ [‘there’], which could either refer to the *Schwertleite* or, suggest Stackmann and Bertau, the chivalric life in general.<sup>118</sup> King Rudolf’s call to arms was almost certainly directed at Wenzel’s father, Ottokar. Hans-Joachim Behr, though, casts doubt on the suggestion that any of his works were actually composed for the Přemyslids, noting that reference to the *Schwertleite* implies no presence in Prague.<sup>119</sup> Either way they are clearly on his agenda and he most probably passed through their court. Physical presence is not, however, decisive: Frauenlob’s work was, as we shall see, long appreciated in Central Europe. The fact that these princes were not native German-speakers is unimportant for him, or at least never mentioned in his poetry. The only reference to language in the wider Frauenlob tradition

<sup>116</sup> Limentani, *L’eccezione narrativa*, p. 56.

<sup>117</sup> References to: *Frauenlob (Heinrich von Meissen): Leichs, Sangsprüche, Lieder*, ed. by Karl Stackmann and Karl Bertau, 3 vols, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse, ser. 3, 119-21 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981). The Roman numeral denotes the ‘Ton’ or melodic/metrical form of the strophe in arabic numerals.

<sup>118</sup> *Frauenlob*, ed. by Stackmann and Bertau, II, p. 732.

<sup>119</sup> Behr, *Literatur*, p. 236.

comes in a *Gegenstrophe* attributed to ‘Regenbogen’ [rainbow], responding to the Saxon’s infamous self-praise in V, 115. Regenbogen attacks Frauenlob’s loose German:

Der wege simz, der künste bimz, nimz unde gims!  
tolmetsche, vernimz!  
wilt du uns tiu/sch vertolken?  
schenke uns nicht surez molken!

die sprüche din nim *ich* vür wint,      sie varn durch ein wolken.  
din lichte kunst nu schouwen lat,      waz ie die meister sunen. (ll. 1-6)

The ornament of the road, the polisher of the arts, take it and give it to us! See, translator! Do you want to translate German for us? Don’t give us sour milk! I think your *Sprüche* are worthless, they are so hazy. Now let your illuminating art show what the masters have always sung.

Despite its moral impulse, this poem is fundamentally about literature, suggesting that Regenbogen was acutely aware of Frauenlob’s position as leader of poetic style. The Saxon was the most prominent exponent, with Konrad von Würzburg, of the so-called *geblüemte rede*, a style of highly ornamented MHG lyric. Indeed Regenbogen’s parting shot is reminiscent of Matthew of Vendôme’s injunction always to improve one’s model, and, as has been seen, the dialectic of improving extant poetry is one of incremental improvements. But here, it seems it is Frauenlob’s style that needs improving.

The most particular value of Frauenlob’s songs, however, lies in their manuscript transmission.<sup>120</sup> Burghart Wachinger, for instance, points to the ‘auffällige Nachbarschaft’ [‘remarkable juxtaposition’] of the works of Wenzel, Frauenlob and Heinrich von Breslau especially in MSS *F* and the fragment *m*, where the three poets are repeatedly transmitted together.<sup>121</sup> This demonstrates the importance of style in the formation of groups which later feed into literary

---

<sup>120</sup> On the *Gegenstrophe*, see Wachinger’s *Sängerkrieg: Untersuchungen zur Spruchdichtung des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 42 (Munich: Beck, 1973), chap. 11, pp. 247-69 (pp. 266-67).

<sup>121</sup> Wachinger, ‘Hohe Minne um 1300: Zu den Liedern Frauenlobs und König Wenzels von Böhmen’, *Wolfram-Studien X: Cambridger Frauenlob’-Kolloquium 1986*, ed. by Werner Schröder (Berlin: Schmidt, 1988), pp. 135-50 (p. 137). MS *F* is Weimar, Zentralbibliothek der deutschen Klassik, Q 564; *m* Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. germ. qu. 795.

histories, and thus offers an insight into the role of those on the edge of the canon. The relevant quires of these witnesses, the first most probably from Nuremberg, dated to after 1450, the second to around 1400 in Eastphalia, are as follows:<sup>122</sup>

<u>F ff. 65<sup>v</sup>- 69<sup>r</sup></u>	<u>F, ff. 81<sup>v</sup>- 88<sup>r</sup></u>	<u>m, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>- 2<sup>r</sup></u> <sup>123</sup>
Frauenlob, melody XIV, str. 11-15; 16-20	Frauenlob, melody XIV, str. 1-5; 11-15; 16-20; 21- 25; 6-10; 26-30.	Heinrich II, Frauenlob, XIV, 1; 4; 6; 11; Anon: 'Ein bernds gher tut kumberheftich'
Wenzel, song I, 1-4	Heinrich, song II, 1-5	
Ettmüller V <sup>124</sup>	Wenzel, song I, 1-5	
Ps.-Frauenlob (HMS <sup>125</sup> XVIII, str. 4-5, XIX, str. 1- 3)	Frauenlob, melody XIV, strophes 31-33; 35	
Ettmüller VI	Ettmüller X	

Günter Schmeisky, who first noted this clustering in the composition of Frauenlob MSS, draws attention to the juxtaposition of different metrical schemes in the first section from *F* above.<sup>126</sup>

The content of these songs is clearly linked by their almost entirely interior focus, having no interest in anyone other than the *minnedame*. While this is not unusual in *Minnesang*, here she is in a form even more distant and abstracted, the singer's relationship with his lady stripped of all social context. Instead, Frauenlob and his acolytes conduct what is largely a series of interior dialogues. The fate of Wenzel's poetry in Nuremberg (MS *F*) is somewhat mixed; his first song has been made less risqué—though only in its first appearance—by the omission of the clearly sexual lines (str. 5, 1-4):

Nu habe er danc der sîner frouwen alsô pflēge  
als ich der reinen senften frucht.  
ich brach der rôsen niht und hete ir doch gewalt.

<sup>122</sup> ed. Stackmann and Bertau, I, pp. 37-41 and 143.

<sup>123</sup> For further details on the two-folio *m*, (C 14<sup>th</sup>) see the online catalogue of the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz: <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31252063.T> (accessed 18<sup>th</sup> October 2014).

<sup>124</sup> The third and fifth songs in this quire were included by Ettmüller in his edition of Frauenlob's works, but removed by Stackmann and Bertau. The fourth song has no rubric, and is composed of strophes from two songs attributed to Frauenlob by Friedrich von der Hagen in his *Minnesinger: Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölften, dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts aus allen bekannten Handschriften und früheren Drucken*, ed. by Friedrich von der Hagen, 3 vols in 2 (Leipzig: Barth, 1838) III, p. 398, with the incipits 'Wip, reiner kiusche ein ingesigel', and 'Droschel, lerch und nahtegal'.

<sup>125</sup> HMS refers to *Minnesinger*, ed. by Friedrich von der Hagen.

<sup>126</sup> Schmeisky, *Die Lyrik-Handschriften m* (Berlin, Ms. germ. qu. 795) und *n* (Leipzig, Rep. II fol. 70a), *zur mittel- und niederdeutschen Sangvershyrik-Überlieferung: Abbildung, Transkription, Beschreibung*, GAG, 243 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1978), p. 140.

si pflac mîns herzen ie und pfligt noch alle wege.

Now let him be grateful who cares for his lady, as I do for the pure sweet fruit. I did not pick the rose, and yet had it in my power. She always cared for my heart and still does in all respects.

But by omitting these lines the connection with Frauenlob's song XIV, 11-15 is lost. In that song, in strophe 12, we find the lines:

[ ] zwar ich [ ] brach der blumen *zarten*:  
die muste ich dem herzen und dem mute lan.

Merket, waz die blume were:  
stetez leit mit sender swere. (ll. 5-8)

Indeed I picked the delicate flower: I had to leave them to the heart and spirit. See what flower could be: constant sorrow with longing load.

By contrast, however, the song included as number V in Ettmüller's edition of Frauenlob's songs, 'Wîp reiner kiusche ein ingesigel'—on the evidence of this witness alone—follows perfectly from the fourth, here final, strophe of Wenzel's song, where he declares 'nie stunt mîn wille wider ir kiusche sich entwarf' (l. 4, 4) ['at no time did my will oppose her chastity']. As such the strophe missed out here was an obstacle to neat progression. The Pseudo-Frauenlob lyric exhibits many of the hallmarks of his style, with the *vrouwe* the object of the most lavish praise. But the anaphora on 'wîp' throughout the three strophes is used neither constantly nor carefully, suggesting an imitation. Attribution notwithstanding, poetic style is crucial to grouping, and the song fits well with the developing meditation on *kiusche* ('chastity') which culminates in those verses included by Hagen in his *Minnesinger* collection as XVIII, 4-5 and XIX, 1-3, under the incipit 'Got nante wîp, die reinen jugent, diu in gebar ze prise'. The argument on chastity played out in the preceding songs, and whether a 'wîp' or a 'vrowe' is more likely to fulfil this ideal is moved to a different, more elevated, stage with the introduction of the Virgin Mary, held up as evidence of the *wîp*'s superiority. As such, then, the compiler of *F* draws attention to a quite particular vision of the affinities between the work of these three poets, showing the importance

of stylistic and thematic concerns to the afterlife of poetry rather than the geographically-inflected concerns on which modern scholarship often dwells.

The same importance of style is true of the second cluster in MS *F*. For instance, the beginning of the second strophe of Wenzel's first song reads as follows:

Mich bat mîn muot daz ich der lieben künde nam,  
sô wol und wol mich iemer mê.  
mîn volliu ger, mîn ougen weide und al mîn heil,  
dô sî mir durch diu ougen in daz herze kam,  
dô muoste ich werben baz dann ê. (ll. 1-5)

My mood told me to make the acquaintance of the lovely one, so lucky, lucky me for ever more. My complete desire, my prospect, and my only salvation, when she came into my heart through my eyes, then I had to woo better than ever before.

While most of the tropes here are quite common, it is the rapid succession of factors which confirm the connection. First, the bidding of the *muot*, a nod to Frauenlob's first song (XIV, 1-5), a dialogue with his courage to which he says "Her Mut, ich sihe min lebend<sup>ez</sup> heil, | gar [ ] engel unde wip. wol, wünschet ir, wol mich, wol." (XIV, 4, 1-2) ['Sir Courage I see my living salvation, wholly angel and woman. Well, well me, I wish her well'].<sup>127</sup> Second, the excessive use of 'wol'. Just as Frauenlob at the same place continues 'sie turent selde in min ougen | hat gewidmet in ir wesen' (ll. 4-5) ['she devoted in her being | a thousand salvations in my eyes'], Wenzel attributes his entire salvation to his *minnedame*.

By contrast, the content of Heinrich von Breslau's second song, found directly after Wenzel's in MS *m*, is related to more classical *Minnesang*. This is not to say, however, that there is no element of innovation. Where in Neidhart's *Sommerlieder* nature mirrors the *persona*'s amorous fortunes, Heinrich's summer opening *ex negativo* highlights his sorrow.

---

<sup>127</sup> This topos is parodied by Ulrich von Liechtenstein, in his poem 37, where the three strophes begin, in order, 'Wol mich immer! mîn gemüete', 'Wol mich, wol mich immer mêre', and 'Wol wol wol mich daz die wîsen' (ll. 1, 11, 21), *KLD*, p. 469-70.

Ich klage dir, meie, ich klage dir, sumerwunne,  
 ich klage dir, liehtiu heide breit,  
 ich klage dir, ouge brehender klê,  
 ich klage dir, grüener walt, ich klage dir, sunne,  
 ich klage dir, Vênus, sendiu leit,  
 daz mir diu liebe tuot sô wê (ll. 1-6)

I keen to you, May, I keen to you, summer sun, I keen to you, the broad sunlit uplands, I  
 keen to you eyes of shining green, I keen to you, verdant forest, I keen to you sun, I keen  
 to you, Venus, my longing sorrow, that love is so painful for me.

While the idea is a good one—anaphora combined with the deconstructed elements of the *Sommereingang*—the execution is, judged by classical standards, heavy-handed, even comical, particularly in the decision to rhyme ‘wê’:‘klê’. And yet Heinrich is not Walther, and was writing to different standards, not necessarily serious ones. This poet is taking a stand against his predecessors.

This extensive knowledge of *Minnesang* reflects Breslau’s status not only as the political centre of Silesia, but also, like Prague and Vienna, as a literary crossroads. The Piast Henry IV Probus, our poet, married Matilda, second daughter of the *Minnesänger* Otto V of Brandenburg, and grew up at the court of Ottokar II at Prague.<sup>128</sup> It is thus ill-founded to suppose that the poets active there, even if non-native German speakers, were unaware of the impact of their literary decisions. Thus the decision to write in German can be viewed as a political choice in a broad sense, as the son of the Slavic Henry III and Judith of Masovia distinguishing himself by redirecting his court toward the West, but the *may* he wrote is all about poetry.

Even if there may be some doubt about Frauenlob’s physical presence in Bohemia in particular, there is none as to his influence on the poetic practices in the Kingdom and region at large. His influence remains important in the history of German lyric, above all for stylistic reasons, and

---

<sup>128</sup> Bumke, *Mäzene*, p. 206. Indeed this role as innovatory centre continued into the early modern period, when the first major work of vernacular poetic theory in German was published by the Silesian Martin Opitz at Breslau in 1624.

indeed the region at large played ‘eine Art Vorreiterrolle [...], da hier Texte entstanden seien, die in ihrer Hinwendung zu elitärer Gelehrsamkeit und preziös—prätensiöser Ausdrucksweise normsetzend wurden’ [‘the role of vanguard, as here it seems were composed texts which created new norms in the adoption of elite learnedness, and precious and pretentious expression’].<sup>129</sup> It also played an important role in the transmission of lyric poetry. While not as numerous as, say, the Italian troubadour MSS, this still demonstrates the rootedness of MHG lyric in the East, and the extent to which the production of German language MSS along with the preservation of that literary culture was a valued activity for those on the edge of the Empire throughout the fourteenth century, and beyond. Frauenlob MSS *BW* and the fragments *bU* have been localized as Silesian based on orthography.<sup>130</sup> *L* is considered Bohemian, while fragment *K* is very probably from the Teutonic State in East Prussia.<sup>131</sup> According to these MSS, it was Frauenlob’s religious poetry, above all his *Marienleich*, rather than his courtly pieces which appear to have remained important in Silesia. This suggests that although the German language remained a major presence (perhaps even growing in stature), the occupation of those who were responsible for its use and dissemination had quite different priorities from the Přemyslids and Piasts who had first cultivated it. Where they sought to distinguish themselves and draw attention to their courtly initiation, later transmitters, particularly those from further down the social scale, such as the town clerk at Ratibor responsible for *B*, looked to German as a language of religious experience. MS *W* is particularly remarkable in that it contains, in a single codicological unit the German text

---

<sup>129</sup> Behr, *Literatur*, p. 234.

<sup>130</sup> For detailed descriptions of the Frauenlob MSS, see ed. Stackmann and Bertau. vol. 1, pp 17-169.

<sup>131</sup> These sigla refer to the following MSS (dates according to ed. Stackmann and Bertau):

- B* Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I O.9. Written c. 1425-28 in Ratibor, now Racibórz (Poland).
- b* Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Fragment Akc 1955/193 from MS I Q 365. 1<sup>st</sup> third C 14.
- K* Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. Haupt-Abteilung (StA Königsberg) Hs. 33, 1. Early C 14.
- L* Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. germ. oct. 403. 1<sup>st</sup> half C 14.
- U* Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Fragment I Q 368 a (olim. no. 12) from MS I Q 368. Early C 14.
- W* Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vind. 2701. C 14.

of the *Marienleich* and, immediately after, a Latin translation. Regrettably the beginning of the German is missing, as is the conclusion of the Latin text, unique to *W*.<sup>132</sup> There was also a long-standing supposition that the *Marienleich* had influenced the composition of the Czech song to the Virgin Mary, ‘Otep myry’ [‘Bunch of Myrrh’], though this has since been disproven.<sup>133</sup> The early fourteenth-century ‘Závišova píseň’, [‘Zavisov’s song’], however, is a paraphrase by an Augustinian cleric of Frauenlob’s song.<sup>134</sup> It is clear, then, that there were varied reasons for the Eastern European engagement in MHG lyric and that later criteria appear to have been led by content and other social factors rather than by literary and cultural ones as had been the case with earlier actors.

Turning to the King of Bohemia’s own songs, these show the depth of his initiation in the standards and attitudes of *Minnesang*, and by the same token, his innovations, his *expolitiones* to paraphrase Matthew of Vendôme’s phrase. Three survive—often held to be the last chapter in the history of *Minnesang*—a *Tagelied*, a *Werbungslied* and a *Winterlied*. It is above all in the *Tagelied* that his thoughtful approach to literary norms emerges most clearly. In it Wenzel joins Wolfram and Ulrich von Liechtenstein in using this genre as a privileged place for challenging inherited discourse. The opening is traditional, ‘dest wâr, si [i.e. the night] mac niht langer dâ geresten, | wan es ist zît und niht ze fruo | daz man ein scheiden werbe’ [‘It is true, it can no longer stay, for it is time, and not too early, that we take our leave’] (ll. 7-9). The nightwatchman comes to wake the lovers. What is innovatory is what follows, when the woman explains:

---

<sup>132</sup> On the Latin translation, see: Udo Kühne, ‘*Latinum super cantica canticorum*: Die lateinische Übersetzung von Frauenlobs *Marienleich*’, in *Studien zu Frauenlob und Heinrich von Mügeleln: FS Karl Stackmann zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. by Jens Haustein and Ralf-Henning Steinmetz, Scriptorium Friburgense, 15 (Freiburg, Universitätsverlag, 2002), pp. 1-14.

<sup>133</sup> See Christoph März, ‘Das *Canticum boemicale* “Otep myry” und Frauenlobs *Cantica canticorum*: Prüfung einer These’ in *Studien zu Frauenlob*, ed. by Haustein and Steinmetz, pp. 15-30.

<sup>134</sup> See further Leopold Zatočil, ‘Závišova píseň ve světle minnesangu a její předloha’, *Sborník prací filosofické fakulty Brněnské university* II, 2-4 (1953), 110-25. More concretely, two of Hugo von Trimberg’s songs, ‘Ich binz der jugent’ and ‘Ich binz das alter’ were reworked in the Czech songs ‘Řeč jinocha mladého’ and ‘Řeč kmetě staého’. More than half the MS witnesses of the MHG include a Latin version. See Dietrich Gerhardt, ‘Hugo von Trimberg in alttschechischer Übersetzung’, *International Journal for Slavic Linguistics and Poetics*, 4 (1961), 84-115.

“...wan er [sc. the watchman] wolte sîn bespunnen  
mit miete, daz hân ich vernomen:  
ez ist dem tage unnâhen.”

...

si sprach “nime, wahter, silber golt und edel rîch gesteine,  
lâ mich den zarten lieben umbevâhen.” (ll. 2, 7-9 & 12-3)

“...but he wants to be sent away with cash, as I have heard; it is almost day.” [...] She said, “Here, watchman, silver, gold and fine, precious stones; let me embrace my darling beloved.”

The watchman wanting payment is not unusual, but it generally remains implicit. Equally, although Wolfram in his *Tagelied* ‘Von der zinnen’ views the scene entirely from the watchman’s perspective, Wenzel is new in the length of the thanks and response which the watchman offers to his payment.<sup>135</sup> However, his strophic form (3a3a5a4b 3a3a5a4b 3c5c3d7d5c) is less innovative than some of Wolfram’s. This may be read in two ways: first, as evidence of a cultural delay as fashions move eastward; second, and more likely in view of the long-term exposure of the Bohemian court to ‘German’ courtly culture, as proof that Wenzel is aiming for a classical *Minnesang* in order to prove the depth of his knowledge of that mode, and by extension, to shore up his identity as part of the Empire which acted as conduit for this culture. The conservatism of artists and speakers of languages far from their original contexts is a known factor, and in the figure of Wenzel this coalesces with the possibility that the King of Bohemia is deliberately aiming for a stately, not to say staid, tone. The standard position, that these Bohemian and Silesian poets are simply bad imitators, does not consider their position or view of the wider poetic discourse of the age in a particularly nuanced fashion, but rather imposes centralizing criteria on poets who did not necessarily accept them.

The king’s MS transmission is also revealing. Where Frauenlob’s songs are scattered far and wide, the reverse is true of Wenzel’s, which are instead gathered into the centre of the German lyric tradition: the Manesse Codex, and by extension gain a canonical status in the later published

---

<sup>135</sup> Cf. Wolfram von Eschenbach, *KLD*, 69, V, on pp. 599-600.

collections based on it. This is also significant for the question of attribution. While the first of Wenzel's songs is found in the Silesian MS *W* along with Frauenlob's songs, it is not attributed—nor are they rubricated in *Fm*. The attribution of the three poems, while not securely proven, relies on the rubrication of the Manesse Codex, already discussed with regard to Ulrich von Liechtenstein. Here 'König Wenzel von Behein', fourth in the order of precedence, is presented as the author of the lyrics. It is unlikely that his grandfather Wenzel I is meant, and Wenzel II grew up in Vienna surrounded by many poets.<sup>136</sup> If it were *not* Wenzel who composed them, we would be confronted with the decision of a Swiss scribe of the fifteenth century 'correcting' the absence of a royal centre for the Eastern arm of the MHG lyric universe. In short it would be the age of urban *Meistersang* back-projecting a conception of courtly lyric requiring a king, a view supported by the hierarchical 'court' represented by the author portraits. The manner of adoption of Wenzel's lyrics in the Manesse Codex can be glossed in a number of ways: first as an expression of the 'completist' aspirations of the producer; second, as recognition of the king's status within the Empire, and third, as a means of increasing the prestige of the Codex by having among its authors the monarch who significantly expanded the Empire, a possibility that stands regardless of the accuracy of the attribution of the poems. It is this inclusion in an empire of song that it seems Wenzel was aiming for in his choice of German. Yet his engagement with the practice of *Minnesang* also reveals a capable and intellectually lively poet who was recognized in his transmission as part of a particular *coterie*.

In short, then, the place of Middle High German lyric poetry in Eastern Europe is far-reaching and long-lasting, far more than is reflected in conventional histories of national literatures with national languages. It has two distinct phases: first, the moment of composition, where, as an imperial language, German, combined with the poetic forms of courtly culture, even when their

---

<sup>136</sup> Hans-Joachim Behr, despite scepticism throughout his study, eventually accepts the attribution to Wenzel. See *Literatur*, pp. 249-52.

places of origin had moved on, offered a way of declaring affiliations both political and artistic. The second phase, manuscript transmission, has twofold importance. Firstly, in the case of Wenzel's songs, the compilation of the Manesse Codex in fourteenth-century Basel sees how the 'periphery' of the German linguistic sphere is brought into the centre of the corpus and how the King of Bohemia and Poland's innovatory approach to *Tagelieder* nuances and interacts with canonical writers. Secondly, in the case of Frauenlob, the enduring popularity of his Marian lyric in Silesia, as well as evidence of how later audiences and transmitters bring their own priorities to bear on existing material, shows how the profile of authors—particularly those as versatile as Heinrich von Meißen—can vary in time. The Eastern European tradition, then, offers a rich and productive approach to MHG lyric poetry which reframes a conceptualization of *Minnesang* often considered more 'central' to both corpus and continent, and thus questions the extent to which one can talk about the German poetry of the Middle Ages without invoking the much greater geographical area occupied by the actors in this field than the modern word 'German' brings to mind. By giving the lie to the act of unification represented by some later medieval MS witnesses as well as modern corpora, Wenzel, Heinrich and Frauenlob together show how these transmitters and editors have sometimes glossed over history as they find it, preferring to elaborate a new one in its place.

*Conclusion: On the outside looking in?*

Poets working in and with languages of which they were not native speakers fall all too easily through the cracks of traditional literary history. They are difficult to characterize using the criteria of their native language, where this was a medium for literary composition, and by that of the language to which they respond, whether they write in it or not. They are, however, of considerable importance to the development of both poetic communities and indeed to literary history. Looking at traditions to some extent 'from outside', they are able to bring their own

knowledge, linguistic background, and perspective to bear on lyric modes of the past and of their present, and are free to question the norms of those poetic traditions. It is in this sense that they make the tradition traditional, which is in no small part dependent on their constructing their position and identity relative both to their forebears and their surroundings. In the same way as quotation auctorializes poetry by exhibiting its formal values by means of contrast with its surrounding, the classical forms of a literary moment are only classical or canonical because of what lies beyond them, or, as we have seen in all three instances in this Chapter, that which defines itself against the mainstream or the inherited. Poetry is thus the first and most important form of literary history. Arguably, it is also the best, as the complexity of its form adds a third dimension, allowing it to record overlapping networks of relations which further enriches its potential as a tool for critical judgement of the literary field's past and for its future direction.

Furio Brugnolo has written of the *scuola siciliana* that 'lo sforzo davvero eroico dei Siciliani è stato quello di "inventare" qualcosa di *nuovo*' ['the truly heroic labour of the Sicilians was that of "inventing" something new'].<sup>137</sup> It seems more the case that the heroism of the Sicilians, and also that of the Catalan troubadours discussed here, was to locate a new poetry, one related to but not determined by previous generations of poets. As in previous chapters, language reveals itself to be relatively pliable, and plays the essential role of being both the medium and the encouragement for the stylistic developments that enable the advance of poetic culture, be that the adoption of a new language, or the qualification of an existing tradition. Further, it is the adoption and adaptation of supposedly 'foreign' poetry and poetic traditions that precedes the much-heralded beginnings of native vernacular literature in all three regions considered here, suggesting that poetry, like the quotations discussed in Chapter 3, always comes from somewhere else, be that geographical or discursive.

---

<sup>137</sup> Brugnolo, 'La teoria della "rima trivocalica"', p. 29.

Language's pliability is also, to some extent, the reason for the sometimes intractable connection between linguistic forms and their signification. The MSS transmitting these songs though, as ever, reveal the changing criteria by which subsequent generations and transmitters judged them. This should encourage the modern critic to adopt a flexible approach in measuring these poets by a third set of criteria, one that is not offered by standard language-led literary criticism, as well as to consider the power of cultural ricochet in influencing the supposed centres of these traditions. This sideways perspective offers a rich synthetic and comparative understanding of medieval literary culture, one which brings the grey zones of cultural and linguistic overlap and difficult distinctions to the centre rather than banishing them to the periphery. These liminal poets, the poets from 'somewhere else', after all, are the ones who define and qualify the rest while they qualify themselves.

## Conclusion: Lyrics, Languages, and Poetic Community in the Middle Ages

This study places itself in the tradition of pan-European medieval studies in the manner of Curtius' *Europäische Literatur im lateinischen Mittelalter*. It thus sets itself against the recent scholarly trends such as the rise of the globalized Middle Ages and the adoption of post-colonial theory in medieval studies.<sup>1</sup> For these new approaches, encounters with the 'other' outweigh considerations of similitude, as does the interest in the interactions of widely-separated peoples that of closer neighbours. Mine is not, however, a classic philological study. I have not attempted to trace a grand narrative; on the contrary, I have demonstrated the many ways in which such an approach to medieval literature can obscure important evidence and distort the material that has survived. This evidence demands comparative study, fitting, as it does, into no easy boxes. The fruit of such a study is a richer, less simplistic view of the literary culture of medieval Europe, of the interactions and interrelations of individual actors, transmitters, and languages.

Lyric is the perfect example of the need for crossing disciplinary borders because it represents a movement beyond the boundaries of everyday speech and language and between speech and

---

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, Geraldine Heng, 'The Global Middle Ages: An Experiment in Collaborative Humanities, or Imagining the World, 500-1500 C.E', *English Language Notes*, 47 (2009), 205-16, or *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages*, ed. by Ananya Kabir and Deanne Williams, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 54 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

music. Indeed, it is possible to go beyond the ‘Poetry in Motion’ of my title and say that lyric poetry is motion in itself. In the movement of knowledge between poet or performer and audience, between these and the scribe of a manuscript, between poets, lyric never ceases to develop and to grow. It is at once the seed and the site of the birth, growth, and evolution of literary languages, initiating a series of literary historical developments throughout the Middle Ages. Lyric is repeatedly at the forefront of the expanding network of European literature. Poetry is simultaneously the object that moves, as in the case of the melody of ‘Can vei la lauzeta mover’, connects people, and also holds those two poles together. This happens in two different areas, first the composition of a lyric, and then, separately, its subsequent transmission. The repeated interactivity of poets, the chain (or sometimes web-like) reactions, sustains the network, each translation, each quotation and *contrafactum* a nervous impulse through the body poetic.<sup>2</sup>

What results from this creation of many overlapping communities has often been characterized as hybridization. Ardis Butterfield writes, for example, that the ‘fascination with creating and examining the differences between genre, between music and poetry, between languages, registers, and cultures is symptomatic of deep tendencies toward hybridity in the creative practice of thirteenth-century composers’.<sup>3</sup> While this is true for Butterfield’s study of northern France, it is also true that these individual scholarly units are arbitrary divisions of a whole, as has been increasingly recognized in thinking about the relation of words and melody in song, figured in Zumthor’s idea of the *œuvre* or the holistic realization in performance of the constituent parts of a song.<sup>4</sup> Scholarship must guard against identifying as hybrids, failures or aberrations those things which merely question the validity of our own, modern, criteria. This applies as much to

---

<sup>2</sup> Compare Bruno Latour’s writings on actor-network theory, which underline the need for repeated affirmation of social bonds *via* small movements; *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, p. 294.

<sup>4</sup> Zumthor, *La poésie et la voix*.

language as it does to the form and contents of various witnesses. To be certain of the interpretation of the artefacts which come down to us requires a greater awareness than is often demonstrated of the stakes of transmission: scholars must become more critical of editorial practice and be able and willing to consider the relationship of the printed page and the manuscripts. As has been seen in the case of the MHG poets in Eastern Europe, the manuscripts often tell stories at odds with the linear narratives of standard literary histories—rather like the supposedly authentic language of the Frings-Schieb edition of Veldeke's *Eneide* discussed in the Introduction, largely a confection of modern editions of the text. As Frits van Oostrom perceptively puts it: 'De weg naar de middeleeuwse literatuur is geplaveid med mediëvistiek' [The road to medieval literature is paved with medieval studies].<sup>5</sup> Medieval studies must thus become more aware of the corrosion and distortion caused by the careless appendage of labels, as has been seen in the case of the ideologically-driven edition of multilingual texts and the way they impose modern ideas of linguistic identity on works composed in a context where these did not apply.<sup>6</sup>

Form as constitutive of meaning is essential to the connective potential of lyric. With a range of techniques ranging from the most simple to the astonishingly elaborate, lyric poetry, in its expansion and the texts which codify it, marks the evolving self-awareness of and competition among medieval poets essential to the maintenance and structure of poetic community. Theorist Bruno Latour calls form 'something which allows something else to be transported from one site to another. Form then becomes one of the most important types of translations'.<sup>7</sup> This does not, however, consider that artistic form does not simply exist but is made and in turn makes. It

---

<sup>5</sup> van Oostrom, *Stemmen op schrift: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur vanaf het begin tot 1300* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 2006), p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Butterfield has addressed some of these issues in her recent work on literary and cultural relations between England and France during the Hundred Years War, *The Familiar Enemy*.

<sup>7</sup> *Reassembling the Social*, p. 223.

creates and carries a meaning of its own which continues to develop in new contexts, although these can hide previous meanings, as was seen in the recontextualization of poetic quotations in Chapter 3. Form also allows poets to encode their own literary history within their works. This is the particular and persistent value of the lyric for the medieval world. In its contents, medieval lyric considers not merely, in Dante's phrase, that which is most elevated about man, but the politics, fighting and flights of fancy that colour daily life. These are as much encoded in the structure of song and in the fact of being song as in the assemblage of words that fill out its metrics. Like diamonds, lyrics have many facets, and changing backgrounds shine through, yet there is a certain continuity and unity in the lyric of the European Middle Ages and in the community of poets that created it. We would do well to attempt to do justice to the whole lyric and the whole community, for it is greater than the sum of its parts.

The challenges for future work are considerable, particularly in two respects. Firstly, the writing of literary history. This thesis was written in the context of the AHRC-funded project 'Medieval Francophone Literary Culture outside France', which ran from April 2011 to March 2015. It followed the manuscript transmission of six major narrative traditions, and compiled a database of some 550 MSS, detailing their linguistic and codicological characteristics against the textual witness they offer, with the goal of tracking textual developments alongside geographical and linguistic movements. The picture which emerges is of a largely non-linear expansion, as opposed to traditional models which saw France as the centre of a centrifugal evolution. Instead, there are many centres of production and influence: the Low Countries, England, the cities of Northern Italy, the Mediterranean crusader states, which together form a web of interactions. Consequently, the way we have tended to speak of 'French literature' as synonymous with 'literature in French' appears increasingly untenable, and the present study demonstrates that to a large extent, though in different ways, the same is true of much medieval lyric. There are

common traits which go beyond languages and conventional divisions: individual figures, like the ‘Catalan’ troubadours, and artefacts, both physical and textual, undermine these. It is here that the second challenge comes to the fore: music. While I have been able to suggest ways in which the textual and formal aspects of medieval lyric do not respect conceptual linguistic frontiers, and indeed often play with them, the role of musical evidence, that is the melodic component which changes lyric into song, requires more expert treatment. This is especially the case in its interrelations with different verbal languages, where multilingual song in particular could offer insights into the conceptualization of music as a signifier. The idea of writing a *Poetry and Music in Medieval Europe*, to re-work Ardis Butterfield’s title, is an ambitious one in view of the variations in both repertory and manuscript evidence in different regions of the continent, as well as the different periods which this would need to consider. Difficult but not impossible, such a project would bring new discourses into dialogue with the literary ones I have attempted to trace, and, would, I suggest, be of as great benefit to musicology as to literary studies.

The lyric poetry of the Middle Ages continues to offer important new perspectives on the way we can and should think about medieval culture, but it demands a greater degree of flexibility and subtlety than has sometimes been the case. Above all, it requires holistic study, taking advantage of the insights of multiple disciplines: musicology, philology, codicology, and literary studies among others. Song, so important for the beginnings of vernacular culture in Europe, can be the starting point for truly comparative and interdisciplinary medieval study.

# Bibliography

## I. Editions, textual repertories, and printed MS reproductions

Editions are listed according to the first name of the medieval author.

- Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, ed. by Clemens Blume & Guido-Maria Dreves, 55 vols (Leipzig: Reisland, 1886-1922)
- Appel, Carl, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie mit Abriss der Formenlehre und Glossar*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Leipzig: Reisland, 1902)
- , *Provenzalische Inedita aus Pariser Handschriften* (Leipzig: Fues-Reisland, 1890)
- Andreas Capellanus, *De amore*, trans. and ed. by Graziano Ruffini (Milan: Guanda, 1980)
- Bernart von Ventadorn: *Seine Lieder mit Einleitung und Glossar*, ed. by Carl Appel (Halle: Niemeyer, 1915)
- Biographies des Troubadours*, ed. by Jean Boutière and Alexander-Hermann Schutz, Graduate School Monographs: Contributions in Languages and Literature, 14 (Toulouse: Privat & Paris: Didier, 1950)
- Boccaccio, *Genealogia deorum gentilium*, in *Tutte le Opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, gen. ed. by Vittorio Branca, 10 vols (Milan: Mondadori, 1964-92), VII-VIII, ed. by Vittorio Zaccaria, pp. 1-1813
- [Bonifacio Calvo], William Horan, *The Poems of Bonifacio Calvi [sic]: A Critical Edition* (The Hague & Paris: Mouton, 1966)
- , *Le Rime di Bonifacio Calvo*, ed. by Francesco Branciforti, Biblioteca della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, 11 (Catania: Università di Catania, 1955)
- Caïti-Russo, Gilda, *Les Troubadours et la cour des Malaspina* (Montpellier: Publications Montpellier-3, 2006)
- Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer dos cancioneiros medievais galego-portugueses: Edição crítica*, ed. by Manuel Rodrigues Lapa (Coimbra: Vigo, 1965)
- [Châtelain de Couci], *Chansons attribuées au Châtelain de Couci (fin du XIIe- début du XIIIe siècle)*, ed. by Alain Lerond, Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Rennes, 7 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964)
- [Cerverí de Girona], *Lírica*, ed. by Joan Coromines with Beata Fitzpatrick, 2 vols, Autors Catalans Antics, 5-6 (Barcelona: Curial, 1983)
- , *Obras completas del trovador Cerverí de Girona*, ed. and trans by Martí de Riquer (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Estudios Mediterráneos, 1947)
- [Cercamon], *The Poetry of Cercamon and Jaufre Rudel*, ed. and trans. by George Wolf and Roy Rosenstein, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, 5, Series A (New York: Garland, 1983)
- Chevalier, Ulysse, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, 2 vols (Louvain: Poleunis & Ceuterick, 1892-97)
- Chiaro Davanzati, *Rime*, ed. by Aldo Menichetti, Collezione di opere inedite o rare, 126 (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di Lingua, 1965)
- [Chrétien de Troyes], Marie-Claire Zai, *Les chansons courtoises de Chrétien de Troyes*, Publications Universitaires Européennes, Series 13, vol. 27 (Bern: Peter Lang, 1974)
- [Conon de Béthune], *Les chansons de Conon de Béthune*, ed. by Axel Wallensköld (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1921)

- Curial e Guelfa*, ed. by R. Aramon i Sierra, Els nostres classics, ser. A 30, 35-6 & 39-40 (Barcelona: Barcino: 1930-33)
- Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia*, ed. and trans. by Vittorio Coletti, I grandi libri, 442 (Milan: Garzanti, 1991)
- , *The Divine Comedy*, ed. and trans. by Robin Kirkpatrick, 3 vols (London: Penguin, 2006-2007)
- , *Opere Minori*, ed. by Domenico De Robertis and Gianfranco Contini, 3 vols in 6, La Letteratura Italiana: Storia e testi, 5 (Milan: Ricciardi, 1979-85),
- , *Rime*, ed. by Domenico De Robertis, 3 vols in 5 (Florence: Le Lettere, 2002)
- , *Vita Nova*, ed. by Stefano Carrai (Milan: BUR, 2009)
- , *Vita Nova*, ed. by Guglielmo Gorni, Nuova raccolta di classici italiani annotati, 15 (Turin: Einaudi, 1996)
- , *La Vita Nuova di Dante Alighieri*, ed. by Michele Barbi, Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Dante, 1 (Florence: Bemporad, 1932)
- , *La Vita Nuova e Il Canzoniere*, ed. by Michele Scherillo, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Milan: Hoepli, 1921)
- , *Vita Nuova (Poems of Youth)*, trans. by Barbara Reynolds (London: Penguin, 1969)
- Des Minnesangs Frühling*, ed. by Carl Lachmann and Moriz Haupt, 36<sup>th</sup> edn by Hugo Moser and Helmut Tervooren, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1977)
- Deutsche Liederdichter des 13. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Carl von Kraus, 2nd edn rev. by Gisela Kornrumpf, 2 vols (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1978)
- Los Flors del Gay Saber*, ed. by Joseph Anglade, Institut d'Estudis Catalans: Memòries de la secció filològica, 1.II (Barcelona: Institut Patxot, 1924)
- [Francesc Ferrer], *Lo conhort de Francesc Ferrer*, ed. by Jaume Auferil (Barcelona: Stelle dell'Orsa, 1987)
- [Folquet de Marseille], *Le Troubadour Folquet de Marseille: Edition critique, précédée d'une étude biographique et littéraire et suivie d'une traduction, d'un commentaire historique, de notes, et d'un glossaire*, ed. by Stanislaw Stroiński (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1910)
- , *Le poesie di Folchetto di Marsiglia*, ed. by Paolo Squillacioti, Biblioteca degli studi mediolatini e volgari, ns 16 (Ospedaletto: Pacini, 1999)
- Frauenlob (Heinrich von Meissen): Leichs, Sangsprüche, Lieder*, ed. by Karl Stackmann and Karl Bertau. 3 vols. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse, ser. 3, 119-21 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981)
- , *Heinrichs von Meissen des Frauenlobes Leiche, Sprüche, Streitgedichte und Lieder*, ed. by E. M. Ludwig Ettmüller. Bibliothek der gesamten deutschen National-Literatur, 16 (Quedlinburg: Basse, 1843)
- [Gaucelm Faidit], *Les poèmes de Gaucelm Faidit, troubadour du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Edition critique*, ed. by Jean Mouzat (Paris: Nizet, 1965)
- [Gerbert de Montreuil], *Le Roman de la violette ou de Gerart de Nevers: Par Gerbert de Montreuil*, ed. by Douglas Buffum (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1928)
- Giacomo da Lentini, *Poesie*, ed. by Roberto Antonelli, Instrumenta Philologiae, 1 (Rome: Bulzoni, 1979)
- Gottfried von Straßburg, *Tristan*, ed. by Friedrich Ranke, trans. by Rüdiger Krohn, Reclams Universal Bibliothek, 4471 [6], 4472 [6], and 4473 [4] (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1980)

- [Guillem Anelier], *Der Troubadour Guillem Anelier von Toulouse: Vier provenzalische Gedichte*, ed. by Martin Gisi (Solothurn: Gassman, 1877)
- , Straub, Richard, 'Les *sirventes* de Guillem Anelier de Tolosa', in '*Cantarem d'aquestz trobadors*': *Studi occitanici in onore di Giuseppe Tavani*, ed. by Luciano Rossi (Alessandria: Orso, 1995), pp. 127-68
- [Guillem de Berguedà], *Guillem de Berguedà*, ed. by Martí de Riquer, 2 vols, Scriptorium Populeti, 5-6 (Poblet: Abbadia de Poblet, 1971)
- , *Les poesies del trobador Guillem de Berguedà*, ed. and trans. by Martí de Riquer (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 1996)
- [Guillem de Saint-Didier], *Poesies du troubadour Guillem de Saint-Didier*, ed. by Aimo Sakari, Mémoires de la société néophilologique de Helsinki, 19 (Helsinki: Société néophilologique, 1956)
- [Guiraut Riquer], Monica Langobardi, 'I "vers" del trovatore Guiraut Riquer', *Studi mediolatini e volgari*, 29 (1982-3), 17-163
- [Heinrich von Veldeke], Henric van Veldeken, *Eneide*, ed. by Theodor Frings and Gabriele Schieb, 3 vols, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, 58, 59, 62 (Berlin: Akademie, 1964-70)
- [Henri d'Andeli], *Les dits d'Henri d'Andeli* ed. by Alain Corbellari, Classiques français du moyen-âge, 146 (Paris: Champion, 2003)
- [Hugh Primas], *The Oxford Poems of Hugh Primas and the Arundel lyrics edited from British Library MS Rawl. G. 109 and BL MS Arundel 384*, ed. by Chris McDonough (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1984)
- Jakemés, *Le Roman du Châtelain de Coucy et de la Dame de Fayel*, ed. and trans. by Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas, Champion Classiques du Moyen-Âge, 26 (Paris: Champion, 2009)
- Jean Renart, *The Romance of the Rose or of Guillaume de Dole (Roman de de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole)*, ed. and trans. by Regina Psaki, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, 92, ser. A (New York: Garland, 1995)
- , *Le Roman de la Rose ou De Guillaume de Dole*, trans. by Jean Dufournet, ed. by Félix Lecoy, Champion Classiques du Moyen-Âge, 24 (Paris: Champion, 2008)
- Le Jeu de Saint Agnès: Drame provençal du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. by Alfred Jeanroy (Paris: Champion, 1931)
- [Johan Esteve], *Le Poesie del Trovatore Johan Esteve*, ed. by Sergio Vatteroni, Bibliotheca degli Studi Mediolatini e Volgari, ns 10 (Pisa: Pacini, 1986)
- John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ed. by John Hall, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis, 98 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991)
- Kraus, Carl von, *Deutsche Liederdichter des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, completed by Hugo Kuhn, 2 vols (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1952-58)
- Les Lais du Roman de Tristan en Prose, d'après le manuscrit de Vienne 2542*, ed. by Tatiana Fotitch and Ruth Steiner, Münchener romanistische Arbeiten, 38 (Munich: Fink, 1974)
- [Lanfranc Cigala], *Il Canzoniere di Lanfranco Cigala*, ed. by Francesco Branciforti, Biblioteca dell'Archivum Romanicum ser. 1 (Storia, letteratura paleografia), 37 (Florence: Olschki, 1954), text online at: <http://www.rialto.unina.it/LanfCig.htm> (accessed 23rd Sept 2014)
- Late Medieval English Lyrics and Carols 1400- 1530*, ed. by Thomas Duncan (London: Penguin, 2001)
- Marcabru: A Critical Edition*, ed. by Simon Gaunt, Ruth Harvey and Linda Paterson (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000)

- [Matthew of Vendôme], *Mathei Vinocinensis Opera*, ed. by Franco Munari, 3 vols, *Storia e Letteratura* 144, 152, 171 (Storia e Letteratura: Rome, 1977-88)
- [Matfre Ermengaud], *Le Breviari d'Amor de Matfre Ermengaud*: Vol. V (27252T–34597), ed. by Peter T. Ricketts (Leiden: Brill, 1976)
- Medieval English Lyrics and Carols*, ed. by Thomas G. Duncan (Cambridge: Brewer, 2013)
- Medieval Latin Lyric: Vol. 3*, ed. by Penelope Rainey (Bryn Mawr, PA: Thomas Library, Bryn Mawr College, 1993)
- Meyer, Paul and Gaston Raynaud, *Le Chansonnier français de St. Germain-des-Prés (Bibl. Nat. Fr. 20050): Reproduction phototypique avec transcription* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1892)
- Minnesinger: Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölften, dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts aus allen bekannten Handschriften und früheren Drucken*, ed. by Friedrich von der Hagen, 3 vols in 2 (Leipzig: Barth, 1838)
- [Oswald von Wolkenstein], *Die Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein*, ed. by Karl Kurt Klein, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. by Hans Moser et al., *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek* 55 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1975)
- , Classen, Albrecht, *The Poems of Oswald von Wolkenstein: An English Translation of the Complete Works (1376/77-1445)* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)
- Oswald von Wolkenstein: Handschrift A: vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Vindobonensis 2777 d. Österr. Nationalbibliothek*, ed. by Francesco Delbono, *Codices selecti phototypice impressi*, 59 (Graz: Akademischer Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1977)
- [Nicoló de' Rossi], *Il Canzoniere di Nicoló de' Rossi*, ed. by Furio Brugnolo, 2 vols, *Medioevo e umanesimo*, 16 and 30 (Padua: Antenore, 1974-77)
- Nouvelles occitanes du Moyen Age*, ed. and trans. by Jean-Charles Huchet (Paris: Flammarion, 1992)
- Il Novellino*, ed. by Guido Favati, *Studi e testi romanzi e mediolatini*, 1 (Genoa: Bozzi, 1970)
- , ed. by Alberto Conte, *I Novellieri italiani*, 1 (Rome: Salerno, 2001)
- [Ovid], *P. Ovidi Nasonis: Amores, Medicamina faciei femineae, Ars amatoria, Remedia amoris*, ed. by E. J. Kenney (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961)
- [Peire Cardenal], *Poésies Complètes du troubadour Peire Cardenal (1180-1278)*, ed. by René Lavaud. *Bibliothèque Méridionale*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 34 (Toulouse: Privat, 1957)
- [Perdigon], *Les Chansons de Perdigon*, ed. by H[enry] J. Chaytor (Paris: Champion, 1926)
- , Squillaciotti, Paolo, “‘Trop ai estat mon Bon Esper no vi’ (BdT 370, 14)”, *ZRP*, 121 (2005), 543-62
- La Poesia dell'antica Provenza: Testi e storia dei trovatori*, ed. by Giuseppe Sansone, *Biblioteca della Fenice* 50-51 (Milan: Guanda, 1984-86)
- Poeti del Duecento*, ed. by Gianfranco Contini, 2 vols (Turin: Einaudi, 1960)
- [Raimbaut d'Aurenga], Walter Pattison, *The Life and Works of Raimbaut of Orange* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1952)
- [Raimbaut de Vaqueiras], *The Poems of the Troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, ed. by Joseph Linskill (The Hague: Mouton, 1964)
- [Raimon Vidal de Besalú], *Obra Poètica*, ed. by Hugh Field, 2 vols, *Autors Catalans Antics*, 7-8 (Barcelona: Curial, 1989-91)
- , *The 'Razos de trobar' of Raimon Vidal and Associated Texts*, ed. by John Marshall (London: Oxford University Press, 1972)
- Rigaut de Berbezilh, *Liriche*, ed. by Alberto Varvaro, *Biblioteca di filologia romanza*, 4 (Bari: Adriatica, 1960)

- Riquer, Martí de, *Los Trovadores: Historia literaria y textos*, 3 vols, Ensayos Planeta de lingüística y crítica literaria, 34-36 (Barcelona: Planeta, 1975)
- Rime dei memoriali bolognesi: 1279-1300*, ed. by Sandro Orlando, Collezione di poesia 171 (Turin: Einaudi, 1981)
- [Robert de Blois], *Robert von Blois: Sämmtliche [sic] Werke*, ed. by Jacob Ulrich, 3 vols (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1889-95; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1978)
- Le Roman de Tristan en Prose*, ed. by Renée L. Curtis. 3 vols, I (Munich: Hueber, 1963), II (Leiden: Brill, 1976), III (Cambridge: Brewer, 1985)
- Le Roman de Tristan en Prose*, gen. ed. by Philippe Ménard, 9 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1987-97)
- [Salimbene de Adam], *Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam Ordinis Minorum*, ed. by Oswald Holder-Egger, Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Scriptores) 32, (Hanover: Hahn, 1905-13)
- [Tannhäuser], *Der Dichter Tannhäuser: Leben—Gedichte—Sage*, ed. by Johannes Siebert (Halle: Neimeyer, 1934; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1980)
- [Thibaut de Champagne, roi de Navarre], *Les Chansons de Thibaut de Champagne, roi de Navarre: Édition critique*, ed. by Axel Wallensköld, (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1925)
- Tischler, Hans, *Trouvère Melodies with Lyrics: Complete Comparative Edition*, 15 vols, Corpus mensurabilis musicae 107 (Neuenhausen: Hänssler, 1997)
- Ulrich von Liechtenstein, *Frauendienst: Roman*, trans. by Franz Viktor Spechtler (Klagenfurt: Wieser, 2000)
- Ulrich von Liechtenstein's Service of Ladies: Translated in condensed form into English verse with an introduction to the poet and the work by J[ohn] W[esley] Thomas* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969; repr., introd. by Kelly DeVries, Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004)
- Ulrich's von Liechtenstein 'Frauendienst'*, ed. by Reinhold Bechstein, 2 vols, Deutsche Dichtungen des Mittelalters, 7-8 (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1888)
- [Uc Faidit], *The 'Donatꝝ Proensals' of Uc Faidit*, ed. by J[ohn] H. Marshall (London: Oxford University Press, 1969)
- [Ulrich von Etzenbach], *Wilhelm von Wenden: ein Gedicht Ulrichs von Eschenbach*, ed. by Wendelin Toischer, Bibliothek der mittelhochdeutschen Litteratur [sic] in Böhmen 1 (Brockhaus: Prauge, 1867; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1968)
- [Vidame de Chartres], J. A. Noonan, *A Critical Edition of the Works of Guillaume de Ferrières (Le Vidame de Chartres) with a study of his life* (unpub. DPhil thesis: Oxford, 1933)

## II. Critical studies and reference works

- Aarburg, Ursula, 'Melodien zum frühen deutschen Minnesang' in *Der deutsche Minnesang*, ed. by Hans Fromm, Wege der Forschung 15 (Bad Homburg: Gentner, 1963), pp. 378-421. Originally in: *ZfdA* 87 (1956-57), 24-45
- Abulafia, David, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London: Pimlico, 2002)
- Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch: Adolf Toblers nachgelassene Materialien bearbeitet und mit der Unterstützung der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften herausgegeben von Erhard Lommatzsch*, 11 vols, I-II (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung: Berlin, 1925-36), III-XI (Steiner: Wiesbaden, 1954-2002)
- Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London: Verso, 1992)
- Antonelli, Roberto, 'Il Duecento Lirico: Poesia e Poeti', in *Convivio*, ed. by Beltrán and Paredes, pp. 83-95

- , 'Politica e volgare: Guglielmo IX, Enrico II, Federico II', in *ibid.*, *Seminario Romanzo* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1979), pp. 9-109
- , 'Struttura materiale e disegno storiografico del Canzoniere Vaticano', *I canzonieri della lirica italiana delle origini*, ed. by Lino Leonardi, 4 vols, IV: *Studi critici*, pp. 1-23
- , 'La tradizione manoscritta e la formazione del canone', in *Dai Siciliani ai Siculo-Toscani: Lingua, metro e stile: Per la definizione del canone: Atti del Convegno (Lecce, 21-23 aprile, 1998)*, ed. by Rosario Coluccia and Ricciardo Gualdo. Pubblicazioni del dipartimento di Filologia, Linguistica e Letteratura dell'Università di Lecce 4 (Galatina: Congedo, 1999), pp. 7-28
- , 'Traduzione—tradizione: La tradizione manoscritta provenzale e la Scuola siciliana' in *E vós, tágides minhas: Miscellanea in Onore di Luciana Stegano Picchio*, ed. by Maria José de Lancastre et al. (Viareggio-Lucca: Baroni, 1999), pp. 49-62
- Archibald, Elizabeth, 'Macaronic Poetry' in *A Companion to Medieval Poetry*, ed. by Corinne Saunders (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 277-88
- Armstrong, Adrian and Sarah Kay, *Knowing Poetry: Verse in medieval France from the 'Rose' to the 'Rhétoriqueurs'* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011)
- Ascoli, Albert Russell, *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- Asperti, Stefano, *Carlo I d'Angiò e i trovatori: Componenti "provenzali" e angioine nella tradizione manoscritta della lirica trobadorica*, Memoria del tempo 3 (Ravenna: Longo, 1995)
- , '"Flamenca" e dintorno: Considerazioni sui rapporti fra Occitania e Catalogna nel XIV secolo', *CN* 45 (1985), 59-103
- , 'Sordello tra Raimondo Berengario V e Carlo I d'Angiò', *CN* 60 (2000), 141-59
- Baldwin, John, '"Once there was an emperor...": A Political Reading of the Romances of Jean Renart', in *Jean Renart and the Art of Romance: Essays on 'Guillaume de Dole'*, ed. by Nancy Vine Durling (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1997), pp. 45-82
- Barański, Zygmunt, '"Lascio cotale trattato ad altro chiosatore": Form, Literature, and Exegesis in Dante's *Vita nova*', in *Dantean Dialogues: Engaging with the Legacy of Amilcare Iannucci*, ed. by Maggie Kilgour and Elena Lombardi (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2013), pp. 1-40
- , 'The Roots of Dante's Plurilingualism: 'Hybridity' and Language in the *Vita nova*', in *Dante's Plurilingualism: Authority, Knowledge, Subjectivity*, ed. by Sara Fortuna, Manuele Gragnolati and Jürgen Trabant (London: Legenda, 2010), pp. 98-121
- , '"Significar per verba": Notes on Dante's plurilingualism', *The Italianist* 6 (1986), 5-18
- , '"Sordellus...qui...patrium vulgare deseruit": a Note on *De vulgari eloquentia*, I, 15, Sections 2-6', in *The Cultural Heritage of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honour of T. G. Griffith*, ed. by C[live] Griffiths & R[obert] Hastings (Leiston: Mellen, 1993), pp. 19-45
- Barolini, Teodolinda, 'Editing Dante's *Rime* and Italian Cultural History: Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarca...Barbi, Contini, Foster-Boyde, De Robertis', in *ibid.*, *Dante and the Origins of Italian Literary Culture* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006), pp. 245-78
- Bartlett, Robert, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (London: Allen Lane, 1993)
- Baumgartner, Emmanuèle, 'Les citations lyriques dans le *Roman de la Rose* de Jean Renart', *RPh* 35 (1981), 260-66
- , *Le 'Tristan en Prose': Essai d'interprétation d'un roman médiéval*, Publications romanes et françaises 133 (Geneva: Droz, 1975)

- Beaumat, Éric, 'L'esparsa LXXXVI: una cobla carrée?', in *Ausiàs March (1400-1459): Premier poète en langue catalane*, ed. by Georges Martin and Marie-Claire Zimmermann. Cahiers de linguistique hispanique médiévale, Annexes 14 (Paris: Klincksieck, 2000), pp. 169-81
- Behr, Hans-Joachim, *Literatur als Machtlegitimation: Studien zur Funktion der deutschsprachigen Dichtung am böhmischen Königshof im 13. Jahrhundert*, Forschungen zur Geschichte der älteren Deutschen Literatur 9 (Munich: Fink, 1989)
- , 'Ulrich von Etzenbach', *VL*, IX, cols. 1256-64
- Berger, Anna Maria Busse, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005)
- Bernsen, Michael, *Die Problematisierung lyrischen Sprechens im Mittelalter: Eine Untersuchung zum Diskurswandel der Liebesdichtung von den Provenzalen bis zu Petrarca*. Beihefte zur ZRP, 313 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001)
- Bertoni, Giulio, *Il Duecento*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn rev. by Aldo Vallone (Milan: Vallardi, 1973)
- Beyschlag, Siegfried 'Ein flämelnder Veldeke (zu MF 57, 10)', in *Heinric van Veldeken: Symposion Gent 23-24 oktober 1970*, ed. by Gilbert A.R. de Smet (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel), pp. 77-86
- Bezzola, Reto, *Les Origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident 500- 1200*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études: Sciences historiques et philologiques, 286, 313, 319 and 320 (Paris: Champion, 1944-63)
- Bianchini, Simonetta, "'Per non vestire le penne del pavone" (ancora sulla "ri-creazione" poetica nell'Italia del Duecento)', *Medioevo letterario d'Italia*, 2 (2005), 9-16
- Billy, Dominique, 'Contrafactures de modèles troubadouresques dans la poésie catalane (XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)', in *Le rayonnement des troubadours: actes du colloque de l'AIEO, Association Internationale d'Etudes Occitanes, Amsterdam, 16-18 Octobre 1995*, ed. by Anthonius Toubert (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), pp. 51-71
- Blasco, Eduardo, 'Il mistilinguismo poetico medievale: una fata morgana? (Analisi della lingua dei sirventès plurilingue di Bonifacio Calvi)', *Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie*, 26 (1987), 57-89
- Bleumer, Hartmut, 'Narrativik: Der Frauendienst als narrative Form', in *Ulrich von Liechtenstein: Leben – Zeit – Werk – Forschung*, ed. by Sandra Linden and Christopher Young, pp. 358-97
- Borst, Arno, *Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte der Meinungen und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker*, 4 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1959)
- Botterill, Steve, "'Però che la divisione non si fa se non per aprire la sentenza de la cosa divisa" (VN XIV, 13): the Vita Nuova as commentary', in *"La Gloriosa Donna de la mente": A commentary on the Vita Nuova*, ed. by Vincent Moleta (Florence: Olschki, 1994), pp. 61-76
- Boulton, Maureen Barry McCann, 'Lyric Insertions and the Reversal of Romance Conventions in Jean Renart', in *Jean Renart and the Art of Romance*, ed. by Nancy Vine Durling (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), pp. 85-104
- , *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in Fench Narrative Fiction, 1200-1400* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993)
- Braun, Manuel, 'Lyrik: Typus und Variation im Minnesang des 13. Jahrhunderts', in *Ulrich von Liechtenstein: Leben – Zeit – Werk – Forschung*, ed. by Sandra Linden and Christopher Young, pp. 398-441
- Brecht, Walther, 'Ulrich von Liechtenstein als Lyriker', *ZfdA*, 49 [n.s. 37] (1908), 1-122
- Brugnolo, Furio, *Plurilinguismo e lirica medievale: da Raimbaut de Vaqueiras a Dante* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1983)

- , 'I siciliani e l'arte dell'imitazione: Giacomo da Lentini, Rinaldo d'Aquino e Iacopo Mostacci "traduttori" dal provenzale', *La Parola del Testo*, 3 (1999), 45-74
- , 'La teoria della "rima trivocalica" e la lingua della Scuola poetica siciliana', *Lingua, rima, codici: Per una nuova edizione della poesia della Scuola siciliana: Atti della Giornata di Studio, Bologna, 24 giugno 1997*, ed. by Andrea Fassò and Luciano Formisano. Quaderni di filologia romanza, 12-13 (Bologna: Pàtron, 1999), pp 25-44
- Bumke, Joachim, *Höfische Kultur: Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter*, 2 vols, DTV 4442 (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1987)
- , *Mäzene im Mittelalter: Die Gönner und Auftraggeber der höfischen Literatur in Deutschland 1150-1300* (Munich: Beck, 1979)
- Burgwinkle, William E., *Razos and Troubadour Songs*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, ser. B, 71 (New York: Garland, 1990)
- Bursill-Hill, G[eoffrey] L., *Speculative Grammars of the Middle Ages: The Doctrine of 'Partes Orationis' of the Modistae*, Approaches to Semiotics, 11 (The Hague: Mouton, 1971)
- Butterfield, Ardis, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- , *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Cabré, Miriam, 'Un cançonier de Cerverí de Girona?' in *Cançonieri iberici*, ed. by Patrizia Botta et al., 2 vols, Biblioteca Filológica 7-8 (Padua: Università di Padua; A Coruña: Toxosoutos/Universidade da Coruña, 2001), I, pp. 283-99
- , *Cerverí de Girona: Un trobador al servei de Pere el Gran*, Col·lecció Blaquerna 7 (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona; Palma de Mallorca: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2011)
- , *Cerverí de Girona and his Poetic Traditions*, Colección Tàmesis, A 169 (London: Thamesis, 1999)
- Cabré, Miriam and Sadurni Martí, 'Le Chansonier Sg au carrefour occitano-catalan', *Romania*, 128 (2010), 92-134
- I Canzonieri della lirica italiana delle origini*, ed. by Lino Leonardi, 4 vols, Biblioteche e archivi 6 (Florence: SISMEL-Galluzzo, 2000)
- Carpenter, Christine, *The Armburgh Papers: The Brokholes Inheritance in Warwickshire, Hertfordshire and Essex c. 1417- c. 1453: Chetham's MS Mun. E. 6. 10 (4)* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998)
- Carrai, Stefano, *Dante Elegiaco: Una chiave di lettura per la 'Vita Nuova'*, Saggi di "Lettere Italiane", 62 (Florence: Olschki, 2006)
- Casanova, Emili, 'Katalanisch: Sprache und Literatur / Lengua y literatura', in *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik*, ed. by Günter Holtus et al., 7 vols (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990-2010), V, 2, *Französisch, Okzitanisch, Katalanisch*, (1991), pp. 218-31
- Cerquignani-Toulet, Jacqueline, 'Le lyrisme en mouvement', *Perspectives Médiévales*, 6 (1980), 75-86
- , 'Pour une typologie de l'insertion', *Perspectives Médiévales*, 3 (1977), 9-14
- Chambers, Frank, *An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1985)
- Chaytor, H[enry] J., *The Troubadours* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912)
- , *The Troubadours of Dante: Being Selections from the Works of the Provençal Poets quoted by Dante* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1902)

- Chinca, Mark, 'Fiktionalität: Der *Frauendienst* zwischen Fiktivität und Fiktionalität: Probleme und Perspektiven der Forschung', in *Ulrich von Liechtenstein*, ed. by Sandra Linden and Christopher Young, pp. 305-23
- Cholakian, Rouben C. *The Troubadour Lyric: A Psychocritical Reading* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990)
- Cigni, Fabrizio, 'Guiron, Tristan e altri testi arturiani: Nuove osservazioni sulla composizione materiale del ms. Parigi, BNF, fr. 12599', *Studi mediolatini e volgari*, 45 (1999), 31-70
- , 'Il lai tristaniano 'Folie n'est pas vasselage' e i suoi contesti (con edizione del manoscritto braidense)', in *Dai pochi ai molti: Studi in onore di Roberto Antonelli*, ed. by Paolo Canettieri and Arianna Punzi (Rome: Viella, 2014), pp. 587-95
- , 'Per un riesame della tradizione del 'Tristan' in prosa, con nuove osservazioni sul ms. Paris, BnF, fr. 756-757', in *Culture, livelli di cultura e ambienti nel Medioevo occidentale: Atti del VII Convegno triennale della Società Italiana di Filologia Romanza (Bologna, 5-8 ottobre 2009)*, ed. by Francesco Benozzo et al. (Rome: Aracne, 2012), pp. 247-78
- Classen, Albrecht, 'Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: The Literary-Historical Evidence', *Neophilologus* 97 (2013), 131-45
- , 'Polyglots in medieval German literature: Outsiders, critics, or revolutionaries? Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan*, Wernher the Gardener's *Meier Helmbrecht* and Oswald von Wolkenstein', *Neophilologus* 91 (2007), 101-15
- , *Zur Rezeption norditalienischer Kultur des Trecento im Werk Oswalds von Wolkenstein (1376/77-1445)*, GAG, 471 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1987)
- Cluzel, Irénée, 'Princes et troubadours de la maison royale de Barcelone-Aragone', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 27 (1957-58), 321-73
- Colón, Germán, 'Llemosí i llengua d'oc a la Catalunya medieval', in *ibid.*, *Llengua catala en els seus textos*, 2 vols (Barcelona: Curial, 1978), I, pp. 39-59
- Cohen, Kathleen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, California Studies in the History of Art 15 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973)
- Cornish, Alison, *Vernacular Translation in Dante's Italy: Illiterate Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)
- Crescini, Vincenzo, 'Il contrasto bilingue di Rambaldo de Vaqueiras', in *ibid.*, *Per gli studi romanzi: Saggi ed appunti* (Padua: Draghi, 1892), pp. 33-47
- , 'Del discordo trilingue attribuito a Dante', *Studi Danteschi* 18 (1934), 59-68
- , *Manuale per l'avviamento agli studi provenzali: Introduzione grammaticale, crestomazia e glossario*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (Milan: Hoepli, 1926)
- Curtius, Ernst Robert, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern: Franke, 1948)
- Dahan, Gilbert, 'Nommer les êtres: exégèse et théories du langage dans les commentaires médiévaux de *Genèse* 2, 17- 20', in *Geschichte der Sprachtheorie*, ed. by Peter Schmitter, 6 vols, (Tübingen: Narr, 1987-pres.), III: *Sprachtheorien in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, ed. by Sten Ebbesen (1995), pp. 55-77
- Delcorno Branca, Daniela, 'Per la storia del 'Roman de Tristan' in Italia', *CN*, 40 (1980), 211-29
- , *Tristano e Lancilotto in Italia: Studi di lettura arturiana* (Ravenna: Longo, 1998)
- De Robertis, Domenico, *Il libro della 'Vita Nuova'* (Florence: Sansoni, 1961)
- Derrida, Jacques, *Le Monolinguisme de l'autre, ou, La prothèse d'origine* (Paris: Galilée, 1996)

- Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexicon*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. by Kurt Ruh, 13 vols (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978-2007)
- D'Heur, Jean-Marie, *Troubadours d'Oc et Troubadours Galiciens-Portugais: Recherches sur quelques échanges dans la littérature de l'Europe au Moyen Âge*, Cultura Medievale e Moderna, 1 (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian-Centro Cultural Português, 1973)
- Dronke, Peter, 'The lyrical compositions of Philip the Chancellor', *Studi Medievali*, 28 (1987), 563-92
- , *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-lyric*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968)
- du Cange, Charles du Fresne, Seigneur, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis*, ed. by Léopold Favre, 10 vols (Niort: Favre, 1883-87)
- Duval, Frédéric, 'Les néologismes', in *Translations médiévales: Cinq siècles de traduction en français au Moyen Âge (XIe- XVe siècles): Étude et Répertoire*, ed. by Claudio Galderisi, 3 vols, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), I: *De la 'translatio studii' à l'étude de la 'translatio'*, pp. 499-534
- Edwards, Cyril, 'The German Texts in the *Codex Buranus*', in *The 'Carmina Burana': Four Essays*, ed. by Martin H. Jones, King's College London Medieval Studies, 18 (London: King's College London, Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 2000) pp. 41-70
- Elwert, Theodore, 'L'emploi des langues étrangères comme procédé stylistique', *Revue de la littérature comparée*, 34 (1960), 409-37
- , 'Fremdsprachiges Einsprengsel in der Dichtung', in *FS Wilhelm Giese: Beiträge zur Romanistik und allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft*, ed. by Harald Haarmann and Michael Studemund (Hamburg: Buske, 1972), pp. 514-45
- Ferrari, Anna, 'Le chansonnier et son double', in *Lyrique romane médiévale: la tradition des chansonniers. Actes du colloque de Liège 1989*, ed. by Madeleine Thyssens, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et des lettres de l'Université de Liège, 257 (Liège: Liège University Press, 1991), pp. 303-27
- Formisano, Luciano, "'Un nou sirventes ses tardar': l'emploi du français entre pertinence linguistique et pertinence culturelle", in *O cantar dos trovadores: Actas do Congresso celebrado em Santiago de Compostela entre os dias de 26 e 29 de abril de 1993*, [ed. unknown], Colección de difusión cultural, 2 (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1993), pp. 137-54
- Frank, István, 'Cerveri, dit de Girona, polyglotte et oiseleur', *CN*, 10 (1950), 69-76
- , *Poésie romane et Minnesang autour de Frédéric II* (Palermo: Mori, 1955)
- , *Répertoire métrique de la poésie des troubadours*, 2 vols, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, 302 (Paris: Champion, 1957), I, Introduction et repertoire
- Friedrich, Hugo, *Montaigne* (Bern: Francke, 1949)
- Galderisi, Claudio, "'Cianson pouvés aler pour tout le monde': Le chant entre diffraction linguistique et empreinte mémorielle", in *Chanson pouvez aller pour tout le monde: Recherches sur la mémoire et l'oubli dans le chant médiéval en hommage à Michel Zink*, ed. by Anna Maria Babbi and Claudio Galderisi, *Medievalia*, 37 (Orléans: Paradigme, 2001), pp. 43-65
- Galvez, Marisa, *Songbook: How Lyrics became Poetry in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012)
- Gaston Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes*, ed. by Hans Spanke, *Musicologica*, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1955)
- Gauchat, Louis, 'Les poésies conservées par des chansonniers français', *Romania*, 22 (1893), 364-404

- Gaunt, Simon, “‘Desnaturat son li Frances’: Language and Identity in the twelfth-century Occitan Epic’, *Tenso*, 17(2002), 10-31
- , ‘Discourse desired: Desire, Subjectivity and Mouvançe in *Can vei la lauzeta mover*’, in *Desiring Discourse: The Literature of Love: Ovid through Chaucer*, ed. by James Paxson and Cynthia Gravlee (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1998), pp. 89-110
- , ‘Linguistic Difference, the Philology of Romance, and the Romance of Philology’, in *A Sea of Languages: Rethinking the Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, ed. by Susanne Conklin Akbari and Karla Malette (Toronto: University of Toronto Press: 2013), pp. 43-61
- , *Marco Polo’s ‘Le Devisement du Monde’: Narrative Voice, Language and Diversity*, Gallica, 31 (Cambridge: Brewer, 2013)
- , ‘Sexual Difference and the Metaphor of Language in a Troubadour Poem’, *Modern Language Review*, 83 (1988), 297-313
- , *Troubadours and Irony*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
- Gennrich, Friedrich, ‘Bernard de Ventadorn’, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. by Friedrich Blume, 14 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949-68), I, cols. 1778-82
- , ‘Internationale mittelalterliche Melodien’, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 11 (1928-29), 259-96; 321-48.
- , ‘Liedkontrafaktur in mittelhochdeutscher und althochdeutscher Zeit’, in *Der deutsche Minnesang: Aufsätze zu seiner Erforschung*, ed. by Hans Fromm, Wege der Forschung, 15 (Bad Homburg: Gentner, 1963), pp. 330-77. Originally in *ZfdA*, 82 (1948-50), 105-41
- , ‘Zur Ursprungsfrage des Minnesangs: Ein literarhistorisch-musikwissenschaftlicher Beitrag’, *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, 7 (1929), 187-228
- Gerhardt, Dietrich, ‘Hugo von Trimberg in altčechischer Übersetzung’, *International Journal for Slavic Linguistics and Poetics*, 4 (1961), 84-115
- Giannini, Gabriele, ‘Tradurre fino a tradire: Precisazioni siciliane’, *Critica del testo*, 3 (2000), 903-46
- di Girolamo, Costanzo, ‘Tristano, Carestia e Chrétien de Troyes’, *Medioevo Romanzo*, 9 (1984), 17-26
- Gleißgen, Martin-Dietrich and Max Pfister, ‘Okzitanische Koine’, in *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik*, ed. by Günter Holtus et al., 7 vols (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990-2010), II,2: *Die einzelnen romanischen Sprachen und Sprachgebiete vom Mittelalter bis zur Renaissance* (1995), pp. 406-412
- Godefroy, Frédéric, *Dictionnaire de L’ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IX<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 10 vols. (Paris: [publ. unknown], 1880-92). Online (accessed 20<sup>th</sup> Sept. 2014) at: [www.micmap.org/dicfro/introduction/dictionnaire-godefroy](http://www.micmap.org/dicfro/introduction/dictionnaire-godefroy)
- Gorni, Guglielmo, ‘Nota sulla canzone “Aï faus ris” (Dante, “Rime” 18 [App. V])’, *Studi Danteschi*, 69 (2004), 243-46
- Goyens, Michèle, ‘La traduction comme critère définitoire des confins des langues’, in *Translations médiévales*, ed. by Claudio Galderisi, I, pp. 487-97
- Gresti, Paolo, ‘Ancora sui *contrafacta* provenzali di modelli francesi: Il caso di Cerveri de Girona’, *Aevum: Rassegna di scienze storiche, linguistiche e filologiche* 2 (1996), 263-71
- Grimm, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 33 vols (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1854-1971)
- Gröber, Gustav, *Grundriß der romanischen Philologie*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 2 vols (Straßburg: Trubner, 1904-6)

- Grønlie, Espen, 'The domestication of vernacular poetry: Measuring authority in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*', in *Dante: A Critical Reappraisal*, ed. by Unn Falkeid (Oslo: Unipub, 2008), pp. 145-76
- Gruber, Jörn, *Die Dialektik des Trobar: Untersuchungen zur Struktur und Entwicklung des okzitanischen und französischen Minnesangs des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Beihefte zur ZRP, 194 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1983)
- Guyotjeannin, Olivier, *Salimbene de Adam: Un Choniqueur franciscain* (Paris: Brepols, 1995)
- Gybbon-Monypenny, Gerald, 'Guillaume de Machaut's erotic 'autobiography': precedents for the form of the *Voir-Dit*', in *Studies in Medieval Literature and Language in Memory of Frederick Whitehead*, ed. by William Rothwell et al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973), pp. 135-52
- Hackett, W. Mary, *La langue de 'Girart de Roussillon'*, Publications françaises et romanes 111 (Geneva: Droz, 1970)
- Haines, John, 'Espaces musico-poétiques dans le *Tristan en prose*', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 50 (2007), 11-31
- , 'Lais layout in the Paris Prose *Tristan* Manuscripts', *Scriptorium*, 59 (2005), 3-28
- , *Medieval Song in Romance Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Harvey, Ruth, 'Languages, Lyrics and the Knightly Class', in *Medieval Knighthood V: Papers from the sixth Strawberry Hill Conference 1994*, ed. by Stephen Church and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), pp. 197-220
- , 'The Troubadour Marcabru and his Public', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 14 (1988), 47-76
- , *The Troubadour Marcabru and Love*. Westfield Publications in Medieval Studies 5 (London: Westfield College, 1989)
- Heinric van Veldeken: Symposion Gent 23-24 oktober 1970*, ed. by Gilbert A. R. de Smet (Antwerp & Utrecht: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1971)
- Heng, Geraldine, 'The Global Middle Ages: An Experiment in Collaborative Humanities, or Imagining the World, 500-1500 C.E.', *English Language Notes*, 47 (2009), 205-16
- Hilty, Gerald, 'El poema iberrománico citado por el trovador Ramón Vidal', in *La Corona d'Aragó i les llengües romàniques: Miscel·lània d'homenatge per a Germà Colon*, ed. by Günther Holtus et al. (Tübingen: Narr, 1989), pp. 91-104
- Hoensch, Jörg, 'Höfische Kultur in Böhmen unter Wenzel I. und Přemysl Otakar II.', in *Aspekte kultureller Integration: Festschrift zu Ehren von Prof. Dr. Antonín Meštan*, ed. by Karel Mácha and Peter Drews, *Integrale Anthropologie*, 7 (Munich: Minerva, 1991), pp. 175-89
- Hoepffner, Ernest, 'Les Intermèdes musicaux dans le Jeu provençal de Sainte Agnès', in *Mélanges d'histoire du théâtre du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance offerts à Gustave Cohen*, [ed. unknown] (Paris: Nizet, 1950), pp. 97-104
- Hoinkes, Ulrich, 'Der okzitanische Lehnwortschaft im heutigen Italienisch', in *Okzitanistik, Altokzitanistik und Provenzalistik: Geschichte und Auftrag einer europäischen Philologie*, ed. by Angelica Rieger (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 189-203
- Holmes, Olivia, *Assembling the Lyric Self: Authorship from Troubadour Song to Italian Poetry Book*, *Medieval Cultures*, 21 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000)
- Houston, Jason M., *Building a Monument to Dante: Boccaccio as 'Dantista'* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010)
- Hübner, Gert, *Frauenpreis: Studien zur Funktion der laudativen Rede in der mittelhochdeutschen Minnekanzone*, 2 vols, *Saecula Spiritalia*, 34-35 (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1996)

- Hucker, Bernd Ulrich, *Otto IV.: Der niederentdeckte Kaiser* (Frankfurt a.M.: Insel, 2003)
- Huot, Sylvia, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987)
- Ineichen, Gustav, 'Autour du graphisme des chansons françaises à tradition provençale', *Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature*, 7.1 (1969), 203-18
- Intavulare: Tavole di canzonieri romanzî. I. Canzonieri provenzali: 2. Bibliothèque nationale de France T' (fr. 854), 'K' (fr. 112473)*, ed. by Walter Meliga (Modena: Mucchi, 2001)
- Intavulare: Tavole di canzonieri romanzî. I. Canzonieri provenzali: 7. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France 'C' (fr. 856)*, ed. by Anna Radaelli (Modena: Mucchi, 2005)
- Intavulare: Tavole di canzonieri romanzî. I. Canzonieri provenzali: 10. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya 'Sg' (146)* ed. by Simone Ventura (Modena: Mucchi, 2006)
- Intavulare: Tavole di canzonieri romanzî. I. Canzonieri provenzali: 11, Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 'VeAg' (7 e 8)*, ed. by Anna Alberni (Modena: Mucchi, 2006)
- Interregionalität der deutschen Literatur im europäischen Mittelalter*, ed. by Hartmut Kugler (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995)
- Irvine, Martin, with David Thomson, 'Grammatica and literary theory', in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, ed. by Hugh Nisbet and Claude Rawson, 9 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005-2013), II, *The Middle Ages*, ed. by Alastair Minnis (2005), pp. 15-41
- Jean Renart and the Art of Romance: Essays on 'Guillaume de Dole'*, ed. by Nancy Vine Durling (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997)
- Kaehne, Michael, *Studien zur Dichtung Bernarts von Ventadorn*, Freiburger Schriften zur Romanischen Philologie, 40, 2 vols (Munich: Fink, 1983)
- Kantorowicz, Ernst, *Der Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* (Berlin, 1927; repr. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1998)
- Kartschoke, Dieter, 'Ulrich von Liechtenstein und die Laienkultur des deutschen Südostens im Übergang zur Schriftlichkeit', in *Die mittelalterliche Literatur in Kärnten: Vorträge des Symposiums in St. George/Längsee vom 8. bis 13. 9. 1980*, ed. by Peter Krämer, Wiener Arbeiten zur germanischen Altertumskunde und Philologie, 16 (Vienna: Halosar, 1981), pp. 103-144
- Kasten, Ingrid, *Frauendienst bei Troubadors und Minnesängern im 12. Jahrhundert: Zur Entwicklung und Adaption eines literarischen Konzepts* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1986)
- Kay, Sarah, 'Grafting the knowledge community: The purposes of verse in the *Breviari d'amor* of Matfre Ermengaud', *Neophilologus*, 91 (2007), 361-73
- , 'How long is a quotation? Quotations from the troubadours in the text and manuscripts of the *Breviari d'Amor*', *Romania* 127 (2009), 1-29
- , 'Knowledge and Truth in Quotations from the Troubadours: Matfre Ermengaud, Compagnon, Lyotard, Lacan', *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 46 (2009), 178-90
- , 'Love in a Mirror: An aspect of the imagery of Bernart de Ventadorn', *Medium Ævum* 52 (1982), 272-85
- , *Parrots and Nightingales: Troubadour Quotations and the Development of European Poetry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013)
- , 'La seconde main et les secondes langues dans la France médiévale', in *Translations médiévales: Cinq siècles de traduction en français au Moyen Âge (XIe- XVe siècles): Étude et Répertoire*, ed. by Claudio Galderisi, 3 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), I, *De la 'translatio studii' à l'étude de la 'translatio'*, pp. 461-85
- Keller, Erich, *Die altprovenzalische Versnovelle*, Romanistische Arbeiten, 15 (Halle/S: Niemeyer, 1930)

- Kellermann, Karina and Christopher Young, 'You've got mail! Briefe, Büchlein, Boten im *Frauendienst* Ulrichs von Liechtenstein', in *Eine Epoche im Umbruch: Volkssprachliche Literalität 1200-1300: Cambrdiger Symposium 2001*, ed. by Christa Bertelsmeier-Kierst and Christopher Young (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003), pp. 317-44
- Kiening, Christian, 'Der Autor als "Leibeigener" der Dame—oder des Textes? Das Erzählsubjekt und sein Körper im *Frauendienst* Ulrichs von Liechtenstein', in *Autor und Autorschaft im Mittelalter: Kolloquium Meißen 1995*, ed. by Elisabeth Andersen et al. (Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1998), pp. 211-38. Later revised as Chapter 8 of *Zwischen Körper und Schrift: Texte vor der Literatur* (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 2003)
- Klein, Thomas 'Heinrich von Veldeke and die mitteldeutschen Literatursprachen: Untersuchungen zum Veldeke-Problem', in Thomas Klein and Cola Minis, *Zwei Studien zu Veldeke und zum 'Straßburger Alexander'*, Amsterdamer Publikationen zur Sprache und Literatur, 61 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1985)
- Köbele, Susanne, *Frauenlobs Lieder: Parameter einer literarhistorischen Standortbestimmung*, Bibliotheca Germanica, 43 (Tübingen: Franke, 2003)
- Köhler, Erich, 'Die Rolle des niedern Ritters bei der Entstehung der Trobadorlyrik', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 7 (1964), 27-40. Repr. in Köhler, *Esprit und arkadische Freiheit: Aufsätze aus der Welt der Romania* (Frankfurt a. M.: Athenäum, 1966), pp. 9-27
- , 'Zur Struktur der altprovenzalischen Kanzone'. Originally published in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 7 (1964), pp. 40-51. Repr. in Köhler, *Esprit und arkadische Freiheit: Aufsätze aus der Welt der Romania* (Frankfurt a. M.: Athenäum, 1966), pp. 28-45
- Krywalski, Dieter, 'Hofkultur und Minnesang—König Wenzel II. von Böhmen', *Sudetenland*, 35 (1993), 322-38
- Kühne, Udo, 'Latinum super cantica canticorum: Die lateinische Übersetzung von Frauenlobs Marienleich', in *Studien zu Frauenlob und Heinrich von Mügeln: FS Karl Stackmann zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. by Jens Haustein and Ralf-Henning Steinmetz, Scriptorium Friburgense, 15 (Freiburg, Universitätsverlag, 2002), pp. 1-14
- Kühner, Raphael, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. rev. by Friedrich Holzweissig et al., 2 parts in 3 vols (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchhandlung, 1966-71)
- Lacan, Jacques, *Le Séminaire: Livre VII: L'éthique de la psychanalyse, 1959-1960* (Paris: Seuil, 1986); translated as *The Ethics of Psychoanalysis: The Seminar of Jacques Lacan: Book VII*, ed. by Jacques-Alain Miller, trans. by Dennis Porter (London: Routledge, 2008)
- Lacroix, Daniel, 'L'insertion poétique dans les œuvres narratives du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: II. Le Domaine Roman', *Littératures*, 35 (1996), 189-216
- Latour, Bruno, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)
- Lazzerini, Lucia, 'Osservazioni testuale in Margine al Discordo Trilingue *Ai Faus Ris*', *Studi Danteschi* 68 (2003), 139-65
- Lee, Charmaine, 'Le canzoni di Riccardo Cuor di Leone', in *Atti del XXI Congresso Internazionale di Linguistica e Filologia Romanza: Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani: Università di Palermo 18-24 settembre 1995*, ed. by Giovanni Ruffini, 6 vols (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), VI, pp. 243-50
- , 'Nota sulla *rotrouenge* di Riccardo Cuor di Leone', *Rivista di Studi testuali*, 6-7 (2004-5), 139-51

- Léglu, Catherine, *Multilingualism and Mother Tongue in Medieval French, Occitan and Catalan Narratives* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010)
- Lepage, Yvan, 'Richard Cœur de Lion et la poésie lyrique', in *Et c'est la fin pour quoy nous sommes ensemble: Hommage à Jean Dufournet: Littérature, Histoire et Langue du Moyen-Âge*, ed. by Jean-Claude Aubailly et al., 3 vols, Nouvelle bibliothèque du Moyen-Âge, 25 (Paris: Champion, 1993), II, pp. 893-910
- Lejeune[-Dehousse], Rita, 'L'Allusion à Tristan chez le troubadour Cercamon', *Romania*, 83 (1962), 183-209
- , *L'Œuvre de Jean Renart: Contribution à l'étude du genre romanesque au moyen âge*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 61 (Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres & Paris: Droz, 1936)
- Levy, Emil, *Petit Dictionnaire Provençal-Français* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1909)
- , *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch: Berichtigungen und Ergänzungen zu Raynouards 'Lexique Roman'*, continued by Carl Appel, 8 vols (Leipzig: Reisland, 1892-1924)
- Lexer, Matthias, *Mittelhochdeutsches Hanwörterbuch*, 3 vols (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1872-78)
- Limentani, Alberto, *L'eccezione narrativa: La provenza medievale e l'arte del racconto* (Turin: Einaudi, 1977)
- Linden, Sandra, *Kundschafter der Kommunikation: Modelle höfischer Kommunikation im 'Frauendienst' Ulrichs von Liechtenstein*, Bibliotheca Germanica, 49 (Tübingen: Franke, 2004)
- Linker, Robert White, *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics*, Romance Monographs, 31 (Mississippi: University, 1979)
- Löseth, Eilhart, *Analyse critique du 'Roman de Tristan' en Prose Française*, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes: Sciences Philologiques et Historiques, 82 (Paris: Champion, 1890)
- Lusignan, Serge, *Parler Vulgairement: Les intellectuels et la langue française aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: Vrin & Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1986)
- Lyotard, Jean-François, *La condition postmoderne: rapport sur le savoir* (Paris: Minuit, 1979)
- Mallette, Karla, *The Kingdom of Sicily, 1100 – 1250: A Literary History* (Philadelphia: Penn, 2005)
- Marcenaro, Simone, 'Bonifacio Calvo alla corte di Alfonso X: la regalità assente', *Critica del testo*, 10/3 (2007), 9-32
- Marold, Werner, *Kommentar zu den Liedern Oswalds von Wolkenstein*, ed. by Alan Robertshaw, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft: Germanische Reihe, 52 (Innsbruck: Institut für Germanistik, 1995). Based on unpub. PhD thesis: Georg August-Universität zu Göttingen, 1927
- Marshall, John H., 'Pour l'étude des "contrafacta" dans la poésie des troubadours', *Romania*, 101 (1980), 289-335
- , 'The Isostrophic *descort* in the Poetry of the Troubadours' *RPh*, 35. 1 (1981-2), 130-57
- , rev. of Manfred and Margret Raupauch, *Französische Troubadourlyrik*, *RPh*, 36.1 (1982), 83-93
- März, Christoph, 'Das *Canticum boemicale* "Otep myr" und Frauenlobs *Cantica canticorum*: Prüfung einer These', in *Studien zu Frauenlob und Heinrich von Mügeln: FS Karl Stackmann zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. by Jens Haustein and Ralf-Henning Steinmetz, *Scrinium Friburgense*, 15 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 2002), pp. 15-30
- Massó Torrents, Jaume, 'La cançó provençal en la literatura catalana', *Miscel·lània Prat de la Riba*, [ed. unknown], 2 vols (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1917-23), II (1923), pp. 341-460

- , *Repertori de l'antigua literatura catalana* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans/Alpha, 1932)
- Mattausch, Rudolf, *Die deutsche Literatur in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien als kulturgeschichtliches Problem* (Königstein/Taunus: Königsteiner Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Ostmitteleuropas, 1963)
- McMahon, James V. *The Music of Early Minnesang*, Studies in German Literature, Linguistics and Culture, 41 (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1990)
- Meneghetti, Maria Luisa, *Il pubblico dei trovatori: Ricezione e riuso dei testi lirici cortesi fino al XIV secolo*, Istituto di filologia romanza dell'Università di Roma: Studi, testi e manuali, 11 (Modena: STEM-Mucchi, 1984)
- , 'In limine: Qualche osservazioni sui due primi esempi di satira 'personale' romanze (BdT 294, 1-2), in *Cecco Angiolieri e la poesia satirica medievale: Atti del convegno internazionale: Siena, 26-17 ottobre 2002*, ed. by Stefano Carrai and Giuseppe Marrani, Archivio Romanzo, 9 (Florence: Galluzzo, 2005), pp. 1-12
- , 'Uc e gli altri: Sulla paternità delle biografie trobadoriche', in *Il racconto nel Medioevo romanzo: Atti del convegno, Bologna 23-24 ottobre 2000*, [ed. unknown] (=Quaderni di Filologia Romanza, 15 (2001)) (Bologna: Pàtron, 2002), pp. 147-62
- Menocal, María Rosa, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987)
- , *Shards of Love: Exile and the Origins of the Lyric* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994)
- Merimée, Henri, *L'art dramatique en Valencia depuis les origines jusqu'au commencement du XVIIe siècle*, Bibliothèque méridionale, n. s., 16 (Toulouse: Privat, 1913)
- Mertens, Volker, 'Intertristanisches—Tristan-Lieder von Chrestien de Troyes, Bernger von Horheim und Heinrich von Veldeke', in *Kultureller Wandel und die Germanistik in der Bundesrepublik: Vorträge des Augsburger Germanistentags 1993*, ed. by Johannes Janota, 4 vols, (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993), III: *Methodenkonkurrenz in der germanistischen Praxis*, pp. 37-55
- , 'Liebesdichtung und Dichterliebe: Ulrich von Liechtenstein und Johannes Hadloub', in *Autor und Autorschaft im Mittelalter: Kolloquium Meißen 1995*, ed. by Elizabeth Andersen et al. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), pp. 200-10
- , 'Visualizing Performance? Music, Word and Manuscript', in *Visual Culture in the German Middle Ages*, ed. by Kathryn Starkey and Horst Wenzel (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 135-58
- Meyer-Lübke, Wilhelm, *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1911)
- A Middle English Dictionary*, ed. by Francis Stratmann, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Henry Bradley (Oxford: Clarendon, 1891)
- Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch. Mit Benutzung des Nachlasses von Georg Friedrich Benecke ausgearbeitet von Wilhelm Müller und Friedrich Zarncke*, 3 vols (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1854-1866)
- van Mierlo, Jozef, 'De 'Taal van Veldeke', *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie* [unnumbered] (1958), 243-71
- Monson, Don Alfred, 'De la chanson par la *razo* à la nouvelle: "Atressi cum l'orifanz" de Rigaut de Barbezieux et ses commentaires narratifs médiévaux', *Medioevo Romanzo*, 16 (1991), 271-84
- , *Les 'Ensenhamens' Occitans: Essai de définition et de délimitation du genre*, Bibliothèque Française et Romane, 75 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1981)

- Monteverdi, Angelo, 'Frederico Poeta', in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fredericiani: VII Centenario della morte di Federico II: Imperatore e re di Sicilia (10-18 dicembre 1950)*, ed. by Antonio di Stefano (Palermo: Università di Palermo, Catania & Messina, 1952), pp. 351-65
- , 'Giacomo da Lentino e Cielo d'Alcamo', in *ibid.*, *Cento e Duecento: Nuovi saggi su lingua e letteratura italiana dei primi secoli*, Officina Romanica, 18 (Rome: Ateneo, 1971), pp. 277-305
- , 'Intorno alla cobbola plurilingue di Cerveri di Girona', *CN*, 8 (1948), 73-76
- Montoliu, Manuel de, *La llengua catalana i els trobadors* (Barcelona: Alpha, 1957)
- Morris, Christopher, *The Discovery of the Individual 1050-1200*, Church History Outlines, 5 (London: SPCK, 1972)
- Müller, Ulrich, 'Mehrsprachigkeit und Sprachmischung als poetische Technik: Barbarolexis in den *Carmina Burana*', in *Europäische Mehrsprachigkeit: Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Mario Wandruszka*, ed. by Wolfgang Pöckl (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1981), pp. 87-104
- Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik begründet von Friedrich Blume*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. by Ludwig Finscher, 21 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 1999)
- Nardi, Bruno, 'Il linguaggio', in: *ibid.*, *Dante e la cultura medievale: nuovi saggi di filosofia dantesca*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Bari: Laterza, 1949), pp. 217-47
- Nichols, Stephen G., 'Global Language or Universal Language? From Babel to the Illustrious Venacular', *Digital Philology*, 1 (2012), 73-109
- Nicholson, Francesca M., 'Branches of knowledge: the purposes of citation in the *Breviari d'amor* of Matfre Ermengaud', *Neophilologus*, 91 (2007), 375-85
- Oostrom, Frits van, 'The Middle Ages until circa 1400', in *A Literary History of the Low Countries*, ed. by Theo Hermans, (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2009), pp. 1-63
- , *Stemmen op schrift: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur vanaf het begin tot 1300* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 2006)
- Oxford Companion to Italian Literature*, ed. by Peter Hainsworth and David Robey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)
- Paden, William D., 'Old Occitan as a Lyric Language: The Insertions from Occitan in Three Thirteenth-Century French Romances', *Speculum*, 68 (1993), 36-53
- Paganuzzi, Enrico, 'Per una nuova edizione delle melodie del mistero provenzale di sant'Agnese', in *Per Alberto Piazzzi: Scritti offerti nel 50° di sacerdozio*, ed. by Carl Albarello & Giuseppe Zivelonghi (Verona, Bibliotheca Capitolare di Verona: 1998), pp. 285-98
- , 'Spigolature del dramma provenzale di S. Agnese del cod. vatic. Chigi C. V. 151', *CN*, 26 (1966), 102-104
- Paris, Gaston, 'Jaufré Rudel', *Revue historique*, 53 (1893), 225-60
- Pasquini, Emilio, *Le origini e la scuola siciliana*, Letteratura italiana Laterza, 2.1 (Roma: Laterza, 1975)
- Paterson, Linda, *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society, c. 1100-c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)
- Pelaez, Mario, 'Bonifazio Calvo: Tovatore del Secolo XIII', *Giornale storico della Letteratura Italiana*, 28 (1896), 1-44, and no. 29 (1897), 318-67
- Pellegrini, Silvio, 'Arnaut (Catalan?) e Alfonso X di Castiglia', in *Saggi e ricerche in memoria di Ettore Li Gotti*, Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Sicilian: Bollettino, 6-8 (Palermo: [publ. unknown], 1962), pp. 480-86
- Perkins, David, *Is Literary History Possible?* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992)

- Peters, Ursula, *Frauendienst: Untersuchungen zu Ulrich von Lichtenstein und zum Wirklichkeitsgehalt der Minnedichtung*, GAG, 46 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1971)
- , 'Niedereres Rittertum oder hoher Adel? Zu Erich Köhlers historisch-soziologischer Deutung der altprovenzalischen und mittelhochdeutschen Minnelyrik', *Euphorion*, 67 (1973), 244-60
- Petracco Sicardi, Giulia, "'Scripta" volgare e "scripta" dialettale in Liguria', in *Bibliografia dialettale ligure*, ed. by Lorenzo Coveri, Giulia Petracco Sicardi and William Piastra (Genoa: Compagna, 1980), pp. 3-22
- Phan, Chantal, 'From Sacred to Secular and from Secular to Sacred: The Role of Text-Music Relations in Two Lyric Contrafacta', in *The Church and Vernacular Literature in Medieval France*, ed. by Dorothea Kullmann, Studies and Texts, 165 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2009), pp. 214-23
- Picone, Michelangelo, 'Dante rimatore', in *Le Rime di Dante: Letture classensi*, 24, ed. by Michelangelo Picone (Longo: Ravenna, 1995), 171-87
- , 'The Formation of literary Italian: Aspects of poetic tradition and translation in the thirteenth century', *The Italianist*, 16 (1996), 5-19
- , '*Vita Nuova*' e tradizione romanza, Ydioma tripharium, 5 (Padua: Liviana, 1979)
- Pillet, Alfred, *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, completed and ed. by Henry Carstens, Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Sonderreihe, 3 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1933)
- Pirrotta, Nino, 'I poeti della scuola siciliana e la musica', *Yearbook of Italian Studies*, 4 (1980), 5-12
- Poe, Elizabeth Wilson 'The Meaning of *Saber* in Raimon Vidal's *Abril issia*', in *Studia Occitanica in memoriam Paul Remy*, ed. by Hans-Erich Keller, 2 vols, (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 1986), II: *The Narrative—Philology*, pp. 169-78
- Poli, Andrea, 'La lingua dei trovatori: Una rassegna critica degli studi', *Studi Medievali*, 38 (1997), 891-929
- Pollina, Vincent, 'Word/Music Relations in the Work of the troubadour Gaucelm Faidit: Some Preliminary Observations on the *Planh*', *CN*, 47 (1987), 263-78
- Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, ed. by Ananya Kabir and Deanne Williams, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 54 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- Pulsoni, Carlo, 'In margine ad un *partimen* giocoso di Alfonso X', in *Actas del IIIe Congreso de l'Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval (Salamanca, 3 al 6 de octubre de 1989)*, ed. by María Isabel Toro Pascua, 2 vols (Salamanca: Bibliotheca Española del siglo XV, 1994), II, pp. 813-19
- Putter, Ad, 'The French of English Letters: Two trilingual Epistles in Context', in *Language and Culture in medieval Britain: The French of England c. 1100-c. 1500*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al. (York: York Medieval Press; Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), pp. 397-408
- Raby, F[rederick] J. E., *A History of Secular Latin Poetry*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957)
- Räkel, Hans-Herbert, 'Liedkontrafaktur im frühen Minnesang', in *Probleme mittelalterlicher Überlieferung und Textkritik: Oxforder Colloquium 1966*, ed. by Fritz-Peter Ganz & Werner Schröder (Berlin: Schmidt, 1968), pp. 96-117
- Raupach, Manfred and Margret Raupach, *Französische Troubadourlyrik: Zur Überlieferung provenzalischen Lieder in französischen Handschriften*, Beihefte zur ZRP, 171 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1979)

- Raynouard, François-Juste-Marie, *Léxique romane ou Dictionnaire de la langue des troubadours comparée avec les autres langues de l'Europe latine, précédé de nouvelles recherches historiques et philologiques, d'un résumé de la Grammaire Romane, d'un nouveau choix des poésies originales des Troubadours*, 6 vols (Paris: Silvestre, 1838-44)
- Richter, Reinhilt, *Die Troubadourzitate im 'Breviari d'Amor': Kritische Ausgabe der provenzalischen Überlieferung*, Subsidia al Corpus des Troubadours, 4; Instituto di filologia romanza dell'Università di Roma: Studi, Testi e Manuale, 4 (Modena: STEM-Mucchi, 1976)
- Ricketts, Peter, 'The Hispanic Tradition of the *Breviari d'Amor* by Matfre Ermengaud of Béziers', in *Hispanic Studies in Honour of Joseph Manson*, ed. by Dorothy M. Atkinson & Anthony H. Clarke (Oxford: Dolphin, 1972), pp. 227-54
- Rieger, Angelica, *Trobairitz: Der Beitrag der Frau in der altokzitanischen höfischen Lyrik: Edition des Gesamtkorpus*, Beihefte zur ZRP, 233 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991)
- Riquer, Martí[n] de, 'La canço de les letres del trovatore Guilhem de Cervera detto Cerverí' in *Atti del VIII Congresso Internazionale di Studi Romanzi (Firenze, 3-8 aprile 1956)*, 2 vols (Florence: Sansone, 1959-67), II.1, pp. 339-46
- , 'Guilhem de Berguedan e Guilhem de la Tor: plagio?' in *La filologia romanza e i codici. Atti del convegno: Messina—Università degli studi—Facoltà di lettere e filosofia: 19-22 Dicembre 1991*, ed. by Saverio Guida and Fortunata Latella, 2 vols (Messina: Sicania, 1991), II, pp. 649-84
- , *História de la literatura catalana*, 4 vols (Barcelona: Ariel, 1964), I-III, 'Part Antiga' by Martí de Riquer. [IV, 'Part Moderna' by Antoni Comas]
- , *Literatura Catalana Medieval*, Publicaciones del museo de historia de la ciudad, 25 (Barcelona: Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 1972)
- Roncaglia, Aurelio, 'Appunti per una nuova edizione del mistero provenzale di Sant'Agnese', in *Scritti in Onore di Luigi Ronga* [ed. unknown] (Milan & Naples: Ricciardi, 1973), pp. 573-91
- , 'Carestia', CN, 18 (1958), 121-37
- , 'De quibusdam provincialibus translatis in lingua nostra', in *Letteratura e Critica: Studi in Onore di Natalino Sapegno*, ed. by Walter Binni et al., 5 vols (Rome: Bulzoni, 1974-79), II (1975), pp. 1-36
- , 'Sul "divorzio tra musica e poesia" nel Duecento italiano', in *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento: Atti del 3° Congresso internazionale sul tema "La musica al tempo del Boccaccio e i suoi rapporti con la letteratura" (Siena-Certaldo 19-22 luglio 1975)*, ed. by Agostino Ziino (Certaldo: Centro dei studi, 1978), IV, pp. 365-97
- Rossi, Luciano, 'Chrétien de Troyes e i trovatori: Tristan, Linhaura, Carestia', *Vox Romanica*, 46 (1987), 26-62
- , 'Carestia, Tristan, les troubadours et le modèle de saint Paul: encore sur "D'Amors qui m'a tolu a moi" (RS 1664)', in *Convergences médiévales: Épopée, lyrique, roman: Mélanges offerts à Madeleine Tyssens*, ed. by Nadine Henrard et al., Bibliothèque du Moyen-Âge, 19 (Brussels: De Boek, 2001), pp. 403-19
- Rossich, Albert, 'Alternança de l'engües en Cerverí de Girona', *Estudi General*, 22 (2002), 13-39
- Ruben, Jürgen, *Zur 'gemischten Form' im 'Frauendienst' Ulrichs von Liechtenstein: Untersuchungen über das Verhältnis der Lieder, Büchlein und Briefe zum erzählenden Text* (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Hamburg, 1969)
- Rubin, Gayle, 'The Traffic in Women: Roles in the "political economy" of Sex', in *Towards an Anthropology of Women*, ed. by Rayna Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), pp. 157-210

- Ruiz de Lihory, José, *La Música en Valencia: Diccionario biográfico y crítico* (Valencia: Domenech, 1903)
- de Sanctis, Francesco, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, ed. by Niccolò Gallo, Biblioteca della Pléiade, 22 (Turin: Einaudi-Gallimard, 1996) [Orig. publ. Naples: Morano 1870-71]
- Sanga, Glauco, 'La 'rima siciliana' e la lingua della Scuola poetica siciliana', in *Lingua, rima, codici: Per una nuova edizione della poesia della Scuola siciliana: Atti della Giornata di Studio, Bologna, 24 giugno 1997*, ed. by Andrea Fassò and Luciano Formisano (= *Quaderni di filologia romanza*, 12-13, (1999)) (Bologna: Pàtron, 1999), pp. 11-23
- Sansone, Giuseppe, 'Guilhem de Bergueda a Guihem de la Tor: Plagio?', in *La filologia romanza e i codici: Atto del convegno. Messina, Università degli studi, Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, 19-22 Dicembre 1991*, ed. by Saverio Guida and Fortunata Latella, 2 vols. (Messina: Sicania, 1991), vol. 2, pp. 648-61
- Sayce, Olive, *The Medieval German Lyric 1150-1300: The development of its themes and forms in their European context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982)
- , *Plurilingualism in the 'Carmina Burana': A Study of the Linguistic and Literary Influences on the Codex, GAG, 556* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1992)
- , *Romanisch beeinflusste Lieder des Minnesangs, mit Übersetzung, Kommentar und Glossar, GAG, 664* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1999)
- Schmeisky, Günter, *Die Lyrik-Handschriften m (Berlin, Ms. germ. qu. 795) und n (Leipzig, Rep. II fol. 70a: zur mittel- und niederdeutschen Sangvershyrik-Überlieferung: Abbildung, Transkription, Beschreibung, GAG, 243* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1978)
- Short, Ian, 'Bilingualism in Anglo-Norman England, RPh, 33 (1979-80), 467-79
- , 'Patrons and polyglots: French literature in twelfth-century England', in *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1991*, ed. by Marjorie Chibnall, Anglo-Norman Studies, 14 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), pp. 229-49
- Siegel, Jeff, 'Koinés and koineization', *Language and Society*, 14 (1985), 357-78
- Simó, Meritxell, 'Les citations lyriques des *novas rimadas*: Raimon Vidal vs. Jean Renart', *Revue des langues romanes*, 115 (2011), 425-52
- Spanke, Hans, *Beziehungen zwischen mittellateinischer und romanischer Lyrik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Metrik und Musik*, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 3rd ser., 18 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1936)
- , 'Das öftere Auftreten von Strophenformen und Melodien in der altfranzösischen Lyrik', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 51 (1928), 73-117
- Spechtler, Franz Viktor, *Untersuchungen zu Ulrich von Liechtenstein* (Unpubl. Habilitationsschrift, University of Salzburg, 1974)
- Spetia, Lucilla, 'Riccardo Cuor di Leone tra oc e oïl (BdT 420, 2)', *CN*, 56 (1996), 101-55
- Squillacioti, Paolo, 'Perdigon, Trop ai estat mon Bon Esper no vi (BdT 370,14)', *ZRP*, 121 (2005), 534-62
- Stahuljak, Zrinka, Virginie Greene, et al., *Thinking Through Chrétien de Troyes*, Gallica, 19 (Cambridge: Brewer, 2010)
- Steel, Matthew C., 'A Case for the Predominance of Melody over Text in Troubadour Lyric: Bernart de Ventadorn's "Can vei la lauzeta mover"', *Michigan Academician*, 14 (1981-82), 259-72
- Stillinger, Thomas, *The Song of Troilus: Lyric Authority in the Medieval Book* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992)

- Storey, H. Wayne, 'Following Instruction: Remaking Dante's *Vita Nova* in the Fourteenth Century', in *Medieval Constructions in Gender and Identity*, ed. by Teodolinda Barolini, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 293 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), pp. 117-32
- Sunderland, Luke, 'Marcabru in Motion: "Dire vos vuoill ses duptanssa" in Chansonniers A and C, and in Matfre Ermengaud's *Breviari d'Amor*', *Glossator*, 4 (2011), 115-30
- Tavani, Giuseppe, *Fra Galizia e Provenza: Saggi sulla poesia medievale galego-portoghese*, *Lingue e letterature Carroci*, 17; *Finis Terrae*, 1 (Rome: Carocci, 2002)
- , 'Peire de Blai, 'En est son fas chansoneta novelha' (BdT 328, 1)', *Lecturae Tropatorum*, 3 (2010), 1-31 (accessed 29<sup>th</sup> Sept 2014 at [www.lt.unina.it/Tavani-2010.pdf](http://www.lt.unina.it/Tavani-2010.pdf))
- , *Il mistilinguismo letterario romanzo tra XII e XIII secolo* (L'Aquila: Japadre, 1980)
- , 'Il plurilinguismo nella lirica dei trovatori', in *Documenti letterari del plurilinguismo*, ed. by Vincenzo Orioles, *Lingue, culture e testi*, 2 (Rome: Il Calamo, 2000), pp. 123-42
- , 'Per il testo del discordo plurilingue di Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (P.-C. 392,4)', in *Studi Francesi e Provenzali 84/85*, ed. by Marc-René Jung and Giuseppe Tavani, *Romanica vulgata*, 8/9 (L'Aquila: Japadre, 1986), pp. 117-47
- , 'Sulla cobbola plurilingue di Cerveri di Girona', *CN*, 28 (1968), 64-78
- Taylor, Jane, H. M., 'The Lyric Insertion: Towards a Functional Model', in *Courtly Literature: Culture and Context: Selected Papers from the 5<sup>th</sup> Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, Dalfsen, The Netherlands, 9-16 August, 1986*, ed. by Keith Busby and Erik Kooper (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1990), pp. 539-48
- , 'Etat présent: Research on the French Medieval Lyric', *French Studies*, 61 (2007), 69-83
- Tervooren, Helmut, 'Dietmar von Aist', *VL*, II, cols. 95-98.
- , 'Maaslaändisch oder Mittelhochdeutsch?', in *Heinric van Veldeken: Symposion Gent 23-24 oktober 1970*, ed. by Gilbert A.R. de Smet (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel), pp. 44-69
- Terry, Arthur, *A Literary History of Spain: Catalonia* (London: Benn; New York: Barnes and Noble, 1972), later expanded as *A Companion to Catalan Literature* (Woodbridge: Thamesis, 2003)
- Thomas, Alfred, *Anne's Bohemia: Czech Literature and Society, 1300-1420*, *Medieval Cultures*, 13 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998)
- Tischler, Hans, *Conductus and contrafacta*, *Musicologica*, 75 (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 2001)
- Topsfield, Leslie, *Troubadours and Love* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975)
- Touber, Anthonius H., 'Troubadours—siciliens—minnesänger: le manuscrit P (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pl.XLI,41)', in *Le Rayonnement de la civilisation occitane à l'aube d'un nouveau millénaire: 6e congrès de l'Association internationale des études occitanes*, ed. by Georg Kremnitz, et al. (Vienna: Praesens, 2001), pp. 254-69
- , 'Ulrichs von Liechtenstein *Frauendienst* und die Vidas und Razos der Troubadours', *ZfdPh*, 107 (1988), 431-44
- Tourtoulon, Charles and O[livier] Bringuier, *Etude sur la limite géographique de la langue d'oc et de la langue d'oïl* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1876)
- The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ed. by Simon Gaunt & Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- Turnher, Eugen, 'Kaiser Friedrich II. als Dichter', *Ladinia et Romania. FS Guntram A Plangg zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Maria Iliescu et al., *Mondo Ladinio*, 21 (Vich/Vigo di Fassa: Institut Cultural Ladin, 1997), pp. 591-603.

- Turville-Petre, Thorlac, *England the Nation: Language Literature and National Identity, 1290-1340* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996)
- Tynyanov, Yury, 'О литературной эволюции = Über die literarische Evolution', in *Texte der russischen Formalisten*, ed. by Jury Striedter, 2 vols, *Theorie und Geschichte der Literatur und der schönen Künste*, 6 (Munich: Fink, 1969), I, *Texte zur allgemeinen Literaturtheorie und zur Theorie der Prosa*, pp. 432-61
- Ulrich von Liechtenstein: *Leben–Zeit–Werk–Forschung*, ed. by Sandra Linden and Christopher Young (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010)
- Usher, Jonathan, 'Chiaro Davanzati', *The Oxford Companion to Italian Literature*, ed. by Peter Hainsworth and David Robey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 125
- Varvaro, Alberto, 'La formazione delle lingue letterarie', in *Lexikon der romanistischen Linguistik*, II.2: *Die einzelnen romantischen Sprachen und Sprachgebiete vom Mittelalter bis zur Renaissance*, (1995), pp. 528-37
- Vinaver, Eugène, *Etudes sur le 'Tristan' en Prose: Les sources—Les manuscrits—Bibliographie critique* (Paris: Champion, 1925)
- Vleck, Amelia van, *Memory and re-creation in troubadour lyric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991)
- Volgarizzamenti del Due e Trecento*, ed. by Cesare Segre, *Classici italiani*, 5 (Turin: UTET, 1953)
- Wachinger, Burghart, 'Deutsche und Lateinische Liebeslieder: Zu den deutschen Strophen der *Carmina Burana*', in *From Symbol to Mimesis: The Generation of Walther von der Vogelweide*, ed. by Franz Bäumle, GAG, 368 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1984), pp. 1-34
- , 'Hohe Minne um 1300: Zu den Liedern Frauenlobs und König Wenzels von Böhmen', in *Wolfram-Studien X: Cambridger 'Frauenlob'-Kolloquium 1986*, ed. by Werner Schröder (Berlin: Schmidt, 1988), pp. 135-50
- , 'Oswald von Wolkenstein', *VL*, VII, cols. 134-69
- , 'König Wenzel von Böhmen', *VL*, X, cols. 862-66
- , *Sängerkrieg: Untersuchungen zur Spruchdichtung des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 42 (Munich: Beck, 1973)
- , 'Sprachmischung bei Oswald von Wolkenstein', *ZfdA*, 106 (1979), 277-96
- , 'Zwei Desiderate zu Oswald von Wolkenstein: Revision der Textausgabe am Beispiel des Frühlingslieds Kl. 21', *ZfdPh*, 131 (2012), 321-34
- Wartburg, Walther von, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 25 vols (Leipzig & Bonn, various publishers, 1922-2005)
- Wehle, Winfried, *Dichtung über Dichtung: Dantes 'Vita Nuova'* (Munich: Fink, 1986)
- Werf, Hendrik van der, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A study of the melodies and their relation to the poems* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1972)
- Wolf, Jürgen, 'Überlieferung, Handschriften. Ulrich von Liechtenstein im Buch', in *Ulrich von Liechtenstein: Leben–Zeit–Werk–Forschung*, ed. by Sandra Linden und Christopher Young (Berlin & New York 2010), pp. 487-514
- Wolff, Ludwig, 'Überlegungen zur sprachlichen Gestalt der *Eneide* Heinrichs von Veldeke', in *Dialog: Literatur und Literaturwissenschaft im Zeichen deutsch-französischer Begegnung: Festschrift für Josef Kunz*, ed. by Rainer Schönhaar (Berlin: Schmidt, 1973), pp. 11-21
- Wuest, Jakob, 'Sprachgrenzen in Poitou', *Vox Romanica*, 28 (1989), 14-58
- Zatočil, Leopold, 'Závišova píseň ve světle minnesangu a její předloha', *Sborník prací filosofické fakulty Brněnské university II*, 2-4 (1953), 110-25

- Zinelli, Fabio, 'Occitanico e catalano "dialetti in contatto" nel canzoniere Vega Aguiló (Biblioteca de Catalunya, 7-8)', in *Transcrire et/ou traduire: Variation et changement linguistique dans la tradition manuscrite des textes médiévaux: Actes du congrès international, Klagenfurt, 15–16 novembre 2012*, ed. by Raymund Wilhelm (Heidelberg: Winter, 2013), pp. 111-50
- Zingesser, Eliza, 'The Vernacular Panther: Encyclopedism, Citation, and French Authority in Nicole de Margival's *Dit de la panthère*', *Modern Philology*, 103 (2012), 301-11
- Zink, Michel, *Roman rose et rose rouge: Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole de Jean Renart* (Paris: Nizet, 1979)
- Žižek, Slavoj, *The Metastases of Enjoyment: Six Essays on Women and Causality* (London: Verso, 1994)
- Zotz, Nicola, *Intégration courtoise: Zur Rezeption okzitanischer und französischer Lyrik im klassischen deutschen Minnesang*, Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift Beihefte, 19 (Heidelberg: Winter, 2005)
- Zufferey, François, *Recherches linguistiques sur les chansonniers provençaux*, Publications romanes et françaises, 176 (Geneva: Droz, 1987)
- Zumthor, Paul, *Langue et technique poétiques à l'époque romane: XIe- XIIIe siècles*, Bibliothèque française et romane, C 4 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1963)
- , *La poésie et la voix dans la civilisation médiévale* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1984)

## Appendix I: MS sigla used in this dissertation

### *Occitan Chansonniers*

From *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, p. 304, and Manfred Raupach and Margaret Raupach, *Französische Troubadourlyrik*. My own additions are in square brackets

#### *Siglum* Shelfmark

<i>A</i>	Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 5232; Italian, 13 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>B</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 1592; Occitan, 13 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>C</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 856; Occitan, 14 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>D</i>	Modena, Bibliotheca Estense, α, R.4.4; Italian, 1254 [= Fr. <i>H</i> ]
<i>E</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 1749; Occitan, 14 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>F</i>	Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi L.IV.106; Italian, 14 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>G</i>	Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, R 71 sup.; Italian, 14 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>H</i>	Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 3207; Italian, late 13 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>I</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 854; Italian, 13 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>J</i>	Florence, Bibliotheca Nazionale, Conv. Sopp. F.IV.776; Occitan, 14 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>K</i>	Paris, BnF fr. 12473; Italian, 13 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>L</i>	Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 3206; Italian, 14 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>M</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 12474; Italian, 14 <sup>th</sup> C ( <i>olim</i> Vat. lat. 3794)
<i>N</i>	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 819 ( <i>olim</i> Cheltenham, T. Fitzroy Fenwick, 8335); Italian, 14 <sup>th</sup> C [Pierpont Morgan catalogue dates to 1285-1300, see: <a href="http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/msdescr/BBM0819.htm">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/msdescr/BBM0819.htm</a> ]
<i>O</i>	Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 3208; Italian, 14 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>P</i>	Florence, Bibliotheca Laurenziana, XLI.42; Italian, 1310
<i>Q</i>	Florence, Bibliotheca Riccardiana, 2909; Italian, 14 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>R</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 22543; Occitan, 14 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>S</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 269; Italian, late 13 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>Sg</i>	Barcelona, Bibliotheca de Catalunya, 146; Catalan, 14 <sup>th</sup> C. [Zufferey's <i>Z</i> ]
<i>T</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 15211; Italian, late 13 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>U</i>	Florence, Bibliotheca Laurenziana, XLI.43; Italian, 14 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>V</i>	Venice, Bibliotheca Marciana, fr. App. Cod. XI; Catalan, 1268
<i>W</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 844; French, 13 <sup>th</sup> C [= Fr. <i>M</i> ]
<i>X</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 20050; French, 13 <sup>th</sup> C [= Fr. <i>U</i> ]
<i>Y</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 795; French/Italian, 13 <sup>th</sup> C. [Raupach, <i>Französische Trobadourlyrik</i> ., locates the MS to N. France. (p. 5)]
<i>Z</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 1745; Occitan, 13 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>a</i>	Florence, Bibliotheca Riccardiana, 2814; Italian, 1589
<i>a'</i>	Modena, Bibliotheca Estense, Campori γ.N.8.4; 11, 12, 13; Italian, 1589
<i>b</i>	Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. 4087, end C16/early C17
<i>d</i>	Modena, Bibliotheca Estense. Appendix to <i>D</i> , 16 <sup>th</sup> C, single folio
<i>f</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 12472; Occitan, first half 14 <sup>th</sup> C
<i>g</i>	Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 3205. 16 <sup>th</sup> C copy of <i>M</i> , probably by Fulvio Orsini. [Includes Italian prose translations]

## French Chansonniers

Linker, *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics*, pp. 25-41.

<i>Siglum</i>	Shelfmark
<i>A</i>	Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 657 (olim 139); Abbaye de St. Vaast, 13 <sup>th</sup> C. Music
<i>C</i>	Bern, Stadtsbibliothek, 389; 13 <sup>th</sup> C. Alphabetical order. Empty staves.
<i>H</i>	Modena, Bibliotheca Estense, R 4 4. Part I: 13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> C; Part II: (ff. 262-345) 14 <sup>th</sup> C paper [= Oc D]
<i>K</i>	Paris, Arsenal, 5198 (olim B.L.F. 63), 13 <sup>th</sup> C; 211 ff. Music.
<i>L</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 765 (olim 7182 <sup>5</sup> ; olim Colbert 3075); 14 <sup>th</sup> C; ff. 48-63 at end of larger composite MS. Autograph notes by Fauchet, previous owner. Music. Formerly part of B.
<i>M</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 844 (olim 7222; olim Mazarin 96), a.k.a. <i>Manuscrit du roi</i> , 13 <sup>th</sup> C. 217 ff. French up to f. 185, thereafter Oc songs, motets and lais. [= Oc W]
<i>N</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 845 (olim 7222 <sup>2</sup> ; olim Cangé 67), 13 <sup>th</sup> C. 191 ff. Music.
<i>O</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 846 (olim 7222 <sup>3</sup> ; olim Cangé 66), 13 <sup>th</sup> C. 141 ff. Music. Poems anonymous, arranged alphabetically.
<i>P</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 847 (olim 7222 <sup>4</sup> ; olim Cangé 65), 13 <sup>th</sup> C. 228 ff. Music.
<i>R</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 1591 (olim 7613), 14 <sup>th</sup> C. 184 ff. Music for 235 songs.
<i>T</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 12615 (olim suppl. Fr. 184), 13 <sup>th</sup> C. 233 ff., 360/500 songs have music.
<i>U</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 20050 (olim Saint-Germain, fr. 1989), 13 <sup>th</sup> C. 173 ff., 93/306 songs have music. [= Oc X]
<i>V</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 24406 (olim La Vallière 59), 13 <sup>th</sup> and 14 <sup>th</sup> C. 155 ff. Lyrics on ff. 1-119 and 148-58. 310/330 songs have music.
<i>W</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 25566 (olim La Vallière 81), 13 <sup>th</sup> C. 283 ff. Music.
<i>X</i>	Paris, BnF, n.a. fr. 1050, a.k.a. <i>Manuscrit Clairambault</i> , 13 <sup>th</sup> C. Music.
<i>a</i>	Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. 1490, 14 <sup>th</sup> C. 181 ff. Music. Formerly belonged to Fauchet. Copy: Paris, Arsenal 3101, by Lacurne de Sainte-Playe.
<i>u</i>	Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. 1725, <i>Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole</i>
<i>z</i>	Berlin. Johannes Wolf fragment.

## Major Italian MSS

<i>L</i>	Florence, Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana, Redi 9
<i>P</i>	Forence, Bibliotheca Nazionale Centrale, Banco rari 217 (olim Palatino 418)
<i>V</i>	Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, vat. lat. 3793

## Appendix II: The *contrafacta* of ‘Can vei’ and their witnesses

<i>Author</i>	<i>Rep. no.</i>	<i>Frank</i>	<i>Incipit</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>	<i>Source / justification for contrafactum</i>
Bernart de Ventadorn	PC 70, 43	407, 9	‘Quan vei la lauzeta mover’ (abbr. to ‘CV’ below)	Bernart de Ventadorn : <i>A</i> 90, <i>C</i> 47, <i>D</i> 16, <i>E</i> 102, <i>F</i> 22, <i>G</i> (mel) 10, <i>I</i> 28, <i>K</i> 16, <i>L</i> 19, <i>M</i> 39, <i>N</i> 139, <i>P</i> 16, <i>Q</i> 25, <i>R</i> (mel) 56, <i>S</i> 53, <i>U</i> 89, <i>V</i> 55, <i>d'</i> 91, alpha l. 29675 (str.4) - beta1 402 - cit. beta3 B 402 (v.31). Anon <i>O</i> 60 (96). Peire Vidal <i>W'</i> (mel) 190, Anon. <i>V</i> 4g I fol. CXVIj (str. II "Aylas, quant cuidave saber"] , <i>X</i> (space for melody but no ruling) 148 - epsilon 5198.	
Guillem Anelier de Tolosa	PC 204, 1	407, 10	‘Ara farai no'm posc tener’	<i>C</i> 342.	BEDT; same metrical form and verbal references
Johan Esteve	PC 266, 10	407, 11	‘Plaignan, ploran, ab desplazer’	<i>C</i> 331.	BEDT; same metrical form and verbal references
Peire Cardenal	PC 335, 58	407, 12	‘Tostemps vir cuidar en saber’	Peire Cardenal: <i>C</i> 274, <i>D</i> b 237, <i>I</i> 171, <i>J</i> 2, <i>K</i> 156, <i>R</i> 68, <i>T</i> 95, <i>d</i> 332.	BEDT; same metrical form and verbal references
Raimbaut d'Aurenga	PC 389, 32	407, 18	‘Non chant per auzel ni per flor’	<i>A</i> 38, <i>d'</i> 193	Frank; same metrical form and verbal references.
Philip the Chancellor	R 349		‘Le cuer se vait de l'oïl plaignant’	<i>P</i> 181 (mel)(anon); <i>X</i> 191 (mel)	Tischler 2001; transmitted with CV melody
Philip the Chancellor	AH 21, 168		‘Quisquis cordis et oculi’	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 481, f. 382; Cambridge, UL, Dd, XI, 78, f. 119 <sup>v</sup> ; Cambridge, UL, Ee, VI, 29, f. 11 <sup>f</sup> ; Florence, Bib. Laur, Plut 29, 1, f. 437 <sup>v</sup> (mel);	Tischler 2001; transmitted with CV melody. 289

London, BL, Egerton 274, ff 24<sup>v</sup>–25<sup>v</sup>(mel); London, BL, Cotton, Julius, D.xi, f. 99<sup>v</sup>; London, BL, Harley 978, f. 88r; London, Lambeth Library, MS 114, f. 32<sup>b</sup>; Madrid, BN, MS 2N4; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., lat 14343, f. 155; Paris, BnF, lat. 3718, f. 11; Paris, BnF, lat. 8207 (f. unknown); Paris, BnF, lat. 8433, f. 46 (mel); Paris, BnF, lat. 11867, f. 239; Paris, nouv. acq. lat. 1544, f. 105<sup>v</sup>; Rome, Santa Sabina, MS XIV.L, f. 140<sup>v</sup> (mel); Tours, Bib. Municipale, 136, f. 127<sup>v</sup>; Vatican, BAV, reg. lat. 1323, 8. BVI

Anon	R 718a	‘Señor gracias ti rent’	Vatican, BAV, Chigi C. V. 151	Tischler 2001; rubric says sung to ‘Si quis cordis et occuli’. MS gives CV melody.
Anon	R 365	‘Amis quelx est li mieus vaillant’	<i>C 2v; I iii, 27a; O 13c</i>	Tischler 2001
Anon	R 1934	‘Plaine d’ire et et de desconfort’	<i>C 191, U 47v (mel)</i>	Tischler 2001
Baudoin	R 294	‘Baudoin, il sont dui amant’	<i>A 139v (mel); I 199v; M 72v; O 15r; T11v (‘Roi de Navarre’); a 137v (mel).</i>	Billy 1998
Arnault		‘Senher, ara ie-us vein quer[er]’	Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, cod. 10991 (a.k.a. Cancioneiro Colucci-Brancuti), no. 477	Billy 1998
Anon		‘Senyora, tot nostre voler’	(Lost)	Masso Torrents 1923; rubric mentions CV.
Dietmar von Eist	MF 35, 15	‘Der winter waere mir’	MHG MSS <i>A</i> (sc. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek [UB], Cod. pal. germ 357), f. 32 <sup>v</sup> ; <i>B</i> (sc. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. HB XIII, 1), p. 31; <i>C</i> (sc. Heidelberg, UB, Cod. pal. germ. 848), f. 65 <sup>r</sup> .	Tischler 2001; same metrical form as CV.