The Song from the Singer: Personification, Embodiment, and Anthropomorphization in Troubadour Lyric

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ABSTRACT

The Song from the Singer: Personification, Embodiment, and Anthropomorphization in Troubadour Lyric

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This dissertation explores the relationship of the act of singing to being a human in the lyric poetry of the troubadours, traveling poet-musicians who frequented the courts of contemporary southern France in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In my dissertation, I demonstrate that the troubadours surpass traditionally-held perceptions of their corpus as one entirely engaged with themes of courtly romance and society, and argue that their lyric poetry instead both displays the influence of philosophical conceptions of sound, and critiques notions of personhood and sexuality privileged by grammarians, philosophers, and theologians. I examine a poetic device within troubadour songs that I term 'personified song'—an occurrence in the lyric tradition where a performer turns toward the song he/she is about to finish singing and directly addresses it. This act lends the song the human capabilities of speech, motion, and agency. It is through the lens of the 'personified song' that I analyze this understudied facet of troubadour song.

Chapter One argues that the location of personification in the poetic text interacts with the song's melodic structure to affect the type of personification the song undergoes, while exploring the ways in which singing facilitates the creation of a body for the song.

Chapters Two and Three examine specific types of body formation located in the *tornadas* of the personified songs. In Chapter Two, I argue that the troubadours exploit pedagogies of singing and philosophical conceptions of sound to undercut the privileging of heterosexual relationships

as the only, “natural” form of sexual relationship. In Chapter Three, I argue that troubadour lyric poetry engages with Latin grammatical treatises to undermine the primacy of a binary gender system, and open up space within the lyric for a third gender. I examine songs whose *tornadas* include both of the differently gendered (masculine and feminine) versions of the Old Occitan noun for “song,” exploring the complicated (and often contradictory) way in which multiple subject positions were expected to inhabit a single person, and suggesting a fluidity of gendered constructs that permeates the lyric corpus as a whole.

In my final chapter, I argue that the troubadours continue to act as social critics even after their poetic tradition comes to an end, as the songs form different types of bodies through their contact with the parchment page of the manuscripts in which they are preserved. I analyze the songs’s lives as objects of literary transmission, exploring how the concept of the personified song changes when its audience no longer encounters it in performance. I argue that, although the personified songs do not make explicit reference to the parchment on which they come to be written, they are similarly embodied with parchment-skins that simultaneously serve as body and body-covering.

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for Mom and Dad

Introduction

In this dissertation I explore the role of song in the medieval vernacular lyric corpus of the troubadours, poet-musicians who frequented the courts of northern and southern France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The troubadour corpus is one of the earliest examples of secular vernacular poetry and the earliest in a Romance language. It provides insight into the roles men and women played in Occitan courtly society, and marks the beginning of a tradition of love poetry continued in later Western cultures. This corpus was more than just a collection of songs—it was a network of poets and songs that, through poetic tropes, constructed a fictional courtly world where ideas and images of the perfect lover and the ideal lady (and the relationships between them) were worked out.

I explore instances in the troubadour corpus in which the songs themselves are treated as people, which I call personified songs. The songs are asked (via direct address) to serve as messengers for their composers and are instructed to travel some undetermined distance to the message's recipient—usually a patron or the troubadour's beloved.[1] I argue that this act of personification lends the songs human capabilities. Additionally, the direct address combines with performance connected with the composition and oral transmission of the lyric to create

[1] While the idea of troubadour songs serving as messages, usually to distant ladies and patrons, is one of the central tenets of scholarship on the corpus, the notion of the song itself as both message and messenger is not as common. See Frank M. Chambers, "Versification," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, ed. F.R.P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 110-111. This occurrence becomes more uniform and widespread in the songs of the *trouvères*, which employ a formulaic version (the final stanza of many songs begins "Chanson, va... [Song, go…]").

bodies for the songs themselves, enabling them to function as people.[2] Performance provides a living body (that of the singer) from which the song is initially generated, imbues the song itself with life and material for its bodily substance from human breath, and personifies it via second-person address.

This phenomenon of anthropomorphization occurs at the end of a poem, either in half-stanzas called *tornadas* or, more rarely, in the final full stanza of a song. The *tornada* instigates a break in both the structure of the poem and its poetic material, disrupting the poem's created diegesis, underscoring the multiple subject positions (poet, performer, lover) present in lyric poems, and allowing the song both to interact with these personae and to take on a persona of its own.

This project began as a term paper in Professor Susan Boynton's seminar on the troubadours. In that course, we used Raimon de Miraval as a case study (aided by Margaret Switten's excellent anthology of his works with melodies).[3] While browsing through Raimon's musical corpus, I was struck by the number of songs in which Raimon spoke to the song directly, treating it as some kind of entity with the ability to move and speak on its own. As I was already thinking about notions of song and the connection singing has with humans—it is produced

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[2] For more on the oral transmission of troubadour lyric, see Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), pp. 26-34; William Paden, "Manuscripts," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, ed. F.R.P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis, pp. 307-333; Simon Gaunt, "Orality and Writing: the Text of the Troubadour Poem," in *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ed. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 228-245; and Olivia Holmes, *Assembing the Lyric Self: Authorship from Troubadour Song to Italian Poetry Book* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), pp. 4-6. Although the lyric tradition flourished from ca. 1100-1300, the manuscript sources preserving the corpus date from its end and afterwards, and analyses both of single songs across the extant manuscripts and of the collection of *chansonniers* as a whole reveal textual and musical evidence of oral transmission. See Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1972); Hendrik van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and the Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1972).

[3] Margaret Switten, *The Cansos of Raimon de Miraval: A Study of Poems and Melodies* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1985).

entirely by the human body and breath—it seemed to me that Raimon's act of prosopopeia gave life to his songs in a way that framed them exclusively as human. A summer spent digging through the troubadour lyric corpus turned up many more examples of song personification—although the phenomenon of personification is not widespread within the troubadour corpus as a whole, it is substantial enough to appear in the corpora of roughly forty other troubadours, including Rigaut de Berbezilh, Bernart de Ventadorn, Guiraut de Bornelh, Arnaut Daniel, and Peirol—each commenting on an aspect of humanity in a way that challenged what it meant to be human in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[4]

Raimon's corpus contains six instances of personified songs, all of which are transmitted with melodies. In his song "Chansoneta farai, Vencut," Raimon laments how his lady has turned from good worth towards money, and in the song's *tornada* he says:

> Chansons vai t'en a mon plus lial vendre
> E diguas li q'ieu sai dona avendre.
>
> [Song, go yield to my *Plus Leial* and tell him that I know a lady for sale.][5]

Raimon sends his song to his *senhal Plus Leial* with a specific message—his lady has turned from worth and valor to money, and is no longer worthy of his love. Raimon's song "D'amor es totz mos cossiriers" contains a similarly brief *tornada*. After describing the necessity of loving to the attainment of worth, Raimon sends his song to his beloved:

> Chansoneta ves midons vai corren
> Qu'ilh mante pretz e reman en joven.

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[4] Rigaut de Berbezilh (fl. 1140-1160) is considered a relatively early troubadour, followed by Bernart de Ventadorn (fl. ca. 1147-1180). Guiraut de Bornelh (fl. 1162-1199) and Arnaut Daniel (fl. 1180-1195) were active around the same date range, about sixty to seventy years after the death of Guilhem IX in 1126, while Peirol (fl. 1188-1222) and Raimon de Miraval (fl. 1191-1229) were active in the years directly following Guiraut and Arnaut. See Appendix F for other examples of personification from these troubadours and several others.

[5] Raimon de Miraval, "Chansoneta farai, Vencut." All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

[*Chansoneta*, run towards my lady, for she maintains worth and remains in youth.][6]

These two songs display a number of the characteristics intrinsic to the personified song. They are addressed in the second person by the troubadour or performer, they are directed to travel some distance to the intended recipient of the song (and so gain the capability of motion), and they serve as messengers or physical proxies for their troubadour creators (and are given the ability to speak).[7] Other instances of personified song in the lyric corpus are longer and more elaborate, but all contain some combination of these characteristics.

Scholarship on the troubadour lyric corpus has, until fairly recently, tended to separate musical and poetic analysis, and scholars in musicology and comparative literature alike have produced comprehensive analyses of either individual poets or poetic themes, or studies of the musical elements of the lyric.[8] Rare is the scholar of literature who analyzes music (Margaret Switten being a notable exception); musicologists have included both in their works with more frequency.[9] Christelle Chaillou has examined the relationship between text and music in the poetry of the troubadours, in particular within the context of the songs' composition and

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[6] Raimon de Miraval, "D'amor es totz mos cossiriers."

[7] The distinction between troubadour and performer does not appear in the texts themselves; they are written from the first-person point of view of the troubadour-composer. However, these songs were not always necessarily performed by their composers.

[8] For an analysis of the works of an individual troubadour, see Switten, *The Cansos of Raimon de Miraval*. For studies of individual poetic tropes, see Leslie Topsfield, *Troubadours and Love* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1975); Linda Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1975); Sarah Kay, *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry* (Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Simon Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995). For a comprehensive study of the musical elements of the lyric, see Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours*.

[9] Leo Treitler, "The Troubadours Singing their Poems," in *The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry*, ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer, Thomas Cable, and James I. Wimsatt (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), pp. 15-48; Judith Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Machaut* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Christelle Chaillou, *Faire los motz e·l so: Les mots et la musique dans les chansons de troubadours* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

transmission. She argues that the true value of a troubadour lies not in how they deploy the poetic tropes, but with how much subtlety they combine the words with the melodies, a mixture she conceives of as a sound world. Chaillou notes that, as the songs were transmitted orally, the melody could not have been composed or created in any other way than with its text. She analyzes the poetic and rhetorical structures of troubadour song, seeking to understand how methods of composing poetry and rhetoric inflected the composition of melodies.

Emma Dillon probes this disciplinary division with regards to the notions of song and singing specifically, noting that the words "song" and "singing," along with the absence of melodies in the extant sources, mean very different things for literary scholars and musicologists.[10] While musicologists see the absence of music as evidence of the aural/oral tradition, meaning that melodies could be summoned from memory, literary scholars view the dearth of musical material as evidence that songs could stand on their own as just text. Dillon argues that an examination of song as a sound-object, emphasized by treatment of the words of the song's text as sonorous objects, can connect musicology and literary studies in a way not previously done, and will keep scholars from treating the musical melody and the text as two individual objects that can be separated or combined.[11]

Other scholars have built upon Dillon's examination of sound within the lyric corpus; studies that analyze the soundscape of medieval vernacular song have been written by both literature and music scholars.[12] Sarah Kay's work on the soundscape of troubadour lyric seeks to

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[10] Emma Dillon, "Unwriting Medieval Song," *New Literary History* 46/4 (Autumn 2015), pp. 595-622.

[11] Dillon, "Unwriting Medieval Song," p. 597.

[12] Sarah Kay, "Sound Matters: 2. The Soundscape of Troubadour Lyric, or, How Human is Song?," *Speculum* 91/4 (October 2016), pp. 1002-1015; Dillon, *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260-1330* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); see also Eliza Zingesser, "Pidgin Poetics: Bird Talk in Medieval France and Occitania," *New Medieval Literatures* 17, ed. Wendy Scase, David Lawton, and Laura Ashe (2017), pp. 62-80.

understand how humanity and the non-human are articulated in the troubadours and their notion of song.[13] She argues that the troubadours employed both human and non-human sounds in their songs, and therefore created a soundscape of both human and non-human noises via the human breath and voice.

The concept of the voice, and its central importance to song, has also been explored by scholars from both disciplines. Dillon places this idea at the forefront of her article, and Mary Franklin-Brown discusses the voice's position and importance on the manuscript page of a *chansonnier*. She argues that, as medieval readers likely conceived of the voice as a phenomenon present above the page if not on it, the *mise-en-page* of troubadour *chansonniers* suggests that scribes intended readers to vocalize the lyric texts as they read them in order to perceive their forms and wordplay.[14]

Of particular importance in the context of this dissertation has been the use of troubadour lyric in studies of medieval subjectivity. Kay's work on the role of subjectivity in the lyric examines the development of and shifts between subject positions in the poetry, and provided the impetus for studies that widened their focus to include other, later repertoires.[15] Likewise, Judith Peraino's work includes analyses of subject positions in troubadour lyric, and also focuses on later corpora such as the lyric poetry of the *trouvères* and the monophonic *virelais* of Guillaume de Machaut.[16] Kay and Peraino shed light on the conception and development of medieval

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[13] Kay, "The Soundscape of Troubadour Lyric," *Speculum* 91/4 (2016).

[14] Mary Franklin-Brown, "Voice and Citation in the Chansonnier d'Urfé," *TENSO* 27/1-2 (2012): 45-91. 46, 52; Joseph J. Johnson, "Flying Letters and Feuilles Volantes: Symptoms of Orality in Two Troubadour Songbooks," *Exemplaria* 28/3 (2016): 193-211.

[15] Kay, *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry*.

[16] Judith Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

subjectivity in poetic works, disentangling the complex web of multiple subject positions inherent in a single song.

Concepts of song, singing, and the voice in the lyric corpus have been studied, as has the formation of subjects within the poetic texts, but the direct connection of song and voice to the formation of a human identity has not—while Kay and Peraino demonstrate the multiplicity of subject positions inherent in the lyric, they do not address the phenomenon of personification present in numerous *tornadas*.[17] The conceptions of the body and the human that are present in lyric corpora are unique because of the very fact of the song and the act of singing itself, which allows for conceptions of the body not present in non-lyric repertoires. Lyric poems do not merely contain descriptions of what it means to be human, as found in medieval medical, theological, philosophical, and grammatical treatises. Instead, they examine the process of making a human—at the time of singing, both the performer and the audience are participating in the creation of something personified and embodied.

Two questions drive this project: 1) why are songs personified in troubadour lyric poetry? and 2) what does the act of personification tell us about medieval conceptions of songs and humans? I argue that these personified songs enable the troubadours to act as social critics, theorizing the human body as something that can exist outside of traditional notions of gender and sexuality. Moreover, these poets discuss the bodies of their songs with language that refers

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[17] Ana Maria Ochoa Gautier has examined the presence of sound and the voice in her book *Aurality: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Colombia*, where she argues that ideas about sound, and especially about the voice, in nineteenth-century Colombia sources are central to definitions of personhood during this period. See Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Colombia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), pp. 1-29. Scholars have analyzed individual songs whose *tornadas* personify them, but they do not reference the act of personification in their discussions. See Kay, *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry*, 157-60, where she provides a discussion of Gaucelm Faidit's song "Mout a poignat Amors en mi delir." Anna Zayaruznaya also examines Gaucelm's song briefly in her book on medieval polyphonic motets. See Zayaruznaya, *The Monstrous New Art: Divided Forms in the Late Medieval Motet* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 39-46.

strictly to human activities and bodily features, inextricably linking the act of singing to the act of being human. In particular, description of the songs in human terms makes them analogous to real human bodies, and therefore opens up space for bodies that do not conform to traditional conceptions of the human body (e.g., as a body gendered male or female). As a result, in contrast to other scholars who have thought that grammatical and philosophical treatises had little bearing on troubadour lyric poetry, I demonstrate that the troubadours drew on and pushed back against works by Aristotle, Avicenna, and Alain de Lille, among others, to shape their poetic discussions about the nature of personhood. I show that the troubadours surpass traditionally-held perceptions of their corpus as one entirely engaged with themes of courtly romance and society, and argue that troubadour poetry instead both displays the influence of philosophical conceptions of sound, and critiques notions of personhood and sexuality privileged by grammarians, philosophers, and theologians.

My examination of these songs combines methods taken from comparative literature, musicology, and sound studies—a field that centers on the cultural nature of sound and listening. In particular, I draw upon Steven Connor's conception of the voice as an object that physically interacts with the space into which it is projected, and Pierre Schaeffer's scholarship on acousmatic sound, which explores sounds and voices that are not connected visually with their original sounding bodies.[18] My work moves beyond previous analyses of troubadour lyric (such as those by Kay) by using these methods to fully consider the very medium through which the sonic elements of the poetry are realized. Additionally, I draw on Anna Zayaruznaya's discussion of Ars Nova motets and embodiment, as she ascribes to later polyphonic works many of the

[18] Steven Connor, *Dumbstruck: A Cultural History of Ventriloquism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Pierre Schaeffer, *Traité des objets musicaux* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1966).

human characteristics that are inherent to the personified troubadour lyric poems (including the ability to travel, reproduce, and speak), and she recognizes troubadour and *trouvère* song as the origin of the embodiment she examines.[19] This approach brings new insight to our understanding of the lyric by demonstrating that these songs were living entities and not just written and static ones.

Musical analysis is an important part of this dissertation, as it allows me to consider the sound of the song as a whole. While some have limited themselves to attempting to make analytical claims about how the strophic melodies of the lyric might apply to all the song's stanzas, I examine the relationship between text and melody in the specific *tornadas* and stanzas discussed in this dissertation. It is possible to conceive of each stanza as interacting anew with the repeated melody, as the content, word stresses, and sounds of the language differ from stanza to stanza, and this individual focus highlights meaning that may be masked by a large-scale focus. I have also included musical analysis to demonstrate the differences in types of song personification, a concept I explore most fully in the first chapter.

The act of personification that I argue gives the song a body and allows it to function and act as a person is underscored by the physicality inherent in the act of singing itself (which is a formative connection between performer and audience); the song was always brought into existence through the bodily activities and physical presence of both singer and listening audience. My work sheds some light on the very nature of medieval 'personhood', as it examines the characteristics that must be present to make someone or something a person: the personified songs possess the capabilities of speech, motion, and in some cases, agency, delineating the

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[19] Zayaruznaya, *The Monstrous New Art*.

necessary qualities for personhood within the lyric. This insight also opens up avenues for studying other forms of orally transmitted literature, inviting those working in disciplines outside musicology to consider the way in which processes of expression are themselves constitutive of the creation of societies. The phenomenon of the personified song underscores the fundamental importance of physical contact to the development of courtly society by highlighting physicality—the songs are sent to faraway courts and locations as proxies for their poets—in song and language, illustrating the significance of in-person communication and dialogue. Troubadour and *trouvère* poet-composers often employed their songs as messages to others, but the personified songs turn the singing voice into a medium that serves as both message and messenger, re-inscribing the lyric text as song materialized.

I begin with an examination of the songs of Raimon de Miraval, active in the area surrounding Narbonne, France, in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Raimon's corpus contains one of the highest concentrations of personified songs transmitted with music. The survival of melodies enables me to study how personification of the song in Raimon's lyric poetry interacts with the melodies transmitted with his poems. In addition to laying the groundwork for an examination of the personified song in the context of performance, I argue in the first chapter that the location of personification in the poetic text interacts with the song's melodic structure to affect the type of personification the song undergoes. Most troubadours direct the song to serve as a messenger, but a few poets employ the song as a physical proxy, instructing the personified song to perform actions that include an explicitly physical component (such as serving as the troubadour's "drogomanz" or "interpreter"). My research suggests that, because performance inherently involves an interaction with bodies (those of the performer and

the audience), singing facilitated the creation of a third type of body (that of the song) from both poetic injunction and, as importantly, from the performer's breath. In dialogue with work by Peraino and Kay, I articulate the importance of the poetic placement of personification within the troubadour song, as the *tornada* instigates a break in the song, allowing for the inclusion of multiple subject positions within a single poem. I argue that the subjectivity of voice instigated by the poet and highlighted in the *tornada* allows the personified song to take on a body of its own, and gain some of the qualities of personhood.[20]

Chapters Two and Three examine specific types of body formation located in the *tornadas* of the personified songs. In Chapter Two, I argue that the troubadours exploit pedagogies of singing and philosophical conceptions of sound to undercut the privileging of heterosexual relationships as the only, "natural" form of sexual relationship. I focus on instances of personification that mention learning, specifically those where the personified song is instructed to allow itself to be learned, as I argue that these personified songs display a sexual relationship of consumption and birth instigated by pedagogical methods. I examine these songs through the lenses of both medieval singing pedagogies and philosophical discussions of sound, demonstrating that the elements of embodiment and physicality inherent in performance construe the act of learning as represented in troubadour lyric as a sexual act. In Chapter Three, I argue that troubadour lyric poetry engages with Latin grammatical treatises to undermine the primacy of a binary gender system, and open up space within the lyric for a third gender. I examine songs whose *tornadas* include both of the differently gendered (masculine and feminine) versions of the Old Occitan noun for "song." Aimeric de Peguilhan's song "Mangtas vetz sui enqueritz"

[20] Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love*; Kay, *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry*.

opens with a comparison of the relationship of the grammatical gender of generic nouns for "song" to gendered characteristics that are implicitly associated with biological sex and concludes with a juxtaposition of two differently gendered nouns within the song's last stanza. I analyze "Mangtas vetz sui enqueritz" in the context of Alain de Lille's *De planctu naturae*, which features an invective against non-normative sexual relations cloaked in a discussion of Latin grammar. I also examine theological, philosophical, and medical treatises discussing the conflation of both male and female sexual organs into one person (hermaphroditism). I explore the complicated (and often contradictory) way in which multiple subject positions were expected to inhabit a single person, and suggest a fluidity of gendered constructs that permeates the lyric corpus as a whole.

In my final chapter, I argue that the troubadours continue to act as social critics even as their poetic tradition nears its end, as the songs form different types of bodies through their contact with the manuscripts in which they are preserved. I analyze the songs's lives as objects of literary transmission, exploring how the concept of the personified song changes when its audience no longer encounters it in sung performance. Here, I incorporate scholarship from animal studies to argue that bodies and physicality continue to play a crucial role, as parchment is a writing surface made from the treated skins of animals. I compare the personification of troubadour songs to Latin and Anglo-Latin parchment riddles, which are personified from their outset and begin the stories of their creations with their deaths as animals. These riddles personify both the texts they hold and the material object that serves as container, employing the parchment as a skin for the bodies of both literary object and manuscript. I argue that, although the personified songs do not make explicit reference to the parchment on which they come to be

written, they are similarly embodied with parchment-skins that simultaneously serve as body and body-covering. I then consider the *Libre* of Guiraut Riquier in the context of this argument, as several of his songs are personified, and Riquier's involvement with the compilation of his works is unusual in the troubadour corpus.

Chapter 1. Performance and Personification

In the second *tornada* of his song "Aissi cum es genser pascors," Raimon de Miraval addresses the song he has just finished singing:

> Al rei d'Aragon vai de cors
> Cansos dire q'el salut
> E sai tant sobr'altre drut
> Qe·ls paucs prez faz semblar granz
> E·ls rics faz valer dos tanz.
>
> [Go on your way, song, to tell the king of Aragon that I salute him, and that I am so superior in knowledge to another lover that I make insignificant merits seem important and important ones twice as valuable.][21]

Raimon sends the song as his messenger to the King of Aragon, thereby imbuing it with speech, mobility, and agency, human characteristics that transform the song from what seems like an outward expression of Raimon's inner feelings to a personified entity in itself. Through the enactment of its *tornada,* the song moves out of Raimon's body via his singing voice towards a second figure (that of his patron).

Analysis of the personified songs reveals that the songs themselves become subjects, and interact with other figures in the lyric, as the troubadours use the personification of their songs to comment on the creation of bodies and their methods of interaction with the communities around them. To fully understand the role of subjects and subjectivity in troubadour lyric, it is necessary to examine how the song itself, through performance, becomes a subject.

THE *TORNADA*: HISTORY, USE, AND MEANING

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[21] Raimon de Miraval, "Aissi cum es genser pascors." See Appendix B for the full text and translation of this song. Manuscripts consulted: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 856; Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS **α**.R. 4.4=Est.45; Paris, BnF, f. fr. 1749; Paris, BnF, f. fr. MS 854; Paris, BnF, MS f. fr. 12473; and Paris, BnF, f. fr. MS 22543. For published editions of Raimon's works, see Switten, *The Cansos of Raimon de Miraval*, and Leslie Topsfield, ed., *Les poésies du troubadour Raimon de Miraval* (Paris: A.G. Nizet, 1971).

In addition to indicating the end of a song, troubadour *tornadas* usually mark a break in the poetic text where the focus of the poem moves away from the troubadour's idealized relationship with his lady, and shifts instead to mentions of *senhals* (code names for patrons, patronesses, and pseudo-fictional ladies), real geographic locations, and historical figures.[22] The location of instances of personification at the end of the troubadour song aligns the moment of direct address with this break in the poetic and musical structures, enhancing the separation of the newly-personified song from its troubadour-performer creator.

The term *tornada* dates from around the last third of the thirteenth century, where it appears towards the end of two poetic treatises, the *Doctrina de compondre dictatz* (late thirteenth century) and the *Leys d'Amor* (ca. 1330).[23] The verb *tornar*, which is found in the *Leys d'Amor,* in addition to a number of other sources (including Dante's *Convivio*), precedes the appearance of the noun *tornada* (and is the word from which the latter is derived).[24] In the *Leys d'Amor*, *tornar* seems to mean "to return" or "to resume."[25] The verb appears in a discussion of the main species of rhymes ("De las manieras principals de novas rimadas [Of the main species of rhymed *novas*]"), where it refers to the repetitions of rhymes at the level of both the stanza and the word ("Rims tornatz bordos tornatz e motz tornatz [The repetitions of rhymes, those of

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[22] Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love,* p. 30; Chantal Phan, "La tornada et l'envoi: Fonctions structurelles et poétiques," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale (Xe-XII siècles)* 34, no. 1 (1991), p. 58.

[23] Ulrich Mölk, "Deux remarques sur la tornada," *Metrica* III (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1982), pp. 3-5. The verb also appears in the poetry of Occitan troubadour Guiraut Riquier (in his song "Volontiers faria") and Catalan troubadour Cerverí de Girona (in his song "Totz homs deu far aquo quell veyll sers fa"), who both use the term independently of one another in the year 1276. See Mölk, "Deux remarques," *Metrica*, p. 6.

[24] See Dante Alighieri, *Il Convivio (The Banquet),* trans. Richard H. Lansing (Garland Library of Medieval Literature, Ser. B. N, 1990). See also Alfred Jeanroy, who notes that "...le sens primitif n'est pas très clair," "the original meaning is not clear," in *La Poésie lyrique des troubadours*, vol. II (Paris: Didier, 1934), p. 93.

[25] Alfred Jeanroy translates *tornar* into French as *retourner*, "to return," or *reprendre* "to resume." See Jeanroy, *La Poésie lyrique des troubadours*, vol. II, p. 93.

verses, and those of words]").[26] When the noun *tornada* appears towards the end of the *Leys d'Amor*, it is included as part of the definition of a *vers*, a work of poetry consisting of five or six stanzas accompanied by one or two *tornadas*.[27] Here, the noun *tornada* is used as a metrical term, which describes the final lines of the *vers*. A troubadour:

> encaras devetz saber que cascuna tornada deu esser del compas de la meytat de la cobla deriera vas la fi. Can la cobla es de bordos parios so es en nombre par e can son en nombre non par la dicha meytatz creysh dun bordo.
>
> [should know that each *tornada* should be half of the last stanza towards the end, when the stanza is an even number of lines. When it is an uneven number, that half can be augmented by a line.][28]

The author of the *Leys* also describes the *tornadas'* content:

> Quar la una tornada pot pauzar et aplicar a so senhal. Loqual senhal cascus deu elegir per si. Ses far tort ad autre. So es que no vuelha en sos dictatz metre et apropriar aquel senhal que saubra que us autres fa. E lautra tornada pot aplicar a la persona a laqual vol presentar son dictat.
>
> [One *tornada* can be addressed to the *senhal*, which everyone must choose for himself, without injury to another, that is to say he should neither put into his works nor appropriate the *senhal* that another invents. The other *tornada* can address the person to whom he chooses to present his work.][29]

The *tornadas*, then, refer to the internal structure of the poem and back to the rhyme scheme, metrical structure, and rhyming words that precede the *tornada*, while simultaneously pointing outwards to the poet's representational emblem, and forward to the performer who will spread the poet's work. The concept of return is preserved here, as the *tornada* incorporates the metrical

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[26] A. Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Las Flors del Gay Saber*, vol. I (Paris-Toulouse: Privat, 1841), pp. 138-139. Mölk argues that this usage of the verb *tornar* clearly signifies that the meaning of the noun is "return," "repeat." Mölk, "Deux remarques," pp. 3-4.

[27] Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Les Flors del Gay Saber*, vol. I, pp. 338-339.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Gatien-Arnoult, ed., *Les Flors del Gay Saber*, vol. I, pp. 338-339.

structure of the preceding stanza, but also reverses the poet into the material world from whence he/she came.

As suggested by the passage above, most troubadour songs contain multiple *tornadas,* each of which corresponds both to the same poetic lines and rhyme scheme at the end of the full stanza, and they were likely sung to the equivalent final phrases at the end of the song's melody.[30] Each *tornada* is an independent unit in terms of rhyme scheme, and most *tornadas* also form independent units with regard to content—each *tornada* can stand on its own and does not need the other *tornadas* to make poetic sense—though there are several notable exceptions (Bernart de Ventadorn's song "Conortz era sai eu be" has two *tornadas* of three lines each which follow the rhyme scheme of the last three lines of the song's full stanzas, but their content combines to form a six-line stanza). For example, Raimon de Miraval's song "Aissi cum as genser pascors" has three *tornadas*, two of which are five lines long and correspond to the last five lines of the full stanza. The third and final *tornada* is four lines long and corresponds to the last four lines of the full stanza. Their transmission in the troubadour *chansonniers* is somewhat unstable, as each manuscript source varies in the number of *tornadas* it preserves. Peraino has argued that the *tornada*'s inconsistent transmission record reflects the perceived connection of an individual *tornada* to the song's expressive content, while others have suggested that the

[30] Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours*, p. xi. While most troubadour songs are accompanied by *tornadas* of uniform length, some have *tornadas* of varying lengths. See Raimon de Miraval's *Aissi cum es genser pascors* in Appendix B.

transmission record shows the performer may have improvised or adapted a *tornada* based on his or her audience and performance setting.[31]

Troubadour lyric and its creators inhabited a world of tropes that formed rules and boundaries for the poetic figures (including the authors) who peopled the poems. Indeed, Kay and Peraino have suggested that the *tornadas* serve as the location of a shift in poetic voice, and through their authorship these poets assume personae that exist within the confines of the lyric corpus. Peraino contends that the *tornada* inscribes "the turn of the subject, the moment of immanent subjectivity," moving the poem's authorial voice from poetic persona to historic subject.[32] The *tornada'*s place in the structure of the song, along with its rhetorical shift from the *fin'amor* story of the troubadour and his *domna* to a world with geographically locatable place names and historical figures, illuminates a break between the contrived, first-person poetic voice interacting with a formulaic world and the (similarly manufactured) voice of the author behind the text.

Kay's book *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry* laid the foundation for Peraino's argument about the *tornada* as the location of a shift in poetic voice. For Kay, it is the invocation of a patron that makes the *tornada* the site where the "real," autobiographical self is revealed, as it is likely that mention of a patron would, as Kay notes, show a contemporary audience "historical coordinates for the song's author...conferring on them a degree of density and plausibility."[33]

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[31] Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love,* pp. 51-55; Mary J. O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 61; See also Switten, *The Cansos of Raimon de Miraval*, who notes that, while *tornada* transmission in Raimon de Miraval's songs is unstable, "it is quite possible that the songs in question [transmitted without *tornadas* or with irregular *tornada* transmission] once had *tornadas* which have now been lost, and the *tornada* function can still be considered part of the song," p. 122.

[32] Kay, *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry*, p. 155; Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love*, p. 35.

[33] Kay, *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry*, p. 155.

Certainly, an appeal to a male patron elicits a different poetic relationship than a *tornada* addressed to a female one, but Kay suggests that both relationships arrive at the same goal—autobiographical legitimation.

Kay and Peraino do not ignore the fact that troubadour songs were likely performed aloud for audiences, a phenomenon underscored by the lyric's tradition of oral transmission. For Kay, the execution of a song roots the lyric in the actual, even if only for the moment of its enactment. The lyric tropes of the troubadour corpus allow the performer to construct a "'character'" for him- or herself, and the performer's body then "offers a possible visible correlative of the first-person voice, and connects it, at least temporarily with social experience."[34] When the performer reaches the song's *tornada*, his/her physical presence combines with the name of the poet's patron and descriptions of their relationship to imply a connection with the poet him- or herself. For Peraino, the strophic, repetitive nature of troubadour song sets up certain expectations for its audience, which are disrupted by the *tornada*'s return to the middle of the song's melodic line (rather than its beginning). She argues that *tornadas* "poetically and musically participate in a key element of troubadour lyrics, namely, the ambiguity of the subjective voice as lover or poet…[or] performer," an ambiguity which stems from both the formal poetic break the *tornada* instigates and its melodic interruption.[35]

By virtue of the amalgamation of poetic persona and performer into one singing figure, the song is assimilated by the body of the performer. However, the singing voice of the performer continues the development of a unique entity or body for the song itself, centered on

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[34] Kay, *Subjectivity*, p. 170.

[35] Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love*, p. 60.

the personification of song in the *tornada*. The melodies of the songs leave the performer's body via the singing voice and move into a space of their own, underlining the importance of performance to the song's transformation. Modern audiences most often experience troubadour lyric poems as written works, and their preservation in *chansonniers* means that readers are able to see the moment in the poetic text where the song is anthropomorphized. However, the singer's voice and physical presence effects the transition from poet to embodied song in a way a manuscript cannot.

It is important to mention that, while the voice and physical presence of a live singer affects the transition from poet to embodied song in a unique way, later audiences often experienced troubadour lyric poems as written works, as they were preserved in *chansonniers*. Anna Zayaruznaya's work on the "zoomorphization and anthropomorphization" of medieval polyphonic songs and motets attempts to move beyond the performer's body/bodies to examine cases where music "evokes or embodies living forms—humans or otherwise."[36] Here, the performer's body is at a remove from the song or motet's transformation, as the experience of the song or motet on the manuscript page does not necessarily include an aural component.

Kay and Peraino focus their analyses on the bodies of the performer and his or her audience, considering how the text and melody of the song interacts with the audience's perception of the subject positions present in the song's text. However, the singing voice of the performer is itself an object that interacts with both the bodies of performer and audience, and

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[36] See Zayaruznaya, *The Monstrous New Art,* pp. 21-69. Also at work in the relationship between bodies, animals, and manuscripts is the notion (which I examine in Chapter Four) that troubadour songs (and all medieval manuscripts until the advent of printed books) were written on parchment, made of treated animal skin. Transmission via manuscript included an interaction with some sort of body and skin as well. See Sarah Kay, "Legible Skins: Animals and the Ethics of Medieval Reading," *Postmedieval* 2, no. 1 (2011), pp. 13-32.

the figures mentioned in the song's poetic text. Scholarship in sound studies offers a lens through which to view the voice's role in developing the personified song's subjectivity, as its conceptions of sound and voice as objects that can move beyond their sounding bodies allows for an understanding of the voice as an object that can function independently of its source.

Connor's concepts of vocalic space and vocalic body are of particular use when it comes to understanding the personification of troubadour songs in their *tornadas*. Connor conceptualizes physical space as an entity that is actively produced under different historical conditions, and he therefore defines vocalic space as a voice that "takes up space, in two senses. It inhabits and occupies space, and it also actively procures space for itself."[37] For Connor, the voice then is an entity that acts as a mediator between the living body of the person who produces it and the social and cultural worlds it inhabits. The space into which the voice moves is historically conditioned, but the voice itself also acts on the space, creating a process where both voice and space act and are acted upon, shaping each other as they are simultaneously shaped. Certainly, the movement of the performer's voice from interior thought to exterior world precipitates a shift in the space the voice occupies, but the performance of troubadour lyric as song affects the world into which it is brought.

Performance of the lyric, through its collapse of first-person subjects into one living person, brings the song into the presence of the performer's audience and creates a direct physical presence within the very courtly network it seeks to infiltrate.[38] The movement of the singing voice into the living network of the performer's audience is, as we have already seen,

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[37] Connor, *Dumbstruck*, p. 12.

[38] For more on performance within the courts of southern France, see Linda Paterson, "Great Court Festivals in the South of France and Catalonia in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Medium Aevum* L1 (1982), pp. 213-224.

cemented by the *tornada*. The song's transformation from artificial object to personified entity raises questions about notions of humanity, emphasized by the human characteristics the song takes on. The first *tornada* of Raimon de Miraval's song "Lonc temps ai avutz conseriers" emphasizes the personified song's ability to make decisions after serving as Raimon's messenger. He commands his song, "Chanson, ton premier viatje/Faras vas n'Azalais de cors [Song, you will make your first trip towards Lady Azalais sincerely]" before giving a reason for this order: "car se puois vols anar aillors/plus en seras d'agradaje [because then if you (the song) wish to go elsewhere, you will be more pleasing]."[39] After the song completes Raimon's instructions, it is free to choose where it goes and follow the fulfillment of its own desires.[40] Are the characteristics ascribed to the song in Raimon's *tornada* enough to call the song "human?"

Kay has recently explored the very question of the humanity of song, which she argues is transcended in the lyric by the inclusion of non-human noises.[41] With help from Heidegger's concept of the "open" (a type of freedom which human beings can only move towards through language), and from Agamben's analysis of the Heideggerian "open," Kay explores the division

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[39] Raimon de Miraval, "Lonc temps ai avutz conseriers."

[40] Further evidence of the song's ability to make decisions is present in the last *tornada* of Guiraut de Bornelh's "Leu chansonet'e vil." Guiraut describes how his song should behave and what message it should carry: "E deuria·lh mandar/Mon Sobre-Totz, e dir/Qe·l majer dans/Er sieus si·m fai faillir. [And it (my song) ought to carry a message to My Sobre-Totz, saying that he will be the one to suffer most if I fail because of him.]" "Leu chansonet'e vil," trans. in consultation with Ruth Verity Sharman, *The* Cansos *and* Sirventes *of the Troubadour Giraut de Borneil: A Critical Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 286-287. Guiraut says the song "ought to" ("deuria") serve as messenger, but he does not *order* the song to do so, preserving the song's ability to decide whether to act for Guiraut of its own accord. A further example includes the only *tornada* of Peire Cardenal's "Atressi com per fargar," in which Peire Cardenal tells his *sirventes* to "ades t'en vai/On que·t vols e digas lai [go right away where you want]" ("Atressi com per fargar," 41-42) and spread his message. Ed. and trans. René Lavaud, *Poésies complètes du Troubadour Peire Cardenal (1180-1278): Texte, Traduction, Commentaire, Analyse des Travaux antérieurs, Lexique* (Toulouse: Edouard Privat, 1957), pp. 56-57.

[41] Kay, "The Soundscape of Troubadour Lyric, or, How Human is Song?", pp. 1002-1015.

between humanity and animality in troubadour lyric.[42] According to Agamben, Heidegger's "open" illustrates a world that is precisely "not open" to the rest of nature—language not only separates man from nature, it also divides the human from the animal within man himself. Troubadour lyric positions human language and speech alongside the voices of animals and birds, musical instruments, and, in the works of Arnaut Daniel, machinery and tools.[43] As Kay points out, the creation of the troubadour soundscape is necessarily begotten with the breath of the singer, which has connections to the breath of other living non-human beings, and also to wind.[44] These "varied sounds of air and voice fall within the overall concept of 'soundscape,' a modern coinage taken up by medievalists in order to explore the world of sound that includes but exceeds the human."[45] For Kay, the inclusion of these nonhuman noises transcend the world of human sound to incorporate the world of nonhuman sound and therefore create its own soundscape.[46] However, I argue that these instances of song personification work in the opposite way—the singer's breath connects the newly personified song more closely with human characteristics than with non-human ones.

QUOTATION, CITATION, AND POETIC DISCOURSE

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[42] Kay, "The Soundscape of Troubadour Lyric," pp. 1003-1004.

[43] Ibid., pp. 3, 7-8.

[44] Kay, "The Soundscape of Troubadour Lyric," p. 1005.

[45] Ibid.

[46] For a literary scholar's work on this term in the Middle Ages, see Jean-Marie Fritz, *Paysages sonores du Moyen Âge: Le versant épistémologique* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2000), and *La Cloche et la lyre: Pour une poétique médiévale du paysage sonore* (Geneva: Droz, 2011). For recent work by musicologists on the notion of a medieval soundscape, see Dillon, *The Sense of Sound*; and *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound,* ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly, *Studies in the Visual Culture of the Middle Ages*, Vol. 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

During live performance, the poetic discourse that originates during the poet's creation of the lyric text is realized more fully through the hearing and reception of the singing or speaking voice by a listening audience, who then link their own presuppositions or connections to that lyric discourse. However, simply reading the song's written text also creates a web of links to patrons and places that reflect the system of affiliations the text substantiates. Troubadour lyric became available to later readers and audiences through the collection of extant *chansonniers,* and through its quotation and citation in other medieval sources (some in Occitan and some in other languages, including Old French, Italian, and Latin).

In her book *Parrots and Nightingales*, Kay examines the processes of quotation and citation of the Occitan lyric that appear in numerous medieval texts.[47] Kay argues that quotation of the lyric "plays with expectations of knowledge and recognition; it summons subjects of knowledge and recognition into existence; but it does not necessarily ratify them."[48] Kay bolsters her argument with help from Jacques Lacan's concept of "the subject supposed to know" ("le sujet supposé savoir"), which allows her to interact with the ambiguity of subject and connection of knowledge and desire that define troubadour lyrics. The practices of quotation and citation create a web of subjects and subject positions that are never fully revealed or explained, and the subject of the quoted lyric is obscured—the reader is led to assume or presuppose knowledge of the quotation's speaker by virtue of the author's positioning of the quotation itself. The author frames the quotation, allowing the reader to assume ideas about the quoted subject. The reverse is also true—the author may assume his or her reader has certain knowledge of the lyric tradition

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[47] Sarah Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales: Troubadour Quotations and the Development of European Poetry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

[48] Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales*, p. 19.

and will recognize and read the quote in a specific manner. This act of assumption or presupposition is based on the idea that "knowledge presupposes a series of subjects that are difficult to locate, and that subjects are supposed to have knowledge that is difficult or impossible to specify."[49] The speaking subject of the quoted text remains ambiguous, while the reader and author desire to know the material which the quotation presumes to be known (or unknown).

While her analysis in *Parrots and Nightingales* focuses on a written tradition, Kay's framework for examining quotation and citation is useful for understanding the poetic discourse initiated through aural realization of troubadour songs. Enacting the songs similarly precipitates an ambiguous subject, as the performer simultaneously interacts with numerous subject positions. Performance also instigates presupposition of knowledge and desire for that knowledge, as the performer seemingly becomes an authority on the relationships presented within the song. The listening audience desires knowledge of the authorial subject's "story" and connection to historical agents.

The conflation of first-person subject positions within the performer situates the performer as a type of quoting source. Authority is consolidated in the performer's singing body, as the singer takes on the personae of the fictional lover and the authorial poet. While audiences could simply appreciate a certain lyric poem as a beautiful song or story, a hearing of a certain troubadour or *trobairitz* song also allows the listening audience to interact with the song in other ways: the audience can assume the performer's firsthand knowledge of the lover's troubles in *fin'amor* and the poet's connections to people outside of the relationship with the lady or the

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[49] Ibid.

poem.[50] The quoted song is not framed textually, as it would be if found in a romance or other text. Instead, it is framed by the physical presence of the performer, who must move beyond his own subject position and status within the courtly community and construct a "'character'" for himself (to use Kay's term in *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry*).[51] This "'character,'" produced through the deployment of certain poetic tropes across the corpus (the claim to sing sincerely, the inability of the song to fully express the feelings of the lover, and the essential juxtaposition with the *lauzengiers*, or slanderers), supplies the frame through which the audience experiences and understands the song.[52] As we have seen, this '"character'" continues to flatten out the distinctions between poet, lover, and performer that already begin to blur in the lyric text. The performer's body provides a material location for all of these first-person subject positions to meet, mix together, and influence the audience's perception of the many voices present in the song.

SOUND AND VOICE

If we employ Connor's concepts of vocalic space and vocalic body, sound's status as an object that can separate from its original sounding source becomes central to the development of its personification. However, does this modern understanding of sound and voice have any

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[50] Jean Renart's *Le Roman de la Rose ou Guillaume de Dole* describes audience reception of the lyric and provides evidence for both types of reactions to its audition. See Regina Psaki, ed. and trans., *Jean Renart: The Romance of the Rose or of Guillaume de Dole (Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole)* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995); for descriptions of audiences listening to lyric poetry for pure enjoyment see ll. 1155-1223 (where Lienor and her mother sing to "honor and entertain" Guillaume and Nicholas), and ll. 1764-1779 (where Jouglet and Conrad sing to amuse Guillaume); and for audiences' assumptions of the performer's external connections to themes or people found in the poetry he performs, see ll. 3415-3433 (where the emperor's friend Hugh performs a song about a French girl the court knows and subsequently comments on), and ll. 4122-4142 (where Conrad tells Jouglet that the verses they are listening to about loss of love were "written for me, beyond all doubt").

[51] Kay, *Subjectivity*, pp. 138-145.

[52] Ibid.

bearing on medieval conceptions of sonic objects? Elizabeth Eva Leach's work on birdsong and other animal noises that appear in both musical and nonmusical sources offers a clear history of the voice and how it was understood in the early Middle Ages.[53] Division of voice (*vox*) from sound (*sonus*) in the Middle Ages derives from the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville, who classified voice as a type of sound distinguished by its production via the breath of a living being (a human or an animal).[54] Voice by definition uses air and the body from which it is expelled as its instrument. Early theorists divided voice into two categories, *vox articulata* (articulate, or discrete, voice) and *vox confusa* (confused, or undifferentiated voice). According to fourth century grammarians such as Donatus and Diomedes, *vox articulata* was rational because it could be written down and "composed with letters."[55] As Leach notes, song was not mentioned in these treatises—while the theorists discuss spoken utterance, a clear distinction between speech and song did not exist, as both are linguistic vocal performances.[56]

The distinction between *vox articulata* and *vox confusa* is further divided into four species of voice. The writings of sixth century grammarian Priscian introduce a distinction between the rationality (*articulata*) of language and its ability to be written down.[57] Although Priscian's fourfold distinction crops up as a comparison in texts dating back to the late eleventh century, its clearest enumerations in relation to music appear in Marchetto of Padua's *Lucidarium*

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[53] Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007). See Ch. 1, pp. 11-54.

[54] Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville,* III.xix, ed. and trans. Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, Oliver Berghof, and Muriel Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 96. Also cited in Leach, *Sung Birds*, p. 25.

[55] Leach, *Sung Birds*, p. 28. See also p. 297.

[56] Ibid., p. 26.

[57] See Table 1.1 in Leach, *Sung Birds*, p. 34.

(1317-1318) and in the *Nova musica* (1403-10) of Johannes Ciconia.[58] Marchetto and Ciconia explain that articulate (or rational) voices are named such because they contain the ability to be written down, but also because the listener is only able to understand the rational voice through the voice itself.[59] Therefore, Marchetto explains, we have four species of voice:

> Notandum est quod vocum alia articulata et litterata, alia inarticulata illiterata, alia articulata illiterata, et alia inarticulata et litterata dicitur. Vox articulata et litterata est que intelligi et scribi potest...Inarticulata illiterata vox est que nec intelligi nec scribi potest, ut rugitus leonis...Articulata illiterata vox est que intelligi potest et scribi non valet, ut sibili hominum et gemitus infirmorum...Inarticulata litterata vox est que intelligi non potest et tamen scribi, ut per voces avium proferentium cra cra.
>
> [One type of voice is articulate and literate, another nonarticulate and nonliterate, another articulate and nonliterate, and another nonarticulate and literate. Articulate and literate voice is that which can be understood and written down...Nonarticulate and nonliterate voice is that which can neither be understood nor written down, like the roar of the lion...Articulate and nonliterate voice is that which can be understood but not written down, like men's whistling and the groaning of the sick...Nonarticulate and literate voice is that which cannot be understood and yet can be written down, like the 'caw, caw' produced by birds.] 1.11.1-1.11.8[60]

With this distinction, sounds that are not writeable with letters but have meaning (such as people's groaning or crying) become *vox articulata*, and represent a "necessary change in the ranking of rationality and writeability."[61] Birdsong, which, according to Marchetto and Ciconia, can be written down, has no meaning that can be understood from its sound alone. It is therefore nonarticulate and literate, while men's whistling is articulate and nonliterate. On the extreme

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58 Leach, *Sung Birds*, p. 33; p. 36-37.

59 See Marchetto of Padua, 1.8-1.11, *The Lucidarium of Marchetto of Padua: A Critical Edition, Translation, and Commentary*, ed. and trans. Jan W. Herlinger (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985) pp. 90-97; Johannes Ciconia, *Nova Musica and De Proportionibus*, ed. and trans. Oliver B. Ellsworth (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), pp. 70-71, also cited in Leach, *Sung Birds*, p. 33.

60 Marchetto of Padua, 1.11.1-1.11.8, *Lucidarium*, ed. and trans. Herlinger, pp. 94-97.

61 Leach, *Sung Birds*, p. 35.

ends of the spectrum, nonarticulate and nonliterate sounds include the noises of other animals such as oxen or lions, and sounds like rattling, while articulate and literate sounds include human voices: speech and song (as discrete pitches could be represented on the page above their texts with the development of musical notation).[62]

These distinctions of sound and voice raise a number of questions about the affects of human song and its effects on a medieval listener. Perhaps most centrally we must understand just how human "song" is—according to Marchetto and Ciconia, human vocal music is both literate and articulate, as one can both write down the words of the lyrics and understand the song through its sound alone. However, the inclusion of nonhuman noises (such as noises made by wind or musical instruments) within the lyric creates a space that eclipses its human realm, complicating the classification of the sung lyric within Marchetto and Ciconia's grammatical system.[63] Two species of voice collide in the lyric: nonarticulate and literate voice comes to exist alongside (and within) articulate and literate voice. Lyric poetry shifts from a wholly human type of voice, as denoted by its literacy and articulateness, to a vocal object that falls under several conflicting definitions (these nonhuman sounds are neither articulate nor literate, but they are included within a genre that is both articulate and literate).

How, then, can we understand the lyric within the context of articulate/nonarticulate and literate/nonliterate voices? Troubadour lyric, as evidenced by the numerous *chansonniers* preserved in libraries across Europe, could certainly be written down (both as poetry and as melody), making the nonhuman noises within the lyric literate as well. Kay argues that

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[62] Ibid., Table 1.1, p. 34.

[63] Kay, "The Soundscape of Troubadour Lyric," p. 1015.

troubadour lyric, with its inclusion of nonarticulate, nonliterate sounds (the wind, animal noises that are not birdsong, machinery), challenges the medium's very identity as a form of human expression and highlight the "ways that greater open-ness can help the poet escape beyond the restrictive soundscape of the human, courtly world."[64] The inclusion of nonliterate sounds in a literate art form blurs the boundary between human and nonhuman while expanding the territory the poet can inhabit.

The *tornada*'s transformation of the song into an anthropomorphized figure similarly obscures the division between human and nonhuman, and changes the species of voice to which the song belongs. If we label troubadour lyric (both on the page and in performance) as an example of literate and articulate (rational) voice, the act of personifying the song in the song's *tornada* seemingly doubles its rationality—as songs are the products of human artifice, the devices that compose them can be understood by human minds. However, the song accrues human qualities in the moment of its personification that defy complete writeability, and therefore render it nonliterate. Human beings, ostensibly the very objects of rationality, and all the things that comprise them—a body, the ability to move and speak, agency—cannot be fully committed to parchment in the same way a non-personified song can be. The song's humanity is at stake here—human beings themselves emanate *vox* and cannot be classified into a species of voice, but the song begins life necessarily categorized as a species of *vox*. The song's transformation is at once the opposite of human vocal production (instead of moving out of the singer's body and into the world, the song attempts to move into a body) and embarks on a nearly circular loop of transformation that is never fully able to complete itself.

[64] Ibid., p. 1015. For an exploration of descriptions of humans as sounding like animals in the travel accounts of Alexander von Humboldt, see Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality,* pp. 31-75.

The song's personification combines the artificial elements of human authorship and composition with natural elements of bodily creation, bridging the gap between the fictional world of courtly love and the real communities that instantiate it. While the anthropomorphized songs reinforce the human nature of this form of poetic expression, they move themselves beyond the boundaries of literacy and attempt to capture a piece of the ephemerality of performed music.

CASE STUDY: RAIMON DE MIRAVAL

Of nearly all the 450 troubadours whose works are preserved in the *chansonniers*, Raimon de Miraval's songs appear in the greatest number of manuscripts and, at roughly forty-eight songs, his corpus is one of the largest.[65] His œuvre contains the highest concentrations of songs transmitted with music (after that of Guiraut Riquier); of the songs attributed to him in the *chansonniers*, twenty-two are preserved with their melodies.[66] Raimon's corpus also contains a high percentage of personified songs—six of his songs, all of which are transmitted with melodies, contain instances of personification.[67]

For example, "Aissi cum es genser pascors" (whose second *tornada* opened this chapter) is transmitted in twenty-two *chansonniers*, two of which contain musical notation above the first

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[65] Leslie Topsfield, "Raimon de Miraval and the Art of Courtly Love," *The Modern Language Review* Vol. 51, No. 1 (Jan., 1956), p. 33. In Alfred Pillet and Henry Carsten's *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, forty-eight songs are attributed to Raimon, fifty-two to Aimeric de Peguilhan, forty-nine to Peire Vidal, sixty-nine to Gaucelm Faidit, seventy-one to Peire Cardenal, seventy-nine to Guiraut de Bornelh, and ninety-one to Bertran Carbonel. See Pillet and Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1933). Leslie Topsfield attributes fifty-one songs to Raimon in his anthology (seven of questionable attribution), while Margaret Switten lists forty-eight songs in her later study of Raimon's *cansos.* See Topsfield, ed., *Les poésies du Troubadour Raimon de Miraval*; and Switten, *The Cansos of Raimon de Miraval*, p. xiii.

[66] Switten, *The Cansos of Raimon de Miraval*, p. 2.

[67] By contrast, Bernart de Ventadorn's corpus only contains two personified songs, both of which are transmitted with melodies. Gaucelm Faidit's corpus includes eleven personified songs, but only two of these have extant melodies.

poetic stanza.[68] The second *tornada*, which personifies Raimon's song and sends it to the king of Aragon, is found in every manuscript source. The two melodies clearly come from a shared melodic framework, as both share the same range (c′ to d″), similar melodic contours (the highest pitch of both melodies, d″, occurs roughly a third of the way through the sixth phrase of both melodies, while the lowest pitch of both melodies, c′, sounds at the beginning of each melody's first phrase), and the final pitches of nearly all of the first five melodic phrases, and the final pitch of the whole melody, match each other (phrase one concludes on d′, phrase three on f′, phrase four on d′, and phrase five on f′). The melodic scheme of both melodies also corresponds to the structure detailed in Dante's unfinished treatise *De vulgari eloquentia* (composed between 1303 and 1305).[69] Dante employs bodily terminology to label different portions of a song or poem, describing song structures that divide mid-stanza and repeat phrases either pre- or post-division with the terms *pedes* (meaning "feet"—where phrases are repeated before the division of the stanza) with *cauda* (meaning "tail"—phrases are not repeated post-division), or *pedes* with *versus* (phrases are repeated after the stanza's division).[70]

The melodic structure (in both manuscript sources) of "Aissi cum es genser pascors" corresponds to the song's poetic structure to highlight the type of relationship Raimon has with

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[68] Switten, *The Cansos of Raimon de Miraval*, p. 146. This song is found in MSS ABCDDeEFGHIJKLMNOQRUVa1ß1. Musical notation is found in MS G and MS R. See Table of Manuscript Sigla, Appendix A. The melody of one troubadour song can differ slightly from source to source, a hallmark of its development and transmission within an oral culture.

[69] Dante Alighieri, *De vulgari eloquentia: Dante's Book of Exile*, trans. Marianne Shapiro (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990).

[70] Margaret Switten, "Music and Versification," in *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ed. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 147-148; Dante Alighieri, *De vulgari eloquentia,* p. 83. Dante's corpus also includes poems that personify and embody the texts of which they are a part. In his sonnet "Se Lippo amico se' tu," Dante asks a friend to set one of his poems to music and describes the poetic text as an "undressed girl...she hasn't any clothes to wear. [esta pulcella nuda...ella non ha vesta in che si chiuda.]" See Teodolinda Barolini, ed. and Richard H. Lansing and Andrew Frisardi, trans., *Dante's Lyric Poetry: Poems of Youth and of the 'Vita Nuova' (1283-1292)* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), p. 66.

his personified song (the song serves as Raimon's messenger rather than as his physical proxy). The shift in self-positioning Raimon undergoes in his *tornadas* is emphasized by the melody in both sources. The beginning of each *tornada* occurs at the start of both melodies' *cauda* sections, underscoring both the poetic text's alteration in subjective voice and Raimon's personification of his song. Instead of a return to the top of the *pedes*, the *cauda* section is repeated immediately, effecting a "turn of the subject," to borrow Peraino's phrase.[71] The *tornada* directly addresses the song at the moment the melody begins in an unfamiliar, unexpected place, jolting the audience to recognize the change in subject position the performer enacts.

The poem's rhyme scheme is the sole part of the song to offer any sort of connection between the *tornada* and the beginning of each stanza. The rhyme scheme, which remains the same over all six full stanzas and three *tornadas*, follows the pattern abba accdd (see Appendix B for the full text and translation of this song). In the melody from MS G, this pattern seems at first to undercut the melodic symmetry (present in each phrase's melodic contours and final pitches) of the *pedes*—one would perhaps expect the rhyme scheme to be abab—but at second glance, the scheme reflects the symmetry of the opening section on a larger scale as it is perfectly symmetrical within the *pedes* section (ab/ba). The *cauda* section then repeats the end rhyme in the first and last line of the *pedes*, creating a link to the poem's fully formed opening unit. The *cauda* does not repeat any melodic material verbatim in either melody, but the fifth line does follow a similar contour to that of lines one and three (complete with similar ending melismas). The fifth line, then, is the hinge on which the song swings—it lies at the exact center of both poem and melody, where it serves to both connect the material of the *pedes* to that of the *cauda*

[71] Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love*, 35.

while also initiating a move to new melodic material and a different rhyme scheme. When the fifth line of the full stanza is heard as the opening line of the *tornada*, its melodic contour and end rhyme serve as a reminder of the (now absent) *pedes* while again signaling a change from preceding material. In the case of the *tornada*'s performance at the end of the song, the change signaled here is that of the poet's first-person persona, in addition to the break from repetition of the full poetic stanza and melody.

The melody of MS G is, overall, more repetitive and regular than that of MS R (see Example 1 for the melody from MS G). MS G's melodic scheme (ABAB CDEFG) fits Dante's *pedes-cauda* structure, and we can also hear each AB as a larger phrase (and can therefore view the larger structure of the song as AAB). Both melodies (G and R) have symmetrical phrases in their *pedes* sections, apparent both in their opening and final pitches and in their melodic contours—the first phrases of both melodies (A) divide into three segments at the same temporal location within the phrase. The first third of both phrases remains in a relatively constricted range of a fourth. When they reach c′—the lowest pitch of both phrases, both of these phrases and of the melodies as a whole—they expand into the second segment of both phrases by leaping upwards and then ascending to the phrase's highest point, b′ or b-flat′. The phrases' final segment begins after the highest pitch of the phrase, when both melodies descend stepwise to their final pitch, f′. Indeed, the final five pitches of both phrases are the same in both melodies, reinforcing their similarities. The rest of both *pedes* sections correspond in a similar way, peaking at roughly the same moments in each phrase, and moving between high and low pitches with similarly disjunct or conjunct intervals. The A phrase's cadence (in both manuscripts) leaves that phrase

feeling open and unfinished, while the B phrase mirrors exactly the A phrase, reflecting its melodic contour and cadencing to the mode's final pitch.

Although the perfect symmetry of MS G's *pedes* section does not carry through into its

Example 1. Melody of "Aissi cum es genser pascors," first stanza and *tornada*, from MS G, 68r.[72]

[72] Raimon de Miraval, "Aissi com es genzer pascors," in MS G, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S.P. 4 (olim R 71 sup.), fol. 68v. All musical transcriptions are my own unless otherwise indicated.

Tornada

C

Al rei d'A - ra - gon vai de cors

D

chan - zos di - re qel sa - - - lut

E

e sai tan sob al - tre drut

F

Qel pauc prez faz sem - blar granz

G

El rics faz va - - - ler dos anz.

cauda, phrases five (C) through eight (F) appear to incorporate some symmetry of melodic contour. Phrase six (D) does not mirror exactly the pitches and intervals of phrase five—phrase five has a wider range than phrase six, spanning a seventh from d′ to c″, and phrase five sits in a slightly higher register than phrase six does—but the wavelike contour and rate of ascent and descent is reflected in phrase six. We can again divide phrases five and six into three segments, delimited by the highest and lowest pitches of the melody. Phrase five

remains within the range of a third in its opening segment before ascending from d′ to c″, the phrase's peak. Phrase five then descends slowly to f′, its final pitch. Phrase six opens on a before ascending to d″, its highest point. It then descends to its lowest pitch, f′, where it constricts its range to a fourth. A similar phenomenon occurs in phrases seven (E) and eight (F), as the two phrases peak, ascend, and descend in locations that appear like mirror images

of one another. Phrase nine (G) is not paired with another phrase, and it contains the widest range of the melody (an eleventh spanning c′ to d″).

MS R's melody is much less repetitive than that of MS G—each melodic phrase is unique, and, while the phrases make use of similar melismas, their placement within each phrase does not appear to form a larger pattern across the melody as a whole (see Example 2). The first five musical phrases of the song's two melodies share similar melodic contours (they ascend,

Example 2. Raimon de Miraval, "Aissi cum es genser pascors," first stanza and *tornada*. MS R 83v.[73]

[73] Raimon de Miraval, "Aisi com es gensers pascors," in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f.fr. 22543, fol. 83v.

Tornada

C

Al rei d'A - ra - gon vai de cors

D

Can - sos di - re qe l sa - lut

E

E sai tant so - br'al - tre drut

F

Qe ls paucs prez faz sem - blar granz

G

E ls rics faz va - ler dos tanz.

peak, and descend at similar heights and moments in the phrase), but the last three phrases of the two melodies (lines seven through nine) diverge from each other in both final pitch and melodic contour.

Leo Treitler's analysis of "Aissi cum es genser pascors" illustrates the distinction between the two melodies while showing how both—though different—emphasize the same point at the end of each melody. Through an examination of the song's connections between music and text, he contends that the melody of Raimon's "Aissi cum es genser pascors" from MS R is a much closer syntactical match to the poem than the melody of MS G. The symmetry in the opening two lines of MS R, combined with the relationship between the second and fourth lines, establishes an antecedent-consequent relationship and makes an "integrated unit" of the first four

phrases.[74] The same argument could be made of the melody from MS G, but Treitler notes that the second line's cadence to c' (in MS R) rather than d' (in MS G) suggests that since the poem does not complete a sentence at the end of the second line, the melody should not employ a full close either. This melodic structure matches the grammatical layout of the first quatrain. Treitler also turns to the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth lines of both melodies, where he discovers what he calls a "madrigalism": both melodies leap up and then fall through large intervals, expressing the pain of the poetic text (in the first stanza, Raimon speaks of his "durs affans" or "painful efforts" to win the love of his lady). Although he believes MS R's melody more acutely expresses this pain due to the larger intervallic leap it contains, Treitler argues that both melodies exploit a "normative syntactical feature" of the troubadour tradition.[75] The leap between lines eight and nine represents this syntactical expansion, reinforcing the melodic connection to the song's poetry while simultaneously expressing some of the stanza's semantic content.

Repetition of the same melody, thanks to the strophic nature of troubadour songs, instills in the listener a sense of expectation of a return to the beginning of that melody. The *tornadas* of "Aissi cum es genser pascors" consist of five lines (*tornadas* one and two, or stanzas seven and eight) and four lines (*tornada* three or stanza nine). If the song is performed to the melody of MS G, the *tornadas* are sung to the *cauda* of the melody and completely miss the regularized *pedes* the audience has come to expect in the first half of each stanza. As Peraino points out, this

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[74] Leo Treitler, "The Troubadours Singing their Poems," in *The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry*, ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer, Thomas Cable, and James I. Wimsatt (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), pp. 28-30.

[75] As Treitler notes, the melodies of the lyric often expand into the modal scale's upper tetrachord after the poem's fourth line, which usually corresponds to a semantic expression of some sort. Ibid., p. 30.

creates a striking disruption of both the melody and of the audience's expectations.[76] The *tornada*'s return to the beginning of the *cauda* denies the listener a feeling of full return to the familiar material of the melody's *pedes*, and the audience must struggle momentarily to re-orient themselves within the melodic line as the poet re-orients his own self positioning.

The fracturing of subject positions highlighted by the *tornada*'s poetic and melodic disruption makes room for the personified song to occupy space and take on a kind of body. Connor's idea of the "vocalic body" offers a possible way of understanding this body and its conception. When a voice is separated from its source, Connor argues that it produces:

> a surrogate or secondary body, a projection of a new way of having or being a body, formed and sustained out of the autonomous operations of the voice…the leading characteristic of the voice-body is to be a body-in-invention, an impossible, imaginary body in the course of being found and formed. What characterizes a vocalic body is…the characteristic ways in which the voice seems to precipitate itself as an object.[77]

The vocalic body approaches the heart of the personified song. As Connor explains, humans expect that all the voices they hear emanate from some sort of body—they cannot be sourceless. Connor also notes that some voices cannot be contained by the bodies they emanate from (a phenomenon usually initiated by an apparent lack of a sounding body from which the voice originates), and overflow their sources. This overabundance of the voice produces a vocalic body—the vocalic body becomes a container for the vocal "excess" that spills over from the voice's original sounding body.[78]

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[76] Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love*, p. 60.

[77] Connor, *Dumbstruck*, pp. 35-36.

[78] The vocalic body can be seen as a form of acousmatic sound, a type of sound whose emanating body is blocked from the listener's view or is separated from its source. The term was first coined by French *musique concrète* composer Pierre Schaeffer to describe the experience of listening to *musique concrète*. See Pierre Schaeffer, *Traité des objets musicaux*.

Descriptions of vocal excess appear in Marian miracle stories, in particular those concerned with the legend of the murdered singing boy.[79] In this miracle, a young Christian boy sings a piece of Marian plainchant daily (in some versions, the *responsorium Gaude virgo Maria*; in others, the antiphon *Alma redemptoris mater*) while walking through a Jewish part of town. The boy's daily singing angers the Jewish residents, who kill him and bury his body in the garden or stable of one Jew's home. After the boy is murdered, his voice continues to sound from his now-absent body, either leading his mother to discover his body in some versions or leading the Jewish people who have killed him to confess and be converted. The boy's singing voice comes to represent both a voice-in-excess and a voice-in-absence: when the boy is alive and singing praise to the Virgin, his performance becomes more than a simple rendition of *Gaude virgo Maria* or *Alma redemptoris mater*. His voice permeates religious boundaries and the physical delineations of different neighborhoods to represent the power of Christianity and its threat to followers of the Jewish faith. After the boy's death, his voice is still miraculously heard despite the absence of his living, sounding body. Similarly, the personification of the troubadour's song follows this process during performance. As the song is sung, it instates the complex web of relationships that form the courtly world of *fin'amor* while demonstrating the poet's place within that world. After the song is finished, the newly personified song becomes a

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[79] For a compilation of all the sources of this miracle, see Carleton Brown, "The Prioress's Tale," *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, ed. W. F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), pp. 447-485. Brown notes that the earliest extant versions of this miracle (in two early thirteenth-century sources, Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Libri VIII Miraculorum* and Gautier de Coincy's *Les Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*) gathered their material from earlier sources, dating the miracle story to "well before 1200." Brown, p. 454. Other examples of this miracle in medieval literature can be found in both the *Cantígas de Santa María* (compiled between roughly 1270 and 1284) and Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (from the later part of the fourteenth century). In both *Cantíga* 6 and The Prioress's Tale, the boy sings *Gaude virgo Maria* as he walks through town, and his singing voice post-mortem allows his family to discover his body. See Laurel Broughton, "The Prioress's Prologue and Tale," *Sources and Analogues of the Canterbury Tales*, Vol. II, ed. Robert M. Correale and Mary Hamel (Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 583-647; and Alfonso X, el Sabio, *Cantigas de Santa María*, Vol. I, ed. Walter Mettmann (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1986), pp. 72-75.

voice-in-absence: it is singing that is able to sound without connection to its original sounding body.

Most centrally, the personified song of the lyric becomes a voice separated from its source when its performer or troubadour orders it to travel to a patron or lady. Performances of song (or spoken word) necessarily happen in time, rendering an ephemeral object that progresses linearly from one moment to the next. The anthropomorphized song becomes a vocalic body, predicated on the absence of its source (the troubadour or singing performer). However, this absence is initiated while the song is still connected to its human source, foreshadowing the absence of the vocal source before it becomes a reality. As the performer finishes singing the song, this second entity (a "surrogate or secondary body," in Connor's terms) transitions seamlessly from voice-in-excess to voice-in absence, and from a material body to a vocalic one.[80] The song still clearly emanates from the body of the singing performer during the moment of its personification—just as the *tornada* constructs the just-finished song as a disembodied singing voice, it also reciprocally emphasizes its own identity as the embodied voice of a non-fictive singer referring to the real *senhal*. In this moment, the song is doubled—the singer maintains one iteration while addressing a second. The *tornada* makes the song into an excess of voice, initiating an entire second entity created by the act of singing and creating lyric personae that enable the troubadours to inhabit the multiple worlds the lyric substantiates.

OTHER EXAMPLES OF PERSONIFIED SONG

"Aissi cum es genser pascors" is not unique in its transmogrifying *tornada*. Six of Raimon's *tornadas* directly address the song, in each instance gaining the capabilities of motion

[80] Connor, *Dumbstruck*, p. 35.

and speech while serving as a messenger for Miraval. These six songs (see Appendix B for the entirety of each song) are intended for both men and women, including “al rei’Aragon” (Peter II of Aragon), “Plus Leial,” (Miraval’s *senhal*, or code name, for one of his noble patrons), “midons” (my lord), and “mon belh Mai d’amic” (my beautiful more than [male] friend, his *senhal* for the noble lady to whom he pledged his allegiance).[81]

To gain entry to the lyric space, carefully delineated by these rules and values, the poet needs a constructed persona. The early stanzas of troubadour poems contain this persona, but the *tornada*’s “turn” allows the poet to inhabit both worlds and vocal personas (the codified one of the lyric and the web of external relationships the *tornada* indicates). While numerous troubadour *tornadas* change the voice and subject of their poems, Raimon and his personified songs offer a possible solution to the problem of double existence within the lyric and factual worlds of the troubadour corpus. We have seen that Raimon endows his songs with capabilities of speech, motion, and decision, essentially giving them selves. With the linguistic and poetic turn at the end of his songs, a separation happens alongside the transformation—the personified songs become separate entities, borne of Raimon’s self, yet more than a simple projection of it.

Guiraut de Bornelh’s song “Leu chansonet’e vil” similarly transforms the song into a messenger in the song’s only *tornada*. Guiraut obligates his song to carry a message to his

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[81] Both the address “midons” and the *senhal* “Mais d’Amic” may refer to female subjects, but both nouns are gendered masculine. Raimon constructs a relationship with his *senhals* that is conveyed in feudal, masculine terms, illuminating the ways in which relationships with female subjects are used to gain better positions within masculine societal structures and hierarchies. See Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature*, pp. 122-179; Sarah Kay, “Desire and Subjectivity,” in *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ed. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 221-226; and William D. Paden, "The Etymology of *Midons*,” in *Studies in Honor of Hans-Erich Keller*, ed. Rupert T. Pickens (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1993), pp. 311-335.

Example 3. Guiraut de Bornelh, “Leu chansonet’ e vil,” first stanza and *tornada*, MS R 9v.[82]

First stanza

Leu chan - so - net e vil mau - ri - a obs a - far que po - gues en - vi - ar

en al - vern - hal dal - fi pe - ro fil dreg ca - mi po - gues ne - bles tro - bar

bel poi - ri - a man - dar quieu dic quen les - cur - zir

non es la - fanz mas en lo - bres - clar - zir.

Tornada

E deu-ri-a l man-dar mon So-bre Totz e dir qe l ma - ger danz er sieus si m fai fail - hir.

“Sobre-Totz,” describing how his song should behave and what message it should carry: “E deuria·lh mandar/Mon Sobre-Totz, e dir/Qe·l majer dans/Er sieus si·m fai faillir (And it [my song] ought to carry a message to My Above-All, saying that he will be the one to suffer most if I fail because of him.]”[83] The melody of this song, found in MS R, is extremely simple, probably in reference to the “leu chansonet’e vil” (“a clear, quick, and light little song”) of the opening phrase (see Example 3). The musical phrases are short (as are the text lines), and

[82] Guiraut de Bornelh, “Leu chansonet e vil,” in Paris, BnF, f.fr. 22543, fol. 9v.

[83] Guiraut de Bornelh, “Leu chansonet’e vil,” ll. 81-84, trans. in consultation with Ruth Verity Sharman, ed. and trans., pp. 286-287. I follow Sharman in translating “E deuria·lh mandar” as “And it ought to carry,” rather than translating it as “And I should send it”.

contain very few melismas (the few that do occur do so at the ends of phrases). The melody's form seems to be that of a misshapen *pedes-cauda* form; the melodic form reads ABCDABEFGH (or, on a larger scale, ABACD). The second repetition of the CD material (large-scale B) is missing, and the *cauda* is short in length. However, the *tornada* occurs after the repetition of the AB (large-scale A) section (at the beginning of the *cauda*), highlighted by the melody's move into non-repeated material. As in "Aissi cum es genser pascors," "Chansoneta farai, Vencut," and "Bel m'es q'ieu chant e coindei," the *tornada*'s direct address of the song is aligned with a break from the preceding melodic structure—the *tornada* is sung to the last few lines of the melody, and does not return to the beginning of the stanza as expected.

Bernart de Ventadorn's song "Conortz, era sai eu be" provides another example of the song serving as messenger. Bernart's direct address to his song stretches over the song's two *tornadas*, sending a message to "Mo Frances":

> Canzoneta era t'en vai
> a franca na covinen
> cui pretz enanz e meillura.
>
> E digatz li qui ben vai
> car de Mo Conort aten
> joi e gran bonaventura.
>
> [Little song, now you go to my French friend, the pleasing one, whose worth progresses and becomes better.
>
> And tell her that it goes well with me, for from my Conort I await joy and great good fortune.].[84]

The song clearly serves as a messenger here, and Bernart's message to his "Frances" is dictated to the song word for word.

[84] Bernart de Ventadorn, "Conortz, era sai eu be," ll. 49-54, trans. in consultation with Moshe Lazar, ed. and trans., *Bernard du Ventadour, Troubadour du XIIe Siècle: Chansons d'amour* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1966), pp. 118-119.

The song is transmitted with melodies in two manuscripts (*chansonniers* R and G). The two melodies are very similar to each other, as they have the same opening and final pitches and remain within the same range (see examples 4 and 5). Their form is also the same, and it does not follow the *pedes-cauda* form of most troubadour songs (though the melodies do repeat material). Instead, the form almost creates two stanzas within a stanza, and is spelled out ABCDABCE. Instead of dividing repeated material from new material at the melody's halfway point, the melody returns to familiar material at its half and only differentiates the last line of each four-phrase section. However, Bernart's *tornadas* are only three lines long instead of four, and so miss the repeat of the A phrase in the fifth line. The

Example 4. Bernart de Ventadorn, "Conortz aras sai eu be," first stanza and *tornadas*. MS R 57v.[85]

First stanza

Co - nortz a - ras sai eu be que vos de me non pen - satz

que sa - lutz ni a - mis - tatz ni mes - sat - ges no men ve

be sai trop fas lonc a - ten et er be sem - blans huey - may

que so quieu cas au - tre pren pus no men ven a - ven - tu - ra.

[85] Bernart de Ventadorn, "Conortz aras sai eu be," in Paris, BnF, f.fr. 22543, fol. 57v.

Tornadas

Chan - so - ne - ta ar t'en vai a Mo Fran - ces l'a - vi - nen

cui pretz e - nans e mel - hu - ra.

E di - gas li que be m vai car de Mo Co - nort a - ten

en - que - ra bon' a - ven - tu - ra.

Example 5. Bernart de Ventadorn, "Conort era sai ben", first stanza and *tornada*, MS G 20r.[86]

First stanza

Co - nort e - ra sai ben qe ges de mi no pen - satz

pos sa - luz ni [a] - mis - taz ni mes - sa - ges no m'en ven

trop au - rai fait lonc a - ten et es ben sem - blanz oi - mai

q'eu chaz zo q'al - tre pren pos non m'a - ven a - ven - tu - ra.

[86] Bernart de Ventadorn, "Conort era sai ben," in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana S.P. 4 (olim R 71 sup.), fol. 20r. Transcription prepared in consultation with Hendrik van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies* (Rochester, NY: Hendrik van der Werf, 1984), pp. 43-44.

Tornadas

Can - ço - ne - ta ar ten vai vas mon fran - ces la - vi - nen

cui prec e - nanc e meil - lu - ra.

E di - gaz li ge bem vai qe de - mon co - nort a - ten

e en - quei - ra bon - a - ven - tu - ra.

tornadas of "Conortz era sai eu be" preserve the combination of melodic and poetic separation that undercut the expectations of the listening audience while distinguishing one subject position from another.

Raimon's *tornadas* personify their songs in order to serve multiple purposes. The only *tornada* of his song "Chansoneta farai, Vencut," and the seventh verse of "Bel m'es q'ieu chant e coindei" send the song as messenger to a patron, like that of "Aissi cum es genser pascors."[87] "Chansoneta farai" orders the song to "vai t'en a mon plus leial vendre/E diguas li q'ieu sai dona avendre [go yield to my *Plus Leial* and tell him that I know a lady for sale,]" while "Bel m'es q'ieu" requests the song to "vai me dir al rey/Cui jois guid'e vest e pais/Qu'en luy non a ren

[87] Guiraut de Bornelh's song "Leu chansonet'e vil" similarly transforms the song into a messenger in the song's only *tornada*, as does Bernart de Ventadorn's song "Conortz, era sai eu be." The *tornadas* of both songs are set to the *caudas* of their melodies, and do not repeat any material from their *pedes* section.

biays/Qu'aital cum ieu vuelh lo vey [go for me and tell the king whom joy guides and clothes and nourishes, that in him there is nothing at an angle, for I see him just as I want him to be.]"[88] The *tornadas* of Raimon's songs preserve the combination of melodic and poetic separation that undercut the expectations of the listening audience while distinguishing one subject position from another.

Although it is not structurally a *tornada*, the sixth stanza of Raimon's song "Tot quan fatz de be ni dic" directly addresses the song and sends it to *Mais d'amic*.[89] This stanza makes explicit one way in which the traveling songs can gain worth from Raimon's *domnas*—the song will improve its worth and courtliness if *Mais d'amic* likes it, and when she learns the song. The text describes this process in more detail:

> Dreg a mon belh Mais d'Amic
> Chansos vai que la retenda
> E si tan fai que t'aprenda
> Ben tenh mon chantar per ric
> Que lieys vol nos bayssa ni·s gavanha
> Que·l sieus lauzars daur'e·l blasmars estanha
> E conoys e sap et enten
> Qu'ades val mais la part qu'ilh pren.
>
> [Go, song, straight to my beautiful Mais d'amic, that she retains you, and if she goes so far as to learn you, I shall certainly consider my singing noble. For what she wishes neither diminishes nor deteriorates, since her

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[88] Raimon de Miraval, "Chansoneta farai, Vencut" and "Bel m'es q'ieu chant e coindei": "Chanso vai me dir al rey/ Cui jois guid'e vest e pais/Qu'en luy non a ren biays/Qu'aital cum ieu vuelh lo vey/Ab que cobre Montagut/E Carcasson el repaire/Pueys er de pretz emperaire/E doptaran son escut/Sai Frances e lay Masmut. [*Chanso*, go for me and tell the king whom joy guides and clothes and nourishes, that in him there is nothing at an angle, for I see him just as I want him to be. If he recovers Montagut and returns to Carcassonne, then he will be emperor of worth, and they will fear his shield, here the French, and there the Muslims.]"

[89] The sixth (and final) full stanza of "Tot quan fatz de be ni dic" functions as what Switten calls a "*tornada*-like stanza," present in several of Raimon's songs. Although the *tornada*-like full stanza necessarily differs from true half-stanza *tornadas* in poetic and musical structure, the full stanza contains poetic content that aligns it with other *tornadas*. The full stanza includes an address to a messenger (in this case, the song itself) who will carry Raimon's song to its intended recipient (the *senhal Mais d'Amic*). The sixth stanza is followed by another *tornada*, which fits with the rest of the troubadour corpus (many songs have multiple *tornadas*). See Switten, *The Cansos of Raimon de Miraval*, p. 66.

> praise gilds and her blame coats with tin; she knows and recognizes and understands so much that what she chooses is always worth more.][90]

Raimon's song can garner praise, approval, and nobility if it is learned by its recipient.

Melodically, "Tot quan fatz de be ni dic" perpetuates an ambiguity of subject and connection to its creator. Raimon directly addresses his song in the second line of the sixth stanza, eliminating the possibility of alignment with a melodic break at the beginning of a *tornada*. The melody's form is that of a *pedes-cauda* form (it appears as ABA'B'CB"DE, or AA'B). The first three phrases of the melody are very similar to each other; they all open with an identical ascent of four pitches before maintaining similarly descending contours throughout the rest of the phrases (see Example 6). The personification of the song in the second line of the stanza not only misses being highlighted by an abrupt beginning in the middle of the melody, it is further blanketed by the repetitive openings of one, two, and three. Textually, Raimon does not dictate a message to his song—he instead tells the song to insert itself into the presence of *Mais d'amic* and directs it to take its own path. The song is given the freedom to present itself as Raimon's physical proxy and to act in his name in order to gain worth and courtliness.

The personified song's interaction with the melody in Raimon's song differs from songs whose *tornadas* are the site of personification, as the direct address appears at the beginning of a stanza and is therefore aligned with the opening phrases of the melody. The appearance of personification at the beginning of a stanza does not, then, align Peraino's subjective textual turn with a melodic rift (the sixth stanza is the last full stanza of the song and is followed by two two-line *tornadas*, and initiates the move from the internal poetic subject to the external world). However, the return of the melody to its beginning links the stanza's direct address to the

[90] Raimon de Miraval, "Tot quan fatz de be ni dic."

Example 6. Raimon de Miraval, "Tot quan fatz de be ni dic", sixth stanza, MS R 85v.[91]

Sixth stanza

A B

Dreg a mon bel miehls da - mic chan - so vai dir que en - ten - da

A' B' (♭)

e si tant es que ta pren - da ben tenc mon chan - tar per ric

C

so que vol non des - tran ni gua - van - ha

B"

quel sieu lau - zar dau - rel blas - mar es - tan - ha

D E

e co-nois e sap et en - ten ca - des cal mai la part quel pren.

material that precedes it, smoothing out the transition between subject positions and instigating an ambiguity of personae for the listener. Is the performer singing as the poetic subject, as suggested by the melodic return to the beginning of the stanza, or is he singing as a subject interacting with the poem's external surroundings, granting his song the powers of personification and sending it as a physical proxy? The ambiguity of Raimon's song reinforces the notion that multiple subject positions can exist within one song or performer, and that the singing voice is the spark that enacts these multiple subjectivities in one performing body.

91 Raimon de Miraval, "Tot quan fatz de be ni dic," in Paris, BnF, f. fr. 22543, fol 85v.

Merely reading the song's text would not make audible the melodic return that instills uncertainty in the audience, just as it would not necessarily enact the song's personification as a vocalic body via the performer's singing voice.[92]

"Tot quan fatz de be ni dic" differs from most of Raimon's other songs because it pushes the role of the anthropomorphized song beyond that of a mere messenger and upgrades the song to physical proxy. Raimon instructs his song to go to *Mais d'Amic* in the hopes that she will "t'entenda,/E...t'aprenda [hear (it) and...learn it,]" actions characterized by their physicality. Many medieval learning processes (including musical pedagogies) center on the repetition of material, which is first presented to students aurally. The students then repeat what they have heard, vocalizing the material with their own bodies.[93] The act of hearing in the Middle Ages was also a highly physical one. In the writings of numerous medieval scholars (including Averroes, Avicenna, and John of Salisbury), vocal sound is received by the ear as an impression on the ear drum, made by the touch of a material object (the breath).[94] Raimon's mention of the acts of

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[92] The phenomenon of addressing and personifying the poem within its own structure occurs in later traditions as well, notably in the works of Petrarch and Dante. See Francesco Petrarca, *The Canzoniere, or Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, ed and trans. Mark Musa (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996); Dante Alighieri, *Dante's Lyric Poetry: Poems of Youth and the Vita Nuova,* ed. Barolini and trans. Lansing.

[93] The *razo* transmitted with Arnaut Daniel's song "Anc ieu non l'aic, mas elha m'a" in MS R provides evidence of this learning technique. The *razo* describes a song competition that Arnaut takes place in at the court of Richard the Lionheart. Arnaut wins by cheating—he and his *joglar* competitor are shown to adjoining rooms and told to compose a song for performance at the court. The *joglar* composes his song quickly and easily, and uses the rest of his time to memorize the song by singing it repeatedly. Arnaut, on the other hand, has writer's block, and cannot come up with a composition of his own, so he steals the *joglar*'s song by listening to it repeatedly and performing it first at court. For more on medieval pedagogy and the personified song, see Chapter Two.

[94] Averroes and Avicenna followed a line of thinking that stemmed from Aristotle, which conceived of sound as something that had no physical substance itself, but was perceived through physical contact of an object to the air. The second explanation (found in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*) envisioned sound as a material substance that came from breath or *spiritus*, and as a material substance it might be perceived as a form of touch. See Aristotle, *On the Soul. Parva naturalia. On Breath*, ed. and trans. W.S. Hett (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957); Averroes, *Middle Commentary on Aristotle's De anima: A Critical Edition of the Arabic Text*, ed. and trans. Alfred L. Ivry (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2002); F. Rahman, *Avicenna's Psychology: An English Translation of the* Kitãb al-Najãt, *Book II, Chapter IV with Historico-Philosophical Notes and Textual Improvements on the Cairo Edition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952); Ioannis Saresberiensis, *Policraticus I-IV*, ed. K.S.B. Keats-Roahn (Turnhoult: Brepols, 1993). I explore this further in Chapter Two.

hearing and learning highlights the physical nature of his personified song—the song will need a more developed sense of physicality in order to be heard and learned. The *tornadas* of the other songs I've discussed here do not mention physical interactions complete with touch—they are instead directed to "vai [go]" to a recipient and "dire [say/tell]" their messages, interactions which lack the component of touch associated with learning.[95]

The song's more developed role as physical proxy is underscored by melodic ambiguity. Myriad subject positions are enacted in one performing body, and the disconnect between the poetry's subjective turn to an extrinsic subject and the melody's non-repeated material furthers the porousness of their boundaries. Additionally, the misalignment between the melody and the poetic text furthers the vague nature of the personified song and its relationship to the numerous subject positions enacted in troubadour lyric. By contrast, the melodies of songs that merely use the song as a messenger nearly always highlight through melodic disjunction the placement of the direct address to the song in the text.[96]

The sixth stanza of "Tot quan fatz de be ni dic" takes one step further the relationship between Raimon and his songs seen in the previous *tornadas*. Raimon tells us that he will "ben tenh mon chantar per ric, [consider (his) singing noble,]" if his lady learns his song.[97] With his utterance of the phrase "mon chantar" after he has directly addressed his song and ordered it to travel to his lady, Raimon re-establishes the fact that he is the origin of the singing and delineates

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[95] For example, Raimon tells his song to "vai e dire [go and tell]" the intended recipient his message in the *tornadas* of "Aissi cum es genser pascors," "Bel m'es q'ieu chant e coindei," and "Chansoneta farai, Vencut." "D'amor es totz mos cossiriers" and "Lonc temps ai avutz mos conseriers" are merely instructed to "vai [go]."

[96] See Guiraut de Bornelh, "Leu chansonet'e vil," Bernart de Ventadorn, "Conortz sai eu be," and Raimon de Miraval, "Bel m'es q'ieu chant e coindei," "Chansoneta farai, Vencut," "D'amor es totz mon cossiriers," and "Lonc temps ai avutz conseriers."

[97] Raimon de Miraval, "Tot quan fatz."

the connection between himself and the song. The song may have a body of its own, created by Raimon's execution of the song and direct address at the beginning of the stanza, but this body ultimately functions as an extension of Raimon's corporeal body—a second body able to move about the world of the lyric.

The role of the personified song develops beyond that of a messenger relaying words in the works of Rigaut de Berbezilh and Bernart de Ventadorn as well. In the fifth stanza of his song "Atressi com l'orifanz," Rigaut de Berbezilh refers to his "chanssos" as his "drogomans," or spokesman.[98] Rigaut grants his song this office because it can go where he does not dare:

> Ma chanssos m'er drogomans
> Lai on eu non aus anar
> Ni ab dreitz huoills esgardar
> Tant sui conques et aclus.
>
> [My song will be my spokesman, there where I dare not to go, nor to look at with straightforward eyes, so much I am conquered and contained].[99]

The song assumes Rigaut's physical place, expanding the song's role from messenger to humanoid proxy. The singing voice of the performer seems clearly to take on a vocalic body of its own, as it precipitates itself as an object through the poetic text it makes audible.

The melody for Rigaut's song is transmitted in three sources (*chansonniers* X, W, and G. See examples 7-9). There are a few differences in the placement of the melismas in each melody, but the same melismatic gestures appear across all three sources, and often the same melismas

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[98] Rigaut de Barbezilh, "Atressi com l'orifanz." The concept of a "drogomanz," or spokesperson, connects to medieval diplomacy and negotiation. See Zrinka Stahuljak, "Medieval Fixers: Politics of Interpreting in Western Historiography," in *Rethinking Medieval Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory*, ed. Bob Mills and Emma Campbell (Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer, 2012), pp. 147-163. For more on the relationship between the *trouvère envoi* and the diplomatic envoy, see Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 187-200.

[99] Rigaut de Berbezilh, "Atressi com l'orifanz," trans. in consultation with *Les chansons du Troubadour Rigaut de Barbezieux*, ed. Camille Chabaneau and trans. Joseph Anglade (Montpellier: Publications Spéciales de la Société des Langues Romanes, 1919), pp. 62-64.

are found above the same syllables or at the same place in the textual line (suggesting any variations are more ornamental than functional). Additionally, all of the eleven melodic phrases end on the same pitches in all three melodic transmissions, and usually begin on the same pitches

Example 7. Rigaut de Berbezilh, "Ausiment con lolifant", fifth stanza, MS X, fol. 84r-v.[100]

Fifth stanza

Ma chan-con mes dru - gue - manz la ou eu non os an - nar

ni a droiz tuz re - gar - dar tant sui for - faiz et e - nais

ne ja nus ne men es - cus mais a - vi - nant que sie en bel jou ant

or toz a vol do - lo - rouz plo - rant

si con li cers car quant a fait son cors

por vent mo - rir au cri des cha - ca - dors

au - si tor eu a la vos - tre mer - cen

mais non vos ten le da - mors non sa - ben.

[100] Rigaut de Berbezilh, "Ausiment con lolifant," in Paris, BnF, f.fr. 20050, fol. 84 r-v.

Example 8. Rigaut de Berbezilh, "Atressi com l'olifanz", fifth stanza, MS W 195v.[101]

Fifth stanza

Ma chans-sos mer dro - go - manz___ lai on eu___ non___ aus a - nar

ni ab dreitz huo-ills es-gar - dar tant sui___ con - ques___ et___ a - clus

e ja hom non mi___ es - cus Miells de Domp-na don sui___ fu - gitz dos___ ans

er torn a___ vos___ do - loi - ros___ e___ plo - rans

ais - si col sers___ que qand a___ faich___ son cors

tor - na mo - rir___ al crit dels cas - sa - dors___

ais - si torn___ eu___ domp - na___ en___ vos - tre___ merce

mas ves___ non___ cal___ si da - mor___ nous so - ve.___

[101] Rigaut de Berbezilh, "Atressi com l'olifanz," in Paris, BnF, f.fr. 844, fol. 195v. MS W does not contain text for the fifth verse, so text taken from my own edition (see Appendix B for full text and translation).

Example 9. Rigaut de Berbezilh, "Atressi com l'olifanz", fifth stanza in MS G, 63r.[102]

Fifth stanza

Ma chans - os m'er dro - go - mans lai on eu non aus a - nar

ni ab dreitz huoills es - gar - dar tant sui con - que et a - clus;

e ja hom non mi es - cus Miells de Domp - na, don sui fu - gitz dos ans,

er torn a vos do - loi - ros e plo - rans,

ais - si co l sers que, qand a faich son cors,

tor - na mo - rir al crit dels cas - sa - dors

ais - si torn eu, domp - na, en vos - tre merce;

mas ves non cal, si d'a - mor no us so - ve.

[102] Rigaut de Berbezilh, "Atressi com l'olifanz," in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana S. P. 4 (olim R 71 sup.), fol. 63r, trans. in consultation with van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies*, pp. 334-337.

as well, suggesting further that each of the three sources share similar fundamental structures. As in Raimon's song "Tot quan fatz de be ni dic," the direct address appears at the beginning of a stanza and is aligned with the opening phrase of the melody.[103]

Bernart de Ventadorn's song "A, tantas bonas chansos" similarly seems to function as an actual physical proxy for Bernart rather than merely serving as a messenger. In the second tornada of the song, Bernart addresses his song:

> Chanso vai t'en a La Mura
> mon Belh Vezer me saluda
> qui qu'aya valor perduda
> la sua creys e melhura.
>
> [Song, go to La Mura. Greet my Bel Vezer for me. No matter who has lost valor, hers increases and becomes better].[104]

The song does indeed carry a message, though it is only a greeting and Bernart does not specify the exact wording. Bernard's reference to "La Mura" ("The Wall"), a town in the vicinity of Vienne in southern France, both locates the song geographically and positions the song as a physical stand-in for Bernart. The song's physicality and role as replacement for Bernart are further emphasized by the song's ability to greet (as Bernart, as he tells his song to greet his lady for him) "mon Belh Vezer" in any way it chooses.

Bernart's direct address to his song occurs at the beginning of his second *tornada*, which is four lines in length. A full stanza of the song is eight lines long, so the *tornada* bisects the song's melody and is sung to the last four musical phrases. The melody (see Example 10), which

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[103] The fifth stanza is the last full stanza of the song and is followed by two two-line *tornadas*, and it instigates the shift from internal poetic subject to external world.

[104] Bernart de Ventadorn, "A, tantas bonas chansos," ll. 57-64, trans. in consultation with Lazar, *Bernart du Ventadour*, pp. 122-123.

is preserved in *chansonnier* R, does not repeat any melodic material (though it does repeat several melismatic gestures across the phrases).[105]

Example 10. Bernart de Ventadorn, "A, tantas bonas chansos", first stanza and *tornada*, MS R 58r.[106]

First stanza

A B

A tan - tas bo - nas chan - sos e tan bos vers au - rai fagz

C D

don ja nomz me - zer en plag do - na sim pes - ses de vos

E F

que fos - ses vas mi tan du - ra a - ras sai queus ai per - du - da

G H

mas si vals no es tol - gu - da a la ma for - fay - tu - ra.

Second *tornada*

E F

Chan - so vai t'en la Mu - ra mo Bel Ve - zer me sa - lu - da

G H

qui q'ay - a va - lor per - du - da la sua creys e mel - hu - ra.

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105 See van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, p. 40.

106 Bernart de Ventadorn, "A tantas bonas chansos," in Paris, BnF, f. fr. 22543, fol. 58r.

Unlike the position of the direct address in "Atressi com l'orifanz," the turn to the song in "A! Tantas bona chansos" does occur in conjunction with a melodic break. However, the song's melody does not repeat any material, nor is it regularized. A return to the middle of the melodic strophe rather than its beginning may not have caused as stringent a discrepancy between the listening audience's expectation of a familiar melodic phrase and a return to non-expected material, and might tap into the sense of ambiguity also present in "Atressi com l'orifanz" and "Tot quan fatz de be ni dic." Because it lacks repeated phrases, the melody is already somewhat difficult to follow. Additionally, the first and fifth melodic phrases begin with a syllabic, stepwise descent from c" to a', after which they diverge—the first phrase continues down to g' before moving back up, while the fifth phrase returns to its opening c" on the fourth syllable of the poetic line. The first three pitches of the *tornada*'s melody are identical to the first three pitches of the entire stanza's melody, and they diverge on the lines' fourth syllable. As in "Atressi com l'orifanz," the song's more developed role as physical proxy is underscored by melodic ambiguity. Myriad subjective positions are enacted in one performing body, and the disconnect between the poetry's subjective turn to an extrinsic subject and the melody's non-repeated material furthers the porousness of their boundaries.

"Atressi com l'orifanz," "A, tantas bona chansos," and "Tot quan fatz de be ni dic" differ from most of Miraval's songs, and contrast with "Leu chansonet'e vil" and "Conortz era sai eu be" because they push the role of the anthropomorphized song beyond that of a mere messenger and upgrade the song to physical proxy. Additionally, the misalignment between the melody and the poetic text furthers the ambiguous nature of the personified song and its relationship to the numerous subject positions enacted in troubadour lyric. By contrast, the melodies of songs that

merely use the song as a messenger nearly always highlight through melodic disjunction the placement of the direct address to the song in the text.[107] The *tornada* directly addresses the song at the moment the melody begins in an unfamiliar, unexpected place, jolting the audience to recognize the change in subject position the performer enacts.

Raimon's *tornadas* substantiate song in a second way. The notion of the song gaining worth within the *fin'amor* system by visiting Raimon's beloved or allowing her to learn itself appears in the *tornadas* of several other songs, two of which include a direct address to the song in the *tornada*.[108] The first *tornada* of "Lonc temps ai avutz conseriers" advises the song to "ton premier viatje/Faras vas n'Azalais de cors/Car se puois vols anar aillors/Per lus en fera agradaje, [make your first trip to Lady Azalais sincerely, because if then you wish to go elsewhere, you will be more pleasing,]" while the last *tornada* of "D'amor es totz mon cossiriers" encourages the song to "ves midons vai corren/Qu'ilh mante pretz e reman en joven [run towards my lady, for she maintains worth and remains in youth.]"[109] The *tornadas* still impart mobility to the songs when the speaker commands them to go to another location, but instead of serving directly as messengers, the primary purpose of the journeys the songs will make is for their edification within the courtly world of *fin'amor*. It is only through visits to Lady Azalais and Raimon's

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[107] See Guiraut de Bornelh, "Leu chansonet'e vil," Bernart de Ventadorn, "Conortz sai eu be," and Raimon de Miraval, "Bel m'es q'ieu chant e coindei," "Chansoneta farai, Vencut," "D'amor es totz mon cossiriers," and "Lonc temps ai avutz conseriers."

[108] I explore the relationship of this idea to the personified song in more depth in Chapter Two.

[109] The *tornada* from "Lonc temps ai avutz conseriers" highlights the song's ability to circulate in manuscripts separate from Raimon himself. Several of Raimon's other songs provide further evidence of the song's transmission beyond Raimon himself. In the first stanza of "Si tot s'es ma domn'esquina," Raimon sends his song to his lady while making it clear he himself does not go to her, while in the sixth stanza of "Tals vai mon chan enqueren," Raimon again sends his song to his lady where it teaches itself to her. Raimon also describes his pleasure at circulating a song for his lady in the opening stanza of "Un sonet m'es belh espanda." While none of these examples contain direct addresses to the songs themselves, they do emphasize the space between Raimon and his lady or the place where he sends his song; Raimon de Miraval, "D'amor es totz mos cossiriers."

domna that the songs can better themselves and gain more of the prized qualities of courtly love.[110]

THE END AND THE BEGINNING

Raimon's reconnection to his personified song hints at the important role singing plays in the language of the troubadour corpus, a function further developed in the exordium, or first stanza, of several of his songs. In many troubadour lyric texts, the exordium begins by discussing the act of singing or the song itself in relation to the themes of the poem.[111] For example, the Comtessa de Dia opens her song "A chantar m'er" with the line "I must sing of what I'd rather not," immediately alerting her audience to the central tension of her song (namely, as Fredric Cheyette and Margaret Switten note, that her lover has betrayed her despite their obligations to each other).[112] The entire first stanza of Raimon's song "Chans, quan non es qui l'entenda" correlates his worth and knowledge with understanding of his songs:

> Chans, quan non es qui l'entenda,
> No pot ren valer,
> E pus luec ai e lezer
> Que mon bel solatz despenda,
> Ses gap si' un pauc auzitz;
> Quar totz ditz es mielhs grazitz,
> Quant a la fi pauz' om ben las razos,
> Per qu'ieu vuel far entendre mas chansos.

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[110] The potential for the song's (and Raimon's) continuing fame is included in several of Raimon's other songs, always in connection with the act of sending the song to a worthy woman. As seen in "Lonc temps ai avutz conseriers," the blessing of Lady Azalais is central to the idea of "pleasing" circulation. Azalais's worth as a woman transfers to anything she approves. Contact with another (worthy) body is necessary for circulation in Raimon's poetry (any kind of circulation, since the poetic texts only depict paths to positive fame). See "Tals vai mon chan enqueren," stanza 6; "Tot quan fatz de be ni dic," stanza 6, and "Un sonet m'es belh que espanda," opening stanza.

[111] Nathaniel B. Smith, "Rhetoric," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, ed. Akehurst and Davis, p. 410.

[112] Comtessa de Dia, "A chantar m'er," in *Songs of the Women Troubadours*, ed. and trans. Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, Laurie Shepard, and Sarah White (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), pp. 6-7: "A chantar m'er de so quieu non volria." See Fredric L. Cheyette and Margaret Switten, "Women in Troubadour Song: Of the Comtessa and the Vilana," *Women in Music* 2 (1998), pp. 26-45.

> [When there is no one who understands it, a song cannot be worth anything, and since I have the opportunity and the leisure to dispense my fine diversion, may it be heard without mockery. For every song is better received when at the end the subject is well exposed; that is why I wish to have my songs understood.][113]

It is significant that the stanza's first and last words are "song" (in the singular and plural, and masculine and feminine, forms, respectively: *chans* and *chansos*), as Raimon's very acceptance within the courtly society for which he performs hinges on the understanding of his songs.[114]

I have explored the presence of *tornadas* that directly address the songs they are a part of in the works of Raimon de Miraval, Guiraut de Bornelh, Bernart de Ventadorn, and Rigaut de Berbezilh. The troubadours' personification of the songs in the *tornada* sheds new light on the separation of fictive and authorial voice. The poet's lyric persona is re-inscribed as song materialized. These songs, given agency via the ability to speak, move, and think, allow the poet to inhabit two worlds at once—the constructed world of his/her lyric poetry, and the extrinsic world of his/her patrons. They become separate entities, conversing with the *senhals* and distant beloveds that people the lyric of the troubadours. Additionally, the poetic texts and melodies interact to underscore the type of role the song performs for the troubadour who personifies it. The personified songs illustrate for us how the poet can split his or her self into two parts, and gain entrance to a world of tropes while remaining among the living.

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[113] Switten, *The Cansos of Raimon de Miraval*, p. 191; Raimon de Miraval, "Chans, quan non es qui l'entenda," *The Cansos of Raimon de Miraval*, ed. and trans. Switten, p. 190.

[114] Medieval Occitan contains two differently gendered nouns for "song," *can/chan/chans*, which is masculine, and *chanso/canson/canso*, which is feminine. Both are used in this stanza: *chans* is the singular masculine version of the noun, and *chansos* is the plural feminine version. It seems that songs can only be discussed in the plural as feminine nouns, as there does not appear to be a plural masculine form of the noun. For dictionary entries on these two nouns, see Emil Levy, *Petit dictionnaire provençal-français* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1909; reprinted University of Michigan Libraries Collection, 2017), pp. 62-64; for more on the connection between gender in language, the live performer, and the personified song, see Chapter Three.

<u>Chapter 2: Learning and Embodiment</u>

In the second *tornada* of his song "D'un sonet vau pensan," Peirol instructs his song:

> Chansonet' ab aitan
> dreich a midonz t'en vai,
> e digs li, si·l play
> que t'aprenda et chan.
>
> [Song, with that, straight to my lady go, and tell her, if it so please her, to learn you and sing.][115]

The song is personified through Peirol's direct command, but it has little freedom to do much else except deliver Peirol's message to his lady and allow her to learn it.

A small subset of personified troubadour songs (including Peirol's) incorporate mentions of learning into their *tornadas*. Most of these pedagogical moments serve to bolster the troubadour's reputation, as the recipient's agreement to learn the song or undertake the act of learning is equated with praise and positive value judgment. In the sixth stanza of "Tot quan fatz de be ni dic," Raimon de Miraval tells his song:

> …que la retenda
> E si tan fai que t'aprenda
> Ben tenh mon chantar per ric
> Que lieys vol nos bayssa ni·s gavanha,
> Que·l sieus lauzars daur'e·l blasmars estanha.
>
> [if she does so much as to learn you (the song), I certainly hold my song to be precious. For what she wishes neither diminishes nor deteriorates, since her praise gilds and her blame coats with tin.][116]

He demonstrates the boost both the value of his song and his reputation as a composer will get when his beloved learns the song.

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[115] Peirol, "D'un sonet vau pensan," trans. in consultation with S. C. Aston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), pp. 67-68.

[116] Raimon de Miraval, "Tot quan fatz de be ni dic."

Complicating this seemingly straightforward value exchange is the anthropomorphization of the song itself. How does the act of learning a song affect that song's status as human? To answer this question, we must first explore another set of questions: how was music learned in the Middle Ages, and how did this learning process differ for men and women, and courtly and monastic communities? As I will demonstrate below, medieval pedagogies from both secular and sacred communities share highly physical elements, especially with regard to learning how to sing. Additionally, I will examine medieval conceptions of sound, which theorize sound in a manner that underscores its materiality. I argue that the physicality of medieval pedagogy and of medieval perceptions of sound highlight the bodied nature of the personified song, which, when combined with instructions concerned with learning instantiates a sexual relationship between troubadour and beloved.

MUSICAL LEARNING

Most of the extant sources detailing musical learning processes for medieval musicians are affiliated with sacred settings. As Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin have shown through their work on the Cluniacs, monastic customaries provided one particularly rich repository of information about medieval monastic pedagogy.[117] The customaries, texts that contain information on all aspects of monastic life, provide us with a look at the methods with which oblates (children offered as donations to a monastery) prepared for their adult lives as fully-

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[117] See Susan Boynton, "Training for the Liturgy as a Form of Monastic Education," in *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig (New York: Leicester University Press, 2000), pp. 7-20; Isabelle Cochelin, "Besides the Book: Using the Body to Mould the Mind," in Ferzoco and Muessig, eds., pp. 21-34; and Boynton, "Medieval Musical Education as Seen through Sources outside the Realm of Music Theory", in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Russell E. Murray, Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), pp. 52-62.

fledged monks.[118] These sources demonstrate that, in the central Middle Ages, oblates learned chant aurally, by listening to the teacher sing the melody first and then repeating after him.[119] While novices (adults seeking to join the monastic community) seem to have been more reliant on books to learn the Psalms and the hymns, some sources describe methods that relied both on aural and literate learning, as teachers generally avoided using books to work with oblates but used them more freely in the development of novice education.[120] Learning plainchant as a monastic oblate or novice meant a process inflected by the age of the student and the particular customs of the monastery in which they lived, but the principle of aural learning and repetition for children (a principle that then seeped into musical pedagogy for some novice communities) seems consistent across the sources.[121]

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[118] Oblation was the most common way to enter religious orders until ca. 1200. Boynton notes that after the end of the eleventh century, the age of oblates increased, leading to the formation of monastic orders who only accepted adult as novices (the Cistercians required novices to be eighteen or older after 1175, as did some Benedictine communities in the last quarter of the twelfth century). See Boynton, "Boy Singers in Medieval Monasteries and Cathedrals," in *Young Choristers, 650-1700*, ed. Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2008), Boynton, "Training for the Liturgy," in Ferzoco and Muessig, eds., pp. 7-8, and Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), and Orme, *Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); for an overview of the practice of oblation, see Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden, 1996). For information on the customary as a genre, see Isabelle Cochelin, "Évolution des coutumiers monastiques dessinée à partir de l'étude de Bernard," in *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny: Du coeur de la nuit à la fin du jour: les coutumes clunisiennes au Moyen Age,* ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 29-66.

[119] Boynton, "Training for the Liturgy," p. 11; Boynton, "Medieval Musical Education," p. 53; and Elizabeth Eva Leach, "Grammar and Music in the Medieval Song School," in *New Medieval Literatures: Medieval Grammar and the Literary Arts* 11 (2009), ed. Rita Copeland, David Lawton, and Wendy Scase, guest eds. Chris Cannon, Rita Copeland, and Nicolette Zeeman (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), p. 195. As Boynton notes, different monastic communities used books in different ways—some customaries state that children could read during Mass under certain circumstances, but aural learning was at the center of all pedagogies. For a discussion of female teachers in medieval nunneries, see Anne Bagnall Yardley, "The Musical Education of Young Girls in Medieval English Nunneries," in *Young Choristers, 650-1700*, pp. 49-67, and Yardley, *Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 60-66; for more on female instructors in courtly settings, see Eleonora Beck, *Singing in the Garden: Music and Culture in the Tuscan Trecento* (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 1998), pp. 141-144.

[120] Boynton, "Training for the Liturgy," pp. 12-13.

[121] For a detailed discussion of monastic sources with descriptions of education from ca. 450-1300, see Christopher Page, *The Christian West and its Singers: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 219-522.

Medieval musical pedagogy was a highly physical (and sometimes violent) process as well. As Bruce Holsinger describes in his book *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture*, medieval monastic pedagogies of song explicitly linked learning to sing with bodily violence.[122] Descriptions of the punishments meted out to young singers who made mistakes or otherwise failed in their tasks appear in a variety of sources, including the customaries, musical treatises, and hagiographical works.[123] In addition to this threat of corporeal punishment, techniques for improving memory function made use of physical locations, and even body parts. The Guidonian hand, a schema that places clefs and syllables of the gamut onto the joints and tips of the left hand, is a famous example of the body's use as an instrument for teaching, learning, and memorizing music.[124] Despite its name, the Guidonian hand was not in fact invented by Guido of Arezzo in the eleventh century (Sigebert of Gembloux awards him this accolade in the early twelfth century), but, as Karol Berger argues, was likely developed as a musical mnemonic device from ancient ideas about memorization in rhetoric from the ninth century onwards.[125] The pitches of the gamut would have been the objects the student needed to remember; their syllable and clef names the images; and the hand the physical location in which all of these images were

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[122] Bruce W. Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 259-292; see also Luminita Florea, "The Body Animal and Human as a Simile: Aristotelian and Galenic Anatomy in Late Medieval Books of Music Theory and Practice, ca. 1200-1350," in *Philobiblon* X-XI (2005-2006), pp. 74-123.

[123] Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire*, pp. 272-277.

[124] Karol Berger provides a thorough examination of the Guidonian Hand and its predecessors, contemporaries, and descendants. See Karol Berger, "The Hand and the Art of Memory," *Musica Disciplina* 35 (1981): 87-120.

[125] Berger, "The Hand and the Art of Memory," pp. 115-116. Berger notes that the most extensive of these memorization ideas is located in Cicero's *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Cicero describes a method of memorization that divides the object one is memorizing into smaller pieces, assigns these pieces images, and then places them in a physical location held in the mind—for example, the rooms in one's house. See Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Book III, 16-23, ed. and trans. Harry Caplan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), pp. 208-233. Berger also briefly describes the use of the hand as a mnemonic device with regards to the ecclesiastical calendar. See Berger, "The Hand and the Art of Memory," pp. 104-113. For a detailed examination of the art of memory in rhetoric from Classical times through the Middle Ages, see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

located.[126] The Guidonian hand closely links sound with the human body: sound, produced by the singer or student, is mapped onto the hand and into the memory.

The wealth of information about musical learning in monastic communities provides an understanding of a pedagogical process that both included aural features and was supported by external texts. While some have suggested that the methods of learning plainchant described in the customaries spread beyond the monastery and influenced the ways in which the aristocracy learned to sing and play instruments, the primarily oral nature of courtly society begets a pedagogical process based on bodily assimilation.[127] Evidence from the *chansonniers* depicts learning as an oral process, where the object of learning is not supported by an external text or written source, and is absorbed by the body as it is learned. The *razo* transmitted with Arnaut Daniel's song "Anc ieu non l'aic, mas elha m'a" in MS R contains a detailed description of this orally- and aurally-based learning process.[128] The *razo* describes a song competition that Arnaut participates in at the court of Richard the Lionheart. Arnaut and his *joglar* competitor are shown to adjoining rooms and told to compose a song for performance at the court. The *joglar* composes his song quickly and easily, and uses the rest of his time to memorize the song by

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[126] Berger, "The Hand and the Art of Memory," p. 102.

[127] See D. H. Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature 800-1300* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[128] Other *vidas* and *razos* contain mentions of learning, often with regard to the difficulty or clarity of the individual troubadour's poetic material. Aimeric de Peguilhan's *vida* notes that he "learned songs and servants, but he sang very badly. And he fell in love with a burgher, his neighbor. And this love taught him how to invent poetry." (*The Vidas of the Troubadours*, trans. Margarita Egan (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984), p. 2); Arnaut Daniel's describes him as a man who "amparet ben letras e delectet se in trobar. E abandonet las letras, et fetz se joglars, e pres una maniera de trobar en caras rimas, per que soas cansons no son leus ad entendre ni ad aprendre. [learned letters well and he took delight in inventing poetry. And he abandoned letters and became a minstrel; and he developed a way of inventing with difficult rhymes, which is why his songs are not easy to understand or to learn.]" (Boutière and Schutz, *Biographies des Troubadours*, p. 14; Egan, *Vidas*, p. 8). Peire Cardenal's *vida* gives some detail about what he learned in the canonry of Puy, which his father made him enter when he was young: "Et apres letras, e saup ben lesser e chantar. [And he learned his letters and knew well how to read and sing.]" (Boutière and Schutz, *Biographies des Troubadours*, p. 225; Egan, *Vidas*, p. 74).

singing it repeatedly. Arnaut, on the other hand, has writer's block, and cannot come up with a composition of his own, so he steals the *joglar*'s song by listening to it repeatedly and performing first at court.[129] Arnaut learns the song through repeated, rote listenings, mirroring the learning process described above, and demonstrating a method of learning that seems commonplace within the courtly world of the lyric.

Other courtly records display increased instruction in reading and writing for lay nobility between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. In France and Flanders, education in literacy was conducted in cathedral and monastic schools until the Church began to separate from the state after the Ottonian period.[130] Lay education then moved into the domain of the courts, where, as good manners became part of the aristocratic code, courtly education became very important and learned men were needed as tutors.[131] The court at Aquitaine was a center of learning during this time period, and many of the laypeople there were educated and literate (thus allowing Guilhem IX to compose lyric poetry and become the first troubadour).[132]

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[129] *Biographies des Troubadours: Textes provencaux des XIIIe et XIVe Siècles*, ed. Jean Boutière and A.H. Schutz (Toulouse: Édouard Privat; Paris: Marcel Didier, 1950), pp. 15-16. See Appendix E for the complete text of the *vida*.

[130] C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), pp. 292-294; James Westfall Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1960), p. 54; 134. By contrast, in Italy in the period 900-1300, grammar schools that were founded and conducted by laymen (rather than monks) existed. For an overview of the curriculum of pre-university schools in late medieval Regensburg and a discussion of the larger educational forces at work in Europe that led to the development of the curriculum, see David Sheffler, *Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Schools and Schooling in Late Medieval Germany: Regensburg, 1250-1500* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 85-112; the primary concern for early education was that students learn to sing and read properly, which they learned from recitation of the Psalms and important prayers. See also Orme, *Medieval Schools*; Orme, *Medieval Children*; and Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530* (New York: Methuen & Co., 1984).

[131] Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels,* p. 292; 323. Thomas Becket was depicted as injecting the learning of *mores* into a court setting.

[132] Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity,* pp. 127; 129; 130; Guilhem IX was the first troubadour and not merely the first troubadour whose works happen to have survived. There is some evidence of girls being taught to read and write at French courts during the thirteenth century, and some evidence of women being able to write in Toulouse, probably thanks to the heightened importance of education for noblemen at this time.

For those able to attend school or receive tutoring, music was taught as part of the quadrivium (along with arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy).[133] Robert Black's work on Latin schools in medieval and Renaissance Italy provides a glimpse at how pupils were taught to read in these schools, a process that has a number of parallels with the singing pedagogies described in monastic customaries.[134] Students were given a *tabula* (also known as a *carta*), a sheet of parchment fixed to a wooden board which began with the alphabet and ended with a list of syllables to sound out.[135] Progression to reading words and phrases was accomplished by reading and memorizing the Psalter, a feat achieved first by reading repeatedly from the written text and then reciting that text from memory.[136] Like the oblates, young students learned to read by listening (sometimes to themselves) to a text while they visually connected letters and syllables to the sounds they produced and the learning process culminated in recitation from memory.

Secondary grammar education continued with application of the same methods practiced in Late Antiquity. Students studied the parts of speech and continued to rely on recitation and memorization to learn them.[137] As Elizabeth Eva Leach describes, the connections between the pedagogies involved in learning to sing and learning to read are evident; training in literacy simply focused on the visual component of language rather than being almost entirely aural.[138]

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[133] John L. Snyder, "Reason and Original Thinking in English Intellectual Circles: Aristotle, Adelard, Auctoritas, and Theinred of Dover's Musical Theory of Species," in *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000-1200*, ed. Sally N. Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), p. 281. The sections of the population who had access to an education included monastic oblates and novices receiving a sacred education, and members of the lay nobility, who had the financial means to be educated. See Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity*.

[134] Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[135] Black, *Humanism and Education*, pp. 36-37.

[136] Ibid., pp. 37-41.

[137] Black, *Humanism and Education,* p. 66.

[138] Leach, "Grammar and Music in the Medieval Song School," pp. 198-200.

Learning took place through memorization, which occurred via the acts of aural reception of material and spoken or sung repetition of that material. For children at both the primary and secondary levels of education, pedagogy foregrounded active use of the pupil's body and highlighted the physicality of the act of learning.

What access did courtly women have to education? Evidence of female learning is piecemeal, but monastic, literary, and legal sources suggest that noblewomen across western Europe could read and write to some degree. Noblewomen were expected to take on significant roles in the running of households, and so they were likely educated to read and perhaps to write in order to facilitate their duties in their households and in the households of their future husbands.[139] Additionally, their education likely combined written and oral pedagogies—lay women used books extensively, listened to the reading of devotional or romantic works, and memorized recitations, songs, Psalms, and passages from Scripture.[140] Descriptions of education for medieval noblewomen appear in literary texts, including Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan und Isolde.* Gottfried describes Tristan tutoring Isolde in the arts, with a particular focus on her musical education. Tristan, wounded by Morold's poisoned sword, strikes a deal with the Irish

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[139] Margaret Wade LaBarge, *Women in Medieval Life: A Small Sound of the Trumpet*, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1986), pp. 74-76; JoAnn Hoeppner Moran Cruz, "Education: Lay," in *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Margaret Schaus (New York: Taylor and Francis Group, 2006), pp. 240-241.

[140] Carolyne Larrington, *Women and Writing in Medieval Europe: A Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Hoeppner Moran Cruz, "Education: Lay," pp. 240-241. For examinations of manuscript images of literate women and women appearing in manuscript illuminations, see Lesley Smith, "Scriba, Femina: Medieval Depictions of Women Writing, in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence,* ed. Lesley Smith and Jane Taylor (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 21-44, Martha W. Driver, "Mirrors of a Collective Past: Re-considering Images of Medieval Women," *Women and the Book*, pp. 75-93, Susan L. Ward, "Fables for the Court: Illustrations of Marie de France's Fables in Paris BN, MS Arsenal 3142," *Women and the Book,* pp. 190-203, and Sandra Penketh, "Women and Books of Hours," *Women and the Book*, pp. 266-281; for an analysis of books used by eleventh-century Queen Margaret of Scotland, see Richard Gameson, "The Gospels of Margaret of Scotland and the Literacy of an Eleventh-Century Queen," *Women and the Book*, pp. 148-171. See also D.H. Green, *Women Readers in the Middle Ages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

queen Isolde (under his fake identity as Tantris). He will tutor her daughter Isolde in exchange for his health, and for six months Tristan tutors Isolde in her musical and literary studies:

> Thus, with Tristan for tutor, lovely Isolde had much improved herself. Her disposition was charming, her manners and bearing good. She had mastered some fine instruments and many skilled accomplishments. Of love-songs she could make both the words and the airs and polish them beautifully. She was able to read and write.[141]

While Gottfried's text does not include any descriptions of pedagogy, it seems likely that this episode was drawn from some sort of real-life experience or practice.[142] Young girls did have access to education on some level, though this access was neither guaranteed nor uniformly distributed throughout noble society.

As evidenced above, descriptions of female musical pedagogy are thin on the ground.[143] Early medieval education for women in nunneries demonstrates their high degree of literacy—their pedagogy included learning plainchant, and nuns sang in choirs and composed music of their own within their convents.[144] Early education for noblewomen certainly included learning

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141 Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan*, ed. and trans. A. T. Hatto, 2nd. ed. (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 148-149.

142 See Boynton, "Women's Performance of the Lyric Before 1500," in *Medieval Women's Song: Cross-Cultural Approaches*, ed. Anne L. Klinck and Ann Marie Rasmussen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 57-58.

143 For an overview of medieval musical women, see J. Michele Edwards, "Women in Music to ca. 1450," in *Women and Music: A History*, ed. Karin Pendle, 2nd ed. (Indianapolis: Bloomington University Press, 2001): 26-53.

144 Anne Bagnall Yardley, *Performing Piety,* pp. 60-66, 76, 95-111; and Yardley, "'Ful weel she soong the service dyvyne': The Cloistered Musician in the Middle Ages," in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), pp. 19, 25-29; see also Yardley, "The Musical Education of Young Girls in Medieval English Nunneries," in *Young Choristers*, pp. 49-67; and Penelope D. Johnson, "The Cloistering of Medieval Nuns," in *Gendered Domain: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History*, ed. Dorothy Helly and Susan Reverby (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992): 27-39. Much of the music composed in nunneries is lost, but the works of twelfth-century nuns Hildegard of Bingen and Herrad of Landsberg survive as examples of musical compositions by medieval female composers. See Thérèse McGuire, "Two Twelfth-Century Women and their Books," *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence,* ed. Lesley Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 96-105. Additionally, the Las Huelgas Codex (ca. 1300), a large compilation of polyphonic and monophonic works, provides possible evidence of choral and vocal training for young medieval girls. The codex originated in the Cistercian convent of Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas in Burgos, Spain, and was likely intended for performance by the convent's choir. See Nicolas Bell, *The Las Huelgas Codex: a Companion Study to the Facsimile* (Madrid: Testimonio Companìa Editorial, 2003).

to read, and descriptions of musical education for young women in some sources, including Francesco da Barberino's fourteenth-century treatise *Reggimento e costume di donna*, demonstrate the importance of music in education for courtly society.[145] Additionally, noblewomen could sing and dance for their own pleasure in the privacy of their own quarters, and female singers occasionally appear in payrolls and ledgers from the treasuries of noble households, to which they were attached and employed to perform for that household alone.[146]

The body of evidence concerning female learning in medieval southern France is drawn largely from records of sales, donations, oaths of fidelity, and dispute settlements.[147] As Frederic Cheyette notes, these highly formulaic documents "tell us that women were expected to participate fully in political life, in waging feuds and calming disputes, in pressing and defending claims to property and rights."[148] The language of these oaths of fidelity and contracts includes separate words for both men and woman, both closing any potential loopholes concerning the agency of women within the legal system and illustrating the extent to which women were involved in litigation and lordship. For example, around the year 1114, Bernard-Ato, viscount of Beziers, and Philippa, countess of Poitiers, made oaths of fidelity to each other: "I, Bernard-Ato, son of Ermengard, to you, Philippa, daughter of Emma, from this hour forward, will be faithful

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[145] The treatise was written between 1313 and 1318, and, according to Eleonora Beck, is the first treatise in Italy dedicated to the subjects of women and domestic life. See Beck, *Singing in the Garden,* pp. 141-144.

[146] Beck, *Singing in the Garden,* pp. 142-144; Maria V. Coldwell, "*Jougleresses* and *Trobairitz*: Secular Musicians in Medieval France," in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), pp. 43-46; Boynton, "Women's Performance of the Lyric Before 1500," *Medieval Women's Song*, pp. 49-53, 59. See also E. Jane Burns, "Performing Courtliness," in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. Judith Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras (New York, London: Oxford University Press, 2013): 396-411; and see Eglal Doss-Quinby, Joan Tasker Grimbert, Wendy Pfeiffer, and Elizabeth Aubrey, eds., *Songs of the Women Trouvères* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), for a discussion of female authorship and performance of medieval French lyric.

[147] Fredric L. Cheyette, "Women, Poets, and Politics in Occitania", *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 160.

[148] Cheyette, "Women, Poets, and Politics", p. 160.

to your life, the limbs that cling to your body, and your honor…”.[149] The archives are also full of references to women taking legal action against family members or becoming money lenders, and to the actions of ruling women (including Ermengard of Narbonne), who, among other things, collected fees from their tenants.[150] Women could seek support from the courts to defend their rights as landowners, and they participated in systems of homage for fiefs—vassals could pledge their services to them as lords or ladies, or they themselves could swear oaths of loyalty to their lords.[151] It seems likely that women who actively participated in legal matters and could take on roles as lords were educated to some degree, and could probably read and write.

There is also poetic and literary evidence that suggests a high degree of literacy within medieval Occitan society. As Wendy Pfeffer argues, the differing provenances of troubadour *chansonniers* and legal charters (from localized regions of southern France), and the use of proverbs in troubadour lyric, and references in the poetry to other authors, likely indicates a more widespread culture of reading and writing.[152] Additionally, the thirteenth-century Occitan romance *Flamenca* makes several references to the importance of learning and access to it for

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[149] C.L. DeVic and J. Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc: avec des notes et les piéces justificatives*, vol. 5 (Toulouse: Édouard Privat, 1875), 845. Philippa then repeated the same statement. Translation from Latin is my own. “Ego Bernardus-Atonis filius Ermengardis tibi Philippae filiae Emmae ab hac hora in antea fidelis ero de vita tua et membris tuis quae corpori tuo adhaerent et de honore tuo…”. Bernard also swears fidelity to Philippa’s husband, William of Toulouse, through Philippa.

[150] Laureta, *HGL* 5, 852 No. III, and *HGL* 5, 908; Ritsovendis of Termes, *HGL* 5, 1277; Ermengard of Narbonne, *HGL* 5, 398-399, a donation record from Bernard of Narbonne to his wife, Ermengard; *HGL* 5, 530-531, records the making of an inventory by the abbey of Cuxa for Ermengard.

[151] Leah Otis-Cour, “Occitania”, *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Margaret Schaus (New York, London: Taylor and Francis Group, LLC, 2006), pp. 620-623; Boynton, “Performance in Lyric,” *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, pp. 646-647; Cheyette, “Women, Poets, and Politics,” pp. 161-162; Constance H. Berman, “Gender at the Medieval Millennium”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 548.

[152] Wendy Pfeffer, “A Sign of the Times: The Question of Literacy in Medieval Occitania”, *Literary Aspects of Courtly Culture*, ed. Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox (D.S. Brewer, 1994), pp. 285, 287-289. Marcabru is one of the earliest troubadours to use proverbs in his poetry.

both men and women. Flamenca's very courtly lover, Guillem de Nivers, has gained his knowledge of love not through experience but by reading about it:

> Love was indeed to him unknown
> By any testing of his own,
> Though what it was, of course, he knew,
> Having read all the authors who
> Had writ thereof with skill and tact
> To tell how 'tis that lovers act.[153]
> —ll. 1762-1767

Later in the romance, Flamenca and her maid Alice discuss the value of reading and writing for all members of society:

> And furthermore may God requite
> The man who taught this priest to write
> And read. He's not worth bread or salt,
> Who knows not letters: 'tis sore fault,
> Who never has learned how to read,
> While a woman lettered may expect,
> And rightly, honor and respect.
> Now tell me, by your faith, if you
> Knew not the letters that you knew,
> What, pray, would you have done through these
> Two years of woeful miseries?
> In bitterness you would have died!
> Yet you were not so mortified
> But that, in reading, you forgot
> Your grief.' Flamenca then could not
> But kiss the girl in gratitude.
> 'My dear, your mind is very shrewd.
> And I completely share your views
> That leisure has no slightest use
> To any man unlettered:
> Seeming alive, in fact he's dead.
> And furthermore, you'll never find
> A man of cultivated mind
> Who, having studied, does not yearn
> Still more and ever more to learn,
> While he who knows but little would
> Be glad to learn more if he could.
> If learning could be bought and sold,
> No miser clutching tight his gold
> Would fail to buy a small supply,
> Could he but find a place to buy.
> Our man would never have begun

[153] *The Romance of Flamenca: A Provençal Poem of the Thirteenth Century*, ed. and trans. Marion E. Porter and Merton Jerome Hubert (Princeton, NJ: University of Princeton Press, 1962), p. 117.

This, lacking education.
—ll. 4807-4840[154]

Flamenca's ability to read has both saved her from death in her two years in captivity, and improves her reputation. The act of learning is so valuable that it is worth gold, and unlearned men are described as the living dead—learning and literacy improve worth and honor much in the way poetic and musical skill does in troubadour lyric. Crucially, however, possession of knowledge and education also determines vital status. While Alice and Flamenca's relationship to knowledge as life source may be a bit overstated for literary effect, the text certainly shows that being able to read, write, and learn was an important part of Occitan society for both men and women.

Although *Flamenca* does not include an explicit description of musical learning as *Tristan* does, the Occitan romance features a detailed depiction of courtly entertainment at the wedding of Flamenca and Archambaud. This entertainment mainly entails performances by *juglars*, who begin by "essaying chant, descort and lay [Ni canzo ni descort ni lais]" and then recount via song epic tales and romances (many with instrumental accompaniment).[155] *Flamenca*'s description of courtly performances provides a possible illustration of how the troubadours may have performed their songs and how their patrons (both male and female) might have interacted with their music. Although they are performed aloud and not read, inclusion of new works alongside literary classics seems to indicate an appreciation and knowledge of literature and poetry that is echoed in the lyric texts themselves.

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[154] *Flamenca*, ed. Porter and Hubert, pp. 269-270.

[155] Ibid., ll. 593-710, pp. 59-63.

The active role of women within the Occitanian court system (as evidenced by aristocratic women like Eleanor of Aquitaine, Marie de Champagne, and Ermengard of Narbonne) and their roles within troubadour *vidas* and songs as patrons of music and performance suggests southern French noblewomen may also have had some sort of informal musical education—or at least extensive exposure to musical performance, as illustrated in *Flamenca*.[156] Most importantly, women also composed and performed sung poetry just as the male troubadours did.[157] The existence of these female poet-composers (called *trobairitz*) provides further evidence of education for Occitanian women. Several *trobairitz* poems expressly refer to women as learned, while their *vidas* also reference their intelligence and education. The poetic corpus of the *trobairitz* includes about 35 poems, 16 of which are *tensos*, debate poems with a troubadour. In the *tenso* between Ysabella and Elias Cairel, "N'Elyas Cairel, de l'amor," Elias describes the "valor,/ioi e pretz e sen e saber [high worth,/joy, merit, wisdom, and learning]" Ysabella "soliatz sec iorn mantener [used to uphold/maintain.]"[158] Although Ysabella and Elias Cairel have fallen out of favor with each other, she is still a learned ("saber") woman whether or not Elias Cairel loves her. In a *tenso* between two women, Na Alaisina Iselda and Na Carenza, "Na Carenza al bel cors avinenz," Na Carenza refers to her

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[156] For more on aristocratic women in Occitania, see Cheyette, "Women, Poets, and Politics", pp. 138-177; and Fredric L. Cheyette, *Ermengarde of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004). Nancy Freeman Regalado has examined descriptions of northern French female performance in the 13th-century French romance *Le roman du Hem*. She analyzes the extensive performance roles the noblewomen present at the tournament played during the interludes (scenes staging characters and episodes from Arthurian fiction) described in the text. See Regalado, "Performing Romance: Arthurian Interludes in Sarrasin's *Le roman du Hem* (1278)," in *Performing Medieval Narrative*, ed. Evelyn Birge Vitz, Nancy Freeman Regalado, and Marilyn Lawrence (Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2005): 103-119.

[157] See Boynton, "Women's Performance of the Lyric Before 1500," pp. 50-53, Coldwell, "Jougleresses and Trobairitz: Secular Musicians in Medieval France," pp. 39-61, and Catherine Léglu, "Did Women Perform Satirical Poetry? *Trobairitz* and *Soldadeiras* in Medieval Occitan Poetry," *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (January 2001), pp. 15-25, for overviews on *trobairitz* performance and composition.

[158] Ysabella and Elias Cairel, "N'Elyas Cairel, de l'amor," in *Songs of the Women Troubadours*, ed. and trans. Matilda Bruckner, Laurie Shepard, and Sarah White (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000), pp. 60-61.

female interlocutor as having “cortisia et valors/sobre total las sutras conoscenz [courtesy and valor/above all other learned women,]” suggesting that Na Alaisina Iselda herself is learned as well.[159] Azalais d’Altier's “Tanz salutz e tantas amors,” written to another woman in support of a male lover who has somehow wronged his lady, describes its intended recipient as having “tan de sen/de valor e d’ensegnamen [so much sense,/quality, and learning,]” that she would never make up reasons to send her lover away from her.[160]

The *vidas* of the *trobairitz* provide further evidence of their high level of education. The *vida* of Azalais de Porcairagues describes her as “gentils domna et enseingnada…[que] si saber trobar, e…mantas bonas cansos [a noble and learned lady…[who] knew how to invent poems, and she composed…many good songs]”, while Castelloza’s *vida* characterizes her as “domna mout gaia e mout enseingnada e mout bella [a very gay and a very learned lady, and very beautiful.]”[161] Lombarda’s *vida* contains an exchange of couplets between Bernart Lord Arnaut and Lombarda, providing a description of *trobairitz* composition, and depicting Lombarda as “gentil e bella et avinens de la persona et insegnada [noble and beautiful and charming in appearance and learned.]”[162] The *vidas* accord the *trobairitz* as much learning as their male

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[159] Na Alaisina Iselda and Na Carenza, “Na Carenza al bel cors avinenz,” in *Songs of the Women Troubadours*, ed. and trans. Bruckner, Shepard, and White, pp. 96-97.

[160] Azalais d’Altier, “Tanz salutz e tantas amors," ed. and trans. Bruckner, Shepard, and White, in *Songs of the Women Troubadours*, pp. 124-129.

[161] *Vida* of Azalais de Porcairagues, in *Biographie des Troubadours: Textes Provençaux des XIIIe et XVIe Siècles*, pub. par Jean Boutiére et A.H. Schutz (Paris: Marcel Didier, 1950), p. 21, trans. Margarita Egan in *The Vidas of the Troubadours* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984), p. 10; *Vida* of Castelloza (Na), in *Biographie des Troubadours*, p. 79, trans. Egan, *Vidas of the Troubadours*, p. 26.

[162] *Vida* of Lombarda (Na), in *Biographie des Troubadours*, p. 209-10, trans. Egan, *Vidas of the Troubadours*, p. 64-65. Maria de Ventadorn’s *vida* also details the exchange of a *tenso* between Maria and Gui d’Ussel. See *Vida* of Maria de Ventadorn, in *Bibliographie des Troubadours*, p. 213-14.

counterparts, highlighting their intelligence and ability to "fez mantas bonas chansos [make many good songs.]"

Medieval pedagogies (in particular, processes of learning music) belie a connection with the corporeal that is also reflected in treatises concerned with sound. These methods of musical learning were likely used by both sacred and secular communities, and men and women who had access to education, alike. Philosophical notions of sound compound the physicality of medieval musical pedagogy, as they describe sound as a material object that touches the listener during the act of hearing.

SOUND AS BODIED OBJECT

Medieval conceptions of hearing and sensory perception describe hearing as the most immaterial of the senses, an idea that is rooted in the Aristotelian tradition. In his *De anima*, Aristotle states that "sound is the movement of what can be moved," and it is produced by "something striking against something else in a medium."[163] This means that, for sound to be produced and heard, three objects must be present: the striking object, the object that is struck, and a medium (air or water) for the sound to move through. The movement of this medium (present in the location of the struck and striking objects and in the human ear) causes hearing: "It is air, when moved as one continuous whole, which causes hearing."[164] Immaterial air is moved by the collision of two objects, and this movement travels to cause motion in the air within the ear, allowing the sound to be heard. Isidore of Seville employs Aristotle's description of sound and hearing when discussing vocal music in his *Etymologiae*, which dates from the first

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[163] Aristotle, *Aristotle's On the Soul* (*De anima)*, trans. Hippocrates G. Apostle (Grinnell, IA: The Peripatetic Press, 1981).

[164] Aristotle, *De anima,* trans. Apostle.

quarter of the seventh century. For Isidore, "the voice is air struck (*verberatus*) by the breath," a concept which alludes to the immaterial qualities of both the medium of the air and the voice itself—the breath is the material substance that strikes the air.[165] Hearing a voice, then, necessarily means that the singer's breath is transformed into an immaterial sound, which then reaches the listener's ear.

Similarly, Arabic philosopher Avicenna (b. 980, d. 1037) draws on Aristotle's theory of sound in his *Psychology*, where his discussion of the faculty of hearing essentially reproduces Aristotle's definition:

> the form of what is transmitted to it by the vibration of the air which is compressed between two objects, one striking and the other being struck, the latter offering it resistance so as to set up vibrations in the air which produce the sound. This vibration of the air outside reaches the air which lies motionless and compressed in the cavity of the ear, moving it in a way similar to that in which it is itself moved.[166]

By the thirteenth century, most scholars agreed that sound was air that had been struck, and two explanations for the transmission of sounds through the air prevailed.[167] As discussed above, the Aristotelian theory conceived of sound as something that had no physical substance itself, but was perceived through physical contact of an object to the air—striking or shaping of

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[165] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies,* III.xix.2, ed. and trans. Barney, Lewis, Beach, Berghof, and Hall, p. 96.

[166] F. Rahman, *Avicenna's Psychology: An English Translation of the* Kitãb al-Najãt*, Book II, Chapter VI with Historico-Philosophical Notes and Textual Improvements on the Cairo Edition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. 1; 26; Dag Nikolaus Hasse, *Avicenna's* De Anima *in the Latin West: The Formation of a Peripatetic Philosophy of the Soul 1160-1300* (London, Turin: The Warburg Institute, Nino Aragno Editore, 2000), pp. 1-2. The *Psychology* is a section of a larger work, the philosophical encyclopedia *Kitãb al-shifã,* that uses the structure of the Peripatetic tradition as the groundwork for Avicenna's original theories.

[167] C.M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 64-65. See also Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, III.xvi-xxi, ed. and trans. Barney, Lewis, Beach, Berghof, and Hall, p. 96; John Blund, *John Blund: Treatise on the Soul*, ed. and trans. D.A. Callus, R.W. Hunt, and Michael W. Dunne (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2013); Averroes, *Middle Commentary on Aristotle's De anima,* ed. Ivry; Ioannis Saresberiensis, *Policraticus I-IV,* ed. Keats-Rohan.

the air in some way.[168] The sound was then transmitted through the air, and hearing then occurred when the animal spirit within the ears received an impression of the sound, conveyed through the air via the ear drum.[169] The second explanation envisioned sound as an immaterial substance that came from breath or *spiritus*.[170] In both theories, sound's immateriality enables it to gain access to the ear drum and inner parts of the human body.

It is possible that some of the troubadours would have encountered the ideas of Avicenna and Aristotle at courts on the Iberian peninsula (especially those of Aragon and Castile, and Leon), as they were hospitable to many troubadours.[171] Avicenna's works were first translated from Arabic into Latin by Avendauth 'Israelita' and Dominicus Gundissalinus in Toledo between 1152 and 1166, a translation that seems to have been fairly widespread.[172] Aristotle's works were translated into Latin around the same time as Avicenna's text; Gerard of Cremona and Michael Scot translated about half of Aristotle's works (the *De anima* among them) from Arabic between 1165 and 1230 in Toledo.[173] It is likely that some of the troubadours and/or the courts with which they were associated would have had at least some contact with the scholarly atmosphere at the

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[168] Woolgar, *The Senses*, p. 64.

[169] Ibid., pp. 63-64.

[170] Woolgar, *The Senses,* p. 64.

[171] Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), pp. 31-33; Joseph T. Snow, "The Iberian Peninsula," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, ed. F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 272-273. Snow lists the names of several troubadours who had contact with Spanish monarchs, including Marcabru, Cercamon, Alegret, Peire d'Alvernhe, Bertran de Born, Guilhem de Bermudan, Peire Vidal, Guiraut de Bornelh, and Folquet de Marselha, among others.

[172] Hasse, *Avicenna's* De Anima, pp. 4-5; 7. This translation is extant in fifty manuscripts, thirty-five of which were copied in the thirteenth century.

[173] James of Venice translated a group of texts including the *De anima* in Italy or Constantinople before 1150 as well. As Menocal points out, Aristotle (translated into Arabic) was assimilated into Arabic culture, and the Aristotle transmitted and studied in the medieval West was originally filtered through Arabic translations and commentaries. See also "Aristotelianism," *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., 2015. Web. 03 Dec. 2015 <http://www.britannica.com/topic/Aristotelianism>.

court in Toledo—Toledo was conquered by Alfonso VI of Castile's Christian forces in 1085, which increased the transmission of Arabic texts and material from al-Andalus to northern Spain and beyond.[174]

Additionally, the region of the Languedoc was closely tied to the kingdoms of Spain both geographically and politically, providing further evidence of communication between the denizens of both areas.[175] Eleanor of Aquitaine, a well-known patroness of art and music (and the granddaughter of the "first troubadour," Guilhem IX of Aquitaine) had close ties to Spain and welcomed troubadours and Spanish scholars alike to her court.[176] Many troubadours sought asylum in Spanish courts after the Albigensian Crusades (ca. 1209-1229) pushed them out of their Occitanian homeland.[177] Names of patrons and/or *senhals* in the lyric, and mentions of patron's names or specific courts in troubadour *vidas,* further suggest poetic connections between the courts of southern France and those of northern Spain. The *vidas* of Ademar lo Negre and Peire Rogier describe how both troubadours, originally from towns located in Occitania, traveled to Spanish courts and patrons (King Pedro II of Aragon, and King Alfonso VIII of Castile and King Alfonso II of Aragon, respectively) while also spending time in southern French courts (in particular the courts of Raimon IV and V of Toulouse).[178] As mentioned in the previous chapter, Raimon de Miraval sends his song "Aissi cum es genser pascors" to Pedro II of Aragon, and his connection to Pedro's court is documented in his *vida*. Several troubadours were familiar with

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[174] Snow, "The Iberian Peninsula," p. 272; Menocal, *The Arabic Role*, p. 31.

[175] Menocal, *The Arabic Role,* p. 31.

[176] Ibid., pp. 48-49.

[177] Snow, "The Iberian Peninsula," p. 273.

[178] Egan, *Vidas,* pp. 1; 78.

the poetry and languages of the Spanish courts—Raimbaut de Vaqueira's multilingual *descort*, "Eras quan vey verdeyar," has a stanza in Galician-Portuguese, the language of the Spanish poetic corpus of *cantigas d'amigo,* and that of the *Cantigas de Santa Marìa,* a collection of vernacular poetry with musical notation whose content is mostly concerned with the miracles of the Virgin Mary. Furthermore, Guiraut Riquier, active in Narbonne in the thirteenth century, worked at the courts of two Iberian rulers, Pedro III of Aragon, and Alfonso X of Castile and Leon (compiler of the *Cantigas de Santa María*).[179] This historical and poetic evidence makes it seem probable that the troubadours came into contact with both Aristotelian ideas as glossed by scholars such as Avicenna, and writings by others that developed their own philosophical ideas from the works of Aristotle and Plato. At the least, it is highly likely that these ideas colored learned discussions at both Spanish and southern French courts.

In all texts, vocal sound is received by the ear as an impression on the ear drum, made by the transformation of a material object into something immaterial. This conception of hearing and sound makes the act of learning a very physical one. As outlined above, learning occurred first through audition, then through repetition, of speech or singing. Students and teachers alike conceived of vocal sound as produced by a body: in the writings of Isidore of Seville, Aristotle, and Avicenna, the breath hits the air and makes an impression on it, while in John of Salisbury's treatise the breath itself is the material substance that touches the ear to transmit sound.[180] This body, however, becomes immaterial when it is transformed into sound, which allows it to easily enter the body of the listening recipient. In the second part of the learning process (which

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[179] Michel-André Bossy, "Cyclical Composition in Guiraut Riquier's Book of Poems," Speculum 66.2 (Apr., 1991), pp. 288-289.

[180] Ioannis Saresberiensis, *Policraticus* I.6, ed. Keats-Roahn.

involves reproduction of aural information via the voice) the students produce their own breath, forming a material object that is involved in the production and transmission of sound. Conceptions of the breath as a producer of sound in the Middle Ages embody it: they literally give it some sort of material body in order to enable it to make a sound. Isidore furthers this idea when he describes the difference between "delicate" and "rich" voices: "Delicate (subtilis) voices are those that have no breath…Voices are rich (pinguis) when a great deal of breath is sent forward all at once."[181] Amount of breath is directly correlated to the density of the voice, describing it in terms of mass rather than auditory volume. Learning vocal music or learning to read involves at least three bodies: the body of the teacher, who first produces sound, the body or bodies of the pupil(s), who first receive the sound and then reproduce it themselves, and the body of the breath itself, construed as vocal sound passing in and out of the student.

LEARNING AND THE BODY IN THE *TORNADA*

As I argue in Chapter One, the anthropomorphization of the troubadour song in the *tornadas* gives the song a body via the singer's breath. When the troubadour asks his song to let itself be learned, this action makes explicit in song the physical process of learning. The song is embodied both through personification and the material nature of the performer's breath, establishing a physical and material connection between troubadour and purported pupil.

The troubadour instigates the learning process (and fills the role of instructor) when he sends his song to his lady in order to spread his message aurally—an action evidenced by the use

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[181] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies,* III.xix.11-12, ed. and trans. Barney, Lewis, Beach, Berghof, and Hall, p. 96.

of words such as “dir” or “digs” (“tell”), and “auzir” (“hear”), in the *tornadas*.[182] The lady then receives the bodied breath (the song) and, as a student would, takes it into her own body through her ears. She must then reproduce the song using her own breath and mouth to complete the learning process and produce a sound of her own.

While learning the song, the lady consumes the entire body of the personified song, reconstituting it as an entirely new entity when she sings the song aloud. The concept of eating or consuming parts of the body appears elsewhere in the lyric corpus and provides a useful parallel for thinking about the consequences of bodily consumption. The “eaten-heart story,” found in the *vida* of Guillem de Cabestanh, describes his love affair with Lady Soremonda, wife of the Lord Raimon de Castel-Rousillon.[183] One day, someone tells Raimon about his wife’s lover, and he kills Guillem out of jealousy. Raimon then removes Guillem’s heart from his body, cooks and seasons it, and serves it to his wife for dinner. Upon discovering that she has eaten the heart of her lover, Lady Soremonda declares that what she has eaten is so delicious, she will never eat again. When her husband hears this, he rushes at her with his sword, but she throws herself off a balcony before he can kill her. Another version of this story can be found in the thirteenth-century romance the *Roman du Châtelain de Coucy et de la Dame de Fayel,* attributed to

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[182] For example, Arnaut Daniel’s song “Lanquan vei fuel’s flor e frug” instructs the song to “Vai t’en, chansos, a la bela de corse/e diguas li c’Arnautz met… [Go, song, to the beautiful one on the run/and tell her that Arnaut sends…],” while the only *tornada* of Guillem de St. Leidier’s song “Per Dieu, Amor, en gentil luoc cortes” tells the song to “Chansoneta, vai·m dir a mon Bertran/qu·ie·l prec que·t fassa al sieu Bertran auzir [Song, go for me to tell my Bertran/that I make this prayer that Bertran may hear you].” Translations are my own in consultation with Arnaut Daniel, “Lanquan vei fuel’s flor e frug,” in *The Poetry of Arnaut Daniel*, ed. and trans. James J. Wilhelm (New York: Garland Publishing, 1981); and Guillem de St. Leidier, “Per Dieu, Amor, en gentil luoc cortes,” in *Poesies du troubadour Guillem de Saint-Didier: Publiées avec introduction, traduction, notes et glossaire*, ed. and trans. Aimo Sakari (Helsinki: Société néophilologique à Helsingford, 1956).

[183] The *vida* of Guillem de Cabestanh is in MS ABF^{b}HIKN^{2}RP. See Appendix A for a list of the shelfmarks and locations of the troubadour *chansonniers,* and Appendix E for the text of the *vida*.

Jakemés.[184] The gist of the story is essentially the same—in the romance, the knight Renaud de Coucy (Guillem de Cabestanh in the *vida* version) loves the Lady of Fayel (Lady Soremonda from the *vida*). When Renaud is on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he receives a fatal wound in his side. Before he dies, he orders his squire Gobert to bring his heart to the Lady of Fayel, along with a love letter. Lord Fayel stops the squire before he can deliver his message, and cooks Reynaud's heart. In both stories, the body of the lover enters that of the beloved through force and deception, and their bodily contact results in both their deaths.

The relatively positive view of bodily interaction via learning in the troubadour *tornadas* contradicts the deadly consequences it has in the eaten-heart stories. Heather Webb suggests that the woman's consumption of the lover's heart in the eaten-heart stories is a:

> perversion or reversal of the ritual Eucharistic meal, in which the bread is identified as body and the wine as blood before it is consumed. To consume body and blood without this mediation…is an act of cannibalism rather than communion.[185]

The song's body, engendered in performance, is (as discussed in Chapter One) a vocalic body—a secondary or surrogate way of having or being a body.[186] The song is identified as something else before it is presented for consumption to the beloved—it is identified as an object with materiality and qualities of personhood.

The level of embodiment inherent in the medieval processes of learning to read and to sing posits learning as a type of physical consumption, a phenomenon that is present in descriptions of both monastic pedagogies and courtly lessons. The personification of songs in the

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[184] Jakemés, *Le roman de Châtelain de Coucy et de la Dame de Fayel*, pub. et trad. par Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2009).

[185] Heather Webb, *The Medieval Heart* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 158.

[186] See Connor, *Dumbstruck*, p. 35.

tornadas pushes the idea of bodily ingestion to new limits, as the embodied song (conceived of as such via its personification in the *tornadas* and discussions of breath as a physical entity with mass) enters first the ears and then the mouth of the troubadour's lady.

The act of learning-consumption desired by the troubadours who send their songs to be learned is not without sexual connotations. The song's initial mode of entry into the woman's body (through her ears) echoes visual depictions of the impregnation of the Virgin Mary, who most often appears in illustrations with a dove (representing the Holy Spirit) hovering next to her ear, and in descriptions of the weasel from medieval bestiaries, whose behavioral qualities stem from two strands of writings from Ancient Greece and Rome.[187] Aristotle instigates the first strand, referencing beliefs that the weasel gives birth through its mouth:

> there are those who say that…one of the quadrupeds, the weasel, brings forth its young by the mouth. This is, in fact, alleged by Anaxagoras and some of the other physiologers; but their verdict is based on insufficient evidence and inadequate consideration of the matter.[188]

The weasel's sexual proclivities feature in the ninth book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as well.[189] Alcmene, a mortal woman, becomes pregnant with Hercules by the god Jupiter.[190] When it

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[187] Gary Waller, *A Cultural Study of the Annunciation: From Luke to the Enlightenment* (Brookfield, VT: Pickering and Chatto, Ltd., 2015), p. 87. David R. Cartlidge and J. Keith Elliott describe the process by which the Church answers Mary's question about her impregnation ('How is this impregnation to take place?' Luke 1:34). The angel Gabriel tells her that the Holy Spirit will come upon her, and the power of the Most High will overshadow her (Luke 1:34): "If it was by the Holy Spirit that Mary would become pregnant, and, as the Spirit is closely associated with the Logos, then it was through the Virgin's ear that the impregnating word entered." Cartlidge and Elliott, *Art and the Christian Apocrypha* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 80; Maurizio Bettini and Emlyn Eisenach, *Women and Weasels: Mythologies of Birth in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

[188] Aristotle, *On the Generation of Animals*, ed. and trans. A. L. Peck (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1943), 6.756b. For a detailed discussion of the weasel in the works of ancient Greek and Roman writers, see Bettini and Eisenach, *Women and Weasels*, pp. 103-113.

[189] Thomas Shearer Duncan, "The Weasel in Religion, Myth and Superstition," *Washington University Studies* 12 (July 1924-April 1925), p. 41. Ovid bases parts of his *Metamorphoses* on a lost work by Greek physician Nicander (2nd c. B.C.), the *Heteroeumena*. The story of Alcmene, Hercules, and Galanthis was likely included in Nicander's *Heteroeumena*. See Carl Wilhelm Vollgraff, *Nikander und Ovid* (J.B. Wolters: Groningen, 1909).

[190] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book IX, ll. 276-322, ed. and trans. Frank Justus Miller, vol II (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 22-25.

comes time for Alcmene to deliver Hercules, she calls on Lucina, the Roman goddess of childbirth, but Lucina has made a pact with Juno (Jupiter's wife) to halt Hercules' birth. One of Alcmene's servant-girls, Galanthis, sees Lucina outside of Alcmene's chamber and senses that something is wrong. Galanthis tells Lucina that Alcmene has delivered her baby, shocking her and disturbing her efforts to stop the birth. As punishment, Lucina throws Galanthis on the ground and changes her into a weasel. At the story's conclusion, Ovid offers an explanation for the weasel's sexual behavior: because Galanthis helped Alcmene's childbirth with her "mendaci…ore [deceitful mouth/lips]," the weasel always gives birth through its mouth and is associated with childbirth.[191] Later writers from Antiquity furthered the belief that the weasel gave birth through the mouth, and added the weasel's practice of conceiving through its ears.[192]

The version of the weasel's story that appears in most medieval bestiaries is told in the *Physiologus*, a Christian text with Greek origins dating from the second century A.D. that was widely translated during the Middle Ages.[193] This account of the story inverts the functions of the weasel's ears and mouth as Aristotle and those after him described them, so the animal now conceives through its mouth and gives birth through its ears.[194] This is the story told in the short

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[191] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book IX, l. 322, ed. and trans. Miller, p. 25.

[192] These writers include Antoninus Liberalis, Plutarch, Aristeas, and Nicander. Bettini and Eisenach, *Women and Weasels*, pp. 38-39; Duncan, "The Weasel in Religion, Myth and Superstition," p. 40.

[193] Florence McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960), pp. 15-20; Francis J. Carmody, *Physiologus Latinus Versio Y* (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1939), p. 95 fn. 1, also cited in Guy R. Mermier, *A Medieval Book of Beasts: Pierre de Beauvais' Bestiary, Followed by a Diplomatic Translation of the Malines (Mechelen) manuscript of Pierre de Beauvais, short version and with, in Appendix, an English Translation of the Cambrai Bestiary* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), p. ii; Gohar Muradyan, *Physiologus: The Greek and Armenian Versions with a Study of Translation Technique* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), p. 1. Carmody notes that not only is the *Physiologus* extant in over 250 manuscripts in Latin and Romance and Germanic languages that were copied between 1100 and 1400, the treatise was also used extensively by Isidore of Seville, Honorius Augustodunensis, and Vincent de Beauvais in their encyclopedias. See McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*, pp. 21-44; and Jeanette Beer, trans., *Master Richard's Bestiary of Love and Response* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp. x-xi, for an account of the Latin versions of the *Physiologus* and their influence on medieval bestiaries.

[194] Mermier, *A Medieval Book of Beasts*, p. 153.

version of Pierre de Beauvais' *Bestiaire*, composed in the early thirteenth century; the weasel is impregnated through its mouth and delivers its offspring through its ear.[195]

In his *Bestiare d'amour*, written in the middle of the thirteenth century, Richard de Fournival returns to the version of the tale told in Ovid—the animal now "par l'orelle conçoit et par la bouche enfante [conceives through its ear and gives birth through its mouth]."[196] Although the two versions of the legend of the weasel offer different sexual functions for the mouth and the ear, both traditions include a focus on the mouth and ear as organs concerned with sound.[197] Pierre's chapter on the weasel transforms the act of hearing into a moral act, while Richard's weasel is used to describe the actions of women who change their minds when granting their love instead:

> Et là où eles aiment, si s'escondient. Aussi com la Mostoile, qui par l'orelle conçoit et par la bouche enfante. Et teil nature font tieus femes; jà soit ce q'eles aient oïs tant beaus mos qe lor samble que les doivent amer, et qu'eles ont aussi coume conciut par l'orelle, si s'en délivrent par la bouche à un escondit, et salent volentiers en autres paroles par costume…
>
> [Where they love they also refuse to give themselves, like the Weasel, which conceives through its ear and gives birth through its mouth. Such women really act in that way, for when they have heard so many fair words that they feel bound to grant their love (and have thus conceived

[195] Ibid., pp. x-xi, 153. The weasel is the subject of the 27th chapter of Pierre's *Bestiary*: "Physiologes dit quelle rechoit la semenche del masle par la bouche, ensi la dedens soy. El tens quelle doit foener, elle le rent par loreille. [Physiologus says that the female receives the seed of the male in her mouth and she swallows it. Then when she is about to give birth, she gives birth through her ear.]" Mermier, ed. and trans., *A Medieval Book of Beasts*, p. 153, 285.

[196] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. C. Hippeau (Paris: Auguste Aubry, 1860), p. 14; and *Master Richard's Bestiary of Love and Response*, trans. Beer, p. 9. See also Jeannette Beer, *Beasts of Love: Richard de Fournival's Bestiaire d'amour and a Woman's Response* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), pp. 40-42.

[197] McCulloch notes that the origin of this confusion has been identified in different versions of the Latin translations of the *Physiologus*, and transmitted into the medieval French bestiaries. See McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*, p. 186.

by ear, as it were), then they deliver themselves by mouth of a refusal,
and out of habit jump readily to other words…].[198]

The troubadour sends his song to his beloved so that she may hear it and fall in love with him much in the same way that Richard describes women "conceiving by ear" when they hear "fair words" directed at them. However, unlike the process of learning invoked in the personified songs, the women Richard describes do not give birth to any form of reciprocation—instead they verbally refuse, and break the cycle.

The lady's reproduction of the song in her mouth firmly places the act of learning the song within the realm of sexual activity—and its aftereffects. Peire Bremon Ricas Novas makes his aims explicit in the sixth stanza from his song "Un sonet nouvel fatz:"

Chansos, quant seras lai,
mon cossir li retrai,
e di li per que·m fai
morir en tal esmay;
pueys te comandarai,
si s'azauta de te,
tro ins el cor li vay,
qu'adoncs hi trobarai
ben l'eu mais de merce.

[Song, when you will be over there, depict to him my chagrin and ask him why she makes me die from such anxiety. I recommend you then, if she finds it pleasing to learn you, to proceed deep into her heart, for maybe then I will find near her more mercy.][199]

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[198] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. Hippeau, pp. 13-14; *Master Richard's Bestiary of Love and Response*, trans. Beer, p. 9. Pierre's chapter on the weasel pairs the animal with an asp, a snake who "ses oreilles estoupe quil noie lenchantur [plugs its ears in order not to hear the enchanter]." He describes "riche homme qui lune oreille mettent as terriens desiers et lautre estouppent de leurs pechies [rich men who turn one ear to earthly desires and who plug the other with their sins]" as resembling the asp, a comparison he arrives at by describing "les fiaubles en dieu qui volentiers rechoivent la semenche d(e) la parolle dieu, mais li deviennent puis inobedient, il entrelaissent ce quil ont oy de dieu [the faithful who receive most willingly the word of God, but who later abandon the faith and disregard what God has told them]" as similar to the weasel, but actually closely resembling the asp. Mermier, ed. and trans., *A Medieval Book of Beasts*, p. 153, 285. Richard de Fournival instead uses his *Bestiaire* to comment on the behavior of lovers through descriptions of animals. He includes the asp in his bestiary and similarly describes its ability to plug its ears to defend itself from enchantment by sound, but it is not directly paired with the weasel. See Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. Hippeau, p. 17. For an account of the asp and its characteristics in the bestiary tradition generally, see McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*, pp. 88-91; and of the weasel, pp. 186-188.

[199] Peire Bremon Ricas Novas, "Un sonet nouvel fatz," trans. in consultation with *Les poésies du Troubadour Peire Bremon Ricas Novas*, ed. and trans. Jean Boutière (Toulouse: Édouard Privat; Paris: Henri Didier, 1930), pp. 4-6.

Peire Bremon specifically instructs his song to "vay" (from the verb "anar", meaning "to go" or "to proceed") into the heart of his lady, making concrete all of the veiled suggestions present in the *tornadas* of the other troubadours.

But whose body, exactly, is entering the body of the recipient? In the stanza mentioned above, Peire Bremon tells his song to move deep into his lady's heart so "adoncs hi trobarai/ben l'*eu* mais de merce. [maybe then *I* will find near her more mercy.]" Peire Bremon's song seems to act as a proxy for his physical self, as its act of infiltration allows Peire Bremon himself to get closer to his lady. Several of the other troubadours who seek appreciation for their songs via learning tap into the trope of troubadour-as-song, employing mention of their songs to stand in for the troubadours themselves. The second *tornada* of Raimon Jordan's song "Per qual forfait o per qual falhimen" engages with the desires of Jordan's lady and Jordan itself, as it directs the song to "Chansos, vai t'en e digas li·m denan/que s'a lieis platz, t'aprenda e que·t chan [Song, go to her and tell her from me that if she likes you, to learn you and sing you,]" while the only *tornada* of Gaucelm Faidit's song "Mout a poignat amors en mi delir" describes the great appreciation Gaucelm's song will find if it visits his lady in Ventadorn:

> Chanssos, a lieis per q'es prezatz mos chans,
> A Ventadorn vuoill teignas e t'enans,
> qu'il a en se tant de bon'aventura
> qe tota gens te volra, al partir,
> per lieis honrar, aprendre et auzir!
>
> [Song, because of her by which my poetry is valued, I want you to direct yourself to Ventadorn in great haste, for in her is so much happiness and luck that everyone will want to begin to honor you, to listen to you and to learn you.][200]

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[200] Raimon Jordan, "Per qual forfait o per qual falhimen," trans. in consultation with *Il Trovatore Raimon Jordan*, ed. and trans. Stefano Asperti (Modena: Mucchi Editore, 1990), pp. 298-300; Gaucelm Faidit, "Mout a poignat amors en mi delir," trans. in consultation with *Les poèmes de Gaucelm Faidit: Troubadour du XIIe Siècle*, ed. and trans. Jean Mouzat (Paris: A. G. Nizet, 1965), pp. 377-381.

Similarly, the only *tornada* of Gaucelm's song "Ara cove/qe·m conort en chantan" outlines this process with his *senhal* Plus Avinen:

> Chanso, vai t'en
> a mon Plus Avinen,
> qu'er bo si·t pren
> e·t chanta e t'apren!
>
> [Song, go see my Plus Avenant, for it will be well if he takes you, learns you, and sings you.][201]

In the sixth stanza from Raimon de Miraval's "Tot quan fatz de be ni dic" (discussed in more detail in Chapter One) Raimon tells his song that he will "ben tenh mon chantar per ric [certainly consider my singing noble]" if his addressee with the *senhal* Mais d'Amic learns it:

> Dreg a mon belh Mais d'Amic
> Chansos vai que la retenda
> E si tan fai que t'aprenda,
> Ben tenh mon chantar per ric
> Que lieys vol nos bayssa ni·s gavanha,
> Que·l sieus lauzars daur'e·l blasmars estanha
> E conoys sap et enten
> Qu'ades val mais la part qu'ilh pren.
>
> [Go, song, straight to my beautiful *Mais d'amic*, that she retains you, and if she goes so far as to learn you, I shall certainly consider my singing noble. For what she wishes neither diminishes nor deteriorates, since her praise gilds and her blame coats with tin; she knows and recognizes and understands so much that what she chooses is always worth more.][202]

Raimon de Miraval, Gaucelm Faidit, and Peire Bremon Ricas Novas send their songs to be learned in the hopes of gaining honor and acclaim for themselves, highlighting the song's role as a stand-in body for the troubadours. Gaucelm Faidit and Raimon de Miraval speak to their songs and describe the actions they want the songs to take on their behalf, constructing a clearer distinction between themselves as poets and their songs as entities in their own right. Both

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[201] Gaucelm Faidit, "Ara cove/qe·m conort en chantan," trans. in consultation with *Les poèmes de Gaucelm Faidit*, ed. and trans. Mouzat, pp. 222-226.

[202] Raimon de Miraval, "Tot quan fatz de be ni dic."

Gaucelm and Raimon de Miraval outline scenarios in which their songs handle all of the interactions between the troubadour and his intended recipient—fame and value are accorded directly to the songs, and only indirectly to the poets. Raimon Jordan's song behaves in a nearly identical manner. Although Raimon Jordan instructs his song to "digas lim denan [tell her from me]" that he wishes his lady to learn his song, he concludes his *tornada* by stating that the lady will be "t'aprenda" and "·t chan (learn and sing you [the song])." Peire Bremon Ricas Novas, however, closes the arc of his song's journey by referring directly to himself, inserting his own presence into his description of how he wishes his song to behave. At the end of the day, it is Peire Bremon who will swoop in and claim the mercy and goodwill his song gains by allowing itself to be learned—his song seems to function as an extension of his own body, and never fully separates from its creator.

The second *tornada* of Peirol's "D'un sonet vau pensan" makes ambiguous the level of agency the song has, as its melody seemingly contradicts the way in which Peirol treats his song in the poetic text. As mentioned above, Peirol instructs his song to "dreich a midonz t'en vai,/e digs li, si·l play/que t'aprenda et chan [straight to my lady go, and tell her, if it so please her, to learn you and sing.]"[203] Peirol merely employs the song as a messenger, reflecting the song's limited agency, while the song's melody emphasizes the change in poetic structure when the performer reaches the *tornadas* (see Examples 11 and 12).

The melody's form, AA'B, aligns with Dante's *pedes-cauda* musical structure, and the beginning of the B section/*cauda* differs audibly from the opening phrase of the A sections/

[203] Peirol, "D'un sonet vau pensan," trans. in consultation with *Peirol,* ed. and trans. Aston, pp. 67-68.

pedes.[204] The song's first melodic phrase opens on d' before jumping up a fifth to a', and eventually expanding to c" to span the range of a seventh. The fifth phrase (which opens the B section) begins on d" before descending to f'. While the contours of phrases one and five

Example 11. Peirol, "D'un sonet vau pensan," first stanza and second *tornada*.[205]

First stanza

D'un so - net vau pen - san per so - latz e per rire

e no chan - te - ra o - gan es - ters per mon cos - si - re

don me co - nort chan - tan c'a - mors m'au - ci d'es - mai

can m'a tro - bar ve - rai plus de null au - tre a - man.

Second tornada

Chan - so - net' ab ai - tan dreich a mi - donz t'en vai,

e di - gas li, si l plai que t'a - pren - da et chan.

[204] See Chapter One for a discussion of Dante's verse structures; see also Marianne Shapiro, *De vulgari eloquentia: Dante's Book of Exile*.

[205] Peirol, "D'un sonet vau pensan", Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, R 71 sup., 43v.

Example 12. Text of Peirol's "D'un sonet vau pensan."[206]

1
D'un sonet vau pensan
Per solatz e per rire
e non chanter' ogan
estiers per mon cossire,
don mi conort chantan;
qu'amors m'auci d'essai
quar m'a trobat verai
plus de nuill autr' aman.

2
Sivals be·m vai d'aitan
que ges no·m pot aucire
a plus onrat afan
ni ab tant douz martire.
C'a tal domna·m coman
qu'es la genser qu'eu sai;
bos m'es lo mals qu'ieu trai
mas ill n'a pechat gran.

3
Ren per autrui no·l man
de so que plus desire,
ni eu eus, tant la blan,
re no l'en auzi dire.
Ans quan li sui degna
maingtas vetz quan s'eschai
dic; 'Dona, que farai?'
no·m respon mas guaban.

4
Las! com mor desiran,
sos hom e sos servire,
qe·m n'iria celan.
Maingtas vetz m'en azire
e dic per mal talan
que tot m'en partirai;
pois aqui eus trob lai
mon cor on er'antan.

5
Li huoill del cor m'estan
a lieis vas on q'ieu vire,
si c'ades on qu'ill an
la vei e la remire
tot per aital semblan
cum la flors c'om retrai
que totas vias vai
contra·l soleill viran.

6
S'una vetz tan ni qan
eu fos estatz gauzire,
sapchatz non es d'engan
que soven eu sospire.
Domna, per cui eu chan,
una ren vos dirai,
s'aquest vostr'om dechai
anta i auretz e dan.

7
D'amor vos dic eu tan
que bon respich en ai,
e ja d'aqui en lai
nuills hom no m'en deman.

8
Chansonet' ab aitan
dreich a midonz t'en vai,
e digas li, si·l plai,
que t'aprenda et chan.

[206] Peirol, "D'un sonet vau pensan," in *Peirol*, ed. and trans. Aston, pp. 64-68.

are clearly different, phrase five's introduction of d" provides another marker by which the listener can aurally discern the melody's form. Additionally, d" serves as a pivot point for the melody's pitch centers. The A sections are centered on d', as phrases one and three open on this pitch before leaping up a fifth to a'—suggesting that the melody is constructed around the d'/a' fifth. Despite this strong opening, the rest of the A section does not seem to emphasize a' as a focal pitch point. The final pitch of phrases one and three is g', while the closing pitch of phrases two and four is b'. d' constitutes the final pitch in this chain of thirds (g'/b'/d"), making murky the interval d' is associated with (is it the d'/a' fifth so clearly outlined at the beginning of phrases one and three, or is it the g'/b'/d" triad chain that permeates the rest of the A section?).

The *cauda* does not exhibit the pitch ambiguity of the *pedes*. Phrase five opens on d", but descends stepwise to f' before closing on a', and phrases seven and eight open on d' and f' before closing on f' and a', respectively. The song's *tornadas* are sung to the *cauda*'s melody, and the combination of d" as high point, difference in melodic contour, and solidification of pitch center would certainly allow audiences to recognize the change in melodic and poetic structure with the introduction of the *tornadas*.

The melody of the *tornada* is clearly distinguished from the melody of the rest of the strophe, a hallmark of the melodies of many troubadour songs (both those with personification in their *tornadas* and without). The melody of "D'un sonet vau pensan" seems to support a reading of the *tornada* that treats the personified song as an entity with agency gained from its role as a messenger, as the song's change from song to anthropomorphized object is melodically and poetically highlighted.[207] However, Peirol orders the song to tell his lady to learn it if she so

[207] I explore this idea more fully in the first chapter.

desires, and this action may have an effect on the song's (already limited) agency, contradicting the clear-cut distinction between the *tornada*'s melody and that of the rest of the song. Peirol's *tornada* simultaneously gives the song its own instrumentality while reducing it to an object that can be learned (and indeed, Peirol's relationship with his lady will presumably be bolstered if she learns his song).

These two different types of relationships between song and poet suggest that two different types of bodied entities are consumed. Songs connected indirectly to their poets (Gaucelm Faidit's "Mout a poignat amors en mi delir" and Raimon de Miraval's "Tot quan fatz de be ni dic") accrue value directly to themselves and are therefore able to participate directly in the acts of sexual consumption and their own reproduction, while songs connected directly to their poets (Peire Bremon Ricas Novas' "Un sonet nouvel fatz") are somehow left out of the loop of sexual consumption and reproduction. These songs do perform the initial penetration (Peire Bremon instructs his song to "tro ins el cor li vay") and are eventually reproduced via the lady's mouth, but the troubadour is the one who benefits from the sexual act—Peire Bremon's inwards turn back towards himself positions his body as the physically present one and supersedes the song's position in the presence of Peire's beloved. Peirol's song seems to inhabit an area in between these two forms of embodiment—it is the song, not Peirol, that participates in the act of learning and consumption, but without any form of increased value. The song is learned at the whim of Peirol's beloved, and does not appear to gain anything from the experience.

The lady's or *senhal*'s consumption of the song strips it of its body. This consumption occurs not during the first act of penetration, but during the learner's vocal reproduction of the song. As the song's body is connected to the sound of the voice generated by a performer, then

entry to the learner's body would not necessarily deconstruct the body, as the sound of the initial performing voice would, in order to be heard, create an impression on the ear (remaining in the "inner ear" of the listener). The song's body is destroyed and reconstructed when the learner repeats the song aloud, filtering it through a new vocal timbre (and therefore a newly shaped body). The listener's repetition of the song he/she has just heard preserves the song's melodic and poetic material, pushing the song into the role of offspring—material from both "parents" is combined to constitute the new version of the song.

If, as in Peire Bremon's *tornada*, the troubadour's body supersedes that of the song's, the lady is then interacting sexually on some level with the poet's body. As explored in the previous chapter, a subset of the personified troubadour *tornadas* illustrate the presence of numerous subject positions in one lyric poem, and highlight the porousness of the boundaries between each enacted subject. The troubadour has the power to move in and out of the song's subject position, as the two are connected by the language that constructs that subject position—language that is developed by the troubadour himself. Indeed, language is the vehicle by which everything is constructed—the first-person persona of the lover, the song's personification, the opening outward to "real" people and patrons, and the lyric text itself.[208] It is also the means by which the poet can move back and forth between subject positions—the language can construct the boundaries of individual subjects, but at the same time re-open them to allow the one source outside of its world (the poet who employs the language) to move between them.

The *tornada* of Raimon Jordan's song "Per solatz e per deport" introduces some nuance to this cycle of learning and sexual consumption. The only *tornada* of Raimon's song does not

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[208] Kay, "Desire and Subjectivity," p. 213.

actually send the newly personified song anywhere—instead, it merely tells the song, "Chanssos, mos Guaris/vuelh t'aprenda [Song, I want my Guaris to learn you.]"[209] Raimon does not treat his song as a messenger here, and the song is not instructed to do anything—Raimon only expresses his desire for Guaris to learn his song, but does not ask the song to let itself be learned. From the information the *tornada* gives us, it is impossible to tell whether Raimon's song will engage in all interactions with Guaris on Raimon's behalf or whether Raimon will enter into the scenario at the end, but the invocation of learning signals the possibility of some sort of physical interaction, be it via his song's body or Raimon's own.

Conversely, the first *tornada* of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras' song "Si ja amors autre pro non tengues" places the agency of choosing to learn with Raimbaut's lady. Raimbaut instructs his song:

> A Mon Segur, chanzon, te fai saber,
> e digas li, e semblara plazer,
> c'om miels de leis no sap dir ni entendre
> ni miels chantar, mas trop poignh' ad aprendre.
>
> [Make yourself known, song, to My Assurance, and tell her, for it will please her, that no one can speak, nor understand nor sing better than her, for she exceedingly strives to learn.][210]

Raimbaut appears to be underscoring his lady's worth as a lover within the poetic constraints of the lyric in the *tornada*—she is the most well-spoken, the most understanding, and the best singer, all because her desire to learn is so great. As seen above in the *Romance of Flamenca*, learning and the desire to learn is as important to sustaining life as breathing. Those who have learning continually endeavor to learn more to improve their worth and stay alive.

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[209] Raimon Jordan, "Per solatz e per deport," trans. in consultation with *Raimon Jordan*, ed. and trans. Asperti, pp. 330-331.

[210] Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, "Si ja amors autre pro non tengues," trans. in consultation with *The poems of the troubadour, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, ed. and trans. Joseph Linskill (Mouton: The Hague, 1964), pp. 294-295.

The first *tornada* of Aimeric de Peguilhan's song "Mangtas vetz sui enqueritz" sends the song not to a female recipient, but to a male one. Aimeric says:

> Vas Malaspina ten, chans,
> al pro Guillem qu'es prezans,
> qu'elh aprenda de te los motz e·l so,
> qual que·s vuelha, per vers o per chanso.
>
> [Toward Malaspina go, song, to the worth and honored William, that he may learn from you the words and the tune for whatever he wishes, 'vers' or 'chanso'.][211]

Aimeric's invocation of learning is different in this song than in those discussed above. He makes a distinction between the words and the tune of the song, indicating that learning a song includes learning both lyric and melody. Aimeric also highlights two different types of songs in his *tornada*, stating that Guillem, his intended recipient can choose to learn either a "vers" or a "chanso".

This generic dichotomy, which seemingly refers to older and newer versions of one type of song, adds another level of specificity to William's choice of learning material.[212] Does the fact that Aimeric so clearly indicates a distinction reflect on the type of process described here? William is clearly male in both name and gender pronoun, illustrating a different type of (possibly sexual) relationship between poet and recipient. How does William's gender change both parties' relationship to the act of learning the song? In the next chapter, I turn to the specifics of language and its gender—in a system where poets can refer to their ladies as lords, and to their lords as love objects, the presence of songs that are both masculine and feminine suggests a flexibility of gender that permeates the troubadour lyric corpus as a whole.

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[211] Aimeric de Peguilhan, "Mangtas vetz sui enqueritz," trans. in consultation with *The Poems of Aimeric de Peguilhan*, ed. and trans. William P. Shepard and Frank M. Chambers (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1950), pp. 176-178.

[212] For more on the distinction between a *vers* and a *chanso*, see Bossy, "Cyclical Composition in Guiraut Riquier's Book of Poems," pp. 277-293; and my next chapter.

Chapter 3. Language, Gender, and Personification

The *tornada* discussed at the end of the last chapter, Aimeric de Peguilhan's "Mangtas vetz sui enqueritz," belongs to a song that plays with gender throughout, beginning with the first stanza. The focus on gender in this song belies a slippage, or flexibility in choice, in the use of gender in troubadour poetry, a flexibility that also appears in the addressing of female figures by male names ("midons").[213]

Aimeric addresses his song in the second person in this song's two *tornadas:*

> Vas Malaspina ten, chans,
> Al pro Guillem qu'es prezans,
> Qu'elh aprenda de te los motz e·l so,
> Qual que·s vuelha, per vers o per chanso.
>
> Na Beatritz d'Est, l'enans
> De vos mi platz, que·s far grans.
> En vos lauzar s'en son pres tug li bo,
> Per que de vos dauri mo vers-chanso.
>
> [Toward Malaspina go, song, to the worthy and honored William, that he can learn from you the words and the tune for whatever he wishes, "vers" or "chanso."
>
> Lady Beatrice of Este, your lofty fame, which is growing great, pleases me. All good people are set on praising you. Therefore I gild your name with my "vers-chanso."][214]

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[213] For example, Bernart de Ventadorn uses the term in his songs "Ges de chantar no·m pres talens" (l. 33), "Lancan folhon bosc e jarric" (l. 33), "Can l'erba fresch' e·lh folha par" (l. 25), "Per melhs cobrir lo mal pes e·l cossire" (l. 13), "Can vei la lauzeta mover" (l. 49), and "Can lo boschatges es floritz" (l. 9), and Gaucelm Faidit uses it in his songs "Ab cossirier plaing" (l. 23), "Si tot m'ai tarzat mon chan" (l. 28), "Ar es lo montç vermellç e vertç" (l. 15), and "Lo rossignolet salvatge" (l. 40). William Paden provides a detailed study of the etymology of "midons," its grammatical gender and use across Occitan cases and declensions, and a comprehensive list of troubadour poems in which the term occurs. See Paden, "The Etymology of Midons," pp. 311-335. For more on the question of "midons" and scholarship surrounding it, see Don A. Monson, "The Problem of *Midons* Revisited," *Romania* 499-500 (2007), pp. 283-305; Aurelio Roncaglia, "Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine et le jeu du trobar (avec un plaidoyer pour la déidéologisation de Midons)," in *Contacts de langues, de civilisations et intertextualité; IIIème Congrès international de l'Association international d'études occitanes, 20-27 septembre 1990*, Vol. 3, ed. Gérard Gouiran (Montpellier, 1992), pp. 1105-1117; Ruth Harvey, "The Satirical Use of the Courtly Expression 'Si Dons' in the Works of the Troubadour Marcabru," *Modern Language Review* 78 (1983), pp. 24-33; Paden, "The Troubadour's Lady: Her Marital Status and Social Rank," *Studies in Philology* 72 (1975), pp. 28-50; W. M. Hackett, "Le problème de 'midons'," in *Mélanges…Jean Boutière*, Vol. 1, ed. Irénée-Marcel Cluzel and François Pirot (Liège, 1971), pp. 285-294.

[214] Aimeric de Peguilhan, "Mangtas vetz sui enqueritz," trans. in consultation with *The Poems of Aimeric de Peguilhan*, ed. and trans. Shepard and Chambers, pp. 176-178.

thus endowing it with a body and all the human capabilities discussed in the first two chapters, and also refers to the song in the third person using a differently gendered noun. If the song takes on a body, but it can be called by either a masculine or feminine noun, what does that mean for the song's bodied creation?

In the first two stanzas of "Mangtas vetz," Aimeric laments the deception that has now come to rule the court he belongs to. He personifies "Domneys [Lady-service]," describing in the fourth stanza of the song how this type of behavior, integral to the codes of *fin'amor*, has been replaced with "enjans [deceit]":

> Quar es de son loc partitz
> Domneys que ja fo prezatz,
> Mi sui alques desviatz
> De joy, tan n'estau marritz,
> Qu'entr' amairitz ez amans.
>
> [Because Lady-Service, which once was honored, has forsaken its lofty place, I have turned away from Joy, so saddened am I by the fact that open deceit has come to pass between lovers].[215]

Aimeric frames this deceit between lovers with a discussion of song genres, arguing that the names his courtly audience seeks to place on his songs and others he has heard seem to contradict each other:

> Mangtas vetz sui enqueritz
> En cort cossi vers no fatz;
> Per qu'ieu vuelh si' apellatz—
> E sia lur lo chauzitz—
> Chansos o vers aquest chans.
> E respon als demandans
> Qu'om non troba ni sap devezio
> Mas sol lo nom entre vers e chanso.
>
> Qu'ieu ai motz mascles auzitz
> En chansonetas assatz,
> E motz femenis pausatz

[215] Aimeric de Peguilhan, "Mangtas vetz de sui enqueritz," ed. and trans. Shepard and Chambers, pp. 175-178.

> En verses bos e grazitz;
> E cortz sonetz e cochans
> Ai auzitz en verses mans,
> Ez auzida chansonet' ab lonc so,
> E·ls motz d'amdos d'un gran e·l chant d'un to.
>
> [Many times I have been asked at court how it is that I do not compose "vers"; and therefore I wish that this song be called either "chanso" or "vers". Let the choice of names be theirs. And I reply to the questioners that one does not find or know any difference, except in name, between "vers" and "chanso".
>
> I have heard plenty of masculine words in "chansonetas" and feminine words put into good and pleasing "vers", and I have heard short and swift tunes in many "vers", and heard "chansonetas" with long, slow tunes; and also the words of one length and the music of one tune.][216]

Aimeric's courtly audiences repeatedly ask him why he does not compose *vers*, leading him to label his song as either a "vers" or a "chanso". Initially, he claims there is no difference between the two genres save in name, foreshadowing discussions of generic distinction in the mid-thirteenth century *Libre* of Guiraut Riquier (Aimeric, who was likely active between 1190 and 1230, just precedes Guiraut's period of activity) and the Occitan poetic treatises, where the *Doctrina de compondre dictatz* (late thirteenth century) and the *Leys d'amor* (early fourteenth century) define a *vers* as a moralizing song and a *canso* as a song about love.[217] As I noted in Chapter Two, the definitions of "vers" and "canso" seem to solidify in the period between Aimeric's song and Guiraut's *Libre*, allowing us to glimpse the formation of the genres as they

[216] Ibid.

[217] See Jeanroy, *La Poésie lyrique des Troubadours,* Vol. II, p. 64ff. While the works of Bernart de Ventadorn do not contain any *tornadas* that include both differently-gendered versions of "song," he does use two terms when talking about his own work. Bernart refers to his songs both as "lo vers" (masculine), and "la chanso" (feminine). In the fourth full stanza of his song "Era·m cosselhatz, senhor," Bernart de Ventadorn makes a distinction between the two genres, suggesting that they are different types of songs for him. "…e ja Deus no·m do/mais faire vers ni chanso. […and may God never permit me to make another vers or chanso.]" Trans. in consultation with *Bernart du Ventadour*, ed. and trans. Lazar, p. 156; "De doctrina de compondre dictatz," in *The Razos of Trobar and Associated Texts*, ed. J.H. Marshall (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 95-98. Guiraut was born in 1230 in Narbonne and died in 1292.

develop.[218] For Aimeric, the genre "chanso" has not yet taken on the specific meaning accorded to it in the *Libre* and in the treatises, though Jeanroy notes that the genre "vers" predates the term "chanso".[219]

In the song's second stanza, Aimeric moves beyond the distinction between "vers" and "chanso" to discuss song genres that do appear to have some difference between each other. Aimeric locates the difference between the songs not in their subject matter or content, but in their gender—he makes a distinction between the masculine nature of the noun "vers" and the feminine nature of the noun "chansoneta" (a diminutive form of "chanso"), but argues that there seems to be no difference between a *vers* or a *chansoneta*. Aimeric has "motz mascles auzitz/En chansonetas assatz,/E motz femenis pausatz/En verses bos e grazitz [heard plenty of masculine words in chansonetas, and feminine words put into good and pleasing vers]." He further notes that he has heard "cortz sonetz e cochans/Ai auzitz en verses mans,/Ez auzida chansonet' ab lonc so [short and swift tunes in many *vers* and heard *chansonetas* with long, slow tunes]," highlighting a melodic difference that may be more related to the diminution of the noun "chanso" than to its linguistic femininity.[220] Furthermore, Aimeric mentions that he has heard "els motz d'amdos d'un gran el chant d'un to [the words of both of one length and the music of

[218] Daude de Pradas's song "Ben deu esser solatz marritz" (analyzed later in this chapter) shows further progress in the development of a distinction between "vers" and "chanso." Aimeric predates Daude by only a few years: he flourishes between ca. 1190-1220, while Daude's period of activity spans ca. 1215-1280.

[219] Jeanroy, *Poésie lyrique*, Vol. II, p. 64ff.

[220] Aimeric may use the diminutive form of the noun "chanso" to sharpen the contrast between the masculine "vers" and the feminine "chanso." Aimeric describes a song's feminine characteristics as "short and swift," while he depicts maleness in song as "long and slow." Only the feminine noun for song is found in a diminutive form, so Aimeric may be trying to highlight the feminine nature of the word and heighten the disconnect between the feminine noun and its masculine characteristics. The "-neta" diminutive ending references smallness in size, and may refer to the brevity of the melodic lines and the lightness of their poetic content. However, Aimeric's switch from "chanso" to its diminutive, "chansoneta," may also be for prosodic reasons—"chansoneta" is four syllables long while "chanso" is only two. For more on the occurrence of gender shift with diminutives in Occitan, see Lívia Körtvélyessy, *Evaluative Morphology from a Cross-Linguistic Perspective* (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015).

one tune],” meaning that, in Aimeric’s world, both *vers* and *chansonetas* could be sung to the same type of words and music.

It is significant that the one point of generic difference Aimeric describes is located not in the word itself (“chanso” or “chansoneta” vs. “vers”), but in the gender of the noun (“chansoneta” is a diminutive of the feminine noun for song, “chanso”). As he makes his case for a lack of distinction between a *vers* and a *chanso*, Aimeric pinpoints one area in which he believes difference should be manifested. However, the Occitan nouns, clearly different in linguistic gender, do not seem to transfer this gender to the poetic text and melody—here, gender seems strictly morphological in nature.[221]

The *tornadas* of “Mangtas vetz sui enqueritz” bring this gender flexibility to a head. In the first *tornada*, Aimeric directly addresses his song with the male-gendered noun, “chans,” while referring to songs in the third person as both “vers” or “chanso:”

> Vas Malaspina ten, chans,
> Al pro Guillem qu’es prezans,
> Qu’elh aprenda de te los motz e·l so,
> Qual que·s vuelha, per vers o per chanso.
>
> [Toward Malaspina go, song, to the worthy and honored William, that he can learn from you the words and the tune for whatever he wishes, “vers” or “chanso.”][222]

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[221] Occitan, in addition to containing a number of nouns for specific song genres, has both masculine and feminine nouns for “song.” Emil Levy lists both nouns in his *Petit dictionnaire provençal-français*, first listing the masculine noun “can,” and then the feminine nouns “canson” and “cansoneta.” The masculine “chans” comes from the Latin masculine noun “cantus” (meaning “song,” “cry,” “liturgical text”), also associated with the Latin verb “cano, canere” (“to play,” “to recite,” “to sing”). The feminine “canso” is derived from the feminine Latin noun “cantio, cantionis” (“incantation,” “singing,” “song”). See Joseph Fallen, *Grammaire provençale* (Aix-en-Provence: Imprimerie Universitaire de Provence, 1938), pp. 135-35, 191-201; for Latin definitions, see Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire Latin-Français des auteurs chrétiens*, 2nd ed. (Brepols, 1993), pp. 127-29. For the different forms of both the masculine and feminine versions of the Occitan noun for “song,” see Emil Levy, *Petit dictionnaire provençal-français*, pp. 62-63, and also Paden, *Old Occitan*, pp. 373-74.

[222] Aimeric de Peguilhan, “Mangtas vetz sui enqueritz,” trans. in consultation with Shepard and Chambers, ed. and trans., pp. 175-178.

Aimeric uses both nouns to refer to a single song, sharply focusing the tensions inherent in the fluidity of grammatical gender he describes in his opening two stanzas. He then combines both song genres into one noun in the second *tornada*:

> Na Beatritz d'Est, l'enans
> De vos mi platz, que·s far grans.
> En vos lauzar s'en son pres tug li bo,
> Per que de vos dauri mo vers-chanso.
>
> [Lady Beatrice of Este, your lofty fame, which is growing great, pleases me. All good people are set on praising you. Therefore I gild your name with my "vers-chanso."][223]

Although Aimeric addresses his song in the first *tornada* with the male noun, he summons the gender flexibility evoked in the opening two stanzas in the *tornada*'s final line, furthered by his combination of nouns in the second *tornada*. The song itself is first gendered masculine in the first *tornada* through Aimeric's direct address. If the first *tornada* is heard or read alone, the fact that Aimeric addresses the song in the first person with the masculine noun suggests that he associates the body of the song with the male sex. This association poses problems neither for Aimeric nor his song, as their genders match—Aimeric's song can represent its composer in body and message. However, when the first *tornada* is heard at the end of the song (and is followed by the second *tornada*), the mismatch between gender and sex that Aimeric introduces in the first two stanzas of his song calls into question the association between grammatical gender and biological sex that the use of the masculine noun implies. Aimeric has told us that he has heard "motz feminis pausatz/en verses bos e grazitz, [plenty of feminine words/in good and pleasing vers,]" lessening the strength of gendered associations with grammatical terms. Aimeric also closes his first *tornada* with a reference to this flexibility of

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[223] Ibid.

gender, as he says that his intended recipient (Guillem) "aprenda de te los motz e·l so,/qual que·s vuelha, per vers o per chanso [can learn from you (the song) the words and the tune/for whatever he wishes, for a vers or for a chanso.]" Although Aimeric addresses his song at the *tornada*'s outset in the masculine gender, his inclusion of the generic terms "vers" and "chanso" complicates the type of body formed through the song's personification.

While Aimeric clearly places the relationship between noun and meaning at the forefront of his song, he is not the only troubadour to play with grammatical gender and biological sex, nor is troubadour lyric unique in its connection of grammar with sex. I turn to meanings of gender and the differences between the sexes in medieval medical, philosophical, legal, and moral treatises, as these myriad sources demonstrate the arbitrary, socially-influenced construction of gender roles and their connection with biological sex. I argue that Aimeric's inclusion and combination of two differently gendered nouns that refer to the same sonic object invokes a flexibility of gender that pushes back against discussions of gender in moralizing literature and Occitan grammatical treatises (including the *Razos de Trobar*), in order to undermine the primacy of a binary gender system prioritized in those works.

GRAMMATICAL GENDER IN LATIN AND OCCITAN

Aimeric's description of song genre weakens the strength of the correlation between grammatical gender and gendered characteristics while demonstrating the necessity of preserving two categories of gender—Aimeric limits his discussion of grammatical gender to the masculine and feminine. On one hand, he argues that female-gendered "chansos" and male-gendered "vers" refer to the same type of song, and can be used interchangeably. He sets out to prove this by demonstrating the detachability of gender: masculine and feminine words do not necessarily

need to correlate to masculine or feminine characteristics in the objects they signify. However, he also demonstrates that not only must elements of language have a gender, songs must employ gendered characteristics as well. The system seems both rigid and flexible, as Aimeric still employs a gender-binary system at the song's beginning—things, both linguistic and poetic, must align with either the masculine or feminine gender, but at the same time masculine-gendered objects can refer to feminine-gendered things. We begin with only two genders, but the things they are associated with do not need to match up. Do they create a third gender through their mismatch?[224] Additionally, how does the gender of the nouns interact with the song's body?

Occitan, like all other Romance languages, derives from Latin, and bases its use of grammatical gender on that language. The authors of Occitan grammatical treatises (written outside of the Languedoc for Italian and Catalan audiences in the thirteenth century) likely gained their knowledge of Latin from the standard grammatical textbooks of the time, Aelius Donatus's *Ars grammatica* and Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*.[225] These Latin grammars describe the use of four or five genders (the masculine, feminine, neuter, common, and universal genders). Donatus begins by telling readers that Latin contains four genders, before describing a fifth gender—the universal—at the end of his list:

> Genera nominum quod sunt? Quattuor. Quae? Masculinum, ut hic magister, femininum, ut haec Musa, neutrum, ut hoc scaminum, commune, ut hic et haec sacerdos. Est praeterea trium generum, quod omne dictum, ut hic et haec et hoc felix; est epicoenon, id est promiscuum, ut passer aquila.

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[224] Sarah Kay has also proposed the presence of a third gender in the lyric, which she calls the "gender of the *domna*." Kay describes the *domna* gender as "mixed, partaking of both masculine and feminine genders," as my argument for a third gender in troubadour lyric poetry does as well. Kay finds evidence for this in descriptions of a troubadour's *domna* or *senhal*, analyzing them against other descriptions of women in the lyric. She locates difference in both the types of behaviors and descriptive terms applied to each category, alongside the play with masculine and feminine gendered names in the *senhals*. See Kay, *Subjectivity*, pp. 86-93.

[225] Courtney Joseph Wells, "'Ad dandam doctrinam vulgaris provincialis': *Chansonnier* P and the Medieval Latin Curriculum in Italy," *TENSO* 28: 1-2 (Spring-Fall 2013), pp. 6-17.

> [How many genders are there? Four. What are they? Masculine, as in "magister," feminine, as in "Musa," neuter, as in "scaminum," common, as in "sacerdos." There is also one that is three genders, which is called universal, as in "felix;" the gender is mixed, that is, of mixed ancestry, as a bird to the eagle.][226]

Priscian also names four distinct genders before describing the universal gender. He begins his discussion of gender by naming the masculine and feminine genders as "proper genders":

> Genera igitur nominum principalia sunt duo, quae sola novit ratio naturae, masculinum et femininum. Genera enim dicuntur a generando proprie quae generare possunt, quae sunt masculinum et femininum. Nam commune et neutrum vocis magis qualitate quam natura dinoscuntur, quae sunt sibi contraria…Sunt alia communia non solum masculini et feminini, sed etiam neutri.
>
> [Therefore, there are two principal categories of gender, which one only knows as the reason of nature, masculine and feminine. Proper genders are said to be able to generate, which are male and female. For the common and neuter genders are known to be more than the natural quality of the voice, which are opposite to each other…There are other common genders that are not only male and female, but even neuter.][227]

Priscian labels the universal gender as an expanded version of the common one. Donatus does not list the universal gender as a fifth gender, but does seem to describe it as a stand-alone gender rather than associate it directly with the common gender.

The Occitan grammarians demonstrate the language's Latin roots by mentioning Latin's five genders, but also incorporate Priscian's prioritization of the masculine and feminine genders. Occitan nouns (like those of Latin and other Romance languages) are gendered.[228] As the authors of the Occitan grammars make clear, the neuter does not survive transmission from Latin into

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[226] Aelius Donatus, *Ars grammatica, Liber I: De partibus orationis* (Brepols, NV: Library of Latin Texts—Series B, 2017), Chapter 2, ll. 14-16.

[227] Priscian, *Institutiones grammaticae, Liber 5* (Brepols, NV: Library of Latin Texts—Series B, 2017), p. 141, ll. 4-6, 19.

[228] For more on the use of grammatical gender in Occitan, see Max W. Wheeler, "Occitan," in *The Romance Languages*, ed. Martin Harris and Nigel Vincent (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 246-278.

medieval Occitan except in special cases.[229] According to C. H. Grandgent, Latin nouns began to lose their neuter grammatical gender during the late Vulgar Latin and early Romance period, as neuter nouns gradually became masculine.[230] Additionally, some neuter plural nouns, whose suffixes were "-a," eventually became feminine (as the "-a" suffix was preserved).[231]

All Occitan grammatical treatises (beginning with the earliest extant treatise, the *Razos de Trobar*) work to reduce the number of grammatical genders from four or five to three, cutting the universal and neuter genders out of their grammatical systems. The *Razos de Trobar*, attributed to Raimon Vidal, dates from between 1190-1213.[232] At the beginning of his discussion concerning grammatical gender, Raimon first lets his reader know that Occitan uses only three genders—masculine, feminine, and common—for both adjectives and substantives:

> Las paraulas adiectivas son de tres manieras: las unas son masculinas, et las autras femininas et las autras comunas...car aitan ben n'i a de tres manieras com de las substantivas.
>
> [The adjective words are of three genders: the ones that are masculine, and the others feminine, and the others common...because there are three genders as in the case of the substantives.][233]

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[229] Paden, *Old Occitan*, pp. 208-09. According to Paden, Classical Latin's neuter gender is only found in the neuter pronouns of medieval Occitan, or in adjectives that modify either a neuter demonstrative pronoun or a substantivized neuter adjective. See Paden, *Old Occitan*, p. 291.

[230] C. H. Grandgent, *An Outline of the Phonology and Morphology of Old Provençal*, rev. ed. (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., Publishers, 1909), p. 85. Paden states that the neuter gender does not generally manifest in Occitan nouns, but offers the noun "cor" (heart/body) as an exception to this rule. Occitan "cor" derives from the Latin neuter noun "cor" and is, according to Paden, "indistinguishable from a neuter nominative." However, he later concedes that "cor" most often appears as a masculine noun in Occitan. See Paden, *Old Occitan*, pp. 291-92.

[231] Grandgent, *Phonology and Morphology*, p. 85.

[232] *The Razos de Trobar of Raimon Vidal and Associated Texts*, ed. J.H. Marshall, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. lxx. As I discuss below, it is possible that Aimeric de Peguilhan and other troubadours encountered this treatise in Italy.

[233] Raimon Vidal, *The Razos de Trobar*, MS B, ed. Marshall, p. 8. The MS H text reads as follows: "E sapies que las paraulas aiectivas son de tres maneyras: las unas masculinas, e las autras femeninas, e las autras comunas...E axi matex n'i ha tes maneres de sustantivas com d'aiectivas. [And know that the adjective words are of three genders: the masculine ones, and the other feminine ones, and the other common ones...and so the same, there are three genders of substantives like of adjectives.]" Ed. Marshall, p. 9.

Raimon then lists the five Latin ("gramatica") genders: "le masculins e·l femenins e·l neutris e·l comuns [et omne] [the masculine, and the feminine, and the neuter, and the common, (and universal)]," but he is quick to distinguish that this is only the case in Latin, not in "romans," which (as mentioned above) uses three of those five:[234]

> Mas en romans totas las paraolas del mont, adiectivas o substantivas, son masculinas o femininas o comunas.
>
> [But in Romance [Occitan] all of the words in the world, adjectives or substantives, are masculine or feminine or common].[235]

As a caveat to this claim, Raimon does mention that the neuter gender is sometimes used in the nominative and vocative singular, but this only occurs a small amount of the time and the neuter is not a regular part of the Occitan language.

The writers of other, later Occitan grammar treatises follow in Raimon's footsteps, shearing two of Latin's five grammatical genders from Occitan. The late thirteenth century treatises the *Doctrina d'Acort,* attributed to Italian troubadour Terramagnino da Pisa, and the *Regles de Trobar*, attributed to Catalan troubadour Jofre de Foixà, both borrow their discussions of gender from Raimon's treatise. The *Doctrina* essentially presents an abridged and versified version of Raimon's discussion of gender in the *Razos de Trobar*, though Terramagnino does go

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[234] The common and the universal genders can reference either the masculine and feminine (common) or any (universal) of the three genders—the common gender refers to words that can be either masculine or feminine (for example, "dog" in English can mean either a male dog or a female dog), and the universal gender refers to words that can be either masculine, feminine, or neuter. The common and universal genders do not alter the masculine, feminine, or neuter genders in any way, but they obscure specific knowledge of what gender the word is actually referring to.

[235] *The Razos de Trobar*, MS B, ed. Marshall, pp. 8-10. The text from MS H reads: "masculi, femeni, neutre, comu et omne. Mas en romanç totas las paraulas del mon, sustantivas e aiectivas, son, axi com eu vos ay dig desus, masculinas, femeninas, comunas [masculine, feminine, neuter, common, and universal. But in Romance all of the words in the world, substantives and adjectives, are, like I have told you above, masculine, feminine, common.]" Ed. Marshall, pp. 9-11.

one step further in describing the masculine and feminine genders as "veray [true]" when he lists the five Latin genders.[236]

The *Doctrina* also discusses the use of the common gender as a grammatical gender in Occitan:

> Las paraulas substantivas
> E totas las aiectivas
> Son en chanz sotz masculinas
> O comunas o femninas,
> E en la lur entens[i]on.
>
> [The substantive words/and all the adjectives/are under [the] masculine [gender]/ or common or feminine in song,/and in their meaning.][237]

In addition to establishing a clear connection between singing and the Occitan language, the *Doctrina* sets up a dichotomy between Occitan ("chanz") and Latin ("gramatica"), and demonstrates the use of a common gender rather than a neuter gender in the vernacular language:

> Gramatica fay femnina
> Arbres e chanz mascolina;
> E en chanz es femnin' amors,
> En gramatic' a mascle cors;
> En gramatica neutre amar
> E comuns es ditz en chantar.
>
> [Latin makes "Tree" feminine/and song makes it masculine;/And in song, "Love" is feminine,/in Latin *Cors* ["heart" or "body"] is masculine;/in Latin, *amar* is neuter;/in song, it is called common.][238]

In this section of the *Doctrina*, Terramagnino makes explicit the connection between the common gender and Occitan song. As the gender of the actual signified object is obscured by the

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[236] Terramagnino da Pisa, "The Doctrina d'Acort," in *The Razos de Trobar of Raimon Vidal and Associated Texts,* ed. J.H. Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 32.

[237] Terramagnino da Pisa, "Doctrina d'Acort," ll. 129-133, in *Razos de Trobar*, ed. Marshall, p. 32. Unlike other grammar treatises, the *Doctrina* is versified, and whereas the other treatises refer to Occitan as "romans [romance]" (as opposed to "gramatica" for Latin), the Doctrina refers to Occitan as "en chantz [in song]" or "en chantar [in singing]." Marshall suggests that Terramagnino created a versified Occitan grammar in keeping with the thirteenth-century fashion for versified grammatical works. See *Razos de Trobar*, ed. Marshall, p. lxxii.

[238] Terramagnino da Pisa, "Doctrina d'Acort," ll. 145-150, in *Razos de Trobar*, ed. Marshall, p. 33.

language, use of the common gender may seem like it opens up space for a third gender, but in the end, the object the common gender refers to must choose between the masculine or feminine genders. Use of the common gender continues to demonstrate the primacy of the binary gender system.

In the *Regles de Trobar,* Jofre uses the term "linatge" for grammatical gender, belying, as Kay puts it, a "strong bias in favor of a masculine—feminine opposition," before going on to describe what is essentially the common gender (though he does not name it as such).[239] The *Razos de Trobar*, the *Doctrina d'Acort*, and the *Regles de Trobar* all list (or otherwise describe) the masculine, feminine, and common genders as the three genders used in Occitan, and suggest that the neuter and universal genders are largely or only used in Latin. Uc Faidit's *Donatz Proensals* (ca. 1240) is not a member of the *Razos de Trobar* treatise tradition, but Uc also describes Occitan's grammatical gender system as a reduced version of the Latin one.[240]

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[239] Kay, *Subjectivity*, p. 243, fn. 4; Jofre de Foixà, "Regles de Trobar," in *The Razos de Trobar of Raimon Vidal and Associated Texts*, ed. J.H. Marshall (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 58.

[240] *The Donatz Proensals of Uc Faidit*, ed. J.H. Marshall (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 62-63. In the opening of his treatise, Uc gives a thorough description of the five Latin genders: "Genus es de cinq maneras: masculis, feminis, neutris, comus, omnis. Masculis es aquel que aperte a las masclas causas solamen, si cum: *bos*, *mals*, *fas*. Feminis es aquel que perte a las causas/feminils solamen, si cum: *bona*, *bela*, *mala* e *falsa*. Neutris es aquel que no perte a l'un ni a l'autre, si cum: *gauç* e *bes*; mas aici no sec lo vulgars la gramatica els neutris substantius, an se diçen cum se fossen masculi, si cum aici: *grans es lo bes que aquest m'a fait/grans es lo mals que m'es vengutz de lui*. Comun sun aquelh que perten[en] al mascle et al feme ensems, si cum li particip que fenissen in -*ans* vel in -*ens*, qu'eu pos dire: *aquest chavaliers es presans, aquesta domna es presans, aquest cavaliers es avinens, aquesta dona es avinens*; mas el nominatiu plural se camia d'aitan que conven a dire: *aqelh chavalier sun avinen, aquelas donas sun avinens*. Omnis est aquel que perte al mascle et al feme et al neutri ensems, qu'eu posc dire: *aquest cavaliers es plasens, aquesta dona es plaçens, aquest bes m'es plaisens*. [There are five types of gender: masculine, feminine, neuter, common, and universal. Masculine is that which pertains to the masculine endings only, like: *bos*, *mals*, *fals*. Feminine is that which pertains to the feminine endings only, like: *bona*, *bela*, *mala*, e *falsa*. Neuter is that which does not pertain to one or the other [masculine or feminine], like: *gauç* e *bes*; but in terms of neuter substantives the vernacular does not follow the grammatical [Latin], and they are said as if they were masculine, like so: *grans es lo bes que aquest m'a fait, grans es lo mals que m'es vengutz de lui*. Common are those that pertain to both the masculine and the feminine together, like the participle that ends in -*ans* or -*ens,* for I can say: *aquest chavaliers es presans, aquesta domna es presans, aquest cavaliers es avinens, aquesta dona es avinens*; but the nominative plural changes so that they agree to say: *aquelh chavalier sun avinen, aquelas donas sun avinens*. Universal is that which pertains to the masculine and the feminine and the neuter together, for I can say: *aquest cavaliers es plasens, aquesta dona es plaçens, aquest bes m'es plaisens*.]" *The Donatz Proensals*, ed. Marshall, pp. 88-90.

In addition to streamlining the vernacular gender system, Occitan grammatical treatises comment on the distinction between words and the signified, attempting to further connect gendered characteristics with the object a word signifies.[241]

Terramagnino plays briefly with the change in the grammatical gender of words from Latin to Occitan in the *Doctrina d'Acort*. "Arbres [trees]", is a masculine noun in Occitan, but derives from the Latin noun "arbor, arboris," which is feminine. The next Occitan noun, "chanz," is gendered masculine, and derives from the masculine Latin noun "cantus." However, the noun "amors" functions as more than an example of a feminine Occitan noun. Most of the troubadour lyric corpus is concerned with themes of love—so feminine "amors" is the subject material for nearly all of the masculine "chanz" in the *Doctrina*'s previous line, leaving the reader with masculine songs full of feminine material.

The fourteenth-century *Leys d'Amor* theorizes the grammatical misalignment Terramagnino hints at in the *Doctrina*. The *Leys* contain a section on the grammatical gender (in the Occitan text, "gendre") of nouns, which it divides into two classes, *real* (semantic) and *vocal* (grammatical).[242] The author first lists the five genders the other treatises mention, before (as Terramagnino does) naming the masculine and feminine genders as "veray gendre," and stating that "romans" (Occitan) does not use the universal gender, nor does it have a regular usage of the

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[241] In his 2015 book *Sexing the World: Grammatical Gender and Biological Sex in Ancient Rome*, Anthony Corbeill argues that the process of heterosexualization of the Latin language began in antiquity and can be traced through the way in which Latin writers used grammatical gender. Corbeill argues that the close relationship between the Latin nomenclature for both grammatical categories (singular "genus") and the biological division of male and female humans and animals ("sexus") the works of early Latin writers and scholars (including Marcus Terentius Varro) instigates a connection between grammatical gender and biological sex—evidenced by early Latin grammarians' employment of the term "sexus" to describe grammatical gender. However, Occitan treatment of Latin grammar seems to contradict this, as Occitan grammatists present the Latin language as employing a wide spectrum of gender. See Corbeill, *Sexing the World: Grammatical Gender and Biological Sex in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015).

[242] Kay, *Subjectivity*, p. 234, fn. 4; *Las Leys d'Amor,* Book III, ed. M. Gatien-Arnoult, p. 66.

neuter.[243] As in the treatises discussed above, the *Leys* describes the common gender as a significant part of the Occitan language and one that is regularly used.

The *Leys*'s division of nouns into *real* and *vocal* demonstrates further the division between words (signifiers) and things (signifieds) in Occitan. The author distinguishes between the two categories:

> ...aquesta votz *homs*. no es del masculi gendre real. ni *femna*. del gendre femini real. mas solamen la cauza so es aquel cors loqual entendem per aquesta votz *home* e per aquesta votz *femna*. Lautres gendres es apelatz *vocals*. de votz. quar en la cauza entenduda per la votz. no pot hom trobar natura de masculi ni de femini. per la maniera dessus dicha en lo gendre real.
>
> [This word *homs* is not of the *real* masculine gender. The word *femna* is also not of the *real* feminine gender; but this gender is only the thing that the word represents, that is to say the body we mean by the word *home* and by the word *femna*. The other gender is called *vocal*, of voice/language, for in the thing designated by the voice, one cannot find the nature of either masculine or feminine by the manner said in the *real*.][244]

The *real* gender, the class concerned with the actual meaning of the word, is made distinct from the *vocal* gender, or the way in which the words themselves are represented as grammatical entities. The author of the *Leys* invokes the true "nature" of masculine and feminine to demonstrate how words as grammatical objects do not add any sort of meaning themselves, despite being grammatically gendered. All meaning (and the characteristics that contribute to social constructions of gender) rests with the object from which the word gets its signification. Specifically, the author of the *Leys* attributes significance to the thing's or person's body, explicitly linking his discussion of gender to the biological sex of a person—though he does not distinguish what type of sex is supposed to align with each gender.

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[243] *Las Leys d'Amor*, Book III, ed. Gatien-Arnoult, p. 64.

[244] Ibid., p. 66.

Might these Occitan grammars have had an influence on Aimeric's poetry? It is likely that Aimeric de Peguilhan would have come into contact with the *Razos de Trobar,* as Raimon Vidal was probably from Catalonia, and his treatise was circulated in Italy (three of the five manuscripts in which the *Razos de Trobar* is extant are from Italy, including the earliest source, which dates from the late thirteenth century).[245] Aimeric's *vida* tells us that he "anet s'en en Cataloingna. E'N Guillems de Breguedan si l'acuilli…Puois s'en venc en Lombardia, on tuich li bon ome li feron gran honor. Et en Lombardia definet. [went to Catalonia. And Lord Guillem de Berguedan welcomed him…Later he went to Lombardy, where all the notable men granted him great honor. And he ended his days in Lombardy.]"[246] Aimeric's *vida* traces a path that parallels the likely circulation of the *Razos*, making it very possible that he came into contact with the treatise.

Aimeric also seems to have had some knowledge of the troubadour songs quoted in the *Razos de Trobar*.[247] Several of his songs contain references to Folquet de Marseille's "S'al cor plagues ben fora oimais sazos," which Raimon quotes in the *Razos*. In ll. 24-27 of "En greu pantais m'a tengut longamen," Aimeric personifies Reason and Mercy and pits them against each other:

> Valha·m Merces et oblit vos recors
> E no·i gardetz Razo, mas Chauzimen;
> Que so que l'us pueja, l'autre dissen:
> So que Merces creis, Razos vai merman.

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[245] Marshall, ed., *The Razos de Trobar*, pp. ix-xiii; lxvi-lxvii.

[246] Boutière and Schutz, eds., *Biographies des Troubadours*, pp. 3-4; Egan, trans., *The Vidas of the Troubadours*, p. 2.

[247] Raimon Vidal quoted lines from troubadour songs to illustrate some of the grammatical points he was trying to make.

> [May Mercy aid me with you and may it forget your high rank; and may you not heed Reason but Mercy. What one exalts, the other abases; what Mercy increases, Reason diminishes.][248]

as Folquet does in l. 35 of "S'al cor plagues": "…que Merces vol so que Razos dechai […that Mercy wants what Reason causes to fall]."[249] Aimeric also adopts Folquet's concept of hiding love for his lady deep in his heart (…qu'inz e mon cor l'amarai a rescos […I will love her secretly in my heart]" in ll. 25-26 of "De fin'amor comenson mas chansos":[250]

> Mas non a tort, qu'eu am lieys a rescos
> Ins e mon cor e no·l n'aus far parvensa.
>
> [But she is not wrong, for I love her in secret, deep in my heart.][251]

Finally, in ll. 20-21 of his *tenso* with Guillem de Berguedà, Aimeric tells Guillem that:

> Per q'ieu vuoill mais esser paubres honratz
> C'avols manens e desenamoratz.
>
> […I would rather be poor and honorable than rich but vile and out of love.][252]

This sentiment is very similar to ll. 9-10 of Folquet's song:

> Per que n'a mais us paubres qu'es joios
> C'us rics ses joi qu'es tot l'an cossiros.
>
> [For a poor man, if he is joyful, has more than a rich man without joy, who is always sad.][253]

The high concentration of allusions to Folquet's song makes it seem likely that Aimeric was familiar with it, and would recognize its quotation in the *Razos*.

[248] Aimeric de Peguilhan, "En greu pantais m'a tengut longamen," ed. and trans. Shepard and Chambers, pp. 150-152.

[249] Folquet de Marseille, "S'al cor plagues ben fora oimais sazos," in *Le Poesie di Folchetto di Marsiglia*, ed. and trans. Paolo Squillacioti (Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1999), p. 160.

[250] Folquet de Marseille, "S'al cor plagues," ed. and trans. Squillacioti, p. 162.

[251] Aimeric de Peguilhan, "De fin'amor comenson mas chansos," ed. and trans. Shepard and Chambers, pp. 120-122.

[252] Aimeric de Peguilhan, "De Berguedan, d'estas doas razos," ed. and trans. Shepard and Chambers, pp. 116-118.

[253] Folquet de Marseille, "S'al cor plagues," in *Le poesie di Folchetto di Marsiglia,* ed. and trans. Paolo Squillaciotti (Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1999), p. 162.

Additionally, one of Aimeric's songs alludes to Guiraut de Bornelh's "Can creis la fresca fueil'els rams." In both songs, the troubadours personify Love and describe being in love as being trapped in Love's noose ("lia/liams"). In "Can creis," Guiraut is surprised to learn that his love goes unreturned:

> Ges lei non ateis lo liams
> En qu'eu cugiei c'ams nos prezes.
>
> [The noose which I thought bound us both does not reach her at all!][254]

Aimeric is also bound by the noose of love, from which he will never willingly release himself:

> Q'un latz me fetz metr' al colh ab que·m lia,
> Don per mon gras mai nom desliaria;
> E nuhls autr' om que fos liatz non es,
> Qui'l deslies, que ben no li plagues.
> Anc mais nuhl temps no trobei liador
> Tan ferm lies ab tan pauc liamen,
> Que·l liams fo d'un dous bays solamen.
>
> [He (Love) had a noose put around my neck to bind me, from which I would never unbind myself by my own will. Yet there is no man in bonds who would not be gladdened if some one should unbind him. Never before did I find a captor who bound so firmly with so small a noose, for the noose was made of one sweet kiss only.][255]

Aimeric expands on Guiraut's poetic idea both semantically and syntactically, incorporating the word "lia [noose]" in as many different grammatical constructions as he can.

Aimeric is not the only troubadour to allude to the lyric poems that Raimon quotes. Both Aimeric and Albertet da Sestaro seem to draw on Bernart de Ventadorn's "Ab joi mou lo vers e·l comens," which Raimon cites to demonstrate Occitan declension. Most striking is the way in which Aimeric and Albertet draw on Bernart's opening stanza, where Bernart describes how he will begin and end his songs:

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[254] Guiraut de Bornelh, "Can creis la fresca fueil'els rams," ed. and trans. Sharman, pp. 163-166.

[255] Aimeric de Peguilhan, "Atressi·m pren quom fai al joguador," ed. and trans. Shepard and Chambers, pp. 89-91.

Ab joi mou lo vers e·l comens
et ab joi reman e fenis;
e sol que bona fos la fis,
bos tenh qu'er lo comensamens.
Per la bona comensansa
me ve jois et alegransa,
e per so dei la bona fi grazir,
car totz bos faihz vei lauzar al fenir.

[Joy inspires and begins my song, and with joy it continues and ends; it will only have a good end if I make a good beginning. For the good beginning, joy and gladness come to me; therefore I must make a happy ending, for I see all good deeds praised according to their conclusion.][256]

Albertet's song "Ab joi comensi ma chanson" begins in a similar way:

Ab joi comensi ma chanson
q'en joi es mos cors e mos sens,
que·l jois d'amor, c'autres jois vens,
me prega e·m ditz e·m somon
qu'eu chant, et ai en ben rason,
puois d'amor es mos cossiriers,
qu'eu fassa gais sons e leugiers,
quar cill de cui chant es ben tals
que mos chanz deu esser corals.

[With joy I begin my song, because my heart and my spirit are joyful, for the joy of love, which overcomes the other joys, asks me, begs me, and orders me to sing, and I have a valid reason, since my thoughts are turned to love, to make joyful and light melodies, because those whom I sing for today are so true that my song flows out of my heart.][257]

By contrast, in the opening stanza of "De fin'amor comenson mas chansos," Aimeric tells us that his songs begin with *fin'amor*:

De fin'amor comenson mas chansos
Plus que no fan de nulh' autra sciensa,
Qu'ieu non saubra nien s'amors no fos;
Ez anc tan car no compriei conoissensa,
Qu'ab bel semblan aissi cum fai traïre
Me vai doblan quascun jorn mo martire,
Qu'en la boca·m fes al prim doussezir
So que m'a fag preys al cor amarzir.

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[256] Bernart de Ventadorn, "Ab joi mou lo vers e·l comens," in *Bernart du Ventadour,* ed. and trans. Lazar, pp. 68-69.

[257] Albertet da Sestaro, "Ab joi comensi ma chanson," in *Il Trovatore Albertet*, ed. and trans. Francesca Sanguineti (Modena: Mucchi Editore, 2012), p. 81.

> [My songs begin with the theme of faithful love, more than they do about any other knowledge, for I would know nothing if Love did not exist. Yet I never bought knowledge so dearly, for with fair pretenses, like a traitor, he doubles every day my misery. At the beginning he made that taste sweet in my mouth which afterwards turned bitter in the heart.][258]

Like Bernart, Albertet's songs begin with joy. Aimeric's do not, but he subverts Bernart's description of a song's beginning and ending. Bernart's songs will have good endings if they have good beginnings, while Aimeric's songs (and relationship) begin well and end poorly.

As the songs progress, the themes of Albertet's stanzas diverge from those of Bernart's, while Aimeric's song seems to follow Bernart's more closely. In the second stanza of Bernart's song, he describes being "apodera jois e·m vens [overcome and dominated by this joy]," while Aimeric is "vens [overcome]" by Love, who Aimeric claims will "de tot en tot aucire [slay me utterly]." Additionally, both troubadours detail their efforts to keep their love hidden; Bernart does so for fear of gossipers, while Aimeric's lady has made his "boca mudir [mouth mute]." Finally, both troubadours make references to eyes and the faculty of sight towards the ends of their songs. Bernart tells his lady that she has "m'an conquis [conquered me]" with her "belh ohl [beautiful eyes]," before telling her that, as long as he is "vei clar dels ohls ab que·us remir [see(ing) clearly with the eyes with which I look at you]," she is the most noble woman a man could choose in the world. Conversely, Aimeric "dels huelhs no vey lieys cui de cor remire [do(es) not see with my eyes her whose image is in my heart.]" Aimeric again inverts Bernart's statement—Bernart describes being able to see his lady with his eyes, a reference to the external world around him, whereas Aimeric's image is an internal one, preserved in his heart.

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[258] Aimeric de Peguilhan, "De fin'amor comenson mas chansos," ed. and trans. Shepard and Chambers, pp. 121-123.

Aimeric and Albertet demonstrate knowledge of at least one song quoted in the *Razos de Trobar*, suggesting that they may have recognized the quotation in the treatise. Aimeric's multiple allusions to Folquet de Marseille's "S'al cor plagues," along with his extensive response to Bernart de Ventadorn's "Ab joi mou lo vers," suggest a more thorough knowledge of the treatise and some of the songs it quotes, as well as a desire to interact with and respond to the treatise itself. Furthermore, Jofre de Foixà quotes Aimeric's "Mangtas vetz" at the beginning of his *Regles de Trobar.* While Jofre does not quote from the first or second stanzas or either *tornada* (he uses the poem as a kind of disclaimer or "modesty device"), he demonstrates knowledge of Aimeric's poem, and uses it within the Occitan grammatical tradition.[259]

The *Razos de Trobar* demonstrates how Occitan grammarians interacted with the main grammatical texts of the time, and how they sought to reduce the larger number of genders used in Latin to the three employed in Occitan. Aimeric and his contemporaries may very well have encountered this treatise and sought to push back against its gender limitation. The *Leys d'amor,* although it postdates this period, builds on the linguistic mismatch found in Aimeric's "Mangtas vetz" and suggests a flexibility of gender within the lyric, furthered by poetic tropes that turn expected gender roles on their heads. The poetic figure of the beloved or woman in charge is often referred to as "midons" ("my lord"), providing another instance where the grammatical gender of the signifier does not match up with the gender of the thing it signifies.[260] Use of the term "midons" linguistically signals an inversion of power and of normative social relationships,

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[259] Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales*, pp. 39-40.

[260] For example, in the fourth *tornada* of his "D'amor es totz mos cossiriers" Raimon de Miraval tells his song to go to *midons*: "Chansoneta, ves midons vai corren/qu'ilh mante pretz e reman en joven [Little song, towards *midons* run/for she maintains worth and retains her youth]." In Raimon's *tornada*, *midons* is gendered masculine, but the feminine pronoun *ilh* in the second line clearly refers back to the noun *midons*. See Paden, "The Etymology of *Midons*," pp. 311-335.

construing men as vassals pledging homage to their female beloveds.[261] This inversion of social relationships is of course complicated by the active roles women could hold in Occitanian society, as detailed in the previous chapter.

In an article on the etymology of the noun "midons," Paden explores the connection between grammatical gender and biological sex with regard to *senhals*.[262] Paden notes that the gender of nouns denoting persons in medieval Occitan does not always correspond to their societal gender, as male persons could be identified with nouns ending in "-a," and female persons could be called by masculine nouns.[263] He finds the same flexibility in the way in which *senhals* refer to the people they signify—masculine proper nouns can refer to female persons, and feminine nouns to male persons.[264] At several levels, medieval Occitan demonstrates a fluidity of gender that intertwines the masculine and feminine gender categories and, in some instances, undercuts the straightforward connection of societally gendered qualities to grammatical gender.

Bertran de Born's song "Dompna, puois de me no·us chal" offers further evidence that the relationship between biological sex and societal gender was a tenuous one, and demonstrates

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[261] For more on the active roles women could hold in Occitanian society; see Cheyette, "Women, Poets, and Politics in Occitania," pp. 138-178. For more on feudalism and normative social relationships in medieval Occitania, see Hélène Débax, *La seigneurie collective: pairs, pariers, paratge, les Coseigneurs du XIe au XIIIe Siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012). For a detailed account of the life of an Occitanian noblewoman, see Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours*.

[262] Paden, "The Etymology of Midons," pp. 311-335.

[263] Ibid., pp. 314-15. See also Jensen, *The Old Provençal Noun*, p. 76, for a discussion of nouns that end in -a (a feminine suffix) but refer to male beings.

[264] Paden, "The Etymology of Midons," p. 315.

the constructed nature of medieval conceptions of gender.[265] In his song, Bertran describes a *dompna soiseubuda*, or an ideal lady.[266] The body and personality of this ideal woman are created by assembling body parts and features from different noble ladies that Bertran knows and admires: "Irai per tot achaptan/De chascuna un bel semblan/Per far dompna soisseubuda/Tro vos mi siatz renduda [I shall go everywhere collecting from each lady one beautiful image, to make one assembled lady until you are restored to me.]"[267] Bertran sets out to create this lady because his original beloved "partit m'avetz de vos/senes totas ochaisos [has sent me away without any cause]", and he claims that no other woman in the world is her equal.[268] Bertran gathers body parts from a number of different women; he takes the "frescha color natural [fresh, natural

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[265] Judith Butler's work on gender and performative speech provides a modern account of the societal construction of gendered things. Butler argues that gender is a social construct, developed through a repetition of acts, which then comes to signify for biological sex—though this connection is supposedly arbitrary. Butler situates the construction of gender in modern societies, where she states that the "sign" of gender is both generated by perception of biological sex and has only one, unambiguous meaning; people who are biologically sexed as females are perceived as female in gender, and are then expected to perform this gender in their actions (in a very wide sense of the word). Those who fail to perform their gender "correctly" face consequences and punishment. See Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal* 41.4 (Dec., 1988), pp. 519-533.

[266] Zayaruznaya's work on the fourteenth-century motet is concerned with a later repertoire, but explores the idea of songs being assembled from the "body parts" of other songs. See Zayaruznaya, *The Monstrous New Art*. As Bettina Bildhauer and Robert Mills discuss in the introduction to their edited collection *The Monstrous Middle Ages*, monstrosity in the Middle Ages often stemmed from the human body and its deformities. For more on the ways in which the human body could become monstrous, see Bettina Bildhauer and Robert Mills, "Introduction: Conceptualizing the Monstrous," in *The Monstrous Middle Ages*, ed. Bettina Bildhauer and Robert Mills (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003): 1-27; David Williams, *Deformed Discourse: The Function of the Monster in Mediaeval Thought and Literature* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), pp. 107-176. Others have discussed the question of hybridity in relation to the formation of monsters, as most medieval conceptions of monsters were concerned with a combination of bodies/body parts that was fantastical and "unnatural." See Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Monster Culture: (Seven Theses)," in *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 3-26; Karl Steel, "Centaurs, Satyrs, and Cynocephali: Medieval Scholarly Teratology and the Question of the Human," in *The Monstrous Middle Ages*, ed. Bildhauer and Mills, pp. 257-74; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York: Zone Books, 2001), pp. 79-162; Michael Camille, "Hybridity, Monstrosity, and Bestiality in the Roman de Fauvel," in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146*, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 161-74; and Claude Kappler, *Monstres, Démons et Merveilles à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Payot, 1980).

[267] Bertran de Born, "Domna, puois de me no·us chal," in *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, ed. and trans. William D. Paden, Tilde Sankovitch, and Patricia H Stäblein (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 152-159.

[268] Bertran de Born, "Domna, puois de me no·us chal," ed. and trans. Paden, Sankovitch, and Stäblein, pp. 152-159.

color]" of Cembelis, the "gola e·ls mas amdos [throat and both hands]" from the Vicomtesse of Chalais, the hair of Agnes de Rochechouard, the "adrech parlar gaban [clever and joyful speech]" of Aelis, the "adrech, nuou cors prezan [adroit and glorious young body]" of Miehls-de-be, the teeth of Lady Fadida, and the "gaieza e son bel gran [gladness and her perfect size]" of Bels Miralhs. Bertran's ideal woman depicts qualities of appearance and demeanor that noble, courtly women should have, describing behavioral characteristics that exemplify femininity.

Men are not exempt from such constructions of ideal masculinity either. In his song "Behls-Guazanhs, s'a vos plazia" (modeled on Bertran's earlier song), Elias de Barjols constructs a *cavalier soissebut* for his lady from the characteristics of other lords and troubadours.[269] His model knight has the "coindia [charm]" of Aymars, the "gensozi [nobility]" of Trencaleos, the "senhoria [lordliness]" of Randos, the "behls respos [good responses]" of Dalfi d'Auvergne, the "guabar [wits]" of Peire de Monleos, the "cavallairi [chivalry] of Brian, the "sen [wisdom]" of Bertran, the "cortezia [courtliness]" of Bels Castellas, the "chansos" of Raimon de Miraval, the "guaieza [gladness]" of Pons de Capduelh, and the "drecheza [righteousness]" of Bertran de la Tor.[270] Elias's knight exemplifies courtly behavior, which includes being able to write good songs (demonstrated by the reference to Raimon de Miraval).

The songs of Bertran and Elias portray ideal figures within the world of troubadour lyric, and it is possible that some of these desired qualities fed into constructions of gender applied to real people as well. Descriptions of feminine beauty in later medieval romances correspond to the attributes Bertran's lady possesses, while the male chivalric values in Elias's song are

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[269] Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay, *The Troubadours: An Introduction* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 283.

[270] Elias de Barjols, "Behls-Guazanhs, s'a vos plazia," in *Le Troubadour Elias de Barjols: Édition critique*, ed. Stanislas Stronski (Toulouse: Édouard Privat; Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1906), pp. 2-3.

ascribed to male characters in the same romances. For example, Jean Renart opens his early-thirteenth-century romance *Le Roman de la Rose ou Guillaume de Dole* with a description of the male protagonist, the emperor Conrad:

> There has never been his equal, even at Troy. He hated wickedness and dining in front of a fire at summertime. Never in his life was he known to swear to or criticize anyone unfairly. He ruled through just decrees and laws, swayed by neither wealth nor poverty. He was wise and courtly by nature, and knew the joys of the chase better than anyone else in the world...He fought with lance and shield, scorning the crossbow...Conrad in battle was fiercer than a leopard. But do you know what I like best about him? He was so fair-minded and so temperate in his habits that no one could ever accuse him of excess.[271]

Jean then goes on to describe the appearance of the women who are a part of Conrad's court: "Ladies with pleated tunics tightly laced around their beautiful bodies and chaplets of gold rubies on their wavy golden hair...their graceful bodies and their firm little breasts were greatly admired."[272] Later, Conrad meets the female protagonist Liénor sitting with her mother doing embroidery work. Jean describes Liénor as "golden-haired...modest and unassuming," and then tells us how she must sing when asked by her brother to do so. Liénor sings two *chansons de toile*, a lyric song genre associated with women and often featuring references to weaving or embroidery in its subject material, activities which are explicitly feminine.[273]

The development of medieval gender constructions, as evidenced in Bertran's and Elias's songs, and outlined in theological, legal, scientific, and philosophical sources, appears to follow the same path as that present in the Occitan grammars, providing a link between grammatical construction and discussion of the bodies and bodily formation of men, women, and intersex

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[271] Jean Renart, *The Romance of the Rose or Guillaume de Dole*, trans. Patricia Terry and Nancy Vine Durling (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), pp. 19-21.

[272] Renart, trans. Terry and Durling, pp. 19-21.

[273] Ibid., pp. 33-34. For more on the association of certain lyric song genres with women, see Boynton, "Women's Performance of the Lyric Before 1500," pp. 47-65.

people. Recent scholarship in this area examines medieval descriptions of bodies and reproductive processes through the lens of sexuality as a social construct, allowing for a fluid understanding of medieval conceptions of sexuality.[274] In their article on hermaphroditism in the twelfth century, Cary Nederman and Jacqui True frame their discussion of scholarship on intersex people by detailing the connections between feminist theories of sex and gender with the historical development of sexual difference.[275] Nederman and True demonstrate how a view of sexuality as a cultural construct rather than a biological one has led to a "mutability of gender identity" that enables transgressive or unconventional sexual identities and practices to become visible, as the erasure of univocal connections between biological sex and gender constructions opens up the possibilities of sexual identities outside of the binary gender system most prevalent in the Middle Ages.[276]

Joan Cadden argues that from the late eleventh century through the end of the fourteenth century, due to increased complexity and detail in learned Latin discussions of sexual difference and male and female reproductive roles, definitions of male and female natures solidified.[277]

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[274] For more on the connection between sex and gender in the Middle Ages, see Karl Whittington, "Medieval," in *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 1 (2014), pp. 125-129. See also Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990); Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science, and Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Danielle Jacquart and Claude Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, trans. Matthew Adamson (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988); John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Cary J. Nederman and Jacqui True, "The Third Sex: The Idea of the Hermaphrodite in Twelfth-Century Europe," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* Vol. 6, No. 4 (Apr., 1996), pp. 497-517; Leah DeVun, "The Jesus Hermaphrodite: Science and Sex Difference in Premodern Europe," *Journal of the History of Ideas* Vol. 69, No. 2 (Apr., 2008), pp. 193-218; Miri Rubin, "The Person in the Form: Medieval Challenges to Bodily 'Order'," in Framing Medieval Bodies, ed. Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 120-122; and Everett K. Rowson, "The Categorization of Gender and Sexual Irregularity in Medieval Arabic Vice Lists," in *Body Guards: The Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity*, ed. Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub (New York: Routledge, 1991).

[275] Nederman and True, "The Third Sex," pp. 497-499.

[276] Ibid., p. 498.

[277] Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference*, p. 167.

According to Cadden, masculine and feminine genders were determined by three factors—complexion, shape, and disposition, which provided a place from which medieval thinkers could make connections between physical and psychological traits, aiding the connection of gender constructions to biological sex.[278]

Theological texts that sought to understand the origins of the human race also fused physical differences between men and women with masculine and feminine social roles. Hildegard of Bingen's twelfth century *Liber divinorum operum* (a theological treatise) and *Causae et curae* (a medical work) use the Creation story located in Genesis as the locus of human origin and of human sex difference.[279] In both works, physical differences between men

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[278] Ibid., pp. 170-188. Complexion was determined by the ratio of qualities (hot, cold, dry, and wet) that comprised an individual. Women were cold and wet, while men were hot and dry. The balance of these qualities in a single individual determined his or her levels of masculinity and femininity—a man who was colder possessed more feminine qualities, while a warmer woman was more masculine. Shape took into account physiological features such as size and body composition, most importantly the distinction between male and female genitalia—men have penises (*virga*), while women have uteri (*matrix*). Disposition was closely related to complexion, as it was also based on the four qualities (hot, cold, wet, and dry) and had bearing on both personality traits and physical features. The four qualities gave rise to the four elements (fire, air, water, and earth), which in turn gave rise to the four humors (blood, yellow bile, phlegm, and black bile). Andreas Capellanus offers a physiological argument to describe why women reach sexual maturity earlier than men do in his twelfth-century treatise *De amore*. In the Eighth Dialogue in the sixth chapter of Book I of the *De amore*, the man says "...a woman from her twelfth year onward may love firmly and keep her faith unshaken. Why the same nature acts differently in women and in men you can plainly see; for a woman's constancy is more firmly established at the beginning of her puberty and most certainly remains unchanged, and nature has permitted the act of Venus to her earlier than to the men, because in women the cold temperament dominates, while the men have a natural heat, and a cold object warms up more quickly with the addition of a little heat than a hot one does if you add a little more. [Nam mulieris constantia inter ipsius pubertatis initia robore solidiore firmatur et invariabilis certissime perseverat, et ipsius Veneris citius ei actus natura concedit quam maribus ipsis, et hoc idea contingit quia in mulieribus frigiditas dominatur, masculis naturalis est inserta caliditas; et quod frigidum est citius sibi modica caliditate adiuncta calescit quam si caliditati caliditas aggregatur.]" See Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, ed. and trans. John Jay Parry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 118-19; and *Andreas Capellanus on Love*, ed. and trans. P.G. Walsh (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., Ltd., 1982), p. 174. For a discussion of this passage in the context of the other physiological signs of love Andreas describes, see Don A. Monson, *Andreas Capellanus, Scholasticism, and the Courtly Tradition* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005), pp. 198-237. For more on medieval Humoralism, see Afkhami, Amir Arsalan, "Humoralism (Galenism)," *The History of Medicine in Iran. Articles extracted from the first 12 volumes of Encyclopaedia iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (New York: Encyclopaedia Iranica Foundation, 2004), pp. 46-49.

[279] Hildegardis Bingensis, *Causae et Curae (Liber subtilitatum diuersarum naturarum creaturarun: Liber compositae medicinae),* Book II, *Library of Latin Texts—Series B*, Brepols, 2017. <<http:clt.brepolis.net/lltb/pages/Toc.aspx?ctx=923776>>; Hildegardis Bingensis, *Liber diuinorum operum*, Part I, Vision 4, *Library of Latin Texts—Series A*, Brepols, 2015. <<http://clt.brepolis.net/llta/pages/Toc.aspx?ctx=2157505>>; also cited in Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference*, pp. 190-191.

and women are fused with masculine and feminine social roles. In his mid-thirteenth century *Summa theologiae*, Thomas Aquinas similarly based the origin of humankind on the book of Genesis and melds biology with social role.[280] He argues that God's choice to make Eve out of Adam's rib spells out the specific character of male-female relationships, as making Eve out of Adam's head would signify her dominion over him, while making her out of Adam's foot would denote her status as a slave.[281] For Aquinas, the very act of biological creation is inextricably linked to the social relationship between men and women, from which all other masculine and feminine social characteristics are derived.

The focus on a binary gender system present in the theological texts discussed above is reflected linguistically in the fact that Romance languages all but drop the neuter gender—as Paden demonstrates, Occitan is no exception.[282] The reduction or erasure of the neuter gender in these languages makes it necessary for writers to somehow constitute an entirely new grammatical dimension from extant grammatical genders, in order to discuss objects and things that are neither male nor female and cannot be grammatically categorized as such.

The linguistic division in both the *Doctrina d'acort* and in "Mangtas vetz sui enqueritz" suggests a slippage or fluidity in the Occitan language that seems to map onto the genders of the

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[280] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Prima Pars, Question 92, Article 3, in *The "Summa Theologica" of St. Thomas Aquinas*, trans. the Fathers of the English Dominican Province, (London: R.&T. Washbourne, Ltd., 1914); also cited in Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference*, p. 193.

[281] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Question 92, Article 3.

[282] Paden, *Old Occitan*, pp. 208-09. Corbeill notes further that, in Classical Latin, neuter-gendered words are possess different functions and occupy a different (lower) place of importance within the language than words that fluctuate between masculine and feminine. See Corbeill, *Sexing the World*, p. 6.

multiple poetic personae in troubadour lyric.[283] In “Mangtas vetz sui enqueritz,” the nouns “canso” and “vers” are signifiers. For Aimeric, these two signifiers both seem to connect to the same signified, as he says that the only distinction between the two genres is in name, or in their signifiers: “Om non troba ni sap devezio/Mas sol lo nom entre vers e chanso. [One does not find or know any difference/Except in the name between vers and chanso.]” However, Aimeric’s next stanza suggests that there is another distinction at work. The gender of the nouns in the Occitan language, a part of each signifier, also seems to have some bearing on the signified(s) (exemplified when Aimeric points out that “Ieu ai motz mascles auzitz/En chansonetas assatz,/E motz femenis pausatz/En verses bos e grazitz [I have heard masculine words in plenty of chansonetas, and feminine words put into good and pleasing vers]”). As he has no neuter noun at his disposal (neither for the specific noun “song” nor in the Occitan language at all) to talk about a third gender, or a type of biological sex that lies outside of the binary gender system, Aimeric combines the nouns of the two genders he can use in single *tornadas*, where the song is personified to create a space for a new gender. In doing so, Aimeric sidesteps the boundaries of the binary gender system and demonstrates the arbitrary nature of noun genders in Occitan, while also depicting a worldview that seems not to think that grammatical gender, or gender constructs, are inherently linked to biological sex.

[283] This linguistic division can also be understood through Butler’s work on gender and semiotics. If the construction of gender is treated as a “sign” relationship, where biological sex is the “signified,” signified by its “signifier” gender, then Aimeric highlights the arbitrariness of this connection by discussing how the gender of a word (which functions, in a way, as biological sex here) does not need to relate to the gendered characteristics of the song it refers to. The song’s biological sex is given to it by the noun by which it is named, while the gendered characteristics of the songs Aimeric describes (“cortz sonetz e cochans/Ai auzitz en verses mans,/Es auzida chansonet’ ab lonc so [And short and swift tunes/I have heard in many *vers*,/And heard chansonetas with long, slow, tunes]”) may be inflected by social constructions of gender from medieval Occitan society. See Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution,” pp. 519-533.

Aimeric's dissolution of the signifier-signified relationship for both "vers" and "chanso" in the first two stanzas of "Mangtas vetz sui enqueritz" illustrates one situation in which the categories of "male" and "female" are easily mixed up, an action that appears to have no consequences. Although seemingly coming from a place of rigidity, the flip-flopping of gendered song genres demonstrates a fluidity of gender predicated on the connection between grammatical gender and sonic object. How far does this gender fluidity stretch—does the inclusion of two differently gendered nouns referring to the same object suggest hermaphroditism? How does it affect the creation of a body for the song? Grammatical gender and biological sex are often elided in the medieval works—can we call the song's body the result of both genderfluidity and hermaphrodition?

HERMAPHRODITES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

In their article on hermaphroditism in the twelfth century, Nederman and True frame their discussion of scholarship on intersex people by detailing the connections between feminist theories of sex and gender with the historical development of sexual difference.[284] Nederman and True demonstrate how a view of sexuality as a cultural construct rather than a biological one has led to a "mutability of gender identity" that enables transgressive or unconventional sexual identities and practices to become visible, as the erasure of unequivocal connections between biological sex and gender constructions opens up the possibilities of sexual identities outside of the binary gender system most prevalent in the Middle Ages.[285]

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[284] Nederman and True, "The Third Sex," pp. 497-499.

[285] Ibid., p. 498.

As discussed previously, a number of medieval authors devoted space in their works to discussions of sex and gender. As True and Nederman have pointed out, the process of constructing a binary system of gender identity meant that authors often had to discuss unconventional sexualities and/or sexual practices (including hermaphroditism, masculine women, homosexual practices, and cross dressing) in order to demonstrate how these sexualities fit into their binary system.[286] The figure of the hermaphrodite posed a number of problems to authors promoting a two-gender system, as hermaphrodites are people born with two sets of genitalia—both male and female.[287] The human body, the object that gender is supposed to signify—and be so inextricably linked to—signified a combination of masculinity and femininity, which was irreconcilable within the binary gender system. Attempts to explain the phenomenon of hermaphroditism and fit the intersex person into a male-female dichotomy demonstrate an acceptance of a third gender that needed to be altered to function within society.[288]

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[286] Nederman and True, "The Third Sex," p. 498.

[287] The concept of the hermaphrodite stems from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Hermaphroditus, the son of the god Hermes and the goddess Aphrodite, was pursued by Salmacis, a water nymph. He rejected her advances, but she continued to pursue him and chased him into a fountain, where she prayed to the gods that the two of them be united forever. In response to her prayer, the gods merged their bodies into one, forming "a creature of both sexes." See Ovid, Book IV, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916, reprinted 1951), ll. 317-388.

[288] As Jeffrey Jerome Cohen has pointed out, monstrous difference tends to be cultural, political, racial, economic, or sexual. The figure of the hermaphrodite therefore provides a "readable text" on which "deviant morality" is inscribed. Cohen links this bodily "deformity" to deviation from normative gender roles as well, stating that those (particularly women) who overstep the boundaries of their gender roles, also risk being labeled as monstrous. Dana Oswald highlights the connection between monstrous bodies and gender as well. For Oswald, the "intermediate, interstitial" nature of a monstrous body resists categorization, and in doing so, "they challenge notions of the body and of gender, blurring the boundaries created by humans to exert some kind of control over the unwieldy world around them." See Cohen, "Monster Theory (Seven Theses)," pp. 7-8; and Oswald, "Monstrous Gender: Geographies of Ambiguity," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, ed. Asa Simon Mittmann and Peter J. Dendle (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2012), pp. 343-63.

Two main theories of reproduction prevailed in the Middle Ages, both of which demonstrate a belief that human sexuality was determined on a spectrum, and allow for a number of possibilities beyond male and female. One, which came from Aristotle's *De generatione animalium* and became widespread in the thirteenth century, was based on the belief that males were the most perfect form of the human being and that everything else (including women) was an imperfect realization of a human, and stated that hermaphrodites were not an intermediate sex but were the product of doubled genitalia.[289] The Aristotelian belief also held that the sex of humans was established on a continuum dependent on the materials used in reproduction, and so allowed for a number of different realizations of human sexuality, where the male was the perfect realization.[290] The competing theory was derived from Hippocratic/pseudo-Galenic ways of thinking.[291] The pseudo-Galenic treatise *De spermate* (also called, at various moments in its history, *Liber spermatis*, *Microtegni*, or *De duodecim portis*), was the main treatise on human reproduction available in the twelfth century.[292] It began circulating more or less contemporaneously in both England and southern France in the early to mid-twelfth century, and

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[289] DeVun, "The Jesus Hermaphrodite," p. 197; Rubin, "The Person in the Form," pp. 100-122.

[290] Rubin, "The Person in the Form," p. 106. Susan Schibanoff discusses shifting descriptions of homosexual behavior in the context of Alain de Lille's *De Planctu Naturae* and Jean de Meun's *Le Roman de la Rose*. Schibanoff argues that the appearance of Aristotelian ideas about causality (which Aristotle commonly discussed in terms of heterosexual reproduction) uses a new form of discourse to decree that, in acts of reproduction, the party who generates matter must be gendered male, and the party who receives matter must be gendered female (rather than also being gendered male). See Susan Schibanoff, "Sodomy's Mark: Alan of Lille, Jean de Meun, and the Medieval Theory of Authorship," in *Queering the Middle Ages*, ed. Glenn Burgess and Steven F. Kruger (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), pp. 47-50.

[291] DeVun, "The Jesus Hermaphrodite," p. 196.

[292] Outi Merisalo, "The Early Tradition of the Pseudo-Galenic De Spermate (Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries)," *Scripta: An International Journal of Codicology and Palaeography* 5, ed. Fabrizio Serra (2012), p. 99. For more on the circulation of the *De Spermate* tradition, see Outi Merisalo and Päiva Pahta, "Tracing the Trail of Transmission: The Pseudo-Galenic De Spermate in Latin," in *Science Translated: Latin and Vernacular Translations of Scientific Treatises in Medieval Europe,* ed. Michèle Goyens, Pieter de Leemans, and An Smets (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), pp. 91-104; and for a detailed discussion of the influences on, transmission of, and content of De Spermate, see Päivi Pahta, *Medieval Embryology in the Vernacular: The Case of* De spermate (Helsinki: Société Néophililogique, 1998).

continued circulation into northern Italy and southern Germany through the thirteenth century.[293] This theory held that the female uterus was active in determining the sex of the fetus, along with the male semen.[294] In accordance with the elements that comprised the completion, both the uterus and the testes had a warmer right (male) and colder left (female) division. The sex of the fetus was determined by where the semen settled in the uterus—if the semen settled on the right-hand, hot side, the child was male, while if the semen settled on the left-hand, cold side, the child was female.[295] While most embryos settled on the edges of the womb, where they could be clearly marked as male or female, a number of in-between elemental combinations and uterine placements could also occur.[296] Both the Aristotelian and the Hippocratic/pseudo-Galenic theories of reproduction conceive of the production of sexual identity on some sort of spectrum, which allowed for the male and female sexes and everything in between.

While *De spermate* began circulation in the early to mid-twelfth century, the transmission of Aristotle and Avicenna's medical and philosophical works did not begin until just before the year 1200.[297] Twelfth-century philosophers and doctors (including early twelfth-century philosopher William of Conches and late twelfth-century doctor Nicholas the Physician) picked up the Hippocratic/pseudo-Galenic theory of reproduction, and it appears in their works with some elaborations: the uterus is now divided into seven chambers, and if semen "lands" in or

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[293] Merisalo, "The Early Tradition," p. 109. The treatise may also have been translated into Latin in the eleventh century by Constantinus Africanus, an instructor of medicine at the medical school in Salerno, as it appeared at the end of the twelfth century with a new name (the *Microtegni*), attributed to Galen as author and Constantinus as translator. See Nederman and True, "The Third Sex," p. 503; Merisalo, "The Early Tradition," p. 108.

[294] Nederman and True, "The Third Sex," p. 503.

[295] Ibid.

[296] Nederman and True, "The Third Sex," pp. 503-504.

[297] Ibid., p. 503. For more on the transmission and use of Avicenna's writings in the West, see Marie Thérèse d'Alverny, *Avicenne en occident: recueil d'articles* (Paris: Librarie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1993).

"fills" a special middle chamber, a fetus with both sexual organs will be born.[298] Moral writers of the twelfth century also seem to agree that the figure of the hermaphrodite was unique from male- and female-sexed bodies.[299] In the fifth book of his *Policraticus*, John of Salisbury discusses the figures of the courtier and the philosopher. He aligns the courtier and the philosopher with the female and male sexes, stating that one person cannot take on the roles of both courtier and philosopher.[300] John goes so far as to label the courtier-philosopher a hermaphrodite:

> Unde eleganter fons Salmacis infamia mollitiei insignis eidem comparatur. Ut enim in fabulis est, unda illiuis aspectu decora est, gustu dulcis, suavis tactu, et omnium sensuum usu gratissima, sed tanta mollitie ingredientes enervat, ut viris effeminatis nobiliorem adimat sexum; nec ante quisquam egreditur quam stupeat et doleat se mutatum esse in feminam. Aut enim cedens omnino sexus in deteriorem degenerat aut veteris dignitatis aliquo manente vestigio hermafroditum induit, qui quodam delinquentis naturae ludibrio sic utriusque sexus ostentat imaginem ut neutris retineat veritatem...Qui curialium ineptias induit et philosophi vel boni viri officium pollicetur, hermafroditus est, qui duro vultu et hispido muliebrum deturpat venustatem et virum muliebribus polluit et incestat. Res siquidem monstruosa est philosophus curialis; et, dum utrumque esse affectat, neutrum est...
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> [...the court has been compared to the infamous fountain of Salmacis, which is notorious for weakening virility...those who enter it are

[298] Ibid., pp. 504-05; Guillelmus de Conchis, *Dragmaticon philosophiae* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), p. 24; and Nicholas the Physician, *Anatomia Magistri Physici*, trans. George W. Corner, *Anatomical Texts of the Earlier Middle Ages* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1927), pp. 67-86. Fridolf Kudlien argues that the doctrine of the seven-celled uterus "was a significant feature of certain medical schools of late antiquity," which included its comments on hermaphroditism. See Kudlien, "The Seven Cells of the Uterus: The Doctrine and its Roots," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 39/5 (1965), p. 422. Descriptions of the seven-celled uterus contradict depictions of the uterus taken from Galenic anatomy, which described the uterus as having two cavities, one on the left and one on the right, that joined in a single cavity in the middle. Galenic theories of anatomy were pervasive in Islamic anatomy from the ninth to the twelfth century, including the first chapter (*De utero*) of Avicenna's *Canon*, and appears in some Western medical treatises from the same time period. See Plinio Prioreschi, "Anatomy in Medieval Islam," *Journal of the International Society for History of Islamic Medicine* 5 (2006), pp. 2-3; Prioreschi quotes Avicenna on pp. 2-3. See Avicenna, *Canon*, I, *De utero*. French translation by de Koning in P. de Koning, *Trois traités d'anatomie Arabes* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1903), pp. 87, 89; translated from French by Prioreschi. See also Oskar Cameron Gruner, *A Treatise on the Canon of Medicine of Avicenna, Incorporating a Translation of the First Book* (London: Luzac, 1930).

[299] Sources from a wide variety of disciplines, including medical and philosophical treatises, legal documents, and moral works, commonly label the hermaphrodite as a third sex. See Nederman and True, "The Third Sex," p. 503.

[300] John of Salisbury, *Policraticus: of the frivolities of courtiers and the footprints of philosophers*, trans. Cary J. Nederman (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

> enervated to such a degree of weakness that like effeminate men they are deprived of the nobler sex; and none stepped out from it other than those who were stunned and distressed to be changed into women. For either their sex, vanishing entirely, had degenerated into the inferior gender or they retained enough of the vestiges of their former dignity to assume the identity of an hermaphrodite, who, by a sort of foolish error, exhibits the likeness of both sexes, yet retains the true qualities of neither of them...He who engages in the trifles of the courtier and undertakes the obligations of the philosopher or the good man is an hermaphrodite, whose harsh and prickly face disfigures the beauty of women and who pollutes and dishonours virility with effeminacy. For indeed the philosopher-courtier is a monstrous thing; and, while he affects to be both, he is neither one...][301]

John's comments on the utter incompatibility of a worldly courtier and a philosopher reveal his belief that a hermaphrodite is neither male nor female but something different altogether. This view appears in the works of other twelfth-century moralists such as Bernard Sylvestris, who also defines hermaphrodites in terms of their sexual uniqueness in his mid-twelfth century *Cosmographia*.[302]

Acceptance of the hermaphrodite as a figure with unique sexuality does not deter these writers from attempting to solve the problem of the third gender's presence within a binary gender system. A number of moral and legal texts reflect pressure to fit into a gender-binary

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[301] John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* 5.10, trans. Nederman, pp. 90-91; *Joannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Policratici sive De nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum, Libre VIII*, Book I, ed. Clemens C.I. Webb (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), pp. 330-331.

[302] Bernard Sylvestris, *Cosmographia* 2.5.17, ed. Peter Dronke (Leiden, 1978), trans. Winthrop Wetherbee (New York, 1973), p. 103.

system.[303] Twelfth-century Parisian theologian Peter the Chanter addresses intersexuality in his *De vitio sodomitico,* where he accepts hermaphrodites as a third, wholly human sex.[304] However, he states that hermaphrodites must live as either a man or a woman, and once a choice is made, it cannot be altered or revoked.[305] The necessity of choosing either the masculine or feminine gender bolsters gender's status as a cultural construct—hermaphrodites must choose a socially sanctioned gender, which then becomes more important than the actual biological sex of the person it is associated with. Gender becomes a kind of "second nature," where "culture is more compelling than mere birth in determining the identity of the intersexed person."[306]

Medieval ideas of gender and biological sex allow for an understanding of the connection between these two categories as arbitrary and socially constructed. The figure of the hermaphrodite, due to its nature as a naturally-occurring form of human sexuality that is neither male nor female (but is a combination of both sets of genitalia), underscores the artificial nature of the masculine and feminine gender constructs. By forcing an intersex person to choose

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[303] The necessity of reinforcing a binary gender system is realized in legal documents. Legal tracts relied on some differentiation between types of people in order to determine jurisdiction, as correct application of the law depended on elements of status such as a person's level of social rank, or their status as a free or unfree person. Medieval lawyers considered hermaphrodites to be fully human, and saw their existence as a purely natural phenomenon. To medieval lawyers, the ability of a hermaphrodite to participate in the legal system was "dependent upon the preponderance of their traits," but the sources make no further suggestion as to how gender should be determined. Medieval jurists also considered hermaphrodites to be unproblematically human, but they believed that in order to function within the legal system, they needed to choose (or be assigned) either the male or female gender. Bolognese civil jurist Azo provides a clear example of this point of view in his *Summa Institutionem* (written near the end of the twelfth century). Azo describes three distinct categories of biological human sex: male, female, and hermaphrodite, demonstrating that, for him, hermaphrodites are wholly human and, according to Nederman and True, "constitute a naturally generated and physically distinct sex." Azo also insists that a hermaphrodite must choose either the male or female gender to function within the legal system, reinforcing both the separation between biological sex and gender, and the importance of adhering to a gender-binary system. See Nederman and True, "The Third Sex," pp. 511-13; and Azo, *Summa Institutionum* (Venice: Arrivabenus, 1499).

[304] Nederman and True, "The Third Sex," p. 511; Rubin, "The Person in the Form," pp. 105-06.

[305] Nederman and True, "The Third Sex," p. 511.

[306] Ibid., p. 511.

between two genders, medieval writers demonstrated the power of society in constructing gender roles and connecting them with certain biological sexes.

ALAIN OF LILLE AND THE *DE PLANCTU NATURAE*

The *De planctu naturae* of Alain de Lille, a twelfth-century theologian, philosopher, and poet, provides a useful example of the use of grammatical terms to discuss gender, as the treatise (likely composed in Paris between 1160 and 1170) is roughly contemporary to Aimeric de Peguilhan. Aimeric and his contemporaries, composing in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, may have known of Alain, as he was born in Lille around the year 1128, and taught in Paris between 1170-1180 before moving to Montpellier.[307] As Jan Ziolkowski describes, the *De planctu naturae* criticizes the decay of both contemporary moral values and the structure of Latin grammar, and seeks to reinforce a gender-binary system.[308] Alain uses a comparison between the gendered elements of Latin grammar and human gender to uphold the male gender as the most perfect realization of a human being, echoing the Aristotelian theory of reproduction.[309] The *De planctu naturae* opens with an invective against homosexual acts (the practice of same-sex sexual activities), as Alain uses sodomy as a symbol for the general evils of the world. Men who engage in homosexual acts, those who "strike on an anvil that emits no sparks," are "made woman," as they denounce their masculinity by having sex with other men rather than with

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[307] Christophe Erismann, "Alan of Lille," *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy: Philosophy Between 500 and 1500*, ed. Henrik Lagerlund (Heidelberg: Springer, 2011), p. 35.

[308] Jan Ziolkowski, *Alain of Lille's Grammar of Sex: The Meaning of Grammar to a Twelfth-Century Intellectual* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1985). As Ziolkowski demonstrates, the use of grammatical terms as analogies to discuss other topics was fairly common in the twelfth century. See Ziolkowski, *Alain of Lille's Grammar of Sex*, pp. 60-71. For more on the possibility that hermaphroditic discourse undermines Alain's seeming disapproval of same-sex relationships, see David Rollo, *Kiss My Relics: Hermaphroditic Fictions of the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), pp. 75-142; and Schibanoff, "Sodomy's Mark," pp. 28-56.

[309] Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference*, p. 189.

women.[310] For Alain, the perverse nature of these acts is best represented by grammatical disorder:

> Femina vir factus, sexus deingrat honorem,
> Ars magicae Veneris hermaphroditat eum.
> Praedicat et subjicit, fit duplex terminus idem,
> Grammaticae leges ampliat ille nimis.
>
> [Man is made woman, he blackens the honor of his sex, the craft of magic Venus makes him of double gender. He is both predicate and subject, he becomes likewise of two declensions, he pushes the laws of grammar too far.][311]

Here, Alain states that some men are so womanly that they can no longer be classified as men, but neither can they be classified as women. Instead, they become doubly gendered, or hermaphroditic. Grammatically, this means that the "womanly man" is simultaneously declined in two different ways, which is a grammatical impossibility. In order to sustain his argument, Alain implies that there is a third sex (a hermaphrodite) who cannot simply be reduced to a woman, and this third sex cannot be reduced grammatically to the masculine or feminine grammatical genders.[312]

While Alain is probably denouncing transgressive sexual acts in the *De Planctu Naturae*, he still acknowledges the presence of a third sex, both in human and grammatical gender.[313] In Book X [Prose V], Alain describes to Nature how he instructed Venus to populate the earth:

> Sed cum ipsa, genialis concubitus ordinatus complexionibus, res diuersorum sexuum oppositioni dissimiles ad exequendam rerum propaginem connectere teneretur, ut in suis connectionibus artis

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[310] Alain de Lille, *De planctu naturae*, Metre I, ll. 17, ed. Nikolaus M. Häring, "Alan of Lille, 'De planctu naturae'," *Studi Medievali* 19.2 (1978), p. 806; and trans. James J. Sheridan, *Alan of Lille: The Plaint of Nature* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1980), pp. 67-68.

[311] Alain de Lille, *De Planctu Naturae*, Metre I, ll. 17-20, ed. Häring, "Alan of Lille," p. 806, and trans. adapted from Sheridan, *Alan of Lille*, pp. 67-68.

[312] Nederman and True, "The Third Sex," p. 509.

[313] Ibid.

gramatice constructiones canonicas obseruaret suique artificii nobilitas nullius artis ignorantia sue ferret glorie detrimentum, curalibus preceptis sub magistrali diregulas in suarum constructionum unionibus artificiosis admiterret, quas uelet extraordinarias nullius figure excusatione redemptas excluderet. Cum enim, attestante gramatica, duo genera specialiter, masculinum uidelicet et femininum, ratio nature cognouerit, quamuis et quidam homines, sexus depauperati segnacolo, iuxta meam oppinionem possint neutri generis designatione censeri, tamen Cypridi sub intimis ammonitionibus minarumque immensis iniunxi tonitruis, ut in suis coniunctionibus ratione exigentie naturalem constructionem solummodo masculini femininique generis celebraret.

[But since she was bound by the appointed embraces of generative coition to bring together in contraposition differing parts of the different sexes so as to effect the propagation of things, with imperial precepts from my magisterial teaching I taught her, as if she were a pupil needing instruction, which procedures in the art of Grammar she should adopt in the artistic combinations of her constructions and which she should reject as irregular and unredeemed by any excusing figure, so as to insure that she should use in her connections the regular constructions of the art of grammar and that the nobility of her artistic work should not suffer impairment from any ignorance of art on her part. Since the plan of Nature gave special recognition, as the evidence of Grammar confirms, to two genders, to wit, the masculine and feminine (although some men, deprived of a sign of sex, could, in my opinion, be classified as of neuter gender), I charged the Cyprian, with secret warnings and mighty, thunderous threats, that she should, as reason demanded, concentrate exclusively in her connections on the natural union of masculine and feminine gender.][314]

Alain clearly demonstrates his belief in the primacy and perfection of male-female sexual relationships, strengthened by his instructions to Venus regarding grammatical construction. While Alain begins by highlighting the presence of the two "natural" genders in grammar, he alludes to Latin's third grammatical sex, the neuter, which he uses to describe sexually "nonproductive" men, such as eunuchs and those who participate in homosexual acts.[315] Despite this brief mention, the viability of the neuter within either a biological or grammatical system is dismissed later:

[314] *De Planctu Naturae*, Prose V, ll. 35-49, ed. Häring, "Alan of Lille," p. 846, and Sheridan, trans., *Alan of Lille*, pp. 156-57.

[315] Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference*, p. 225; Nederman and True, "The Third Sex," pp. 509-510.

> Praetera, adjunxi, ne Dyonea conjunctio in transitivæ constructionis habitum uniformem, vel reciprocationis curriculum, vel retransitionis anfractum reciperet, solius transitionis recta directione contenta, vel alicujus etiam disgressantis naturæ nimia intercisione sufferet, ut genus activum in passivum valeat usurpativa assumptione, vel idem in activum suæ proprietatis dispositione redire, vel sub passivi litteratura activi retinendo naturam, sibi legem termini deponentis assumere: Nec mirandum, si pleræque maximæ, titulo grammaticæ facultatis adscriptæ, a venereæ artis domicilio patiantur repulsam, cum ipsa eas quæ suæ præceptionis regulis obsequuntur, in sinum suæ familiaritatis admittat; eas vero quæ eloquentissimæ contradictionis insultibus ejus leges expugnare conantur, æterni anathematis exclusione suspendat.
>
> [In addition to this I gave instructions that the conjugations of Dione's daughter should restrict themselves entirely to the forward march of the transitive and should not admit the stationary intransitive or the circuitous reflexive or the recurring passive, and that she should not, by an excessive extension of permission go to and fro, tolerate a situation where the active type, by appropriating an additional meaning, goes over to the passive or the passive, laying aside its proper character, returns to the active or where a verb with a passive ending retains an active meaning and adopts the rules of deponents. It is no wonder, then, that very many far-reaching constructions, labelled with the sign of the discipline of Grammar, suffer rejection from the home of Venus' art while she admits to the embraces of intimate friendship with her these constructions which obey her preceptive rules, stays with the curse of eternal exclusion those which try to storm her laws by insults and contradictions most eloquently expressed.][316]

Alain is responding to grammatical corruption here, which he finds evident in defective uses of the language and "double conjugations" such as those mentioned in his opening section. Underlying this critique of grammatical construction is a denouncement of the corruption of human gender, evident in Alain's rejection of grammatically correct categories that do not follow the laws of Venus (the laws of heterosexuality). Alain is willing to undo some of the rules of Latin grammar in order to preserve a gender-binary system, revealing his priorities once and for all—the preservation of social gender norms is more important than inhibiting the corruption of Latin grammar.

DOUBLE GENDER IN THE TROUBADOUR *TORNADA*

[316] *De Planctu Naturae*, Prose V, ll. 105-125. Sheridan, trans., *Alan of Lille*, pp. 158-59.

Alain's comparison of human gender with grammatical gender provides a unique viewpoint from which to analyze the use of the two differently-gendered Occitan nouns for "song" (*chanso* and *vers*). While most troubadours choose to use one gendered noun or another, some composers who include both nouns appear to deploy them specifically, suggesting a clear reaction on the part of the poets to the limitations of gender employed in Occitan grammatical treatises. As demonstrated above, the neuter gender is only present in specific situations in medieval Occitan, and it is not a widespread gender in the language. The poets' usage of both differently gendered nouns within the same poetic unit of space (the *tornada*) suggests an attempt to portray a spectrum of gender within a language that (for the most part) does not support it. The inclusion of both nouns allows the poets to create a cross-reference between their different genders. This cross-reference displays two different "sides" of the same object (the body of the song), which then illustrates the doubly-gendered nature of the song.

As mentioned earlier, Occitan does contain neuter pronouns. They do not make any appearances in these songs, though Alain of Lille might suggest that they should. However, both of the Occitan nouns for song (let alone other genre-specific song nouns) already have their own grammatical genders, which do not disappear when the nouns are used in the poetry. To replace the pronouns associated with the genders of the "song" nouns would break grammatical rules, inflecting the language with impossible noun-pronoun combinations. The "doubling" of the nouns in one poetic space provides a solution to this problem: the nouns each retain their own grammatical gender, but the referenced object (the song) takes on the gender of both nouns while still obeying the rules of the language. The use of both nouns to refer to the same object in the same poetic space allows for the creation of a space (in this case, the poetic world of the

troubadours) where a wide range of bodies and genders is possible and accepted, and a poetic realization of that spectrum in the body of the personified song.

The distinction between the common and neuter genders is important here. The issue surrounding hermaphrodites concerned reproduction (an issue which explains the lumping-together of hermaphrodites along with same-sex sexual relationships)—Albertus Magnus believed that hermaphrodites were not able to bear children and therefore could not participate in the development of the human race.[317] The common and neuter genders differ critically on this point as well: the common gender merely obscures the "true" gender it will eventually refer to, and therefore this gender will still be able to procreate. The neuter gender, on the other hand, cannot reproduce.

However, the medieval figure of the hermaphrodite is seemingly both neuter (non-reproducing) and common, as both masculine and feminine genitalia are combined together in one body. The Occitan grammatical treatises eschew the neuter gender in favor of the common gender, and Aimeric follows their lead. Instead of attempting to use the neuter gender to comment on the non-productivity of non-reproductive sexual acts as Alain does, Aimeric puts both masculine and feminine nouns into a single space (his *tornadas*), like the common gender. Aimeric does not need to employ grammatical genders that are essentially outside of the language he writes in—instead, he works within the Occitan grammatical system to undercut its binary-gender focus.

In the *De planctu naturae*, Alain uses grammar to reinforce a gender-binary system, though he is unsuccessful—he ends up either using the neuter gender or breaking the rules of

[317] Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference*, pp. 212-213.

Latin grammar in his attempts to solve his problem. On the other hand, Aimeric de Peguilhan correctly employs Occitan grammar to successfully counteract a gender-binary system. By personifying his song, Aimeric makes the song's body a representation of the work he is trying to so, whether that body is hermaphroditic or whether it encapsulates a spectrum of gender fluidity.

Can we find other examples of attempts to undermine the primacy of the masculine and feminine genders in the troubadour lyric corpus? To determine this, we must ascertain which troubadours Aimeric was associated with, and whether or not they may have come into contact with the *Razos de Trobar*. In Italy, Aimeric was closely associated with the Este court at Ferrara, and was part of a cohort of troubadours there including Albertet da Sestaro, Peire Raimon de Tolosa, Aimeric de Belenoi, Rambertino Buvalelli, Elias Cairel, and Peirol.[318] Aimeric addressed a number of his poems (including "Mangtas vetz") to Beatrice of Este, the daughter of Azzo IV (reigned 1196-1212), as did Rambertino Buvalelli, placing both of them at the court in the first part of the thirteenth century, and Aimeric composed *tensos* with Albertet da Sestaron ("Albert, causetz al vostre sen" and "Amics N'Albertz, tensos soven"), who sends one of his songs to another of Aimeric's patrons, William Malaspina.[319] Aimeric may also have known Folquet de Romans, a troubadour associated with the Marquis de Montferrat and Emperor Frederick II of Sicily. Aimeric's *vida* mentions the Marquis de Montferrat by name, and Aimeric also addresses

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[318] Shepard and Chambers, p. 11.

[319] Shepard and Chambers, pp. 11-15. Albertet addresses his song "Ab joi comensi ma chanson" to Guillems Malaspina, and sends his songs to Montferrat in another, "Ab son gai e leugier." Albertet's song "Mout es greus mals de qu'om no s'aura planher" is also addressed to a member of the Malaspina family. Albertet also addresses one of his songs, "Bon chantar fai al gai temps del paschor," to Peirol.

songs to both the Marquis (two songs) and Emperor Frederick II of Sicily (he addressed two of his songs to him in their *tornadas*, and praises Frederick in a third).[320]

As examined earlier in this chapter, Aimeric and other troubadours may have had knowledge of the songs Raimon quotes in the *Razos,* suggested by their allusions to the quoted songs in their own works. The troubadours' responses to songs quoted in the *Razos* serve to demonstrate both the formation of an Italian network of troubadours who were aware of the treatise and of each other, and their potential interest in responding to the grammatical treatise itself.

The combination of song genres into one term is another poetic phenomenon that may establish connections between troubadours. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, Aimeric de Peguilhan combines two song genres into one in the final *tornada* of "Mangtas vetz":

> Per que de vos dauri mo vers-chanso.
>
> [Therefore I gild your name with my *vers-chanso*.][321]

Folquet de Romans opens his song "Una chanso sirventes" with a combination of two song genres as well, which he puts together for his lady:

> Una chanso sirventes
> a ma dona trametrai,
> c'anc pueis d'alres non pensai
> pos parti de Vianes
> mas de sa beutat complia.

[320] Aimeric sends his songs "Ara parra qual seran enveyos" and "Pus ma belha mal' amia" to the Marquis de Montferrat, and the songs"Cel qui s'irais ni guerreia ab Amor" and "Totz hom qui so blasma que deu lauzar" to Emperor Frederick II. Aimeric's song "En aquelh temps que·l reys mori, N'Amfos" is almost entirely devoted to praising Frederick.

[321] Aimeric de Peguilhan, "Mangtas vetz sui enqueritz," trans. in consultation with Shepard and Chambers, ed. and trans., pp. 175-178.

> [I will send a *chanso-sirventes* to my lady, for since I left Vianes, I have not thought of anything except for her complete beauty.][322]

Folquet does not discuss why he chooses to create a new song genre from two pre-existing genres (he is clearly aware of some generic distinction between the two, as he labels some of his songs as "sirventes" within the poetic texts), nor does he give any mention of the different characteristics of these two genres in this song.[323] However, his deliberate decision to combine the two song genres seems to put him in dialogue with Aimeric de Peguilhan—the combination of genres is rare in the troubadour corpus, and Folquet's decision to do so suggests he knew of Aimeric's song.

Additionally, three songs by Guiraut de Bornelh are quoted in the treatise.[324] Editors of Guiraut's work have termed some of his songs "chanso-sirventes" (though this term does not appear in any of Guiraut's texts or in the treatises concerned with writing songs—it seems to appear exclusively in Folquet's song).[325] Guiraut's song "Leu chansonet'e vil" (labeled in Sharman's edition as a *chanso-sirventes*) is quoted in the *Razos*, in the same discussion of declension as the Bernart de Ventadorn song discussed above. Not only does Guiraut personify this song, he also uses feminine nouns and pronouns in combination with masculine nouns to refer to it.

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[322] Folquet de Romans, "Una chanso sirventes," in *L'Oeuvre poetique de Folquet de Romans, Troubadour*, ed. and trans. Raymond Arveiller and Gérard Gouiran (Aix-en-Provence: Publication du C. U. E. R. M. A., 1987), pp. 42-43.

[323] Erich Köhler states that the first three stanzas of the song are the "chanso" portion, while the last three stanzas are the "sirventes." See Köhler, "Die Sirventes-Kanzone," *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, vol. 2, t. 1, fasc. 4 (1980), p. 63.

[324] "Can creis la fresca fueil'els rams," "Leu chansonet'e vil," and "Gen m'aten."

[325] See Sharman, *The Cansos and Sirventes of the Troubadour Giraut de Borneil*; and Köhler, "Die Sirventes-Kanzone," vol. 2, t. 1, fasc. 4 (1980), pp. 62-66, and vol. 2, t. 1, fasc. 7 (1990), pp. 375-83; and Köhler, "Die Sirventes-Kanzone: 'genre bâtard' oder legitime Gattung?" in *Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune, vol. I* (Gembloux, 1969), pp. 159-183.

Guiraut personifies his song in his opening stanza using the feminine diminutive noun "chansoneta." He also personifies the song without addressing it in the first person:

> Leu chansonet'e vil
> M'auria obs a far
> Que pogues enviar
> En Alvergne al Dalfi
> Pero soil dreg cami
> Pogues n'Eblon trobar
> Belh poiria mandar
> Q'eu dic q'en l'escurzir
> Non es l'afans
> Mas en l'obr'esclarzir.
>
> [I ought to make a clear, quick, and light little song that I could send to the Dalfi d'Auvergne, but if on the way there it were able to find Lord Eble it would well be able to tell him that I say that darkening it (the song) is not the difficulty; the difficulty lies not in darkening the work, but in making it clearer.][326]

Guiraut describes his song as a "leu chansonet'e vil" in the opening stanza, linking the song's small stature (referenced by the use of the diminutive "chansoneta") to lightness ("leu") and simplicity ("vil"). His use of the word "vil" also references the term "vilana," meaning "peasant woman." The combination of "leu" and "vil" to describe a "chansoneta," a noun that reinforces both the femininity of its original noun ("chanssos") and a diminution in size, implies that the song somehow takes on the characteristics of a "vilana"—commonness and a lack of sophistication.[327] As they did in Aimeric's "Mangtas vetz," feminine musico-poetic characteristics take on a shorter, less sophisticated, lowbrow nature.

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[326] Guiraut de Bornelh, "Leu chansonet'e vil," ed. and trans. Sharman, pp. 283-286. The noun "vilana" appears in many *pastorelas*, a genre of song that narrates an encounter with a peasant woman (usually a shepherdess). Marcabru's *pastorela* "L'autrier jost'una sebissa" is a famous example of the use of the term "vilana." In the song, a knight has a conversation with a shepherdess, who he attempts to seduce. She rejects his advances using her cleverness, arguing that the knight's nobility cannot be mixed with her peasant stock. In the beginning of the song, Marcabru describes the peasant girl's simple clothing and unadorned appearance, but by the end of the song it becomes clear that the girl's wits are far more sophisticated than those of the courtly knight. For more on Marcabru's song, see Cheyette and Switten, "Women in Troubadour Song: Of the Comtessa and the Vilana," pp. 26-45.

[327] Guiraut de Bornelh, "Leu chansonet'e vil," trans. in consultation with Sharman, ed. and trans., pp. 283-287.

Guiraut personifies his song again in the song's only *tornada*. As in the opening stanza, he employs the third person to talk about the song, and refers to it as an entity that can travel, speak, and carry messages. Guiraut uses the feminine pronoun ("·lh") to refer to his song, discussing again the song's function as a messenger:

> E deuria·lh mandar
> Mon Sobretotz e dir
> Qel majer dans
> Er sieus sim fai faillir.
>
> [And it [my song] ought to carry a message to My Above-All, saying that he will be the one to suffer most if I fail because of him.][328]

In the verse directly preceding the *tornada*, Guiraut refers to his song in the third person as "mos chans." He mentions his song in order to discuss the connection between his mental state and the composition of his song, as he laments that his worrisome thoughts make his song draw to a close:

> Aram torn e humil
> Vas Mon Bel Senhor car
> Res al nol sai comtar
> Mas que s'amors m'auci
> La plus mal ancessi
> No quam saup enviar
> Queras non puosc pauzar
> Ans trebalh e consir
> Si que mos chans
> Es ja pres del fenir.
>
> [Now I turn, humbly, toward my Bel Senhor [a masculine *senhal*], who is dear to me. To her all I know to say is that my love for her is killing me. No fiercer assassin could she have sent to me. Now I can find no rest, but instead ordeal and worry, so that my song is now near to its end.][329]

Like Aimeric, Guiraut uses the masculine noun to associate himself with his song, while he uses the feminine noun and pronoun to propel his song on its mission as a messenger. All four

[328] Ibid.

[329] Guiraut de Bornelh, "Leu chansonet'e vil," trans. in consultation with Sharman, pp. 283-287.

troubadours include both gendered versions of a single object to portray a spectrum of gender—a materialization of genderfluidity, which moves freely within the poetic world of the lyric. The troubadours preserve their ability to function within a gender-binary system by expressing direct connections between themselves and their songs with male-gendered nouns, denoting their statuses as composers and origins of the songs. Guiraut frames his song with female-gendered nouns and pronouns which refer to a single song that carries messages, furthering the hybridity of the song's body.

It is possible that Folquet's "chanso-sirventes" may refer obliquely to Guiraut's song. Guiraut not only personifies his song, he also refers to the song with nouns in both the masculine and feminine genders. If Folquet had prior knowledge of "Leu chansonet'e vil," he may have chosen to use the song genre to push back against the gender streamlining in Occitan grammatical treatises when he came across the citation in the *Razos.* Aimeric's "vers-chanso" may also be participating in Folquet's response to the treatise—Aimeric devotes a large portion of his song to discussing the *vers* and the *chanso* as two separate entities before combining them, perhaps trying to make clear the process through which Folquet creates his "chanso-sirventes."

To conclude, I would like to return to the two *tornadas* of Aimeric's "Mangtas vetz de sui enqueritz." Aimeric's song is preserved in 10 manuscript sources, and the *tornadas* enjoy a relatively strong transmission record. In at least 6 of the *chansonniers*, both *tornadas* are transmitted in the same order, and in two other *chansonniers*, the first *tornada* is transmitted.[330] Both *tornadas* are addressed (somewhat unusually) to specific named patrons, the first to a male

[330] Shepard and Chambers, p. 178. Both *tornadas* are transmitted in at least five of the manuscripts Aimeric's song appears in, with another two transmitting the first *tornada*: Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Lat. 5232; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 856; Biblioteca Estense, Modena, Estero 45 (Alpha R. 4. 4); Paris, BnF, f. fr. 854; and Paris, BnF, f. fr. 12473 all transmit both *tornadas*, while Paris, BnF, f. fr. 22543; and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. XLI.43 preserve the first *tornada*.

patron, and the second to a female patron, underscoring a gender-binary social division. In his first *tornada*, Aimeric calls his song by both the masculine- and feminine-gendered nouns, and in the second *tornada*, he combines both genres into one, dedicating his "vers-chanso" to Beatrice of Este. Although Aimeric addresses his song in the masculine gender, William's ability to choose what type of song he wants to learn, and Aimeric's combination of both genres into one noun, reinforces a middle sex, one that is neither male nor female.

As in the songs discussed above, in this song's *tornadas*, Aimeric turns outwards from his poetic world to geographical locations and "real" people.The interior poetic world seemingly supports the hermaphroditic song, allowing it a space it can inhabit without being forced to assimilate to a gender-binary system, but when Aimeric and his song turn to move into the exterior world, the song is forced to choose between the male and female genders.

Chapter 4: Parchment as Skin

The first three chapters of this dissertation have examined the phenomenon of the personified song with regard to oral transmission and performance. Still, our initial point of contact with these songs as modern scholars and readers is through written sources. We must then ask: what happens to the personified song when it is transmitted in a manuscript and encountered in written form instead of during live performance?

The troubadour lyric corpus is preserved in roughly thirty-five manuscripts (known as *chansonniers*, or songbooks), whose dates of compilation span the mid-thirteenth through the fourteenth centuries.[331] As noted earlier, the troubadours were active from the early twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth, with their "golden period" spanning the mid-twelfth to the early thirteenth centuries. The majority of the *chansonniers* were compiled nearly 100 years after this prolific period, and it is rare that a troubadour would be involved in the creation of a songbook.[332]

THE LATENT VOCALITY OF THE *CHANSONNIER*

The relationship between the cultures of orality and literacy within the troubadour lyric corpus is a complicated one. The nineteenth-century philologist Gustav Gröber (along with the twentieth-century philologist Silvio d'Arco Avalle) believed that troubadour *chansonniers* originated with "Liederblätter," or "song sheets," written by the troubadours themselves.[333]

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[331] Paden, "Manuscripts," pp. 308-309.

[332] Gaunt, "Orality and Writing: the Text of the Troubadour Poem," pp. 228-233.

[333] Gröber cited in Marisa Galvez, *Songbook: How Lyrics Became Poetry in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), p. 59 fn. 5; see also Gustav Gröber, "Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours," *Romanische Studien* 2 (1875-77): 337-670. D'Arco Avalle cited in Amelia Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation in Troubadour Lyric* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), p. 39; see also Silvio d'Arco Avalle, *La Letteratura medievale in lingua d'oc nella sua tradizione manoscritta* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1961).

According to Gröber, a string of textual copies led from the Liederblätter to the *chansonniers*, instituting a literate form of transmission.[334] However, as Amelia Van Vleck and William Paden have pointed out, there is evidence that most twelfth-century jongleurs were illiterate, and would not have been able to use written sources to perform the lyric; and work by Hendrik van der Werf suggests that some songs were written down during performances.[335] Additionally, Arnaut Daniel's *razo* (discussed in Ch. Two) describes processes of composition and transmission that were entirely oral.

Based on this evidence, it seems that the *chansonniers* do not simply preserve the troubadour lyric corpus as a product of literate transmission.[336] As Mary Franklin-Brown puts it, the term *chansonnier* "invites us to consider the conflicted and ambiguous relationship that these books entertain with the voice and the letter."[337] The appearance of the personified song on a manuscript folio offers a concrete example of this—the song is personified when it is directly addressed during performance (whether being sung or read aloud), but at the same time it is the written word that provides manuscript readers with the ability to interact with the song at all. Paul Zumthor's concept of *mouvance* (referring to the high level of textual variation of poetic texts in troubadour *chansonniers*) helps to unpack this relationship, as it explores the mobility of

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[334] For further discussion of *liederblätter*, see Johnson, "Flying Letters and Feuilles Volantes: Symptoms of Orality in Two Troubadour Songbooks," p. 200; Galvez, *Songbook*, pp. 58-59; Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation*, pp. 38-41; 47-48.

[335] Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation*, p. 38; Paden, "*Utrum Copularentur*: of *Cors*," *L'Esprit créateur* 19.4 (Winter 1979), pp. 4-5; Paden, "The Role of the Jongleur in Troubadour Lyric Poetry," in *Chrétien de Troyes and the Troubadours: Essays in Memory of the late Leslie Topsfield,* ed. Peter S. Noble and Linda M. Paterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 90-111., pp. 97-98; See van der Werf, *Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères.*

[336] Ochoa Gautier also analyzes the relationship between orality and literacy in *Aurality.* She locates one nexus of these two concepts in the compilation of songbooks, where she argues that literary knowledge is constituted via the establishment of orality as tradition in the songbooks. See Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*, pp. 77-121.

[337] Franklin-Brown, "Voice and Citation in the Chansonnier d'Urfé," p. 45.

the poetic texts and their melodies.[338] Some troubadour songs are preserved in more than one manuscript source; the poetic text of Bernart de Ventadorn's song "Quan vei lauzeta mover" is transmitted in twenty manuscripts, while the song's melody is transmitted in three manuscripts. Comparison of these sources reveals variations in the texts—the stanzas may be in a different order, or some may be missing, and the spelling of words may be different, displaying that "l'oeuvre est fondamentalement mouvante [the work is fundamentally mobile]."[339] This mobility is instigated by those whom Zumthor calls "les 'auteurs' successifs [successive 'authors'],"
singers, copyists, and/or readers who make small changes to the song they sing, copy, or read aloud.[340] The *mouvance* of the songs allows modern readers to glimpse the fundamental orality of these works and their transmission, perpetuating a latent vocality on the manuscript page.[341]

More recent scholarship has built upon the idea of this latent vocality, arguing for the presence of an "immanent voice" in the *chansonniers*.[342] Laura Kendrick calls the manuscripts "audiovisual," a description that instigates a strand of scholarship considering the multimedia capabilities of medieval manuscripts.[343] Kendrick employs this term specifically to discuss the

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[338] Paul Zumthor, *Essai de Poétique Médiévale* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1972), pp. 65-75.

[339] Zumthor, *Essai de Poétique Médiévale*, p. 73. Hendrik van der Werf has imported Zumthor's concept into his discussion of troubadour melodies; the melodies may have different ornamentations or certain lines may have different structures altogether. See van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*.

[340] Zumthor, *Essai de Poétique Médiévale,* p. 73.

[341] In his edition of Jaufre Rudel's corpus, Rupert Pickens argues that Zumthor's notion of *mouvance* can be used to explain the state of Jaufre's lyric texts in the *chansonniers*. See Pickens, *The Songs of Jaufré Rudel,* ed. Rupert T. Pickens (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1978).

[342] Johnson, "Flying Letters," p. 194.

[343] Laura Kendrick, *The Game of Love: Troubadour Wordplay* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 15; 31-36. For more, see Mark Cruse, "Pictorial Polyphony: Image, Voice, and Social Life in the Roman d'Alexandre," in *The Social Life of Illumination: Manuscripts, Images, and Communities in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Joyce Coleman, Mark Cruse, and Kathryn A. Smith (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013): 371-401; Emma Dillon, "Sensing Sound," in A *Feast for the Senses: Art and Experience in Medieval Europe*, ed. Martina Bagnoli (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016): 96-114; Susan Boynton, Sarah Kay, Alison Cornish, and Andrew Albin, "Sound Matters," *Speculum* 91.4 (Oct. 2016): 998-1039.

practice of medieval reading, which necessarily involved reading aloud—according to Kendrick (and later discussed by Franklin-Brown), a written text was "only a *semblance* or visible sign of the oral text; in order to be understood, the images on the manuscript page needed translation into sounds."[344] Other scholars, including Boynton and Franklin-Brown, have agreed with Kendrick that medieval reading was part of a process that necessarily involved hearing as well as seeing.[345]

Troubadour lyric, in particular, includes a number of linguistic puns that are only realized when read aloud. As Franklin-Brown notes, manuscripts are not laid out in such a way as to make these puns easily *visible*; rather, a reader must read the text aloud or make it audible in some way in order to recognize them.[346] Additionally, there is evidence to suggest that scribes may have read their exemplars aloud while copying them. Variations in the spelling of Occitan words, cross-referenced with the provenance of the manuscripts, indicates that the scribes may have read the text in front of them aloud and then spelled the words of the songs phonetically in an attempt to maintain their sound as Occitan.[347]

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[344] Kendrick, *The Game of Love*, p. 31. Italics are hers. See also Franklin-Brown, "Voice and Citation," pp. 49-50.

[345] Boynton, "Troubadour Song as Performance," p. 8; Franklin-Brown, "Voice and Citation," p. 46. Boynton describes the "overlapping" nature of hearing, reading, and singing while noting the use of both live performance and literate transmission with regard to the troubadour lyric corpus. See also Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Although Coleman is concerned with the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, she established the field of study concerning reading aloud; see also Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), for a detailed study of the ways in which word spacing on the manuscript page affected medieval reading methods.

[346] Franklin-Brown, "Voice and Citation," p. 52.

[347] Christopher Callahan, "Troubadour Songs in Trouvère Codices: Mouvance in the Transmission of Courtly Lyric," *VARIANTS: the Journal of the European Society for Textual Scholarship* 9 (2012): pp. 37-41; Franklin-Brown, "Voice and Citation," p. 53. Callahan describes this as "motley bilingualism," which "reflects the efforts, on the part of multiple scribes, to capture the aura of the initiation of the north into the poetry of the more civilized south." See Callahan, "Troubadour Songs," p. 38.

Reading in the Middle Ages was also a communal activity, where the reader would read aloud to a (possibly illiterate) audience.[348] This type of reading aloud created a new performance "shaped" by writing: the manuscript itself did not or could not constitute a full performance, but could influence potential performances enacted by the reader.[349] Readers encountering a song for the first time in a *chansonnier* would necessarily perceive the song differently from audiences who heard it for the first time in performance; the reader would see the song laid out in full on the manuscript page, giving a sense of the song as a whole entity before focusing on the individual stanzas or lines of the melody. The reader's possible future performance of the song to a listening audience might also be shaped by the song's layout on the page.

However, the act of hearing internally has entered the discussion as well. As Boynton notes, the majority of troubadour *chansonniers* do not contain musical notation, so the melodies for most troubadour songs must be aurally realized in the memory or the imagination.[350] Augustine and Priscian describe written letters as images or signs that need to be heard aloud to be understood in their grammatical treatises, drawing a distinction between seeing letters on the page and hearing them aloud. In his *Institutiones grammaticae* (ca. 520), Priscian describes the letter as "pars minima vocis compositae, hoc est quae constat compositione literarum…litera igitur est…imago quaedam vocis literatae [the smallest part of a compound sound, i.e. sound that

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[348] Coleman, *Public Reading*, pp. 34-51; and Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading,* p. 63. See also Joachim Bumke, *Höfische Kultur. Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch, 1986), p. 718.

[349] Franklin-Brown, "Voice and Citation," p. 55.

[350] Boynton, "Troubadour Song as Performance," p. 8. See also Coleman, *Public Reading*, pp. 34-51.

consists of the combination of letters…Thus, a letter is…a picture of literate sound."[351] Augustine defines words and letters more strictly in *De Dialectica* (late fourth/early fifth century), stating that words and letters must be heard aloud to be called as such:

> Omne verbum sonat. Cum enim est in scriptio, non verbum sed verbi signum est; quippe inspectis a legente litteris occurrit animo, quid voce prorumpat. Quid enim aliud litterae scriptae quam se ipsas oculis, praeter se voces animo ostendunt. Et paulo ante diximus signum esse quod se ipsum sensi et praeter se aliquid animo ostendit. Quae legimus igitur non verba sunt sed signa verborum. Sed ut, ipsa lit/tera cum sit pars minima vocis articulatae, abutimur tamen hoc vocabulo, ut appellemus litteram etiam cum scriptam videmus, quamvis omnino tacita sit neque ulla pars vocis sed signum partis vocis appareat, ita etiam verbum appellatur com scriptum est, quamvis verbi signum id est signum significantis vocis non <verbum> eluceat. Ergo ut coeperam dicere omne verbum sonat.
>
> [Every word is a sound, for when it is written it is not a word but the sign of a word. When we read, the letters we see suggest to the mind the sounds of the utterance. For written letters indicate to the eyes something other than themselves and indicate to the mind utterances beyond themselves. Now we have just said that a sign is something which is itself sensed and which indicates to the mind something beyond the sign itself. Therefore, what we read are not words but signs of words. For we misuse the term 'letter' when we call what we see written down a letter, for it is completely silent and is no part of an utterance but appears as the sign of a part of an utterance; whereas a letter as such is the smallest part of an articulate utterance. In the same way [we misuse the term 'word'] when we call what we see written down a word, for it appears as the sign of a word, that is, not as a word but as the sign of a significant utterance. Therefore, as I said above, every word is a sound.][352]

Franklin-Brown locates the origins of arguments for the importance of silent reading in the works of Isidore of Seville.[353] In the third book of his *Sententiae*, Isidore contends that reading aloud makes the reader's body tired and reduces understanding of the voice:

> Acceptabilior est sensibus lectio tacita quam aperta; amplius enim intellectus instruitur quando uox legentus quiescit et sub silentio lingua

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[351] Priscian, *Institutiones Grammaticae* GL2, 1.3-1.5, (Brepols, NV: Library of Latin Texts—Series B, 2017). Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter, trans., in "Priscian, Institutiones grammatica and Institutio de Nomine Pronomine Verbo, ca. 520," in *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300-1475*, ed. Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 173-174.

[352] Augustine, *De Dialectica*, 5: 12-18, ed. Jan Pinborg and trans. B. Darrell Jackson (Boston: D. Reidel Publishing Co., 1975), pp. 87-89.

[353] Franklin-Brown, "Voice and Citation," pp. 49-50.

> mouetur. Nam clare legendo et corpus lassatur et uocis acumen obtunditur.
>
> [Silent reading is more acceptable to the senses than reading aloud; for the understanding is instructed more fully when the voice of the reader is silent and the tongue is moved silently. For reading aloud both tires the body and impairs the voice's sharpness.][354]

Isidore clearly privileges transmission of the ideas contained in a work over the mode of their transmission.[355] For Isidore, silent reading allowed for critical reflection on the ideas the reader encountered in the text, so that they could be better remembered.[356] Additionally, as Boynton points out, the act of reading songs silently allowed readers to internally realize the songs' melodies (both those melodies contained in the manuscript and those that were not), or, in the case of a few songs, to take account of and potentially realize the performance instructions transmitted with a song without singing it aloud.[357] Silent reading, therefore, is not entirely

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354 Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae* III, 14, 9, ed. Pierre Cazier (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), p. 240; trans. is my own in consultation with Malcolm B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 21.

355 Franklin-Brown, "Voice and Citation," p. 50.

356 Franklin-Brown, "Voice and Citation," p. 50. Augustine provides us with another early description of silent reading in the sixth book of his *Confessions*. Here, he recalls the custom of his teacher, Ambrose, hypothesizing that he reads silently to preserve his voice, among other things: "Sed cum legebat, oculi ducebantur per paginas et cor intellectum rimabatur, vox autem et lingua quiescebant. Saepe cum adessemus (non enim vetabatur quisquam ingredi aut ei ventientem nuntiari mos erat), sic cum legentem vidimus tacite et aliter numquam sedentesque in diuturno silentio (quis enim tam intento esse oneri auderet?) discedebamus et coniectabamus eum parvo ipso tempore quod reparandae menti sua nanciscebatur, feriatum ab strepitu causarum alienarum nolle in aliud avocari et cavere fortasse ne, auditore suspenso et intento, si qua obscuros posuisset ille quem legeret, etiam exponere esset necesse aut de aliquibus difficilioribus dissertare quaestionibus, atque huic operi temporibus impensis minus quam vellet voluminum evolveret, quamquam et causa servandae vocis, quae illi facillime obtundebatur, poterat esse iustior tacite legendi.[When Ambrose read, his eyes ran over the columns of writing and his heart searched out the meaning, but his voice and his tongue were at rest. Often when I was present—for he did not close his door to anyone and it was customary to come in unannounced—I have seen him reading silently, never in fact otherwise. I would sit for a long time in silence, not daring to disturb someone so deep in thought, and then go on my way. I asked myself why he read in this way. Was it that he did not wish to be interrupted in those rare moments he found to refresh his mind and rest from the tumult of others' affairs? Or perhaps he was worried that he would have to explain obscurities in the text to some eager listener, or discuss other difficult problems? For he would thereby lose time and be prevented from reading as much as he had planned. But the preservation of his voice, which easily became hoarse, may well have been the true cause of his silent reading."] Augustine, *Confessions, Volume I*, 6.3, ed. and trans. Carolyn J.B. Hammond (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), pp. 242-243.

357 Boynton, "Troubadour Song as Performance," p. 8.

voiceless—an internal voice was required for this type of reading as well, to enact internal realizations of songs or to aid memory.

The voice, then, is an integral part of medieval reading, be it silent reading or reading aloud. The "immanent voice" of the *chansonnier* undercuts the permanence of its written nature, reflecting the malleability of song-as-object. The personified song's body continues to be created with a voice of some sort, be it an internal or external voice, and its placement on the manuscript page lends it myriad possibilities for the new form of its body. The personified song may be read or sung aloud, engendering a body identical to the one it receives in performance; it may be realized internally, begetting a body created in the mind or imagination of the reader; or it may remain unread on the manuscript page.

What kind of body does a song form when it is left unread or unsung on the manuscript folio? Any form of reading, whether the song is silently read or read aloud, maintains the substance that gives the song a body, as the act of reading necessarily attaches some type of a voice to the song. However, as Franklin-Brown notes, the manuscript page does not constitute a performance in itself, but only provides the material for the possibility of a performance. Does the *chansonnier's* latent vocality somehow provide enough substance for the formation of a virtual body without engagement via the act of reading, or can the song form a body from another type of substance while still maintaining its status as song?

FOLIO AS SKIN

Medieval manuscript folios are made from parchment, treated animal skin that is prepared for use as a writing surface. While the skin is scraped clean of other animal parts (including flesh and hair), traces of the parchment's origins as an animal, such as hair follicles,

scars, and, in some instances, veins, remain on the manuscript page. Recent scholarship in animal studies has examined the ways in which medieval people interacted with products made from animals in their daily lives.[358] In particular, manuscripts are at the center of these studies, as they are objects made entirely from animals. They are in effect responsible for preserving nearly everything we know about the Middle Ages. Bruce Holsinger stresses the inseparability of the animal to the literary work that is written on its skin when he says that "medieval literature survives to us primarily *on* and *as* animal…[it] constitutes the material substance of the literary object."[359] The animal's skin at once encapsulates the piece of literature and provides the surface it is written upon—creating a body that is, in a sense, both the text that is signified and the object that signifies it. The manuscript comes to be synonymous with the words written on its folios, while those words simultaneously describe what the newly bodied text is.

As Holsinger and others point out, making the leap from an animal body, represented by its skin, to a human one is not difficult.[360] Sarah Kay has examined this concept in conjunction

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[358] See the volume edited by Aleksander Pluskowski, *Breaking and Shaping Beastly Bodies: Animals as Material Culture in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007); Brigitte Resl, ed., *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age*, 6 vols. (Oxford: Berg, 2007); *PMLA* 124.2 (Mar., 2009); and Peggy McCracken and Karl Steel, eds. *Special Issue: The Animal Turn. postmedieval* 2 (Spring 2011). For literature on human conceptions of the self in relation to animals, see E. Jane Burns and Peggy McCracken, eds. *From Beasts to Souls: Gender and Embodiment in Medieval Europe* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2013); Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 1994); and Karl Tobias Steel, ed. *How to Make a Human: Animals and Violence in the Middle Ages* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2011), and see Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, "Speaking through Animals in Marie de France's Lais and Fables," in *A Companion to Marie de France*, ed. Logan E. Whalen, (Leiden: Brill, 2011): 157-185; Dorothy Yamamoto, *The Boundaries of the Human in Medieval English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Susan Crane, *Animal Encounters: Contacts and Concepts in Medieval Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); and Gary Steiner, *Anthropocentrism and Its Discontents: The Moral Status of Animals in the History of Western Philosophy* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005) for scholarship concerned with animals in medieval literature and philosophy.

[359] Bruce Holsinger, "Of Pigs and Parchment: Medieval Studies and the Coming of the Animal," *PMLA* 124.2 (Mar., 2009), p. 619.

[360] See Holsinger, "Of Pigs and Parchment," p. 620; Carolyn Dinshaw, *Chaucer's Sexual Poetics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), p. 4.

with texts concerned with flaying, including iterations of the legend of St. Bartholomew.[361] St. Bartholomew, the patron saint of bookbinders and parchment-makers, is the most famous of several saints who were martyred by being flayed alive. The *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, the most widely circulated account of Bartholomew's death, includes several accounts of his martyrdom. These accounts detail several methods of deathly torture, including being beaten with clubs, crucifixion, and decapitation, alongside being flayed alive. However, Bartholomew is described as being flayed alive seven times in the *Legenda Aurea*, while the other forms of death are only mentioned three times at most.[362]

Important to the legend of St. Bartholomew and to other flaying narratives is the distinction between the skin itself and the body within it. For Bartholomew, his skin is merely the container that covers his body, the location from which his goodness stems. However, as Kay discusses, the "inside" is not always privileged over the "outside", as sometimes appearances can be deceiving.[363] What is true in all instances is that the skin is viewed as its own entity, separate from the inner body or being of the person it comes from.

The separation of the skin from its original body is depicted in a manuscript containing the French translation of the Life of St. Bartholomew, Jean de Vignay's *Légende dorée*.[364] A number of the manuscript sources that transmit the narrative contain illuminations which depict the act of flaying. One of these sources, Paris, BnF, f. fr. 241, dates from the mid-fourteenth century. The manuscript includes an illumination that shows Bartholomew being flayed while

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[361] Sarah Kay, "Original Skin: Flaying, Reading, and Thinking in the Legend of Saint Bartholomew and Other Works," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 36.1 (Winter, 2006): 35-74.

[362] Kay, "Original Skin," p. 39.

[363] Ibid., pp. 42-43.

[364] Kay, "Original Skin," pp. 47-56.

lying on a table.[365] His arms and legs have already been flayed, and the skin hangs off of them, remaining perfectly intact and retaining the shape of Bartholomew's body. This depiction of flaying leads Kay to describe it as "a creative process in which a second body, one that is flat and supple, is separated out from an original which remains round and solid. This second body is ready to take on the characteristics of a page."[366] This second body, like the body of the personified song, is derived from a human body part, although the ways in which body parts are used or obtained for the creation of these bodies is very different. In Bartholomew's case, his skin is forcibly and painfully removed from his body; his skin is violently removed against his will, as an external force imposes its will upon him. Physical violence is wholly absent from the way in which the troubadours create the body of the personified song, as the poet uses the voice and breath of the singer to create a body through artifice. The troubadours create bodies through an act of generation—in the way that human procreation generates a new being, so too does the performer beget a new entity as he or she sings—while makers of parchment strip an element intrinsic to the survival of a being that is or has recently been alive in order to create something else.

However, the newly-flayed skin has yet to be prepared and written upon. This skin-body is unmarked by any sort of writing, but medieval readers were aware that the surface they were reading from had originally been skin removed from the body of an animal. The voice-body, on the other hand, is formed at the end of an already-realized text (both in the sense that it has been composed, and that it has been performed). The poetic and musical content of the song's body is

[365] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 241, fol. 219r.

[366] Kay, "Original Skin," p. 52.

determined before it is materialized, providing the opposite kind of fixity to its skin-body counterpart. Rather than a predetermined physical form (as parchment), the song comes with a predetermined form in the mind of its performer, with its poetic tropes, rhyme schemes, and melody in strophic form.

Kay's analysis of the sources that contain descriptions of flaying demonstrates how the flayed human skin is often privileged by making it a surface that can be imbued with meaning. Animal skin gains value when it becomes parchment and is written upon. Although Bartholomew's skin is not written upon in any versions of his Life, its body-shaped appearance in the illumination in MS fr. 241 (among others) "could be said to show him becoming-parchment, and simultaneously to imply the parchment's becoming-creature."[367] The connection between Bartholomew and the manuscript on which the narratives of his martyrdom are recorded is reciprocal, and lends special meaning to both entities. Bartholomew's flayed skin, an object that otherwise would have been discarded after his death, can gain use and value as a writing surface. The manuscript regains some of its creaturely, living origins, as the sacrifice of life for skin is made apparent in accounts of Bartholomew's martyrdom.

Kay pushes this idea further when she argues for a connection between the skin of the manuscript's reader and that of the manuscript itself. She suggests that manuscript readers identify with the surface of the folio because, "as skin, it forms the basis of our own identity."[368] For Kay, readers may then come to see the manuscript as a double of their own skin.

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[367] Ibid., p. 63.

[368] Kay, "Original Skin," p. 64.

If the manuscript can come to serve as a secondary body for the reader, can it also serve some sort of bodily function for the song? While the song itself will not read the manuscript and find its own body doubled on the page, the song is written on the manuscript's skin. The personification at the song's end suggests that it takes the skin on which it is written and uses it to form its own body. The temporal aspects of this moment of personification are less clear-cut than during live performance. As the song is written out in full on the page, it exists in full all at once (and the potential reader can see the whole song instantly). Is the song then personified earlier? As soon as it is written down on the page? How would this always-personified song compete with the other subject positions the poet engages with?

PARCHMENT RIDDLES

Several riddles, which describe the act of making both parchment and manuscript, provide an intriguing comparison to personified songs. These riddles are part of larger collections called *Enigmata*, and they are found in Anglo-Latin and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts from the eighth and tenth centuries.[369] Well-known riddle collections include those of Latin poet Symphosius (ca. 6th c.), and Anglo-Latin writers Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury (ca. 640-709), Tatwine (ca. 670-734), and Eusebius (fl. ca. 716-740), in addition to several continental riddle collections written in Latin.[370] The largest (and likely earliest) collection of riddles in the vernacular is found in the Exeter Book, a tenth century book of Anglo-Saxon poetry that contains

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369 Patrick J. Murphy, *Unriddling the Exeter Riddles* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), pp. 3-4.

370 For detailed descriptions of the contents and sources of these riddle collections, see Mercedes Salvador-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions of Order: The Exeter Book of Riddles and Medieval Latin Enigmata* (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2015).

roughly ninety riddles.[371] Four unique medieval riddles (three written in Latin, one in Anglo-Saxon) concerned with parchment and the process of preparing animal skin for book production appear in these collections, each focused on some facet of the transformation an animal's skin undergoes for use as a writing surface (see Appendix C for full texts and translations of each of these riddles).[372] These riddles demonstrate another instance in a corpus of medieval literature where a text, or some form of words, is embodied and personified.

The origins of medieval riddles lie in ancient Rome.[373] Latin poet Symphosius is named as the author of the earliest collection of riddles, though very little is known about him.[374] Various theories have been put forth as to his identity and the date of his *Enigmata*.[375] However, scholars have come to agree that a "certain Symphosius" is the author of the earliest known collection of riddles, written sometime between the fourth and sixth centuries.[376] Symphosius'

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[371] Bernard J. Muir, ed. *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry: An Edition of Exeter Dean and Chapter MS 3501. Volume I: Texts* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994), p. 1; Craig Williamson, *The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977), p. 3. The Exeter Book was likely compiled between 960 and 990, and was donated to the Exeter Cathedral Library by Leofric, Bishop of Exeter, before the year 1072. See Muir, *The Exeter Anthology*, Vol. 1, p. 1.

[372] These riddles are located in Tatwine's *Enigmata* (No. 5), Eusebius's *Enigmata* (no. 32), and in the Bern riddle collection (No. 24). The 24th riddle from the Bern *Enigmata* is located in the Vatican composite collection as well, as the 83rd riddle. While the other major riddle collections do not contain a parchment riddle, they do include riddles describing writing implements. Symphosius' *Enigmata* opens with two riddles detailing writing tools, the stylus (Riddle 1) and the reed (Riddle 2), which is the plant from which papyrus is made. The Lorsch Collection has a pen riddle (no. 9, de penna), and an inkhorn riddle (no. 12, de atramento), while Aldhelm's collection includes two riddles describing writing implements: no. 59 (pen), and no. 89 (book chest). See Salvador-Bello, 144; 468; 461.

[373] Archer Taylor, *The Literary Riddle Before 1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942), pp. 12, 52-58; Frederick Tupper, Jr., ed., *The Riddles of the Exeter Book* (Boston: Ginn, 1910), pp. xxviii-xxxi.

[374] Salvador-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions*, pp. 117-120.

[375] Raymond Theodore Ohl concludes that Symphosius' *Enigmata* date from the late fourth or early fifth century, as the riddles have much in common with the work of several late Roman authors, while Alexander Riese suggests that the *Enigmata* might be contemporary with other works in the African or Latin Anthology, probably compiled at Carthage in the early part of the sixth century. See Ohl, ed. and trans., *The Enigmas of Symphosius* (Philadelphia, 1928); and Alexander Riese and Franciscus Buecheler, eds., *Anthologia Latina sive Poesis Latinae Supplementum*, 2nd. ed. (Leipzig, 1893). For an overview of scholarship concerned with the origins and date of Symphosius' Enigmata, see T.J. Leary, *Symphosius, The Aenigmata: An Introduction, Text and Commentary* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), pp. 1-6.

[376] Salvador-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions*, p. 118.

Enigmata circulated widely throughout the Middle Ages; some of his riddles are located in manuscripts contemporary with the works of early medieval Anglo-Latin poets such as Aldhelm, Tatwine, and Eusebius, copied from French monasteries with Insular connections.[377] Evidence of his riddles is also found in later manuscripts, including an eleventh century poetic miscellany by Egbert of Liège, and the early thirteenth century *Proverbia rustici*, a collection of proverbs that circulated in medieval Europe.[378] Three of Symphosius' riddles are included in the *Gesta Romanorum*, a late thirteenth/early fourteenth century Latin collection of anecdotes and tales, and his riddles continued to appear in printed editions into the 17th century.[379]

Riddles make an appearance in medieval Occitan texts as well, in the form of the *devinalh* or "guessing poem." The earliest instance of this genre is Guilhem IX's "Farai un vers de dreit nien."[380] Research on the genesis of the Occitan *devinalh* has looked to numerous philosophical and rhetorical traditions for its sources.[381] As with much old Occitan generic terminology, there is no indication that the troubadours themselves understood the term *devinalh* as a genre classification, since the word first appears in a fourteenth century manuscript, in the rubric for the anonymous poem "Sui e no suy."[382] The poem has two stanzas: the first stanza

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[377] Ibid., p. 136.

[378] Salvador-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions*, pp. 139-141. See also Egbert of Liège, *Egberts von Lüttich Fecunda ratis*, ed. Ernst Voigt (Halle a. S., 1889); and Voigt, "Proverbia rustici," in *Romanische Forschungen* 3 (1887): 633-641.

[379] Salvador-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions*, pp. 139-141.

[380] For a discussion of the origins of the Occitan *devinalh*, see Kay, *Courtly Contradictions*, pp. 145-153; Nicolo Pasero, "Devinalh, 'non-senso,' e 'interiorizzazione testuale': osservazioni sui rapporti fra strutture formale e contenuta ideologica nella poesia provenzale," *Cultura Neolatina* 28 (1968): 113-46; and Dietmar Rieger, "'Lop es nomnat lo pes, e lop no es.' Un devinalh sans solution?" in *Mélanges de langue et de littérature occitanes en hommage à Pierre Bec*, (Poitiers: C.É.S.C.M., 1991), pp. 497-506.

[381] Olivia Holmes, "Unriddling the *Devinalh*," *TENSO* 9: 1 (Autumn 1993), p. 25; Lynne Lawner, "Notes Towards an Interpretation of the *vers de dreit nien,*" *Cultura Neolatina* 28 (1968), pp. 147-64.

[382] Holmes, "*Devinalh*," pp. 28-29.

contains a series of riddles, and the second stanza holds their solutions. As Olivia Holmes notes, though the noun 'devinalh' and/or its forms do appear in songs by Marcabru, Peire d'Alvernhe, Clara d'Anduse, and Bernart de Ventadorn, the scribe who labeled the poem a *devinalh* may have taken the word from popular traditions of riddle-telling, rather than from the poetry itself.

However, the noun "devinalh" does occur in the language as a regularly-used noun. Emil Levy defines it as an "énigme; action de guetter, d'épier" (an "enigma"; "the act of watching something or being on the lookout," "to tap into, spy on, or learn about something secretly").[383] It is closely related to the adjective "devinal," meaning "divin" ("divine"), and to the noun "devinamen," meaning "prédiction; sot bavardage" ("prediction," but also "foolish chatter").[384] Although this group of definitions is diverse, overall, they give a sense of an object that must be carefully observed to be understood; that conceals its true meaning to an uninitiated audience. The second meaning of the noun "devinamen", "foolish chatter," possibly connects to conceptions of riddles and riddle-telling as word-play and literary games rather than as complex literary objects, perhaps illustrating differences in the perception of "folk" or "popular" riddles as opposed to literary ones.

Alphonse Roque-Ferrier links the riddles in his nineteenth-century riddle collection, *Énigmes populaires en langue d'Oc*, to the Occitan *devinalh* to demonstrate the medieval origins of the tradition.[385] Roque-Ferrier's collection includes a book riddle that draws parallels with several themes that run through medieval parchment and book riddles, as it flags up the

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[383] Levy, *Petit dictionnaire provençal-français*, p. 123.

[384] Ibid.

[385] Alphonse Roque-Ferrier, "De l'Énigme populaire," *Énigmes populaires de langue d'Oc* (Montpellier: Imprimerie Central du Midi, 1876), pp. ix-xxiii.

dichotomy between the book's natural origins (its leather binding and its pages) and its status as an object wrought by human artifice:

> De qu'es acò? De qu'es acò?
> Coubert de pel n'es pa'na bestia;
> Ple de fiolhas, n'es pas un aubre;
> Marcha pas, mais se fo pourtà?
> —Un libre.
>
> [What is it made of? What is it made of?
> Covered in skin, but it is not a beast,
> Full of leaves, but it is not a tree,
> It does not walk, but is carried?
> —A book.][386]

The description of a book as an object covered in skin is also found in the earliest instances of parchment and book riddles. Like the medieval riddles, the book is also covered in skin, as all living creatures are, but the riddle rejects the notion of its beastliness (and that of its possible life as a tree). When the riddle states the book cannot walk, its animal connections are diminished, leaving the riddle's audience searching for a solution that lies somewhere in the nexus of animal, tree, and text.

There are several key differences between the ways in which the parchment riddles and the personified songs are made alive. First, we are able to hear the riddles speak, whereas the personified troubadour songs do not have their own voices (they are entirely the creation of the troubadour or performer). All of the riddles are told from the first-person point of view, allowing the parchment sheet or book to narrate its own transition and describe its own use.[387] As a result, the process of transformation described in the riddles is much more explicitly detailed. These riddles make clear the bodied elements of the manuscript page, linking the life of the animal to

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386 Roque-Ferrier, *Énigmes populaires de langue d'Oc*, p. 19.

387 According to Taylor, the literary riddle is "often put in the form of a speech made by the object that is being described." Taylor, *Literary Riddle*, p. 3.

the life of the book—as evidenced by the shift that occurs over the course of the Exeter Book riddle (see Appendix C for the full text and translation of this riddle). In the second half of the riddle, the book no longer seems to equate its skin with the entirety of its body. The riddle's twelfth line presages this shift, as it describes the way in which the book is "covered…with hide" when being bound. The hide, of course, is the skin of another animal, and it now serves as a covering for the skin-pages that comprise the book's body. The book is transformed from a living animal to a codex (specifically a Bible or a gospel book) that lives and moves via transmission and use. The animal's skin changes seamlessly from an object that stands in for the animal's entire body to an object in its own right, before giving itself wholly over to its new form as a book. As a result, the riddle elides the "me" of the animal with the "me" of the parchment, creating an entity that is a living, embodied text with its own voice.

Additionally, each riddle makes some reference (however brief) to the once-living animal whose skin is now parchment. Three of the four parchment riddles open with descriptions of animal slaughter, explicitly linking the parchment and the codices it will eventually produce to the animal's once-living body. In his analysis of these riddles, Holsinger focuses on the embodied, living origins of parchment and manuscript, finding in these sources "fleeting recognition of the ethical complexity of mass animal slaughter for the purpose of literary production."[388] For example, the twenty-sixth riddle of the Exeter Book, which describes the production of a book (a gospel book or a Bible), opens with a depiction of the animal slaughter

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[388] Holsinger, "Pigs and Parchment," p. 621.

Holsinger is concerned with.[389] The riddle appears to be told from the point of view of the animal at first:

> A certain enemy robbed me of my life
> Stole my world-strength; afterward he soaked me,
> Dunked me in water, dragged me out again,
> Set me in the sun, where I swiftly lost
> The hairs that I had. Afterward the hard
> Edge of a knife, with all unevenness ground away, slashed me.[390]

The animal describes its death, occupying the viewpoints of both observer and object of torture. The speaker's dual viewpoints seemingly suspend any sense of time passing while highlighting the duality of the speaker's bodies as well—the animal body becomes that of the codex. The riddle evokes a sense of an out-of-body experience, allowing its subject to move back and forth between these two bodies. The opening lines of this riddle are similar to those at the beginning of Tatwine's parchment riddle ("Efferus exuviis populator me spoliavit,/Vitalis pariter flatus spiramina dempsit [A fierce robber stripped me of my covering/And also deprived me of my breathing pores;]") as in both cases, the animal's soul or source of life is seemingly embedded in the skin itself rather than in the animal as a whole.[391]

In both of these riddles, the animal's death is immediately followed with a detailed depiction of the process of making parchment (the Bern riddle includes a description of

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[389] I use the numbering put forth in the Krapp and Dobbie edition, as it is employed by most recent scholarship. George Philip Krapp and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, eds. *The Exeter Book,* ASPR 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936).

[390] Muir, ed., *The Exeter Anthology*; Kevin Crossley-Holland, trans., *The Exeter Book Riddles*, Rev. ed. (London: Enitharmon Press, 2008), p. 29. See Appendix C for the Anglo-Saxon text.

[391] *Tatvini Opera Omnia,* ed. de Marco, p. 172. "Efferus exuviis populator me spoliavit,/Vitalis parater flatus spiramina dempsit;". Riddle No. 24 from the Bern Collection and Eusebius's Riddle No. 32 also refer to the pre-parchment animal, though in the context of the different types of profit the animal can offer when alive or dead. The Bern Riddle opens with the lines: "Lucrum uiua manendo tot nam confero mundo/Et defuncta mirum praesto de corpore quaestum [As long as I live, I gather profit all over the world;/But dead, I offer miraculous wealth from my body]", whereas Eusebius's riddle closes with the line "Viua nihil loquimur, responsum mortua famur. [(When we are) alive, we say nothing, but (when we are) dead, we utter a response]." See "Aenigmata Tullii," *Variae Collectiones Aenigmatum Merovingicae Aetatis*: *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 133A*, ed. Fr. Glorie (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968), p. 570; and Eusebius, "Aenigmata Eusebii," *Variae Collectiones*, ed. Glorie, p. 242.

parchment-making as well). The riddle from the Exeter book provides the longest passage concerned with parchment-making, as discussed above, while Tatwine's riddle and the Bern riddle appear to trade off their use of lurid detail—Tatwine's riddle describes being shaped by an "artisan," while the two middle lines of the Bern riddle clearly illuminate part of the process of treating the animal's skin: "Vestibus exita multoque uinculo tensa,/Gladio sic mihi desecta uiscera pendent [Stripped of my clothes, stretched fast by a rope,/My fleshy parts hang down, cut off with a sword]."[392] As in the section of the Exeter riddle that describes the treatment of the skin (a section that also resonates with the division of skin and being in different retellings of the legend of St. Bartholomew), the animal/speaker appears to conceive of its body both as an object encompassing the entirety of the animal's physical bodily systems (the riddle describes the removal of its skin as being "stripped of my clothes," demonstrating its conception of the skin as a covering for the body), and as located solely in its skin (in the second half of that line, the speaker moves seamlessly from considering the skin an article of clothing attached to a larger body to being its own sentient entity, as the skin is the only body part "stretched fast by a rope" and having its "fleshy parts" removed with a blade).[393] Tatwine's riddle also refers to the skin as a "covering" in its opening line before performing the same sort of body-elision—in the third line, the riddle's speaker says that "an artisan shaped *me* into a level field," and the skin takes on the entirety of the speaker's subject position.

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[392] Tatwine, "Aenigmata Tatuini," *Tatvini Opera Omnia,* ed. de Marco, p. 172; "Aenigmata Tullii," *Variae Collectiones*, ed. Glorie, p. 570.

[393] Dietrich Bitterli has commented on the connections between riddles that describe parchment-making and the stories of St. Victor and St. Bartholomew, who were flayed alive. See Bitterli, *Say What I Am Called: The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book and the Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), pp. 178-179, 187-188.

The method of transformation into embodied object is also different. The personified songs are made human through a process that recalls human reproduction and childbirth (see Chapter Two), whereas the parchment riddles are created through procedures of artificial transformation (in the sense of creating an artifact). The riddles clearly have knowledge of their bodies and insight into how they are formed, extant in their references to parchment- and book-making treatments (this is particularly true of the Exeter riddle, with its lengthy description of these processes).[394] The riddles' intimate familiarity with their parchment bodies and the texts they contain suggests that the manuscript does function as a kind of body, complete with skin, for the text written (and personified) upon it. In these lines, Riddle 26 from the Exeter Book describes how its parchment pages are folded, written on with ink, put into a wooden cover, and illuminated, all by human fingers:

> Fingers folded me, and the bird's joy
> [Spread] over me with worthwhile drops, often made tracks,
> Over the bright border, swallowed tree-dye,
> A portion of the stream, stepped again on me,
> Journeyed, leaving behind a dark track. Afterward a hero
> Encircled me with protective boards, covered me with hide,
> Garnished me with gold; therefore the wonderful
> Work of smiths glitters on me, surrounded by wire.[395]

Interestingly, the riddle's speaker seems to associate its "body" explicitly with its "skin" in the first part of the riddle. As the speaker describes the treatment of animal skin for making

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[394] As Salvador-Bello notes, the twenty-sixth riddle is located within the Exeter Book as part of a group of riddles that seem to be linked by their descriptions of the processing and consumption of a particular object—the other two riddles within Salvador-Bello's group are riddle 27 (mead) and riddle 28. Salvador-Bello gives the solution for riddle 28 as "ale," but scholars have not agreed on a solution for this riddle and there are a number of possibilities. Intriguingly, Riddle 26 is not included with the other riddles describing writing tools, which includes riddles 47 (bookworm and parchment), 48 (paten or chalice), 49 (book chest), 50 (fire), and 51 (pen and fingers). The other three riddles are grouped with riddles that describe writing tools. Tatwine's *Enigmata* places the parchment riddle (*de membrano*) between nos. 4 (*de litteris*/letters) and 6 (*de penna*/pen), while Eusebius similarly places his parchment riddle within a section containing other writing tools, including no. 30 (*de atramentorio*/inkhorn), no. 31 (*de cera*/wax), and no. 33 (*de scetha*/book chest). In the Bern *Enigmata*, the parchment riddle is included in a section of riddles concerned with general tools. It is directly followed by the letters riddle (no. 25, *de letteris*). See Salvador-Bello, pp. 325-26, 462, 464-66, 471, and 474.

[395] Muir, ed., *The Exeter Anthology*; Crossley-Holland, trans., *The Exeter Book Riddles,* p. 29.

parchment, he substitutes "me" in the places where the word "skin" would appear: "he soaked *me*,/dunked *me* in water, dragged *me* out again,/set *me* in the sun…the hard edge of a knife… slashed *me*."[396] This process mirrors a description of treating skin for use as parchment found in a ninth-century manuscript.[397] The manuscript contains two recipes for the preparation of parchment:

> Put it under lime and let it lie for three days; then stretch it, scrape it well on both sides, and dry it, and then stain it with the colors you wish.
>
> Take the red skin and carefully pumice it, and temper it in tepid water and pour the water on it till it runs off limpid. Stretch it afterwards and smooth it diligently with clean wood. When it is dry take the white of eggs and smear it therewith thoroughly; when it is dry sponge it with water, press it, dry it again, and polish it; then rub it with a clean skin and polish it again and gild it.[398]

These recipes describe the manner in which animal skin must be soaked, stretched in the sun, scraped, polished, and gilded in order to be used as parchment, a process mirrored in the first half of Exeter Riddle 26. The skin has come to stand in for the entire sentient, speaking being narrating the riddle. After the animal's skin is made parchment, the riddle's descriptions of the making of that parchment into a book or codex similarly elide the "me" of the speaker with the skin or parchment: "fingers folded me, and the bird's joy/spread over me…a hero encircled me with protective boards, covered me with hide,/garnished me with gold…"[399]

All of the riddles describe in some fashion the content of the page or book they eventually become, and express a judgment on the text(s) that lie within. Two of the riddles

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[396] Ibid. Italics are my own.

[397] *Bibl. Cap. Canonicorum Lucensium, I, Cod. 4*, in Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi*, II (Milan: 1739), p. 370.

[398] Sharon Turner, trans., in *The History of the Anglo-Saxons from the Earliest Period to the Norman Conquest, Vol. III, Ch. ix,* (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1840), p. 277.

[399] Muir, ed., *The Exeter Anthology*; Crossley-Holland, *The Exeter Book Riddles,* p. 29.

provide only the briefest description, but the written content of the page or book is mentioned in all four riddles. Eusebius' riddle tells us the parchment holds "responsum [an answer]," while the Bern riddle touts its content as "mirum praesto [miraculous wealth]." Tatwine's riddle and the Exeter riddle provide lengthier descriptions. Tatwine's riddle states it will improve its readers, describing its content as "Omnigenam nardi messem mea prata rependunt,/Qua sanis victum et lesis praestabo medelam [My meadows yield a varied crop of balsam,/A food for the healthy and a remedy for the sick],"[400] and the Exeter riddle describes the effects its words will have on its readers at great length, claiming that its readers will be "the more sound and the more victory-fast,/The bolder in heart and the more blithe in mind,/The wiser in spirit, they will have more friends," among other virtues.

Scholars widely consider this value judgment to stem from the specificity of the riddle's solution, which, in the case of Exeter Riddle 26, is almost certainly a gospel book or a Bible.[401] Tatwine's riddle also seems to focus on a sacred book, while the Bern riddle (and Eusebius' riddle) are less clear about the type of "wealth" or "answers" they contain. Additionally, each riddle's discussion of its content makes implicit the object's transmission as a written text. In detailing the ways in which it will affect its readers, the object of the Bern riddle describes its transmission "manibus me postquam reges et visu mirantur [surrounded by the hands of kings who admire me]," and the texts it carries as "miliaque porto nullo sub pondere multa [thousands, but they are weightless]."[402] The Bern riddle is the sole riddle of the four to mention any physical

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[400] Tatwine, "Aenigmata Tatuini," *Tatvini Opera Omnia*, ed. de Marco, p. 172.

[401] Williamson, *Riddles*, p. 212; see also Corinne Dale, *The Natural World in the Exeter Book Riddles* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2017), p. 88, fn. 4.

[402] "Aenigmata Tullii," *Variae Collectiones*, ed. Glorie, p. 570.

aspect of its transmission (although the Exeter riddle does include description of its binding as a decorated manuscript), and in doing so seems to cement its object-ness by defining itself in physical relation to its readers.

Certainly, the parchment riddles and the personified songs are two very different phenomena. The riddles describe a being—themselves—and the ways in which they come about in their own voices, while the personified songs do not speak in their own voices and therefore cannot reference themselves or describe their creation. However, the riddles and the songs do share some characteristics. Both deal with processes of creation and the genesis of the texts they form—although each corpus explores different modes of doing in both of these procedures. The riddles highlight processes of transformation through human artifice, as they describe the removal and treatment of the skin from their animal origins, which itself becomes a being. The riddles also refer to themselves as the vehicles through which the texts they hold are created, positioning themselves as complicit in the creation of the text from its beginning. On the other hand, the personified songs are represented through the language of human birth and reproduction. The song isn't violently removed from its original self, as the parchment riddle is—the song is formed from its troubadour creator's natural vocal production, where it is expelled from the performer's body through a process of natural creation. The troubadour addresses both the song and the fact of its creation—the song is personified after its text is created, and we never actually hear the speaking voice of the song itself.

Additionally, both the songs and the riddles are in some way complicit in their own transmission. The riddles demonstrate knowledge of both their content and the potential effects it might have on their readers, and, in the case of the Bern parchment riddle, the way it will be

transmitted (via the hands of admiring kings). The personified songs seem to have some understanding of their content (in the form of a message given to them by the troubadour), and they are necessarily more active in their own circulation—they are instructed to travel by their poetic creators. While the roles the personified songs play are varied, each instance includes some mention of space and/or travel, retaining an essential function of the *tornada* itself—the audience is made conscious of their transmission and of the ways in which they connect two (or more) people mentioned in the poetic text.

At the heart of both the riddles and the personified songs is the relationship of the text to its living creator. Despite their similarities, the two entities approach this relationship from opposing viewpoints. The riddles depict the transformation of an animal or a living thing to a text, written on a piece of parchment and embodied in the newly-made literate object, while the personified songs illustrate the transformation of a song or a text—an object already formed by its human creator—to a living entity. The cycles are similar, but they are reversed—the codex turns from animal into work of literature, and the song turns from poem into anthropomorphized being.

GUIRAUT RIQUER'S SONGBOOK: MANUSCRIPT BODY?

Guiraut Riquier (also known as the "Last Troubadour") is famous for his *Libre*, a collection of 68 poems transmitted with specific instructions about the order in which his songs were to be compiled.[403] The *Libre* is preserved in two Occitanian manuscript sources, both dating from the fourteenth century: Troubadour R and Troubadour C.[404] MS R contains all the musical

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[403] Bossy, "Cyclical Composition in Guiraut Riquier's Book of Poems," p. 277.

[404] Troubadour R: Paris, BnF, f. fr. 22543; Troubadour C: Paris, BnF, f. fr. 856.

notation, while MS C simply contains the poetic texts. Both manuscripts transmit Guiraut's works in the same order, and both are transmitted with rubrics detailing the song's genre, date of composition, and, in some cases, performance instructions (additionally, MS C's rubrics number the songs while those in MS R do not).[405]

MS C also begins its Guiraut Riquier section with a special rubric (in contrast to R which does not contain anything of the sort). MS C's rubric reads:

> Aissi comensan lo cans d'en Guiraut Riquier de Narbona enaissi cum es de cansos e de verses e de pastorellas e de retroenchas e de descortz e d'albas e d'autras diversas obras en aissi adordenamens cum era adordenat en lo sieu libre, del qual libre escrig per la sua man fon aissi tot translatat. E ditz enaissi cum de sus se conten.[406]
>
> [Here begins the song of Lord Guiraut Riquer of Narbonne, thus as it is of cansos and of vers and of pastorelas and of retroenchas and of descorts and of albas and of other diverse works, here all ordered as they are ordered in his book, from which book written in his own hand they were here all transcribed. And it [the above] states what it contains.][407]

It is this rubric which leads Michel-André Bossy to describe Guiraut as "a troubadour who acted as his own anthologist," due to the fact that the rubric states that these songs and their order ("adordenamens") are taken from the poet's own book ("lo sieu libre").[408] Guiraut's connection to the manuscript sources differs from those of the other troubadours, who, as mentioned above, did not have any discernible control over the ways in which their works are found compiled in the *chansonniers*. Guiraut's involvement in the process of writing down his works makes his corpus a fitting choice for gleaning an understanding of the way in which the personified song interacts with the written page, as his corpus contains six songs whose *tornadas*

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[405] Bossy, "Cyclical Composition," pp. 277-78.

[406] Paris, BnF, f. fr. 856, fol. 288r.

[407] Guiraut Riquier, *Las cansos: Kritischer Text und Kommentar*, Ulrich Mölk, ed. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1962), p. 19. Translation is my own.

[408] Bossy, "Cyclical Composition," p. 277; 279.

or final verses personify them. All six songs are a part of Guiraut's *Libre*, and all six are transmitted with musical notation in MS R.

One of the motivations for Guiraut's self-anthologization is made evident in his songs "Volontiers faria" and "Pus sabers no·m val ni sens." Both songs are *cansos redondas*, a song genre unique because of its complex rhyme scheme, contained within six poetic stanzas. The rhyme scheme of "Volontiers faria," Guiraut's first *canso redonda*, employs six different end-rhyme sounds. The six rhymes cycle through the six stanzas, until each rhyme sound has occupied every possible location within the stanza. The stanzas are connected through their last and first lines, as the end rhyme of the last line of the preceding stanza is used in the first line of the following stanza; the final rhyme of the final stanza is thus the rhyme that ends the first line of the first stanza. "Pus sabers no·m val ni sens" is a *canso redonda et encadenada*, and while its rhyme scheme differs somewhat from that of "Volontiers faria," it maintains its classification as a *canso redonda* because the entire last line of each preceding stanza is repeated at the beginning of each following stanza.[409]

As is made clear at the end of "Pus sabers" in MS C, *cansos redondas* do not have *tornadas*. A small rubric at the end of the song's final stanza states "aissi no cap tornada [here there is not a *tornada*]," ensuring that the reader knows not to cut or distort the final stanza in any way.[410] While there is no matching note at the end of the song in MS R, "Pus sabers" is transmitted with musical notation in that manuscript, and so is accompanied by a rubric at its

[409] For more on "Pus sabers," see Susan Boynton, "Troubadour Song as Performance: A Context for Guiraut Riquier's 'Pus sabers no'm val ni sens,'" *Current Musicology* 94 (Fall 2012), pp. 7-36.

[410] Paris, BnF, f. fr. 856, fol. 300v. Literal translation: "Thus it takes no *tornada*." See also Boynton, "Troubadour Song as Performance," p. 17.

beginning detailing the way in which the melody should be sung.[411] These singing instructions (discussed in detail by Susan Boynton) guarantee that the reader knows there is no *tornada*, as they provide rules for each of the six full verses, but nothing more.[412]

"Volontiers faria" is not transmitted with any such rubrics, but discussion of the absence of a *tornada* is embedded within the poetic text itself. In the final stanza of the song, Guiraut directly addresses his song and tells it that he will send it to King Alfonso of Castile (Guiraut's patron, King Alfonso X, el Sabio). However, he follows these instructions with a description of the song's poetic shape:

> Doncx ma caramida
> Mos Behls Deportz sia
> E·l reys de Castella
> N'Anfos, que grazida
> Valor ten a tria,
> On pretz renovella,
> Cuy devers gragella;
> Lay, chansos, te·y via.
> Pero no·t daria
> tornad'e revella
> qu'om no t'escantella
> que·l compas mentria.
>
> [Then, my lodestone
> my Belh Deportz would be,
> and the King of Castile,
> Lord Alfonso, who welcomes
> pleasant valor,
> where merit is renewed,
> where duty is enticed,
> There, song, go
> but I will not give you
> tornada or refrain
> so that one cannot efface you
> which belies the meter.][413]

[411] Paris, BnF, f. fr. 22543, fol. 107v.

[412] See Boynton, "Troubadour Song as Performance," pp. 11-13.

[413] Guiraut Riquier, "Volontiers faria," ed. Mölk, pp. 89-90.

Guiraut makes specific reference to the *tornada*, as he says he will leave it out so that his song can travel as a whole entity. As others have noted, the rhyme scheme itself preserves the song's form, as the last end rhyme (or full line) of the final stanza matches that of the song's opening line and creates a closed loop.[414]

"Volontiers faria" and "Pus sabers" connect to Guiraut's influence over the transmission of his entire corpus as a complete object, also reflected in the careful ordering and copying of the *Libre* itself. Guiraut's concern with preserving his *cansos redondas* as they were composed highlights, as Boynton describes, the "increased importance of writing for the transmission of troubadour song in the late thirteenth century," while simultaneously demonstrating the orality inherent in the songs themselves.[415] Guiraut clearly has reason to fear that his songs (or others) could be chopped up or added to in performance when he composed them (a fear presumably caused by Guiraut's awareness of the instability of lyric poetic transmission), and the rubrics of "Pus sabers" and the final verse of "Volontiers faria" show that the *canso redonda* rhyme scheme alone was not enough to warrant complete transmission.[416]

Guiraut's direct address to his song in the final stanza of "Volontiers faria" adds another layer of complexity to the intricacies of transmission. Guiraut makes his song mobile by sending it to the court of King Alfonso of Castile, giving it some sort of body with which it moves from one location to another. The song's body is brought to the forefront when Guiraut tells the song why he is not giving it a *tornada*: a *tornada* or refrain would "t'escantelha [curtail you]" and

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[414] See Boynton, "Troubadour Song as Performance," pp. 16-17; Bossy, "Cyclical Composition," pp. 282-283.

[415] Boynton, "Troubadour Song as Performance," p. 12.

[416] The *canso redonda* is not unique to Guiraut's corpus, though the melodic structure of "Pus sabers" is unique to him. For more on the development of the *canso redonda*, see Dominique Billy, "La 'canso redonda', ou les déconvenues d'un genre," *Medioevo Romanzo* 11.3 (1986): 369-78.

distort the poetic form dictated by the rhyme scheme. The tension between oral and written transmission embedded in this stanza centers on the formation of the song's body. The body of the song changes depending on the way in which it is transmitted. A song personified in performance is formed according to the way in which the performer sings it, and the number of stanzas and *tornadas*, the order of the stanzas, and the melody's ornaments can all vary. Additionally, vocal timbre is unique to each performer, ensuring that each song-body created through performance is singular to its performer. When the song is written down on the manuscript page, it is less flexible. The order and number of its stanzas will not change, nor will its melodic ornaments (if it is transmitted with musical notation). The manuscript's reader may hear the song internally, but a great deal of the song's body is predetermined due to its status as a written object.

"Volontiers faria" attests to the malleability of song bodies created in performance (a threat for Guiraut) while also demonstrating a solidification of the boundaries of the song's body, which occurs both through the choice of rhyme scheme and writing down the song. The *Libre* allows Guiraut to crystallize the edges of the song's body in manuscript form while still making evident the presence of the singing voice inside the written source.

Six of Guiraut's songs contain *tornadas* or final stanzas that personify them.[417] Of these, only two are personified in their *tornadas*. The other four are personified in their final full verses, two of which are then followed by *tornadas* (the other two are not). Guiraut personifies his songs in order to serve myriad purposes. Like the first category of personified songs in Chapter One, the first *tornada* of "Tan m'es plazens lo mals d'amor" is personified simply in order to transmit

[417] See Appendix D for texts and translations of all of these *tornadas* and stanzas.

a message of praise from Guiraut to Bertran d'Olargue. The only *tornada* of "Aissi pert poder amors," however, is used as a messenger in a different manner. Guiraut appears to be in discussion with his song about his beloved, who has not yet been swayed by his words:

> Chanso, ges no·m suy partitz
> De midons, si tot mos ditz
> No fas er enamoratz,
> Quar son per razon forsatz.
>
> [Song, I do not leave the service
> Of Midons, though with all my words
> I do not make love verses,
> Because they are forced by reason.][418]

There is an implicit message here—Guiraut wants Midons to know he won't leave her despite the fact that he is no longer composing love poetry—but it is couched in an exchange between Guiraut and the song. Of course, we only hear one voice in the dialogue (Guiraut's), but rather than order his song to interact with the song's intended recipient, Guiraut presents a different type of troubadour-song interaction here.

The melodies of these two songs aurally distinguish the roles the personified songs play. The melody of "Tan m'es plazens lo mal d'amor" is in bar form (AAB), and the *tornada* aligns with the melody's B section. The break in poetic form and subject position is clearly signaled, as the first phrase of the B section begins on f' before descending to e', while the melody's opening phrase starts with two repeated a' pitches before descending to g' and returning to a'. The melody of "Aissi pert poder amors" reflects the ambiguity of the personified song's role. The melody is through-composed (ABCDEC'FG), and the *tornada* begins at the melody's midpoint (E, or phrase five). As in "Tan m'es plazens," the *tornada*'s alignment with the melody signals the

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[418] Guiraut Riquier, "Aissi pert poder amors," in *Las Cansos,* ed. Mölk, pp. 25-27; trans. in consultation with Francesco Filippo Minetti, *Il "Libre" di Guiraut Riquier: Secondo il Codice 22543 (R) della Nazionale di Parigi con la Varia Lectio dell'856 (C), Parte Prima* (Torino: Litografia Artigiana M. & S., 1980), p. 15.

break in poetic form and subject position—phrase five opens with a leap of a third from a' to c", while the melody's initial phrase begins with a stepwise ascent from f' to a'. However, the second half of the song's melody contains musical features that recall the first four phrases (see Example 13 for a transcription of the full melody and the *tornada*). The melisma that closes the first phrase is the same figure (now split into two melismas) that concludes the fifth phrase, and the entirety of the third phrase is repeated in the sixth phrase. The sixth phrase tacks on another melisma at the end, but the

Example 13. Melody of "Aissi pert poder amors," first stanza and *tornada,* R 103v.[419]

First stanza

A B

Ais - si pert po - der a - mors com ricx homs cant pert sa ren - da

C D

el sieu e fos ra - le - dors per que homz non la re - pren - da

E C'

car joys los e pros fal - hitz que cas - cus e - ra sos guitz

F G

a - quest des - trenh co - bei - ratz e sis fai chant e so - latz.

Tornada

E C'

Chan - so ies homz per sui par - titz de mi - dons si tot mos ditz

F G

no fas er e - na - mo - ratz car son per ra - zon for - fatz.

[419] Paris, BnF, f.fr. 22543, fol, 103v.

phrases are related enough to label the sixth phrase as C'—an embellished version of the third phrase, C. Finally, there is a small amount of repetition within the song's second half. The opening gestures of phrases five and seven are the same—both open with a leap of a third from a' to two repeated c" pitches (marked 3 in the example) before diverging. The ambiguity of the song's role—between messenger and proxy—is manifested in the melody as well. The fifth phrase of "Aissi pert poder amors"—the *tornada*'s opening phrase—articulates both a clear melodic break at the *tornada*'s beginning, as well as a recall of the end of the melody's opening phrase. The recall of earlier phrases continues in the melody's second half, linking the two parts of the song together after they have been broken apart.

The personified song's treatment in "Aissi pert poder amors" reflects an ambiguity of song role that permeates Guiraut's other personified songs. The final stanzas of "Ab lo temps agradiu gai" and "No·m sai d'amor si m'es mala o bona" both depict the personified song as more of an agent acting on Guiraut's behalf than as a mere messenger. In "Ab lo temps," Guiraut advises his song to go to his patron: "Vers, quant seras apres, vai/Al pro Amalric prezat,/ Vescomte de Narbones [Vers, when you have been learned, go/To the noble and esteemed Amalric/Viscount of Narbonne]," allowing the song to inhabit a space that is somewhere in between physical proxy and messenger.[420] Guiraut intends that Amalric will be able to learn his song, but he gives the song time to prepare and ready itself for the process. The melody of this song is through-composed (ABCDEFG), and reflects the song's role as a physical proxy, much like the similar examples discussed in Chapter One.

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[420] Guiraut Riquier, "Ab lo temps agradiu gai," in "I *Vers* del Trovatore Guiraut Riquier," ed. and trans. Monica Longobardi, in *Studi Mediolatini e Volgari* 28 (1981), pp. 28-29; trans. in consultation with Longobardi, p. 29.

The final stanza of “No·m sai d’amor” furthers the song’s development as an agent acting on Guiraut’s behalf. Guiraut again sends his song to Amalric of Narbonne:

> Al vescomte n’Amalric de Narbona
> Vir ma chanson, quar tot vil fag azira
> E manten pretz, per que valors li sobra
>
> [To Amalric, the Viscount of Narbonne
> I send my song, where all hate bad deeds
> And maintain worth, so that valor will be left there].[421]

Rather than go to Amalric himself, Guiraut relies on his song to act in his stead and preserve the goodness of Amalric’s surroundings.

The song’s melody is in bar form (ABABCDEF, or AAB), and the transition between the A and B sections is fairly clear (see Example 14 for the melody of this song). The melody’s initial phrase opens with a stepwise, ascending line from c’ to f’, whereas the first line of the B section (the fifth phrase) begins with a leap of a third from e’ to g’. However, as in the melody of “Aissi pert poder amors,” the melody of “No·m sai d’amor” contains motives that are found in both the A and B sections, connecting the two. The song opens with a gesture that ascends stepwise from c’ to f’, and then descends stepwise to d’ (marked as 1 on the example). This same gesture opens the melody’s final phrase, with near-identical text-setting (three syllabic notes followed by a melisma). The two phrases diverge after d’ (the opening phrase moves to e’ while the final phrase leaps to a’). Additionally, the final melisma of the melody’s second phrase (descending stepwise from f’ to c’ before rising to d’) is repeated at the end of the final phrase (marked as 2 on the example). The appearance of these two motives creates a kind of melodic loop that slightly distorts the linear nature of the phrase, combining the opening and closing

[421] Guiraut Riquier, “No·m sai d’amor,” in *Las Cansos*, ed. Mölk, pp. 44-47; trans. in consultation with Minetti, p. 63.

gestures of the song's A section in one phrase. The appearance of the first phrase's closing motif (three notes descending from f' to d', followed by a two-note melisma that descends from d' to

Example 14. Melody of "No·m sai d'amor," fifth stanza. R 104v.[422]

Fifth stanza

1 3

A

Al ves - com - te n'A - mal - ric de Nar - bo - na

2

B

vir ma chan - son quar tot vil fag a - zi - ra

A

e man - ten pretz per que va - lors li so - bra

B

tant que ls vils ricx de mals pes - sa - mens car - ga

C

e man - ten joy e gab se - nes mes - son - ja

D

ab grat dels pros se - nes to - ta tra - ver - sa

2

E

e sap va - ler tant que ls es - tranhs ta - bor - na

1 3

F

sal - van s'o - nor per que i - rals es - cor - ja.

422 Paris, BnF, f.fr. 22543, fol. 104v. Transcription is my own.

c', labeled as 3 in the example) at the close of the penultimate phrase adds to this distortion, as it inverts the opening phrase—the closing motif is heard before the opening gesture, further skewing the linear movement of the melody.

In his *canso redonda* "Volontiers faria," Guiraut employs his newly personified song in a similar manner. Guiraut sends the song without a message or a specific function to Belh Deportz, but (as discussed earlier) he takes precautions to ensure the song is not truncated or altered in any way:

> Lay, chansos, te·y via.
> Pero no·t daria
> Tornad', e revella,
> Qu'om no t'escantella,
> Que·l compas mentria.
>
> [There, song, go to her
> But I will not give you
> Tornada or refrain,
> So that one cannot efface you,
> which belies the meter.][423]

Guiraut is commenting on the vagaries of oral transmission here, and appears to be seeking a completeness of transmission that can also be effected by written transmission. The form of his song means that it probably wouldn't have a *tornada,* and it would be more difficult (though by no means impossible) to leave off a stanza or transmit the stanzas in a different order —as described above, the rhyme scheme follows a strict cyclic pattern. The resulting form (see Example 15) provides a specific stanza order and strict rhyme scheme that seeks to ward off truncation or, as Guiraut calls it, "escantella [effacement]" during transmission.

The song's melody has a clear form structured around repetition. The melody's form is ABCABCDEDEFG (large-scale: AABC) and, unlike the rhyme sounds, it remains the same for

[423] Guiraut Riquier, "Volontiers faria," in *Las Cansos*, ed. Mölk, pp. 88-93.

each stanza. It is the song's melody that alerts the listener to the changing rhyme sounds, as the melody clearly establishes the different sections of the form (see Example 16 for the melody).

The A section (letters A, B, and C) opens with a rising chain of thirds from c' to g', before melismatically rising further to b' and falling to f'. The section concludes with a melisma of the same melodic contour that concludes on c', closing the melodic loop the A section outlines. The B section (letters D and E) also begins on c', but the initial phrase ascends stepwise to f' before tracing a wavelike melisma to conclude on e'. The second phrase of the B section (letter E) then rises to c'', before descending a full octave via melismas to c'. The melody's C section (letters F and G) opens on g', a leap of a fifth from the final pitch of the B section. It then ascends stepwise to c'' before descending to f' and eventually closing the stanza on g'.

Example 15. Poetic structure of *canso redonda* "Volontiers faria."

Stanza I	Stanza II	Stanza III	Stanza IV	Stanza V	Stanza VI
a	b	c	d	e	f
b	c	d	e	f	a
c	d	e	f	a	b
a	b	c	d	e	f
b	c	d	e	f	a
c	d	e	f	a	b
c	d	e	f	a	b
b	c	d	e	f	a
b	c	d	e	f	a
c	d	e	f	a	b
c	d	e	f	a	b
b	c	d	e	f	a

Each section of the melody's form begins and ends on the same pitch, creating a series of melodic phrases characterized by circular motion. These phrases seem to solidify aurally the boundaries between each section, a feature that is transferred to the poetic form with its carefully dictated rhyme scheme. Although the rhyme sounds change position with each subsequent stanza, the melody provides an aural map that both orients the listener to the position of the

Example 16. Melody of "Volontiers faria," sixth stanza, R 106v.[424]

Sixth stanza

A B
Doncx ma ca - ra - mi - da mos Belhs De - portz si - a

C A
el reys de cas - tel - la nan - fos que gra - zi - da

B C
va - lor ten a tri - a on pretz re - nou - vel - la

D E
cuy de - vers gra - gel - la lay chan - sos tey vi - a

D E
pe - ro not da - ri - a tor - nad e re - vel - la

F G
quom no tes - can - tel - la quel com - pas men - tri - a.

424 Paris, BnF, f.fr. 22543, fol. 106v.

rhymes within the melody and signals the structure of the form—the audience can hear the changes in the rhyme scheme against the constant form of the melody and recognize the way each stanza's rhyme scheme varies. Guiraut combines these two rigidly ordered forms in his song, offsetting them in a manner that allows the listener to discern both.

Guiraut's song "No cugey mais d'esta razon chantar" is a *retroencha*, a type of poetic structure that always has a refrain.[425] In this *retroencha*, Guiraut personifies his song in the refrain in addition to in the last stanza, so that the song is personified at the end of each of the four stanzas as well as in the body of the fourth. In the song's final stanza, Guiraut addresses his song so that it may plead his case for him:

> Retraissera chan quals bos fos sobriers
> Quar taisseras e nom qual escuzar
> Tant a elh fin e belh entendemen
> [Et] yeu no suy del tot ses pessamen.
>
> [Tell them, song, that you were excessively good
> Because you were kept quiet, and to keep/excuse which name,
> He has so much fine and proper understanding
> And I am not completely without worry.][426]

He sends the song in his defense, as it has demonstrated its worth by being kept quiet, and will now demonstrate it further by being heard.

It is somewhat difficult to tell who Guiraut is actually addressing in the refrain, as his address may be directed to the song itself or to another figure who is "made song": "Mas eras

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[425] The *Leys d'Amors* describes the *retroencha* as follows: "Cobla retronchada es dicha can en la fi de cascun bordo. o de dos en dos. o de tres en tres. o de mays. segon ques volra aquel dictara. oz en la fi de cascuna cobla. hom retorna una meteyssha dictio. o can en cascuna cobla hom retorna un meteysh bordo. o dos. pero de dos no es gayre acostumat et aquest compas pot no·m tener. yssamens quis vol de doas en doas coblas. o de may. [The couplet is called *retroncha*, when at the end of each verse, or two by two, or three by three, or more, according to the will of the author; when it is at the end of each couplet, the same verse is repeated, or two of the same verses. However, the repetition of two verses is not commonly used. One can observe this form, if one wishes, in couplets two by two, or more.]" *Las Flors del Gay Saber estier dichas Las Leys d'Amors: Les Fleurs du Gai Saber autrement dites Les Lois d'Amour*, Vol. I, ed. and trans. Gatien-Arnoult, pp. 286-87.

[426] Guiraut Riquier, "No cugey mais d'esta razon chantar," transcribed from Paris, BnF, f. fr. 856, fol. 306v.

chan que ben leu mentendra/Tals quenqueras ben entendut nom a [But you were a song, that one who has not yet understood me would easily understand.]"[427] The act of being a song lends Guiraut's addressee easy understanding of him, but the nature of the being he speaks to is ambiguous—this figure may be either the personified song, already personified in the past, or another person altogether.

The song's melody is in bar form (AAB), and contains two short motives that permeate the melody (see Example 17 for the melody of this song). Like all of Guiraut's songs, the melody only appears in one manuscript, and it is missing the melody for the last four syllables of the final line. The first motive is a three-note lower-neighbor melisma, and it first appears in the song's opening phrase as a'-g'-a' (marked as 1a in the example). Each instance of the phrase begins with either d', f', or a' (marked as 1b, 1c, and 1a, respectively), reinforcing the importance of these pitches to the melody. The only two phrases in the entire melody that do not contain this figure are the sixth and seventh phrases, as each other phrase has at least one instance (the figure appears towards the beginning of all of the other six phrases), and sometimes two instances of the figure. The second motif is also a three-note melisma, which descends stepwise over the interval of a third. As the first motif underscores certain pitches, all of these melismas somehow contain the pitch f'—either as the initial note or as the final note, or (in a singular case) in the middle of the melisma. The majority of the melismas begin on a' and descend to f' (marked 2a in the example), with a smaller number starting on f' (marked 2b) and descending to d'. One lone melisma, in the seventh phrase, begins on g' and descends to

[427] Guiraut Riquier, "No cugey mais," transcribed from Paris, BnF, f. fr. 856, fol. 306v.

e' (marked 2c). The inundation of the texture with these two figures lends the melody a small,

Example 17. Melody of "No cugey mais d'esta razon chantar," fifth stanza. R 110v.[428]

Fifth stanza

A 1a 2a 1b
En cort del comt en - ric a son le - var

B 1c 2a 2b 2a
en ca - dei - ra de ro - des vo - len - tiers

A 1a 2a 1b
re - trais - se - ra chan quals bos fos so - briers

B 1c 2a 2b 2a
quar taiss e - ras e nom qual es - cu - zar

C 1b 1c 2a 2a
tant a elh fin e belh en - ten - de - men

D 2a 2b
et yeu no suy del tot ses pes - sa - men

Refrain

E 2a 2c
mas e - ras chan que ben leu men - ten - dra

C' 1b 1c 2a
tals quen - que - ras ben en - ten - dut no ma.

428 Paris, BnF, f.fr. 22543, fol. 110v. The final four syllables are missing musical notation, so I have notated them here as rests.

circular feel, especially in the A section, and it can obscure the form of the melody for a listening audience.

Like the *canso redonda*, the *retroencha* is also a poetic form that might be less susceptible to change when being transmitted orally, thanks to its refrain. Each poetic stanza must end with the refrain, enabling Guiraut to retain some of the characteristics of a *tornada* while preserving the whole of the song. The refrain reflects what Peraino calls the outward turn, shifting the poet's address from one subject to another, and Guiraut's direct address to his song in the refrain personifies it much earlier in the text. The song's personification on the manuscript folio also implies a different temporality than that previously encountered in performance, as the song is now transmitted in written form. Instead of having to wait until its end to be personified, the song appears on the manuscript page all at once—the act of anthropomorphization appears simultaneously with the rest of the song. This constant personification is reinforced by the refrain—the song is personified at the end of every stanza.

As discussed earlier in the chapter, Guiraut's close involvement with the production of his *Libre* belies a familiarity with the processes of literate transmission that is probably unique within the troubadour lyric corpus. The final stanza of "Volontiers faria" seems to encapsulate the possible motivations for the creation of a songbook; Guiraut seeks to ward off the mangling of his songs by performers who would modify them. In so doing, he strengthens the poetic and musical boundaries of his songs in two ways—primarily, in the ways discussed above, and secondly, by writing them down. Certainly, the performative aspects of medieval reading were numerous and often involved conceptions or workings of time similar to those experienced

during performance. However, writing does offer something that performance cannot—a way to circumvent a portion of the ephemerality singing instantiates.

"Volontiers faria" appears in both MS R and MS C as described. In MS R, the first stanza is preceded with a rubric that reads: "la redo(n)da canso de(n) g(ui)r(aut) riq(ui)er [the canso redonda of Guiraut Riquier]."[429] In MS C, "Volontiers faria" is preceded by a similar rubric (this one reads: "La redonda canson den·G(ui)r(aut)·Riquier [The *canso redonda* of Guiraut Riquier]").[430] All six stanzas follow, the beginning of each one demarcated by a colored initial.

The appearance of "No cugey mais d'esta razon chantar" in the manuscripts is very similar to that of "Volontiers faria," and to Guiraut's other songs. MS C contains the full poetic text of the song (four stanzas in total). Its rubric reads: "La tersa retroencha de(n)·G(ui)r(aut)·riquier [The third *retroencha* of Guiraut Riquier]."[431] The refrain is written out completely at the end of stanzas one and four, and it is abbreviated at the end of stanzas two and three ("mas eras chan q(ue) ben leu·(et)c(etera)").[432] In MS R, the song is transmitted with its melody, but only with one poetic stanza. The folio on which the song appears only has one column of text and music—the other half of the folio is completely blank. All of the songs in the column are *retroenchas*, and they are described as such in their rubrics (as in MS C, the "primeyra," "segonda," and "te(r)sa" *retroenchas* of Guiraut Riquier all appear together). "No cugey mais" is the third song in the column, and the two songs above it are complete—they have text, melodies, and illuminated initials, suggesting that they reached the final stages of

[429] Paris, BnF, f. fr. 22543, fol. 106v. As is standard, the first stanza underlays the melody, and the beginning of each subsequent stanza is marked with a colored initial.

[430] Paris, BnF, f. fr. 856, fol. 297v.

[431] Ibid.

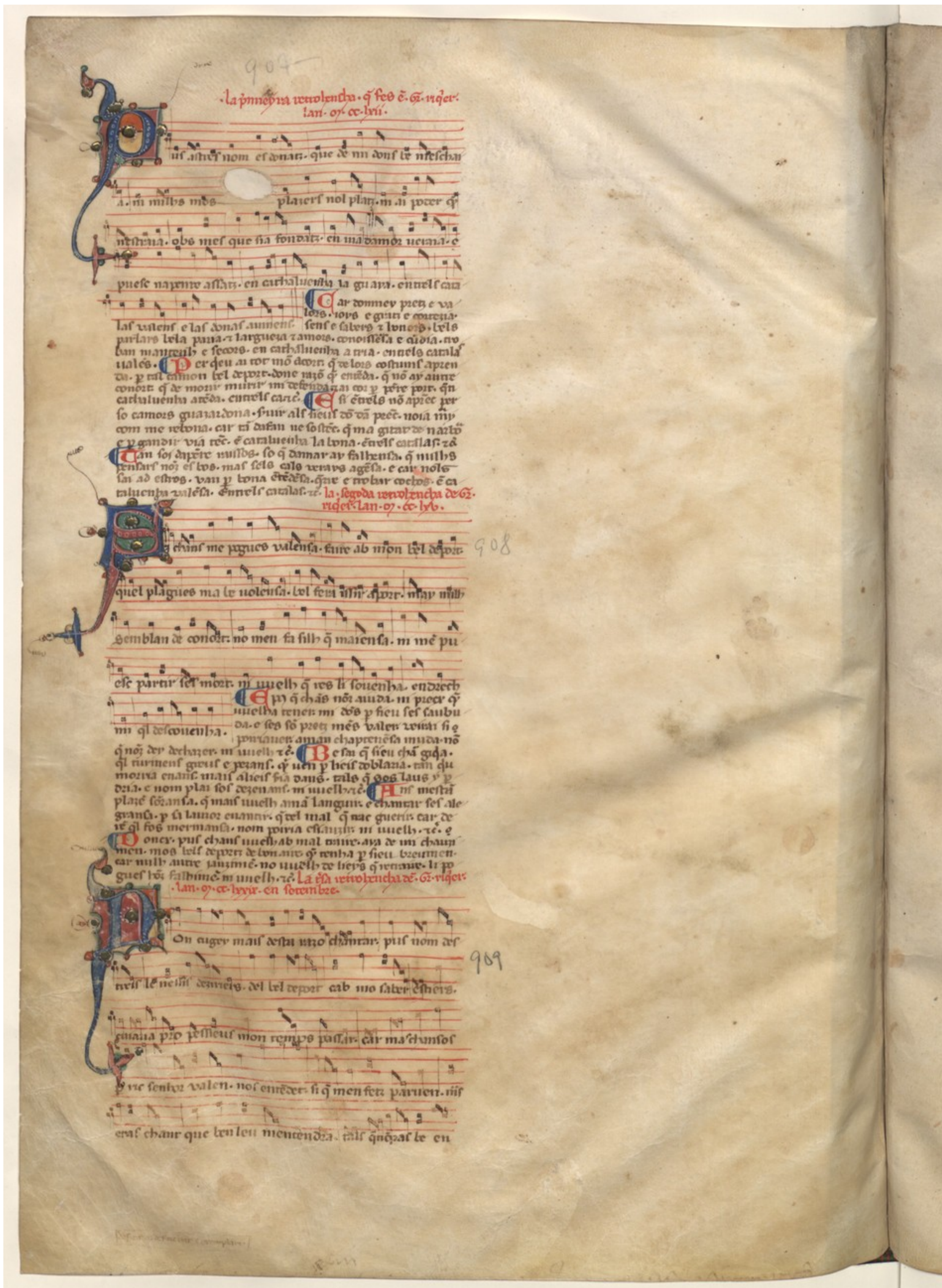
[432] Paris, BnF, f. fr. 856, fol. 306v.

completion. Earlier folios in the manuscript (fols. 108v-109r) contain songs that have complete texts and melodies but empty staves, indicating that the manuscript was compiled in steps and possibly by different people (one scribe to write the texts, another to complete the decoration, and so on). If this is the case, the way "No cugey mais" appears on the folio is odd. The song is preserved with complete decoration, and mostly complete musical notation and poetic text for the first stanza (the final four syllables of the last line of the stanza are missing, and so is the notation that would be associated with them). Compounding the peculiarity of the situation is the fact that this single column is preceded by two completely blank folios, implying that this column may have been copied all at once and at a different, or later, date than the earlier part of the *Libre*. The column is also

followed by a blank folio on its facing page, which is followed in turn by a section of the *coblas tiradas et parsas* of Bertran Carbonel.

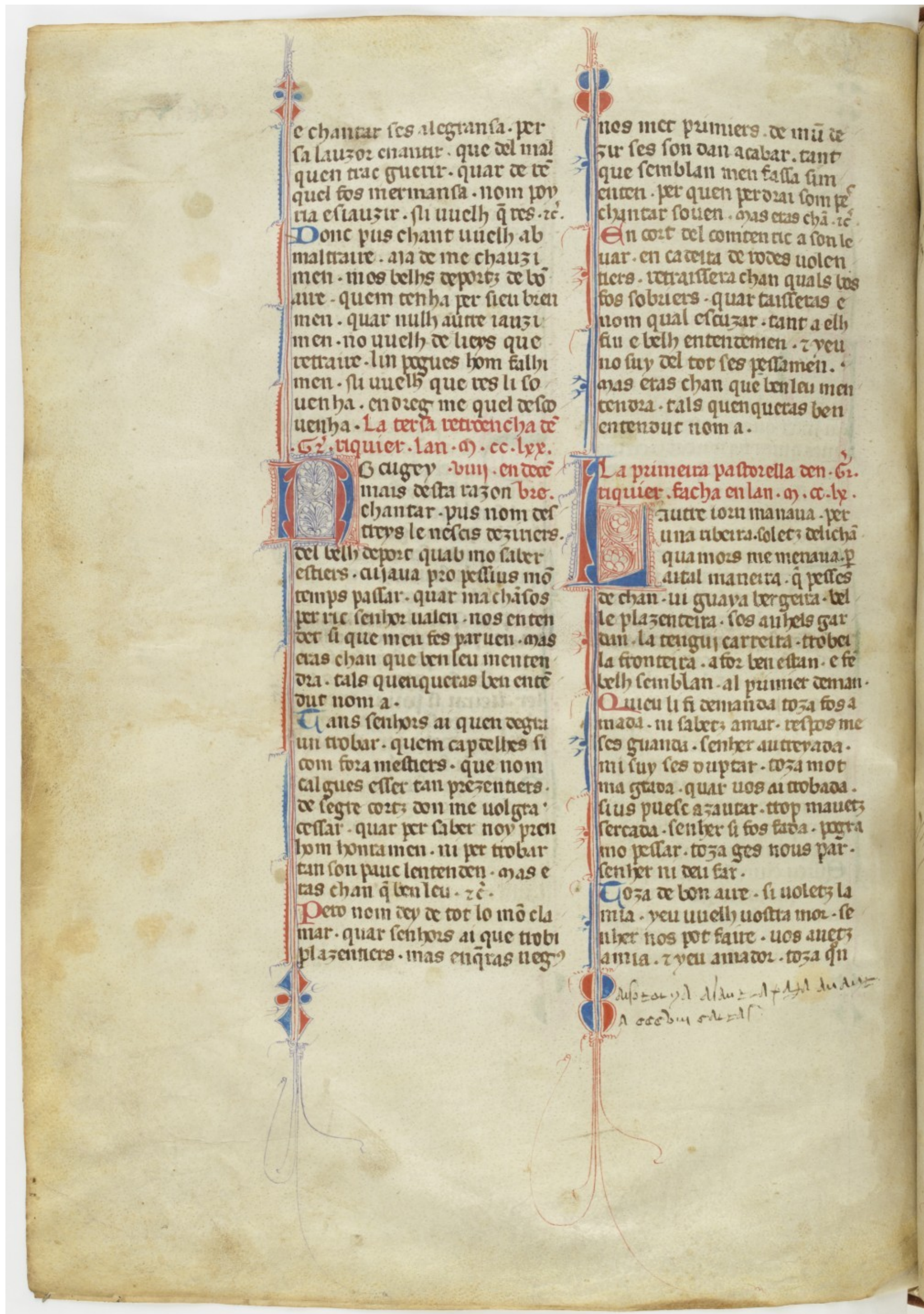
As in MS C, the *retroenchas* appear together in MS R. It is the truncation of "No cugey mais" and the position of the three songs as detached from the rest of the song collection that is strange. In the folio's bottom margin, there is a faint note in Latin written in what seems to be the same hand as that of the poetic texts. It may refer to the song's curtailment in the manuscript, as it reads: "deficit p(er) defaiebat exemplam [it is missing because it was lacking in the exemplar]." This marginal note seems to suggest that the lack of the other stanzas and of the melody's end is transferred from the exemplar itself. If so, the scribe is allowing the reading audience to glimpse a small part of the process of manuscript compilation. The version of Guiraut's *Libre* preserved in MS R was not an original—it was transcribed from an

Illustration 1. MS R, fol. 110v.[433]



433 Paris, BnF, f. fr. 22543, fol. 110v. "No cugey mais d'esta razon chantar" begins with the illuminated initial "N" at the bottom of the first column.

Illustration 2. MS C, fol. 306v.[434]



434 Paris, BnF, f. fr. 856, fol. 306v. “No cugey mais” begins in the first column.

(already abridged) exemplum. This marginal note demonstrates that movability of the text is a feature both oral and written transmission, something that Guiraut, with his close relationship to manuscript compilation, may have been well aware of.

Interaction with the manuscript folio results in a more clearly defined body for the personified song. By definition, a reader encounters written songs with stanzas and melodies in a predetermined order. They are anthropomorphized with a tangible body-covering in the audience's sight—the very fact that the songs are written onto pages made of animal skin lends them a skin of their own. In both the parchment riddles and the various accounts of the life of St. Bartholomew, skin, whether it is human or animal, is seen as a fluid and transformative object: in the parchment riddles it moves (violently) from an animal body part to body undergoing parchment-making processes to codex or page, while maintaining one speaking voice and subject position for the entirety of its existence. The personified song engages with another type of creation, emerging fully formed from a poem that encapsulates a number of different subject positions within its textual boundaries as its own living entity to interact with the skin of the manuscript page and transition from a troubadour's song to an object with a life of its own.

Conclusion

In Kaija Saariaho's opera *L'amour de loin*, Amin Maalouf's libretto tells the story of Jaufre Rudel and the Countess of Tripoli found in Jaufre's *vida*.[435] In the *vida*, Jaufre falls in love with the Countess simply by hearing about her from pilgrims returned from Antioch. He sets off across the sea, and falls ill during the journey. When he reaches the shores of Tripoli, Jaufre dies in the Countess's arms:

> Iaufres rudels de blaia si so molt gentils hom princes de blaia. Et enamoret se de la comtessa de tripol ses vezer p(er) lo gran ben e p(er) la gran cortesia qel auzi dir de lieis als pelegrins que vengron d'antiochia. E fetz de lieis mains bons vers et ab bons sons ab paubres motz. E p(er) voluntat de lieis vezer el se crozet e mes se en mar p(er) anar lieis vezer. Et adoncs en la nau lo pres mout grans malautia si que cill qui eron ab lui cuideron qe el fos mortz en la nau. Mas tant ferron q(ue)ill lo conduisseron a tripol en un alberc cum p(er) mort. E fo faich a saber a la comtessa. E venc ad el al sieu lieich e pres lo entre sos bratz. Et el saup qua era la comtessa si recobret lo vezer el flazar. E lauzet dieu el grazi qeill a via la vida sostenguda tro q(u)i lages vista. Et enaissi el morir entrels braz de la comtessa. Et ella lo fetz honrada menz sepeillir en la maison del temple de tripol. E pois en aqel meteus dia e la se rendet monga p(er) la dolor q(ue) ella ac delui e de la soa mort. Et aqui son escruitas de las soas chanssos.
>
> [Jaufre Rudel de Blaia was a very noble man, the prince of Blaia. And he fell in love with the Countess of Tripoli without seeing her, because of the great good and the great nobility he had heard tell of her by pilgrims returning from Antioch. And he composed many good poems about her with good melodies and poor words. Determined to see her, he took the cross and sailed away to see her. And then he was taken so gravely ill on board that those with him thought he would die. But they did at least take him to Tripoli to a shelter, thinking him dead. And it was made known to the Countess, and she came to him, to his bedside, and took him in her arms. And he knew that she was the Countess, so he recovered his sense of sight and his sense of smell, and praised God and thanked Him for having sustained his life until he had seen her. And thus he died in the arms of the House of Temple in Tripoli. And afterwards, on that same day, she became a nun because of the grief she felt about him and about his death. And here are written some of his songs.][436]

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[435] Amin Maalouf, *L'amour de loin: livret* (Paris: Éditions Grasset & Fasquelle, 2001); Jaufre's *vida* is transmitted in MSS ABIK.

[436] Text from Paris, BnF, f. fr. 1592 (MS B), vol 76v. Transcription is my own. *The Vidas of the Troubadours*, trans. Margarita Egan (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984), pp. 61-62. This version of the *vida* is located in MSS A and B.

Maalouf adds one main character to this story in the opera, drawn from the pilgrims of Antioch who describe the Countess of Tripoli to Jaufre in his *vida*. In the opera's first act, after Jaufre has finished singing about his desire for a different, distant love, a Pilgrim (sung by a mezzo-soprano) who has arrived from overseas tells Jaufre that such a love is possible for him. Throughout the opera, this Pilgrim serves as a go-between for Jaufre and his beloved, Clémence—as Joy Calico has pointed out, the Pilgrim's vocal range and melodies mediate the distance between Jaufre (a bass) and Clémence (a high soprano), paralleling his/her actions as a messenger.[437] It is the Pilgrim who first sings the melody with text drawn from Jaufre's *Jamais d'amor nom gauzirai* (in French, to Clémence in the second act), demonstrating that his/her messages are both musical and textual.

The figure of the Pilgrim in *L'amour de loin* offers a modern counterpart to the personified song, as it inhabits the intersection of several of the themes I've explored in my dissertation. The Pilgrim is a being inherently in flux—he/she moves back and forth between France and Tripoli, inhabiting (sometimes simultaneously) the roles of teacher, student, messenger, performer, and song. We are able to trace the movement of song with help from the Pilgrim's physical body—Jaufre first composes the song, and the Pilgrim learns it as he sings it aloud.[438] He/she then travels to perform for Clémence, both relaying Jaufre's message to her and teaching her his song. The song fully inhabits the body of the Pilgrim, and the fundamental changes made to it during its life inside the Pilgrim are marked linguistically in the opera—when

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[437] Joy H. Calico, "Saariaho's L'Amour de Loin: Modernist Opera in the Twenty-First Century," in *Modernism and Opera*, ed. Richard Began and Matthew Wilson Smith (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016), p. 353.

[438] However, as Yayoi Uno Everett points out, Jaufre never actually sings the song in the opera—only the Pilgrim and Clémence do. See Yayoi Uno Everett, "The Tropes of Desire and Jouissance in Kaija Saariaho's L'Amour de Loin," in *Music and Narrative since 1900*, ed. Michael Klein and Nicholas Reyland (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), p. 338.

the Pilgrim sings *Jamais d'amor nom gauzirai* to Clémence, he/she sings the text in French, distorting the song's original Occitan language. When Clémence sings the song the Pilgrim has taught her, she returns the text to its Occitan origins, illustrating yet again the way in which the song's body is changed through learning and performance.

The Pilgrim's voice part and vocal production only add to the multiplicity of the character: the role is sung by a mezzo-soprano but is meant to be a man, demonstrating yet another form of mediation (between the masculine and the feminine), and reflecting the gender fluidity of the personified songs I examined in Chapter Three. The role's wide range overlaps with the ranges of the other characters, positioning the Pilgrim as both in-between the male and female characters (as mentioned above) and of both, creating a figure that is both and neither simultaneously. The Pilgrim's vocal line further demonstrates this simultaneity of both and neither, as it shifts back and forth between speech and singing over the course of the entire opera.

The phenomenon of the personified song is emblematic of this in-betweenness and indeterminacy of being. Each of my chapters has explored a different facet of this larger phenomenon, seeking to understand what exactly the notion of song personification can tell us about medieval conceptions of humanity and of singing. Chapter One examines what happens to the song in the moment of its personification, and analyzes exactly how the song's body might be formed and from what components. Connor's description of a vocalic body as a "body-in-invention," used to describe acousmatic or excessive voices, offers a useful way to think about the body of the personified song—it is always in the process of being formed, and it never fully reaches its "final" state (if there is such a thing); it is always in between the source from which it

comes and its eventual goal.[439] My first chapter also addresses the song's role for its troubadour—as a messenger or physical proxy, specifically created to travel between the troubadour and his beloved or his patron. Chapter Two explores songs whose troubadours framed their personification with processes of learning, one possible method by which the song may have traveled from troubadour to beloved. The personified song provides the corporeal connection between teacher (troubadour) and pupil (intended recipient), and it is permanently relegated to a state of change—every time it is learned, its body is changed thanks to the new vocal timbre and performance style of the student. In this chapter, I also discuss how the personified song is both material and immaterial—it needs to contain enough matter to sustain a bodily relationship with the student, but it also needs to be able to move in and out of the student's body without resistance. Bodily materiality meets sonic effervescence, enabling the song to serve a specific type of function for the troubadour.

Chapter Three, as mentioned above, engages with questions of gender, biological sex, and grammar, and examines the relationship of grammatical formation to societal identity construction. The personified song takes on a body that is in-between the masculine and feminine genders, and is therefore neither of these genders. Chapter Four probes the connection between the personified song and the manuscript page, and demonstrates that the song continues to inhabit the space between troubadour and audience—only in a different type of body. It may seem that the boundaries of the personified song have crystallized, but aspects of the song (including the way in which its aural body is realized) are still very much in states of change and motion. I show that as the troubadours pushed back against conceptions of human relationships,

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[439] Connor, *Dumbstruck*, pp. 36-36.

the body, and gender, they relied on the ambiguous nature of the personified song. In my dissertation, I have argued for their expanded roles as social critics, but in doing so have had to grapple with the ambiguity and imprecision that permeates the phenomenon of the personified song.

This ambiguity not only points inward towards the personified song itself, it also points outward to the ways in which the troubadours use their songs to comment on the world around them. Throughout the course of the dissertation, the personified songs I have analyzed have demonstrated a clear connection between song and humanity. The troubadours choose deliberately to discuss their songs using human characteristics and terminology, a choice made particularly evident in Chapter Two, where the generation of songs is framed with terminology concerned with childbirth and human reproduction. The fluidity of gender invoked by Aimeric de Peguilhan and others that I examine in Chapter Three reflects a fluidity located in medieval medical conceptions of bodily form and formation, also found in medieval medical treatises. These treatises (including the pseudo-Galenic *De spermate*) depict sex difference in human reproduction as on a spectrum, where slight changes in the location of semen in the womb are reflected in the child. This same chapter also analyzes how the troubadours used their songs to engage with grammar, and to explore the effects this grammar had on the development of the culture in which it was used. Overall, the phenomenon of the personified song allows us to understand conceptions of bodies, bodily formation, and identity formation through the lens of song, and to see how these ideas changed as manuscripts were introduced in later years.

There is another strand of bodily conception that I have not been able to investigate here, but that I plan to explore as I develop this project further. In the poetry of Peire Vidal and

Sordello, desire is described as “writing or inscribing on the heart,” highlighting an intersection between written text and the body that resonates from medieval discussions about the body of Christ to the writings of Dante and Chaucer. In his song “Tant m’abellis lo terminis novels,” Sordello says that when he first saw his lady, Love “m’entaillet per semblans/al cor, trenchans [engraved your features in an image cut deeply into my heart],”[440] while in “Be·m pac d’ivern e d’estiu” Peire Vidal asks his song to tell its intended recipients that their love is inscribed on his heart:

> Vers, vai t’en vas Montoliu
> E di·m a las tres serors,
> Que tan mi platz lor amors,
> Qu’ins en mon cor las escriu;
> Vas totas tres m’umiliu
> E·n fas domnas e senhors.
> E plagra·m mais de Castella
> Una pauca joven sella
> Que d’aur cargat un camel
> Ab l’emperi Manuel.
>
> [Go, song, to Montolieu
> And tell the three sisters
> That their love pleases me so,
> That it is inscribed in my heart;
> I offer my humble service to all three,
> As my ladies and my lords.
> And I will prefer a young lady
> From Castile to a camel
> Loaded with gold
> From the empire of Emmanuel.][441]

Peire’s invocation of the inscription of love on his heart in the stanza where he personifies his song reflects on the porousness of bodies. Peire describes how love can penetrate his body and write on his heart (as desire does to Sordello as well) as he creates a body for his song—which is then able to traverse a distance that Peire cannot cross. The conjunction of

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[440] *The Poetry of Sordello*, ed. and trans. James J. Wilhelm (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987), pp. 46-47.

[441] *The Songs of Peire Vidal: Translation and Commentary*, ed. and trans. Veronica M. Fraser (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 196-199.

writing on the body with song personification suggests a different way of conceiving of the body, as an object that can be physically penetrated and transformed by words.

I intend to explore further the development of the personified song in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in my next project. Here, I will trace the phenomenon of personification in order to rethink the representation of song in medieval literature more generally, as well as its place in constructing and reflecting shifting conceptions of the self in the medieval era. While personified songs comprise only a small fraction of the troubadour corpus (roughly 100 songs out of 2500), instances of personification are widespread within the northern French *trouvère* repertoire and grow to constitute entire songs in the *canzone* and *ballata* of the Siculo-Tuscan and Stilnovistic traditions and their Petrarchan successors. In my future work, I aim to show that the trajectory of the lyric tradition belies an increasing trend towards personification as the Middle Ages progress, paralleled by the decline in live performance of poetic repertoires. I argue that the continued presence of the personified song in both poetic and prose repertoires demonstrates how the qualities necessary for personhood evolve from a focus on external bodily qualities to one on a person's psychological interior. As audiences begin to experience these repertoires less in the context of performance and more through silent, internal reading, instances of personification shift from occupying a single *tornada* to filling a whole poem—and in doing so, they gain more human qualities and become more complex beings.

The thirteenth-century *trouvère* corpus borrows many tropes from the troubadours, including the phenomenon of song personification.[442] Like the troubadours, the *trouvères* personify their songs in half-stanzas (called *envois*) that occur at the end of their songs, but they

[442] O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France*.

employ song personification to a much greater degree than the troubadours do—and in so doing, they systematize the phenomenon of personification. For example, the corpus of the Chastelain de Couci holds three instances of personification (five if we include the songs of doubtful attribution in Lerond's critical edition), all of which are personified to carry a message for the Chastelain.[443] Each instance of personification begins "Chançon, va t'en.. [Song, go…]," lifting the phrase directly from troubadour lyric.

Why does the *trouvère* corpus experience a boom in song personification? Ardis Butterfield's exploration of the connection between members of courts and retinues that serve as messengers for kings and other political figures (called *envois* or envoys), and the *trouvère envoi* suggests one possible meaning. Messages could be transmitted between people in power (kings, popes, etc.) either orally or in written form, but more value and prestige was placed on the written message. Butterfield argues that the *trouvère envoi* seems to both anchor the song in its historical moment, but also reflects an unstable performance—like the messages delivered by political envoys, the inclusion of instruction to be sent means that the song will only be finished once it has been delivered in written form.[444] Unlike the personified troubadour songs (even those encountered on the manuscript page), the written form of the song holds the ultimate authority. The embodied song (and, by extension, a person) no longer holds authority within his or her body—it has now been moved externally to a sheet of parchment.

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[443] Alain Lerond, *Édition critique des Oeuvres attribuées au Chastelain de Couci (poète lyrique de la fin du XIIe et du début du XIIIe siècle)* (Paris: 1963).

[444] Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy*, pp. 187-200.

The Siculo-Tuscan and Stilnovistic poetic traditions personify songs written in new poetic forms (the sonnet and the *ballata*), in addition to the troubadour-derived *canzone*.[445] The introduction of these new poetic forms signals a change in the location of personification within the poems. The portions of the poems that are personified expand from the *tornada*-like *congedi* of the *canzone* to encompass entire poems in the *ballata* and sonnets. The poetry of the Siculo-Tuscan poets reflects experimentation with the *tornada* as the location of personification, demonstrated in the poetry of Chiaro Davanzanti and Monte Andrea. In his poem "A San Giovanni, a Monte, mia canzone," Chiaro Davanzati moves the location of personification from the song's end to its beginning, while in Monte Andrea's "Ai, Deo merzé, che fia di me, Amore?", the poem is personified in the final full stanza.

The Stilnovists, including Dante Alighieri, built on the experimentations of their Siculo-Tuscan counterparts and continued to extend the phenomenon of personification to the length of the entire poem. In the twelfth chapter of his *Vita Nuova*, Dante personifies his *ballata* "Ballata, I' voi che tu ritrovi Amore" at its beginning, so that his song may find Love and travel with him to Beatrice, while in "Perch'i; no spero di tornar giammai," Guido Cavalcanti personifies his poem at its beginning so that it may travel to his beloved in the company of the poet's soul (directly addressed at the poem's end).

In these poems, the personified song is given clear instructions that include actions, and clearer indication that the poem itself acquires its own voice. Dante's poetry gestures towards, among other things, relationships the personified songs might have with other poems. He describes several sonnets as siblings, instituting familial relationships with other poems that

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[445] See also Joan H. Levin, "Sweet, New Endings: A Look at the 'Tornada' in the Stilnovistic and Petrarchan 'Canzone'," *Italica* 61.4 (Winter 1984): 297-308.

display the development of interior emotions in the personified songs themselves. In the second *canzone* from his *Convivio*, “Amor, che ne la mente mi ragiona,” Dante personifies his poem in the *canzone*’s final stanzas. He describes the *canzone*’s contradictory relationship with another poem, who he calls the *canzone*’s sister:

> Canzone, e’ par che tu parli contraro
> al dir d’una sorella che tu hai;
> che questa donna che tanto umil fai
> ella la chiama fera e disdegnosa.
> Tu sai che ‘l ciel sempre lucente e chiaro,
> e quanto in sì non si turba già mai;
> ma li nostri occhi per cagioni assai
> chiaman la stella talor tenebrosa.
> Così, quand’ella la chiama orgogliosa,
> non considera lei secondo il vero,
> ma pur secondo quel ch’a lei parea:
> ché l’anima temea,
> e teme ancora, sì che mi par fero
> quantunqu’io veggio là ‘v’ella mi senta.
> Così ti scusa, se ti fa mestero;
> e quando poi, a lei ti rappresenta
> dirsi: “Madonna, s’ello v’è a grato,
> io parlerò di voi in ciascun lato."
>
> [Poem, it seems you contradict
> your sister poem’s speech—
> when you call this Lady humble
> she calls her fierce and indignant.
> You know heaven is always bright and clear,
> and never darkens—
> but for good reasons our eyes
> sometimes call the stars dark.
> So when my poem calls her proud,
> don’t judge it by the truth,
> but only by it she sees—
> for my soul was afraid,
> and still is, for she appears savage
> whenever I look in her eyes:
> so excuse yourself , if you need to,
> and when you may, recite to her:
> You will say: “My Lady, if you please,
> I will speak of you throughout the world.”][446]

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[446] Dante Alighieri, *The Complete Lyric Poems of Dante Alighieri*, ed. and trans. Marc Cirigliano (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd., 1997), pp. 190-193.

Dante also mentions the brothers ("frati") of another sonnet, "Sonneto, se Meuccio t'è mostrato," in the poem's third stanza, in addition to giving the sonnet directions that include actions.

These kinship relations also create an intertextual network of song-people, as Dante not only assigns his poems siblings, but he also quotes portions of one poem in the text of another personified song. In his sonnet "O dolce rime che parlando andate," Dante describes other sonnets as figures who might be confused as the sonnet's brothers:

> O dolci rime che parlando andate
> de la donna genteel che l'altra onora,
> a voi verrà…
> un che direte: 'Questi è nostro frate'.
>
> [O sweet verses that go speaking
> of the gently noble lady who brings honor to others,
> to you will come…
> one who will say: 'These are not your brothers.'][447]

Both of the sonnets are personified early in the poem, at their very beginnings ("O dolci rime [Oh sweet rhymes]"; "Parole mie [My words]"), and Dante includes some of their imagined speech, detailing their possible interactions and roles as poems. "Parole mie" quotes the incipit of a third poem, "Voi che 'ntendendo il terzo ciel morete," which is the first *canzone* of the *Convivio*. The *canzone* is not personified until the final full stanza, but Dante also discusses the poem's possible future interactions with other audiences who may not understand it, suggesting movement and circulation among a variety of people.

Other Stilnovistic poets personify their poems at their beginnings, extending the "*tornada* motif" to the entire length of a composition.[448] Cino da Pistoia's poem "Io son chiamata nuova

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[447] Dante Alighieri, *The Complete Lyric Poems,* ed. and trans. Cirigliano, pp. 212-213.

[448] Levin, "Sweet, New Endings," p. 300.

ballatella" not only personifies the *ballatella* at the beginning, the entire poem is in the speech of the *ballatella* itself:

> Io son chiamata nuova ballatella,
> che vegno a voi cantando
> per contarvi novella
> d'un vostro servo che si muore amando.
>
> [I am called a new *ballatella*
> Which I come to you singing,
> To tell you news
> Of your servant, who dies loving you.][449]

We finally hear the poem's voice from its own mouth, not through the reported speech the poet sings.

Some of the personified songs are also described as clothed. Guido Cavalcanti's *canzone* "Donna me prega," personified at the poem's end, is so well-dressed and adorned by Guido's reasoning, Guido says it can go anywhere and expect praise. A similar action occurs in the first *canzone* of Dante's *Convivio*, as Dante tells his poem that its language is so complex, not many will understand its speech, but they can still admire its beauty. Conversely, in Dante's sonnet "Se Lippo amico se' tu che mi leggi," the poem describes itself as an "umil[e] sonetto [humble sonnet]" and a "pucella nuda [undressed girl]" and asks for a dress with which to clothe itself: "perch'ella non ha vesta in che si chiuda [because she hasn't any clothes to wear]."[450]

Finally, Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* contains two poems that connect the roughness of the poetic rhymes to the ugliness or simplicity of the poem itself. In "Se l'pensier

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[449] Cino da Pistoia, *Rime di Cino da Pistoia*, ed. Domenico Fiodo (Lanciano: R. Carrabba, 1913), p. 33.

[450] Dante Alighieri, *Dante's Lyric Poetry: Poems of Youth and of the* Vita Nuova, ed. Teodolinda Barolini and trans. Richard Lansing, p. 66.

che mi strugge" (*RVF* 125), Petrarch details how the torments of love have made "parlo in rime aspre [my verse is harsh]."[451] When he directly addresses his poem at its end, he says:

> O poverella mia, come se' rozza!
> Credo che tel conoschi:
> rimanti in questi boschi.
>
> [O my poor little thing [verse], how coarse you are!
> I think you know it though.
> Stay here inside these woods!].[452]

This poem is linked to the next one, "Chiare, fresche et dolci acque," through its final half-stanza:

> Se tu avessi ornamenti quant'aì voglia,
> poresti arditamente
> uscir del bosco et gir infra la gente.
>
> [If you [Song] had all the beauty you desired,
> you could with boldness leave
> the wood and make your way among mankind.][453]

These poetic examples only provide a brief look at the numerous ways in which song personification develops through the nonmusical poetry of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The personified songs get dressed, they obtain kinship relationships, they serve as actors in political campaigns, and they speak in their own voices. No longer sung in the literal sense, they remain figures that are in-between: they deliver messages and interact with people that their authors cannot reach, but they also begin to define their own boundaries more clearly. They develop as humans, and their development shows another facet of the way that the Stilnovists and Petrarch read and imitated the troubadours by assimilating their devices, while

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[451] Francesco Petrarca, *The Canzoniere, or, Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, ed. and trans. Mark Musa (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), pp. 188-189.

[452] Petrarca, *The Canzoniere*, ed. and trans. Musa, pp. 192-193.

[453] Ibid., pp. 196-197.

offering a glimpse of the changing ways in which people in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries understood their own humanity.

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Appendix A: Table of Manuscript Sigla[454]

A—Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana latini 5232 (13th century, Italy)
B—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français 1592 (13th century, Italy)
C—Paris, BnF, fonds français 856 (14th century, southern France)
D—Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Estero 45 (Alpha R. 4. 4) (1254, Italy)
E—Paris, BnF, fonds français 1749 (14th century, southern France)
F—Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiani L.IV.106 (14th century)
G—Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S.P. 4 (olim R 71 superiore) (14th century, Italy)
H—Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana latini 3207 (late 13th century, Italy)
I—Paris, BnF, fonds français 854 (13th century, Italy)
J—Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi soppressi F.IV.776 (14th century, southern France)
K—Paris, BnF, fonds français 12473 (13th century, Italy)
L—Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana latini 3206 (14th century, Italy)
M—Paris, BnF, fonds français 12474 (14th century, Italy)
Ma—Madrid, Academia de la Histora, 9-24-6/4579 (14th century, Catalonia)
N—New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 819 (14th century, Italy)
O—Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana latini 3208 (early 14th century)
P—Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. XLI.42 (early 14th century)
Q—Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2909 (14th century, Italy)
R—Paris, BnF, fonds français 22543 (14th century, southern France)
S—Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 269 (13th century, Italy)
Sg—Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 146 (14th century, Catalonia)
T—Paris, BnF, fonds français 15211 (14th-15th century)
U—Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. XLI.43 (14th century)
V—Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana 278 (fr. App. cod. XI) (1268, Catalan)
W—Paris, BnF, fonds français 844 (original corpus: 1250s-1270s, Artois and possibly elsewhere)
X—Paris, BnF, fonds français 20050 (ca. 1231, Lorraine)
Y—Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 1087
a—Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2814 (1598, Italy)
a^{1}—Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Càmpori Appendices 426, 427, 494 (Gamma.N.8.4.11-13) (16th century copy of Bernart Amoros' early 14th century MS)
b—Rome, Biblioteca Apostolicana Barberiniani 4087
b^{1}—Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barberiniani 3965 (Pillet-Carstens e) (18th century copies of earlier sources, Italy)
c—Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. XC inferiore 26 (15th century, Italy)
d—Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1910
e—Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, latini 7182 (no siglum in Pillet-Carstens)

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[454] Sigla, library locations, and shelfmarks adapted from William Paden, "Manuscripts," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, ed. Akehurst and Davis, pp. 328-329; dates adapted from Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love*, p. xix.

f—Paris, BnF, fonds français 12472 (14th century, southern France)

Appendix B: Full Texts and Translations of Troubadour Lyric

Raimon de Miraval, "Aissi cum es genser pascors"

1
Aissi cum es genser pascors
De nuill autre temps chaut ni frei
Degr'esser meiller vas domnei
Per alegrar fis amadors
Mas mal aion ogan sas flors
Qe m'an tan de dan tengut
Q'en un sol jorn m'an tolgut
Tot qant avia en dos ans
Conques ab mainz durs affans.

2
Ma domna et eu et amors
Eram pro d'un volar tuich trei
Tro c'aras ab la dols aurei
La rosa el chans e la verdors
L'an demonstrat que sa valors
Avia trop defendut
Car volc so quieu ai volgut
Per no·i ac plasers tanz
Q'anc res fos mas sol de mans.

3
Aquel m'era gauich et honors
Mas no·ill plaz que plus lo m'autrei
E puois midonz vol q'eu sordei
Be·m pot baissar car il m'a sors
Las per qe no·ill dol ma dolors
Puois aissi·m troba vencut
Q'eu ai tant son prez cregut
Q'enanzat ai sos enanz
E destarzat toz sos dans.

4
Un plaiz fan domnas q'es follors
Qant troben amis qe·ill mercei
Per assai li movon esfrei
El destreignon tro·l vir aillors
E qant an loingnatz los meillors
Fals entendedor menut
Son per cabal receubut
Don se chalal cortes chans
En sors crims e fols mazans.

5
Eu non faz de totas clamors
Ne m'es gen c'ab domnas gerrei
Ne ges lo mal qu'ieu dir en dei
No lor es enois no temors
Mais s'ieu disia dels peiors
Tost seria conogut
Cals deu tornar en refut
Qe tors e pechas es grans
Qan domna a pres per enianz.

6
C'ab leis ques de toz bes sabors
Ai cor c'a sa merce plaidei
E ges per lo premier desrei
Don faz mainz sospirs e mainz plors
No·m desesper del ric socors
C'ai lonjament atendut
E si·ll plaz q'ella m'aiut
Sobre toz leials amanz
Serai de joi benanans.

7
Domna per cui me venz amors
Cals que m'ai enans agut
A vostr'ops ai retengut
Tot faiz de durs ben estans
E Miraval e mos chans.

8
Al rei d'Aragon vai de cors
Cansos dire q'el salut
E sai tant sobr'altre drut
Qe·ls paucs prez faz semblar granz
E·ls rics faz valer dos tanz.

9
E car lai no m'a vegut,
Moz Audiartz m'a tengut,
Qe·m tira plus q'adimanz
Ab diz et ab faiz prezanz.

1. Here, just as the spring is more noble than any other season hot or cold, so it should be better towards courting, to delight true lovers. But its bad flowers have done me so much harm that in a single day they have taken from me all that I had conquered in two years with many painful efforts.
2. My Lady and I and Love, we were all three of one wish until now when, with the sweet air, the rose and the song and the verdure have shown her that her merits had been torn more than enough, because she wanted that which I wanted; however, there were not so many pleasures for there was not a thing but commands.
3. That one, for me, she was joy and honor, but it no longer pleases her to grant it to me, and if my lady wants me to be tarnished, well can she bring me low, for she has raised me. Alas, why is she not pained by my grief, since she thus finds me vanquished? For I have increased her worth so much that her advantages make progress, and made all her harm a long time coming.
4. Ladies make one pact that is folly: when they find a lover who begs for mercy, for a trial they stir fear in him and they grip him tight until he turns elsewhere; and when they send the best far away, false and insignificant suitors are received with distinction, which is why courtly song falls silent, and gossip and foolish sounds arise.
5. I do not make complaints of all ladies, nor is it pleasing to me to make war with ladies, nor ever must the bad I say of them cause them annoyance or fear. But if I spoke of the worse ones, soon it would be known which should be refuted. For wrongs and sins are great when a lady gains worth through trickery.
6. From she of all good tastes I have a heart that pleads for her mercy. And not at all by the first difficulty that causes me many sighs and tears do I abandon hope of the rich succor that I have long awaited. And if it pleases her to aid me, I will be blessed with joy above all loyal lovers.
7. Lady, for whom love conquers me, whoever may have had me first, for you I have reserved all deeds befitting worthy lovers and Miraval and my songs.
8. Go on your way, song, to tell the king of Aragon that I salute him, and that I am so superior in knowledge to another lover that I make insignificant merits seem important and important ones twice as valuable.
9. And if he has not seen me there, (it is because) my *Audiart* has held me back, for he (my *Audiart*) attracts me more than a magnet by his distinguished words and actions.

Raimon de Miraval, “Belh m’es qieu chant e coindei”

1
Belh m’es q’ieu chant e coindei
Pus l’aur’es dousa e·l temps guays
E per vergiers e per plays
Aug lo refrim e·l guabey
Que fan l’auzellet menut
Entre·l blanc el vert el vaire
Adonc si deuria traire
Selh que vol qu’amors l’a vit
Vas captenensa de drut.

2
Ieu non suy drutz mas domney
Ni non tem pena ni fays
Ni·m rancur leu ni m’irays
Ni per orgoill no m’esfrey
Pero temensa·m fai mut
C’alla belha de bon aire
Non aus mostrar ni retraire
Mon cor q’ilh teng rescondut
Pus aic son pretz conogut.

3
Ses preyar e ses autrey
Son intratz en greus pantays
Qu’om pogues semblar verays
Sieu sa gran valor despley
Qu’en quer non a pretz avut
Dona qu’anc nasques de maire
Quen contra·l sieu valgues guaire
E si·n sai maint car tengut
Qu·el sieu al mehor vencut.

4
Be vol quom gent la cortey
E platz lo solatz e guays
E noill agradom savays
Que sen desgui non fadey
Mas li pros son be vengut
Que li mostra tan belh velayre
Per que chascus nes lauzaire
Quan son d’enant lieys vengut
Miehls que s’eron sei vendut.

5
Ja non cug quab lieys parey
Beutatz d’autra domna mays
Que flor de rosiers quan nays
Non es plus fesca de liey
Cors ben fag e gen crezut
Boque huelhs de mont esclaire
Quanc beutatz plus noi sap faire
Siey mes tota sa vertut
Que bes noil es remazut.

6
Ja ma domna nos maley
Sieu a sa merce m’eselays
Que non ai cor que biais
Ni vas bass’amor desrei
Quades ai del mielhs volgut
De fors e dins mon repaire
E de lieys non sui guabaire
Que plus noi ai entendut
Mas que m’acuelha em salut.

7
Chanso vai me dir al rey
Cui jois guid'e vest e pais
Qu'en luy non a ren biays
Qu'aital cum ieu vuelh lo vey
Ab que cobre Montagut
E Carcasson el repaire
Pueys er de pretz emperaire
E doptaran son escut
Sai Frances e lay Masmut.

8
Domna ades m'avetz valgut
Tan per q'ieu vos sui chantaire
E no cugey canso faire
Tro·l fieu vos agues rendut
De Miravalh qu'ai perdut.

9
Mas lo rey m'a covengut
Qu·el cobraray ans de guaire
E mon Audiart belhcaire
Pueys auran domnas e drut
Cobrar lo joy qu'an perdut.

1. It pleases me to sing and be charming, since the air is mild and the weather joyous, and in the orchards and hedges I hear the chirping and boasting of the little birds among the green and the white and the multicolored (foliage and flowers). Then the one who wants Love to help him should draw on the behavior of a lover.
2. I am not accepted as a lover, but I flirt, and I do not fear pain or burden, nor do I complain easily or become angered, nor do I become agitated on account of pride. However, fear makes me silent, for to the beautiful lady of good family I dare not show my heart nor to speak, which I hold hidden from her since I have known her great worth.
3. Without entreaty and without assurance, I have experienced grievous torment trying to seem truthful if I display her great merit. For until now no lady born of a woman has had merit that might be worth anything compared to hers. And I know many that hold merit highly, yet hers has vanquished the best.
4. Well she desires that one may nobly court her, and fine conversation pleases her as does joy, and she is displeased by one who turns away from these and fades away; but worthy (suitors) are welcome, to whom she is so charming that upon going out from her presence, all praise her more than if they were her slaves.
5. I do not believe that the beauty of any other lady can ever be compared to hers, for the newborn flower of a rosebush is not more fresh than her; well-made and nobly formed body, mouth and eyes the light of the world, such that Beauty could never have done more for her even if she used all of her power, so that none remained.
6. May my Lady not curse me if I propel myself upon her mercy, for it is not my intention to angle away from her or turn towards an inferior love, for I have always wanted the best outside and inside my dwelling place; and I am not boastful about her, for I have desired no more than that she receive and greet me graciously.
7. *Chansos*, go for me and tell the king whom joy guides and clothes and nourishes, that in him there is nothing at an angle, for I see him just as I want him to be. If he recovers Montagut and returns to Carcassonne, then he will be emperor of worth, and they will fear his shield, here the French, and there the Muslims.
8. Lady, you have always helped me so much that it is by you I am singing, yet I did not think I would make any songs until I had yielded to you the fief of Miraval, which I have lost.
9. But the king has promised me that I will recover it before long, and my *Audiart*, Beaucaire. Then will ladies and lovers return to the joy they have lost.

Raimon de Miraval, “Chansoneta farai, Vencut”

1
Chansoneta farai vencutz
Pus vos m’a rendut rossilhos
E sapchatz que nos em cregutz
Pus no vi·m vostres companhos
D’un drut novelh don tota gens ressona
Que midons es a semblan de leona
Ar fai ques tocan las peiras d’alzona
Pus premiers pot intrar selh que mais dona.

2
E si tot m’en ai joys avutz
Er en vuel esser mons e blos
Quar no vuelh ab nom de tornutz
Aver l’emperi dels grifos
Autra·m n’ai ieu que mais mi guazardona
Sos gens parlars que s’autra m’abandona
Qu’en janatz es que fals’amor razona
E domna falh ques recre per anona.

3
Mas s’ieu saupes qu’ilh fos leos
Ieu l’agr’avut caval ferran
Pus de lieys non es poderos
Homs si non es d’aital semblan
Avol soudada midons resseubuda
Quar per aver ses de bon pretz moguda
Que s’ieu saupes fos per aver venguda
Ma soudada ne pogr’aver avuda.

4
E feral d’autres guiardos
Que·l pogran valer atrestan
Mas no s’azauta de chansos
Ans se va de mi rancuran
Que ditz trop la vuelh levar en bruda
E no vol esser tan luenh mentauguda
E valgra·l mais en perdos fos ma druda
Que sa falsa beutatz agues venduda.

5
A·n baut de foras la coman
Que jamais no·i vuelh aver part
E non hi conosc autre dan
Mas quar en fis mon audiart
Ai fals escutz tan ieu vos laussatz fendre
Qu’om de part vos non auza colp atendre
Et ai vos o ben en cor a carvendre
Sieus pugei aut bas vos farai dissendre.

6
Ai las e co muer deziran
Per la bella que ses mal art
Es e tan fina ses ejan
Qu’anc non amet volpil bastart
E si·l sieu cors volgues el mieu entendre
Totz autres joys foran contra·l mieu mendre
E ja d’un bais si·l me volgues estendre
No m’en feira tirar ni escoyssendre.

7
Chansons vai t’en a mon plus leial vendre
E diguas li q’ieu sai dona avendre.

1. I will make a little song, Vencut, since Rousillon has yielded you to me. And you know that we have added to our number, since we saw your companions, a new lover, about whom all people say that my lady is like a lioness. Now I know the stones of Alzona are touching, since the one who gives most enters first.
2. And although I have had joy from her, now I want to be rid and purified of her, for I do not want the name of cuckold to have the empire of the Greeks. Now I love another lady whose sweet conversation rewards me more than being abandoned by the other; for he who defends false love is deceived, and a lady fails who betrays herself for pay.
3. But if I had known that she was like a lion, I would have had for her a gray horse, since no one has her in his power without such resemblance. My lady has received a reward of bad reputation, since for money she has turned from good worth, and if I had known that she might come for money, she could have received a reward from me.
4. And I could make her other gifts that could be worth as much to her, but she does not fall in love with songs; rather, she shows her indignation about me, for she says that I want to make people talk about her too much, and she doesn't want to be mentioned so far and wide. It would be better for her had she been my beloved with pardon than to have sold her false beauty.
5. I commend her to Sire Baut de Foras, for I want no more part of her, and I recognize therein no other harm except what I have caused to my *Audiart*. Ah, false shield, you allow yourself to be split so easily that one dares not wait for a blow behind you. And I certainly have the intention of making you pay dearly: if I raised you high, I shall bring you down low.
6. Alas! How I die desiring the beautiful one who is without bad skill and so true without deceit that she never loved a cowardly bastard; and if she wished to turn her thoughts to me, all other joy would be less compared to mine, and if she wishes to offer me a kiss, I would not make to yank or to scratch.
7. Song, go yield to my *Plus Leial* and tell him that I know a lady for sale.

Raimon de Miraval, “D’amor es totz mos cossiriers”

1
D’amor es totz mos cossiriers
Per q’ieu no cossir mas d’amor
E diran li mal parlador
Que d’als deu pessar cavaliers
Mas eu dic que no fai mia
Que d’amor mou qui c’o dia
So que val mais a foudat et a sen
E tot quant hom fa per amor es gen.

2
Amors a tans de bos metiers
Qu’a totz faitz benestans secor
Q’iey no vey nuhl bon servidor
Que non cuig esser parsoniers
Qu’en luec bos pretz no s’abria
Leu si non ve per amia
Pueys dizon tug quant hom fai falhimen
Bem par d’aquest qu’en donas non enten.

3
Domna no pot aver estiers
Si non ama pretz e valor
C’atressi qu’om li amador
An mais de totz bos aips sobriers
Selha que trop no s’en tria
En val mais e qui lan castia
Adoncs fai mal e fin miehls no s’enpren
Mas creire deu adreg chastiamen.

4
Qu’ieu sui maintas ves lauzengiers
Car a dona ni a senhor
Non deu cossentir dezonor
Neguns sos fizels cosselliers
Non laissarai q’ieu non dia
Q’ieu tostemps non contradia
So que faran domnas contra joven
Ni·m semblara de mal captenemen.

5
E ja d’aquest drutz messongiers
Que cuian aver gran lauzor
Ni dona que s’aten a lor
Uns per so no·m sia guerriers
Qu’enemics ni enemia
No·m notz lo pretz d’una fia
Sol que m’aia midonz ferm talen
E meinhs d’erguelh e mais e chauzimens.

6
De gaug li fora plazentiers
Mas trop mi ten en gran error
Pero per semblan de melhor
N’ai ieu jogat anc ans entiers
Mas una dona mendia
Falsa que dieus la maldia
Mes entre nos aquest destorbamen
Don mainhtas vetz n’ai pueys plorat
greumen.

7
Mais d’amic dieus benezia
Qui vol que·m siatz amia
E sieus ai fag plazer ni honramen
En quer sieus platz o farai per un cen.

8
Mantelh qui aital n’abria
Ben er cregutz cals c’o dia
Qu’anc no·l conques per aur ni per argen
Mas per valor e per pretz e per sen.

9
Pastoret no·us lauzi mia
Si dieus vos don joy d’amia
Qu’a via dona no mostretz cum l’es gen
Si Miravalh sap tener franchamen.

10
Chansoneta ves midons vai corren
Qu'ilh mante pretz e reman en joven.

1. Of love are all my worries, for I am concerned only about love, and the bad speakers will say that a knight should think of other things. But I say that this is not so, for from love comes, whoever says it, that which is of greatest value to both folly and wisdom, and everything one does on account of love is good.
2. Love has so many good occupations that it helps all honorable actions, such that I do not see any good servant who does not believe he is a partner in it; for in no place does good worth find shelter easily if it does not come on account of an *amia*, since everyone says, when a man becomes disloyal, it is on account of this that he does not devote himself to ladies.
3. A lady cannot otherwise have worth or valor if she does not love, and just as lovers have more of all fine, superior qualities, so she who does not choose too carefully among them is better for it if one chastizes her for this; then she behaves badly if she does not commit herself to behaving better, for she should believe a clever chastisement.
4. And I am many times a *lausengier*: because no trusted advisor should permit dishonor to a lady or to a lord, I shall not cease to mention, nor always to speak against, what ladies do against youth and what seems to me bad behavior.
5. And let not one of the lying lovers who think they have great praise, nor a lady who awaits them, make war against me because of this; for no enemy, male or female, harms my worth one iota provided that my lady may have towards me strong desire and less pride and more charity.
6. With joy I would be pleasing to her, but too much she holds me in great bewilderment; however, by appearing to become better, I have played with her for five whole years. But a lying lady and false—may God curse her!—put between us this confusion, because of which I have many times since wept grievously.
7. *Mais d'Amic*, may God bless the one who wants you to be my friend, and if I have given you pleasure and honor, I shall, if it pleases you, give you still a hundred times more.
8. *Mantel*, he will certainly be believed, whoever says it, that she who shelters such a one never conquered him through gold or silver but through valor and worth and wisdom.
9. *Pastoret*, do not deceive me, and may God give you joy in love, to show my lady how noble it is for her if she knows how to hold Miraval heartily.
10. *Chansoneta*, run towards my lady, for she maintains worth and remains in youth.

Raimon de Miraval, “Lonc temps ai avutz conseriers”

1
Lonc temps ai avutz conseriers
De mantas guisaz et affans
Q’anc mos solatz et ni mos cantars
Non mermet ni mos alegriers
Mas ar ai camiat usaje
Aissi ma desviat amors
C’a penas chans ni tems ni flors
Mi pot donar alegraje.

2
Si d’amor mi ven destorbiers
No m’en taing clams ni rancuras
Que denant era mieus l’es gars
Et eu de totz mos deseriers
Ai seguit et lo plus salvaje
Q’en tal domna ai mos et precs sors
Que·l joi que marves preir’aillors
Aten de lieis ses tot gaje.

3
E conosc que fas que leugiers
Mas beutatz don nais sobr’amars
El genz acuillirs e l’onrars
E·l rics pretz qu’es a totz sobriers
M’an mes en aquest viatje
Don eu mezeis sai q’es folors
Mas foudatz vai entr’amadors
Per sen e senz per follatje.

4
Vers es qu’en autres cavaliers
Pot chausir e qu’eu no·ill soi pars
Tant e sos pretz valens e cars
Mas tans a d’avinenz mestiers
C’ab es qu’el sieu seingnoratje
A un dels trobadors
Que sapch’enansar sas lausors
E·l serva de bon coratje.

5
Mout li servirai volontiers
E s’a lei non platz et mos preiars
Ja no·s cuide qu’el si’avats
En fatz ni en ditz plasentiers
C’al sieu menoret mesatje
Volria far plus grans honors
C’a un dels plus rics mos seignors
Non fes tant per homenatje.

6
Domna la dousors del vergiers
Es ara vengutz del temps clars
Don totz lo mons es vertz e vars
E paron las flors els rosiers
Oimais devon far bernatje
Sellas q’an lials amadors
En contra·ls fals castiadors
Demostrar lur vassalatje.

7
Chanson ton premier viatje
Faras vas n’Azalais de cors
Car se puois vols anar aillors
Per lus en feras d’agradaje.

8
Domn’el vostre seingnoratje
Ses mes Miravals e m’amors
E no·us hi qual plus gardadors
Et mas un cordon per guiatje.

9
Mantel s’ieu ai fag folatge
Quar ai chauzir en la gensors
En cela que mais vol valors
A tort en penrai dampnatge.

1. For a long time I have had worries and hardships of many kinds, without ever my diversions, my songs, and my joy being ousted. But now I have changed my customs. So much has love deferred me that scarcely can song, weather, or flowers give me joy.
2. Though disarray comes to me from love, it is not fitting for me to invoke complaints nor rancor. For before it was up to me to take heed of things, and of all my desires, I followed the most savage; for I raised my words and prayers to such a lady that the joy which rapidly I would obtain elsewhere, I await of her without any payment.
3. And I know that I behave frivolously; but beauty, by which is born conquering love, and the noble hospitality and the honor, and the rich worth that is to all superior, have set me in this way, concerning which I know myself that it is folly; but folly passes for reason among lovers, and reason for folly.
4. It is true that she can choose between other knights and that I am not equal to her, so much and so dear is her worth. But she has such an attractive way of being that it is necessary that she have in her fief one of the clever troubadours who may know how to increase her praises and serve her with good courage.
5. I will serve her gladly, and if my prayer does not please her, never let one believe that I would abate toward her my deeds or my pleasing words; for I would like to do greater honor to her most inferior messenger than I might to make homage to one of the most rich of my lords.
6. Lady, the sweetness of the orchards has now come and the clear weather, by which all the world is green and multicolored, and the flowers appear on the rose plants. Henceforth they who have loyal lovers should behave nobly, and thus demonstrate their vassalage against the false counselors.
7. Song, you will make your first trip to Lady Azalais sincerely, because if then you wish to go elsewhere, you will be more pleasing.
8. Lady, Miraval and my love have placed themselves in your fief, and more guardians should not concern you, but a little cord as assurance of protection.
9. *Mantel*, if I have been foolish, for I have chosen among the most beautiful she that prefers merit, wrongly will I receive harm from it.

Raimon de Miraval, “Tot quan fatz de be ni dic”

1
Tot quan fatz de be ni dic
Cove quen ma dona prenda
Pus de me no vol plus venda
Mas qu’ieu per ley me castic
De tot aquo qu’a ben estar non tanha
E manda·m far so don pretz mi remanha
Qu’estiers no fa hom son talen
Si no·s guarda de falhimen.

2
Per q’ieu vista ley m’abric
Quar no falh en re qu’enprenda
Ni a poder que dissenda
Per se ni per enemic
Per som ten pres cum soudadier d’espanha
Que qora·s vol m’empenh en la mesclanha
A tot lo sieu voler ai sen
E non am lunh so mal volen.

3
Pus per lieys d’autras me gic
Aitan li qier per esmenda
Que·l belh joven non despenda
Tro que·m restaurel destric
Qu’al sieu sofranh tot quant a mi sofranha
E si·m fa mal ja non er qui m’en planha
Qu’ieu eys m’ai anat enqueren
Qu’encontra lieys non truep guiren.

4
Quascuna vuelh n’ay un pic
Qu’estiers nom platz lur carvenda
Tan qan midons las defenda
Que per ren als no m’en gic
E si no fos qu’a sos ops mi guazanha
Tan lunhera de midons ma companha
Que·ls bes grazira solamen
E dels mals preira venjamen.

5
Anc hom tan no lur servic
Que tan pauc de grat n’atenda
D’aisso tanh q’ieu la reprenda
Q’ien sai tal que s’en jauzic
Qu’eras m’estai per eys son tort estranha
Mas non crezatz domneys per me s’afranha
Qu’a des no·i trob’om chauzimen
E suffert aitan longamen.

6
Dreg a mon belh mai d’amic
Chansos vai que la retenda
E si tan fai que t’aprenda
Ben tenh mon chantar per ric
Que lieys vol nos bayssa ni·s gavanha
Que·l sieus lauzars daur’e·l blasmars estanha
E conoys e sap et enten
Qu’ades val mais la part qu’ilh pren.

7
Mon Audiart sal dieus e sa companha
Mas la belha que de s’amor m’estranha
Fa mal quar Miravalh non pren
Pus a las autras lo defen.

1. It is fitting that my lady takes everything good I do or say, since from me she wants no other tribute, provided that for her I chastize everything which is not fitting to noble conduct, and she orders me to act so that worth remains to me; for otherwise, if one does not protect against disloyalty, one does not attain one's desire.
2. I seek shelter beside her because she fails in nothing she undertakes, nor has she power that may be diminished by herself or by an enemy. For she holds me prisoner like a Spanish mercenary, for when she wants me to undertake the fray, I agree to her will entirely, and I like none of her enemies.
3. Since for her I give up others, I ask her the same amount to make amends—that she not distribute and use her beautiful youth until she makes good to me the harm, that her suffering all amounts to my suffering; and if she hurts me, never will I be the one to complain, for I myself have gone seeking (someone else), and against her no one would find a cure.
4. I want each (of these ladies) to receive a wound, for otherwise their haughtiness does not please me while my lady defends them (from me), for I would give them up for no other reason. And if it were not that she does what is necessary for my gain, I would take my company so far away from my lady that I would accept only the good and I would take revenge for the harm.
5. Never did a man serve them so well who awaits so little thanks. For this reason it is fitting that I reproach her, for I know one of them who rejoiced that she has now withdrawn affection from me by her own sin. But do not believe flirting will be restrained by me, for one does not always find discernment in it, and I have suffered so long.
6. Go, song, straight to my beautiful *Mais d'amic*, that she retains you, and if she goes so far as to learn you, I shall certainly consider my singing noble. For what she wishes neither diminishes nor deteriorates, since her praise gilds and her blame coats with tin; she knows and recognizes and understands so much that what she chooses is always worth more.
7. May God save my *Audiart* and his company, but the beautiful one who keeps me from her love acts wrongly in not accepting Miraval since she forbids it to the others.

Guiraut de Bornelh, "Leu chansonet'e vil"[455]

1
Leu chansonet'e vil
M'auria obs a far
Qe pogues enviar
En Alvergne al Dalfi,
Pero, s'il dreg cami
Pogues n'Eblon trobar,
Belh poiria mandar
Q'eu dic q'en l'escurzir
Non es l'afans,
Mas en l'obr'esclarzir.

2
E qui de fort fozil
Non vol coutel tocar,
Ja no·l cuig d'affilar
En un mol sembeli;
Qar ies aiga de vi
No fetz Dieus al manjar,
Anz s'en volc essaussar
E fetz esdevenir
D'aiga q'er'ans
Puois vin per miehls grazir.

3
E qui dinz son cortil,
On hom no·l pot forzar,
Si vana d'aiudar,
Puois non fai mas q'en ri,
Pro a de qu'es chasti,
E qui de sol gabar
Vol sos clamius pagar,
Ja Dieus en can desir
Nonca l'enans
Ni lo·i lais avenir!

4
Per q'ieu d'ome sotil
Qi sap son miehls triar
No·m met a chastiar
Ni fort no·m n'atai;
Mas un pauc me desvi,
Car non o puosc mudar
Tant m'es greu a portar
Qui no sap essernir
Quan d'entre tans
Ni cui con al partir.

5
E si·l faig son gentil
A la valor levar,
Aissi·s fan a guidar
C'om s'en sent'a la fi;
Que lo savis me di
Qe ges al mieg tensar
Non dei home lausar
Per son ben escrimir
Ni per colps granz,
Que·l pretz pen a fenir.

6
E qi ja per un fil
Pen pretz, qu'om sol amar,
E poira greu trobar,
Si romp que ferm lo li;
C'ab pauc en un trai
Non son li ric avar,
C'aissi co·s degr'aussar
Per els e revenir
Pretz e bobanz
E jois, l'en fan fugir.

[455] Guiraut de Bornelh, "Leu chansonet'e vil," trans. in consultation with Sharman, Cansos *and* Sirventes, pp. 283-288.

7
Mas en tri un de mil,
Pero no l’aus nomnar
Per paor d’encuzar
Que·l dreisses lo coissi;
C’oi del sers al mati
Non pot ren meillurar
Ni ja apres sopar
No·il l’auziretz ren dir,
Q’eis lo mazans
No n’esc’apres dormir.

8
Ara·m torn e humil
Vas Mon Bel Senhor car
Res al no·l sai comtar
Mas que s’amors m’auci.
La plus mal ancessi
No quam saup enviar;
Queras non puosc pauzar,
Ans trebalh e consir
Si que mos chans
Es ja pres del fenir.

9
E deuria·lh mandar
Mon Sobre-Totz, e dir
Qe·l majer dans
Er sieus si·m fai faillir.

1. I ought to make a clear, quick and light little song that I could send to the Dalfi d'Alvergne. But if it on the way there were able to find Sir Eble, it would well be able to tell him that I say that darkening it (the song) is not the difficulty, but (it) is in making it clearer.
2. And anyone not wishing to touch a knife to a hard whetstone should not now believe that it can be sharpened on a soft sable. For God did not turn water into wine for our eating, but instead he wanted to exalt Himself and he made the water that was there before into wine for greater praise.
3. And anyone inside his own home where no man can compel him to do anything, if he offers help but then does nothing but laugh has reason to chastise himself. And anyone who, alone, boasting, wishes his words alone to pay for his debts, does not deserve anything he may desire, nor advantages or to be furthered by God.
4. The subtle man who, through seeking, knows how to choose, does not put me to blame him, nor gives me any anxiety. But I turn away a small amount (for I cannot change, so heavy it is to bear) from the man who does not know to distinguish when among so many, nor how to separate between each.
5. But if a man's doings are so noble that they raise his valor, so they will guide himself finally to the knowledge of others, for the wise man tells me that in the middle of a dispute I should not praise any man for his good parrying nor for his great blows, for merit hangs on the final result.
6. And anyone already by one thread hangs worth that men once loved, would with difficulty find, if it breaks, one to fix it. The rich people are nearly all made from one pattern, for they who ought to exalt through themselves and restore worth and splendor and joy are they who make them to flee.
7. But I choose one out of a thousand, though I dare not name her for fear that I may be accused of increasing her little finger, for today from morning till night no creature can become better, and every word you hear her speak after supper people will talk of again after they sleep.
8. Now I turn, humbly, toward my Bel Senhor, who is dear to me. To her all I know to say is that my love for her is killing me. No fiercer assassin could she have sent to me. Now I can find no rest, but instead ordeal and worry, so that my song is now near to its end.
9. And it [my song] ought to carry a message to my Sobre-Totz, saying that he will be the one to suffer most if I fail because of him.

Bernart de Ventadorn, "A, tantas bonas chansos"[456]

1
A, tantas bonas chansos
e tan bo vers aurai fags
don ja no·m mezer en plag
dompna si·eu pesses de vos
que fossetz vas me tan dura.
Era sai que·us ai perduda,
mas sivals no m'es tolguda
en la mia forfaytura.

2
Vers que mantas sazos
m'era be dig e retrag
que m'estera mal e lag
qu'ames et amatz no fos.
Mas lay on Amors s'atura
er greu sobra defenduda,
si so coratge no muda
d'aillors meta sa cura.

3
Mas ara sui tan joios
que no·me sove del maltrag.
D'ira e d'esmai m'a traih
ab sos bels oillz amoros,
de que·m poizon' e·n faitura
sil que m'a joia renduda,
c'anc pois que l'agui veguda
non agui sen ni mesura.

4
Mout i fetz Amors que pros
que tan ric joi m'a pertrag;
tot quan m'avia forfag
val ben aquist guizardos.
Aissi·l fenis ma rancura
que sa valors e s'ayuda
m'es a tal cocha venguda;
totz sos tortz i adreitura.

5
Qui ve sas belhas faissos
ab que m'a vas se atrag
pot be saber atrazag
que sos cors es bels e bos
e blancs sots la vestidura
eu non o dic mas per cuda
que la neus quant il es nuda
per vas lei brun' et escura.

6
Domna si't fals enveios
que maint bo jorn m'an estrag
s'i metion en agug
per saber cum es de nos,
per dig d'avol gen tafura
non estetz ges esperduda;
ja per me non es saubuda
l'amors, be·n siatz segura.

[456] Bernart de Ventadorn, "A, tantas bonas chansos," trans. in consultation with *Bernart du Ventadour*, ed. and trans. Lazar, pp. 120-123.

7
Belz Vezers un'aventura
avetz et es be saubuda
que hom qe·s aia veguda
de vos no fara rancura.

8
Chanso vai t'en la Mura
mo Bel Vezer me saluda
qui qu'aya valor perduda
la sua creys e melhura.

1. Ah! So many good songs and so many good verses I would have made, in which I would not have been mistaken in conflict, Lady, if I might have thought of you, who were toward me so harsh. Now I know that I have lost you, but at least you are not taken from me through my own fault.
2. It is true that many seasons I told myself that she was bad and spiteful to me, for I loved you and was not loved. But there where Love remains, it is defended with great difficulty if Love does not change his mind. He would put his treatment elsewhere.
3. But now I am so joyous that I do not remember the suffering. From anger and dismay she has pulled me with her beautiful loving eyes, those same powerful ones with which she bewitched me, and to her my joy surrendered. Ever since I saw her I have had neither wit nor composure.
4. Love made so many gains so well and prepared so much rich joy for me that it is fair compensation for all he has been guilty of harming me. Here ceases my rancor, for his valor and help come to me in such haste that they atone for all his wrongs.
5. Whoever sees her beautiful features with which she has so attracted me can know well, without control, that her body is beautiful and fine under her clothing. I speak but from imagination, yet the snow when it is naked by her is brown and dark.
6. Lady, the false, envious men who have taken many good days from me, have been watching to know how it is with us. Through the talk of bad, rascally people you are not lost, for through me is not known our love—you may be well assured.
7. Bel Vezer, one thing you have is well-known, that anyone that has seen you will not make rancor.
8. Song, go to La Mura. Greet my Bel Vezer for me. No matter who has lost valor, hers increases and becomes better.

Bernart de Ventadorn, “Conortz, era sai eu be”[457]

1
Conortz, era sai eu be
que ges de me no pensatz
pois salutz ni amistatz
ni messatges no m’en ve.
Trop cug que fas lonc aten,
et er be semblans hueymais
qu’ieu chasse so que autre pren
pois no m’en ven aventura.

2
Bels Conortz, quan me sove
cum gen fui per vos honratz
e can era m’oblidatz,
per un pauc no·n mor desse.
Q’ieu eis m’o vauc enqueren
que·m met de foudat em plai
can eu midons sobrapren
de la mia forfaitura.

3
Eu m’encolpet de tal re
don mi degra aver gratz.
Fe qu’eu dei a l’Alvernhatz,
tot o fis per bona fe.
E s’ieu en amar mespren,
tort a qui colpa mi fai
car, qui en amor quer sen,
selh non a sen ni mesura.

4
Per ma colpa m’esdeve
que ja non sia privatz
quart vas liey no sui tornatz
per foudat que m’en rete.
Tant ai estat lonjamen
que de vergonha qu’eu ai
non aus aver ardimen
que i an, s’ans no m’asegura.

5
Tant er gent servit per me
sos fers cors, durs et iratz,
tro del totz si’adoussatz
ab bels diz et ab merce.
Q’ieu ai be trobar legen
quel gota d’aiga que chai
ferm en un loc tan soven
tro cava la peira dura.

6
Qui ben remira ni ve
oillz e gola, front e fatz,
aissi son fina beutatz
que mais ni mens no i cove,
cors lonc, dreg e covinen,
gent afliban, condh’ e gai.
Hom non pot lauzar tan gen
com lo saup formar Natura.

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[457] Bernart de Ventadorn, “Conortz era sai eu be,” trans. in consultation with *Bernart du Ventadour*, ed. and trans. Lazar, pp. 116-119.

7
Canzoneta, era t'en vai
a Franca na covinen
cui pretz enanz e melhura.

8
E digatz li qui ben vai
car de Mo Conort aten
joi e gran bonaventura.

1. Conort, now I know for sure that you don't think of me at all, since neither greeting nor friendship nor message comes to me. I believe that too long I have been waiting, and now it seems from now on I am hunting what another takes, for good fortune does not come to me.
2. Bel Conort, when I remember how well I was honored through you, and when you now forget me, by only a small amount I could die at once. Where there I go they will accuse me of folly, but I have only myself to blame, since I reproach my lady for my own crime.
3. She blames me for such a thing for which I should be owed thanks. By the faith that I owe to Alvernhat, all [of it] I did through good faith. And if I am at fault in love, one is wrong to blame me for it, for whoever seeks sense in love has neither sense nor measure.
4. It is by my own fault that it happens that I can now never be intimate with her, since I do not return to her because of my folly which retains me. I have been far away for so long that I am so ashamed I do not dare to boldly go to her, unless I have assurance from her.
5. So much will her wild heart, hard and wrathful, be nobly served by me, until all of it is softened with beautiful words and with mercy. For I have found well in my reading that a drop of water falls forcefully in one place often until it pierces the hard stone.
6. Anyone who reflects well or sees her eyes and mouth, forehead and face, then will see her fine beauty, from which adding or taking away anything would not be suitable. Her long, straight, and pleasing body, finely clothed, pleasant, and gay; no man can praise her so nobly as nature knew how to form her.
7. Little song, now you go to my French friend, the pleasing one, whose worth progresses and becomes better.
8. And tell him that it goes well with me, for from my Conort I await joy and great good fortune.

Rigaut de Berbezilh, “Atressi com l’olifanz”[458]

1
Atressi cum l’olifanz
Que, qan chai, no·is pot levar
Tro l’autre, ab lo cridar,
De lor voz lo levon sus,
Et eu segrai aquel us,
Quar mos forfagz es trop greus e pesans
Que si la cortz del Puoi e·l grans bobans
E l’adreitz pretz dels leials amadors
No·m relevon, jamais non serai sors;
Que deignesson per me clamar merce
Lai ond prejars ni razos no·m val re.

2
E s’ieu per los fis amans
Non puosc en joi retornar,
Per totz temps lais mon chantar,
Que de mi no·i a ren plus;
Anz viurai cum lo reclus,
Sols, ses solatz c’aitals es mos talans.
Qu’ar ma vida m’es enuegs et affans
E gaugz m’es dols e plazers m’es dolors;
Q’ieu non sui ges de la maineira d’ors
Que, qui bat fort ni·l ten vil ses merce,
El engraissa e meillura e reve.

3
Ben sai qu’Amors es tant grans
Que leu mi pot perdonar
S’ieu failli per sobramar
Ni reignei cum Dedalus,
Que dis qu’el era Jhesus
E volc volar al cel outracuidans,
Mas Dieus baisset l’orguoill e lo sobrans;
E mos orguoills non es res mes amors;
Per que merces mi deu faire socors,
Que maint luec son on razos venz merce
E luecs on dreitz ni razos no val re.

4
A tot lo mon sui clamans
De mi e de trop parlar
E s’ieu pogues contrafar
Fenix, don non es mas us,
Que s’art e pois resort sus,
Eu m’arsera, car sui tant malanans,
E mos fals digz messongiers e truans;
Resorsera ab sospirs et ab plors
Lai on beutatz e jovens e valors
Es que no·i faill mas un pauc de merce
Que no·i sion assemblat tuich li be.

5
Ma chanssos m’er drogomans
Lai on eu non aus anar
Ni ab dreitz huoills esgardar,
Tant sui conques et aclus;
E ja hom non mi escus,
Miells de Dompna, don sui fugitz dos ans,
Er torn a vos doloiros e plorans,
Aissi co·l sers que, qand a faich son cors,
Torna morir al crit dels cassadors;
Aissi torn eu, dompna, en vostra merce;
Mas ves non cal, si d’amor no·us sove.

6
Tal senhor ai en cui a tant de be,
Qand m’en soven non pusoc faillir en re.

7
Belh Bericle, joi e pretz vos mante;
Tot quan vuelh ai, quan de vos me sove.

[458] Rigaut de Berbezilh, “Atressi com l’olifanz,” trans. in consultation with *Poésies*, ed. Chabaneau and trans. Anglade, pp. 62-64.

1. I am like the elephant, who when he falls cannot get up until the others, with their cries, raise him by their voices. And I will follow him like that, for my crime is so grave and heavy that if the court of Puy, the great splendor and the skillful valor of loyal lovers do not raise me, I will never be able to get up, unless they deign to plead mercy for me, there where prayers nor reason are worth a thing.
2. And if I, through the true lovers, cannot return to joy, I will abandon my singing for all time, and there will be not a thing more from me. Rather I will live like a recluse, alone, without solace, such is my desire. For my life is my work and exhaustion, and joy is my grief, and pleasure my pain. I am not at all in the manner of the bear, who when violently beaten and treated vilely without mercy grows fat and becomes better, and is revived.
3. I know well that Love is so great that he can pardon me easily, if I failed through an excess of love, or lived like Daedalus, who said that he was like Jesus and wanted to fly recklessly to Heaven. But God made low his pride and his superiority. And my pride is nothing but love. By that, mercy ought to make relief for me, for many places there are where reason surpasses mercy, and places where neither right nor reason are worth a thing.
4. To all the world I am begging for mercy, for me and for my lots of speech, and if I could imitate the phoenix, which is unique, that burns itself and can rise again, I would burn myself for I am so sick with my false, lying, and treacherous words. I would be resurrected with sighs and tears there where beauty and youth and valor are, where no thing is lacking but a little mercy, there where all good things are assembled.
5. My song will be my spokesman, there where I dare not to go, nor to look at with straightforward eyes, so much I am conquered and contained. And even though I have no excuse, Better-than-Lady, from whom I fled for two years, I return to you in grief and tears. Like the deer, that when it has made its course, turns to die at the cry of the hunters, so, lady, I turn to your mercy. But it does not matter to you, for you do not remember me, and our love.
6. Such a lord have I in whom there is so much good, that when I remember him, I cannot fail in anything.
7. Beautiful Emerald, you maintain joy and valor. When I think of you I have everything that I want.

Appendix C. Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Latin Parchment Riddles

Exeter Book, Riddle 26:[459]

Mec feonda sum feore besnyþede,
Woruldstrenga binom, wætte siþþan,
Dyfde on wætre, dyde eft þonan,
Sette on sunnan, þær ic swiþe beleas
Herum þam þe ic hæfde. Heard mec siþþan
Snađ seaxses ecg, sindrum begrunden;
Fingras feoldan, ond mec fugles wyn
Geond speddropum spyrede geneahhe,
Ofer brunne brerd, beamtelge swealg,
Streames dæle, stop eft on mec,
Siþade sweartlast. Mec siþan wrah
Hæleđ helobordum, hyde beþenede,
Gierede mec mid golde; forþon me gliwedon
Wrætlic weorc smiþa, wire bifongen.
Nu þa gereno ond se reada telg
Ond þa wuldorgesteald wide mære
Dryhtfolca helm, nales dol wite.
Gif min bearn wera brucan willađ,
Hy beođ þy gesundran ond þy sigefæstran,
Heortum þy hwætran ond þy hygebliþran,
Ferþe þy frodran, habbaþ freonda þy ma,
Swæsra ond gesibbra, soþra ond godra,
Tilra ond getreowra, þa hyra tyr ond ead
Estum ycađ ond hy arstafum
Lissum bilecgađ ond hi lufan fæþmum
Fæste clyppađ. Frige hwæt ic hatte,
Niþum to nytte. Nama min is mære,
Hæleþum gifre ond halig sylf.

A certain enemy robbed me of my life
Stole my world-strength; afterward he soaked me,
Dunked me in water, dragged me out again,
Set me in the sun, where I swiftly lost
The hairs that I had. Afterward the hard
Edge of a knife, with all unevenness ground away, slashed me;
Fingers folded me, and the bird's joy
[Spread] over me with worthwhile drops, often made tracks,

[459] Muir, ed., *The Exeter Anthology*; Crossley-Holland, trans., *The Exeter Book Riddles*, p. 29.

Over the bright border, swallowed tree-dye,
A portion of the stream, stepped again on me,
Journeyed, leaving behind a dark track. Afterward a hero
Encircled me with protective boards, covered me with hide,
Garnished me with gold; therefore the wonderful
Work of smiths glitters on me, surrounded by wire.
Now those ornaments and the red dye
And that wondrous dwelling widely worship
The protector of the people, not at all foolish in wisdom.
If the children of men wish to enjoy me,
They will be the more sound and the more victory-fast,
The bolder in heart and the more blithe in mind,
The wiser in spirit, they will have more friends,
Dear and near, faithful and good,
Upright and true; then their glory and prosperity
Will increase with favor and lay down
Goodwill and kindness and in the grasp of love
Clasp firmly. Find what I am called,
Useful to men. My name is famous,
Handy to heroes and holy in itself.

Tatwine, Enigma *5, De membrano:*[460]

Efferus exuviis populator me spoliavit,
Vitalis pariter flatus spiramina dempsit;
In plans me item campum sed verterat auctor.
Frugiferos cultor sulcos mox irrigat undis;
Omnigenam nardi messem mea prata rependunt,
Qua sanis victum et lesis praestabo medelam.

A fierce robber stripped me of my covering
And also deprived me of my breathing pores;
Whereupon an artisan shaped me into a level field,
Whose fertile furrows the cultivator irrigates.
My meadows yield a varied crop of balsam,
A food for the healthy and a remedy for the sick.

[460] Tatwine, “Aenigmata Tatuini,” *Tatvini Opera Omnia, Ars Tatvini: Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 133*, ed. and trans. Maria de Marco (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968), p. 172.

Eusebius, Enigma 32, *De membrano*:[461]

Antea per nos uox resonabat uerba nequaquam,
Distincta sine nunc uoce edere uerba solemus;
Candida sed cum arua lustramur minibus atris;
Viua nihil loquimur, responsum mortua famur.

Once we had no voice of any kind to say a word
Now we produce words without an audible voice;
Though white fields, we are illuminated by millions of black figures;
Alive we do not speak, but dead we give answers.[2]

Bern Collection, Enigma 24, De membrana:[462]

Lucrum uiua manend tot nam confero mundo
Et defuncta mirum praesto de corpore quaestum.
Vestibus exita multoque uinculo tensa,
Gladio sic mihi desecta uiscera pendent.
Manibus me postquam reges et visu mirantur,
Miliaque porto nullo sub pondere multa.

As long as I live, I gather profit all over the world;
But dead, I offer miraculous wealth from my body.
Stripped of my clothes, stretched fast by a rope,
My fleshy parts hang down, cut off with a sword.
Later, I am surrounded by the hands of kings who admire me;
I carry thousands, but they are weightless.

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[461] Eusebius, "Aenigmata Eusebii," *Variae Collectiones Aenigmatum Merovingicae Aetatis: Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 133*, ed. and trans. Maria de Marco (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968), p. 242.

[462] "Aenigmata Tullii," *Variae Collectiones Aenigmatum Merovingicae Aetatis: Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 133A*, ed. and trans. Fr. Glorie (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968), p. 570.

Appendix D. *Tornadas* that personify their songs from Guiraut Riquier's corpus

"Ab lo temps agradiu gai":[463]

Vers, cant seras apres, vay	Vers, when you have been learned, go
Al pros Amalric, prezat	To the noble and esteemed Amalric,
Vescomte de Narbones;	Viscount of Narbonne,
Qu'el a bon pretz guazanhat,	Since he has won good worth
E·l mante entier ses notz;	And he maintains it whole, without difficulty
Don tug siey amic son leth	So all his friends are happy
E·ls autres ab cossirier.	And others worry.

"Aissi pert poder amors", only *tornada:*[464]

Chanso, ges no·m suy partitz	Song, I do not leave the service
De midons, si tot mos ditz	Of Midons, though with all my words
No fas er enamoratz,	I do not make love verses,
Quar son per razon forsatz.	Because they are forced by reason.

"No·m sai d'amor si m'es mala o bona", fifth verse:[465]

Al vescomte n'Amalric de Narbona	To Amalric, the Viscount of Narbonne
Vir ma chanson, quar tot vil fag azira	I send my song, where all hate bad deeds
E manten pretz, per que valors li sobra,	And maintain worth, so that valor will be left there
Tant que·ls vils ricx de mals pessamens carga,	So that in the villainous rich abound abject thoughts of envy,
E manten ioy e gab senes messonja	And maintain uncontaminated joy and jokes,
Ab grat	With thanks
dels pros senes tota traversa	of the brave ones unconditionally,
E sap valer tant, que·ls estranhs taborna	And he knows so much of valor that, although not stained with pride;
Salvan s'onor, per que ira·ls escorja.	Their honor is saved, but anger flays them.

[463] "Ab lo temps agradiu gai," ed. Longobardi, "I *Vers*," p. 28; trans. in consultation with Longobardi, "I *Vers*," p. 29.

[464] "Aissi pert poder amors," ed. Mölk, *Las Cansos*, p. 26; trans. in consultation with Francesco Filippo Minetti, *Il "Libre" di Guiraut Riquier: Secondo il Codice 22543 (R) della Nazionale di Parigi con la Varia Lectio dell'856 (C), Parte Prima* (Torino: Litografia Artigiana M. & S., 1980), p. 15.

[465] "No·m sai d'amor si m'es mala o bona," ed. Mölk, *Las Cansos*, p. 45; trans. in consultation with Minetti, p. 63.

"No cugey mais d'esta razon chantar", fifth stanza:[466]

En cort del comtenric a son levar	In the court of Count Enric there is sound raising,
en cadeira de rodes volentiers	Willingly in Cadeira de Rodes,
retraissera chan quals bos fos sobriers	Tell them, song, that you were excessively good
quar taisseras e no·m qual escuzar	Since you were kept quiet, and whom I could not excuse,
tant a elh fin e belh entendemen	He has so much fine and proper understanding;
[et] yeu no suy del tot ses pessamen	And I am not completely without worry
mas eras chan que ben leu mentendra	But you were a song, that one who has not yet understood me
tals quenqueras ben entendut nom a.	would easily understand.

"Tan m'es plazens lo mals d'amor", first *tornada* of two:[467]

A·n Bernat d'Olargue t'en vai,	To Bernart of Olargue you go,
Qu'a de saber razitz e bruelh,	He who has knowledge of the end and the beginning too,
Chanson, mas d'en Bertran no·m tuelh	Song, but this is not why I distract myself
D'Opian lauzar, quan poiray.	From praising Sir Bertran d'Opian! When could I?

[466] "No cugey mais d'esta razon chantar," transc. from Paris, BnF f. fr. 856, fol. 306v.

[467] "Tan m'es plazens lo mal d'amor," ed. Mölk, *Las Cansos*, p. 21; trans. in consultation with Minetti, p. 6.

“Volontiers faria”, sixth and final verse:[468]

Doncx ma caramida	Then my lodestone
Mos Behls Deportz sia	My Belh Deportz would be,
E·l reys de Castella	And the King of Castile,
N’Anfos, que grazida	Lord Alfonso, who welcomes
Valor ten a tria,	Pleasant valor,
On pretz renovella,	Where merit is renewed,
Cuy devers gragella;	Where duty is enticed,
Lay, chansos, te·y via.	There, song, go to her.
Pero no·t daria	But I will not give you
Tornad’, e revella,	Tornada or refrain,
Qu’om no t’escantella,	So that one cannot efface you
Que·l compas mentria.	Which belies the meter.

[468] “Volontiers faria,” ed. Mölk, *Las Cansos*, pp. 89-90.

Appendix E. *Razo* of Arnaut Daniel and *Vida* of Guilhem de Cabestanh

Razo of Arnaut Daniel; transmitted in MS R.[469]

E fon aventura qu'el fon en la cort del rey Richart d'Englaterra, et estant en la cort, us autres joglars escomes lo com el trobava en pus caras rimas que el. Arnaut[z] tenc so ad esquern e feron messios, cascu[s] de son palafre, que no fera, en poder del rey. E·l rey[s] enclaus cascu en una cambra. E·N Arnaut[z], de fasti que n'ac, non ac poder que lasses un mot ab autre. Lo joglar[s] fes son cantar leu e tost; e[t] els non avian mas detz jorns d'espazi, e devia·s jutgar per lo rey a cap de cinc jorns. Lo joglar[s] demandet a·N Arnaut si avia fag, e·N Arnautz respos que oc, passat a tres jorns; e non avia pessat. E·l joglar[s] cantava tota nueg sa canso, so que be la saubes. E·N Arnaut[z] pesset co·l traysses isquern; e·N Arnaut[z] la va tota arretener, e·l so. E can foro denan lo rey, N'Arnaut[z] dis que volia retraire sa chanso, e comenset mot be la chanso que·l joglar[s] avia facha. E·l joglar[s], can l'auzic, gardet lo en la cara, e dis qu'el l'avia facha. E·l reys dis co·s podia far; e·l joglar[s] preguet al rey qu'el ne saubes lo ver; e·l reys demandec a N·Arnaut com era estat. E·N Arnaut[z] comtet li tot com era estat, e·l rey[s] ac ne gran gaug e tenc so tot a gran esquern; e foro aquitiat li gatge, et a cascu fes donar bels dos. E fo donatz lo cantar a·N Arnaut Daniel, que di:

> Anc yeu non l'ac, mas ela m'a.
> Et aysi trobaretz de sa obra.

Vida of Guilhem de Cabestanh; version transmitted in MSS FbIK.[470]

Guillems de Capestaing si fo uns cavalliers de l'encontrada de Rossillon, que confinava com Cataloingna e com Narbones. Molt fo avinenz e prezatz d'armas e de servir e de cortesia.

Et avia en la soa encontrada una domna que avia nom ma dompna Seremonda, moiller d'En Raimon del Castel de Rossillon, qu'eta molt rics e gentils e mals e braus e fers e orgoillos. E Guillems de Capestaing si l'amava la domna per amor e cantava de leis e fazia sas chansos d'ella. E la domna, qu'era joves e gentil e bella e plaissenz, si·l volia be major que a re del mon. E fon dit a Raimon del Castel de Rossiglon; et el, com hom iratz e gelos, enqueri lo fait, e sa[u]p que vers era, e fez grader la moiller fort.

E quant venc un dia, Raimon del Castel Rossillon troba paissan Guillem senes gran compaingnia et ausis lo; e trais li lo cor del cors; e fez lo portar a un escudier a son alberc; e fez lo raustir e far peurada, e fes lo dar a manjar a la muiller. E quant la domna l'ac manjat lo cor d'En Guillem de Capestaing, En Raimon li dis o que el fo. Et ella, quant o auzi, perdet lo vezer e l'auzir. E quant ela revenc, si dis: ‹‹Seingner, ben m'avez dat si bon manjar que ja mais non manjarai d'autre.›› E quant el auzi so qu'ella dis, el coret a sa espaza e volc li dar sus en la testa; et ella s'en anet al balcon e se laisset cazer jos, e fo morta.

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[469] *Razo* of Arnaut Daniel, in *Biographies des Troubadours*, ed. Boutière and Schutz, pp. 15-16.

[470] *Vida* of Guilhem de Cabestanh, in *Biographies des Troubadours*, ed. Boutière and Schutz, pp. 154-155; trans. Egan, in *The* Vidas *of the Troubadours*, p. 53.

Guillem de Cabestaing was a knight from the region of Roussillon, which borders on Catalonia and Narbonnais. He was a very charming man, distinguished in arms and in gallantry and in courtliness. And there was in his region a lady called Lady Soremonda, wife of Lord Raimon de Castel Roussillon, who was very rich and noble, and wicked and fierce and cruel and haughty. And Guillem de Cabestaing truly loved the lady and composed his songs about her. And the lady, who was young and noble and beautiful and charming, loved him more than anything in the world.

And this was told to Lord Raimon de Castel Roussillon. And he, like an angry and jealous man, investigated the matter, and learned that it was true. And he ordered that his wife be carefully watched. And it so happened that one day Raimon de Castel Roussillon came upon Guillem passing by without great company, and he killed him. And he took the heart out of his body, and had it taken to a squire in his house, and had it cooked and peppered, and gave it to his wife to eat.

And when the lady had eaten the heart of Lord Guillem de Cabestaing, Lord Raimon told her what it was. And when she heard it, she lost her sense of sight and her hearing. And when she came to, she said, “Lord, you have given me such a good thing to eat, that I shall never eat again.” And when he heard what she said, he ran with his sword intending to strike her on the head. But she ran to the balcony and threw herself down; and she was killed.

Appendix F. Other Examples of Personified Song in Troubadour Lyric

Aimeric de Peguilhan, "Mangtas vetz sui enqueritz"[471]

Vas Malaspina ten, chans,
Al pro Guillem qu'es prezans,
Qu'elh aprenda de te los motz e·l so,
Qual que·s vuelha, per vers o per chanso.

Na Beatritz d'Est, l'enans
De vos mi platz, que·s far grans.
En vos lauzar s'en son pres tug li bo,
Per que de vos dauri mo vers-chanso.

Toward Malaspina go, song, to the worthy and honored William, that he can learn from you the words and the tune for whatever he wishes, 'vers' or 'chanso.'

Lady Beatrice of Este, your lofty fame, which is growing great, pleases me. All good people are set on praising you. Therefore I gild your name with my 'vers-chanso.'

Arnaut Daniel, "L'aura amara"[472]

Era·t para,
chans e condutz,
formir
al rei qui t'er escuoills;
car Pretz,
secs
sai, lai es doblencs
e mantengutz
dars
e maniars.
De joi la·t portz!
Son anel mir,
si·l ders,
c'anc non estei
iorn d'Aragon q'el saut
no·i volgues ir,
mas sai m'a'n clamat Roma.

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[471] Aimeric de Peguilhan, "Mangtas vetz sui enqueritz," trans. in consultation with *Poems*, ed. and trans. Shepard and Chambers, pp. 176-178.

[472] Arnaut Daniel, "L'aura amara," in *Poetry*, ed. and trans. Wilhelm, pp. 34-39.

Now get prepared, my song and melody, to run to the King who will receive you. For Worth, dry here, over there wells doubled, and gift-giving and feasting are well-maintained. Carry yourself there with joy! Admire his ring if he raises it, for I never stayed a day out of Aragon without wanting to go there with a leap, but here Rome has called to me.

Daude de Pradas, "Ben deu esser solatz marritz"[473]

Vas Salas ten ta via,
Plans, car lai trametia
chanssos e vers e sirventes
cel cui deu ben plaigner Rodes.

Toward Salas go on your way, Planh, for it is there where he used to send songs, vers, and sirventes, for whom Rodez should certainly lament.

Gaucelm Faidit, "Ara cove qe·m conort en chantan"[474]

Chanso, vai t'en
a mon Plus Avinen
qu'er bo si·t pren
e·t chanta e t'apren.

Song, go see my Plus Avinen, for it will be well if he takes you, learns you, and sings you.

Gaucelm Faidit, "Mout a poignat amors en mi delir"[475]

Chanssos, a lieis per q'es prezatz mos chans,
A Ventadorn vuoill teignas e t'enans,
qu'il a en se tant de bon'aventura
qe tota gens te volra, al partir,
per lieis honrar, aprendre et auzir!

Song, because of her by which my poetry is valued, I want you to direct yourself to Ventadorn in great haste, for in her is so much happiness and luck that everyone will want to begin to honor you, to listen to you and to learn you.

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[473] Daude de Pradas, "Ben deu esser solatz marritz," trans. in consultation with A.H. Schutz, *Poésies de Daude de Pradas* (Toulouse: É. Privat; Paris: H. Didier, 1933), 83-86.

[474] Gaucelm Faidit, "Ara cove qe·m conort en chantan," trans. in consultation with *Poèmes*, ed. and trans. Mouzat, pp. 220-226.

[475] Gaucelm Faidit, "Mout a poignat amors en mi delir," trans. in consultation with *Poèmes,* ed. and trans. Mouzat, pp. 377-381.

Guilhem IX, “Pus vezem de novel florir”[476]

Mon Esteve—mas ieu no·i vau—
sia·l prezens
mos vers, e vueill que d’aquest lau
me sia guirens.

Let my *vers*—since I myself do not—appear before her, Mon Esteve, and let it be the witness for my praise.

Guiraut de Bornelh, “Ab bel semblan mi fai dechazer”[477]

Ab ioi t’en vai
chanssos, en lai
vas Mon Seignor, ab cui estai
pretz e cortesia.

With joy be gone, my song, and make your way to My Lord, with whom renown and courtliness dwell.

Peire Bremon Ricas Novas, “Un sonet nouvel fatz”[478]

Chansos, quant seras lai,
mon cossir li retrai,
e di li per que·m fai
morir en tal esmay;
pueys te comandarai,
si s’azauta de te,
tro ins el cor li vay,
qu’adoncs hi trobarai
ben l’eu mais de merce.

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[476] Guilhem IX, “Pus vezem de novel florir,” in *Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouvères: An Anthology and a History*, ed. and trans. Frederick Goldin. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1983: 36-41.

[477] Guiraut de Bornelh, “Ab bel semblan mi fai dechazer,” trans. in consultation with Cansos *and* Sirventes, ed. and trans. Sharman, pp. 83-87.

[478] Peire Bremon Ricas Novas, “Un sonet nouvel fatz,” trans. in consultation with *Poésies*, ed. and trans. Boutière, pp. 4-6.

Song, when you will be over there, depict to him my chagrin and ask him why she makes me die from such anxiety. I recommend you then, if she finds it pleasing to learn you, to penetrate deep into her heart, for maybe then I will find near her more mercy.

Peirol, "Coras que·m fezes doler"[479]

Chansos, oimais potz tener
vas midons ta via,
qu'ieu sai ben qu'ella volria
te auzir e mi vezer.

Song, then make your way to my lady, for I know full well that she would hear you and see me.

Peirol, "Del sieu tort farai esmenda"[480]

Chansoneta, vai de cors
dir a midons que·t retenha,
pus mi retener non denha.

Go quickly, song, and tell my lady to keep you since she does not deign to retain me in her service.

Peirol, "D'un sonet vau pensan"[481]

Chansonet' ab aitan
dreich a midonz t'en vai,
e digas li, si·l plai,
que t'aprenda et chan.

Little song, straight to my lady go, and tell her, if it pleases her, to learn you and sing.

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479 Peirol, "Coras que·m fezes doler," trans. in consultation with *Peirol*, ed. and trans. Aston, pp. 130-133.

480 Peirol, "Del sieu tort farai esmenda," trans. in consultation with *Peirol*, ed. and trans. Aston, pp. 81-84.

481 Peirol, "D'un sonet vau pensan," trans. in consultation with *Peirol*, ed. and trans. Aston, pp. 64-68.

Peirol, “En joi que·m demora”[482]

Cansoneta, vai
dreich a midons lai,
e potz li·m ben dire
qu’en breu la verai.

Go, song, straight to my lady; you can tell her truly that I shall shortly behold her.

Peirol, “Mainta gens mi malrazona”[483]

Chansos, a totz potz dir’en ver
qu’en mon chan non agra failla
si·m volgues d’amor valer
ma dompna, cui jois vailla.

Song, to all you can truly say that in my song there would not be any defect, if my lady with her love would help me, of who joy avails.

Raimon Jordan, “Per solatz e per deport”[484]

Chanssos, mos Guaris
vuelh t’aprenda.

Song, I want my Guaris to learn you.

Raimon Jordan, “Per qual forfait o per qual falhimen"[485]

Chansos, vai t’en e digas li·m denan
que s’a lieis platz, t’aprenda e que·t chan.

Song, go to her and tell her from me that if she likes you, to learn you and sing you.

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482 Peirol, “En joi que·m demora,” trans. in consultation with *Peirol*, ed. and trans. Aston, pp. 51-55.

483 Peirol, “Mainta gens mi malrazona,” in *Peirol,* ed. and trans. Aston, pp. 105-108.

484 Raimon Jordan, “Per solatz e per deport,” trans. in consultation with *Raimon Jordan*, ed. and trans. Asperti, pp. 330-331.

485 Raimon Jordan, “Per qual forfait o per qual falhimen,” trans. in consultation with *Raimon Jordan*, ed. and trans. Asperti, pp. 298-300.

Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, "Si ja amors autre pro non tengues"[486]

A Mon Segur, chanzon, te fai saber,
e digas li, e semblara plazer,
c'om miels de leis no sap dir ni entendre
ni miels chantar, mas trop poignh' ad aprendre.

Make yourself known, song, to My Assurance, and tell her, for it will please her, that no one can speak, nor understand nor sing better than her, for she exceedingly strives to learn.

486 Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, "Si ja amors autre pro non tengues," trans. in consultation with *Poems*, ed. and trans. Linskill, pp. 294-295.