FRENCH TROUBADOURS:
ASSIMILATING OCCITAN LITERATURE IN NORTHERN FRANCE (1200-1400)

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ABSTRACT

French Troubadours explores the reception of Occitan lyric in France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, that is, in the period corresponding to the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229) and its aftermath, which witnessed France’s annexation of the majority of Occitania. Surveying the corpus of French romances that quote Occitan song (Part I) and French songbooks that also contain Occitan lyrics (Part II), it shows how Occitan poems—from the very beginning of their French reception—were subtly incorporated into the French canon by way of imitation, compilation with French texts, and adaptation to the French sound system.

Chapter 1, on Jean Renart's Roman de la rose, shows how the troubadours are collapsed into a set of francophone lyrics, which are enjoyed not in France but by the Holy Roman Emperor. French-language lyric, and other forms of French culture, are presented as the degré zéro of culture in the German Empire, while Germanic languages are treated as foreign. In Chapter 2, I turn to Gerbert de Montreuil’s Roman de la violette, which, like Renart's Rose, appropriates troubadour lyrics linguistically, and—in one instance—also associates them with the Holy Roman Empire. Here, however, the Holy Roman Empire is not a neutral cadre, but a negative space. Chapter 3, devoted to Richard de Fournival's Bestiaire d'amour, shows how Richard obscures the first-person language and rhyme of the troubadour poems he quotes.

In Part II, I turn to the set of French songbooks that transmit Occitan lyric. A study of compilation patterns reveals that, rather than being transmitted in a separate section of songbooks, Occitan poems—which are often Gallicized—are almost always interspersed with French lyrics. Consequently, a medieval reader who encountered the troubadours only
in French transmission would have little chance of recognizing their cultural specificity. In Chapter 5, I explore the "pseudo-Occitan" corpus, which comprises pieces that contain Occitan phonological coloring but were probably composed by francophones. I show that these pieces occur primarily in a lower register. This trend fictionally repositions Occitan lyric as both “primitive” and—by extension—as anterior to French lyric.
# Table of Contents

Abstract ........................................................................................................................................... iii
Abbreviations and Sigla ....................................................................................................................... vi
Acknowledgments ............................................................................................................................... viii
**Introduction: French Troubadours** ................................................................................................. 1

Chapter 1. The French Empire of Jean Renart’s *Roman de la rose* ............................................. 35

Chapter 2. Birds of Prey and Birds of Song: Occitania in Gerbert de Montreuil’s *Roman de la violette* ............................................................................................................................. 66

Chapter 3. Forgetting the Troubadours in Richard de Fournival’s *Bestiaire d’amour* .......... 100

Chapter 4. Of Invisible Troubadours, Birds, and Madmen: Occitan Lyric in French Songbooks ....................................................................................................................................... 129

Chapter 5. The Rustic Troubadours: Pseudo-Occitan Literature in France ............................ 177

Epilogue ............................................................................................................................................... 222

Works Cited ......................................................................................................................................... 230
ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

Bibliographic Data

PC  Catalog of troubadour lyric compiled by Pillet and Carstens (Bibliographie der Troubadours. Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1933)


Manuscript Abbreviations and Sigla

Arras 657  Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 657 (French A)
Bern 389  Bern Burgerbibliothek, Hs. 389 (French C, Occitan b)
Douce 308  Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. 308
Fr. 795  Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Manuscrit français 795 (Occitan Y)
Fr. 837  Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Manuscrit français 837
Fr. 844  Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Manuscrit français 844, also known as the “Chansonnier du Roi” (French M/Mt, Occitan II)
Fr. 846  Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Manuscrit français 846, also known as the “Chansonnier Cangé” (French O)
Fr. 1802  Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Manuscrit français 1802
Fr. 12581  Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Manuscrit français 12581
Fr. 12615  Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Manuscrit français 12615, also known as the “Chansonnier de Noailles” (French T)
Fr. 12786  Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Manuscrit français 12786
Fr. 20050  Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Manuscrit français 20050 (French U, Occitan X)
Fr. 24406  Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Manuscrit français 24406 (French V, Occitan n)
Fr. 25532  Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Manuscrit français 25532
Montpellier Codex  Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS. 196
Thott 1087  Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Thott 1087 (Occitan Kp)
Vat 1490  Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. Lat. MS. 1490 (French a)
Vat 1659  Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. Lat. MS. 1659
Roman de la violette Sigla

A  Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Manuscrit français 1553
B  Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Manuscrit français 1374
C  Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Fr. Q. v. XIV. 3 (olim 53)
D  New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 36
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**INTRODUCTION: FRENCH TROUBADOURS**

*French Troubadours.* To some readers, my title will seem redundant. For those who encountered the troubadours in a survey course of French literature, it may seem entirely self-evident to view them as part of a French trajectory.¹ In such courses, it is not uncommon to see the troubadours proudly claimed as the origin of France’s lyric poetry. Other readers will be struck by the title’s inaccuracy. After all, the troubadours did not write in French. Nor did they write in France. Occitania, the area where the troubadours were active, is now part of France, but there was nothing French about it for much of the period in which the troubadours flourished.²

Occitania has long been home to regionalist movements, whose aims have ranged from the promotion of regional history and language to the institution of Occitania as a distinct, self-governing political entity. Although there are, of course, many regions in France where regionalist movements are still active (Brittany, the Basque country and Corsica especially), Occitania is in the unique position of having produced the first writers normally taught as part of the French canon. Indeed, the troubadours are the *only* writers who composed in the ancestor of what is now considered a “langue régionale” whose works are regularly considered canonical in France.³

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¹ Throughout this study, I use the term "troubadours" to refer to vernacular poets who wrote in Occitan—the medieval language used in the area that is now southern France—and the term "trouvères" to refer to vernacular poets who wrote in Old French.
² Occitania comprises roughly the southern third of metropolitan France. See below for a discussion of geographical boundaries. The view I am presenting here is admittedly Franco-centric; to an Italian or Catalan scholar it may seem self-evident that the troubadours are not French.
³ I am taking language as the restrictive category here rather than territory. Many of the major medieval "French" texts were composed outside of the current borders of France, including the canonical version of the *Chanson de Roland.*
I came to this project assuming that this vision of the troubadours as French resulted from the retrospective projection of France’s current political boundaries onto the medieval landscape, and that the troubadours had been subsumed into an imagined “past community” based, in part, on France’s current borders (Balibar 1988). Indeed, as recently as the nineteenth century, the “Frenchness” of the troubadours was not self-evident. As I discuss in greater depth below, some of the founding fathers of philology considered troubadour lyric to be a “foreign influence” on French poetry. Paul Meyer, for example, tellingly extended the possessive adjective “notre” to medieval authors who penned their works in Old French, but not to the troubadours. If nineteenth-century French scholars occasionally hesitated to consider the troubadours “native” to their own canon, surely, I thought, so did medieval French writers. Until the late thirteenth century, which saw France’s annexation of most of Occitania in 1271, after a series of bloody wars known as the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229), medieval francophone poets had little reason to consider the troubadours to be part of their own heritage. Moreover, the idiom of troubadour poetry was distinct enough from French dialects that much troubadour poetry must have been somewhat incomprehensible in francophone regions. Given this considerable divide, I assumed that francophone writers would treat the troubadours as foreign, and that they might even display some hostility towards them as representatives of a region with which many francophone territories were at war.

4 Meyer is not consistent in this respect, but on one occasion, regarding the presence of trouvères in the Midi, he says: "On n'en peut douter quand on considère combien nos chansons de geste et nos romans d'aventure furent répandus dans le Midi dès la fin du XIIe siècle" (Meyer 1890, 6).

5 The process of annexation was a gradual one. As I describe below, even before the Albigensian Crusade, the French king was the nominal overlord of some southern magnates, but it is doubtful that these political ties were felt on the ground. The Treaty of Paris (1229) dictated that Raymond VII of Toulouse’s daughter was to marry Louis IX’s brother and that Raymond was to cede his lands to the French king, but it was only in 1271 that the county of Toulouse was annexed by the French crown.
*French Troubadours* shows otherwise. Far from being treated as a foreign entity, Occitan lyric seems to have been always already considered French in northern sources, even long before Occitan-speaking territories were officially annexed to France. Through a survey of the two types of material—songbooks and lyric-interpolated narratives—in which Occitan lyric is quoted or compiled in native francophone territory, this dissertation charts the ways in which the linguistic and cultural specificity of Occitan lyric was undercut in its medieval French reception.\(^6\) While it will hardly be news to medievalists that the troubadours were appreciated, quoted and compiled in francophone territories in the thirteenth fourteenth centuries, *French Troubadours* aims to demonstrate that this French reception was also characterized by various procedures of assimilation, all of which actually made Occitan lyric less foreign.

**Geographical and Linguistic Boundaries**

As Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet points out, it is difficult to define what one means by “France” in the Middle Ages (Cerquiglini-Toulet 2010, 339). In medieval usage, the term could mean anything from the territory of the Franks, to the region controlled by the French king, to the area known today as the Île-de-France. For the purposes of this study, by “France,” I mean any territory in which Old French was spoken as a native language, even in coexistence with other languages.\(^7\) Given these parameters, Anglo-Norman England might have been included, but no manuscript from this region quotes or compiles the troubadours

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\(^6\) The influence of the troubadours arguably extends beyond this corpus. A troubadour is featured in the French romance *Joufroi de Poitiers*, and one could argue for an influence of troubadour lyric on Marie de France’s *lais*. However, in neither of these instances is troubadour poetry actually quoted or compiled, although there are some verbal reminiscences in *Joufroi* (Sakari 1993).

\(^7\) I make one exceptional foray into the Italian reception of the troubadours via a manuscript of the *Bestiaire* from Lombardy. The only other manuscripts to combine French and Occitan are from Italian-speaking areas.
in conjunction with French texts.) Whenever relevant, I have distinguished between what we might consider the proto-French nation—i.e. the expanding territories of the Capetians—and francophone areas of the western borders of the Holy Roman Empire. Indeed, many of the “French” romances and manuscripts that include Occitan are either from, or set in Lotharingia—the middle space between France and the Empire. The area I describe as France, then, is politically diverse, although this period saw the rise of the Capetians through wars such as the Battle of Bouvines (1214).

By Occitania, I mean the region extending from the Pyrenees to the Alps and northwards to the Auvergne and the Limousin (see Figure 1). The medieval poet Albertet describes Occitania as encompassing Gascony, Provence, the Limousin, the Auvergne and the Viennois (Harvey and Paterson 2010, 100). Occitania corresponds in part to the administrative unit of the “Septem Provinciae” in Roman Gaul, although the cultural and linguistic specificity of medieval Occitania is only partially related to the Roman presence in the region. This area represents something between the southern third and the southern half of the current French nation. I have tried to use the term “Occitania” rather than “southern France” whenever possible in order to avoid suggesting the existence of a nation that had not yet come into being—but I have occasionally used the terms “South”/“Midi” vs. “North” to distinguish between Occitania and France.

8 Vat. 1659 may in fact be from Anglo-Norman territory, but its provenance has not been clearly established.
9 The traditional account of the linguistic division or isogloss between what is now northern and southern France is that the Germanic invasions had more of an influence in the North than the South, both linguistically and culturally. Roman law, for example, survived in Occitania for much of the Middle Ages. This view of Germanic influence is now thought to be oversimplified. In any case, the linguistic divide follows no clear political or geographical frontier (Lodge 1993, 75).
10 The Loire River is sometimes described as the point of demarcation between the two territories, which would situate the linguistic divide as far north as Nantes, Angers and Tours. Others would place it closer to Poitiers and Limoges (see Figure 1). Where one positions the isogloss depends on the linguistic features used to establish it. The situation “on the ground” was much closer to a continuum than to a sharp divide (Lodge 1993, 72).
Like the French-speaking territories from which the songbooks and narratives that compile and quote the troubadours came, Occitania was politically diverse. Until the Albigensian Crusade, the powerful political players in Occitania included the dukes of Aquitaine, the counts of Toulouse and the kings of Aragon-Catalonia (Paterson 1993, 1). Generally speaking, the western part of Occitania (and, indeed, much further north) was controlled by the dukes of Aquitaine, who were nominal vassals of the Capetian kings. Upon Eleanor of Aquitaine’s marriage to Henry II of England, this territory fell under the control of the Plantagenets. Poitou, however, was re-annexed by Philip Augustus in 1204. The counts of Toulouse—technically also vassals of the French king—held most of the Languedoc, with some territories falling under the control of Ramon Berenguer IV, count of Barcelona (Paterson 1993, 1). The part of Provence beyond the Rhone lay within the
kingdom of Burgundy, which, in turn, was one of the realms of the Holy Roman Empire (Strayer 1992, 12).

Given this absence of political unification, the question of a pan-Occitan cultural identity is a valid one, and it has implications for how native French speakers thought of the troubadours. After all, one could argue that it would be difficult to conceive of the troubadours as a cohesive group of writers if there was no notion of Occitania as a unified space—whether culturally or politically. There is earlier evidence of a perceived cultural unity in Occitania from the North than there is from within Occitania itself. Writing in the eleventh century, Rodolfus Glaber complained of the influx of southerners resulting from King Robert II of France’s marriage to Queen Constance of Arles. Although he still refers to the southerners by their regions of origin—Auvergne and Aquitaine—there nevertheless emerges a sense of a “South” whose customs contrast with those of a “North,” which is also identified by region (France—here clearly the “Île-de-France”—and Burgundy) (Paterson 2011, 2). Paterson has argued that a sense of pan-regional Occitan identity only strongly emerged in the thirteenth century around the time of the Albigensian Crusade, adducing the fact that only in this period did French come to be clearly differentiated from Occitan through the use of labels like langue du roi and roman in municipal documents (Paterson 2011, 3, 5).

Related to this question of the perception of cultural cohesiveness is a linguistic one. Today, we tend to think of the medieval linguistic landscape of France as being divided in two, with dialects of French spoken in the North, and dialects of Occitan spoken in the

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11 Hamilton’s account of the political situation in Occitania at the time of the Albigensian Crusade is quite detailed (Hamilton 2008).
12 Both of these labels were used for French. On the lack of a pan-regional identity in later periods, see Ladurie 1977. Ladurie states provocatively that “except for the truly pan-Occitanian world of the troubadours, there has never been historically a unified Occitanian political consciousness” (Ladurie 1977, 23).
South (see Figure 1). Many border areas spoke dialects with traits of both Occitan and French. These include the Angoumois, Poitou, Limousin, Berry, Marche, Auvergne and Bourbonnais (Paterson 1993, 2). Even though we should not take it as a foregone conclusion that medieval thinkers divided up the linguistic landscape in the same way, there is strong evidence to suggest that they had some notion of two linguistic spaces. Despite the lack of a clear medieval term for the dialects of the South, it appears both that Occitan was perceived as a pan-regional language and that Occitan was considered to be a vernacular distinct from French, as I will show below.

That Occitan was perceived as a language common to the South—or at least to the troubadours—is clear from the Catalan Raimon Vidal’s treatise on vernacular lyric composition, the Razos de trobar (ca. 1190-1213). Here Raimon advises aspiring composers of lyric to write in the language of “Lemosy,” a term he uses to describe the tongue spoken in areas well beyond the Limousin, including Provence, Auvergne and the Quercy. The troubadour Paulet de Marseilla also seems to think of language as the unifying force in Occitania, using the term “lenguatge” to mean something akin to “homeland.” Similarly, Raymond VII of Toulouse is reported to have exhorted residents of the Languedoc by identifying them through their common language: “Hominis nostre ydiome, videlicet de hac

13 “[...] qant ieu parlarai de ‘Lemosy’, qe totas estas terras entendas et totas lor vezinas et totas cellas qe son entre ellas” (“[...] when I speak of ‘Limousin,’ I mean all of those lands and the neighboring lands, and all those that are between them”) (Marshall 1972, 4, vv. 59–64).

14 Only one manuscript transmits Paulet’s piece (L’autrier m’anav’ab cor pensiu, ca. 1265-6, PC 319,6), a political pastorela regarding Charles of Anjou’s claim to Provence, and it contains lacunae which obscure its meaning. A clear supporter of Peter of Aragon, the shepherdess first asks why Charles of Anjou kills Occitans who have done him no wrong: “Mas, sius platz, senher, digatz mi / del comte que Proensa te / por que los proensals ausi / ni ls destrui, qu’ilh no’ilh forfan re?” (“But, if you please, sir, tell me why the count who holds Provence kills Provençaux and destroys them, when they have committed no crime?”). She then refers to someone (a lacuna renders this passage difficult to understand) who expelled the French from their domain: “tro que ls agues mes en l’or / [lacuna] e’il gites de nostre lenguatge for” (“until he had expelled them to the border and thrown them out of our homeland”) (Riquer 1975, vol. III, 1452, my italics). Riquer notes: “lenguatge parece estar en el sentido de comunidad idiomática” (Riquer 1975, 1452).
nostro lingua” ("Men of our idiom, that is to say, of our language") (Riquer 1975, 1452). This same unifying quality of language is evident in the term *patria linguæ occitanae*, used to refer to Occitania in fourteenth-century administrative documents (Paterson 1993, 3). Indeed, that language was the backbone of Occitania is still evident in the modern term Languedoc.

The earliest evidence of Occitan being perceived as a language distinct from French comes from native Catalan and Italian speakers. Raimon Vidal—mentioned above—speaks of French and Occitan as two separate languages in the *Razos de trobar*, describing each as suited to different genres (more on this below). After a trip through what is now northern France, Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) remarked that the dialects spoken in “France” (probably the Île-de-France), Picardy and Burgundy were all one language.\(^\text{15}\) That Aquinas should make this observation suggests that the unity of Old French dialects was not a well-established fact in the eyes of his contemporaries. But more pertinently, Aquinas’s silence with respect to what we now call Occitania may suggest that he did not consider those dialects to be part of Old French. Echoing Aquinas while extending his linguistic map south-and eastward, in his *De vulgari eloquentia*, Dante Alighieri describes Occitan and French as two branches of a “tripartite language” whose third branch is, naturally, Italian. He describes these three languages by reference to the term for “yes” in each one, producing the labels “language of *oc*,” “language of *ôil*” and “language of *sì*” respectively (Bk. I, 8).\(^\text{16}\) The picture is

\(^\text{15}\) “In eadem lingua saepe diversa locutio fit, sicut patet in Francia, et Picardia, et Burgundia, et tamen una loquela est” (“In one language one finds different ways of speaking, as is clear in France, Picardy and Burgundy; however, it is one language”) (Lusignan 1987, 61). Writing in the late thirteenth century, Nicolas de la Lyre makes a similar argument about the unity of French dialects (Lusignan 1987, 62), as does Roger Bacon (Lusignan 1987, 68).

\(^\text{16}\) “Totum vero quod in Europa restat ab istis tertium tenuit ydioma, licet nunc tripharium videatur: nam alii *oc*, alii *ôil*, alii si affirmando locuntur, ut puta Yspani, Franci et Latini” (“All the rest of Europe that was not dominated by these two vernaculars was held by a third, although nowadays this itself seems to be divided in three: for some now *say oc*, some *say ôil*, and some *sì*”) (trans. Botterill). The terms *Languedôil* and *Languedoc* also appear in charters to identify two distinct regions, but the
more complicated in his *Convivio*, which describes individual vernaculars as the “species” of which Latin is the “genus.” Even as Dante suggests a close relationship between vernaculars, however, he notes the lack of mutual comprehensibility between them.\(^1^7\)

Curiously, there are fewer direct pronouncements on the linguistic difference between Occitan and French in both of the areas in which these were native languages, and most are from relatively late in the Middle Ages. The fourteenth-century Occitan *Leys d’amors* refers to French as a “lengatge estranh” (Molinier 1977, vol. II, 388).\(^1^8\) Pope John XXII, who reigned in Avignon from 1316-1334, apparently could not read the letters written in French sent to him by Charles IV without the help of a translator. A later visitor to the Avignon papal court, Pierre Ravat, apologized for speaking his native “Tolosan,” explaining that he knew no “Gallican” (Paden 1993, 37). From the French perspective, Occitan seemed equally difficult to understand. In 1188, Aimeric de Varennes, from somewhere near Lyon (in Franco-Provençal territory), described his language as “salvaige” to the ears of the French (Paden 1993, 37).

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\(^{17}\) “Che lo latino non sia conoscente del volgare e de’ suoi amici, cosi si pruova. Quelli che conosce alcuna cosa in genere, non conosce quella perfettamente: si come, se conosce da lungi uno animale, non conosce quello perfettamente, perché non sa se s’è cano o lupo o becco. Lo latino conosce lo volgare in genere, ma non distinto: che se esso lo conoscesse distinto, tutti li volgari conoscerebbe, perché non è ragione che l’uno più che l’altro conoscesse; e così in qualunque uomo fosse tutto l’abito del latino, sarebbe l’abito di conoscenza distinto de lo volgare. Ma questo non è; ché uno abituato di Latino non distingue, s’elli è d’Italia, lo volgare [inghilese] da lo tedesco; né lo tedesco, lo volgare italico dal provenzale. Onde è manifesto che lo latino non è conoscente de lo volgare” (Dante Alighieri 1986, I,6). In suggesting that a speaker of one vernacular—even if he knows Latin—cannot identify the specific properties separating one vernacular language from another, he suggests a certain lack of intelligibility across vernaculars even as he postulates their proximity. On this passage, see Kay 2012, 464.

\(^{18}\) This phrase could be interpreted as "strange idiom" rather than "foreign language," but, given that Molinier excludes French as a language of poetic competition (along with Norman, Picard, Breton, Flemish, English, Lombard, Navarrese, Castilian and German), I opt for the latter translation. The language that might be described as a strange idiom here is Gascon, which is said to be too distant from Occitan to be admitted: "Pero de nostra leys s’aluenha / La parladura de Gascuenha" (Molinier 1919, II, 163–4).
Some of the clearest evidence of a linguistic divide comes not from direct pronouncements but rather from multilingual or bilingual compositions from both sides of the linguistic border. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras’s famous descort, *Eras quan vey verdeyar* (PC 392,4), deploys both languages separately—along with Italian, Gascon, and Gallego-Portuguese.19 Richard the Lionheart, king of England, may have written poetry in both French and Occitan.20 Gaucelm Faidit exchanged a partimen (PC 178,1; 167,30b) in both languages with his patron, Geoffroy of Brittany, in 1186. He may also have written a piece in French himself (PC 167,50). Raimbaut de Vaqueiras exchanged a tenso in both French and Occitan (PC 392,29) with the trouvere Conon de Béthune.

The existence of these bilingual literary pieces would seem to indicate a high degree of mutual intelligibility between French and Occitan. The situation with legal and administrative documents mostly confirms this picture, with a few exceptions. Occitan documents sent to Paris were not translated (unlike those written in Flemish), suggesting a higher degree of comprehensibility between French and Occitan than between French and non-romance languages. Likewise, when quoted within French charters, excerpts or brief quotations from Occitan charters were usually not translated (Lusignan 2004, 143). Nevertheless, translation between the two languages seems to have been expected in some circumstances. In the fourteenth century, although the royal chanceries under Philip IV and Philip VI employed staff who were native to Occitan-speaking regions, documents destined for the Midi were issued not in French but in Latin, on the understanding that they would be translated “in romancio” (“into the vernacular”) on their arrival.

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19 Throughout this dissertation, PC numbers refer to Pillet and Carstens’s catalog of troubadour lyric (Pillet and Carstens 1933).
20 Two pieces are currently attributed to Richard, *Dalfin, je’us voill densier* (PC 420,1) and *Ja nus bons pris* (PC 420,2). The first of these survives in an Occitan version (Falck).
French Narrative, Occitan Lyric

That French and Occitan were mutually intelligible to certain literati is suggested by the fact that Raimon Vidal and Dante speak of both French and Occitan as more appropriate to certain genres. They are thus framed as part of a romance palette whose individual colors are chosen based on the type of composition one chooses to write. Describing literary production in the language of oïl, Dante cites compilations from the Bible, histories of Troy and Rome, Arthurian tales, and “many other works of history and doctrine” (Book I, 10). By contrast, Dante presents the language of oc as that of the first vernacular poems, including those of Peire d’Alvernha (Book I, 10). Not surprisingly, then, in his section on lyric poetry, it is Occitan poets rather than French ones whom Dante quotes the most. Raimon Vidal makes a similar case regarding the division between French and Occitan, postulating that French is better suited to romances and pastourelles: “La parladura francesa val mais et [es] plus avinenz a far romanz et pasturellas, mas cella de Lemosin val mais per far vers et cansons et serventes” (“the French language is better suited and more beautiful for making romances and pastourelles, but the one [language] of Limousin is better for making songs and cansos and sirventes”) (Marshall 1972, 6). Of all lyric genres,

21 Dante's association is between works of prose (of which narrative texts such as Arthurian romances are a subset) and French: "Allegat ergo pro se lingua oïl quod propter sui faciliorem ac delectabiliorem vulgaritatem quicquid redactum sive inventum est ad vulgare prosaicum, suum est: videlicet Biblia cum Troyanorum Romanorumque gestibus compilata et Arturi regis ambages pulcerrime et quamplures alie ystorie ac doctrine" ("Thus the language of oïl adduces on its own behalf the fact that, because of the greater facility and pleasing quality of its vernacular style, everything that is recounted or invented in vernacular prose belongs to it: such as compilations from the Bible and the histories of Troy and Rome, and the beautiful tales of King Arthur, and many other works of history and doctrine") (trans. Botterill).

22 The Occitan poets quoted by Dante are Arnaut Daniel, Bertran de Born, and Giraut de Borneil.
only the *pastourelle* is better suited to the French language, in Raimon’s view, perhaps because it is one of the more “narrative” of French poetic genres.\(^{23}\)

Dante’s and Raimon’s association between French and narrative, on the one hand, and Occitan and lyric poetry, on the other, is echoed elsewhere. So strong is the association between Occitan and song that the author of the grammar entitled the *Doctrina d’acort* refers to the Occitan language as “chanz” (Terramagnino da Pisa 1972, vv. 131, 146, 147 and passim). Regarding French and narrative, as Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet points out, the evolution of the term *roman* from a linguistic designation (*roman* was traditionally used to distinguish the vernacular from Latin) to a generic designation (romance, novel) is testament to the strength of the association between French and the *roman* (Cerquiglini-Toulet 2010, 343).

The chronicler Philippe Mousket (1215-1283) chose to give a quasi-divine underpinning to the generic and linguistic divide, arguing that when Charlemagne separated his conquests, he gave Provence as a fief to the minstrels and *jongleurs* who had followed his army. Just as land is passed on from generation to generation, so is the “gift” of poetry:

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Dont departi Karles les tieres,
Qu’il avoit conquises par gières [...] 
Li manestrel et li jougleur 
Orent Prouence, si fu leur. 
Par nature encor çou trouvons, 
Font Provenciel et cans et sons 
Millors que gent d’autres païs. 
Pour çaus dont il furent nays.
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(When Charlemagne divided the lands he had conquered through war [...] the minstrels and jongleurs had Provence. Through nature still we find this, that the Provençals make better melodies and lyrics than people from other countries, because of those from whom they were born.) (Mousket 1836, vv. 6274–5, 6298–6304)

\(^{23}\) Jeanroy and early scholars would have called the *pastourelle* (and the *chanson de toile*) “objective” genres, in which the poet describes characters from an outside perspective rather than voicing his subjective emotions (Jeanroy 1889a, xix).
Mousket's explanation for the superiority of Occitan song teeters on the divide between nature and culture. Is this “nature” (v. 6300) truly an inherited biological trait, passed from generation to generation, or is it the result of a cultural tradition that has been cultivated and inculcated in successive generations in Occitania? In any case, Mousket's complimentary attitude towards Occitan song is the only positive thing he finds to say about the region, which he otherwise describes in disparaging terms.24

Given Occitania’s international reputation for lyric poetry, then, it is unsurprising to find that it is exclusively this part of the Occitan corpus that appears to have appealed to francophone audiences. With only a few possible exceptions, there is no evidence that non-lyric Occitan production was known to francophone readers.25 The converse, however, is not true: while displaying a marked predilection for French narrative material, Occitan audiences were also interested in French poetry. Several French lyrics are transmitted in otherwise Occitan sources (Rosenberg 1998). François Pirot has traced references in the troubadours’ lyrics to the “matière de Bretagne,” romances by Chrétien de Troyes, the Tristan legend, and the four romances of Thèbes, Troie, Eneas, and the Alexandre (Pirot 1972, 325–539). Finally, the Occitan romance Flamenca mentions a broad array of French texts—all narrative rather than lyric—including the lais of Chèvrefeuille and Tintagel, the Conte du

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24 “Quar quant li buens rois Charlemaine / Ot toute mise à son demaine / Provence qui moult iert plentive / De vins, de bois, d'aigue, de rive / As lécéours, as manestreus, / Qui sont auques luxurieus / Le donna toute & departi” (“When the good king Charlemagne had put all this under his control he gave Provence, which was very full of wine, of woods, of water, of rivers to the lewd people, to the minstrels who are also lustful”) (Mousket 1836, vv. 22429–22435). Elsewhere he complains that they are “sodomite, / Pifle, rawardenc et irete” (“sodomites, gluttonous, impious (?) and heretical”) (vv. 22415-6).

25 One might make a case for resemblances between Machaut’s Voir Dit and Flamenca, and between Jean Renart’s Escoufle and the same romance but these cases are not clear-cut. Lejeune has argued for reciprocal influence between Jaufre and Chrétien de Troyes’s romances (Lejeune 1953). More broadly, Sylvia Huot has identified various motifs from troubadour poetry (e.g. the eaten heart and the nightingale) which she thinks infused French romance (Huot 1999).
Graal, the Chevalier au lion, the Chevalier de la charrette, Erec et Enide, the Tristan romance and the Bel inconnu.\textsuperscript{26}

\textbf{The Albigensian Crusade and Cultural Tension}

The story usually told about these mutual relationships of literary influence between French and Occitan speakers is that they came to a close as a result of a war called the Albigensian Crusade.\textsuperscript{27} The war, which was initiated by Pope Innocent III, began as an attempt to eradicate a heresy called Catharism in Occitania. Asked by the pope for his assistance in suppressing the heresy that flourished there, Philip Augustus was initially reticent. Philip had only recently secured territories in Normandy and Anjou from John of England, and was hesitant to direct his attention elsewhere, despite Pope Innocent’s assurance that crusaders would receive the land they captured as compensation for their efforts (Strayer 1992, 49).\textsuperscript{28} However, the assassination of papal legate Pierre de Castelneu in 1208—possibly by an agent of Count Raymond of Toulouse—forced Philip to take action. Rather than going to fight himself, however, he sent his vassals, the Duke of Burgundy and the Count of Nevers. Thus began a series of military campaigns in the region, which involved crusaders not just from France but also from the Empire, Italy, Flanders and English Gascony (Hamilton 2008, 167). French feudal law was gradually imposed on the region, beginning with the Statutes of Pamiers, drawn up in 1212 (Strayer 1992, 87). Although the war officially came to an end with the Treaty of Paris (1229), Occitania only

\textsuperscript{26} These evocations occur in the context of the wedding celebrations surrounding Flamenc and Archambaut’s marriage (Lavaud and Nelli 1960, vv. 592ff.)

\textsuperscript{27} William Paden, for example, argues that French interest in Occitan literature declined because of tension resulting from the Crusade (Paden 1993, 53).

\textsuperscript{28} Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay also mentions Otto IV of Brunswick, the Guelf claimant to the title of Holy Roman Emperor, as one of Philip Augustus’s concerns (Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay 1998, 42).
truly became French as a result of the marriage of Jeanne, daughter of Count Raymond of Toulouse to Alphonse of Poitiers, brother of the King of France. Upon Raymond’s death, it was agreed that the county of Toulouse would be passed on to Jeanne and Alphonse (Strayer 1992, 137).

Three medieval sources describe the war in depth. These are the two Latin chronicles of Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay and William of Puylaurens and a vernacular poem called the *Song of the Albigensian Crusade*. Peter’s account was written in stages between 1212 and 1218. It begins with the preaching campaign launched from 1203 to 1208 in an attempt to spread orthodoxy. The discussion then shifts to the tenets of Catharism, and finally to the early years of the Crusade. The chronicle concludes shortly after the 1218 death of Simon of Montfort, head of the crusading forces (Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay 1998). William of Puylaurens is able to provide more information on the later years of the Crusade and its aftermath (through 1275), having been chaplain to Raymond VII of Toulouse from 1244 onwards (William of Puylaurens 2003). The two Latin chroniclers are sympathetic to the Church’s mission in Occitania. The situation is more complex in the *Song of the Albigensian Crusade* (ca. 1213), which was written by two authors with different viewpoints. Like the chroniclers mentioned above, the first, William of Tudela, is supportive of the French crusaders, but the second, who does not name himself, is more sympathetic to the southerners, if not to the Cathars themselves (Zink 1989).

The received view of the Albigensian Crusade was, for a long time, that the war devastated the courts that provided patronage to the troubadours, thereby destroying their art. Recent scholarship has revealed this account to be exaggerated. Elizabeth Aubrey, William Burgwinkle and William Paden, among others, have all contested the idea that the

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Crusade eradicated troubadour poetry (Aubrey 1997; Burgwinkle 1999; Paden 1995). As has been well documented, the troubadours continued to flourish elsewhere, notably in Italy and Catalonia (Cabré 1999; Folena 1990; Meneghetti 1984). Indeed, if the troubadours were uprooted by the war, this seems only to have been beneficial for the reception and appreciation of their poetry elsewhere. As Burgwinkle has argued, the diaspora created by the Albigensian Crusade resulted in a veritable fascination with their poetry in Italy, where it was compiled into numerous songbooks, whose number in fact increases, rather than decreases, over the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Burgwinkle 1999, 247). Typical of the Italian reception of the troubadours is an interest not just in the poems themselves but in the biographical circumstances behind them, leading to the production of the so-called razos (explanations of individual poems) and vidas (lives of the poets). As we will see, the Italian fascination not just with troubadour poetry but with the lives of individual troubadours provides a striking contrast to the French reception, where the troubadours are almost always transmitted anonymously.30

Even if troubadour poetry continued to flourish long after the war, however, it is indisputable that tensions between Occitania and France peaked during and in the aftermath of the Albigensian Crusade. Probably composing in the wake of the war, the author of the tale Frayre de joy et sor de plaser declines to employ the French language because he associates it with those who have oppressed his culture: “Sitot Frances a bel lengatge / No’m pac en re de son linatge, / car son erguylos ses merce / [...] Per qu’eu no vull parlar frances” (“Even though the French have a beautiful language, their lineage does not please me, for they are proud and without mercy; [...] for this reason, I do not wish to speak French”) (Thiolier-

30 On the strong tendency towards author attribution in Italian sources of the troubadours, see Gambino 2000.
Without explaining his reasoning, the troubadour Calega Panzan (ca. 1230-1313) refers to the French as “frances chiflatz” (“laughable French,” PC 107,1), while an anonymous poet labels them as “fals” (“false,” PC 461, 247) (Schulze-Busacker 1987, 30). Differences between French and Occitanians are also the subject of a partimen or debate-poem between Monge and Albertet (PC 16,17/PC303,1). Albertet defends the Occitanians, arguing that they are welcoming, cheerful and hospitable (Harvey and Paterson 2010, 100–101). In France, he claims, you could die of hunger before anyone offered you food. Monge counters that the Occitanians rob pilgrims and churches and are objectionably scruffy, while the French have good manners, nice clothing and expensive weapons. Drawing on that still-familiar stereotype of southern joie de vivre, Albertet protests that, for all of their material wealth, the French just don’t know how to have fun: “Monges, manjars ses gabar e ses rire / non pot esser fort azautz ni plazens” (“Monge, eating without joking or laughing can’t be very enjoyable or pleasant”).

Several troubadours reacted more directly to the Crusade in their portrayal of French culture. The Song of the Albigensian Crusade is the lengthiest of these poetic responses. Even in the first section of the poem, which, as mentioned earlier, is sympathetic to the crusader cause, the French are described as “aicela gens estranha” (“that foreign people”) (Zink 1989, 152). The author of the second section is more overtly critical. He describes the French as aggressive by their very nature: “E Frances, per natura, deu conquerir primers / E conquer tant que puja pus aut c’us esparviers” (“And a Frenchman, by nature, must conquer first of all, and conquer so much that he thinks himself higher than a sparrowhawk”) (Zink 1989, 31). These words are placed in the mouth of the Count of Foix, and thus may therefore not entirely reflect the Guilhem’s views.

31 Martin Aurell’s La vieille et l’épée is a broader examination of the political contexts of troubadour poetry in the thirteenth century (Aurell 1989). Jeanroy attempts to catalog all troubadour poems written in response to the Crusade (Jeanroy 1934, vols. II, 212–232).

32 These words are placed in the mouth of the Count of Foix, and thus may therefore not entirely reflect the Guilhem’s views.
In an anonymous *sirventes*, *Vai Ugonet, ses bistensa* (ca. 1213), the poet exhorted Peter II of Aragon to defend his vassals from the French (Jeanroy 1974, 240–243). Guilhem Rainol d’At taunted Simon de Montfort after his defeat at Beaucaire (1216) in *A tornar m’er* (PC 231,1a), complaining of his “enjanz” (perfidy) and his false promise of peace (Jeanroy 1974, 244–248). In the aftermath of the Treaty of Paris in 1229, when Count Raymond VII of Toulouse was forced to surrender most of his possessions to the French king and the papacy, Bernart de la Barta composed *Foilla ni flors* (PC 58,4) in defense of the count. He also alludes to the false peace resulting from the treaty as a “patz de clercs et de Frances” (“peace of clerks and Frenchmen”) (Chambers 1979, 53). Bernart Sicart de Marvejols expressed similar discontent at the results of this treaty in *Ab greu cossire*, lamenting that wherever he goes, he sees Occitanians meekly addressing the French as “sir.” Boniface de Castellana supported the rebellion against the French at Marseille in 1262 with his poem *Si tot no m es fort gaya la sazos*, dramatically dedicated to the “Provenzals paubres e cossiros” (“poor and anxious Provençaux”) (PC 102,3; Parducci 1920, 503). Anti-clerical and even anti-papal sentiment—which was exacerbated by the Inquisition established in the aftermath of the Crusade—can be found in the works of Peire Cardenal, Guilhem Montanhagol and Guilhem Figueira.

Evidence of French perceptions of Occitania in the years surrounding the Albigensian Crusade is somewhat more scarce. Both authors of the Latin war chronicles, William of Puylaurens and Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay, are remarkably careful to

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33 Stanza II begins: “Vas on que’m vire, / Aug la corteza gen / Que cridon Cyre / al Frances humilmen” (“wherever I turn / I see courtly people / who cry out “sir!” / to the French humbly”) (Jeanroy 1974, 249–253).
34 Guilhem Figueira's vehement denunciation of Rome, *D’un sirventes far*, hammers in its accusations over the course of twenty-three stanzas (Garreau 1984). Possession of one of Peire Cardenal’s *sirventes* was used to prove the anti-clerical tendencies of its owner by the inquisitor Jacques Fournier (Léglu 2002, 119). Guilhem Montanhagol complains about the excessive actions of certain inquisitors in *Del tot vey remaner valor* (Jeanroy 1974, 254–258).
distinguish between the “southerners” more generally and the heretics (William was in fact born in Toulouse). While obviously biased towards the Crusader cause, finding a way of blaming everything on the supporters of heresy, Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay does not stereotype the “enemy.” Even though he freely attacks individual Occitanians who supposedly protected heretics, such as the Count of Foix (Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay 1998, 107), he only occasionally gestures towards southerners more generally.

Both French and Occitan texts are remarkably laconic on the heresy that lay at the origin of the Crusade (Léglu 2002, 119). One of the few French literary texts that does evoke the Cathar heresy in association with Occitania is Huon de Méri’s *Tournoiement Antichrist* (Huon de Méri 1976). Here Gascon, Auvergnat and Poitevin melodies are played in festivities celebrating the Antichrist, whose supporters include “Aubijois” (“Albigensians,” v. 2784) and “Toulousen” who are referred to as “Bogres” (“heretics,” v. 2776) and “tisserant” (v. 2784) (due to the association of heretics with the profession of weaving). The South—or at least Gascony, Auvergne, Toulouse and Albi—is thus aligned with the Antichrist, providing both his warriors and musical entertainment.

Although for many years writers whose interests in Occitania were political (and not just scholarly) have tried to demonstrate otherwise (Baris 1978; Lafont 1982a), there seems to have been little attempt on the part of the French to impose their language or to suppress Occitan cultural expression (Léglu 2008, 383; Strayer 1992, 167). In fact, the language of

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35 Peter’s bias is clear when he forgives Simon de Montfort for torturing the defenders of the *castrum* Bram by removing their eyes and noses because the Occitan soldiers had purportedly indulged in such atrocities themselves (Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay 1998, 79).
36 He refers, for instance, to the “foolish natives of the whole of this area,” who are too superstitious for his taste (Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay 1998, 117).
37 Cathars held that the material world was the creation of an evil deity, and that the true god had never taken on human form. For this reason, they rejected the Creation and Incarnation.
38 Despite its explicit evocation of the Cathars—who continue to attract a growing number of fanatics—and a recent edition by Margaret Bender, this text has fallen into a critical quasi-oblivion. Karen Sullivan’s recent book on heresy, for example, makes no mention of it (Sullivan 2005).
Paris only began to penetrate Occitania during the reign of Philip VI (1328-1350) (Lusignan 2004, 219). The first native Occitan to choose to write in French was Antoine de la Sale (ca. 1385-ca. 1460) (Zumthor 1995, 12). And although troubadour poetry does occasionally seem to have been used to demonstrate anti-clerical or anti-Papal sentiment (Léglu 2002, 119), this is not indicative of any kind of widespread hostility. This suggests that the types of assimilative procedures I outline in this study are the result more of an intense admiration for and envy of the prestigious body of troubadour poetry than of a desire to suppress Occitan culture.

Franco-Occitan Relations in the Academic Imagination

Interest in the interaction of the *trouvères* and troubadours reached its heyday in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—not coincidentally, the same period in which philology was most clearly caught up in questions of nationalism (Bloch and Nichols 1995). Most scholars of these periods thought of troubadour poetry as a foreign corpus, whose influence on French poetry was regrettable. Typical of this school of thought is Wackernagel, who expressed his regret that French poetry “se régla sur des modèles étrangers venus de Provence” (Jeanroy 1889a, xv). Many of these nineteenth-century philologists attempted to unearth an “original” French folk poetry uninfluenced by the

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39 On the French monarchy’s tolerance—and even promotion—of regional languages through the Renaissance, see Cohen 2001.

40 The foreignness of Occitan poetry in these scholars’ view may have been compounded by the regionalist activities of the Felibrige, the cultural and literary association founded by Mistral. By contrast, the sixteenth-century *homme de lettres* Étienne Pasquier considered Occitan to be a subset of French. Complaining about the linguistic diversity of medieval France, he notes scribes and poets who “escrivoyent au vulgaire de la Cour de leurs Maistres, qui en Picard, qui en Champenois, qui en Provençal, qui en Tholozan, tout ainsi que ceux qui estoient à la suite de nos Rois, escrivoyent au langage de leur Cour” (“who wrote in the vernacular of the court of their masters, some in Picard, some in Champenois, some in Provençal, some in Toulousain, just as those who were in the king’s retinue wrote in the language of their court”) (Cerquiglini 2007, 10).
troubadours, whose “courtly” influence they viewed as detrimental to the “spontaneous” qualities of this hypothetical French verse. Alfred Jeanroy’s *Les origines de la poésie française* (1889) endeavored, somewhat paradoxically, to show that the lyric forms generally held to be originally French are in fact Occitan, and that the true “original” French poetry—no longer extant anywhere—could only be seen on the horizon of the different national poetries that imitated it (he devoted individual chapters to Italy, Germany and Portugal). In some sense, then, Jeanroy aimed to show that the poetry of medieval France lies at the origin of everyone’s “national” corpus except its own.

Gaston Paris’s lengthy *compte rendu* of the book hammers in this nationalistic tension through genealogical metaphors: “... les diverses nations qui, d’après M. Jeanroy, l’ont adoptée [la poésie française], et qui, ayant oublié d’où elle venait, ont cru jusqu’à présent qu’elle était leur fille légitime, la voient avec surprise revendiquée par sa véritable mère” (Paris 1892, 2). Metaphors of lineage recur throughout the text, such as Paris’s image of the “cradle” (“berceau”) of most European poetry as the border regions between *oc* and *oil* territories—the Poitou, the Marche and the Limousin (G. Paris 1892, 60). Although many of the earliest troubadours were indeed active in Poitou, Paris’s choice of this intermediary space as a common point of origin for both French and Occitan poetry supplies a convenient solution to the debate.

Paul Meyer, writing around the same time as Jeanroy, instead stubbornly insists on the “Frenchness” of the *trouvères*, arguing that most of the formal overlap between *trouvère* and troubadour poetry is a coincidence, with northern poets having arrived independently at the same forms (Meyer 1890, 11). Despite devoting page after page to likely *contrafacta* (poems which imitate the form of an earlier piece) and to historical documentation of cultural interaction between the North and South, Meyer still insisted that “on exagérerait
singulièrement la portée de ces emprunts si l’on voulait en conclure que la poésie lyrique du Nord a été conçue à l’imitation de celle du Midi” (Meyer 1890, 13).

In addition to pursuing this question of origins, much early work explored the historical circumstances surrounding the interaction of troubadours and *trouvères*. The most widely accepted theory is that Eleanor of Aquitaine, granddaughter of the first known troubadour, Guilhem de Peiteus, brought troubadour poetry (and actual troubadours) with her when she married Louis VII, king of France, in 1137.41 Eleanor’s entourage would have provided a receptive audience for the performance of such poetry in the North. One Norman chronicle suggests that Eleanor continued to speak Occitan with her barons (Gauchat 1893, 376). The enduring northern survival of troubadour lyric is perhaps a result of the patronage of Eleanor’s two daughters, Marie de Champagne and Aélis de Blois (Lejeune 1958; Lejeune 1954). According to this theory, their patronage spread Occitan lyric arts further north via their respective courts (D. Nelson 1995, 255). Marie’s court may have hosted Conon de Béthune and Bertran de Born, an encounter to which Lejeune attributes Conon’s borrowings of troubadour rhyme schemes (Lejeune 1958, 325). Blois was frequented by Gaucelm Faidit and Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, in addition to *trouvères* such as Gace Brulé and Huon d’Oisy (Lejeune 1958, 328), Guillaume de Ferrières and Le Vidame de Chartres (Bracken 2002, 100). The court of Geoffroy II, Duke of Brittany (1158-1186) may also have been the site of encounters between troubadours such as Bertran de Born, Guiraut de Calanson, Gaucelm Faidit, Peire Vidal, Raimon Vidal, and *langue d’oil* poets Guiot de Provins and Gace Brulé (Lejeune 1958, 323). Lejeune views the role of the courts of Eleanor

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41 Louis Gauchat, following Paul Meyer (Meyer 1890, 3), argues that imitation between lyric in *langue d’oil* and that in *langue d’oc* began when Eleanor of Poitiers was queen of France (1137-1152) (Gauchat 1893, 376, 390). Ruth Harvey remains unconvinced by this theory (Harvey 2005). Elsewhere she suggests that contact may have occurred in northern Italy—notably in Montferrat—rather than in the Plantagenet realm (Harvey 1995, 211).
and her descendants as so pivotal in the transmission and cultivation of Occitan poetry in
the north that she describes these environments as the site of a “bilingual civilization” which
resulted in such “franco-provençal” works as *Girart de Roussillon* (Lejeune 1958, 332).42
However, even if members of Eleanor’s court were often bilingual, this does not explain the
curious admixture of languages in the poem, since a bilingual or diglossic linguistic
community does not necessarily produce a language that fuses the languages spoken in its
midst.

Pierre Bec also hypothesizes that interaction between the troubadours and *trouvères*
was at its height in the Aquitaine and the domains controlled by the Plantagenets (Bec 1986,
9). In support of his case, he points to the number of famous troubadours who were active
in these areas. These include, by his reckoning, Guilhem IX, Jaufre Rudel, Marcabru, Peire
Rogier, Rigaut de Berbezilh, Bernart de Ventadorn, Peire d’Alvernha, Guiraut de Bornelh,
Arnaut Daniel, Arnaut de Marcuil, Bertran de Born, Gaucelm Faidit, Gui d’Ussel and others.
Bec points out that the only famous troubadours who were *not* from areas under the control
of the Plantagenets are Raimbaut d’Aurenga, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras and Folquet de
Marselha (Bec 1986, 10).

Other proposed scenarios in which troubadours may have come into contact with
*trouvères* (and, indeed, with lyric poets of other linguistic traditions) include international
festivals such as the one held at Mainz in 1184, which was attended by Guiot de Provins as
well as some troubadours (Cain Van D’Elden 1995, 264). Bernard Cerquiglini agrees that
international *foires* were a source of contact between troubadours and *trouvères*, and goes so
far as to propose that a sort of pidgin between French and Occitan may have been spoken

42 According to Lejeune, “il est [...] probable que la rédaction si curieuse d’œuvres en un franco-
provençal plus littéraire que dialectal doit son existence à ce phénomène d’interpénétration” (Lejeune
1958, 332).
there as well as in wars and for business purposes (Cerquiglini 1983, 19, 23). The Eastern Crusades may also have provided an occasion for contact between speakers of French and Occitan. There is one extant stanza by the *trouvère* Hugues de Berzé addressed to Folquet de Romans, in which Hugues asked Folquet to join him in the war, and this piece may be indicative of more widespread exchange (Meyer 1890, 6).

Other connections between the troubadours and *trouvères* have been proposed on the basis of *contrafacta*, or pairs of poems that share the same metrical structure, rhyme scheme or music. The poets involved in these exchanges include the Châtelain de Coucy and Bernart de Ventadorn (Rossi 1979), Conon de Béthune, Guiraut de Bornelh and Bertran de Born, and Thibaut de Champagne and Rigaut de Berbezilh (D. Nelson 1995, 259). 43 Formal imitation allowed for exchange between poets whose lifespans did not overlap.

The most solid evidence of interaction between the troubadours and their early French audiences is the fact that troubadour and *trouvère* lyrics are compiled together in French songbooks. The first scholar to document systematically the material preservation of Occitan literature in northern sources was Karl Bartsch (Bartsch 1872, 27ff.). Paul Meyer followed Bartsch’s lead in an article which notes—albeit in passing—the presence of troubadour lyric in several songbooks compiled in the North, including Bern 389, BnF fr. 20050 and BnF fr. 844 (Meyer 1890, 4). He also draws attention to several sources overlooked by Bartsch. Louis Gauchat (Gauchat 1893) further pursued this line of inquiry, providing a comprehensive survey of Occitan lyrics contained in French manuscripts.

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Following this survey of the land, Gauchat makes several general observations, noting that almost all of the Occitan songs preserved in northern transmission are *cansos*. In his view, there are only two real *sirventes* transmitted in the north, Guillem Magret’s *L’aigua poja contra mon* and Marcabru’s *Pax in nomine domini* (Gauchat 1893, 372). There is also one *tenso* and one *ballade*. He notes, further, that Marcabru’s *Pax in nomine domini* is the only piece relating to the Crusades, a fact that, in his view, weakens the hypothesis of contact between poets during the Crusades (Gauchat 1893, 372). He seems to favor the hypothesis that troubadour lyric flourished at Eleanor of Aquitaine and her descendants' courts, since he attributes the popularity of troubadours such as Bernart de Ventadorn and Rigaut de Barbezieux in the North to their relationship to the patronage of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Marie de Champagne respectively (Gauchat 1893, 373).

Gauchat’s article forms the basis for Manfred and Margret Raupach’s recent book-length study of the corpus of Frenchified or Gallicized Occitan lyric in French transmission, which extensively documents the presence of Occitan lyric in French songbooks (Raupach and Raupach 1979). Although their focus is on the linguistic process of Gallicization that often accompanies troubadour lyric in France, they also draw some conclusions about the corpus, which I will briefly summarize. The troubadours most represented in northern transmission are Bernart de Ventadorn (ten lyrics plus five later additions to fr. 844), Gaucelm Faidit (nine lyrics), Folquet de Marselha (eight), Peire Cardenal and Rigaut de Berbeziilh (six each), Peire Vidal (five) and Albertet de Sestaro (four) (Raupach and Raupach 1979, 53). As the Raupachs point out, some of these poets—Bernart de Ventadorn,

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44 The only omission I have found in the Raupachs’s survey is Richard de Fournival’s *Bestiaire d’amour*. Marshall offers a comprehensive review of the Raupachs’ book (Marshall 1982). Battelli reacted to the Raupachs’ book by calling for the study of individual French manuscripts that include Occitan lyrics (Battelli 1992). She also devotes a considerable portion of a later article to a discussion of their findings (Battelli 2001).
Gaucelm Faidit and Peire Vidal—are well represented in all extant trouvadour sources (and not just French ones), so there is nothing surprising about their presence in northern transmission. However, some troubadours who are well represented in other strains of transmission are completely absent in France. These include Guiraut de Bornelh, Raimon de Miraval, Bertran de Born and Guiraut Riquier (Raupach and Raupach 1979, 54).

In French transmission, *cansos* (the equivalent of the French *grand chant courtois*) constitute about two-thirds of the trouvadour repertory (109 pieces total). Genres represented only once or twice include the *tenso, planh, alba, ballade*, Marian song and Crusade song (Raupach and Raupach 1979, 55). This predilection for the *canso*, already noted by Gauchat, is one of the most striking features of French reception.\(^{45}\) Although estimates vary, the *canso* only represents approximately 40% of the total trouvadour corpus when all extant sources are considered (Rieger 1976).

The French transmission of trouvadour lyric also indicates an interest in the music notation of their songs, and not just in the texts. According to the Raupachs, 76 of the 109 Occitan lyrics in French manuscripts are transmitted with music notation (Raupach and Raupach 1979, 59).\(^{46}\) This represents some 70% of the corpus of Occitan songs in France. Comparatively, when we consider all extant sources, only some 246 Occitan poems (out of ca. 2500 total), or roughly 9% of the total corpus, are transmitted with music (Boorman et al.). The musicality of trouvadour song in France accords with its treatment in Jean Renart’s *Roman de la rose* and Gerbert de Montreuil’s *Roman de la violette*, where it is framed as song

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\(^{45}\) This is not to say that it is unique. The *canso* was also favored in Catalonia and Italy (I thank Sarah Kay for this observation).

\(^{46}\) The fact that both fr. 844 and fr. 20050 contain Old French *contrafacta* based on Occitan songs that are transmitted in the same manuscripts (Raupach and Raupach 1979, 60) is also indicative of an interest in music.
performed by characters in the romances.\textsuperscript{47} One might contrast with this the Catalan reception of the troubadours—where they are quoted like Latin \textit{auctores} rather than ventriloquized by characters who treat their pieces primarily as music (Kay 2013).

As I noted earlier, the primary focus of the Raupachs’ study is the linguistic Frenchification—or Gallicization—to which troubadour poetry is often subjected in France. By the Raupachs’ count, there are some ninety Gallicized versions of Occitan songs in French songbooks (Raupach and Raupach 1979, 2). This represents a considerable proportion of the approximately 109 Occitan poems in the North. The authors hypothesize that the mixed linguistic features of these pieces result from one of three circumstances: scribal deformation on the part of northern scribes who did not understand Occitan well; pastiches consciously composed in imitation of Occitan; and pieces from an intermediary region between \textit{langue d'oïl} and \textit{langue d'oc} territory (Raupach and Raupach 1979, 3).\textsuperscript{48} Conscious lyric hybrids are the subject of Chapter 5 of this dissertation. But on the whole, I find the corpus of \textit{oc-oïl} hybrid texts too diverse to fit neatly into these categories, and I will characterize instances of Gallicization on a case-by-case basis throughout this study. It should also be noted that the procedure described as “Gallicization” is not as unidirectional as has been maintained. While certain typical procedures—such as the replacement of unstressed ‘a’ with a schwa in Occitan words such as \textit{membra} (leading to \textit{membre}) does indeed bring many Occitan forms into line with French, it is not uncommon to find

\textsuperscript{47} The musical component to courtly lyric seems to have been enjoyed to a greater degree in France than elsewhere. Of the twenty-two sources of \textit{trouvère} lyric, only four do not give notation (Boorman et al.). The musicality of troubadour lyric in French transmission is probably a result of this general preference.

\textsuperscript{48} Historically speaking, when faced with linguistic hybridity such as that accompanying Occitan lyric in France, earlier scholars such as Jeanroy, Gauchat and Meyer favored explanations centering on scribal incompetence or audience receptivity, while contemporary critics such as Simon Gaunt are more willing to entertain the hypotheses of artistic intervention and cultural and political significance to the hybrids (Gaunt 2002).
hypercorrections or analogized forms that add Occitan coloring rather than remove it (e.g. 
dançade rather than Occitan dansa due to the frequency of the suffix –ada in Occitan).

The hybrid language of these poems is not the only instance of such a language in the Middle Ages. A small corpus of trouvére lyrics can be found in a similarly Occitanized version in songbooks devoted primarily to the troubadours (Ineichen 1969; Rosenberg 1998; Rosenberg 2005). The epic poem Girart de Roussillon is composed in a language described by its most recent editors as “une langue artificielle dont le polymorphisme est aussi voulu que radical” (Cambarieu du Grès and Gouiran 1993, 6). They suggest that the linguistic hybridity of the text owes something to the prestige French enjoyed in the domain of the chanson de geste; in Occitan versions of the Chanson de Roland, French words are occasionally used for assonance or rhyme (Cambarieu du Grès and Gouiran 1993, 6).

In Italian-speaking areas, there were also instances of interference between French and local languages. This corpus has usually been described as “Franco-Italian,” a term which is problematic since it used to delimit a wide range of texts with various degrees and modes of “Frenchness.” Stephen McCormick’s recent dissertation is devoted to the relevant texts from Lombardy (McCormick 2011). The corpus, which has been comprehensively outlined and described from a linguistic point of view by Günter Holtus (Holtus 1994), is also the subject of ongoing work by Simon Gaunt.

Linguistic “hybridity,” multilingualism in medieval Europe more generally, and cross-cultural interactions are the focus of a growing number of studies. Gaunt’s analysis of the

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49 The language of this text has been studied by Hackett and Pfister (Hackett 1970; Pfister 1970). One might also compare the phenomenon known as “Sicilian rhyme,” resulting from the transmission of Sicilian poetry in Tuscany. Rhymes that were originally perfect in Sicilian (e.g. piacri and sospiri) did not function in Tuscan, where they became piacere and sospiri. The situation is very different from Gallicized Occitan, however, in that only authentic Sicilian forms were tolerated—even at the expense of rhyme—in Tuscany (Usher 1996, 11). In France, scribes concocted many (incorrect) Occitan forms by analogy and, for the most part, do not seem to have been concerned about preserving rhyme schemes.
French coloring of two Occitan epics, *Girart de Roussillon* and *Daurel et Beton*, suggests that the poets of these two works used French to mark the “foreignness” of the genre in which they were composing. McCormick, on the other hand, has argued that the French in many “Franco-Italian” texts should not be interpreted as a foreign element, but instead as what he calls “modal enhancement.” Regarding the Lombard poem *Oliver*, for example, he argues that the French morphological traits of the text should be interpreted as a “narrative mode” which confers a “patina of chivalry, feudalism and epic feats” (McCormick 2011, 91).

Catherine Léglu’s *Multilingualism and Mother Tongue* (Léglu 2010) examines multilingualism, both as a linguistic phenomenon and as a theme, in a variety of Occitan, Catalan and French texts. Simon Gaunt’s ongoing Arts and Humanities Council Research Project, “Medieval Francophone Literary Culture Outside France,” will both map a corpus of texts that have often been overlooked because they do not fit neatly into national literary histories, and investigate whether the use of French was ideologically charged. A number of edited volumes have also appeared on the subject of multilingualism. These include *Medieval Multilingualism, The Francophone World and its Neighbours*, (Kleinhenz and Busby 2010), *Le Plurilinguisme au Moyen Âge* (Kappler and Thiolier-Méjean 2009), and *Mehrsprachigkeit im Mittelalter* (Baldzuhn 2011).

 Much of this work on multilingualism is informed by socio-historical considerations regarding cross-cultural interaction, and is directly or indirectly influenced by postcolonial theory. The pioneering work in this regard is Sharon Kinoshita’s *Medieval Boundaries* (Kinoshita 2006), which sets out to read a variety of canonical Old French texts through a new lens. Other studies on medieval borderlands include the edited volume *Medieval Frontiers*:

50 On the postcolonial turn in medieval studies, see Gaunt's helpful overview (Gaunt 2009).

Outline

This study contributes to the burgeoning field of inquiry regarding multilingualism and cross-cultural interaction in a number of ways. As I hope to have shown above, most work on the relationship between French and Occitan poetry has attempted to do one of the following: to determine a direction of influence between the two corpora, often with a focus on individual genres; to reconstruct the historical circumstances in which individual poets interacted, sometimes considering contrafacta; to outline the corpus of troubadour lyric from the material standpoint of French manuscripts; or to study the linguistic features of troubadour lyric in French transmission. Although I have built on the work of all of the critics mentioned above, what I hope to contribute in French Troubadours is not a further exploration of the empirical facts or historical circumstances of the troubadours’ transmission in France, but, instead, an investigation of the symbolic stakes of that transmission.\(^{51}\) I am, consequently, more interested in how troubadour lyric is staged within the francophone sources that quote or compile it than I am in actual patterns of manuscript transmission.

I aim to demonstrate that, despite the fact that interest in the troubadours in francophone territories seems to have peaked during and after the Albigensian Crusade, and

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\(^{51}\) Only Gaunt and Paden have ventured into this territory (Gaunt 2002; Paden 1993). Regarding the two chansons de geste, Girart de Roussillon and Daurel et Beton, Gaunt argues that "Occitan poets who composed chansons de geste employed code-mixing to flag the 'foreignness' of the form they adopted culturally, linguistically and politically" (Gaunt 2002, 21). For his part, Paden aims to show French hostility towards the troubadours in the aftermath of the Albigensian Crusade. Although my conclusions diverge from theirs, our approaches are the similar in that we are interested in the broader cultural stakes of features such as quotation of the troubadours and linguistic hybridity.
thus during a period in which the usage of French and Occitan became increasingly ideologically freighted, Occitan poetry is never treated as a foreign presence in its French reception. By this I mean not just that it is treated without hostility, but that it is treated as if it were French. This means, first of all, that the immense prestige troubadour poetry enjoyed in the pan-European arena was, in some sense, appropriated. This assimilation also paved the way for later generations of scholars to view troubadour and trouvère lyric as part of the same tradition.

I have limited my corpus to texts and manuscripts compiled in native francophone territory in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that also include Occitan selections. Only three narrative texts fit these criteria—Jean Renart’s *Roman de la rose* (ca. 1200-1230), Gerbert de Montreuil’s *Roman de la violette* (ca. 1225) and Richard de Fournival’s *Bestiaire d’amour* (ca. 1250). I discuss each of these works individually in Part I. In this part of my corpus, I have tried to ascertain how each of the three French narratives frames the Occitan insertions it includes. For each text, I have tried to determine just how Gallicized the Occitan insertions are, and how this Gallicization should be interpreted within the space of each text. I have also tried to map the geopolitical contours of the *Rose* and the *Violette*, in order to determine whether their authors display any hostility towards Occitania.

Despite the fact that they all wrote during or in the recent aftermath of the Albigensian Crusade, all three of the French authors whose works I examine here do not treat the troubadour corpus as a foreign body. Nor, however, do they quote the troubadours in their original Occitan. The Gallicized language in which the troubadours’ poems are couched turns out to be only one of the ways in which the southern poets are assimilated.

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52 The *Court de paradis* is usually considered to be part of this group, but its “Occitan” insertion is probably pseudo-Occitan.
into their French surroundings. That all the troubadour songs in this corpus are transmitted anonymously suggests a desire to eclipse the identities of the individual poets who stood behind their composition. Finally, most of the troubadours’ lyrics are associated not with Occitania but with the Poitou—on the northern side of the linguistic border. Through all of these mechanisms, the linguistic and cultural specificity of the Occitan compositions is effaced, allowing them to feature in a French landscape as if their presence _allait de soi._

I consider the “French” space of each individual narrative in its own right. Despite the fact that both Jean’s _Rose_ and Gerbert’s _Violette_ were composed in the years during or shortly after the Albigensian Crusade, the politicized border they depict is not France’s southern edge but rather its eastern one—i.e. the space abutting the Holy Roman Empire. This may suggest that the more pressing historical event to these two writers was not the Albigensian Crusade, but the contemporaneous Battle of Bouvines (1214), which saw Capetian France’s victory over the Holy Roman Empire led by Otto IV. In both of these texts, Occitan lyric is subsumed into a francophone landscape. If there is political and cultural antagonism to be found in these two romances, it is directed not towards Occitania but towards the Empire. On the other hand, cultural politics are completely absent from the “francophone” space of Richard de Fournival’s _Bestiaire_. Like Jean and Gerbert, he Gallicizes the troubadour lyrics he quotes, associates them with a French landscape (Poitou and Saint Denis) and suppresses the individual authors behind them. However, Richard also selects his troubadour quotations in a way that obscures the poetic nature of the originals, making the passages read as if they were prose.

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53 I discuss this label of “poitevin” at greater length in Chapter 4.
In Part II, I turn to the set of French songbooks that transmit Occitan lyric. Given the scope of this part of the corpus, a synthetic rather than case-by-case study seemed more appropriate. In Chapter 4, I chart a similar set of assimilative procedures to those described in Part I. The primary purpose of this chapter is to show how the material transmission of Occitan lyric in songbooks partakes in the same kinds of linguistic and cultural erasures as does the French narrative corpus. As in the narratives discussed in Part I, the troubadour lyrics compiled in songbooks are generally heavily Gallicized, and, when they are labeled at all, they are situated in the Poitou, and thus on the French side of the linguistic divide. A study of compilation patterns reveals a further appropriation of troubadour lyric: rather than being transmitted in a separate section of songbooks, Occitan poems are most often interspersed with French lyrics with similar thematic motifs. The net result of all of these procedures is that a medieval French reader who encountered the troubadours only in French transmission would have little chance of recognizing their linguistic and cultural specificity.

Chapter 5 discusses a corpus—pseudo-Occitan lyric—that seems superficially to contradict my thesis regarding the assimilation of Occitan lyric into a francophone space. The pieces I discuss here are generally thought to be composed by native francophones, but made to look Occitan through phonological coloring. Although this phenomenon—which makes French pieces look Occitan rather than Occitan pieces look French—may seem to contradict my core argument of assimilation, I show that it occurs primarily in a lower

54 It is difficult to give a precise number, since in some manuscripts, the “Occitan” selections may in fact be pseudo-Occitan, and, in some instances, the provenance of the manuscript has not yet been securely established (scholars are divided between French and Italian provenance for a few of the relevant manuscripts). See Chapter 4 for a table. The total is approximately sixteen.
55 Although much work remains to be done on the transmission patterns of troubadour lyric in France, this is not my purpose here. Occitan songbooks have been subjected to inquiry by D’Arco Silvio Avalle (Avalle 1993) and Zufferey (Zufferey 1987). On the songbook as a genre, see Galvez 2012.
register. While the *canso* or *grand chant* comes to look increasingly French, low-register forms look increasingly Occitan. This trend fictionally repositions Occitan lyric as both “primitive” and—by extension—as anterior to French lyric.

It turns out, then, that the common view of troubadour lyric as a point of origin of French poetry is not the result of an anachronistic application of France’s current boundaries to the medieval world—or at least not exclusively. As I show in *French Troubadours*, through various assimilative procedures, troubadour lyric was subsumed into a francophone landscape long before Occitania was annexed to the French crown.
The text that inaugurates the long tradition of lyric-interpolated romance in France, Jean Renart’s *Roman de la rose* (early thirteenth century), is also the first French narrative to quote the troubadours. Their lyrics appear anonymously alongside numerous *oïl* pieces—some by named *trouvères*—in a heavily Gallicized form. The majority of the songs in Jean’s romance are quoted as a means of emotional effusion. The “I” of the lyric most often becomes the “I” of the character, with the piece serving as a vehicle for emotional content. All of Jean’s lyric selections provide a very conspicuous francophone cultural backdrop to the romance, which would be unremarkable were it not for the fact that the *Rose* is set against a highly Germanic backdrop, that of the Holy Roman Empire. Although there is good evidence that medieval texts of all sorts traveled across political and linguistic lines, Jean’s fictive Empire is remarkably non-Germanic. Several of the lyrics he interpolates are associated either through their composers or through their content with the Capetian monarchy, whose forces famously confronted the actual Holy Roman Emperor at the Battle of Bouvines in 1214, sometime around the *Rose’s* date of composition. The troubadours, I argue, are subsumed into this francophone cultural space both linguistically and culturally, while Germanic languages—the languages most native to the Holy Roman Empire—are marked as a foreign presence within it. This assimilation of the troubadours is all the more striking given the presence in the romance of characters who participated in the Albigensian Crusade, both on the northern and southern sides.
The protagonist of Jean Renart’s *Roman de la rose* is the ruler Conrad, leader of the Holy Roman Empire. As he gets older, Conrad’s barons begin to fear that, if he does not identify a suitable spouse, he will leave no heir on the throne upon his death. Their favored candidates are relatives of the king of France, and thus part of the Capetian bloodline. While they are outside riding one day, one of Conrad’s *jongleurs*, a certain aptly named Jouglet, tells him a tale of a beautiful French maiden and her valiant suitor, an accomplished knight from Champagne. So enraptured is Conrad by Jouglet’s story that he sets out to find two real people who compare to those of Jouglet’s tale. Jouglet puts him on the trail of Lïenor and Guillaume, who reside near Dole, within the borders of the Empire.\(^1\) After having them vetted by a messenger, Conrad gives his approval, and a marriage is arranged between him and Lïenor. One of the emperor’s seneschals, however, throws a wrench into the plan by making the false claim that he has taken Lïenor’s virginity. His “proof” of this sexual act is his knowledge of a rose-shaped birthmark on Lïenor’s thigh, the existence of which Lïenor’s chatty mother has inadvertently revealed. Conrad is distraught, Guillaume furious, and Lïenor outraged. She decides to take revenge through an ingenious scheme of her own: Coming to court disguised, she convinces the seneschal—via the medium of a messenger—to wear several intimate objects (including a piece of fabric worn next to his skin). She has her intermediary claim that they are from the Châtelaine de Dijon, one of the seneschal’s failed conquests, in order to convince the seneschal to accept them. She then accuses the seneschal of rape, using as “proof” his possession of these symbols of their intimacy. The seneschal must defend himself, and, in doing so, admit that he has had no carnal knowledge of the woman who accuses him, thus allowing Lïenor to exculpate herself.

\(^1\) On the location of Dole, see Baldwin 1997, 54.
The *Rose* survives today in only one manuscript, currently held by the Vatican (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensi Latini, 1725). It measures 287mm by 191mm and consists of 130 folios bound in red leather (Jean Renart 1995, xxviii). Jean’s *Rose* occupies folios 68v-98v. The earliest trace of the manuscript is in the catalog of the library of a certain Paul Pétau. Further documentation links the codex to Queen Christina of Sweden, who purchased the manuscript from Pétau in 1650. The Vatican purchased the manuscript following Christina’s death in 1689 (Durling 1997, 4). The manuscript dates from the end of the thirteenth century and was probably compiled in the northeast of France (Jean Renart 2008, 10; Nixon 1993, 62), i.e. in close proximity to the geography of Renart’s romance. According to Dufournet, its language contains little dialectal marking (Jean Renart 2008, 10).

Three other romances, the *Chevalier de la charrette*, the *Chevalier au lion*, and *Meraugis de Portlesguez*, are also compiled in the codex.

In manuscript, the *Rose*’s insertions are distinguished from the narrative visually; each line of an insertion fills the column to capacity, while the octosyllabic couplets of the narrative are each given one line. When the last line of a song does not extend to the right margin of a column, the scribe frequently supplies “ooooo” to fill out the line (Jean Renart 1995, xxx). The lyrics are usually marked by enlarged capitals but they are not notated (nor does the manuscript leave space for notation).²

Very little is known about Jean Renart. His name is likely a pseudonym; Jean’s “foxiness” or cleverness as a writer is one of the traits most consistently ascribed to him by critics (Dragonetti 1987, 158; Kay 1990, 196). The texts currently attributed to him are a

² For a reproduction of one folio from the manuscript, see Van der Werf 1997, 161. Psaki’s translation of the text includes a diplomatic transcription of the manuscript, where enlarged initials are indicated with bold font.
romance called the *Escoufle*, the considerably briefer *Lai de l’ombre*, and the *Roman de la rose*. Internal references within Jean’s corpus may suggest that the works were composed in this order (Baldwin 1997, 51; Jean Renart 1995, x; Jean Renart 2008, 13). The dates proposed for these works are also related, in part, to their addressees—Baudouin of Hainaut in the case of *L’Escoufle* and Milon de Nanteuil in the case of the *Rose*. Even this historical information has not allowed for much certainty with respect to dating. For the *Rose’s* date of composition, a range of dates between 1200 and 1230 has been proposed.

Lejeune’s linguistic analysis has revealed that all of Jean’s texts exhibit franco-picard traits (Lejeune 1935, 266–8). But the broad range of toponyms included in his corpus suggests that he was familiar with the landscapes of France, the Empire, and Lotharingia, the “middle territory” in between the two (Baldwin 1997, 51). Several scholars have suspected that Jean—despite his interest in the Empire—was in fact from France. Félix Lecoy, for example, has noted that all of Jean’s historical errors are on the side of the Empire, while he seems to have known French nobility exceedingly well (Lecoy 1962, xiv).

There was a very real crisis of succession in the German Empire in roughly the same period as Jean Renart was active. Jean seems to have been aware of this historical tension, since both the romances ascribed to him, *L’Escoufle* and the *Roman de la rose*, center on the issue of imperial leadership (Baldwin 2000, 34). Two competing parties, one Staufen and the other Welf, claimed a right to the throne. The Staufen candidate, Philip, duke of Swabia, enjoyed the support of most German princes and of Philip Augustus, who feared the links

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3 Lejeune gives a historical overview of Jean Renart and the works attributed to him (Lejeune 1935).
5 Servois also suspects that Jean traveled in the circles of the French king, based on his reference to Brocart Viautre, who is mentioned by Gautier Map as having appropriated the king’s revenues (Jean Renart 1893, xlix).
of the Welf candidate, Otto of Brunswick, to the English king (Otto was the son of King Richard I’s sister Mathilda). Pope Innocent III, meanwhile, supported Otto, in part because the Staufens had set their sights on Sicily, as evidenced by the marriage of the Staufen Henri VI to Constance of Sicily (Baldwin 2000, 35). For their part, the Welfs shored up power through the marriage of Henry the Lion to Mathilda of England (1168) (Baldwin 2000, 35). In suggesting that the imperial succession crisis was an important part of the historical backdrop for Jean’s readers, I am not implying that Conrad represents *en filigrane* any particular imperial candidate. (Here I part ways with Baldwin and Lejeune, who both read Conrad as a figure for Otto of Brunswick.) Rather, I would propose that the mere fact that ownership of the Empire was contested inflected Jean’s romance.

Because the *Rose*’s precise date of composition has been difficult to establish, it is impossible to know exactly which historical events may have infused the plot. The Battle of Bouvines might well have affected Jean’s attitude towards the Empire. Likewise, it would be interesting to know when Jean wrote in relation to the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229), since this might have influenced his attitude towards Occitan culture, represented in the *Rose* by quoted troubadour lyrics. Regardless of its specific historical milieu, the *Rose*’s backdrop includes—with various degrees of vibrancy—all the political forces that played a role in the early decades of the thirteenth century in France and surrounding areas: the King of England and the Holy Roman Emperor—both of whom formed an alliance against King Philip Augustus at the Battle of Bouvines and representatives of Occitania, in the form of the troubadours. In 1209, the more pressing of these political issues in the opinion of Philip

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6 The “Welf hypothesis” was first developed by Rita Lejeune (Lejeune 1935). She later developed her argument by showing how the romance is anchored in the geography of Liège—bastion of Welf support (Lejeune 1974). Baldwin’s primary aim in *Aristocratic Life* is to show that Conrad represents Otto IV (Baldwin 2000, 36).
Augustus was the threat posed by Otto IV and John of England. In fact, Philip used this as a justification to excuse himself from participation in the Albigensian Crusade.\(^7\)

Jean’s deployment of lyric insertions has received abundant critical attention for over a century. Jean himself spread the seeds for this development by proclaiming his procedure innovative in the prologue, using metaphors of both weaving and embroidery.\(^8\) As Benjamin Ramm notes, however, the focus on lyric in the secondary literature has been so intense that it has directed attention away from other critical perspectives (Ramm 2007, 402). More specifically, much discussion has focused on the relationship of the lyrics to their narrative surroundings, with some scholars pointing to an alleged disjunction and others arguing for the lyrics’ appropriate placement.\(^9\) Suffice it to recall here that the Rose includes forty-eight insertions of various genres (appendix 1). The poems span the mid-twelfth century to the

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\(^7\) This decision is documented by Peter of Les Vaux de Cernay (Baldwin 1997, 64).

\(^8\) He first compares his addition of “chants” and “sons” (v. 10) to the romance with the addition of kermes—often used for red dyes—to fabric (vv. 8-9) (Jones 1997, 39). Subsequently he speaks of the text being embroidered (“brodez,” v. 14) with beautiful melodies. Caroline Jewers and E. Jane Burns have written most extensively on the romance’s fascination with textiles (Jewers 1996; Burns 2009).

\(^9\) Discussions of the appropriateness (or lack thereof) of the lyric insertions date back to Gaston Paris’s contribution to Servois’s edition of the romance (Jean Renart 1893). According to Baumgartner, they lend auctoritas to the text (Baumgartner 1981). Maureen Boulton, on the other hand, examines them primarily with a view towards their “disruptive” function within the narrative (Boulton 1993, 87). Chareyron notes merely that the insertions transform the work into a kind of “opérette” (Chareyron 2005, 130). Coldwell provides a general overview of the Rose within the context of romances containing lyric insertions (Coldwell 1981). Duport attempts to document how “a network of analogies links the motifs of the songs to the romance” (Duport 1993, 513). Frank focuses specifically on the chanson de geste excerpt, arguing that it was performed for Lienor rather than the emperor (G. Frank 1938). Huot, along with Callahan, sees the lyric insertions as part of the romance’s orality, although she ultimately notes the importance of writing in the text (Huot 1987, 108 and passim). Jewers discusses the lyrics primarily in relation to Jean’s metaphors of dyeing and embroidery in the prologue (Jewers 1996). Lejeune finds that Jean is largely successful in matching lyric and narrative (Lejeune 1935, 144–70), while Lacy deems the selection of lyrics “somewhat random” and their introduction “frequently abrupt” (Lacy 1980, 780). Van der Werf discusses the lyrics as evidence of contemporaneous performance practices (Van der Werf 1997). Zink suggests that the romance was composed as a kind of extrapolation of the lyrics it quotes (Zink 1979, 29). Other aspects of the romance that have already received considerable attention include its relationship to textile arts (Burns 2009; Jewers 1996; Jones 1997) and to issues of gender and sexuality (Kay 1990; Krueger 1993; Psaki 1997; Ramm 2007).
years directly preceding the romance (Ibos-Augé 2006, 263). Five composers are evoked explicitly as the authors of individual cited lyrics. These are Renault de Beaujeu (late 12th/early 13th century), Gace Brulé (ca. 1160-ca. 1213), Renault de Sabloeil (?), the Vidame de Chartres (ca. 1150-1204) and Gontier de Soignies (ca. 1180-ca. 1220). Jean seems to have had a predilection for *trouvères* of the late twelfth century. Another nine *grands chants*, including the three Occitan *cansos* in the text, are not attributed to any specific composer.

The three Occitan insertions are drawn from Bernart de Ventadorn’s *Can vei la lanzeta mover* (PC 70,43, vv. 5212ff., stanzas I-II), Daude de Pradas’s *Bela m’es la votz autana* (PC 124,5, vv. 4653ff., stanza I) and Jaufre Rudel’s *Lanquan li jorn* (PC 262,2, vv. 1301ff., stanza I) (see appendices 2-4). All three are attested elsewhere in northern transmission; Bernart’s *Can vei* and Jaufre’s *Lanquan* are both compiled in *W* and *X*, while Daude de Pradas’s *Bela m’es* is partially extant (stanzas I and IV) in *W*. Since *W* is a common denominator in all three instances, it is possible that Jean was working from a source similar to this manuscript (Coldwell 1981, 62). We will see that Richard de Fournival may also have been working with a written source related to *W*. Bernart and Jaufre were both active before Jean’s period of predilection for *trouvères*, in the mid rather than the late twelfth century. Daude de Pradas, on the other hand, was likely active in the years running up to the composition of the romance. Although Jean gives no indication of temporality with respect to the troubadour lyrics he includes, it is striking that they bookend the datable lyric
insertions in the text, including both the earliest and most recent poetic material. The breadth of this chronological span may represent a conscious attempt on Jean’s part to encapsulate Old French and Occitan lyric history; one character remarks on the “old timeyness” of the chanson de toile she performs, noting that the genre used to be performed “ça en arrières” (“back in the day,” v. 1148). Another lyric, meanwhile, is said to represent the latest musical trends in France (vv. 3410ff.). Likewise, two pieces, including this one, are described as “chançonet[e][s] novele[s]” (vv. 1845, 3417). Paradoxically, although as far as we can tell Jean inaugurates the tradition of lyric-interpolated romance, he seems more conscious than his successors that the lyrics he quotes are part of a historical tradition.

In fact, more than any of the authors discussed here, Jean’s citational procedure mirrors the practices of Old French songbooks. This is all the more astonishing since Jean’s romance antedates by at least a few years the earliest extant French songbook, BnF fr. 20050. Most obviously, Jean’s declaration that he records the pieces in the narrative “por remanbrance des chançons” (v. 3) suggests a desire to preserve the lyric tradition. Additionally, the notion of certain lyrics being performed “in honor” of their composers reflects the same anthologizing gesture underpinning the numerous French songbooks organized by individual trouvères such as manuscripts A, a and M. Likewise, Jean’s description of Renaut de Beaujeu as a “bon chevalier” (v. 1452) may allude to the common iconographical depiction of aristocratic trouvères as knights on horseback in songbook portraits. Indeed, the performance of song often corresponds temporally to the movement of noble characters on horseback, as in the renditions of Quant flors et glais by Gace Brulé (vv. 13...}

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13 Robert Lug dates fr. 20050 to approximately 1231 (Lug 2012, 451). More conservative estimates place its compilation sometime after 1240, with some scholars dating the codex to the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century (Raupach and Raupach 1979, 74–5).

14 Sylvia Huot discusses the author-based iconography of Old French songbooks in chapter 2 of From Song to Book (Huot 1987, 46–80).
846ff.), *Languan li jorn* by Guillaume on his way to Conrad’s court (vv. 1301ff.), *Bele Aiglentine* by a young man from Normandy (vv. 2235ff.), *Or viennent Pasques* (vv. 5188ff.) by a nephew of the bishop of Liège, Conrad’s recollected performance of *Quant la sesons* by the Vidame de Chartres (v. 4125) and his actual performances of Gace Brulé’s *Je di que c’est groanz folie* (vv. 3625ff.) and the Vidame de Chartres’ *Quant la sesons* (vv. 4127ff.). Additionally, Jean’s descriptions of Gace Brulé as “mon segnor Gasson” (v. 845, v. 3620) and of Renaut de Sablocil as “mon segnor Renault” (v. 3883) are reminiscent of the tables of contents of author-based songbooks. *Chansonnier M* (BnF MS fr. 844), for example, lists Gace Brulé as “mesire Gasse” in its index (folio B). Finally, as both Sarah Kay (Kay 2013) and Emma Dillon have noted, the metaphor of red dye deployed in the prologue may be intended to evoke the red ink used for rubrics in actual *chansonniers*. Thus, despite the appropriative gesture towards the insertions in the prologue, the reader of the *Rose* is made peculiarly aware of the circulation of lyric as a preexistent body of literature. *Pace* Sylvia Huot (Huot 1987, 108, 134), this tradition seems already to be a primarily writerly one, despite the fact that the circulation of lyric within the diegesis remains oral.

It is not just Jean’s narrator, but also his characters who contribute to this sense of a preexistent lyric tradition; they seem more aware than in any other lyric-interpolated French romance that the pieces they intone circulate independently of them, and may or may not match up to their own emotional circumstances. While in most later French lyric-interpolated romances, the lyrics appear as a kind of vehicle for emotional effusion, with a perfect correspondence between the ‘I’ of the character and the ‘I’ of the lyric assumed,

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15 Accarie proposed the broader category of “chansons de déplacement” for the *Rose* (Accarie 1983, 21–2).

16 Emma Dillon’s observation was made in a plenary lecture on “Sumptuous Songs: Musical Materialities and the Old French Romance Tradition” during the “Think Romance!” conference at Fordham University in March 2012.
Jean’s characters exhibit remarkable distance from the words they sing. In one instance, characters actually try to determine the most appropriate performer for a lyric insertion that has just been sung. After the seneschal is imprisoned, and the emperor and Liénon are reunited, a count observes that the piece they have just heard, in which the speaker proudly announces that he has a "bele amie" (v. 5434), is most suited to Conrad: “Fet un quens: ‘Or ne voi ge mie / que nus doie si cesti dire / com fet l’empereres mis sire’” (“A count said: ‘now I don’t see anyone / who deserves to perform this piece / as much as my lord the emperor,” vv. 5435-7). In another instance, Conrad asks Guillaume if he knows a certain piece (v. 3106), thereby suggesting its independent circulation.

The Francophone and Francophile Holy Roman Empire

What is peculiar about this lyric tradition in the context of the romance is the way in which it serves to anchor the text in a francophone world. Although areas of the Holy Roman Empire were French speaking, many of the lyrics Jean quotes associate the world of the Holy Roman Empire not just with francophone—but with specifically French royal—art forms. In one instance, Conrad solicits the jongleur Hugues to teach him a French dance and song performed near Trumilly by “puceles de France” (“damsels from France,” v. 3412). Trumilly lies in Picardy near Senlis, a town with strong historical connections to French royalty which was the site of a chapel founded in honor of Philip Augustus’s victory at Bouvines (Baldwin 1986, 389). Conrad takes an unusual interest in this piece, pressing the jongleur not just to perform it but also to inform him of all of the details surrounding its performance in France. We learn, first of all, that the lyric is usually performed under a tree

17 The distance of individual characters with respect to the lyric tradition finds a negative counterpart in the proximity between the reader and these same characters. For example, as Dragonetti has noted, one scene renders the situation of the chanson de toile in narrative form (Dragonetti 1987, 160). In another, an actual “bele Aaliz” (v. 1807) is a character in the romance.
(“a l’ormel,” v. 3413), probably the very same “ormel” mentioned in the lyric itself (v. 3424). The text of the piece describes a beautiful maiden—unnamed in the work itself but called Marguerite in the lines preceding it. Marguerite’s beauty is depicted in the most hackneyed terms (“Face ot fresche, colorie, / vairs oils, cler vis simple et bel,” vv. 3427-8), but the piece nevertheless sparks very real attraction on Conrad’s part for the French Marguerite who dances under a tree near Trumilly. While everyone comments that she is quite beautiful (v. 3431), Conrad seems especially smitten, declaring that she surpasses in beauty the women of his own court: “Celes ne l’en doivent de rien, / fet li rois” (“These ones here [at my court] do not surpass her in anything, said the king,” vv. 3432-3). Thus, through the lyric, both a landscape associated with the festivities of French royalty and a French maiden named Marguerite become objects of desire for the German emperor Conrad.

Other lyrics allude more obliquely to the French kingdom. A *chanson de toile* performed by Jouglet, *Ble Aiglentine en roial chamberine* (vv. 2235ff.) places the beautiful Aiglentine at the royal court, while the king of France stars in the sole epic *laisse* quoted (or invented?) by Jean (v. 1357). Both in the content of these two insertions and in the (fictive?) provenance of the piece from Trumilly, the space that is upheld as a preeminent center of culture is France—and specifically the royal court. This is true not just for lyrics, but also for clothing: Guillaume’s beautiful ermine robe, which exudes a delicate odor, follows French fashions, as Jouglet recognizes upon seeing it (v. 1535). Likewise, the helmet given to Guillaume by Conrad is of French manufacture, having been crafted in Senlis (v. 1664), a frequent stopover for French royalty also historically known in the late Middle Ages for its helmet production (Gaier 2010, 75). Thus, the best helmet in the Empire (“le mellor de tote Alemaigne,” v. 1662) was in fact crafted in France. Like the Trumilly lyric discussed above, it seems to exert a magical effect on those who come into contact with it. Conrad’s associates
and Guillaume stare intently into its reflection “com en un mireoir” (v. 1689). Its golden metallic sheen is both explicitly described and emphasized through rhyme: “Si vos di qu’on avroit encor / des pierres q’ens sont et de l’or / el nasel et ou cercle entor / deniers por fere une grant tor” (“I tell you that one would have enough money to make a great tower with the precious gems there and the gold in the nosepiece and the circle around it,” vv. 1665-1688).

Many of the named composers of Jean’s quoted lyrics further tie them to France or to French patronage circles. Renaut de Beaujeu, whose origins in Champagne are explicitly declared (“La chançon Renaut de Baujieu / De Rencien le bon chevalier,” vv. 1451-2), infuses into the Empire the region associated with French royal coronations from Philip Augustus onward.\(^\text{18}\) Gace Brulé, mentioned twice, worked for the Plantagenets but also for the Capetians. There is, for example, historical evidence of a gift made to him by the future Louis VIII (Karp). Chartres—mentioned via the reference to the Vidame de Chartres—was a regalian bishopric, although the king appears to have had little direct power there in the early thirteenth century (Power 2004, 99). Of the named composers, only Gontier de Soignies (v. 5229) hailed from actual imperial territory. Thus, the provenance of most of the lyrics is strikingly at odds with the geography of the narrative, which, as Baldwin has noted, centers on the traditional imperial cities along the Rhine and Meuse such as Mainz, Cologne, Kaiserwerth and Maastricht (Baldwin 1997, 54).

One might expect the Occitan lyrics quoted by Jean Renart to constitute an exception to the general predominance of French lyric. After all, there is a good chance that Jean Renart’s romance was composed during the Albigensian Crusade, and many of the historical figures behind Jean’s named characters participated in the war. Assuming that

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\(^{18}\) Jean may be mistaken about Renaut’s origins. There is no Beaujeu in Champagne.
Lejeune is correct in reading Le Barrois (v. 2095) as Guillaume II des Barres (Lejeune 1935, 91), this would link the romance to one historical figure who participated in the battle of Muret; Guillaume is mentioned in the *Canzo de la crozada* (Zink 1989, 209). If “Cil de Couci” (v. 2095) is indeed Enguerrand III, this constitutes a second allusion to an Albigensian crusader noted in the *Historia Albigensis* (Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay 1998, 110, 118). That Alain de Roussi (v. 2096) fought in the Albigensian Crusade is mentioned both in Peter’s *Historia* (Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay 1998, 139) and in the *Canzo de la crozada* (Zink 1989, 169, 259 and passim), bringing the total to three. Gaucher de Chastillon (v. 2097), who died in battle in Occitania in 1219 (Lejeune 1935, 96–7), and Gautier de Joigny (v. 2102) bring the total to five. The presence of historical crusaders is not limited to the French side of the tournament: Thibaut de Bar was the leader of the German group (Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay 1998, 122ff.) (Lejeune 1935, 111).

One participant in the French group sticks out like a sore thumb. “Uns autres de Maulion” is, in all likelihood, Savari de Mauléon (Lejeune 1935, 100), a famous troubadour who also fought against French and German crusaders in 1211.19 Savari’s later allegiances wavered between the Capetians and the Plantagenêts, but the presence of a genuine troubadour amongst French participants in the tournament presents a challenge to any reading of the tournament as a recapitulation of the Albigensian Crusade.

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19 Savary de Mauléon is described with unusually passionate hatred by Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay: “With our enemies came that most depraved apostate, that iniquitous transgressor, son of the Devil, servant of the Antichrist, Savary de Mauléon; more evil than any heretic, worse than any infidel, assaillant of the Church, the enemy of Christ. O most corrupt of mortals—or should I say himself a mortal infection—I speak of Savary, who, villain unredeemed, shameless and senseless, rushed against God with neck down and dared to assault the Holy Church of God! Prime mover of heresy, architect of cruelty, agent of perversity, comrade of sinners, accomplice of the perverted, a disgrace to mankind, a man unacquainted with many virtues, devilish—himself the devil incarnate!” (Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay 1998, 130). On Savary’s poetry, see Riquer 1975, no. XLV.
Nevertheless, even though he notes Savari’s presence, Paden has interpreted the presence of these participants in the Albigensian Crusade as implying a “hostility toward all that is Occitan” (Paden 1993, 47, 48). Given the fact that references to historical crusaders are not confined to one side of the tournament, a situation which would have produced a kind of agonistic battle between Occitania and its French “other”—or even to one side of the Albigensian Crusade—it seems worthwhile to search for another logic to the sides of the tournament.

I concur with Lejeune that the more crucial historical event lying behind the division of the tournament is the Battle of Bouvines (1214) (Lejeune 1935, 67). In addition to having fought in the Albigensian Crusade, Guillaume II des Barres, Enguerrand III, and Alain de Roussy also fought with French troops at the Battle of Bouvines (Lejeune 1935, 92, 94, 95). Meanwhile, the German participants in the tournament include a high proportion of historical figures who sided against Philip Augustus, either at Bouvines or in the years leading up to it. Galeran de Limbourg (v. 2357) joined his father Henri III in a coalition against Philip Augustus in 1212 (Lejeune 1935, 109). Similarly, Thibaut Iᵉʳ de Bar, perhaps the “quens de Bar” mentioned in line 2604, plotted against Philip Augustus in 1196 and again in 1212 (Lejeune 1935, 111). The identity of the count of Clèves (v. 2595) has been disputed, but both of the historical figures proposed—Thierry VI and Dietrich VI (Lejeune 1935, 112; Baldwin 1997, 57)—were allies of Otto during the imperial crisis, and thus enemies of Philip Augustus. Both the Bouvines subtext underlying the tournament and the fact that it is situated in Saint-Trond, on the linguistic border between French- and German-speaking populations of the Empire (Baldwin 1997, 55), create the impression of a unified Capetian French-speaking core on the one hand and a linguistically unified Germanic Empire united under Conrad.
Occitania in the Francophone Empire

Where, then, does Occitania fall on this map? I would argue that it is subsumed into both francophone and French territory. This is achieved, firstly, through geographic repositioning. As Paden has noted, Jean’s attributions all bring troubadour lyric north. His description of Can vei la lanzeta as “poitevin” (v. 5211) situates Bernart de Ventadorn in the Poitou, some two-hundred kilometers from his hometown of Ventadour (Corrèze). We have already seen that “poitevin” was understood as a kind of cipher for “Occitan” in the north, and we might dismiss the label as just such a cipher were it not for the fact that Daude de Pradas’ lyric is called “auvrignace” (v. 4649). Prades (currently Prades-Salars) is in the Aveyron, approximately the same distance from the Auvergne as Ventadorn is from Poitiers. Both areas were historically associated with troubadour production, Poitou being associated with the earliest troubadour, Guilhem IX (Paden 1993, 39), and the Auvergne with both Peire d’Alvernha and the court of Dalfi d’Alvernha, count of Clermont and Montferrand.

Five critics have focused specifically or especially on the Occitan insertions in the romance (Beretta 1998; Callahan 1991; Gégou 1973; Kay 2013; Paden 1993). Beretta’s primary argument is that the troubadour quotations bear witness to the process of “banalization” and “degradation” that troubadour lyric met in its French reception. In Beretta’s reading, the complexity of twelfth-century Occitan lyric was simply lost on French audiences: “Le tensioni ideali della poesia occitanica del XII secolo non sono (o non possono essere) più comprese appieno” (Beretta 1998, 759). Callahan’s focus is more strictly linguistic. He offers an overview of textual variants in northern sources of Can vei la lanzeta. Like Callahan’s, Gégou’s focus is linguistic, although she is more interested in the significance of the Gallicized Occitan than in textual variants. In Gégou’s estimation, the garbled language of the Occitan texts keeps a “parfum du midi” while making the pieces more comprehensible to French audiences (Gégou 1973, 321). Kay argues that the different ways in which the three troubadour lyrics are treated (two with mentions of provenance and one with none) “dismantles the unity of Occitan culture,” and, further, that the Gallicization of the lyrics gives the impression that the troubadours composed in various regional dialects of French. I agree that we should read the language of the pieces as a kind of French. Regarding Kay’s first point, I would note that the fact that the Occitan lyrics—and only the Occitan lyrics—are given the generic label of “son” is a feature that unifies them within the quoted lyrics in the Rôse. As I discuss above, Paden’s main argument about this text is that the mention of French knights killed in the Albigensian Crusade may imply “hostility toward all that is Occitan” (Paden 1993, 47). Paden discerns symbolic violence in the suppression of the names of the troubadours quoted and in the translation of their language (Paden 1993, 47).
Dalfi composed lyrics himself, in addition to being a well-known patron of the troubadours. Daude, however, has no known links to the Auvergne, making the label somewhat mysterious. It is possible that Jean Renart knew of both regions as centers for troubadour production and chose the labels based on what he knew of the troubadour tradition.  

The other feature common to both regions was their position on the linguistic border between *langue d’oïl* and *langue d’oc* territories. Both were in fact areas of linguistic interference (Paterson 1993, 2). If we assume that the lyrics were already Gallicized in Jean’s source, his choice of both geographical labels may thus reflect an attempt on his part to make the linguistic hybridity of the insertions historically believable. Indeed, all three insertions are Gallicized to some degree.  

21 Gaston Paris was of the opinion that two of the troubadours quoted (Jaufre Rudel and Rigaut de Berbezilh—the real composer, in his opinion, of the lyric attributed to Daude de Pradas) were saintongeais. His case for reattributing the piece (Jean Renart 1893, cxix–cxx) relies on three pieces of evidence. First, only one Occitan songbook transmits *Bela m’es*: BnF fr. 856 (Occitan C), a manuscript which gives Daude de Pradas as the author. Paris takes this as an indication that the piece was not especially popular in “southern” transmission. Second, the same manuscript attributes to Daude two pieces that are unica, and another that is elsewhere attributed to Rigaut de Berbezilh. Third, Daude’s love lyrics are discussed somewhat disparagingly in his *vida*: “E fetz cansos per sen de trobar, mas no movian ben d’amor, per que non avian sabor entre la gen, ni non foron cantadas ni grazidas” (“And he made songs through his knowledge in the art of *trobar*, but they were not moved by love, because of which they were not valued by audiences, nor were they sung or appreciated” (Boutière and Schutz 1950, 233).  

22 The three Occitan insertions as they appear in the sole manuscript of the romance are included in appendices 2–4. I quote throughout from Psaki’s edition of the romance, which includes a diplomatic transcription of the manuscript. Lecoy has normalized the lyric quotations using other sources. Paris attributes the incomprehensibility of the troubadour songs quoted here to a general breakdown in transmission which antedates Jean’s romance: “Il me semble résulter de ces remarques un peu minutieuses que l’auteur de *Guillaume de Dole* ne tenait pas directement de gens du Midi les couplets provençaux qu’il a insérés dans son poème, mais qu’ils avaient pénétré une fois pour toutes, et sans doute à une époque déjà sensiblement antérieure, dans le répertoire des jongleurs qui exécutaient des chansons d’amour. Il est probable que ni les jongleurs ni les auditeurs n’y comprenaient plus grand chose; mais la mode en dura encore quelque temps, comme l’atteste l’emploi de ces couplets dans le roman de la *Violette*” (Jean Renart 1893, cxviii–cxix). I hesitate to follow Paris fully, since passages of the Occitan lyrics are in fact quite comprehensible.
Galicized (see appendices 2 and 3). In this second piece, all final unstressed endings in -a have been replaced with unstressed endings in –e, producing the meaningless term “sane” in two instances (Appendix 3, vv. 4, 7). No trace of the original Occitan remains, except to someone who recognized the original terms.

_Lanquan li jorn_, on the other hand, still contains a few words that betray its Occitan origin. The term “lonc,” while admissible in French, was much less common than “loin” (Gégou 1973, 321), and the final word of the insertion, “gelas” (Appendix 2, v. 7), remains closer to Occitan “gelatz” than to French “gelé.” There are also, however, several substitutions that bring the text closer to French: Occitan “remembram” (v. 4) has been replaced with “membre mi” (v. 4) and, in the place of the original’s verb “platz” (v. 7) we see the more easily-comprehensible term “val” (v. 7) from French _valoir_. One sentence from the original, “vau de talan embroncs e clis” (“I go burdened and hunched down with desire,” v. 5) has been rendered as “vois de ca gens bruns et enduis” (v. 5), producing the rather opaque French sentence “I go over here, noble, dark, tinted.”

The third insertion, Bernart’s _Can vei la lanzeta_, described as a “son poitevin,” is the most recognizably Occitan, despite Gallicization (see Appendix 4). The Occitan verb form "vai" (v. 4) has been preserved, perhaps as a way of maintaining the rhyme with “rai” (v. 2). The same is true of the final word of the insertion, “volon” (v. 16), also in a rhyme position. With the partial exception of this final lyric, which preserves some genuine Occitan forms, what conveys the original Occitan of the insertions is not the preservation of authentic lexical items but rather the use of bogus Occitan forms, which are an awkward compromise between the two languages. “Gelas” (_Lanquan_, v. 7) for example, is neither French _gelé_ nor Occitan _gelatz_, “sane” (_Bela m’es_, vv. 4, 7) neither Occitan _sana_ or French _saine_, “moder” (_Can vei_, v. 1) neither Occitan _mover_ nor French _mvoir_, “cader” (_Can vei_, v. 3) neither Occitan...
chazer/cazer nor French cheoir. It is unclear whether these words would have only been recognizable as gestures towards Occitan to those who were not able to perceive the authentic forms behind them. As I mentioned earlier, the insertions’ overall proximity to French—but with the occasional lapse—may be intended to reflect their fake provenance in the linguistic border regions of Poitou and Auvergne.

If Jean’s quoted Occitan lyrics have been assimilated geographically in two cases and linguistically in all three, their situation on a geopolitical map is less clear. Poitou switched allegiance between France and England for much of the beginning of the thirteenth century after being annexed by the Capetians in 1202 (Lejeune 1935, 89). We do, however, know from the fact that poitevins knights fight on the side of the French at the tournament in Saint Trond (v. 2087) that Jean considered Poitou to be either part of France or else an allied region. The fact that the ‘poitevin’ piece is said to be performed by a “chevaliers de la contree / dou parage de Danmartin” (“a knight from the region / of the family of Dammartin,” vv. 5210-11) may further associate the piece with Capetian domains, depending on whether the Danmartin in question is Dammartin-en-Goële (Seine et Marne) as Lecoy indicates (Lecoy 1962, 190) or in the region of Hesbaye, near Saint-Trond, as Lejeune would have it (Lejeune 1974, 6). Servois assumes that this “chevaliers” is Renaud de Dammartin, count of Boulogne (ca. 1165-1227). Renaud was a childhood friend of Philip Augustus, whose allegiances switched between the Plantagenêts and Capetians. If this “chevaliers” from the Dammartin family is indeed Renaud, his presence may further tie Can vei la lauzeta to Capetian circles, depending on where Jean perceived Renaud’s core allegiance to lie. The label of “auvergnat” effects a similar geographical and political transposition, the Auvergne having been annexed to Capetian domains by Philip Augustus in 1209.
Both linguistically and geographically—\(\text{and probably also politically}^{\text{-}}\), then, the Occitan insertions are subsumed into a broader French landscape. One might object that the French cultural landscape of Jean’s Empire might not result from a conscious choice on his part, but may instead reflect his own literary knowledge. If Jean was affiliated somehow with Capetian lands or the Capetian court—as several critics have postulated—the soundtrack of the Empire may merely reflect his own limited sphere of reference. While noting the fact that Conrad’s musical tastes lean heavily towards the French, for example, Gaston Paris hesitates either to attribute symbolic significance to this preference or to read it as evidence of the historical diffusion of French lyric.\(^{23}\) While I fully agree that we should not read into Conrad’s tastes as transparent reflections of historical trends, I do think we need to take them seriously as a symbolic element within Jean’s fiction. Even if Jean was actually a subject of the French king, he clearly goes to great lengths to accurately fill in the topography of the Empire. To give only two examples, Conrad and his hunting party eat fruit from the Moselle (v. 368) before Conrad rides off towards one of his castles in the Rhine Valley (v. 632). France and things French do not accidentally infiltrate the Empire, but are, rather, held up as explicit objects of cultural envy, as when Conrad declares first that no woman as beautiful as the one Jouglet has described could possibly exist in the Empire, and, consequently, that she must be French (v. 728).\(^{24}\)

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\(^{23}\) “Il faut encore noter qu’il [Jean] fait chanter à la cour d’Allemagne et par l’empereur lui-même non seulement des chansons françaises, mais les chansons les plus nouvellement en faveur. Il ne faut sans doute pas voir là une preuve de la diffusion de notre poésie lyrique à l’étranger: le poète a fait simplement abstraction de la différence des lieux comme il a fait abstraction de celle des temps, puisqu’il nous dit que son empereur Conrad régnait ‘jadis’ en Allemagne, ce qui ne l’empêche pas de chanter les chansons de Gace Brulé et du châtelain de Couci” (Jean Renart 1893, cxiii).

\(^{24}\) Baldwin has noted that references to France are more abundant in Guillaume de Dole than in the Escouffe, which rarely alludes to the royal domain (Baldwin 1997, 52).
Following Paris, Baldwin, Lecoy and Paden have remarked upon the incongruous hyper-saturation of French in the Empire, which they have interpreted in different ways.\textsuperscript{25} For Baldwin, France provides “the standard of chivalrous life” with clothes, wine and armor all judged by French quality (Baldwin 1997, 53). Lecoy suggests that Jean chose to set his romance in the Empire because he found patronage among its barons, such as the counts of Bar and Limbourg or the Duke of Brabant (Lecoy 1962, xv). Even if this is true, it does not explain why francophone culture—especially from Capetian territories—is present to such a high degree. Paden, meanwhile, merely poses the question of why “this court of the German emperor rings with songs in French” (Paden 1993, 46), later noting that the German court seems to be “agog over French as a lyric language” and ringing “with French poetry and song” (Paden 1993, 47). Paden seems to imply that this is merely part of the fictional framework, and that we are supposed to assume that the Germanic languages occasionally mentioned (v. 2169, 2595) are in fact intended to indicate the general linguistic landscape of the text. The analogy Paden proposes is with films featuring native Americans such as Dances with Wolves, where the few passages involving characters speaking Sioux are enough to suggest that the English the characters actually speak in the film is supposed to stand in for Sioux. In his estimation, “the French language becomes intrinsically ambivalent, representing either itself, in contrast to German, or language in general—both French and German” (Paden 1993, 47).

I would argue that, in fact, the opposite is true in the Rose. The few allusions to German in the Rose frame it as a foreign, barbaric language. If, for most of the romance, we have imagined that the “French” speech attributed to Conrad and his entourage is not

\textsuperscript{25} For her part, E. Jane Burns was so persuaded by the French coloring of the Empire that she repeatedly asserts Lienor’s Frenchness (Burns 2009, 93, 94, 99), although she initially notes, following Baldwin, that Dole was in the Empire.
actually French, but rather part of the narrative fiction, in the same way as Sioux is presented in *Dances with Wolves*, the few snatches Jean delivers of a Germanic language disabuse us of this impression quickly. Rather than being treated as if it were self-evident, the speech of the Flemish participants in the tournament is framed as a linguistic anomaly. They scream their friends' exotic-sounding names (“Boidin! Boidin! ou Wautre! Wautre!” v. 2168). Their linguistic acts are, in fact, depicted as quasi-diabolical; they move throughout the streets “tïeschant comme maufê” (“speaking Flemish like devils,” v. 2169). Even to Conrad, the Holy Roman Emperor, German seems a foreign enough language that it is worthy of comment (v. 4664). Jouglet’s description of the Germans as painfully boring (“Alemanz [...] m’ont mort d’anui,” v. 2211) only confirms that it is German—and not French—that is the foreign linguistic and cultural presence in Jean’s Holy Roman Empire.

Moreover, German appears to be the only foreign language in the Empire. Paden has argued that Occitan is treated in the same way as German, which is to say that the Occitan insertions “sound like French” in the way that “nearly everything the Germans say sounds like French” (Paden 1993, 47) but this could not be farther from the truth. While German is explicitly described as a foreign language, Occitan is never recognized as such. The only possible indication as to the insertions’ divergence from standard French morphology is their fake provenance in the border regions of Poitou and Auvergne. But the labels of “poitevin” and “auvrignace” may not even be related to the linguistic characteristics of the piece. We might equally well relate them to the broader geographical anchors associated with the lyrics, such as Jean’s description of Renaut de Beaujeu as hailing from Champagne (vv. 1451-2). In other words, since “poitevin” and “auvrignace” are not the only toponymic

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26 The verb *tïeschier* is not mentioned in Godefroy. It is formed on the adjective “tiois,” which Godefroy glosses as “germanique, tudesque.”
indications in the romance—far from it, in fact—they do not clearly serve as markers of foreignness in and of themselves. The snatches of Flemish, meanwhile, are clearly registered as foreign. In fact, the “chançon auvrignac” (vv. 4653ff.) occurs only a few lines before Conrad overhears his barons “tîeschant” (v. 4664). The first linguistic act is depicted as if its presence in the romance were self-evident, while Conrad’s barons’ Flemish speech—in fact much more easily explicable historically—is depicted as unusual.

There is no question that Conrad’s frame or reference is peculiarly French—and indeed, Capetian. On several occasions, Conrad actually identifies with French monarch. The most striking instance of this identification, in a passage often noted by critics, is when Conrad refers to the king of France as “noz rois” (“our king,” v. 1629). Elsewhere, his identification remains more speculative. Completely delighted by Lïenor’s name, he declares that if he were king of France, he would make the priest who baptized Lïenor archbishop of Reims (vv. 799-800). Later on, he seems unusually familiar with and fond of King Louis (probably Louis VII) referring to him as the “bon roi Lœïs” (v. 3138). Moreover, he possesses an intimate knowledge of court life under Louis, complaining about a certain Brocart Viautre (v. 3137) who dawdled when called to court.²⁷ Politically speaking, Conrad’s frame of reference seems to include both the Empire and France: he describes the helmet he gives to Guillaume as the best in “.II. roiaumes” (“two kingdoms,” v. 1680). Moreover, his jurisdiction extends beyond the Empire to France; the seneschal is ordered to leave both “Alemaigne et France” (v. 5585) as punishment for his crimes.

The significance of this infusion of francophone and French culture into the Empire—to the extent that Germanic languages are perceived as a foreign presence there—

²⁷ Servois identified this historical figure as Bouchart le Veautre, accused of misappropriating the king’s revenues. Bouchart’s name appears in a certain number of royal charters (Jean Renart 1893, xlix).
may relate to arguments over rightful ownership of the Roman Empire. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw a renewed debate on this issue, with both the Capetians and imperial claimants attempting to establish their relationship to Charlemagne, thought to be a descendant of the Trojan Aeneas. Bouvines, for example, was quickly remembered as a second “French” combat with Germanic forces, the first involving the tenth-century Otto the Great and the Carolingians. According to the anonymous author of the *Couronnement de Louis* (1137?), Rome—and thus the Empire—was the rightful possession of the French. It should not, declared its author, be left to the Germans (Duby 1973, 45). Accordingly, perhaps, Jean subtly suggests that the Germans are occupiers rather than rightful inhabitants of the Empire in the opening lines of the romance proper: “En l'Empire, ou li Alemant / ont esté maint jor et maint an” (“In the Empire, where the Germans / have lived for many days and many years,” vv. 31-2). The French cultural trends of the Empire make it clear who Jean views as the rightful inhabitants of this political and geographic space. In a sense, the Empire has already been reconquered through French lyric—a body of work into which Occitan songs are inserted through Gallicization and geographic repositioning.

Whether’s Jean’s mapping of a unified political space that includes both Capetian domains (including newly-annexed territories such as the Poitou and Auvergne) as well as Flanders and what is now Germany is a throwback to an undivided *regnum Francorum* or a reaction to the changed landscape resulting from the Battle of Bouvines remains a matter for speculation. Conrad’s name links him to distant Frankish rulers of the tenth through mid-twelfth centuries, but if Jean’s landscape reflects his nostalgia for the old Francia, it is unclear

28. Through interdynastic historical parallels such as these, Duby has argued that “France” was conceived as a nation (Duby 1973, 17).
29. The hero, Guillaume, declares that “Par dreit est Rome al rei de Saint Denis” (“Rome is the right of the king of Saint-Denis,” v. 2516) (Langlois 1968).
why it is so resolutely francophone. On the other hand, there is little evidence to suggest that Philip Augustus had imperialistic ambitions at Bouvines. Rather than viewing his triumph as an opportunity to annex imperial domains, to judge from royal chronicles, the Capetian king seems to have perceived the war as having set him free from the threat of “Roman” subjugation (Baldwin 1986, 383–4). A series of allusions to Trojan material in the Rose does nothing to elucidate Jean’s precise motivations, but they do confirm the presence of an underlying topos of *translatio studii et imperii*.\(^{30}\)

My reading of the French saturation of the Empire as a subtle contestation of Germanic imperial claims goes against the grain in Rose scholarship, which has traditionally seen in Conrad a figure of Otto IV (Baldwin 1997; Lejeune 1935). While I would not go so far as to call Jean’s position unequivocally pro-Capetian, the French cultural presence in the Empire is too conspicuous to be overlooked.\(^{31}\) I hesitate to write it off as a mere stand-in for German, as Paden proposes. All the more interesting is the way in which Jean’s focus on the expanding French territory and its eastern borders completely eclipses the specificity of Occitan, which is presented as an unremarkable feature of the French cultural landscape. The presence of a historical troubadour—Savari de Mauléon—amongst the French participants in the tournament at Saint Trond, along with Jean’s Gallicization and geographical repositioning through the labels of “poitevin” and “auvrignace,” all illustrate

\(^{30}\text{Jean first promises to sing of both love and warfare (vv. 24-5), a possible reminiscence of the opening lines of the *Aeneid*. Next, he declares that Conrad is more valiant than anyone during the siege of Troy (“onqes au grant siege de Troie / n’ot home si bien entechié,” vv. 40-1). Subsequently, he claims that Guillaume’s reception at Conrad’s court was equaled only in the reception of Paris of Troy (v. 1605), probably an allusion to Paris’s reception by Menelaus in Sparta. Finally, in a much-discussed ekphrasis of Lïenor’s wedding garment (vv. 5332ff.), Jean alludes to Helen of Troy.}\)

\(^{31}\text{Interestingly, Jean Renart’s *Escoufle* also describes a francophone presence in the Empire. When Richard, son of the count of Montivilliers (Normandy) marries Aélis, daughter of the empress, he inherits the Empire, much to the dismay of the current emperor’s advisers (Jean Renart 1974, 2778ff.). Richard has much in common with Richard the Lionheart—including the fact that he is described with this epithet in the *Escoufle* (v. 298) which would make the francophone Empire in this romance Plantagenet rather than Capetian.}\)
How thoroughly the *Rose* subsumes Occitan culture into the newly-emerging France. There are, in Jean’s estimation, only French troubadours: the geographical labels applied to the anonymous Occitan lyrics in the *Rose* are used as the southern-most pinpoints on Jean’s French map. Although one Occitan lyric is sung only lines away from Conrad’s German-speaking barons, it is the German speech and the German speech alone that is treated as a foreign entity in Jean’s French Empire. In a sense, however, Jean’s imperialist Frenchification of the Empire is much more violent than his treatment of Occitania. Transposed into the Poitou and the Auvergne, on the linguistic border between *langue d’oil* and *langue d’oc*, Occitania is presented as a non-existent geographical space while Occitan lyrics are linguistically colored to bring them closer to French. The geographical contours of the Empire, meanwhile, are fully registered, but its cultural landscape has been drastically altered. Although the languages we now think of as Dutch and German had their own flourishing medieval lyric tradition—*Minnesang*—there is not a single piece from this tradition in the French soundscape of Jean’s Empire.
Appendix 1

Chart of all the lyrics insertions in the *Roman de la rose*. RS numbers refer to Raynaud and Spanke’s catalog of French lyrics (Spanke 1955). PC numbers refer to Pillet and Carstens’s catalog of Occitan lyric (Pillet and Carstens 1933). VdB numbers refer to van den Boogaard’s catalog of rondeaux and refrains (van den Boogaard 1969).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. in romance</th>
<th>Line number in narrative</th>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Number of stanzas quoted and place within lyric</th>
<th>Author attribution/geographical tag</th>
<th>Standard catalog number</th>
<th>Modifications/other notes</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>291-292</td>
<td><em>E non Deu, sire se ne l'ai</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>VdB (Ref.) 676</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 = 28</td>
<td>294-297</td>
<td><em>La jus, deoz la raime</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>VdB (Rond.) 1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>304-305</td>
<td><em>Se mes amis m'a guerpie</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>VdB (Ref.) 1703</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>310-315</td>
<td><em>Main se leva bele Aeliz</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>VdB (Rond.) 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>318-322</td>
<td><em>Main se leva bele Aeliz</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
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<td>VdB (Rond.) 3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>329-333</td>
<td><em>C'est tot la gieus, el glaioloi</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>VdB (Rond.) 4</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>514-519</td>
<td><em>C'est tot la gieus, enmi les prez</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
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<td>VdB (Rond.) 5</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>522-527</td>
<td><em>C'est la jus desoz l'olive</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
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<td>VdB (Rond.) 6</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>532-537</td>
<td><em>Main se levoit Aeliz</em></td>
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<td>VdB (Rond.) 7</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>542-547</td>
<td><em>Main se leva la bien fete Aeliz</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>VdB (Rond.) 8</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>846-852</td>
<td><em>Quant flors et glais et verdure s'esloigne</em></td>
<td>1 (I)</td>
<td>Song is sung “en l’onor monsegnor Gasçon” (v. 845) [= Gace Brulé]</td>
<td>RS 1779=2119</td>
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<td>No.</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>923-930</td>
<td>Li noviaus tens et mais</td>
<td>1 (I)</td>
<td>[Châtelain de Coucy] RS 985=986</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1158-1162</td>
<td>Fille et la mere se sient a l'orfrois</td>
<td>2 (I-II)</td>
<td>RS 1834 Character declares that song was sung “ça en arriers” (v. 1148)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1183-1187</td>
<td>Siet soi bele Aye as piez sa male maistre</td>
<td>2 (I-II)</td>
<td>RS 202</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1203-1216</td>
<td>La bele Doe siet au vent</td>
<td>3? (I-III)</td>
<td>RS 744</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>1301-1308</td>
<td>Lors que li jor sont lonc en mai</td>
<td>1 (I)</td>
<td>“cest son” (v. 1300) [Jaufré Rudel] PC 262,2</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>1335-1367</td>
<td>Des que Fromonz au Veneor tença</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>“c'est vers de Gerbert” not extant elsewhere</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1456-1469</td>
<td>Loial amor qui en fin cuer s'est mise</td>
<td>1 (I)</td>
<td>“la chançon Renaut de Baujieu, / De Rencien” (1451-1452) [= Renaut de Beaujieu] RS 1635</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>1579-1584</td>
<td>Aaliz main se leva</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>VdB (Rond.) 9</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>1769-1776</td>
<td>Mout me demeure</td>
<td>1 (I)</td>
<td>RS 420</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>1846-1851</td>
<td>C'est la jus en la praele</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>VdB (Rond.) 10</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>2027-2035</td>
<td>Contrel tens que roi frimer</td>
<td>1 (I)</td>
<td>RS 857=2027</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>2235-2294</td>
<td>Bele Aiglentine en roial chamberine</td>
<td>selections from whole piece</td>
<td>RS 1379</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>2369-2374</td>
<td>La jus desouz l'olive</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>VdB (Rond.) 11</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>2379-2385</td>
<td>Manberjon s'est main levee</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>VdB (Rond.) 12</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>2389-2391</td>
<td>Renaus et s'amie chevauche</td>
<td>n/a</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>2398-2404</td>
<td>De Renaut de Mousson</td>
<td>1 (I)</td>
<td>RS 1871a</td>
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<td>28 = 2</td>
<td>2514-2518</td>
<td>La gieus deroz la raine</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>2523-2527</td>
<td>Sor la rive de la mer</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>VdB (Rond.) 13</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>3107-3114</td>
<td>Mont est fous, que que nus die</td>
<td>1 (I)</td>
<td>RS 1132</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>3179-3195</td>
<td>Quant de la foelle espoissent li vergier</td>
<td>2 (I-II)</td>
<td>RS 1319</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>3403-3406</td>
<td>Quanti ge li donai le blanc peliçon</td>
<td>1 (I)</td>
<td>RS 1877a</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>3419-3430</td>
<td>Célé d'Oissere</td>
<td>1 (I)</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>3625-3631</td>
<td>Je di que c'est granz folie</td>
<td>1 (II)</td>
<td>“Des bons vers mon segnor Gasson” (v. 3620) [Gace Brulé] RS 1232</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>3751-3759</td>
<td>Por quel forfet ne por quel ochoison</td>
<td>1 (I)</td>
<td>RS 1872 = 1876a = 1884</td>
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<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>3883-3899</td>
<td>Ja de chanter en ma vie</td>
<td>2 (I-II)</td>
<td>“Des bons vers celui de Sabloeil, / Mon segnor Renaut” (vv. 3878-3879) RS 1229</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>4127-4140</td>
<td>Quant la sesons del douz tens s'asseüre</td>
<td>1 (I-II)</td>
<td>“la bone chançon le Vidame / de Chartres” (vv. 4123-4124) RS 2086</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>4164-4169</td>
<td>Tout la gieus, sor rive mer</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>VdB (Rond.) 14</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>4568-4583</td>
<td>Quant revient la sesons</td>
<td>1 (I)</td>
<td>RS 1914b</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>4587-4593</td>
<td>Amours a non ciz maus qui me torment</td>
<td>1 (I)</td>
<td>RS 754</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>4653-4659</td>
<td><em>Bele m’est la voiz altane</em> (see Appendix 3)</td>
<td>1 (I)</td>
<td>“chançon auvrignace” (v. 4649) [Daude de Pradas?]</td>
<td>PC 124,5</td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>5106-5111</td>
<td><em>Que demandez vos</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>VdB (Ref.) 1561</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>5113-5115</td>
<td><em>Tendez tuit vos mains a la flor d’esté</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>VdB (Ref.) 1773</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>5188-5207</td>
<td><em>Or viennent Pasques les beles en avril</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>5212-5227</td>
<td><em>Quant voi l’aloete moder</em> (see Appendix 4)</td>
<td>2 (I-II)</td>
<td>“son poitevin” (v. 5211)</td>
<td>PC 70,43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>5232-5252</td>
<td><em>Lors que florist la bruïere</em></td>
<td>2 (I-II)</td>
<td>“des bons vers Gautier de Sagnies” (v. 5229) [= Gautier/Gontier de Soignies]</td>
<td>RS 1322a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>5427-5434</td>
<td><em>C’est la gieus, la gieus, q’en dit en ces prez</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>VdB (Rond.) 15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>5440-5445</td>
<td><em>C’est la gieus, en mi les prez</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>VdB (Rond.) 16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix 2

Gallicized Occitan Songs in Jean Renart’s *Roman de la rose*. Jaufre Rudel’s *Lanquan li jorn* (PC 262,2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line no.</th>
<th>Occitan version as ed. by Chiarini (Jaufre Rudel 1985, 89)</th>
<th>Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensi Latini, 1725</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preceding lines of narrative (vv. 1296-1300)</td>
<td>“Cel jor qu’il dut venir a cort, / entre lui et ses compegnons, / por le deduit des oisellons / que chacuns fet en son buisson, / de joie ont commencié cest son”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lanquan li jorn son lonc en mai</td>
<td>Lors queli ior sont lonc en mai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>m’es belhs dors chans d’auzelhs de lonh</td>
<td>m’es biaus doz chant doisel. de lonc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>e quan me sui partitz de lai</td>
<td>et q[ua]nt me sui p[ar]tiz de la.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>remembr’a:m d’un amor de lonh</td>
<td>membre mi dune amor delonc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>vau de talan embroncx e cis,</td>
<td>vois de ca gens bruns et enduis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>si que chans ni flors d’albespis</td>
<td>si que chans ne flors duabes pin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>no’m platz que l’iverns gelatz</td>
<td>ne mi val ne cuivers gelas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Appendix 3

Gallicized Occitan Songs in Jean Renart’s *Roman de la rose*. Daude de Pradas’s *Bela m’es la votz autana* (PC 124,5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line no.</th>
<th>Occitan version as ed. by Appel (Daude de Pradas 1933, 87)</th>
<th>Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensi Latini, 1725</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preceding lines of narrative (vv. 4646-4652)</td>
<td>“Gil chanteor ne lor chançon / ne la poënt esleecier; / si oï ele commencier / iceste chançon auvrignace. / Se ne fust cil, cui Diex mal face, qui la cuida desloiauter, / mout seüst bien cest vers chanter”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bela m’es la votz autana</td>
<td>Bele mest la voiz altane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>del rossinhol em pascor</td>
<td>del roissillol el pascor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>quan fueled’ es vertz e blanca flor</td>
<td>Q[ue] foelle est vezr blanche flor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>nays et l’erbet’ en la sanha</td>
<td>et lerbe nest enla sane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>e retendeysson li vergier</td>
<td>dont rav[er]dissent cil vergier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>e ioys aura’m tal mestier</td>
<td>et ioi mamor tel mestier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>que tot mi reve e’m sana.</td>
<td>que cors me garist et sane</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 4

Gallicized Occitan Songs in Jean Renart’s *Roman de la rose*. Bernart de Ventadorn’s *Can vei la lauzeta* (PC 70,43)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line no.</th>
<th>Occitan version as ed. by Lazar (Bernart de Ventadorn 1966, 180)</th>
<th>Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensi Latini, 1725</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preceding lines of narrative (vv. 5208-5211)</td>
<td>“Ceste n’est pas tote chantee, / uns chevaliers de la contree / dou parage de Danmartin / commença cest son poitevin”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Can vei la lauzeta mover</td>
<td>Quant voi laoete moder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>de joi sas alas contral rai</td>
<td>de goi.ses ales contre el rai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>que s’oblid e’s laissa chazer</td>
<td>que sobete lesse cader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>per la doussor c’al cor li vai</td>
<td>par la doucor qel cor li vai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>a! tan grans enveya m’en ve</td>
<td>ensi grant en vie mest pris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>de cui qu’eu veya jauzion</td>
<td>de ce que voi.a ma grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>meravilhas ai, car desse</td>
<td>miravile est que vis del sens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>lo cor de dezirer no’m fon.</td>
<td>ne coir do[n]t desier non fou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ai, las! tan cuidava saber</td>
<td>ha las tant cuidoie savoir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>d’amor, e tan petit en sai,</td>
<td>donor et point nen sai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>car eu d’amar no’m posc tener</td>
<td>pas on damer non pou tenir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>celeis don ja pro non aurai</td>
<td>celi dont ia prou nen au[ra]i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Tout m’a mo cor, et tout m’a me</td>
<td>tol mei lor cor et tol meismes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>e se mezeis e tot lo mon</td>
<td>et soi mees me et tol le mon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>e can se’m tole, no’ m laisset re</td>
<td>et pos tantel ne moste rent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>mas dezirer e cor volon.</td>
<td>fors desier et cor volon....... --- ooooo ----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 2

Birds of Prey and Birds of Song: Occitania in Gerbert de Montreuil’s *Roman de la violette*

Of all of the French narratives to quote Occitan song, Gerbert de Montreuil’s *Roman de la violette* would be the place one might most expect to find antagonism towards Occitania. The romance prominently incorporates a certain “King Louis” (v. 78), thought to represent Louis VIII, the Capetian king who was a driving force behind the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229). Moreover, the romance is roughly contemporary with the last years of the war. Indeed, several of the knights in Gerbert de Montreuil’s romance are historical figures who participated in the Crusade, and the Count of Toulouse, a thorn in Louis’s side for much of the 1220s, is mentioned explicitly in the text (v. 834).

Superficially, the romance does appear to exhibit a certain animosity towards the troubadours. One of the two scenes in the *Violette* in which a troubadour lyric is quoted is uniquely violent, both within this particular romance and within the broader landscape of Occitan quotations in French narratives. A lark appears just after Bernart de Ventadorn’s famous *Can vei la lanzeta mover* is sung, but it is quickly devoured by the protagonist’s sparrowhawk. The bloodshed of this episode has led one critic, William Paden, to conclude that “the romance is played out against an implicit background, a political, social, and cultural framework which privileges the north of France and condemns the south” (Paden 1993, 48–9).

I will show here that Paden’s North-South axis is complicated by the considerable presence of imperial geography in the text. In fact, as is the case in the *Rose*, one of the Occitan lyrics is performed in an imperial space. Here, however, it is less clear whether this
“son poitevin” is aligned with French territories or the Empire. Linguistically it is extremely Gallicized, but the piece’s narrative surroundings associate it with Germanic rather than francophone geography. If Jean Renart’s *Rose* does a kind of subtle violence to the Empire through a denial of the Empire’s cultural specificity, Gerbert’s *Violette* is more overtly negative. From a narratological point of view, imperial territories are presented as a space of rupture; they appear at the point of separation of the two lovers, and are eclipsed in the final scene when the lovers are reunited again at the Capetian court. Thus, if there is a negative space in the text, it is more likely the Empire than Occitania.

The *Violette* opens at King Louis’s court, where the protagonist Gerart boasts of his beautiful *amie*, thereby provoking the jealousy of Lisiart, who wagers all of his land that he can successfully seduce Gerart’s beloved.¹ Because he has the utmost confidence in Eurialaut, Gerart agrees to the wager, and Lisiart embarks on his quest. He first spies Gerart’s beloved just as she is singing the first Occitan insertion in the romance, which is described as a “son poitevin.” Eurialaut politely but firmly refuses Lisiart’s advances, only to be betrayed by her maid, the evil Gondrée, who reveals to Lisiart that her charge has a violet birthmark on her breast that only her lover has seen. Armed with this “proof” of Eurialaut’s supposed betrayal, Lisiart returns to court, leaving Gerart despondent at the thought of his beloved’s purported infidelity. Gerart takes Eurialaut to the woods, planning to kill her, but decides merely to abandon her after she happens to save him from an errant dragon that has wandered onto the scene just at that moment. The Duke of Metz subsequently discovers the disheveled Eurialaut and falls in love with her. However, the duke’s affection is not reciprocated. Still faithful to Gerart, Eurialaut tries to make herself less attractive by concocting a story of her former life as a prostitute. The two lovers lead separate lives, Eurialaut in Metz and Gerart

¹ Like the *Rose*, the *Violette* is part of the “wager cycle” (G. Paris 1903).
mostly in Cologne, and both experience a series of adventures. Euriaut is tried for murder after Méliatir, a knight she has rebuffed, frames her for the slaying of the duke’s sister, Ismène. While Euriaut pines after her lost beloved, Gerart sets his sights elsewhere. Under the influence of a magic potion, he begins to pine for a maiden named Aiglente. Out hunting one day, Gerart spies a lark, which he lets his sparrowhawk kill after he intones the second Occitan insertion in the text. Examining the lark’s body, he finds a ring on its neck and realizes it belongs to Euriaut, his abandoned original love. After slaying several more armies and giants, Gerart is able to find the forsaken Euriaut, just in time to save her from execution. Euriaut’s innocence of this crime is demonstrated through a judicial ordeal. Gerart is invited to a tournament, which Euriaut encourages him to attend in order to regain the land he has lost. Successful at this exercise, Gerart returns home and accuses Lisiart of treachery. The traitor’s guilt is revealed and he is executed by the king. The romance concludes with an epilogue in which Gerbert praises the countess Marie de Ponthieu and rejoices that she has had her land restored to her by the king.

Judging from the number of extant manuscripts, the *Violette* was more popular than Jean Renart’s *Roman de la rose*—despite being described for years as a pale imitation of this work, and, more generally, as derivative of texts such as the *Comte de Poitiers* (Babbi 2001, 12; G. Paris 1903, 544).² Four manuscripts, spanning the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, transmit the romance. The oldest of these, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 1553 (A) and Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 1374 (B), are both from the thirteenth century (Krause 2007, 81). There are also two fifteenth-century manuscripts: Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Fr. Q. v. XIV. 3 (olim 53) (C) and New York, ²The most extensive discussion of the sources of the *Violette*, which include Chrétien’s romances and the *Comte de Poitiers* in addition to Renart’s *Rose*, remains Buffum’s introduction to his edition (Gerbert de Montreuil 1928). See also Carmona’s chapter on the text (Carmona 1988, 211ff.).
Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 36 (D). Additional evidence suggests the existence of a lost manuscript that once belonged to Mahaut d’Artois (Krause 2007, 83). None of these codices transmits music notation or leaves space for such notation.

According to its colophon, manuscript A was produced in Picardy shortly after 1285. Manuscript B is from the south-east border of langue d’oil territory and contains some Franco-Provençal traits. C was compiled in Paris for the Duke of Burgundy (Krause 2007, 82–3). The provenance of manuscript D remains more mysterious; the Pierpont Morgan Library’s description states only that the scribe is “French.” Both the wide chronological and geographical span of its manuscript transmission and the redaction of a prose version of the *Violette* (1467)—discussed in more depth below—attest to its enduring popularity.\(^3\)

The greatest sources of evidence on the historical context of the *Violette*’s composition are its prologue and epilogue, both of which evoke Marie de Ponthieu, who was countess of Ponthieu from 1221 to 1251. Like the *Violette*’s protagonist, Marie de Ponthieu lost her county after her brother, Simon de Dammartin, supported the count of Boulogne, Renaut de Dammartin, in a conspiracy against Philip Augustus, only to have it subsequently restored by Louis VIII in 1225, a fact evoked by Gerbert in the epilogue (Gerbert de Montreuil 1992, 19).\(^4\) The period in which Marie was countess of Ponthieu provides the general time span in which the text was probably composed, with most scholars leaning towards the years just after the restitution of the county of Ponthieu.\(^5\)

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\(^4\) These historical events are outlined by Baldwin (Baldwin 2000, 58ff.).

\(^5\) Douglas Buffum dated the text to 1225-30 in an early article (Buffum 1911, 130) but revised his estimate to 1227-9 or 1230-43 in his later edition of the text (Gerbert de Montreuil 1928, lvii). Demaules proposes 1227-9 (Demaules 2000, 143). All quotations are taken from this edition, which has been translated by Mireille Demaules into modern French (Gerbert de Montreuil 1992).
As Demaules notes, the court scenes of the romance are dominated by the figure of King Louis VIII, who died in November of 1226, as well as by the king’s aristocratic supporters (Gerbert de Montreuil 1992, 18). Critics have generally held that, just as Jean Renart’s Rose subtly criticized royal power, the Violette, by contrast, extols it. Rita Lejeune set the tone for most future scholarship with the following declaration: “Le Roman de la rose ayant été écrit en Terre d’Empire pour un milieu impérial [...] autour d’un empereur de la famille des Plantagenêts, le Roman de la Violette a tout l’air de constituer, en réplique, le roman d’une aristocratie française fidèle au roi Louis VIII et à son souvenir” (Lejeune 1978, 446). In the introduction to her translation of the romance, Mireille Demaules echoes Lejeune’s assessment: “Le Roman de la Violette serait alors une riposte au Roman de la Rose, à la fois admiraive et polémique, en tout une œuvre teintée de reconnaissance envers Louis VIII qui venait de restituer ses terres à la comtesse [Marie de Ponthieu]” (Gerbert de Montreuil 1992, 19).

Outside of the incident with Marie de Ponthieu evoked in the epilogue, Louis VIII is remembered primarily for his expansion of the royal domain, which, at the beginning of his reign, included only Montreuil-sur-Mer—Gerbert de Montreuil’s hometown—as a maritime port. Following in the footsteps of Philip Augustus, who had conquered Poitiers, Normandy and the ports of Rouen and Dieppe (among other territories), Louis VIII annexed La Rochelle, Aunis and Saintonge in 1224, Bas-Languedoc and part of the Mediterranean coast in 1226 (Sivéry 1995, 7). These last two annexations were a result of Louis VIII’s final

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6 Rita Lejeune reads Conrad as a counter-Philip Augustus. In her estimation, “le gouvernement de Philippe-Auguste se trouve même en opposition tellement flagrante avec celui du monarque idéal de Jean Renart que l’on peut se demander si Jean Renart ne s’est pas servi de Philippe-Auguste comme repousoir, et si toutes les attaques qu’il mène contre le souverain ‘démocrate’ ne visent pas directement le monarque français” (Lejeune 1935, 64).

7 In a later article, she argues that Gerbert exalts royal justice (Demaules 2000, 156). Cf. Kathy Krause, who argues that the political affiliation of the text can be skewed depending on its manuscript contexts (Krause 2007, 97).
military campaign in the Midi (the first two were in 1215 and 1219) (Sivéry 1995, 363).

Although he justified his participation in the Albigensian Crusade in 1226 by evoking the threatened Church, he nevertheless only agreed to participate on the condition that the pope grant him and his successors permission to annex the southern territories after their capture (Sivéry 1995, 364). Moreover, after the siege of Avignon in 1226, Louis VIII insisted on keeping the entirety of the booty rather than granting half to the Church, as requested by the Cardinal of Saint-Ange (Sivéry 1995, 389). Even in the absence of historical documents describing Louis’s intentions in the Midi, these facts suggest that his participation in the Albigensian Crusade was at least partially strategic and self-interested (Sivéry 1995, 363).

There are forty song fragments in the Violette, including refrains and stanza-long excerpts of chansons (Appendix 1).\(^8\) Both the number and generic span of the insertions provide a clear pendant to Jean Renart’s Rose: both texts contain refrains, excerpts from grands chants, a smattering of Occitan songs, chansons de toile, and one epic laisse (excerpted from Aliscans here) (Buffum 1911, 131). Despite this superficial symmetry, however, Gerbert’s langue d’oil composers seem to be more geographically circumscribed than Jean’s. As far as it is possible to tell, his chosen trouvères were active relatively close to his hometown of Montreuil, on the northeastern coast of France (currently Pas-de-Calais).\(^9\)

On the other hand, Gerbert’s insertions represent a broader chronological span; while Daude de Pradas is the only quoted composer in the Rose who was probably Jean’s contemporary, the Violette includes several pieces that barely antedate the romance. Three composers—Moniot d’Arras, Guillaume le Vinier and Audefroi le Bâtard—were active at

\(^{8}\) Accounting for variants across manuscripts, the total number of songs is forty-four (Butterfield 2002, 27).

\(^{9}\) Judging on the basis of the Châtelain de Couci (the Château de Couci is in the Aisne département, some 200 kilometers southeast of Montreuil), Gace Brulé (from Champagne) and Moniot d’Arras (Arras is also in the Pas-de-Calais).
roughly the same time as Gerbert (Moniot between 1213 and 1229, Guillaume sometime around 1220, and Audefroi le Bâtarde in the first third of the thirteenth century) (Ibos-Augé 2006, 265).

Unlike Jean, however, Gerbert does not attempt to convey any sense of a lyric tradition or chronology through his quotations. In the Violette, for example, there are no chansons de toile that were performed “ça en arriers” (Rose, v. 1148). The lyrics appear in the romance only as vehicles for emotional effusion (Butterfield 2002, 130); characters seem to have no awareness that the songs they sing circulate independently of them. Except for the epic laisse—which is said to come from “Guillaume au court nes” (v. 1405), none of the lyrics is supplied with a title or author attribution.10

In this respect at least, the two Occitan lyrics are something of an exception. First of all, although both are transmitted anonymously, each receives a geographical label. Unlike in the Rose, where it was not uncommon to see a song anchored geographically, these labels are anomalous in the Violette. The first troubadour lyric (quoted vv. 325ff.), which is sung by Euriaut as she gazes at birds from her tower window, is described as a “son poitevin” in all manuscripts in the lines preceding the insertion (Appendix 2). Although this geographical tag persisted across manuscripts, the actual insertion was less stable. In one manuscript (A), it is the heavily-Gallicized fourth stanza of Bernart de Ventadorn’s Ab joi mou lo vers e l commens (PC 70,1). Instead of PC 70,1, manuscript B gives what appears to be a Gallicized version of an unknown Occitan song, catalogued in Pillet Carstens as PC 461,103a, while D gives what

10 Buffum explain this lack of author attribution as a reflection of the audience’s “extreme familiarity” with the quoted songs (Buffum 1911, 131–2). Given that at least two of the quoted pieces are unica (Siet soi, vv. 2303-9; Amors, quant m’iert ceste painne, vv. 2339-45), this argument is not entirely convincing.
might be considered a French translation of this piece. C transmits something vaguely related to this lyric. I will argue below that this piece is in fact originally French.

The situation with the second Occitan insertion (vv. 4187ff., Appendix 3), which Gerart intones after catching sight of the lark that carries EURIAUT’s ring around its neck, is reversed in terms of the stability of its components (insertion and description). The inserted piece is the opening stanza of Bernart de Ventadorn’s *Can vei la lanzeta mover* (PC 70,43) in both of the manuscripts that transmit the piece (*AB*), but the geographical label varies across manuscripts. It is labeled “poitevin” in *A* and “provençal” in *B* and *C*.¹¹ Neither label accurately reflects Bernart de Ventadorn’s origins in the Corrèze (Limousin).

While PC 461,103a is a *unicum*—possibly one composed expressly for the *Violette*—, the two quoted pieces by Bernart de Ventadorn—PC 70,1 and PC 70,43—were both widely transmitted, including in northern France. Various stanzas of PC 70,1 are included in *W* and *X*, but only *X* supplies the stanza—IV—quoted by Gerbert (Raupach and Raupach 1979, 15). PC 70,43 survives in numerous manuscripts, including *W* and *X*, and, as we have seen, is also quoted in Jean Renart’s *Rose*.

**The Pseudo-Occitan “En inqual tans que never dausir” (PC 461,103a)**

The first indicator that the piece lying behind the *BCD* variants of the first “poitevin” insertion is originally French, rather than Occitan, is that its metrical structure—as reconstructed from the *D* variant, which is the most complete—has more analogs in *trouvère* composition than in the troubadour corpus. The structure *aaaaabb* does appear in Frank’s catalog of troubadour lyric (I. Frank 1953, no. 20), but only two pieces indexed (PC

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¹¹ Although *C* does not transmit any content for the “son provençal,” it still specifies that Gerart sings one. *D* jumps from v. 3665 to v. 4224 on the bottom of fol. 65v. It thus omits entirely the section containing the second Occitan insertion.
461,142 and PC 461,203) match the *Violette* variant’s metrical structure. The rhyme scheme was much more popular in *trouvère* verse than in troubadour poetry, to judge from Mölk and Wolfzettel’s catalog (Mölk and Wolfzettel 1972, 137–8). Eight pieces match this scheme.\footnote{RS 1525, RS 1450, R 34, RS 1378, RS 354, RS 1914, RS 2081 and RS 1312.}

The fact that some of the rhyme sounds (judging from the *D* variant, *-ir, *-ir, *-ir, *-ire, *-ire, *-ie, *-ie*) only exist in French weighs in favor of the same hypothesis. Although *-ir* verbs exist in both Occitan and French, past participles in *-ie* (such as “ravie,” *D* variant, v. 6) exist only in French. The rhyme sounds of *C*, although so garbled as to be barely reconstructible, also point to a French origin. As it stands in *C*, only an ending in *-er* serves to link two or possibly three of the lines (*vergier, chanter* and *regretter*).\footnote{In some dialects, the distinction between *-ier* and *-er* was not observed (Laborderie 1994, 37).} The first of these terms would be the same in Occitan, but the second would be *chantar* rather than *chanter*. The verb *regretter* is thought to be of Germanic origin, and does not have a cognate in Occitan.

Moreover, of the three manuscripts to transmit something related to the variant, only *B* contains any Occitan linguistic coloring at all. This coloring is conveyed especially through the use of diphthongs (e.g. *ausir*, v. 1, *espanausir*, v. 2). The former appears to be the verb “to hear,” although the whole line is obscure.\footnote{It reads “En inqual tans que never dausir” (“In that time when ? of hearing?”).} Diez interprets the latter as a poitevin form of *épanouir* (Diez 1887, 289), but, as far as I can tell, it is not attested elsewhere. This unusual form, with its extra diphthongs, is a good indicator that the *B* variant (and perhaps the original underlying them all) is attempting to reproduce Occitan sonorities rather than genuine Occitan words. The same motivation lies behind the form “inaqual” (v. 1), a stressed demonstrative adjective that is neither Occitan *aquel* or French *icil*. *B* includes other such half-way forms, e.g. “pras” (v. 2) for “field” (cf. Occitan *prat*; Old French *pré*), and “pensar” (v. 4) for “to think” (Occitan *pessar*; Old French *penser*). Although these intermediary forms...
do not in themselves weigh against an Occitan original (we have seen them in many Gallicized genuine Occitan texts), in combination with the rhyme sounds and rhyme scheme of the piece, they do suggest a French rather than Occitan origin.

In fact, this piece may well have been written specifically for the *Violette*. The grammatical gender of its speaker is either explicitly or implicitly feminine in all three manuscripts (*BCD*). Both *B* and *D* use feminine forms to indicate the speaker’s delight in a nearby river (“*jausie*” in *B*, v. 5, and “*ravie*” in *D*, v. 6), while *C* gives a male gender to the speaker’s absent beloved (“Et de mon ami me souvient,” v. 5). Although there are, of course, female lyric voices outside of the *Violette*, and although it is possible that the gender of the voice has been altered, the use of feminine forms makes it seem likely that the piece was composed especially for Euriaut to sing in Gerbert’s romance. ¹⁵ Indeed, the lyric voice of the *C* variant—who overhears birdsong (v. 4) and laments her absent beloved (v. 5)—sounds conspicuously like Euriaut (cf. vv. 315-6 of the narrative).

**PC 70,1 (*Ab joi mou lo vers*)**

*A*’s rendering of stanza IV of Bernart’s *Ab joi mou lo vers* is also remarkably well suited to Euriaut’s situation. The speaker here complains of *envieux* who, just like Lisiart, meddle in other people’s affairs. However, as it appears in *A*, there is very little to give away the fact that the quoted piece was originally Occitan. Unstressed endings in –*a*, for example, have been transformed into the typically French schwa (e.g. “*vilania*” into “*villonie*,” v. 2; “*pesansa*” into “*pesanche*,” v. 6). Like PC 461,103a, it contains some hybrid forms. “*Faillemens*” (v. 1), for example, approximates Occitan *falbimens* without being an exact

¹⁵ The *chanson de toile* that contains Euriaut’s name (# 19), also a *unicum*, is another good candidate for *Violette*-specific composition.
translation (cf. French *faîllement*). When an Occitan word was not directly transferrable into French, the scribe has occasionally opted for a different verb entirely. Occitan “formir” (“to concern oneself with”) (v. 7) has no cognate in French, leading the scribe to substitute French “garir” (to protect).

**PC 70,43 (Can vei la lauzeta mover)**

This piece is also extremely Gallicized (Appendix 3), although its original Occitan is slightly more visible. Occasionally a genuine Occitan form has been maintained, e.g. “vai” (v. 4). In both A and B, however, the greatest indicators of the original Occitan are not real forms but rather intermediary forms between the two languages such as those found in the variants of PC 461,103a. These include “loëte” (v. 1) (Occitan *lauzeta*; Old French *alouette*). Sometimes, when there is no French equivalent, these intermediary forms approximate the Latin etymon, as in the case of “cader” (v. 3) (French *cheoir*; Occitan *chazer*; Latin *cadere*). Given Occitan’s closer proximity to Latin, this may represent an attempt at Occitanization on the part of the scribe.

Other forms in the piece suggest that the scribes were searching for an Occitan “sound,” sometimes producing hypercorrect forms by analogy. B’s “jau” (v. 2) (Occitan *joï* or *joïa*; French *joie*) is probably modeled on the Occitan present participle “jauzion” (infinitive *jauzir*), found later in the stanza (v. 6). “Anvide” (A, v. 5) and “envide” (B, v. 5) are neither Occitan *enveya* nor French *envie*; they are probably modeled on the Occitan suffix *–ida*, used to express abstraction (Paden 1998, 503).

When an Occitan word was truly incomprehensible, scribes seem to have found creative ways to circumvent the problem. The Occitan adverb “desse” (v. 7) (“immediately”)—which may have been unintelligible to French readers—has been replaced
in both manuscripts by a reference to the lark’s song, which is in fact not mentioned in Bernart’s original. Both manuscripts evoke the marvels of the bird’s music: “mirabillas son cant fait” (A, “its song does marvels,” v. 7) / “Miravilment du cant de se” (B, “miraculously, through its song [?],” v. 7). As we will see later, this is probably an adaptation to the narrative setting, in which Gerart actually does hear the lark’s song.

The Southern Landscape of the *Violette*

Paden’s case for discerning hostility towards Occitania in the *Violette* rests, in the first instance, on a series of allusions to Occitan geography in the text. These include the town of Saint-Gilles, the county of Forez, Toulouse (via the count of Toulouse), and the purported southern holdings of Lisiart’s knights in the tournament at Montargis. The fact that Gerbert does occasionally evoke Occitan spaces is exceptional in the corpus of lyric-interpolated narratives that include Occitan quotations. Neither Jean Renart nor Richard de Fournival actually mentions Occitan geography. However, I will attempt to show here that, although Occitania is a much more real geographical presence in the *Violette* than in the *Rose*, it is mentioned neutrally rather than negatively.

The first mention of Occitania in the text is the town of Saint Gilles (Gard département), described as the site of the fake pilgrimage Lisiart stages in order to have an excuse to visit Euriaut in Nevers: “Or oiés dou mal trahitour: / Com pelerins quist son atour, / Aussi com alast a Saint-Gilles” (“Now hear about the evil traitor: as a pilgrim would leave his home, as if he were going to Saint-Gilles...”) (vv. 305-7). In Paden’s reading, this is an allusion to the site of the assassination of Pierre de Castelnau, the papal legate, in 1208. Pierre’s death was critical in sparking the Albigensian Crusade because of Raymond, count of Toulouse’s alleged involvement in the event (Paden 1993, 48). I remain unconvinced that
there is anything symbolically significant to this mention of Saint Gilles given that the town was, in fact, a frequent stopping point for pilgrims on the way to Santiago de Compostela. Indeed, the same pilgrimage route is mentioned elsewhere in the text in relation to the Duke of Metz (v. 1119, v. 5134).

A second southern area is evoked via Lisiart’s county, Forez, now part of the Haute Loire department. Franco-Provençal was the historic language of this region. Because he is from Forez, Paden interprets Lisiart as a symbol of southern treachery (Paden 1993, 49). In fact, however, at the time of the Violette’s composition, the county of Forez was linked politically to Nevers (through the marriage of Mathilde of Nevers and Guy IV, count of Forez) (Baldwin 2000, 61), rendering it less “foreign” in Gerbert’s world than we might imagine. Although Lisiart is certainly treacherous as a character, there is nothing to indicate that the county of Forez is a particular target.

Toulouse makes a brief appearance via a mention of the Count of Toulouse, who is upheld as an example of extreme wealth. The fabric of Euriaut’s dress is said to be so opulent that not even the count of Toulouse could buy it: “En quel onques liu que je soie, / Oseroie dire pour voir / Que n’esligast de son avoir / Le tissu li quens de Toulouse” (“In whatever place I might be, I would truly say that the wealth of the count of Toulouse could not acquire the fabric,” vv. 831-834). The specific count Gerbert has in mind is probably Raymond VII, who was one of the wealthiest vassals of the French king until he ceded his territory to Louis VIII in 1226 (Sivéry 1995, 369). Even when speaking of a historic figure who played a significant role in the Albigensian Crusade, Gerbert evinces not the slightest trace of antagonism.

16 Gerbert’s comment about Raymond’s wealth may suggest that the Violette was composed before 1226.
The final passage of the *Violette* in which Paden sees a reference to Occitania is the tournament at Montargis (Paden 1993, 48). Gerart’s side of the tournament is led by a certain “count of Montfort” (v. 5912), who, according to Baldwin, is probably Amaury IV (d. 1241), the son of Simon de Montfort. Amaury led the northern barons who fought against the heretics as part of Capetian efforts (Baldwin 2000, 64) but turned over the land he won in the Midi to Louis VIII (Gerbert de Montreuil 1928, lxii). The count of Boulogne, singled out as a loyal knight (vv. 5921, 6319), has been taken to be Philippe Hurepel, who helped his brother Louis VIII in the Albigensian Crusade (Gerbert de Montreuil 1928, lx).

The count of Saint-Pol (v. 5928), likewise, is probably Gui II, a friend of Louis VIII who was killed in the Albigensian Crusade in 1226 (Buffum 1911, lxi). In Paden’s reckoning, which is based on Buffum’s outline of historical figures in the text, seven of the nine knights on Montfort’s side actually fought in the Albigensian Crusade (the other four are “cil de Brainne”—probably Robert III—, “li quens de Pontiu”—Guillaume de Ponthieu—, “cil de Bares”—Guillaume de Barres—and “cil de Garlande”—Guillaume de Garlande) (Paden 1993, 48). What Paden does not note, however, is that the Albigensian Crusade is not the only historical event that links these figures. At least six, for example, also fought with French forces in the Battle of Bouvines.

Paden’s North-South reading of the tournament is further built on the fact that—in his estimation—several of Lisiart’s allies had “holdings in the Midi” (Paden 1993, 48). The knights on this side are less easily identifiable, but I assume that Paden refers to the “sire de Bourbon” (v. 5940) who was in charge of Philip Augustus’s lands in the Auvergne, the count of Auvergne (v. 5948), and “li daufins de Mont-Ferrat” (v. 5950) (now part of Clermont-Ferrand). The fact that only three of the nine knights on Lisiart’s side have documentable links to the Midi hardly makes for a southern flavor to this side of the tournament. What is
more, at least two of Lisiart’s *tournoyeurs*—Humbert V de Beaujeu (1198-1250) and the count of Châlons—participated in the Albigensian Crusade on the side of French forces.

That Paden’s North-South reading of the tournament is not the only possible interpretation is clear from John Baldwin’s alternate explanation of the event. Baldwin reads the opposition not as one of Albigensian crusaders and southern forces but rather as one of, on the one side, knights supportive of Philip Augustus at Bouvines or of Capetian expansion more generally and, on the other side, knights who were “historically disruptive to the monarchy” (Baldwin 2000, 65–6). According to Baldwin, Lisiart’s knights may be intended to represent “the turbulent barons of the Massif Central,” some of whom contested Philip Augustus’ authority in the Battle of Bouvines (Baldwin 2000, 65–6). I evoke Baldwin’s reading not because I subscribe to it wholeheartedly, but because it shows that Paden’s reading of the tournament as a recasting of the Albigensian Crusade is not the only possible interpretation.

I would contend that the participation of some of Gerart and Lisiart’s knights in the Crusade is probably only incidental. Most associates of Louis VIII and Marie de Ponthieu would have been connected to the war in one way or another. Marie herself was connected to the Crusade through her father, Guillaume III, who fought first with Simon de Montfort and again in 1215 with Louis VIII (Gerbert de Montreuil 1928, lvi).

Because Saint Gilles, Forez and Toulouse are all mentioned rather neutrally, and because I am not persuaded by Paden’s case for the tournament as an opposition between North and South, I remain unconvinced by his overall reading of Occitania as a space associated with treachery in the *Violette*. In fact, as I will show below, the more clearly negative space in the romance is the Holy Roman Empire.
Moving East: Imperial Territory in the Roman de la violette

The considerable presence of imperial geography in the *Violette* has been overlooked, perhaps because the romance has traditionally been read as a Capetian response to Jean Renart’s *Rose*. This critical position has led to a francocentric vision of the geography of the romance on the part of many readers, some of whom describe the text as if it took place only in France. Demaules, for example, situates the landscape of the *Violette* in the north, center and east of France in the introduction to her translation (Demaules 2000, 10) without noting the inclusion of imperial territories such as Cologne. Paden goes one step further and claims that “the name of Germany echoes in [Gerbert’s] text only as a rhetorical expression for what is faraway” (Paden 1993, 48). This evacuation of imperial territory allows him to read the entire romance as an agonistic drama of northern and southern forces (Paden 1993, 48–9), as outlined above. Although it is true that the *Violette*’s opening at King Louis’s court in France (v. 65) constitutes a clear French pendant to the first scene of Jean Renart’s *Rose*—where the imperial setting is also immediately announced (v. 31)—, this should not blind us to the subsequent imperial geography in the text.

On my count, some 2500 lines of the *Violette* (just under 40% of the romance) take place in imperial territory. More importantly, the narrative placement of this imperial geography is symbolically significant. Imperial territories make an appearance following Gerart’s abandonment of Euriaut in the Burgundian woods (ca. 1097ff.)—which are explicitly described as “salvage” (“wild”) later in the romance (v. 5136). Although the two

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17 Krause represents a significant exception to this trend. She notes the presence of imperial geography in most of the texts—including the *Violette*—in BnF MS. fr. 1374 (Krause 2007, 88–97).
18 It is difficult to give an exact figure because it is not always easy to reconstruct when characters arrive at a certain destination. Euriaut arrives in Metz ca. v. 1282 but her stay there is interrupted by the technique of *entrelacement*. Gerart arrives in Cologne at v. 2504 and stays until approximately v. 4416. He arrives in Metz at v. 5160 and leaves ca. v. 5735.
main characters part ways at this juncture in the romance, both end up in symmetrical situations in imperial territories. Euriaut is whisked away by the Duke of Metz, where—upon arrival at his home—she encounters a pair of men who threaten to permanently separate her from Gerart. The Duke of Metz and, subsequently, the evil Méliatir, both try their hand at seducing her. After his separation from Euriaut, Gerart also wanders into imperial territory and ends up sojourning with a duke (this time, the Duke of Cologne). After brief sojourns in Vergy, southwest of Dijon, and in Chalons (presumably Châlons-sur-Marne)—both of which were Capetian *fiefs mouvants*, he departs for Cologne (vv. 2504ff.), where he is befriended by the duke of the same city. While Euriaut resides with the Duke of Metz and rebuffs both the duke and Méliatir, Gerart finds himself in the retinue of the Duke of Cologne. Like Euriaut, in this section of the romance, he receives amorous advances from two people (in his case, Aigline and Aiglente). After proving his worth in Cologne, the duke grants Gerart responsibility for one of his domains, a position in which he serves for some years, demonstrating his valiance in tournaments in Germany and Liège (v. 3825). Gerart’s political affiliations thus shift from Capetian circles to imperial ones in this section of the romance. Like Guillaume de Dole in the *Roman de la rose*, Gerart temporarily becomes one of the most accomplished knights in the Holy Roman Empire.

As was the case in the *Rose*, there is something strange about this Empire, although here it is not that it is linguistically and culturally francophone. Unlike in the *Rose*, the Empire is not clearly presented as a natural extension of France. Gerart is well aware that he is in a different political space: he announces to the Duke Milon that he comes from an “estragne tierre” (“foreign land,” v. 2964). He further explains that in his country, he is called

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19 Although imperial characters—including those from German-speaking territories—do sing French lyrics, there is no clear indication of whether their French truly represents French or whether it is part of the fiction of the romance.
Gerart: “Gerart m’apielent el païs / Dont je sui issu et naïs” (“They call me Gerart in the country / where I come from and was born,” vv. 2968-9). What is strange about the Violette’s Empire is that it is peculiarly divided against itself. Gerart proves his valiance in Cologne by fighting off the (obviously Germanic) Saxons, who are described as an “orgilleuse gent” (“proud people,” v. 2547). They attack the city of Cologne not once but twice during Gerart’s sojourn there. Although the “Saisnes” are usually a vaguely-described enemy in the chanson de geste (indeed, this is how Buffum explains their presence), Gerbert takes great care to emphasize their Germanness. Two warriors—Gontart of “Covelanche” (Koblenz) (v. 2690) and Guinebaus of “Maianche” (Mainz) (v. 2881)—are explicitly associated with imperial strongholds. Moreover, Gerbert evaluates Gontart’s armor not in French livres tournois or parisis but rather in German marks, a coin especially associated with the city of Cologne and the Rhine Valley (Ulff-Moller 2001, 210).

The imperial city of Cologne is also evoked in considerable historical detail, although there are some inaccuracies (e.g. the fact that the lord of Cologne was the archbishop and not Duke Milon). First, Gerbert describes it as having a “porte les Trois Rois” (v. 2542). The Three Magi had been associated with the city of Cologne ever since 1164, when their relics were brought there from Milan (Gerbert de Montreuil 1928, lxxv). Moreover, as a defender of the city of Cologne, Gerart sports historically-recognizable garb. The armor he is given is a vibrant red—the traditional color both of the city of Cologne and of its militia (which later evolved into the famous “Roten Funken” or Red Sparks). This red armor reappears later in

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20 Gerbert de Montreuil 1928, lxxvi.
21 “On n’esligast, mien escïent, / Pour mil mars trestout son atour” (“One could not equal, to my knowledge, his outfit with a thousand marks,” vv. 2695-6).
22 “S’armeüre ert toute vermeille, / Et ses chevals refu couvers / D’un samit vermel molt divers” (“His armor was completely red, and his horse was covered in a very shiny, red silk cloth,” vv. 2587-9).
the romance, metonymically distinguishing Gerart, who is called “li vassaus au rouge escu” (“the knight with the red shield,” v. 2954). Gerart’s helmet is also decked out with a typically Germanic “ruce de paon” (“peacock tail,” v. 2593). This sartorial fashion is still visible, among other places, in the early fourteenth-century Manesse Codex.²³ To my knowledge, there was no historical event in early thirteenth-century Cologne that would explain Gerbert’s opposition between Cologne and Germanic forces from cities including Mainz and Koblenz. By dividing the Empire into two groups, however, the superficially civilized citizens of Cologne and the war-waging, brutish Saxons, Gerbert is able to insult imperial forces under the cover of the stock “Saisnes.”²⁴

Confirming the imperial coloring of this section of the romance is the series of aquiline characters who “hunt” Gerart. Aiglente and Aigline—both of whom exert great effort to seduce the hero—are onomastically reminiscent of the aigle, the imperial symbol par excellence.²⁵ Both of these birds of prey set their sights on Gerart, trying to lure him away from his true love, Euriaut. Aiglente seems to be conscious of the cynegetic implications of her own name, declaring that she will look elsewhere since she cannot obtain her prey: “Failli ai a prendre ma proie, / Si m’estuet en autre liu tendre” (“I have failed to take my prey, / so I must hunt elsewhere,” vv. 3517-8). Even the Duke Milon participates in the hunt; he holds

²³ See, for example, folio 17r (http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg848/0029).
²⁴ This whole section of the romance deserves greater study. The shields of certain Saxons are described in some detail; they may point to identifiable imperial forces. The countryside surrounding Cologne is lit up “de l’or, de l’asur, de l’amine / Et del sinople et de l’argent” (“with gold, with blue, with hermine and with green and silver,” vv. 2545-2546). Gontart de Covelance’s armor is “d’or et d’asur […] / vairies, a quartier d’argent” (“gold and blue […], with vair, and a silver quarter,” vv. 2693-4). Another Saxon has a shield with “trois lyonchiaus molt bien assis” (“three lioncubs well placed,” v. 2816). The narrative continues: “Et en la cote en avoit sis / Et sis en ot es couvertures” (“And on his surcoat there were six and six on his coverings,” vv. 2817-8). These lion cubs may associate him—and by extension the Saxons?—with the House of Guelph.
²⁵ Louison also notes the aquiline tinge of Aiglente and Aigline’s names (Louison 2004, 829). Otto IV is repeatedly described as an eagle in Guillaume le Breton’s account of Bouvines (Guillaume le Breton 1885, 352 and passim).
a sparrowhawk on his arm during his first appearance in the text (v. 2522). Euriaut’s name, on the other hand, is sometimes spelled Orïaus (e.g. v. 454), a spelling evocative of the loriot (oriole). In her first appearance in the romance, Euriaut is surrounded by songbirds (v. 315) and her act of singing is what identifies her to Lisiart. Through these onomastic allusions, a dichotomy emerges between imperial hunting birds and French songbirds.

The scene in which Bernart’s Can vei la lanzeta is quoted (vv. 4187ff.) appears squarely in this imperial section of the romance. It is worth briefly summarizing this scene, since its violence is the lynchpin in Paden’s argument regarding the Violette’s purported animosity towards the troubadours. Gerart embarks for an afternoon of hunting larks and quails (v. 4149) on the banks of the Rhine (he proceeds “dalés le Rin tout contreval,” v. 4176). Later, we learn that his sparrowhawk alights on a tree “qui fu sour le Rin a la rive” (“which was on the bank of the Rhine,” v. 4247). The lark he spies—which also happens to bear Euriaut’s ring around its neck—inspires him to sing the first stanza of Bernart’s lyric before he allows his sparrowhawk to attack the bird. There is no doubt that Gerart’s response to the lark is unusually violent, with the gory description going beyond what one would expect from a hunting scene. Gerart seems to fall into a kind of stupor, extracting pleasure from gazing upon the sparrowhawk’s slaying of the lark, and finally allowing it to extract its brain: “De la cervele le repeut, / Puis li oste au plus tost k’il puet” (“He fed it [the sparrowhawk] on its [the lark’s] brain / Then removed it from him as fast as he could,” vv. 4217-8). I will return to the violence of the scene later. For now, I would merely note its imperial setting.

Although there is in fact no mention of the lark’s song in Bernart’s original, the two manuscripts of the Violette that transmit a version of Can vei invent one for it, perhaps in response to Gerbert’s narrative: Gerart notices the lark not just visually—as does the speaker
of Bernart’s poem—but also aurally. He responds both to its image against the sun, and to its song:

[...] une vois a entendu
D’une aloe ki ot tendu
Ses heles et vait haletant,
Et si aloit molt cler chantant.

(“[...] he heard the voice of a lark that had stretched its wings and went fluttering, and singing very beautifully.”) (vv. 4178-4181).

The Occitan original of lines 7-8 is adapted to accommodate this reference to the lark’s song: “meravilhas ai, car desse / lo cor de dezire / no m fon” (“I am astonished that my heart does not immediately melt from desire”) has been transposed into French as “mirabillas son cant fait / anui le felon” (“its song does miracles, much to the chagrin (?) of the evil person”) by manuscript A. This “felon” may be Aiglente, whose magic potion is destroyed thanks to Euriaut’s ring. B remains closer to the Occitan original but still speaks of the lark’s song: “miravilement du cant de se / lou cor de desier me fon” (“miracuously, through its (?) song, my heart melts from desire”).

It is difficult to disassociate Bernart’s lark from the Germanic landscape in which it appears in the romance. It may represent a “French” presence in this world, since it is transformed into a songbird for the purposes of the romance. From a linguistic standpoint, this is certainly the case. In both manuscripts, as we have seen, the text of Bernart’s poem is extremely Gallicized. In Paden’s reading, however, the lark scene represents “an allegorization of Bernart’s lark as the voice of the troubadours” while “Gerart’s murderous response implies a rejection of the troubadour model in favor of the snatches of French lyric” (Paden 1993, 49). The fact that the poem is described as “provençal” in two manuscripts would support this association; the Violette is the only French narrative or
manuscript to situate the troubadours as far south as Provence (inaccurately, in this instance, since Bernart was from the Limousin).

However, it is also clear that Occitan lyric—however much it is Gallicized—is inextricably caught up in an imperial landscape. It is, as we have seen, set on the Rhine, and even the label "provençal" may be intended to situate it in the Empire, since parts of Provence were held by Frederick II.\textsuperscript{26} Indeed, the lark's death also leads to Aiglente's rejection, and to Gerart's departure from imperial territory. Having remembered Euriaut, Gerart abruptly takes leave both of the Duke of Metz and of his daughter (vv. 4320ff.) and begins his journey back to Capetian France, stopping along the way to rescue Euriaut. The two lovers return to Capetian France via the court of King Louis (v. 6573).

\textbf{The Birds Behind the Lark}

Just as the imperial landscape in which it is set complicates the second Occitan insertion, so too does the fact that much of its violence is drawn from Jean Renart's \textit{Esquiflo}. Because this intertext has already noted by Lejeune and Carmona (Lejeune 1978, 446; Carmona 1988, 203), among others, my aim here is only to show how many of the violent details of the scene have been transposed, thus complicating a straightforward equation between the lark and the troubadours.

\textsuperscript{26} Frederick II nominally controlled the part of Occitania that lay beyond the Rhône. Louis VIII ruffled feathers during his siege of Avignon in 1226 because he was viewed as attacking historically imperial territory in his attempt to eradicate heresy (Sivéry 1995, 379). In fact, many of the knights mentioned in the tournament at Montargis—on both Gerart and Lisiart's sides—were present during the siege of Avignon, and this confluence of a "son provençal" with an imperial space may constitute an allusion to this event. The knights in question are Amaury de Montfort (v. 5912), the count of Brittany (v. 5914), Philippe Hurepel (described as the "quens et sires de Boulongne" in the \textit{Violette}, v. 5921), Guillaume des Barres (v. 5926), the count of Saint-Pol (v. 5928), Archambaud de Bourbon (v. 5940), Imbert de Beaujeu (v. 5942), and the count of Chalon (v. 5945) (Sivéry 1995, 324–5).
In Renart’s *Escoufle*, Guillaume, son of an important count of Normandy, is born on the same day as Àelis, daughter of the emperor. He becomes Àelis’s closest companion, and their parents agree to their marriage, thereby ensuring the unification of Normandy and the Empire. Due to the emperor’s change of heart after the count of Normandy’s death, Guillaume and Àelis are forced to flee in order to remain together. While Àelis is sleeping, an *escoufle*—or kite—mistakes the red pouch in which the lovers' ring is safeguarded for a piece of flesh and flies away with the pouch in its beak. Guillaume decides to follow it, causing his separation from Àelis, who assumes she has been abandoned and wanders off on her own.

Several years later, Guillaume goes hunting and allows his falcon to take down a kite. As revenge for what the kite’s relative has done, he rips out, cooks, and devours its heart. The excessive violence of his actions forces Guillaume to justify his behavior to the Count of Saint Gilles, whose hunting party he had joined that day. Also in the count’s retinue—unbeknownst to the protagonist—is Àelis. When he seeks out the count to explain his animosity towards the bird, Àelis is also in the room. It is thus through a kite that the two lovers are both separated and united.

The narrative resemblances between the *Violette* and the *Escoufle* extend to the preparation of the hunting scene, although, in the *Violette*, the bird’s theft of the ring occurs after the lovers have already been separated. Euriaut is given a lark by the Duke of Metz after Gerart has abandoned her (vv. 3892-3). While playing with the bird on her lap, the ring her lover had previously given her falls around the bird’s neck and it flies away (*Violette* vv. 3916ff.; cf. *Escoufle* vv. 4544ff.). As in the *Escoufle* (vv. 6848ff.) the bird’s death is horrifically violent. As we have already seen, Gerart allows his sparrowhawk to devour most of the lark’s brain before pulling it away. In the *Escoufle*, the violence is even more extreme. Guillaume grabs the bird, skins it alive, and extracts its heart before devouring it:
Il a lués droit l’escoufle pris
Tout ensement comme .i. marlart;
Le cuir del penil li depart
Qui m’l’estoit et durs et fors,
Les dois li met dedens le cors,
S’en traist le cuer ensanglenté;
Voiant ciaus qui i ont esté
L’a mis en sa bouce et mangié.

(He grabbed the kite straight away, just like a wild duck; he separated the skin of the stomach which was hard and strong, And put his fingers into the body, taking out the bloody heart; seeing those who were there, he put it in his mouth and ate it.) (vv. 6856-6863)

In both texts, the hunted bird meets a gruesome end, with its innards extracted and consumed. In the *Violette*, at least, this violence is mitigated by the fact that it is Gerart’s sparrowhawk—and not Gerart himself—who eats the bird.

The fact that the violence done to the lark mimics that done to the *escoufle* in Jean Renart’s romance makes it difficult to accept Paden’s reading of the lark episode as a “murderous response” to the “voice of the troubadours” (Paden 1993, 49)—especially since this voice is almost indistinguishable from French. Occitania is indeed caught up in a bloody episode, but—set in imperial territory and diegetically reminiscent of the *Esconfle*—the episode is so overdetermined as to make its symbolic significance difficult to parse.

**Fictive Occitan Origins in the Prose *Violette***

Occitania was present enough in the verse *Violette* that one fifteenth-century Burgundian author cast it retrospectively as an Occitan production. This is how he frames the romance in the prologue to his prose redaction of the text, known by the title *Gérard de Nevers*.27 This prose version of the text was composed sometime around 1467 for Charles I,

---

27 Two manuscripts transmit the prose version of the *Violette*, BnF MS fr. 24378 and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale ms. 9631.
count of Nevers. The prose *remanieur* frames his activity as one of translation, rather than of prosifying:

\[
[je] \text{ me suis ingeré et avachyé de moy travelliér a aplicquier mon petit sens et entendement a mettre et rediger par escript ce petit livret lequel par avant estoit en langage provençal et moult difficile a entendre.}
\]

(I have exerted all of my effort in applying my small intellect and understanding to put into writing this little book which before was written in the Provençal language and was very difficult to understand.) (Lowe 1928, 2)

Perplexed by this declaration, critics have come up with various explanations for the term “prouvençal.” Michel, editor of an early edition of the *Violette*, proposed that the term might merely mean “provincial,” but, as Lawrence Lowe points out, there is no attestation of the word with this meaning (Lowe 1928, xiv). Michel also hypothesized that the prose author may have confused the *Violette* with *Girart de Roussillon*, but this explanation is similarly unconvincing: little links the two texts other than the names of their protagonists (Lowe 1928, xiv). The only actual link to Provence in the verse *Violette* is the designation of “provençal” (for the second insertion in B and C). We might think of the fictive provenance as an attempt to heap on exoticism but, if this was the goal, it is surprising to find that both the Occitan insertions and their geographic labels have been suppressed in the prose edition.²⁸

The prose author seems to have registered Gerbert’s entire verse *Violette* as a poem—and an Occitan poem at that. The de-rhyming of the *Violette*—that is, its redaction in prose—is thus presented as a movement away from Occitan and towards French. This suggests that, even in the late fifteenth century, Occitania retained its association with poetic production. What is more, French prose is presented as a clear, written language in contrast to

²⁸ The corresponding passages occur on p. 8 and p. 90 of Lowe’s edition. Euriaut does not sing at all. Gerart does, but his song is not identified in any way.
an implicitly oral and obscure Occitan: the author presents the prose version as a shift into *escript* of the (fictively Occitan) verse version of the romance. We are left with clear French prose on one hand, and obscure “Occitan” verse on the other.

I would suggest that this fictive Occitan origin for the work must be understood against the backdrop of the Burgundian court and the patron of the text, Charles I of Nevers. The prosator alters very few elements of the original verse text but nevertheless effects a remarkable cultural translation. The first critic to note the way in which the prose romance was updated to reflect its new Burgundian context was Lawrence Lowe. Lowe describes how a large number of names inserted in the prose redaction link the text to Burgundian political figures (Lowe 1928, xviii). Additionally, the prose author describes Euriaut as the daughter of the duke of Savoy. Lowe convincingly argues that this detail further anchors the text within Burgundian circles, since the marriage between Amédée VIII of Savoy and Marie of Burgundy had brought about a union between the two houses (Lowe 1928, xviii).

To these observations, I would add that, in an obvious attempt to flatter Charles I, count of Nevers, Gérard *de Nevers*, hero of the verse version, is reclaimed as Burgundian. The lone significant alteration to the original verse romance, an interpolated episode, is intended to glorify Gerart’s (the count’s?) bravery and chivalry. In the episode, a young woman named Denise de la Lande, beloved of Baudrain d’Appremont, declares that Gerart is better looking than he. Baudrain is furious, and forces her to bathe for one hour in a fountain every day as punishment. Gerart comes along and, after he is attacked, kills Baudrain, liberating the woman from her watery fate. Exhausted, Gerart takes a nap on Denise’s lap, during the course of which a squire comes along. Denise instructs the squire to kill Gerart, claiming that he has attempted to dishonor her. The count of Nevers (and
implicitly Charles I) emerges as a dashing yet savvy knight, who both rescues damsels in distress and easily discerns treachery. The name given to Gerart’s opponent, Baudrain d’Appremont, serves to further anchor the prose romance in a Burgundian framework: Apremont-sur-Allier is some fifteen kilometers southwest of Nevers.\(^{29}\)

Additionally, the Capetian monarchy recedes into the background of the prose redaction: the epilogue exalting King Louis’s generosity towards Marie de Ponthieu has been entirely discarded. In its place is a brief comment on Euriaut and Gerart’s progeny, including a son named “Loïs” (Lowe 1928, 147). Lowe interprets this Louis as the son of Amédée VIII, who succeeded to his father’s title after his death. If this is true, the king of France is in some sense transformed into a descendant of the count of Nevers. Similarly, the unspecified “Louis” (v. 78) of the opening court scenes in the verse \textit{Violette} has been transformed into “Louis le Gros” (Lowe 1928, 3). Louis le Gros reigned from 1108 to 1137, and was the great grandfather of Louis VIII. With this chronological reframing, the prose author anchors the Capetian elements of the text in an even more distant past while “updating” the Burgundian elements by inserting names of current political players.

The fictive Occitan origin attributed to the text must be understood against this broader ideological shift. Corresponding with a downplaying the original Capetian elements of the \textit{Violette} is a denial of its Frenchness. By claiming that the original verse version was in “Provençal,” the prosator perpetuates the fiction that French-language writing originates in the Burgundian ducal court. Claiming a fictive Occitan source for a text originally associated with the French crown is, after all, another permutation of the strategy of reclaiming as Burgundian such epic heroes as Girart de Roussillon and Godefroy of Bouillon.\(^{30}\) Through

\(^{29}\) In his discussion of name Appremont, Lowe fails to make this connection (Lowe 1928, xxiv).

\(^{30}\) The appropriation of epic heroes as Burgundian is mentioned by Wrisley (Wrisley 2008, 133).
the prosator’s relocation of the verse *Violette* as Occitan, French prose appears to begin with (or at least point inexorably towards) the Burgundian ducal court.

All in all, although Occitania is a more vivid geographical presence in the *Violette* than in the *Rose*, it is in no way depicted as a negative space in the romance. Even the count of Toulouse, a major player in the Albigensian Crusade, is evoked without the faintest trace of hostility. It is the other space with which Capetian forces contended in the early thirteenth century—the Empire—and not Occitania that serves as Capetian France’s outside. It is difficult to know where to situate troubadour lyric on this map. The extreme Gallicization marking its transmission frames it as French, but the “provençal” piece is clearly associated with the Empire—both through its setting, and, perhaps through its label.
Appendix 1

The lyrics insertions in the *Roman de la violette*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. in romance</th>
<th>Line number in narrative</th>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Number of stanzas quoted and place within lyric</th>
<th>Author attribution/geographical tag</th>
<th>Standard catalog number</th>
<th>Modifications/other notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>104</td>
<td><em>Alis bielement que d’amer me duel</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>VdB, no. 93.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>110-11</td>
<td><em>Alés cointement et seri</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>VdB, no. 95.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>120-1</td>
<td><em>Ja ne mi marierai</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>VdB, no. 1006</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>126-128</td>
<td><em>Se j’aine par amors</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>VdB, no. 1675</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>134-5</td>
<td><em>Seulete vois a mon ami</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>VdB, no. 1718</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>141-2</td>
<td><em>Aprendrés a valoir maris</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>VdB, no. 184</td>
<td>In another version of the refrain, the <em>mari</em> is an <em>ami</em>: “Aprenez a valoir amis, li jalous m’a perdue”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>152-3</td>
<td><em>Ja ne lairai pour mon mari ne die</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>VdB, no. 1004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>191-8</td>
<td><em>Quant biele dame et fine amors me prie</em></td>
<td>1 (I)</td>
<td>[Gace Brulé?]</td>
<td>RS 1198</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>204-5</td>
<td><em>J’ai amours fait a mon gre</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>VdB, no. 913</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>237-8</td>
<td><em>Dont n’ai jou droit que m’envoise</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>VdB, no. 592</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>324-331</td>
<td><em>Ab joi mon lo versus et al commens</em> / alternate lyric related to PC 461,103a (see Appendix 2)</td>
<td>1 (IV)</td>
<td>“son poitevin” (<em>ABCD</em>) [Bernart de Ventadorn]</td>
<td>PC 70,1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>441-9</td>
<td><em>Amors mi font renvoisier et canter</em></td>
<td>1 (I)</td>
<td>[Moniot d’Arras]</td>
<td>RS 810=796</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gerbert has modified the refrain, which originally read: “Quant plus me bat et destraint li jalous, / Tant ai je miex en amor ma pensee.” See VdB, no. 1186

| 13 | 719      | *Ensi va ki bien aianne, ensi va* | n/a |  | VdB, no. 74  |
| 14 | 935-6    | *Ki ameroit tel dame a chi* | n/a |  | VdB, no. 1583  |
| 15 | 1266-75  | *Cil qui damours me conselle* | 1 (I) | [Gace Brulé] | RS 565=567 |
| 16 | 1315-21  | *Par Dieu! je tienc a folie* | 1 (II) | [Gace Brulé] | RS 1232 |

laisse from *Alicans*. See Wienbeck, Hartnacke, and Rasch 1903, vv. 3036ff.

<p>| 17 | 1407-28  | <em>Grans fu la cours en la sale a Loon</em> | n/a |  |  |
| 18 | 2050-1   | <em>Tant arai bonne amour</em> | n/a |  | VdB, no. 1315  |
| 19 | 2303-9   | <em>Siet soi biele Eurias</em> | n/a |  | ---  |
| 20 | 2339-45  | <em>Amors, quant m’iert ceste painne achievee</em> | 1 (I?) |  | ---  |
| 21 | 3123-5   | <em>En non Dieu, c’est la rage</em> | n/a |  | VdB, no. 665  |
| 22 | 3141-2   | <em>Vous cantés et je muir d’amer</em> | n/a |  | VdB, no. 1855  |
| 23 | 3236-43  | <em>Destrois, pensis, en</em> | 1 (I) | [Audefroi le Bâtard] | RS 77  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>3331-2</td>
<td>VdB, no. 1106</td>
<td>esmai</td>
<td>Je ne le voi mi ci /</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>3450-1</td>
<td>VdB, no. 1614</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Ki set garir des maus d'amer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>3641-7</td>
<td>RS 1405</td>
<td>En tous tans se doit fins cuers esjoir</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>[Guillaume le Vinier]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>3665-6</td>
<td>VdB, no. 11</td>
<td>Adeviner porès cui s'ainme</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>4172-3</td>
<td>VdB, no. 1021</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>J'aience de li ma joie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>4187-94</td>
<td>PC 70,43</td>
<td>Can vei la lauzeta</td>
<td>1 (I)</td>
<td>“son poitelin” (A), “son provençal” (BC) [Bernart de Ventadorn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>4344-5</td>
<td>VdB, no. 539</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Del! li cuers me faurra ja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>4409-10</td>
<td>VdB, no. 1872</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Vous qui la irés, pour Diu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>4478-80</td>
<td>VdB, no. 1847</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Volentiers verroie Cui je sui amis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>4624-31</td>
<td>RS 679</td>
<td>Par Diu! amours, grief m'est a consirer</td>
<td>1 (III)</td>
<td>[Châtelain de Couci]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>5051-8</td>
<td>No other attestations</td>
<td>Lasse! comment porrai durer?</td>
<td>1 (I?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>5068-7</td>
<td>VdB, no. 1434</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Or aoie amourtes,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>5701</td>
<td>VdB, no. 973</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>J'ai reconnu ma joie par bien amer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>5719-20</td>
<td>VdB, no. 1393</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Nus ne doit amie avoir</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>5790-7</td>
<td>N’am er par droit, ki miex n’en doie valoir</td>
<td>1 (I)</td>
<td>[Gace Brulé]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>6125</td>
<td>Ne mi sont pas ochoison de cante r</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>VdB, no. 1041</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>6616-20</td>
<td>Qui bien aimme ne se doit esmaier</td>
<td>1 (II)</td>
<td>[Moniot d’Arras]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RS 787</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RS 1259</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2

First insertion sung by Euriaut as it appears across manuscripts. In A, this is stanza IV of PC 70,1 *Ab joï mou lo vers*. The variant insertion is catalogued as PC 461,103a. Line breaks reflect an attempt to reconstruct the original structure of the poem, not manuscript layout.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line no.</th>
<th>Occitain version as ed. by Lazar (Bernart de Ventadorn 1966)</th>
<th>A (BnF MS fr. 1553)</th>
<th>B (BnF MS fr. 1374)</th>
<th>C (St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Fr. Q. v. XIV. 3)</th>
<th>D (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 36, fol. 7r)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introductory lines of narrative (vv. 319-23)</td>
<td>Apriés, quant elle [Euriaut] a souspiré, / L’a un poi amours aspiré / À chanter, si com jou devin, / D’un vier d’un boîn son poitevin / Don’t li estoit pris talens</td>
<td>Apriés, quant elle eut souspiré, / L’a un poi amours aspiré / À chanter, si com jel devin, Un vier d’un boîn son poitevin / Don’t amors la fait esbaudir</td>
<td>Apriés, quant elle eut souspiré / Amours l’a ung poy espiré, / À chanter, si com jou devin, / Un vier d’un boîn son poitevin / Don’t amors la fait esbaudir</td>
<td>Apriés, quant elle eut souspiré, / L’a un poi amours aspiré / À chanter si com jou devin, / D’un vier d’un boîn son poitevin / Don’t amors la fait esbaudir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Non es enois ni falhimens</td>
<td>Il n’est anuis ne faillemens</td>
<td>En inqual tans que never dausir</td>
<td>Par ung amoureux souvenier</td>
<td>En ce doux temps que je voy reverdir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ni vilania, so m’es vis</td>
<td>Ne villonie che m’est vis</td>
<td>Bois et pras vergiers et flors espanusir</td>
<td>En cel temps que la verdure</td>
<td>Bois prez vergiers et fleurs esperir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mas d’ome can se fai devis</td>
<td>Fors d’ome ki se fait devin</td>
<td>Est voi bien que jois enance sans failir</td>
<td>Est ou bois et ou vergier</td>
<td>Et voy que j’oie en aise sans faillir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>d’autrui amor ni conoissens</td>
<td>D’autrui amour ne connissans</td>
<td>Plus que cors n’en peut penser ne bouce dir</td>
<td>Et je oy ces oyseaulx chanter</td>
<td>Par fine amours en doux espoir duire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Enoyos! e que us enansa,</td>
<td>Envïeus que vous en avanche</td>
<td>Et sui jausie d’un riceau</td>
<td>Et de mon ami me souvient</td>
<td>Plus que ne peut nul cuer ne bouche dire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>si m faitz enoi ni pesansa?</td>
<td>De moi faire anui ne pesanche</td>
<td>Qui plus me place a ma partie</td>
<td>Que je prens a regretter</td>
<td>Et suis du cuer durement ravie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Chascus se vol de so mestier formir</td>
<td>Chascuns se velt de son mestier garir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D’un doux raissiau qui plaist a ma partie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>me confondetz, e vos no’n vei jazir</td>
<td>Moi confondés et vous n’en voi joir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3

Second Occitan insertion (stanza I of PC 70,43, *Can vei la lauzeta mover*) sung by Gerart (vv. 4187ff.) as it appears across manuscripts. Line breaks reflect an attempt to reconstruct the original structure of the poem, not manuscript layout.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line no.</th>
<th>Occitan version as ed. by Lazar (Bernart de Ventadorn 1966)</th>
<th>A (BnF MS fr. 1553)</th>
<th>B (BnF MS fr. 1374)</th>
<th>C (St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Fr. Q. v. XIV. 3)</th>
<th>D (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 36)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introductory lines of narrative (vv. 4185-6)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pour Aiglente talens lin vint / De cest son poitevin chanter</td>
<td>Pour Aiglente talens li vint / De cest son provençal chanter</td>
<td>De Aiglente talens li vint / Et de son provençal chanter / Adonc a prins a commencer</td>
<td>[Manuscript lacks passage containing this insertion (vv. 3666-4223).]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Can vei la lauzeta mover</td>
<td>Quant voi la loete moder</td>
<td>Quant voi la loete moder</td>
<td></td>
<td>[Insertion omitted.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>de joi sas alas contral rai,</td>
<td>De ioi ses ele contre rai</td>
<td>De jau ses ales contre el rai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Que s’oblid’ e’s laissa chazer</td>
<td>Qui soblide et laisse cader</td>
<td>Que soblide et laisser cader</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Per la doussor c’al cor li vai</td>
<td>Pour la douchour cal cor li vai</td>
<td>per la douçor c’al cor mi vai,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ai! tan grans enveya m’en ve</td>
<td>Dex tant grant anvide mi fai</td>
<td>Dex cal grant envide mi fai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>de cui qu’eu veya jauzion,</td>
<td>de li quant vi la jauzion</td>
<td>De li quant vi la jauzion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>meravilhas ai, car desse</td>
<td>mirabillas son cant fait</td>
<td>Miravilment du cant de se</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>lo cor de dezirer no’m fon</td>
<td>Anui le felon</td>
<td>Lou cor de desier me fon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 3

Forgetting the Troubadours in Richard de Fournival’s Bestiaire d’amour

Like the early thirteenth-century French narratives Le Roman de la rose (Jean Renart) and Le Roman de la violette (Gerbert de Montreuil), Richard de Fournival’s Bestiaire d’amour (ca. 1250)\(^1\) quotes Occitan lyric, suggesting the continued prestige of this body of poetry through at least the middle of the thirteenth century. The Bestiaire’s mode of quotation, however, is so unusual that the text is rarely discussed in relationship to the Rose or the Violette, despite the fact that its lyrical mode of writing, its date of composition, and its inclusion of the troubadours clearly invite such a comparison. Maureen Boulton, for example, lists Richard’s Bestiaire in her index of French narratives containing lyric insertions (Boulton 1993, 295) but does not actually discuss the work in the course of her study. If the work occupies an uneasy position in Boulton’s Song in the Story, it is omitted entirely from Manfred and Margret Raupach’s survey of French manuscripts that transmit Occitan lyric, unlike manuscripts of the Rose and the Violette (Raupach and Raupach 1979).

These two absences reveal much about Richard’s atypical incorporation of the troubadours: in Boulton’s case, it is likely that the Bestiaire is omitted due to Richard’s complete disassociation of the troubadours from the act of song. As we will see, in the Bestiaire d’amour, the troubadours are presented as saying rather than singing, and are quoted (probably parodically) as authorities on the subject of love not along with other lyricists but

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\(^1\) Jeanette Beer dates the text to the “middle decade of the thirteenth century” (I take this to mean 1240-1250) (Beer 2003, 3), while Gabriel Bianciotto and Sylvia Huot give the broader timeframe of the second quarter of the century (Richard de Fournival 2009, 8; Huot 1987, 135). A version of the Miroir des dames, dedicated to Blanche de Castille (who died in 1252) cites the Bestiaire, thereby providing a terminus ante quem of 1252 (Beer 2003, 111).
rather next to a translated quotation from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. Moreover, instead of using troubadour and *trouvère* lyric to evoke the diegetic performance of music (whether in the context of emotional effusion or public performance), Richard instead positions troubadour lyric as a *text* that is to be mined for its wisdom rather than as a body of work to be performed.\(^2\) Given Boulton’s interest in the *performative* aspect of lyric insertion in *The Song in the Story*, the *Bestiaire* constitutes a total anomaly.\(^3\) While there is much “song” in Richard’s “story,” the song is resoundingly *not* in the “lyric insertions.”

On the other hand, in the case of Raupach and Raupach’s survey, which provides a detailed catalog of lyric quotations in northern French manuscripts, it is likely that the ellipsis of the *Bestiaire* is due to the difficulty scholars have had in identifying both the quoted troubadours and the precise passages of lyric in question. Richard does not help matters by attributing the quotations not to a named troubadour but instead to a “Poitevin” and an even more mysterious “other.” Moreover, the language of the quotations, as in many other northern French texts, has been Gallicized, and the poetic form of each lyric obscured.

In this chapter, I argue that Richard’s incorporation of the troubadours in his *Bestiaire* intentionally removes them from a lyric genealogy, framing them instead as successors of Ovid. As we will see, the quoted troubadours are incorporated into Richard’s prose to the extent that one set of manuscripts mistakes their words for a proverb, and another attributes them to a “poete,” thereby augmenting Richard’s (tongue-in-cheek?) conflation of them with

\(^2\) In this sense, the text is closer to Occitan and Catalan works such as Matfre Ermengaud’s *Breviari d’amor* or Raimon Vidal’s *novas* than to French works such as Jean Renart’s *Rose* and the *Violette*. (In describing these two modes of textual recycling—lyric insertion on the one hand and quotation on the other—I am indebted to Sarah Kay’s forthcoming *Parrots and Nightingales*.)

\(^3\) In addition to positing a central dichotomy of “song” and “story,” Boulton describes lyric insertion as a procedure that pivots on the formal tension between lyric and narrative, claiming that if songs were not distinguished from surrounding narrative through meter, register, rhyme, etc. “they would disappear into the narrative and cease to exist” (Boulton 1993, 4). Given this definition, it is no wonder that Boulton omits the *Bestiaire* from discussion.
Latin *auctores*. While on one level Richard’s treatment may suggest a valorization of the troubadours, it also involves an intentional forgetting of their Occitan origin, their individuality (while Ovid is cited by name, the troubadours are lumped under the category “poitevin”), their agency as speakers (lyric texts have been transformed into third-person *sententiae*), and their role as composers of *lyric* (the poetic form of the original lyrics is mostly obscured, and the passages read as prose). As far as one can tell from the *Bestiaire*, the only composer of lyric poetry is Richard de Fournival.

**Richard de Fournival and the Manuscript Tradition of the Bestiaire**

Born in 1201, Richard was deacon, canon and chancellor of the Amiens chapter of Notre Dame and canon of Rouen.\(^4\) He was also a licensed surgeon, accomplished astronomer, composer of some eighteen lyric poems, and a forerunner in the domain of motet composition (Falck and Haines).\(^5\) Richard’s *Biblionomia* (ca. 1250), an elaborate library catalog, may represent at least partially the contents of his own library, which was bequeathed to Amiens after his death. Notably absent from the *Biblionomia* are all vernacular texts (both French and Occitan), although the catalog does cite Latin historical and theological works by two of Richard’s contemporaries, Nicolas of Amiens (ca. 1147-1200) and another colleague.

\(^4\) Richard’s connections to the city of Amiens have not been sufficiently explored. In addition to promoting Amiens-based writers, he states in the preface to the *Biblionomia* that the astrological alignment of the day of his birth mirrored that of the city of Amiens (Richard de Fournival 1874, 520). A romance entitled *Abладан*, describing the history of the city of Amiens, is ascribed to him (erroneously, according to Paulin Paris) (P. Paris 1856, 714). His affiliation with the city is analogous to Adam de la Halle’s connection to Arras and Guillaume de Machaut’s to Reims.

\(^5\) These lyrics have been edited most recently by Yves Lepage (Richard de Fournival 1981). To my knowledge, the most extensive discussion of Richard’s lyric production from a musical point of view remains that of Glenn Pierr Johnson (Johnson 1991, 283–383). Jeanette Beer has suggested that the opacity of these lyrics is a conscious imitation of *trobar clus* style on Richard’s part (Beer 2003, 7). I hesitate to agree on this point, since most of the opacity of the lyrics derives from Richard’s tortuous syntax and not from their actual content.
and Richard de Gerberoy, bishop of Amiens from 1205 to 1210. Three treatises, which are all Ovidian in inspiration, have been attributed to Richard with various degrees of certainty (Beer 2003, 3): the *Consaus d’amours* and *Pouissance d’amours* are generally accepted as authentic, while the *Commens d’amour* is of more dubious paternity. Little is known of Richard’s biography, although Richard’s father, Rogiers de Fournival, was physician to King Philip Augustus and possibly also to Louis VIII and IX (Falck and Haines; Johnson 1991, 283–4).

There are some twenty-three extant manuscripts of the *Bestiaire*, including three of Italian origin (Lucken 2010, 114). The text enjoyed widespread popularity, and was translated or adapted into the Pisan dialect, Middle Low Franconian, Flemish, and Welsh (Beer 2003, 156). A verse adaptation, known as the *Bestiaire d’amour en vers* or the *Bestiaire d’amour rimé*, was also penned shortly after the completion of the prose text (Beer 2003, 157ff.). The prose *Bestiaire* also triggered an anonymous response from a female perspective, but this text was less widely diffused: it survives today in only four manuscripts. Judging from both the manuscript transmission of Richard’s *Bestiaire* and the number of translations and adaptations to which it gave rise, the text far surpassed both Jean Renart’s *Roman de la

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6 Items 103 and 114 of the *Biblionomia* (Richard de Fournival 1874, 531).
7 What is known of Richard’s biography is reviewed in Lepage’s edition of Richard’s poetry (Richard de Fournival 1981).
8 For a survey of the manuscripts of the *Bestiaire* and the works with which it is compiled, see Lucken 2010.
9 Despite the *Bestiaire rimé*’s return to lyric (or at least to rhyme), the text omits Richard’s citation of the “poitevin” and “other,” while nevertheless preserving some of the “knowledge” contained in their quotations. There is no corresponding passage for the first quotation, “riens ne val l’amour qui ensi ondiele” despite a similar introductory passage in vv. 2795-2797. Nor is there a passage that corresponds verbatim to “Ne puest l’orgueil ad l’amour remanoir,” but one passage makes the same point (Thordstein 1941, 2876–9). For “Se tos vous est, bele, de riens lignage, l’amours k’il em port est ingaus de parage,” cf. “Tant que pour l’igauté d’amour / Serons andui d’une valour, / D’une valour et d’un parage, / Tout ne soions nous d’un lignage” (Thordstein 1941, 2815–2817). Richard’s citation and quotation of Ovid are preserved: “Ovides le dit et otrioie, / Qui dist k’amour et signourie / N’avront ja bonne compaignie” (Thordstein 1941, 2798–2800).
10 Both Helen Solterer and Jeanette Beer have discussed the response to the *Bestiaire* (Solterer 1995, chap. 4; Beer 2003, chap. 5).
rose and Gerbert de Montreuil’s *Roman de la violette* in popularity. This acclaim may be a result of Richard’s original take on the bestiary form: while most bestiaries merely sought to classify elements of the natural world, Richard instead uses animal *exempla* to describe metaphorically both his behavior and the behavior of his beloved, whom he has tried (thus far unsuccessfully) to seduce.

**Richard's Quotation of the Troubadours: From Hoopoe to ‘Poitevin’**

With a resounding (and unacknowledged) echo of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, the *Bestiaire* begins by grounding all knowledge within the faculty of memory: “Toutes gens desirèrent par nature a savoir,” announces Richard, proceeding, as does Aristotle, to discuss the role of the senses in the faculty of memory (Richard de Fournival 1957, 3). As Richard presents it in the prologue, this *savoir* must be accumulated over a sequence of generations. One person, he explains, is incapable of acquiring all knowledge himself, and must therefore use his memorial faculty to secure the wisdom of those who have come before him:

> Et pour chu ke nus ne puet tout savoir, ja soit che ke cascune cose puist estre seüe, si covient il ke sacuns sache aucune cose, et che ke li uns ne set mie, ke li autres le sache; si ke tout est seü en tel maniere qu’il n’est seü de nullui a par lui, ains est seü de tous ensemble. Mais il est ensi ke toutes gens ne vivent mie ensemble, ains sont li un mort avant ke li autre naissent, et cil ki ont estë cha en ariere ont seü tel cose ke nus ki ore endroit vive ne le conquerroit de son sens, ne ne seroit seü, s’on ne le savoir par les anchiiens.

And because no one can know everything, even though everything can be known, it is necessary that one person know something, and whatever he does not know, that someone else know it; in this way everything is known in such a manner that it is not known through anyone in himself, but rather it is known by everyone together. But it is thus that all people do not live together, rather some die before others are born, and those who were alive before knew such things that no one who lives now would be able to conquer with his knowledge, so it would not be known, if it were not known through the ancients. (Richard de Fournival 1957, 3)

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According to this picture, the clearest measure of knowledge is a writer’s retention of the savoir of previous generations. Unsurprisingly, Richard’s corpus thoroughly illustrates this premise: most of his texts are veritable florilegia of quotations from earlier authors—or, in the case of the Bibliomonia, which even uses the same type of botanic metaphor underlying the term florilegium—of their works. In the Bestiaire, however, despite this prologue, Richard’s memorial faculty seems to be peculiarly lacking: the passage in which the troubadours and Ovid are quoted is the only one in the text to invoke an authority by name (or by category, in the case of the “Poitevin”). This absence of authorial citation, in a work by an author whose general style involved frequent recourse to such citation, is likely due to the fact that Richard’s “authorization” of his amorous knowledge is achieved through comparisons with the animal world rather than through the wisdom of the auctores. Indeed, the troubadours are quoted somewhat jarringly in a section following directly on from a passage on the hoopoe’s molting patterns, in which Richard’s narrator promises to be as devoted to his “mother” (read: beloved) as is the baby hoopoe, which assists its relative in removing her old feathers.

Worrying that the promise of his love will be received as inferior, Richard next attempts to demonstrate that love renders the two partners in a relationship equal. The reader who expects another ingenious gloss of the bestiary variety will be disappointed; Richard turns this time not to the animal kingdom but to the troubadours:

... il n’est riens c’amours ne face ivel. Quar en amours n’a ne val ne tertre, ains est aussi ounnie coume mers sans ondes.13 Don’t uns poitevins dist que riens ne vant

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12 See, for example, the Consants, which is sprinkled generously with quotations from Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Ovid, Scripture, and, among Richard’s closer contemporaries, John of Garland (ca. 1190- ca. 1270) and Peter of Blois (ca. 1135- ca. 1203) (Richard de Fournival 1974).

13 For these lines, Segre compares the following passage from Mathieu de Gand’s De faire chanson envi vaise as a source: “Amors doit estre tote ounie / Sans orgueil et sans vilenie” (Richard de Fournival 1957, x). Richard’s oceanic imagery is absent from this lyric, and is also textually rather distant. Moreover, in a passage cluttered with quotations announced as such, it seems likely that, had Richard viewed these lines as a quotation, he would have presented them in this way.
l’amour qui ensi endoie; et pour ch’ou dist Ovides que amours et segnourie ne puent demourer ensanlle en une caiere. Et li poitevins qui en sievi Ovide si dist: “Non pot l’orgueill od l’amour remanoir”; et li autres qui redist: “Non pois pois s’el non desen.” Il le dist pour ch’ou que puis qu’ele estoit plus haute et il plus bas, que a ch’ou que il fuissent ouini il couvenoit que ele descendit et il montast. Et la raisons de ceste ivelletré si est prise de ch’ou que ch’ou est uns meïs mes chemins qui va de Saint Denis a Paris et qui vient de Paris a Saint Denise. Aussi di jou ke se vous voliés ke nous nos entramissiesmes, ke chu seroit une mismes amors de vous a moi et de moi a vous, et tout d’autretel lignage seroit l’une comme l’autre. Et por ce dist li poitevins: “Se tout vos est, bele, de rien lignage, l’amour ki emport est ingaus de parage.”

(Richard de Fournival 1957, 88–90).

There is nothing that love does not make equal, for in love there is neither valley nor mountain, and it is as unified as the sea without waves. For this reason a Poitevin says that “love that undulates in this way is worth nothing.” And it is for this reason that Ovid says that “love and lordship cannot remain together on the same seat for long;” and the Poitevin, who followed Ovid, says: “Pride cannot remain with love.” The other says: “I cannot rise if she does not fall.” He says this because she had risen higher and he lower, and for them to be on the same level it was necessary that she descend and that he ascend. And the reason for this equality is that it is the same road that goes from Saint-Denis to Paris, and from Paris to Saint-Denis. And for this reason I say that if you wanted us to love each other, it would be the same love from me to you and from you to me, and everything from the same lineage; and for this reason the Poitevin says: “Beautiful woman, if [your friend?] is of poor lineage compared to you, beautiful one, the love he bears within himself is of equal rank.”14

The words attributed to Ovid in this passage are generally accepted as a near-verbatim translation of lines 844-6 of Book II of the Metamorphoses, “non bene conveniunt nec in sede morantur / maiestas et amor” (“it is not fitting that majesty and love dwell together in the same seat”).15 I will return to the significance of the broader Ovidian context of this passage later.

In contrast to Richard’s Ovidian source, the identification of the words attributed to the “Poitevin” and “other” has presented an obstacle to critics. For the first phrase, “riens ne vaut l’amour qui ensi ondoie” (“love that wavers in this way is worth nothing”), Jeanette

14 This last sentence is an approximation of the French; Richard’s formulation is unclear. Bianciotto translates as: “Belle, si à comparaison de vous votre ami n’est en rien votre égal par la race, l’amour qu’il porte en lui est l’égal du vôtre par le rang” (Richard de Fournival 2009, 259).
15 This is the passage proposed by Beer and Segre, among others (Beer 2003, 86; Richard de Fournival 1957, 257). The dictum is also quoted in the Consaus (Richard de Fournival 1974, paragraph IX).
Beer has proposed as a model—rather unconvincingly—the following lines from Bernart de Ventadorn’s *Tant ai mo cor ple de joya* (PC 70,44): “c’atressi’m ten en balansa / com la naus en l’onda” (“for she keeps me rising and falling like a boat on the waves”) (Beer 2003, 100).

While it is true (as Beer affirms) that, like Richard, the lyric speaker of Bernart’s poem “complain[s] of inconsistent, undulating love and seek[s] equalization” (Beer 2003, 100), the lines do not clearly constitute the source for Richard’s quotation. A more convincing parallel, identified by Segre, can be found in another of Bernart’s lyrics, *Can vei la flor* (PC 70,42): “re no vol amors qu’esser no deya” (“love does not want anything that is not fitting”). Although Richard’s quotation is very far from a translation of this line of Bernart’s lyric, it is nevertheless possible to see how one can get from one text to the other: the verb *voler* has been misconstrued as *valoir* and the combined sonority of “no deya” mistaken for the verb *ondoier* (Kay 2011, 480). As Kay notes, Segre’s hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that *Can vei la flor* is partially extant in northern French transmission (in Chansonnier X), while *Tant ai mo cor* is not (Kay 2011, 480). Beer’s proposed model for the following quoted “Poitevin” line, “Non pot l’orgueill ad l’amour remanoir,” is more convincing, and—in addition to reflecting a better understanding of the underlying Occitan on the part of the scribe—is in fact also from *Can vei la flor*. “pauc pot amors ab ergolh remaner, / qu’ergolhs dechaiu e fin’amors capdolha” (“Love cannot remain with pride for long / for pride descends and *fin’amors conquers*”).

The identification of “li autre” and of the next Occitan quotation, “non pos poiar s’el non descen,” has proven especially elusive. Segre thought the following lines from *S’al cor plagues* (PC 155,18) by Folquet de Marselha were Richard’s source: “aissi quom sel qu’e mieg

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16 Stanzas I-III are transmitted anonymously in X (Raupach and Raupach 1979, 18). Richard’s quotation is drawn from stanza III.
17 These are the last two lines of stanza III.
de l’abr’estai, / qu’es tan poiatz que no sap tornar jos, / ni sus no val, tan li par temeros”
(“like someone half way up a tree, who has climbed so high he cannot get down, but who
climbs no farther, so dangerous does it seem to him”) (Richard de Fournival 1957, xi). In
addition to being textually rather distant from Richard’s quotation, the lyric does not seem to
have enjoyed a broad diffusion in northern France. More persuasive in my opinion is
Beer’s suggestion of Guilhem Magret’s Enaissi m pren cum fai al pescador (PC 223,3), which
contains a much closer textual echo of the phrase “Non pos poiar s’el non descen”: “Quar
ses lieys non ay guerimen / ni puese poiar s’il non dissen” (“For without her I have no
remedy, nor can I rise if she does not come down”). Beer’s suggestion contains more
textual overlap than does Segre’s, and is additionally convincing given the presence of two
coblas of the lyric in the northern French chansonnier fr. 844 (Occitan W; French M) (Kay
2011).

The source of the final quotation attributed to the Poitevin, “Se tos vous est, bele, de
riens lignage, l’amours k’il em port est ingaus de parage” has sparked a similar set of
divergent opinions. Segre proposes another line from Can vei la flor (PC 70,42): “Paubres e
rics fai ambdos d’un paratge” (“[Love] makes the poor and the rich of one rank”). Although
textually this line does not contain much overlap with Bernard’s quotation, Segre’s proposed
source has the advantage of being by Bernart de Ventadorn, who stands behind Richard’s
“poitevin” in the two previous instances. Textually indisputable, however, is the solution
proposed by Sarah Kay using the Concordance de l’occitan médiéval: “si tot vos etz belha e d’aut

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18 It survives in Copenhagen Thott, 1087 (Raupach and Raupach’s Kp), which the Raupachs took to
be a manuscript from northern France. Don Skemer, curator of Princeton’s manuscript collection, is
of the opinion that the manuscript (or at least the scribe) is Italian.
19 Beer readily admits, however, that such metaphors of ascent and descent are legion in the
troubadour corpus (she cites examples from Bertolome Zorzi, Cadenet, Cercamon, Rambertino
Buvalelli, Folquet de Marselha and Raimon de Miraval) (Beer 2003, 186–7).
20 The two coblas in W are I and II of Naudieth’s edition, while Richard’s quotation is the last line of
III (Guillem Magret 1914, 110–11).
linhatge, / lo ben qu’ie us vuelh es egal del paratge” (“if you are noble and from a high lineage, / the good that I wish you is of an equal rank”) (Kay 2011, 481). The lines are from Albertet de Sestar’s *Destregz d’amor veing denan vos* (PC 16,9), which, except for an anonymous *cobla* in *W*, does not survive in French transmission (other than in the *Bestiaire*). Although, judging from the northern manuscript transmission of his lyrics, Albertet de Sestar’s popularity seems to have been rather limited in northern France,21 his works also sparked a number of Old French imitations, probably indicating a greater manuscript diffusion than the extant evidence suggests.22 This leaves us with two quotations from Bernart de Ventadorn’s *Can vei la flor* (PC 70,42), one from Guilhem Magret’s *Enaissi m pren cum fai al pescador* (PC 223,3) and one from Albertet de Sestar’s *Destregz d’amor veing denan vos* (PC 16,9).

**Richard’s Knowledge of the Troubadours**

Richard’s quotations of the troubadours are drawn exclusively from songs that are at least partially extant in northern transmission. This poses the question of the degree to which he knew the lyrics he was quoting: was his contact with the troubadours confined to a *florilegium* of extracted *coblas*, or was Richard working with a songbook that transmitted the lyrics in their entirety? Segre seems to opt for the *florilegium* hypothesis, although he does not make his reasoning explicit (Richard de Fournival 1957, x). In support of this position, one might adduce the fact that two of the quotations attributed to the Poitevin are drawn from the same stanza (III) of Bernart’s *Can vei la flor*. Although such collections of excerpted *coblas*

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21 Four of his lyrics are extant in northern manuscripts, but usually as discrete, anonymous *coblas*. One stanza of PC 16,5, one of PC 16,9 and one of PC 16,14 are transmitted in *W*, and four of PC 16,17a are in *X* (Raupach and Raupach 1979, 13–4).

22 *Bel m’oimais* (PC 16,17a) may have been the model for Colin Muset’s *Bel m’est li tans* (R. 284) (Parker), while *Domna pros e richa* (PC 16,11) was probably imitated by Mahieu le Juif in *Par grant franchise* (RS 782) (Jeanroy 1898).
were much more common in Italy than in northern France, one might see Y (BnF fr. 795) as a kind of *florilegium*.

I would suggest that Richard’s source bore a close resemblance to $W$, which, because it contains both excerpted *coblas* and full lyrics, lies somewhere in between a *florilegium* and a traditional songbook. In addition to mirroring $W$’s format, Richard’s source probably provided a similar sequence of lyrics: as noted above, *coblas* from the lyrics from which Richard’s last two quotations are taken (Albertet de Sestaro’s *Destregz d’amor* and Guilhem Magret’s *Enaissi m pren cum fai al pescador*) are transmitted one after the other on folio 192 of $W$. Moreover, although $W$ does not transmit Bernart de Ventadorn’s *Can vei la flor*, source of Richard’s first two quotations, what might be considered the “Bernart section” of $W$—a series of eight lyrics that have been attributed to him—precedes the Albertet and Guilhem *coblas* almost directly (folios 190-1). It seems likely, then, that Richard was working with a source whose ordering of and excerption procedure for lyrics closely resembled $W$’s: first a section of Bernart de Ventadorn’s lyrics (this time including *Can vei la flor*), then PC 16,9, then PC 223,3. Whichever modern reader added attributions to Bernart de Ventadorn to three lyrics of this section of $W$, including the source of Richard’s last quotation by the “Poitevin,” may even have come into contact with Richard’s source manuscript.

The question remains of how much of these three Occitan lyrics Richard’s source transmitted: did it only contain excerpted *coblas* or did it transmit a longer version of each lyric? At least in the case of Guilhem Magret’s *Enaissi m pren cum fai al pescador*, which presents a series of animal analogies quite similar to the *Bestiaire*’s, it seems likely that Richard was working with a relatively full version of the song. In stanza II, for example, the speaker

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23 Not all of these eight lyrics are attributed to Bernart de Ventadorn in this manuscript. Only PC 461,13 (*A l’entred de tens florit*) and PC 167,22, Gaucelm Faidit’s planh for Richard the Lionheart (*Fortz cauza es que tot lo major dan*) stand between the series of Bernart de Ventadorn’s lyrics and the stanzas taken from PC 16,9 and PC 223,3.
compares his inefficient attempts at hunting to trying to catch a vulture with a partridge.\textsuperscript{24} Additionally, the lyric begins with the speaker’s comparison of himself to a fisherman who does not dare sell his fish without first showing it to his lord. A final echo of the \textit{Bestiaire} can be found in the speaker’s statement that he shows his compositions to his beloved so that she will \textit{remember him}.\textsuperscript{25} This is analogous to Richard’s description of the function of the \textit{Bestiaire} as that of a mnemonic aid through which he will reimpose himself in his beloved’s memory.\textsuperscript{26} In the case of the other two lyrics, Bernart de Ventadorn’s \textit{Can vei la flor} and Albertet de Sestaro’s \textit{Destregz d’amor}, however, there are no striking echoes of the \textit{Bestiaire}. It therefore seems possible that he only had access to select \textit{coblas} from these pieces.

If the extent to which Richard was familiar with the full context of the lyrics he quoted cannot be established with certainty, at least one other aspect of his source songbook seems clear: it very likely contained author attributions. As we have seen, two out of the three quotations attributed to the “Poitevin” are from Bernart de Ventadorn’s \textit{Can vei la flor}, while the other, drawn from Albertet de Sestaro’s \textit{Destregz d’amor}, is attributed to Bernart de Ventadorn in \textit{W}, albeit in a modern hand. This leads me to believe that Richard consciously used “Poitevin” as a cipher for Bernart de Ventadorn. Moreover, Richard’s distinction between a “Poitevin” and the “other” Poitevin further suggests an awareness of the individual troubadours behind the lyrics he quotes.

\textsuperscript{24}“Aissi cum fan volpilh encaussador, / encaus soven so q’ieu non aus atendre, / e cug penre ab la perditz l’austor” (“Like cowardly hunters, I often hunt that which I dare not catch, / And I believe I catch the vulture with the partridge”) (Guillem Magret 1914, vv. 11–13).

\textsuperscript{25}“que quant ieu fas sirventes ni chanso / ni nulha re que il sapcha bo, / lai la tramet per so que s’en retenha / so que n volra e que de mi l sovenha” (“for when I make sirventes or songs / or any other thing that I expect she will like, / I send it there so that she retains / whatever she likes from it and that she remembers me”) (Guillem Magret 1914, vv. 5–8).

\textsuperscript{26}“... je vous envoie en cest escrit et painture et parole, pour che ke, quant je ne serai presens, ke cies escris par sa painture et par sa parole me rende a vostre memoire comme present” (“... I send you painting and speech in this text so that, when I am not present, this text—through its painting and speech—will render me as if present in your memory”) (Richard de Fournival 1957, 6).
Despite this awareness, however, Richard chose not to transmit the names of individual troubadours, in contradistinction to his nearby quotation of the *Metamorphoses*, presented explicitly as Ovidian. Thus, if the troubadours are placed in the same literary genealogy as Ovid, it is only to have their distinct identities consciously occulted. This represents a significant divergence from both the *Rose* and the *Violette*, where the troubadours find good company in their anonymity. Richard’s suppression of the names of the troubadours he quotes is all the more surprising given his willingness to cite his contemporaries, particularly those he must have known in Amiens, by name: we saw in the introduction to this chapter that Nicolas of Amiens and Richard de Gerberoy are both memorialized in the *Biblionomia*, while John of Garland and Peter of Blois are quoted alongside Cicero and Ovid in the *Consaus* (Richard goes so far as to refer to John as “li maistres”).

**Richard’s Mode of Quotation**

Pointing to Richard’s description of the troubadours as “following” Ovid, Sarah Kay draws attention to the way this passage of the *Bestiaire* treats Occitan poets in a way comparable to the normal treatment of Latin *auctores*. As noted earlier, this mode of quotation is atypical of northern France, where the usual mode of lyric insertion framed the inset songs as diegetic performance (as in the *Rose* and the *Violette*). I would contend that, rather than suggesting Richard’s great esteem for the troubadours, this unusual treatment of

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27 See paragraph VI for John of Garland and paragraph XVI for Peter of Blois (Richard de Fournival 1974).

28 She reads them as “l’équivalent contemporain des autorités latines” (Kay 2011). See also Lori Walter’s claim about this passage that Occitan literature is “represented as a direct continuation of Classical poetry” (Walters 1994, 13).
their lyrics is intended for burlesque effect.\textsuperscript{29} Indeed, it is worth considering the possibility that this whole passage was conceived to provoke chuckles rather than supply a serious demonstration of the equalizing power of love. We have already seen how Richard swerves unexpectedly from the hoopoe to the troubadours in what is undoubtedly one of the most bizarre passages of the \textit{Bestiaire} (Richard’s narrator has just begged his beloved “mother” to sit on him and feed him as a mother bird would her baby).\textsuperscript{30} In order to demonstrate the equalizing force of love, however, he turns not to an animal \textit{exemplum} but rather to the troubadours and Ovid.

The first hint that Richard’s intent is not entirely serious involves the quotation from Ovid’s \textit{Metamorphoses}. As we saw above, the lines “non bene conveniunt nec in sede morantur / maiestas et amor” (“it is not fitting that majesty and love dwell together in the same seat”) are from Book II of the \textit{Metamorphoses}, and, specifically, from the Rape of Europa episode, in which Jove transforms himself into a bull in order not to scare off Europa with his godly attributes. These lines are part of Jove’s justification of his animal metamorphosis and are hardly a sincere declaration of the actual equalizing force of love. If Jove stoops to Europa’s level by metamorphosing, it is only in order to seduce her more successfully. In addition to throwing suspicion on Richard’s comparison of himself to bestiary animals (we learn in the last lines of the text that he, like Jove, only hopes to obtain

\textsuperscript{29} Cf. Beer, who compares the procedure of quoting the troubadours in order to condemn love to the pseudo-Augustinian \textit{Sermo contra Judaeos}, a text “which condemned the behavior of the Jews through citations from their own prophets” (Beer 2003, 100). This analogy would be more apt if the quotations were used to prove the insufficiency of love. Beer also imagines that Richard’s audience would have recognized the troubadour quotations (Beer 2003, 100), while the manuscript confusion between “poitevin,” “proverbe,” and “poete” (on which see below) suggests that this was not always the case.

\textsuperscript{30} “Bele douce mere, aussi bons fix vous seroie jou mout volentiers. Quar se vous me voliés couver et norir [..] sachies qu’il n’est rien a quoi loiaus amis se doie assaier que ge ne feïsse pour vous” (“Beautiful, sweet mother, I would be as good a son to you very gladly. For if you wanted to brood and nourish me... know that there is nothing in what a loyal friend must do to prove himself that I would not do for you”) (Richard de Fournival 1957, 88).
his beloved’s “merci”), the broader Ovidian context of this quotation suggests that Richard’s whole approach may be more tongue-in-cheek than has been realized.

Furthermore, the idea that a troubadour “followed” Ovid (“qui ensievy Ovide”) would have been somewhat jarring on several accounts. While Bernart de Ventadorn, whose compositional activity centered around the 1150s and 1160s, may well have seemed like a remnant of the past to Richard (ca. 1200-1270)—although hardly a classical one—, Guilhem Magret’s (fl. ca. 1195-1210) and Albertet de Sestaro’s lives (ca. 1194-1221) overlapped with Richard’s. There is one small but tantalizing piece of evidence that Richard was vaguely aware of this chronology: in introducing the third Occitan quotation, he says that the “autre” (Guilhem Magret) restates (“redist”) what has already been said by the “Poitevin” (Bernart de Ventadorn).\(^{31}\) This gives the impression that Richard knew that his “autre” lived later than his “Poitevin.” Moreover, even if Richard was not familiar with Guilhem Magret’s period of activity specifically, the troubadours were still flourishing around the time of the Bestiaire’s composition, making Richard’s relegation of them to a Latinate past additionally ridiculous.

Although it is doubtful that Richard was sincerely implying a movement of *translatio studii* from Ovid to the troubadours in the first place, his juxtaposition seemed so incongruous that one group of manuscripts\(^ {32}\) transformed Richard’s “poitevin” into a “uns poetes,” a term normally reserved for classical authorities (under Richard’s pen, usually Virgil).\(^ {33}\) Another group of manuscripts drew the troubadours in the same direction, although not recognizing their wisdom as classical. They substitute “proverbe” for Richard’s

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\(^{31}\) Godefroy glosses “redire” as “dire de nouveau; dire à plusieurs reprises; dire encore.” However, it could also mean “for his part” or “in his turn.”

\(^{32}\) *MPQ*—that is Pierpont Morgan M. 459, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Plut. LXXVI, and Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Ashb. 123.

\(^{33}\) See, for example, Richard’s use of the term “poetes” to designate Virgil in the *Consaus* (Richard de Fournival 1974, paragraph XIII).
second use of the term “poitevin,” thereby transforming the troubadours into nameless purveyors of universal wisdom.

Delyricizing the Troubadours

This confusion between “poitevin” and “proverbe” reflects a significant aspect of Richard’s adaptation of the troubadours: his subtle shift of their words towards impersonal, third-person statements. This is mostly achieved through judicious excerpting: the third stanza of Bernart’s *Can vei la flor*—the stanza from which Richard has drawn two of his quotations—is the only stanza in the piece that contains third-person sentences (Bernart de Ventadorn 1966, 86–89). Sometimes Richard goes further, however: in the last quotation, he has changed Albertet’s original declaration, “si tot vos etz belha e d’aut linhatge, / lo ben qu’ie · us vuelh es egal del paratge” (even if you are beautiful and from a high lineage, / the good *I wish for you* is of equal rank”) into a third-person statement: “Se tos vous est, bele, de riens lignage, l’amours k’i emport est ingaus de parage” (“Beautiful woman, if [your friend?] is of poor lineage compared to you, the love he bears within himself is of equal rank”). In the passage in which Richard quotes the troubadours, the only hint of the first-person voice of most Occitan lyric is the verb ending in ‘s’ of the quotation attributed to the “other.” Otherwise, the troubadours are well on the way to looking like coiners of *sententiae* rather than composers of lyric poetry.

This shift towards the third-person is not the only way in which the troubadours are delyricized: Richard’s decoupling of the term “poitevin” from “son” (melody)—a common label for Occitan song in France, as we saw in the *Rose* and the *Violette*—is indicative of his

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34 Both *F* and *G* (BnF fr. 24406 and BnF fr. 15213) register the fact that the quotations are composed by a “Poitevin” but mistake the text of this “Poitevin” for a proverb. The first quotation is introduced as follows: “dont .i. poitevin dist...” and the second: “en l’autre proverbe dist il.”
treatment of the quotations, which are mined as a text rather than used to suggest performance, as was the case in Jean Renart’s *Roman de la rose* and Gerbert de Montreuil’s *Violette*. Richard’s treatment of the troubadours is all the more surprising, given that he was clearly familiar with the more traditional, performance-based mode of French lyric insertion: in the *Commens d’amour*, attributed to Richard with a fair degree of certainty, one of the characters begins to sing a “motet,” *Je n’ai quoi ke nuls en die* (Richard de Fournival 1972, 53). As was the case in the *Rose* and the *Violette*, the song is presented as part of a diegetic expression of emotion; the pseudo-mythological Pancharus sings it “de tres angoisseus cuer” (“with a very anxious heart”) (Richard de Fournival 1972, 53) and the introductory verb used is *chanter* rather than *dire*, unlike in the *Bestiaire* (Richard de Fournival 1972, 53). The text also contains a refrain insertion, a uniquely French mode of inset lyric. Given that Richard elsewhere deploys the more “traditional” model of lyric insertion as inset song, it becomes possible to think of the *Bestiaire d’amour* as an anti-lyric-interpolated romance, in which the narrator brays (Richard de Fournival 1957, 10) through animal *exempla* rather than sings through lyric quotations.

Finally, Richard’s excerpts are so short that the only hint of their original poetic form is in the last quotation, “Se tout vos est, bele, de rien lignage, l’amour ki emport est ingaus de parage” (my emphasis). With the exception of this last quotation, the excerpts are so brief as to omit any repetition of a rhyme sound. Richard was a sophisticated poet and musician

35. One wonders how a single character could perform a motet by himself. The text survives only as the *motetus* in a motet from the Montpellier codex: *Bien me doi sur toutes riens d’amour loer / Je n’ai, que que nus en die / KIRIE* (sic) FONS (Raynaud 1881, 1:222).
36. The refrain is *J’attendrai tant merci ke joie* (the refrain is a *unicum* catalogued in Van den Boogaard as no. 1026) (Richard de Fournival 1972, 47). The sole manuscript of the *Commens* (Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale 526) gives space for music but does not supply it.
himself, and elsewhere demonstrated extreme attentiveness to both music and poetic form.\textsuperscript{37} Although Richard nowhere intentionally occults the poetic form of a quotation, his excerpts are so brief as to render almost invisible the original poetic nature of his sources.

**Linguistic and Geographical Gallicization of the Troubadours**

In addition to concealing their first-person voices and their poetic form, Richard’s presentation of his source poems leaves the original language of their composition barely perceptible. Only the remaining verb *puiar* (to rise) testifies to the texts’ original Occitan (Kay 2011, 479). Admittedly, it is impossible to know if this is a result of the poems’ presentation in Richard’s source, Richard’s own intervention, or the intervention of later scribes. One might argue here that there is no reason that Richard should not translate the troubadours if he translates Ovid, but Richard’s transformation of the troubadour poems cannot exactly be described as translation. As was the case in the *Rose* and the *Violette*, in some instances, what are transposed are not sentences or even words, but rather sonorities (see, for example, the confusion between ‘voler’ and ‘valoir’ and ‘no deya’ and ‘ondoier’). One cannot, then, argue that Richard was merely interested, as was the case for Ovid, in the “thought” behind the quotation rather than the language of the quotation, since he preserves both thought and language inconsistently.

This linguistic Gallicization is not anomalous in the French transmission of the troubadours, but Richard goes one step further than Jean and Gerbert in his remapping of troubadour lyric. Like these two authors, he associates the troubadours with Poitou, describing Bernart de Ventadorn as a “Poitevin” (Bernart was in fact from the Limousin). In

\textsuperscript{37} His lyric, *Mere au roi omnipotent*, is a Marian *contrafactum* of a secular lyric, *Ne me dones pas talent*, by his contemporary Moniot d’Arras (Falck and Haines).
his gloss of one quotation, however, Richard brings the troubadours not just into the periphery of *oil* territory but into its very center: Paris.

Richard’s gloss of the sentence “I cannot rise if she does not fall” assumes the reader’s knowledge of this city and its environs, as well as almost suggesting the *troubadour’s* knowledge of this landscape: “He says this because she had risen higher and he lower, and for them to be on the same level it was necessary that she descend and that he ascend. And the reason for this equality is that it is the same road that goes from Saint-Denis to Paris, and from Paris to Saint-Denis.” 38 The last sentence of this gloss weaves the troubadour quotation into the entirely un-Occitan landscape of the road from Paris to Saint-Denis—a road associated not with *translatio studii* but with *translatio imperii*: since Saint-Denis had long been the royal necropolis, the road from Paris was the site of funeral processions when a monarch died in that city. This apparition of French geography is all the more surprising given that the analogy in which it is caught up does nothing to shed light on the quotation it is supposed to gloss: the self-same identity of the road from Paris to Saint Denis and the road from Saint-Denis to Paris demonstrates absolutely nothing with respect to the equalizing force of love.

The linguistic and geographical Gallicization of the troubadours in the *Bestiaire* is so thorough that the term “poitevin” (normally, as we have seen, used to designate Occitan in the North) has come close to losing any identifiable connection to Occitania (although, of course, since Poitou has never been part of Occitania, the “identification” was always false). Indeed, one manuscript containing the *Bestiaire* (BnF fr. 12786) appends the opening stanza of a (French) lyric by the *trouvère* Gautier d’Épinal and labels it as a “son poitevin” (see

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38 Using the same logic governing *razo/vida* composition, Richard literalizes a metaphor taken from the lyric and “explains” it as a problem of actual physical hierarchy. He is clearly “playing dumb,” here, since within the broader context of the passage it is clear that Richard understands that the metaphor is being used to illustrate a hierarchical relationship.
Chapter 4, Figure 2). This extension of the term “poitevin” to what is indisputably a French lyric shows just how thoroughly the term “poitevin” has been bleached of its Occitan connotations in the Bestiaire. By the time of the compilation of fr. 12786, the Gallicization of “poitevin” songs in French manuscripts had perhaps rendered the fictional “francophonie” of the troubadours so convincing that it seemed plausible to label an actual langue d’oïl poem with the label normally reserved for the troubadours.

Although they were not under Richard’s control, these manuscript metamorphoses of the term “poitevin” were both to some extent prepared in the authorial Bestiaire. As we saw above, Richard has created a fictional Frenchness for the troubadours through both linguistic Gallicization and transposition to langue d’oïl territory (Poitou and Paris).

Forgetting the Troubadours

To summarize, then, Richard’s transmission of the troubadours testifies to various levels of forgetting. Although his treatment of them may superficially suggest that he elevates them to the level of Latin auctores, unlike Ovid, the troubadours are well on the way to being forgotten as speaking subjects (Richard’s “poitevin” proved so nebulous that one set of manuscripts substituted “proverbe” and another “poete”). This Latinate past into which the troubadours are inserted is especially ridiculous given that the troubadours were still flourishing at the time of the Bestiaire’s composition. Additionally, the troubadours have been delyricized: the first-person voice of most of their lyrics has been either obscured through Richard’s selections or, in one instance, actually altered. Finally, the troubadours are so successfully linguistically and geographically Gallicized that one manuscript passes off a French trouvère lyric as a “son poitevin.”

39 The lyric in question, which appears on folio 42v, is Puis qu’en moi a recovrée seignorie (RS 1208).
I would suggest that Richard’s delyricization of the troubadours might be a means of clearing the shelves of lyric history to make room for himself. Indeed, despite the “souffle lyrique” (Bianciotto 1984, 35) that infuses the text, the only lyric poet mentioned explicitly is Richard. The prose *Bestiaire* is framed as a turn away from the writer’s earlier lyric production. As early as the second paragraph of the *Bestiaire*, Richard announces that his earlier works—presumably his love lyrics—have failed to conquer his beloved, and that this piece of writing will be his last recourse. Just as a king who departs for battle leaves some of his best soldiers at home to protect his land and join him only if necessary, Richard has reserved this text as his rearguard, or *arriereban*. Given this shift away from song, it is perhaps not surprising to find that Richard is the first French writer to frame his reception of troubadour lyric as one of *written word* rather than performed song.

**Richard de Fournival, French Troubadour**

If Richard attempts to pass off the troubadours as writers of French prose through Gallicization and delyricization, one fourteenth-century manuscript suggestively frames Richard de Fournival as both a French prose writer and an Occitan lyric poet. Pierpont Morgan MS. 459, compiled in northern Italy (probably Lombardy) sometime in the mid-fourteenth century (Beer 2003, 149), supplies an introductory *vida*—a primarily Italian genre not otherwise extant for a French text—before the beginning of the *Bestiaire*.

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40 Given this framing, it is surprising that only one manuscript (Arras, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 139 = Lepage A and Segre J) transmits both the *Bestiaire* and Richard’s lyrics.
41 In his rooster *exemplum*, Richard describes his earlier compositional activities as singing (Richard de Fournival 1957, 9).
42 “Et cīs escris est ausi com l’arīereban de tous chaus ke je vous ai envoi dusques a ore” (“And this text is like the rearguard of all those I have sent you up until now”) (Richard de Fournival 1957, 7).
43 While some French texts, such as the *Roman du Châtelain de Concy et de la dame de Fayel*, may show indebtedness to the *vida* tradition, they are not, strictly speaking, *vidas* themselves.
Il doit estre au cuer de chacun que la noblesce et la puissance d’amour... n granz que
nus de li ne se poroit deffandre ni eschaper la ou ele vousist desploier son enseigne.
Et por ce ne se doit nus merveiller de chose qui par amors se face. Il avint chose en
la contree de France que uns philosophes del ordre des Jacobins qui ert apelez dans
Helyes et ert uns des plus sages gentils hom dou monde, si s’enamora d’une dame
qui ert apelée Yselt. Et ert une des plus gentilz et renomee de tote cele contree. Et
amee l’avoit longement de meurdeus amor, demorant en la religion souffrant por li
poines innumerables. Mes, por la tres grant amor que il vers li avoit si ne pot
demorer por riens. Ainz issi hors de son ordre por achaision de li solement et devint
puis un... et fist por li maintes chanjonettes et lays et pastoreles; et autres paroles ausi
com aparoit a lui li mandoit par maintes foieses, et se dona travail et peines en toutes
manneres a ce que il poist estre por li amez; ni onques ne li valoit riens qu’il poist
faire ne dire chose por quoi il poist avoir de li aucun plaisir dont fermement poist
conoistre que il fist amez de li; et por tot ce de li amer ne poot son cuer partir en
aucune maniere. Et voiant il que les soes amors einsi aolient et que il airoit sa paine
perdue, si pensa et mist tot s’entente a faire cest livre que il fist en leu de son
arriere ban, ce est a dire en leu de son derain secors a conquerre la soe amor. Et
quant il l’ot p... que tout fet, si l’envoa... par arriere ban de tout ce que il avoit
onques fet ne done ne dit ne envoié. Et la gentix debonaire le prist et le list et
entendant la raison si veoit que il n’ert acomplis; et pensoit qu’ex choses i avoit
mestier a acomplir; et adouci son cuer et li faisoit depuis plus douz... plist bel et
plus... ore... a chief de... hom s’en aloit a li et usoit li sa raison ensi com a lui aparoit.
Et com li afaires desclaira une partie au fenir et trovoit la de douce acointance
et dorosete maniere d’amors sorprise, et enqueroit la ce que li aparoit dou livre. Et ele li
dist molt bien, mes que ’il ne me semble pas acomplis.’ ‘Voirs n’est il fet ne sera ja se
par vostre comandement non.’ Que sanz voloir ne se porroit il ras roi
temien... complir. Par... s’acomplir a... t. Mes quendi...s aloit da tel maniere que li feiz ot
compliment com vos orois a la fin, par lequel compliment et par le bel semblant
qu’eile depuis li faisoit son creu quel i eust son plaisir endroit d’amors. Mes je qui
cest prologue ai fet ne ne sai fors que par oie de cels qui ce cuidon savoir.

(It must be in the heart of every man whom the nobility and the power of lo... great
that no one could defend himself from her, or escape when she might wish to plant
her banner there. And for this reason no one should marvel at anything that is
brought about by love. It came about in the country of France that a philosopher of
the Jacobin order who was called Lord Helyes, one of the finest gentleman in the
world, fell in love with a lady called Yselt. She was one of the most beautiful and
renowned noblewomen in the whole country. He had loved her with a wondrous
love for a long while, remaining in his religion and enduring innumerable sufferings
for her. But because of the very great love he had for her, nothing could make him
remain there. Instead he left his order solely for her and became a... and composed
for her many little songs, lays, pastourelles, and other ditties. On many occasions as
it occurred to him, he would send them to her, and he imposed all manner of toil
and troubles on himself in order to win her love. But nothing he could do or say
succeeded in extracting from her any pleasure that would assure him he was loved
by her. Seeing that his affections were in this condition and his suffering would be
for naught, he had the idea and put all his effort to write this book, which he
produced as his arriereban, that is to say his last resource to win her love. And when
he had... all done, he sent it to her... as a last summoning of all he had done, given,

44 This transcription and translation are those of Jeanette Beer (Beer 2003, 149–50). Ellipses
represent lacunae in the manuscript.
said, or sent. And the noble lady took it, read it, and, understanding the intent, saw it was not finished, and pondered what things were needed to finish it. She softened her heart and made... more... and more... now... And since at the end, part of the matter became clear and he found her kindly receptive and... surprised by love, he asked her what she thought of the book. And she told him it was very good but ‘it doesn’t seem finished to me.’ ‘Truly it is not and never will be except by your command.’ For without the desire, he would not be able... finish. But... was proceeding in such a way that ... was complimented, as you will hear at the end, and by this compliment and the fair welcome she afterwards gave him, he was assured what her pleasure was in respect to love. But I who have composed this prologue know this only by hearsay from those who think they know.)

As Sylvia Huot notes, this prologue represents a conscious imitation of the *vida* tradition, both from a material and textual point of view: like Occitan *vidas*, it is transcribed in red ink, and, like the *vidas*, its textual exegesis pivots on an extrapolation and development of “facts” from the text it accompanies (in this case Richard’s abandonment of lyricism and his deployment of a prose *arriereban* in the form of the *Bestiaire*) (Huot 1987, 158). Moreover, from an art historical point of view, it also features the sort of author portrait one might expect to find at the beginning of a *chansonnier* troubadour section (Figure 1). I would merely nuance Huot’s description by noting that the text—as is the case for many *vidas* (Poe 1995, 196)—is more properly a hybrid of the *vida* and *razo* traditions than a “pure” *vida*: as well as supplying “biographical” background, it purports to explain the specific circumstances of the composition of Richard’s *Bestiaire*.

In addition to its material presentation and literary *modus operandi*, the text contains verbal formulas that are highly reminiscent of the *vida* tradition. These include “si s’enamora d’une dame,”45 “por la tres grant amors que il vers li avoit”46 and “fist por li maintes...
chançonetes et lays et pastoreles.”

The first and third of these phrases are so frequent in the vida tradition that Beth Poe singles them out as examples of recurring formulas (Poe 1995, 186). Even the last sentence of the Morgan prologue, “Mes je qui cest prologue ai fet ne ne sai fors que par oie de cels qui ce cuidon savoir” (“But I who have composed this prologue know this only by hearsay from those who think they know it”), is reminiscent of Uc de Saint Circ’s intervention at the end of version A of Bernart de Ventadorn’s vida: “Et ieu, N’Ucs de Saint Circ, de lui so qu’ieu ai escrit si me contet lo vescoms N’Ebles de Ventadorn” (“What I, Sir Uc de Saint Circ, have written about him, the viscount Sir Eble of Ventadorn told me”) (Boutière and Schutz 1950, 23). Both texts give a pivotal role to “oral tradition” in the chain of transmission, although, at least for Richard de Fournival, the claim is probably merely rhetorical, since the “biographical” information supplied is overwhelmingly inaccurate.

Like these phraseological reminiscences of the vida tradition, Richard’s purported trajectory from monastic calling to lyric composer-cum-lover may also be an allusion to the genre: both Peire Rogier and Jausbert de Poycibot are reported to have left their monasteries—to become a jongleur in the first case and for love in the second (Boutière and Schutz 1950, 267, 229). The opposite trajectory was of course also common: Guilhem Adémard and Folquet de Marselha are alleged to have abandoned their careers as composers for monastic callings. The inverse analogy of Folquet de Marselha—although not exact

47 E.g. “si qu’el fetz sas chansos e sos vers d’ella” in version A of Bernart de Ventadorn’s vida (Boutière and Schutz 1950, 20); “e si fasia cansos de la comtessa” and “si fetz mantas bonas chansos de la comtessa” in Arnaut de Maroill’s vida (Boutière and Schutz 1950, 32).

48 We saw above that Richard’s affiliation with the Church was through the cathedral of Amiens; he has no documented links to any monastic order. Moreover, his lyric output does not take the form of “chançonetes, lais” or “pastoreles.” The latter two genre categories are absent from his extant output and his chansons, as Beer notes, are not well described with diminutives (Beer 2003, 153).

49 The narrative element of a philosopher abandoning his calling for a woman has led Beer to suggest an evocation of Abelard and Heloise (Beer 2003, 152). Since such events are also reported to have occurred in troubadour vidas, I see no reason for the evocation to be this specific.
Folquet joined the Cistercian rather than the Jacobin order—is an interesting one: in a sense Folquet abandoned both his lyric production and Occitania to side with the North during the Albigensian Crusade. By making Richard de Fournival into a Jacobin-turned-troubadour, the compiler of M. 459 was (perhaps unintentionally) aligning him with the order that was most responsible for the identification and trial of Cathars in Occitania at the time Richard was writing.\(^{50}\) One wonders how aware the fourteenth-century Italian scribe was of these associations with the Dominican order.

The provenance of Morgan 459—Lombardy—is also thought to be that of the vast majority of *vidas* (Poe 1995, 187). There is little doubt, therefore, that early Italian readers of the codex would have noted the incongruity of supplying a *vida* for a resolutely French text—one whose Frenchness is exaggerated further in the *vida*. To begin with, the French geography of the *Bestiaire* has been made explicit, presumably for Italian readers. The text, the *vida* announces rather unhelpfully, is set “en la contree de France.” This geographical precision serves to cue the French literary landscape for Italian readers who were knowledgeable about French literature. Nowhere does the *Bestiaire* give a precise setting, and, as we have seen, Richard’s own works seem to have been very city-centered, promoting Amiens rather than the broader area of “France.”

In addition to providing a setting, the *vida* weaves in a seeming hodgepodge of elements from the French literary tradition. I will sketch some possible sources for these references, although none seems certain. To start, the anonymous Richard is made to love a certain “Yselt,” undoubtedly the Iseult of the Tristan and Iseult legend.\(^{51}\) The transformation of Richard into a certain “dans Helyes” is more mysterious. Indeed, were it not for his new

\(^{50}\) Jacobin is a synonym for Dominican.

\(^{51}\) In her encouragement of her suitor’s literary activities, however, she is more akin to the Iseult of the *Tristan en prose* than to the Iseult in the versions by Thomas or Béroul.
name, the male protagonist of the prologue would bear a vague resemblance to the Tristan of the *Prose Tristan*, who composes lyrics for Yseult. However, Tristan—even in the prose version—is not an ex-philosopher-cum-troubadour. There is, however, an Helies mentioned in the *Prose Tristan*: the purported author of the text, Hélie de Boron, who announces that he is taking over for the first author, Luce de Gat. Hélie's association with the act of continuation finds a parallel in both the *vida*, which announces that the *Bestiaire* is incomplete, and in the actual version of the *Bestiaire* preserved in Morgan 459, which appends an alternate ending with elements of the *Roman de la rose* (such as the storming of a castle) onto Richard's original text. Arthurian romance was all the rage in Italy at the time of Morgan 459's composition (e.g. Rustichello da Pisa's *Roman de Roi Artus*), lending this identification of Helies/Hélie more credibility. Another possible Hélie is “Master Hélie of Toulouse” of the prose *Lancelot*. This hypothesis has the advantage of giving Hélie the title of “master,” perhaps echoing the *vida*'s “dans” (which I, following Beer, have read as an alternate spelling of “dom”—although this title was normally reserved for monks in the Benedictine and Carthusian orders). Given the lack of clear sources for this particular set of names, it seems likely that the Italian *vida* composer was picking French names at random to weave into his pseudo-biography.

Despite the exaggerated Frenchness of the *Bestiaire* in the *vida* author's account, the very act of using a *vida* to describe the *Bestiaire* implies that Richard is following in the same lineage he has tried to suppress—that of Occitan lyric poets. Indeed, it is fitting that the manuscript reserves the same fate for Richard that Richard reserved for the troubadours: the *vida*'s account of Richard's life is so ludicrous that Richard may as well be anonymous. In a sense, Morgan 459 merely expands on the invitation—already latent in the *Bestiaire*—to view Richard de Fournival as a French troubadour. Like Richard's *Bestiaire*, it both registers the
role of the troubadours in the history of lyric composition (by supplying a *vida* form for Richard’s “biography”) and suggests that Richard has succeeded the troubadours in this lyric genealogy—one that has been transposed from Occitania to France. Despite the long-standing association in Italy of the *vida* with Occitan language *lyric* composition, it is Richard’s post-lyric *Bestiaire*, set “en la contree de France,” that follows the Morgan’s *vida*. At the same time as it spoons on “Frenchness” to the *Bestiaire* and its author, then, the Morgan *vida* simultaneously flags up the Occitan kernel of the *Bestiaire*—the same kernel that Richard had gone to such great lengths to suppress.

The history of French lyric-interpolated romances suggests the prestige of Occitan lyric at the time this French genre flourished: as we have noted, two of the earliest such experiments, Jean Renart’s *Rose* and Gerbert de Montreuil’s *Violette*, incorporate fragments of Occitan lyric. Already in the *Rose*, Jean playfully suggested that the foreign texts were so skillfully incorporated that one would think him their author. Richard one-ups Jean, suggesting not that he is capable of writing troubadour lyric, but that all lyric originates with him. Removed from lyric history, the troubadours are treated (probably parodically) as classical *auctores*. With the first-person form of their lyrics mostly obscured, the troubadours are transformed into anonymous purveyors of French sententious claims on love. It is not surprising to find, then, that Richard’s *Bestiaire* is the last French lyric-interpolated vernacular text to quote the troubadours directly. French *trouvères*, including Richard de Fournival, have taken their place in romances such as Girart d’Amiens’s *Comte du Cheval Fust* or *Méliacin* (ca.
Here it is Richard de Fournival who is cited where one might have expected, based on the history of French lyric-interpolated romance, to find a troubadour.

52 Richard’s quoted lyric is *Puis qu’il m’estuet de ma dolor chanter* (Girart d’Amiens 1990, 302).
Figure 1
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 459, folio 1r

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PART II

CHAPTER 4

Of Invisible Troubadours, Birds, and Madmen: Occitan Lyric in French Songbooks

We saw in Part I of this study that when characters in French narratives begin to sing troubadour lyrics—even very famous ones—there is little to indicate that the pieces they are singing are foreign. We are given no sign that the character (or speaker) has switched into another language, and, in fact, the extremely Gallicized form of French in which the troubadour lyrics are transmitted makes it questionable whether we should perceive their language as foreign. The only hint of cultural alterity marking troubadour lyrics in these narratives comes via geographical tags which, like Gallicization, all draw troubadour lyric further north: to the Poitou (in all three narratives) and to the Auvergne (in the Rose). Only two manuscripts of the Violette suggest a Provençal origin for the troubadours, and, paradoxically, the troubadour they describe as Provençal (Bernart de Ventadorn) was in fact from the border region of the Limousin. This misconstrual of the regions involved in the cultivation of troubadour lyric is facilitated by the anonymity marking its transmission. No troubadour is named in the three narratives, even in the Rose, which elsewhere delights in “honoring” the composers whose songs the characters intone.1

This pattern of Gallicization, geographical remapping and anonymity raises the question of what sources for the troubadours Jean Renart, Gerbert de Montreuil, and Richard de Fournival had on hand. It is possible—although, I think, unlikely—that they

1 As we have seen, five oil composers are explicitly named in the Rose (Renaut de Beaujeu, Gace Brulé, Renaut de Sabloël (?), the Vidame de Chartres, and Gontier de Soignies).
were quoting exclusively from the memory of oral performances of troubadour song. Jean Renart and Gerbert de Montreuil certainly paint a portrait of a society in which the circulation of lyric is exclusively oral. However, even Jean Renart, whose narrative is the earliest of the three, suggests that this means of lyric diffusion is insufficient to preserve the songs for posterity. After all, as he proudly announces in his prologue, one of the purposes of the *Rose* is to memorialize its lyrics in writing.\(^2\) The world of exclusively oral transmission evoked in the romance proper thus seems already nostalgic. At least in the case of Richard de Fournival, however, it seems clear that some kind of written record of troubadour lyric was involved. As I hope to have shown, the fact that two of Richard's source lyrics are transmitted in close proximity to each other in *W* makes it seem likely that he was using a songbook resembling this manuscript.

In this chapter, I turn to the types of material witnesses to troubadour and *trouvère* pieces that Jean, Gerbert and Richard might have employed. Some sixteen French songbooks and compilations also transmit either real troubadour lyric or pseudo-Occitan lyric, and these span the early thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries (see Appendix 1).\(^3\) The breadth of this timespan suggests that, contrary to what Paden has argued (Paden 1993, 53), the Albigensian Crusade did not put a stop to French fascination for troubadour lyric. Although the inclusion of Occitan lyric in French narratives is confined to approximately 1215 to 1250—the timespan encompassed by Jean Renart's *Rose*, Gerbert de Montreuil's *Violette*, and Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire*—the inclusion of Occitan lyrics in French

\(^2\) I am reading Jean's declaration “ou il fait noter biaus chans” (v. 2) to mean “where he has beautiful songs notated.” Zink has proposed the interpretation of "where he has beautiful songs performed" (Zink 1997, 108). This is also plausible, although Jean's material metaphors of embroidery and weaving weigh in favor of physical inscription in a manuscript, in my opinion.  

\(^3\) This count is somewhat approximate; at least one of the manuscripts described as French (Copenhagen, Thott 1087) may in fact be Italian.
songbooks indicates a continued interest in the troubadours on the part of French readers and compilers through the fourteenth, and even the fifteenth, centuries. However, the vast majority of the manuscripts are from the thirteenth century, and thus from roughly the same period as the narratives.

The songbooks also provide evidence of a broader geographical diffusion of the troubadours in francophone territories than do the three romances discussed in Part I. While Jean, Gerbert and Richard can only be traced to Liège (?), Montreuil and Amiens respectively, the provenances of the French songbooks that include the troubadours include Lorraine (fr. 20050 and Bern 389) and Burgundy (fr. 846). Although there is nothing to link any of the three narrative authors to these two regions, it is interesting that both areas are very much a part of the geographical fabric of Jean and Gerbert’s romances, which feature cities such as Metz and Nevers.

The anonymity marking the troubadour lyrics in the narratives discussed in Part I is mirrored in the songbook corpus; only two manuscripts give any kind of author attributions to Occitan pieces. One of these (fr. 844) gives such attributions fairly systematically but another names only one Occitan poet (Bern 389). The troubadours are anonymous even in manuscripts with named oil composers, such as fr. 12615, fr. 846 and fr. 12581. Based on this evidence, the anonymity surrounding the troubadour lyrics in the Rose and Violette is less surprising. Jean Renart’s omission of troubadour names—even alongside explicitly-named oil composers—may be a reflection of the information he had on hand. In fact, it is more

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5 Nothing is known about Jean Renart outside of his works. Lejeune proposed the principality of Liège based on Jean’s knowledge of the area (Lejeune 1974).
surprising that Richard de Fournival knew enough to distinguish between his “poitevin” and “other.”

The most striking difference between the transmission of Occitan lyric in narrative works in comparison to the corpus of songbooks is the frequency with which the poems are anchored geographically through labels such as “son poitevin” and “son auvrignace” in the former corpus. By contrast, within the songbooks, the geographical labels are both more restricted (always “poitevin”) and much less frequent (they are present in only two of the songbooks). I discuss the evolution of the label in greater depth below.

Given the size of the songbook corpus, my presentation of Occitan lyric in French manuscripts will necessarily be synthetic here. Each manuscript deserves much more detailed study than I can give it, with attention paid to features such as scribal hands, quire structure, and dialectal markings. In taking such a bird’s eye view, my purpose is to show that, as in the corpus of French lyric-interpolated narrative, Occitan lyric is presented in French songbooks as if it were an entirely natural feature within French songbooks. I turn first to the label of “son poitevin,” which, as we have seen, sometimes distinguishes troubadour lyric in French transmission. I trace this term in all of its occurrences—including outside actual songbooks—, showing how it evolved from meaning “from Poitou” to “Occitan” (with no regional specificity) and finally, perhaps, to a genre-related label rather than a linguistic one. The permutations of the label attest to a process of assimilation in that the regional specificity that was attributed to Occitan lyric in the early thirteenth century (however inaccurately) is progressively eclipsed, with the Occitan connotation of the term eventually forgotten entirely. Next I show that even manuscripts with troubadour “sections” rather

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6 An ongoing series called *Intavulare*, which provides a thorough index of individual songbooks, will help immensely with future research on the major songbooks.
than a smattering of only a few Occitan poems do not distinguish these sections in either the table of contents or through visual features such as spacing. Moreover, troubadour lyrics are always subsumed into whatever higher organizational principle was used to structure the codex, whenever such a principle existed. In Bern 389, for example, which is organized alphabetically by *incipit*, each troubadour lyric appears in the appropriate alphabetical section. Finally, I show that Occitan poems often appear in conjunction with French pieces with lexical or thematic resonances, a fact which further undercuts the specificity of the troubadour corpus.

The cumulative effect of these features (visual lack of distinction, subordination to higher organizational principles, thematic echoes with surrounding texts, etc.) is that a reader who encountered the troubadours exclusively in French transmission would have no reason to think that their pieces were foreign. Someone reading carefully would notice some strange linguistic features in the Occitan pieces in the manuscripts—the extent of which would depend upon their level of Gallicization—but unless he or she was familiar with the Occitan language from elsewhere, these strange features might not be localizable to Occitania.

“Poitevin” Troubadours

As mentioned above, troubadour lyrics are much more frequently transmitted with geographic labels in the narrative corpus discussed in Part I. These geographic labels are initially fairly diverse. In Jean Renart, we saw that they included both “auvrignace” and “poitein,” and in Gerbert’s romance, both “poitevin” and “provençal” (if we take the BC

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7 I will not return to the issue of Gallicization—discussed for each text individually in Part I and in greater depth by the Raupachs. Gallicization also serves, of course, to anchor the troubadours in a French landscape.
reading as authorial). By the time of Richard de Fournival’s *Bestiaire* (ca. 1250), however, this geographical diversity has been reduced to Poitou. This later convergence on Poitou is confirmed in the corpus of songbooks: both Bern 389 (late 13th/early 14th century) and fr. 12786 (early 14th century)—the only two manuscripts to give any label at all—give only “son poitevin.” Based on this evidence alone, we might surmise that Occitan lyric had both stronger and broader geographical associations in the early thirteenth century.

The first thing that is striking about these earlier labels is that, with the exception of “provençal,” they draw troubadour lyric towards the linguistic divide with oïl territory. Two explanations for this situation seem possible: either Jean Renart, Gerbert de Montreuil and Richard de Fournival really thought the pieces they quoted originated in the regions they indicated, or else they situated the lyrics somewhat haphazardly near the isogloss between oïl and oc territories as a way of marking them as something other than “standard” French, whatever kind of standard French they envisioned. In favor of the second explanation, we might imagine that the absence of a widely-used denomination for the Occitan language in medieval France would lead francophone writers to signal “Occitanness” through association with the regions in closest proximity to them—either through conscious metonymy or through ignorance that the linguistic traits they perceived extended further south. However, if such a situation were at play, it is difficult to imagine why Jean would distinguish between the Poitou and Auvergne and Gerbert between Poitou and Provence.

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8 The fact that the “provençal” label is transmitted in two of the three manuscripts that contain this passage might suggest that it is authorial, but it is extremely unusual within the French reception of the troubadours. The term “provençal” was more commonly used to describe Occitan in Italy than in France, and it seems more likely that it is a scribal reading.

9 One possible historical explanation for this linkage is the fact that Guilhem IX, the earliest known troubadour, was count of Poitiers. Moreover, as we saw in the introduction, troubadour lyric probably continued to flourish at the courts of Guilhem’s descendants, including that of Eleanor of Aquitaine, his granddaughter.
On the other hand, the fact that not a single one of these labels is accurate does suggest a somewhat random quality to their application.\textsuperscript{10}

In order to shed more light on the issue, it is helpful to turn outside both the narrative and songbook corpus to the only evidence we have from before ca. 1230. As it turns out, some “poitevin” songs are evoked in three twelfth-century \textit{chansons de geste}, \textit{Doon de Nanteuil},\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Garin le Loberain}, and \textit{Les Quatre Fils Aymon}—also known by the name of its hero, Renaut de Montauban. None of these texts actually quotes the “sons poitevins” it mentions, making it impossible to know for sure just how “poitevin” the pieces really were. In all of these instances, the narrator is laconic regarding performance details. However, since all three narratives use geographical terms with considerable precision, it seems likely that the label “poitevin” actually denotes the Poitou. The fact that only some two-hundred lines of \textit{Doon} are extant makes it difficult to know how much the author strove for geographical precision, but the mention elsewhere in the text of a “port sur Barbefloc,” which Meyer glosses as Barfleur, in the Manche (Meyer 1884, 22), makes me suspect that we should take toponyms at face value. We learn nothing more specific about the “\textit{chançons poitevines}” in \textit{Doon de Nanteuil} other than that they are performed in the context of a feast.\textsuperscript{12} The “son poitevin” in \textit{Garin le Loberain} appear in similar circumstances—at a feast and with instrumental accompaniment.\textsuperscript{13} Both Gascony and the Limousin are evoked elsewhere (vv 1057, 1174, 1451, etc. for Gascony and vv. 1889, 1937 for Limoges), and I see no reason to

\textsuperscript{10} Bernart de Ventadorn was from the Limousin, which is neither Poitou nor Provence and Daude de Pradas was not from Auvergne, although Pradas, in Rouergue is not far off.

\textsuperscript{11} Only some two-hundred lines of \textit{Doon} are extant in a sixteenth-century copy by Claude Fauchet (Meyer 1884).

\textsuperscript{12} The narrator states: “et chansons poitevines y ot mout disintées” (“and there were \textit{chansons poitevines} performed”) (Meyer 1884, 21). Godefroy glosses \textit{distinter} as “exposer distinctivement, en distinguant.”

\textsuperscript{13} “Granz fu la feste c’on fait devant Garin. / Vïelent, notent maint bel son poitevin; / Cil damoisel chantent por esbaudir” (“The feast for Garin was large. / They play the \textit{vielle} and perform many beautiful \textit{son poitevin}; the young men sing to provide entertainment”) (Vallerie 1947, vv. 11377–79).
believe that the “chançons poitevines” in question are not supposed to be from Poitou.\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Les Quatre Fils Aymon} is the most specific: here a “son” is said to have “gasconois” words and a “limosin” melody: “gasconois fu li dis et limosin li ton” (Castets 1909, v. 6600). The text also regularly refers to Poitevins, Gascons and others as distinct groups (see, for example, the second \textit{laisse}). Although it is impossible to tell just how accurate the label is in the absence of the text or melody of these “sons poitevins,” the evidence suggests that, through the twelfth century, the label “poitevin” was not intended merely as a cipher for “Occitan,” unless we imagine that much troubadour lyric became “poitevin” through association with the courts of Eleanor of Aquitaine and her descendants.

That both Jean and Gerbert continue to make the kinds of geographical distinctions found in some twelfth-century texts suggests that “poitevin” was still not a cipher for Occitan in the early thirteenth century. Huon de Méri’s \textit{Tournoiement Antecrist} (ca. 1234), written shortly after Jean Renart’s \textit{Rose} (and the \textit{Violette?}), still distinguishes between “poitevin” melodies (vv. 407, 495) and Gascon and Auvergnat pieces (v. 489). However, the 1230s mark the period in which “poitevin” undergoes a process of semantic bleaching, coming to mean something like “southern” instead of “from Poitou.” By the time of Richard de Fournival’s \textit{Bestiaire d’amour} (ca. 1250), all troubadours seem to be “poitevin.” If Richard knew, first of all, that his “Poitevin” was Bernart de Ventadorn—as I think he did—and, second, that Ventadorn was in the Limousin, this would indicate that by the mid-thirteenth century “poitevin” had very little to do with the Poitou. This is clearly the case in the late thirteenth-century Bern 389, where the label is applied to \textit{Tuit demandent} (PC 421,10), attributed here to Folquet de Marselha. That the scribe of this manuscript was willing to

\textsuperscript{14} The “Poitevins” are also united under a count named William (vv. 4199, 4212, etc.), who may be Guilhem de Peiteus.
describe the piece as “poitevin” while also attributing it to a composer from Marseille suggests a total loss of regional specificity. This is confirmed by the label’s appearance in BnF fr. 12786 (early fourteenth century), where, as we saw in Chapter Three, it is applied to a French piece by the trouvère Gautier d’Épinal (Figure 1). Given that there is nothing the least bit Occitan about Gautier d’Épinal (Épinal is in the Lorraine), it seems possible that the descriptor “poitevin” was, by the early fourteenth century, perceived a designation of genre rather than of origin. Gautier’s lyric is—like all of the other pieces labeled as “poitevin”—a canso or grand chant courtois. From the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, then, “poitevin” evolved from originally denoting an actual origin in the Poitou, to meaning “southern” more broadly (from ca. the 1230s through the end of the thirteenth century), to, perhaps, denoting the type of composition that was historically most associated with the troubadours in France.

This evolution would seem to invalidate Christopher Page’s declaration that “son poitevin” was the way in which a French-speaking artist would describe any Occitan song “from the most weighty of the troubadour cansor to the lightest and most trivial of dansas” (Page 1987, 30). Chronologically, this seems only to be true from about 1230-1300. Before this time, the pieces in question seem to be genuinely related to the Poitou (at least in the minds of those employing the label), and after this time, there is little that is southern about them. From a generic perspective, Page’s conclusion is equally questionable. However, it can be explained by the corpus he is considering. Page has formulated his hypothesis based on all mentions of a “son,” whether or not the “son” is geographically localized. Although he

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15 In fact, the lyric is now thought to be by Rigaut de Berbezilh (Barbézieux), and is therefore from Poitou.
16 As I noted in the introduction, the Raupachs have documented the predominance of the canso in French transmission (Raupach and Raupach 1979, 55).
does not fully explain his reasons for this terminological decision, I imagine that he has made this leap based on two texts. The first is Jean Renart’s *Rose*, which applies the term “son” only to Occitan lyrics, even as it usually specifies further where they are supposedly from. The second relevant text is *La Prise de Cordes et de Sébilles*, which describes the performance of a “son d’amors” by people from Auvergne (Page 1987, 31).\(^{17}\) I would object that this particular combination of performers and genre may be nothing more than a coincidence; one would certainly not conclude from the sentence “the Americans performed a symphony” that the symphony was an especially American musical form. These two texts are not enough to persuade me that all “sons” mentioned in French sources refer to Occitan lyric in the way that “sons poitevins” do.\(^{18}\) When we clear away the “sons” and restrict ourselves to those with geographical descriptors, we are left with a corpus in which, originally, “poitevin” seems to have been understood as “with a provenance in the Poitou.” As I describe above, it is only later that the term loses its regional specificity and comes to stand in as a cipher for all Occitan song, and subsequently—perhaps in reflection of the type of Occitan song most prized in France—for the *grand chant* or *canso* irrespective of the language in which it was composed. The thoroughness of this process of semantic bleaching may explain why the label eventually ceased to be used.

**Compilation Patterns**

\(^{17}\) “Tubent ces guaites, chantent cil jugleor, / Lai[s] de Bretaigne chantent cil vielor, / Et d’Ingleterre i out des har[p]eors, / Li Auvreignais dient i. son d’amors” (“Watchmen play trumpets, jongleurs sing. The *vielle* players sing *lais* from Brittany, and from England there were harpists. The *Auvergnats* perform a song of love”) (Page 1987, 31).

\(^{18}\) One reason I hesitate to follow Page is that the label “son” is often used to describe the songs of shepherdesses in the *pastourelle*, e.g. in Perrin d’Agincourt’s *pastourelle Au tens nouvel* (an example noted by Page which is in fact one of many). In Perrin’s piece, a part of this “son d’amours” is actually quoted: “Li pensers trop me guerroie de vous, douz amis” (Page 1987, 33). This looks to me more like a refrain than a troubadour *canso* (it is, in fact, catalogued as VdB no. 1235), a pattern which is true broadly of the shepherdess’s music in the *pastourelle*. 138
1. Tables of Contents

Other than through the very rare label of “poitevin,” Occitan lyrics in French songbooks are not distinguished from surrounding French lyrics in any way. In tables of contents—when such tables are present—there is nothing to indicate that the troubadour lyrics in the manuscript are remarkable. We might hardly expect a separate, explicitly-marked section in tables of manuscripts that transmit only one—or a few—Occitan poems, but there is also a total lack of markings in the three manuscripts that might be said to contain troubadour “sections” (as I will show below, the integrity of these sections is not always very clear). These manuscripts are fr. 795, fr. 20050 and fr. 844. Only the last two of these contain tables of contents.

Fr. 20050 includes two sequences of troubadour lyrics.\(^{19}\) Only one of these is visible in the table of contents because the first folios in the manuscript are missing.\(^{20}\) If the first Occitan “sequence” in the manuscript was distinguished in any way in the table of contents, we have no way of knowing. The second sequence (Tyssens nos. 282-286) appears in the table without any special markings. Bernart’s lark song—anonymous here—is the eighth entry on this folio and it marks the beginning of a sequence of five troubadour pieces—ending with *Tuit demandent k’est devenut* (see Figure 2).

The situation with fr. 844 is slightly more complex, because some of the Occitan pieces in the manuscript are later additions.\(^{21}\) These do not appear in the table of contents,

\(^{19}\) The *Intavulare* volume on fr. 20050 has already appeared (Tyssens 2007). See also Battelli 1992; Huot 1987, 52–3; Längfors 1930; Lug 2012; Meyer and Raynaud 1892; Tyssens 1991.

\(^{20}\) The table begins only with *L’altrier un jor après la saint Denise* (RS 1623), number 187 in Tyssens’ inventory (Tyssens 2007, 50).

which was probably drawn up even before the core manuscript was compiled.\textsuperscript{22} However, the troubadours included in the original manuscript are visible in its table of contents through author attributions. Even here, though, the troubadours are not marked as a separate group. Instead, they are presented as a continuation of the oïl lyric in the manuscript. We move from the trouvères “Jehans Bodeaus” and “Jehans Erars” to the troubadour “Foukes de Marselle” as if this transition were entirely natural (see Figure 3). At the end of this core Occitan section, we move into the motet section of the manuscript (folio Ev). This organization creates the impression of a homogeneous bloc of troubadours and trouvères, which is broken by genre rather than by language. I will discuss the situation of the troubadours within the codex and two particular author attributions in greater depth below.

2. Section Breaks

Just as nothing in the table of contents—when such a table is present—indicates a division between trouvères and troubadours, so is the physical space of the manuscript never exploited to differentiate the two corpora of lyric. Once again, this is less surprising in manuscripts transmitting only one troubadour poem (we would hardly expect a whole section to be devoted to Pistoleta’s souhait), but even in both fr. 844 and fr. 20050, which transmit a more or less self-contained series of oïl lyrics, the visual transition from oïl lyrics is completely smooth. This is most striking in fr. 20050, where both Occitan sequences in the manuscripts would be completely indistinguishable to someone paging through the manuscript quickly. Fr. 20050 moves seamlessly from the French Quant voi iver et froidure

\textsuperscript{22} Peraino notes that the table includes pieces that are not actually transcribed in the manuscript, suggesting that it was a kind of wish list drawn up before compilation (Peraino 1995, 74).
aparoir (RS 1784) on folio 81r to stanza VI of Bernart of Ventadorn’s *Ab joi mou lo vers* (PC 70,1) on the top of folio 81v (see Figure 4). The beginning of the “Occitan” section of this manuscript is thus not marked at all. In fact, Bernart’s song seems to have been an afterthought: it is not given a full set of staves and notation and appears in very reduced form (stanzas VI, IV and III in Lazar’s edition).23 Jaufre Rudel’s *Languan li jorn*, appears in a fuller version; it receives a full set of staves and notation. However, there is still nothing to indicate that Jaufre’s lyric is any different from the French piece on the recto of this same folio, *Onques jor de ma vie* (RS 1226).

3. Structural Organization

Given that Occitan lyric is visually presented as culturally continuous with the surrounding *oïl* lyrics in these manuscripts, it is unsurprising to find that it is also subsumed into whatever larger architectonic principles govern the songbooks, whenever such principles exist. For example, in Bern 389, the three Occitan lyrics are incorporated into the larger organizational principle of alphabetical ordering by *incipit*. *Kant li rus de la fontainne* (PC 262,5) appears in the *K* section of the manuscript, on folio 115r. Two troubadour lyrics appear in the *T* section: *Tuit demandent k’est devengue amor* (PC 421,10), on folio 234r (marked as a “sor [=son] poitevin”) and *Tuit ausi com li olifans* (PC 421,2), on folio 238r. Despite the fact that these two Occitan lyrics begin with the same letter, they are not grouped together but are, instead, separated by eight French lyrics. *L’autrier m’iere levaz* (PC 461,148)—probably a pseudo-Occitan lyric (see chapter 5)—appears in the *L* section on folio 138v. From an organizational standpoint, these pieces are treated as if they were French, or as if their non-Frenchness were entirely unremarkable. All occur within the middle of alphabetical sections,

23 Given that the scribe and ink color are the same, it was not a very belated afterthought.
suggesting that the compiler either did not perceive them as culturally or linguistically
different or that he sought actively to camouflage them within their French surroundings
(more on this below).

Pistoleta’s *soubait* (PC 372,3)—the most popular Occitan lyric in France (Raupach
and Raupach 1979, 57)—seems to have been easily adaptable to almost any manuscript
context. The piece underwent numerous adaptations and expansions, with scribes and poets
both in France and Italy adding stanzas seemingly *ad libitum* (Meyer 1890, 46). In fr. 846,
which, like Bern 389, is organized alphabetically by *incipit*, it is transmitted in the *Q*
section, which begins on folio 106v. It is not distinguished in any way from the surrounding French
pieces (see Figure 5). There seems to be no higher organizational principle in fr. 12581,
which contains several series of French lyrics in addition to various French narrative texts.
Here, Pistoleta’s *soubait* occurs in the middle of one such lyric cluster, again with no markings
of any sort (see Figure 6). In Douce 308, Pistoleta’s *soubait* appears in the (otherwise
exclusively French) *ballette* section of the manuscript. Thematically speaking, the piece is an
anomaly. Its real world desires are hardly what one would expect from a *ballette*—a genre in
which a male lover normally affirms his devotion to his beloved (Doss-Quinby, Rosenberg,
and Aubrey 2006, lxvi). Formally as well, Pistoleta’s lyric is an anomaly, since it does not
contain a refrain. However, even here, the unusual formal and thematic features of
Pistoleta’s piece are mitigated by the fact that it appears in a micro-sequence of songs that
are all anomalous. Pistoleta’s song is followed by three more pieces that have no refrain, all
of which also deviate thematically from the *ballette*’s horizon of expectations (Doss-Quinby,
Rosenberg, and Aubrey 2006, lxvi).24

24 The pieces are nos. 102-105 in Doss-Quinby, Rosenberg and Aubrey’s edition.
The two pseudo-Occitan lais, Nompar and Markiol, are always transmitted with Old French lais, and sometimes they are not even transmitted together. In fr. 844 they appear back to back (fol. 212-213) in the lai section rather than with the other Occitan compositions, while in fr. 12615 they are interrupted by the French lai “de Notre Dame,” perhaps because this piece is a contrafactum of the first “Occitan” lai, Nompar (see Figure 7). As in Bern 389, the compilers felt no need to keep the two (pseudo-) Occitan pieces together.

In all of these instances, the Occitan (or pseudo-Occitan) compositions are subsumed into whatever structural principle was used to organize the manuscript. Even when two such pieces fell within the same section (e.g. the two lyrics beginning with T in Bern 389 and the two lais in fr. 12615), which would have made it very easy to transmit them together, scribes seem to have felt no particular inclination to do so. This suggests either that the scribes and compilers of these manuscripts had no idea that there was anything unique about the origin of these pieces or that whatever linguistic or cultural difference they perceived did not trump generic or other organizational principles.

4. Sectional Integrity

One might object that fr. 20050, fr. 844 and fr. 795 constitute something of an exception to the pattern I am tracing since, even if they do not mark the beginning or end of their series of Occitan sequences clearly, they do transmit the Occitan poems together. In fact, however, in two of these manuscripts, the troubadour sequences are not so clearly self-contained. Fr. 20050 comprises more than one Occitan “section,” which already calls into
question whether the Occitan poems were perceived as a unit. These two sections fall on folios 81-91 and on folios 148 to 150. The first Occitan sequence begins mid-quire, although its last lyric does correspond to the end of the quire. The second sequence, however, both begins and ends mid-quire. Moreover, the first Occitan “section” contains two conspicuous intruders: two oil lyrics, Quant voi ces prez florir et verdoier (RS 1259) and Gaite de la tor (RS 2015). This last piece is a French aube whose proximity to the Occitan alba has long been noted (Bec 1973; Restori 1904). Its presence here may result from the compiler’s awareness of that proximity, but the inclusion of Quant voi ces prez, which has nothing especially Occitan about it, is more mysterious. In any case, whatever underlying coherence the compiler(s) perceived behind the Occitan lyrics he had on hand was not enough to stop him from including an oil lyric in their midst. The same is true of fr. 795, which I discuss in greater depth below.

Fr. 844 does indeed constitute an exception to the pattern I am sketching here. Along with some scattered Occitan lyrics, which were a later addition to the manuscript, it contains a core troubadour “section” (folios 188-204) which, while not delimited from the surrounding oil lyrics physically, does not contain any French lyrics in its midst. Within the core Occitan section, the fact that blank space remains in these folios may suggest that the compilers intended to add additional stanzas (see Figure 9 for an example). These pieces

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25 Lug accounts for the two troubadours sections by postulating the existence of a “proto-songbook,” which the compilers of fr. 20050 sought to replicate exactly in the first section of their manuscript (Lug 2012).
26 The quire containing the first sequence begins with Tyssens no. 146, Une novele amorete que j’ai (RS 48). The quire in which the second series appears spans folios 144-folio 152, according to Tyssens.
27 A handful of Occitan pieces (these ones in “pure” Occitan) were interspersed with oil lyrics (folios 1, 78, 117, 185, 186-7) after the original manuscript’s compilation but before it was bound (Peraino 1995, 205).
28 All of the remaining blank spaces seem to be intended for additional stanzas rather than additional songs, given that—with the possible exception of missing folios and excised text/illustrations—there are no songs unaccounted for in the table of contents. However, there seems to be a folio missing between current folios 190 and 191. The Peire Vidal section breaks off with Quan vei laloete moder (sic) and folio 191 begins mid-song with PC 70,45. The songs listed in the table of contents that do not
are all transmitted in Gallicized Occitan (Raupach and Raupach 1979, 65). Unlike all the other French manuscripts that transmit troubadour lyric, fr. 844 regularly gives author attributions, even in the troubadour section. The general organizational pattern in fr. 844 moves from the most high-ranking members of society (kings, counts, dukes, etc.) to those addressed as “messire,” to those addressed as “maistre,” to composers at the bottom of the social hierarchy such as “Colars li boutellières” (folio Dr) or “Mahieu li iuis” (Matthew the Jew) (folio Dv). As Sylvia Huot has pointed out, this social hierarchy is reinforced through the iconographic program of the manuscript, which depicts aristocratic trouvères such as the Count of Anjou and the Count of Bar on horseback (fol. 4r and 5r) and even assigns them heraldic emblems (Huot 1987, 55). Other composers are depicted as writers or performers. Given that the troubadours are transmitted last within this hierarchy, we can infer that they are positioned at the very bottom of the social heap. Some of the author attributions within the troubadour section confirm this; two troubadours have become more or less bestialized. Here are their names in the table of contents:

(Excerpt of troubadour attributions in fr. 844, fol. Er)

appear in the actual manuscript are Ben mont perdu et lais (PC 70,12) (under Peire Vidal), Ben me quidai de chantar (PC 70,13) and Amors et quaus honors (PC 70,10) (under Bernart de Ventadorn). The manuscript also jumps from Lou clar tens vei brunasir (PC 404,4) to D’un deduit (PC 461,100) but this may be due to the excision of illustrations and surrounding text.

29 It would be fascinating to know how the troubadours were depicted visually, but, unfortunately, no author portraits survive from the Occitan section of the manuscript. They, like many others, were excised.
The first attribution here reads “i oseaus tarduis.” The Raupachs have interpreted this author attribution as a misreading of “Gaucelm Faidit”—an interpretation which is supported by the correction to “[...]jossiames Faiduis” on folio 189v in the body of the songbook. I would contend, nevertheless, that the form given in the table of contents is still worthy of attention. If we subtract the initial ‘i/j” in “i oseaus,” the first word looks suspiciously like the Old French word for bird, oiseaus. The second word, “tarduis,” is meaningless in French, although it may be intended to conjure up the Occitan adjective “tardiu” (late, slow). Belated bird song is, in fact, the subject of the first stanza of PC 421,6, the first song attributed to this “oseaus tarduis.” Here, the speaker declares that just as the birds have suffered through winter to begin their song in spring, he patiently awaits reward from his beloved:

Lo nous mes d'abril
apres la freidor
e l’ausel son chantador,
qu'atendut an en parvensa
lo pascor.
Miels-de-dompna, atretal atendensa
aten de vos ab joi et ab temensa,
c'apres los mals, c'ai traitz durs e cosenz,
m'en veingna bes amoros e jauzenz.

(The new month of April begins after the cold, and the birds, who seem to have waited for Easter, begin their song. Better-than-Lady, with similar patience, from you I hope—with joy and with fear—that after the hard and burning pains I have endured, rewards of love and joy may come to me.) (Rigaut de Berbezilh 1960, 171)

It would seem that, in the manner of many vida and razo authors, the compiler of fr. 844 has taken the poet’s analogy literally, transforming him into one of the long-suffering birds with which his song begins.30

The second attribution in this cluster of folio Er, “li sons derues del home saluage” (“li sons dervés del home salvage” or “the crazy song of the wild man”) further situates the

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30 The opening stanza of this piece has mostly been excised, presumably because it was preceded by an illustration (fol. 189v). Only the last three words of line 9 are visible.
troubadours on the margins of society.31 This attribution is repeated again in the body of the manuscript with the adjective in a singular form: “li sons derue del home sauage” (“li sons dervé del home sauve”). This is how the attribution appears just before Poc ve gent.

Fr. 844, fol. 190r. The beginning of Poc ve gent, described as “li sons derue del home sauage” (“li sons dervé del home sauve”)

It is impossible to explain away this attribution as a misreading of an actual troubadour name. Nor can it be explained solely in conjunction with the content of the piece associated with it, Poc ve gent (PC 461,197), a unicum.32 Although the speaker of the poem does describe himself as crazy for continuously subjecting himself to his beloved’s whims, this sort of masochistic bravado is standard fare in both trouvère and troubadour lyric, and hardly

31 Godefroy glosses verb desver (also spelled derver, dierver, dever) as “être, devenir fou; être, devenir furieux.”
32 Two explanations have been proposed so far. The first is that the compiler thought the piece was by Peire Vidal, and was reacting to his vida, which describes him as crazy (Peire Vidal 1913, 178, 155–159). I am not convinced by this explanation, since Peire Vidal appears in the table of contents just beneath the “home sauve.” Poc ve la gent could easily have been included under his name if the compiler had thought him to be the composer. Moreover, this explanation presumes a knowledge of the vida tradition in France. The second is that the rubric is intended to indicate either the speaker’s anguish in the face of unreciprocated love or the fact that the bad weather does not correspond to a lack of interest in song in the exordium (Gambino 2003, 94–5). Avalle does not include the piece in his edition of Peire Vidal, presumably because he does not believe that Peire was its composer. Mouzat proposed Eble de Ventadorn as the author of this piece, as well as a handful of other anonymous lyrics, all on vague stylistic grounds (Mouzat 1958). He makes no mention of the “son dervé” label.
constitutes grounds in and of itself for such a damning indictment of the composer’s sanity.\textsuperscript{33} I would argue that the rubric responds to the rhyme sounds of the poem.

As Gambino—the most recent editor of the poem—has pointed out, one unusual feature of the lyric is its use of graphically heterogeneous rhyme sounds (Gambino 2003, 91). The $b$ rhyme conjoins -os, -oz, -ons, the $c$ rhyme -al and -an, and the $e$ rhyme -ant, -ans and -an. (The $a$ and $d$ rhymes remain stable: they are -ais and -ar respectively.) Although some graphic variation at the rhyme is not uncommon in troubadour poems, PC 461,97 contains an unusual amount of this kind of variation. Indeed, the $b$ and $e$ “rhymes” might better be accounted for through assonance rather than strict rhyme. Irregular rhyme schemes are one of the features used to connote emotional distress in the descort, and, conversely, it seems possible that the compiler of fr. 844 chose to read the graphic disjunctions of PC 461,97 as a reflection of the composer's mental state. It is, perhaps, the material features of his language that mark him as a “dervé.”

As Emma Dillon has shown, the Figure of the dervé was associated with a similar kind of phonological free association.\textsuperscript{34} As she explains, “[the dervé] experiences words phonetically—grammatically, even—rather than semantically” (Dillon 2012, 138). This is certainly the case for the dervé in Adam de la Halle’s Jeu de la feuillée, who, as Dillon demonstrates, harps in on rhyme sounds and free associates with them at the expense of meaning. For example, the verb aourer (adore) conjures up in the dervé’s mind tuer, to kill, leading him into a fit of vituperative paranoia (vv. 392-95).

\textsuperscript{33} The piece concludes: “et est folz qui ve et qui au, / et si non sab son meuz triar” (“Whoever sees and hears and does not know how to choose the best for himself is crazy,” vv. 33-4) (Gambino 2003, 93). Given the preceding stanzas, the speaker seems to imply that he includes himself in this category.

\textsuperscript{34} On the madman and sound, see Chapter 4, “Madness and the Eloquence of Nonsense” in Emma Dillon’s The Sense of Sound (Dillon 2012). Huot also discusses the figure of the dervé, but not primarily from the perspective of his language (Huot 2003, 59–64).
araines, producing the essentially meaningless declaration: “Non fera! Je suis uns crapaus / Et si ne mengüe fors raines! / Escoutés! Je fais les araines” (“I will not! I am a toad and I only eat frogs. Listen! I’m farting [literally: I’m making trumpets]” (vv. 398-400). Even though the free associations of Adam's dervé results in regular rhyme sounds at the expense of meaning, while PC 461,197's dervesque language sacrifices pure rhyme, both partake in a similar type of phonological play. Both “texts” call attention to the sonic level of language. Indeed, fr. 844's rubric, “li sons dervé del home sauvage,” may call attention to this feature; the term “son” could be read as “sound” instead of “song.”

In any case, both rubrics—the “oseaus tarduis” and the “son dervé”—transform troubadour song from a high art form into a kind of quasi-nonlinguistic noise. Although both labels reflect an intelligent and playful reading of the poems with which they are associated, in the table of contents, they still position a bird and a madman among named troubadours. If all the troubadours in fr. 844 are positioned at the bottom of the social hierarchy, coming last within a hierarchical organizational structure, only these two have been relegated to the periphery of the human.

4. Thematic and Lexical Echoes

What I hope to have demonstrated so far is that, with the exception of fr. 844, the scribes or compilers responsible for the French manuscripts that also transmit Occitan lyric seem either to have perceived no distinction between the oc and oil pieces they had at their disposal, or else they found this linguistic and cultural division to be less important than other structural principles such as organization by genre or incipit. What I would like to show now is that there are also instances where compilers worked actively to incorporate the Occitan lyrics into their oil surroundings by placing them next to French poems with similar
incipit, and thematic or lexical material. Robert Lug has proposed calling this aesthetic procedure *Fortspinningsprinzip* (“principe de filage perpétuel”) (Lug 2012, 456).

In fr. 846, Pistoleta’s *souhait* is placed next to an *oïl* piece of the same genre, even though the codex does not follow a strict generic organization. This song is *Quant je voi yver retorner*, attributed to Colin Muset. In the first stanza, for instance, the speaker declares his wish to find a host prepared to offer him “porc et buef et mouton, / maslarz, faisanz et venoison, / grasses gelines et chapons / et bons fromages en glaon” (“pork and beef and mutton, duck, pheasant and venison, fat chickens and capons, and good cheeses in a basket”) (Colin Muset 2005, 191). Things progress quickly in stanza II, where the speaker expresses his hope not just to sleep with his host’s wife at all times of day, but to do so without arousing the host’s jealousy. 35 Both of these desires echo Pistoleta’s *souhait*. In stanza I of that piece, the speaker voices his desire for “bues et vaches et berbiz et moutons” (“beef and cows and ewes and sheep”). 36 Stanzas II-III, which appear to be non-authentic additions, embroider on these menu items, and also mention a “jone garcete et tendre” (“young and tender girl”) (Meyer 1890, 57).

The clearest instance of thematic and lexical echoes between French and Occitan lyrics in close proximity, however, occurs in fr. 795. I will discuss this manuscript in some depth as a case study because, although it is an extreme case, I believe that its impulse to harmonize the Occitan selections with *oïl* lyrics is not exceptional within this body of manuscripts. Fr. 795 is organized as follows:

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35 “Et la dame fust autresi / cortoise come li mariz, / et touz jors feïst mon plesir, / nuit et jor jusqu’au mien partir, / et li hostes n’en fust jalous, / (ainz nos laissast sovent touz sousl)” (“And may the lady be as courteous as the husband, and may she satisfy my pleasure everyday, night and day until my departure, and may the host not be jealous—may he instead leave us alone often”) (Colin Muset 2005, 191).

36 Godefroy glosses “buef” as “taureau châtré.”
The Occitan lyrics are transmitted on the flyleaves of the manuscript, but their general contemporaneity with the rest of the codex is clear from the fact that one of the scribes responsible for this section also copied the epic poems that appear later on. I will try to show here, first, that the Occitan “songbook” section of this manuscript, which I will call “Chansonnier Y” according to its traditional siglum, may be intended to be read as one composition rather than as a series of distinct lyric entries and, second, that it displays remarkable lexical and thematic similarities with the contiguous French texts in the codex.

The following chart, based on the work of the Raupachs (Raupach and Raupach 1979, 80–1), indicates the various sources of the texts on folios 1r-3v. Author attributions have been occasionally supplied by what appears to be a nineteenth-century hand, but were originally absent. Furthermore, because the manuscript does not regularly give breaks between individual lyrics, the uninformed reader is left with the impression of one text rather than a composite of many (see Figure 9). (When given in the manuscript, breaks are indicated by “space” in the table below.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1r-2v</td>
<td>Occitan lyrics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3r</td>
<td>Excerpt from the Tristan en prose (Ménard 1987, sec. 158, p. 233)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3v</td>
<td>Occitan lyrics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>empty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Chevalier au cygne (first three laisses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>salut d’amour (Meyer 1867, 139–145)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7r-9v</td>
<td>Blanchefleur et Florence37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Dit de Droit38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-98</td>
<td>Chevalier au Cygne (beginning with laisse 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99-256</td>
<td>Chanson de Jérusalem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37 Not to be confused with Floire et Blancheflor, Blanchefleur et Florence is a debate between two sisters, judged by the God of Love, on the respective amorous merits of knights and clerks. The version in fr. 795 has been edited by Charles Oulmont (Oulmont 1974, 142–156).
38 Attributed to the Clerc de Voudoi. The version in fr. 795 is unedited. Its incipit has, however, been cataloged by Långfors (Långfors 1917, 254).
39 The linguistic features and scribes of this manuscript have been studied by István Frank (I. Frank 1952).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>PC number and stanza(s) quoted</th>
<th>Author (all songs were originally unattributed in Y)</th>
<th>Incipit in Y&lt;sup&gt;41&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;r&lt;/sup&gt;, col. a</td>
<td>PC 335,57. St. I</td>
<td>Peire Cardenal</td>
<td>Touz temps asit engan est falsetat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;r&lt;/sup&gt;, col. a</td>
<td>PC 335,62. St. I, II</td>
<td>Peire Cardenal</td>
<td>Tont le mond ez vestic et embraxac</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;r&lt;/sup&gt;, col. a</td>
<td>PC 335,66. St. I, II, 5-7</td>
<td>Peire Cardenal</td>
<td>Que en vey auz fauz loz fins amonestar</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>[space]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;r&lt;/sup&gt;, col. a</td>
<td>PC 335,5. St. I, II</td>
<td>Peire Cardenal</td>
<td>Ains ne vi bavier ni breton</td>
<td>A line separates the last l. of st. II from the beginning of VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;r&lt;/sup&gt;, col. a</td>
<td>PC 335,5. St. VI</td>
<td>Peire Cardenal</td>
<td>Hey en say un flac et mal</td>
<td>These lines are added to the bottom margin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;r&lt;/sup&gt;, col. b</td>
<td>PC 335,25. St. III</td>
<td>Peire Cardenal</td>
<td>Our ez vengut de franç et que om ne semone</td>
<td>One line for each two of the original.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[space]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;r&lt;/sup&gt;, col. b</td>
<td>PC 335,62. St. I, II, 1-2</td>
<td>Peire Cardenal</td>
<td>Tout le mond est vestiç et embragaç</td>
<td>These lines (already quoted) are scratched out but still legible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[space]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;r&lt;/sup&gt;, col. b</td>
<td>PC 335,57. St. III, II, II, 3-5, 7-8</td>
<td>Peire Cardenal</td>
<td>Maint ric home en aychest [-----]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;r&lt;/sup&gt;, col. c</td>
<td>PC 335,59. St. II (without l. 3)</td>
<td>Peire Cardenal</td>
<td>Mons enemis don deu malaventura...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[space]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;r&lt;/sup&gt;, col. c</td>
<td>PC 396,6. St VII, I, 1-2; II, 4-6, 8; II, 8</td>
<td>Raimon de Castelnou</td>
<td>A tote gens donray conseil leaus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[space]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;r&lt;/sup&gt;, col. c</td>
<td>PC 155,21. St. IV, 2-6</td>
<td>Folquet de Marselha</td>
<td>Qui a plus fort de luy fa desmesura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[space]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;r&lt;/sup&gt;, col. c</td>
<td>PC 395,1. St. I</td>
<td>Raimon Bistortz de Roussillon</td>
<td>Heu ni trob qui me repredenda in fais ni en dit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[space]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;r&lt;/sup&gt;, col. c</td>
<td>PC 461,64</td>
<td>Anon.</td>
<td>Seste joglar mi fant grant pauor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;r&lt;/sup&gt;, col. d</td>
<td>PC 461,235</td>
<td>Anon.</td>
<td>Tout en aissi com deu fu emcolpaç</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;r&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>PC 156,10. St. I-VII</td>
<td>Folquet de Romans</td>
<td>E quat heu me suy ben apessac</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>40</sup> I refer to each component lyric by PC number rather than incipit for the sake of brevity.

<sup>41</sup> I have added word breaks and distinguished u from v to facilitate comprehension of these incipit.
As the Raupachs note (1979, 81), only PC 156,10, PC 372,3, and PC 461,251 are copied in extenso, with other lyrics excerpted on the level of individual lines rather than entire stanzas. The rhyme schemes of the source lyrics are not usually preserved, and the resulting composite text, if it is intended to be read as one composition, has stanzas of irregular length: on folio 1r, the first passage of text has fifteen lines, and the second sixteen. After this point, the average length of undivided passages of text is closer to seven lines (with the exception of the rhyming couplets of the excerpt from the Tristan en prose). Other than semantic intelligibility, there seems to be no principle determining which parts of each lyric are excerpted.

In its tendency towards excerpting on the level of lines, its absence of attributions, its use of preexistent texts as vehicles of moral wisdom, and its transformation of quoted texts into a coherent larger composition, Chansonnier Y is more akin to the cento than to the florilegium. Over the course of this discussion, the reader may note parallels between the phenomena I examine in Y and the common properties of the cento, as described by Mark Everist (for example, the syntactical, semantic and grammatical coherence of the new composition, and the skill with which individual lines are broken or excerpted) (Everist 1989, 167). Moreover, as we will see, the fact that two of Peire Cardenal’s lyrics (PC 335,25 and
are quoted both towards the beginning and at the end of the composite collection is reminiscent of the procedure of refrain grafting in the motet, in which a preexistent refrain is split into two and quoted at the beginning and end of a given voice. Nevertheless, I hesitate to call the collection of lyrics a cento given the irregularity of the amount of text excerpted and the ambiguous formal properties of the new composition.

Despite their diverse sources and languages, the lyrics from folios 1r-3v are united not just in their “pious” tone, as Frank asserted (F. Frank 1952, 64), but through recurring themes, images and two key terms which run throughout the entirety of the sequence—engan, or deception, and falsetat or faussura, falsity. In support of the significance of the key terms, one might adduce the fact that both appear in the incipit of the cycle, “I always hate fraud and falsity” (“Touz temps asit engan est falsetat”) (PC 335,57). Likewise, PC 461,251, one of the final texts of the sequence, opens with a reverberation of these terms (albeit using the synonymous term “faussura” rather than “falsetat”), thereby bringing us full circle. I will highlight other occurrences of these terms in my discussion of recurring themes in the sequence.

In the second song of the sequence, PC 335,62, the idea that deception has become like a covering on the world is introduced, and the concepts of falsity and deception are combined: “The whole world is dressed and encircled in deceit and everyday it keeps growing” (“Tout le mond ez vestic et en braxac / De fauz engan et vai tout jour crexant”). PC 335,57 warns of the pervasiveness of falsity in the world in similar terms, and specifically associates this quality with that of wealth: “Many rich men in this [world?] are falser than glass in a ring” (“Maint ric home an aychest [lacuna] / stant plus fausemen que voyre en / annel”). This false world (“siegle faus”), according to PC 156,10, should serve as a negative example and encourage us to be ‘without all deception’ (“senz tout engan”). Towards the
end of the sequence, in PC 461,25, this falsity is blamed on wealthy clergymen who are “false and treacherous towards the Christian people” (“... faus et truad ver la gent crestiana”).

Like PC 461,25, which denounces the material riches of false clerics, other lyrics in the sequence implicate money in the neglect of the poor. In fact, this custom, according to PC 335,25, is one that has come from France: “Now [the custom] has come from France that one should not speak to whoever does not have an abundance of wine or of wheat and that one should not befriend poor people” (“Our ez vengut de franç que om ne semone / Qui non ait abondance ou devin om de none / Et que om naige cointance a paure personne”). The speaker of PC 335,59 warns, on a similar note, that wealth will lead one's friends to neglect: “For when they [friends] are rich they do not care about me” (“Car quant sont rich il no aint de moy / cure”).

Given this condemnation of the effects of material affluence, it is perhaps not surprising that the whole sequence suggests that social power is rarely paired with moral probity. On the contrary, states PC 335,57, loyalty has a tendency to cause harm, while deception—another recurrence of engan—can lead to ascension: “To some people things fall down through loyalty and to others things rise up through deception and bad faith” (“Auz uns descayt per leotat mate foys / Auz als saurtis engan et malle foys”). The falsity of the world is what turns blame into praise and sense into folly: “And who can tell of the error of the false, treacherous world which makes praise from blame and sense from folly?” (“E qui pou dire lerour del faus siecle traitor / que an fait de blasme laussour et sen de folie?”) (PC 42). The inclusion of Pistoleta’s “Hour agues heu mil marc de blac argent” (PC 372,3) is somewhat surprising at first glance, given its emphasis on material wealth. However, Pistoleta’s speaker expresses a desire to be so faithful to God that he will be one of his best companions. Its tone is thus not completely incongruous.

42 Literally: “To some it falls through loyalty and to others it rises up through deception and bad faith.”
In this *mundus inversus*, the wicked set the example for the just. In the same vein, the speaker of PC 335,66 laments: “I see the true people admonished by the deceitful, and the law-abiding preached to by thieves” (“... en vey auz fauz los fins amonestar / Et auz larons les leauz predicar”).

PC 335,66’s use of the verbs *amonestar* and *predicar* inculpates language in the rise of evil in the world, a hypothesis intimated elsewhere in the sequence as well. The speaker of PC 461,23 suggests that he has been unjustly blamed by “villain mal parllant” and goes so far as to compare his undeserved condemnation to Christ’s:

```
Tout en aissi com deu fu em colpaç
En ver pillat aujourd quil pris torment
Quant caiffas et tuit suy faus garent
Lencolperent que il fust a mort livrat
Tout enaissi suy a tourt em colpaç
ver leconte car villain mal parllant
Mi vaullent mal quant heu say valler tant.
```

(Just as God was found guilty towards Pilate, on the day he was tortured when Caiaphas and all of his false witnesses inculpated him, so that he would be delivered to death, thus I am wrongly inculpated by the count, because evil-tongued peasants wish me evil, while I know that I am very worthy.)

The potential damage caused by false witness is also evoked in Pistoleta’s *souhait*, PC 372,3. Here the speaker declares his wish that “knights and *jongleurs* should never be able to speak ill of [him]” (“Et ja de mi no se poges blamar en ma colpe chevaller ni joglar”).

Just as evil is perpetuated through false witness and the condemnation of the righteous, so do several lyrics suggest that we have a moral obligation to use language to identify true evil and to admonish those who commit it. PC 396,6 announces the importance of being able to distinguish good from evil (“triar lou ben del mal”), as does PC 156,10, in

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44 As it stands now, the text reads “... I see the true preach to the deceitful / and the law-abiding preach to thieves,” an obvious contre-sens. The terms seem to have been switched and normalized by a scribe. Lavaud’s edition also switches the terms: “Qu’ieu vei als fals los fis amonestar / E als lairos los letials prezicar, / E l desviat mostron als justz la via” (Peire Cardinal 1957, 216).
which the speaker directly addresses the audience: “And you, wretched one, what will you do in order to know evil from good?” (“Et tu chaitis, que feras que conoisses le mal et el bien?”). Having recognized evildoers, we have a moral obligation to avoid them. Thus the speaker of PC 461,64, a unicum, announces that he will eschew “these jongleurs... [who] do not observe right or wrong” ("seste joglar [...] ne gardent ni dreit ni tort"). Unlike them, declares the Tristan en prose excerpt, one should refrain from wickedness: “If someone sees that evil will result from his action, he should abstain from it” (“Se il voit que mal li em puet venir / Il se doit de cel fait astenir”). The sequence further suggests, in addition to this obligation to avoid turpitude, that we must reprimand others for their errors: PC 395,1 announces that “someone who sees his good friend falter, loves him little if he does not dare to tell him” (“... qui vei son bon ami faglir / Mout l’aime pou se ne li ousse dire”).

The duty to hold others to a high moral standard is accompanied by an injunction to be circumspect about one’s own abilities. Several of the texts of these folios return to the idea of the folly of fighting beyond one’s means. This idea is first iterated in PC 155,21: “Whoever acts without measure towards someone stronger than him commits a great folly” (“Qui a plus fort de lui fa desmesura / Fa grant folac”). It recurs in the Tristan en prose excerpt via an avian metaphor (subsequently extended to other animals): “The bird that tries to fight the eagle commits a great folly” (“Mout fait il oyssel grant follic / Qui encontre l’aigle sa allie”), just as he who challenges the lion acts foolishly: “And through very foolish intention [acts] the animal that sets himself against the lion to have a battle” (“E mout par affolle entençion / La beste qui contre le lion / Se dreçe pour tenir bataille”). Folquet de Romans’s “E quat heu me suy ben apessac” (PC 156,10) quoted in extenso on folio 2r, reiterates the themes of wealth, good and evil, and the danger of deception (“engan”). It also suggests that all of the wealth of the world cannot save one from death, the greatest
adversary of all. Folquet de Marselha’s (already proverbial) dictum that it is folly to fight beyond one’s means echoes as one reads: “For I see no one weak or strong who knows how to fence so well that he can avoid death” (“Que heu ne vey feible ni fort que tant sache de l’escremir / Que a la mort poisse gandir”).

It seems, therefore, that one motive behind the selection of these texts in particular was their shared moralizing themes. Unification of the sequence is also achieved through the selection of lyrics with common metaphoric imagery. One might note in this respect the underlying presence of water in PC 335,57 and 335,62 (in the former, a stormy body of water causes one to move in unexpected directions, and in the latter engan is described as an ever-growing (“crexant”) liquid that results in overflowing (“soubreversat”). Songs also seem to be occasionally excerpted so as to create symmetry within the larger sequence, such as the combination of the first two incipit of the sequence (“touz temps” and “tout le mond” respectively), a combination that produces anaphora on “tout.”

The construction of a larger, unified composition is also accomplished through minor stylistic and lexical alterations, often designed to smooth over the seams between individual entries. In one case—the beginning of the last two stanzas of Folquet de Romans’ PC 156,10, the scribe has inserted the term ‘now’ (hour) so as to create an echo with the incipit of the Pistoleta souhait (PC 372,3), which directly follows. Finally, unification of the lyric section is effected through the quotation of two of the same sirventes, PC 335,66 and 335,25, both by Peire Cardenal, first towards the beginning of the lyric section, and again at its conclusion, which is marked by partial quotations of the tornadas of these two songs.45

45 The inclusion of multiple quotations from the same songs at intervals throughout this ‘songbook’ seems to me to be one strong piece of evidence against Frank’s generally-accepted hypothesis that the unusual combination of different pieces is a result of the scribe(s)’s faulty memory. If he was familiar with various parts of the same song, he might well have written them down consecutively had his intention been to maintain the integrity of each.
Echoes of the recurring themes I hope to have demonstrated in the three folios known as Chansonnier Y extend into the contiguous texts in the codex, the first three *laisses* of the *Chevalier au cygne* (folio 5), the *salut d'amour* (folio 6) and *Blanchefleur et Florence* (fo. 7r-9v). The first *laisse* of the *Cygne* begins with the—admittedly topical—promise that the epic will contain no lies and the narrator's assurance that he is not after financial reward: “I will never tell you lies, nor fables to steal your deniers” (“Je ne vos vaurai mie mencoignes raconter, / Ne fabliaus ne paroles por vos deniers embler”) (J. A. Nelson 1985, vol. 2, vv. 5–6). The third *laisse* reiterates this guarantee of truth: “It [the song] is neither fable, nor invented, nor ornamented, rather it is truth” (“Ele n'est pas de fable, ne faite, ne polie, / Ains est de verité...”) (J. A. Nelson 1985, vol. 2, vv. 36–7). The reader is reminded of the anxiety surrounding the power of language to deceive and the recurring pair of *engan* and *falsetat* in the lyrics on folios 1-3 (PC 335,66, PC 461,23, PC 372,3). The dangers of “engan” make a further appearance in *Blanchefleur et Florence*, here linked, as in PC 461,25, to the clergy. Thus the sparrowhawk announces that “Love of a clerk is worth nothing, / [since] he shames himself through his cunning” (“Li amours de clerc ne vaut rien, / Il se honnist par son engien,” vv. 188-189) (Oulmont 1974, 148). Also in the same vein as PC 461,25, *Blanchefleur et Florence* expresses wariness about the intention of the clergy: “There is a kind of clerk / Who does nothing but ruses” (“Une maniere sont de clercs, / Qui ne font que gabeles,” vv. 313-4).

The most striking echoes of the lyric sequence occur in the *salut d'amour* on folio 6. The *salut* opens not with a direct salutation to the lady, but rather with an image of God as the sustainer of the world (cf. PC 156,10) in the narrator’s prayer that God will save his beloved (“May God who sustains and keeps the world keep my friend under his protection”);
“Dieus qui le mont soustient et garde / Soustiegne m’amie en sa garde,” vv. 1-2). Over the course of the *salut*, the narrator is informed by the God of Love that he will have news of his beloved only if he is untouched by *engien*: “If you are innocent of deception and art, you will have news of her love” (“Se tu sés point d’engien ne d’art / De s’amor tu aras sa part,” vv. 67-8). Here, as in the lyric sequence, the narrator complains of *médisants* and states his assurance that Christ will distribute justice: “*médisants* who are in the world [...] do such great damage to us; May Jesus curse them so that they cannot speak or laugh about lovers and their love” (“[...] mesdisans qui sont el mont / [lacuna] si grant destorbier nos font; / [lacuna] Jhesus les puist maudire / [lacuna] ne puissent parler ne rire / Des amans ne de leurs amours,” vv. 97-99). The narrator of the *salut* also expresses a similar distaste for those interested only in money and deception (here again a paronym of *engien* appears):

Une maniere sont de gent
Qui promettent or et argent
Et tous les mons et tous les vaus,
Et reubes et dras et chevaus;
Ne lor caut ù puissent ruer
Bordes por le gent deluer,
Pour les josnes gens engignier.

(There is a kind of people who promise gold and silver and all the mountains and all the valleys, and robes and linens and horses; it does not matter to them where they might cast tricks to delude the people, in order to deceive the young.) (vv. 123-129)

Following the precept established in the lyric sequence (PC 396,6, PC 156,10, *Tristan en prose* excerpt, and especially PC 395,1), the narrator asks his beloved to warn him if he has strayed from the morally righteous path, in the name of Christ’s teaching:

Si me ditez: ‘Çou est mal fait,
Çou vous dessiet, nel faites mais.’
Et jou en serai en ma pais,
Si ferés bien et cortoisie;
Pour Jhesu Crist itant vous prie.

46 I quote from Meyer’s edition. Translations are my own.
(You should thus say to me: “This is badly done, it does not suit you, don’t do it any more.” And I will be at peace, and you will do good and courteousness; for Jesus Christ’s sake I ask this much of you.) (vv. 150-154).

The *salut* concludes with a metapoetic statement on the role of poetry in fulfilling God’s will, a statement that might be said to apply not just to the *salut* but to all of the opening texts of fr. 795: “But Jesus Christ, the king of glory, / Grants us poetry and memory / To serve him and to do good” (“Mais Jhesus Cris, li roi[s] de gloire, / Nous doinst poesté et memoire / De lui servir et de bien faire,” vv. 163-5).

Overall, one has the impression that the compilers of *Y* had as much of an interest in making the French and Occitan texts speak to each other as in making them speak *as one*. The Gallicization in which these Occitan poems are couched, in combination with the facts that they are unattributed, excerpted and recombined in such a way as to blend them in with the contiguous French texts in the codex, suggests a certain indifference to Occitan identity. While the troubadours are positioned as moral authorities, their identity as troubadours is simultaneously suppressed. A reader who opens fr. 795 with no knowledge of Occitan lyric, confronted with the phonologically Gallicized, unattributed and recombined texts, might well recognize their language to be something other than French (but not quite Occitan), and might well think them to be by one poet. The troubadours are thus made to speak as one, both with each other, and with the surrounding French poets. Instead of using linguistic difference to shore up the division between France and Occitania, the concatenation of texts positions French and Occitan culture as a united moral front, one in which the boundaries between *langue d’oc* and *langue d’oil* are rendered less visible (through Gallicization and compilational strategies) and are further overshadowed by a homogeneity of ethical outlook.

Although fr. 795 is probably an exception in the lengths to which it goes to position *oil* and *oc* lyric as a homogeneous ethical bloc, it is not unique in its treatment of troubadour
lyric as an (anonymous) corpus that can be easily combined with oïl material. With the exception of fr. 844, troubadour song is positioned in French songbooks as something wholly unremarkable; it is visually and textually undistinguished, and is subsumed into whatever higher organizational principle structures the codex in which it appears.

It remains unclear how often the compilers of these manuscripts actually knew they were dealing with troubadour lyric. Given that the vast majority of French manuscripts transmit the pieces anonymously and in Gallicized form, they may barely have been recognizable as Occitan. The fact that the two manuscripts that do transmit occasional author attributions (fr. 844 and Bern 389) are also the ones that mark the troubadours as foreign (fr. 844 through a self-contained section and the “son dervé” label, and Bern 389 through the more generic label of “son poitevin”) would suggest that French compilers often had no idea that the Occitan lyrics they had on hand were Occitan.
Appendix 1
Occitan (and Pseudo-Occitan) Lyrics in French Manuscripts (according to approximate chronology)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Call Number</th>
<th>Call Number/ Other Names</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number of Occitan Songs</th>
<th>Songs in Separate Section?</th>
<th>Author Attributions?</th>
<th>Music Notation?</th>
<th>Geographical Tags (e.g. “poitevin”?)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BnF fr. 20050</td>
<td>French U; Occitan X. “Chansonnier de Saint-Germain-des-Prés”</td>
<td>Metz (?) or elsewhere in Lorraine</td>
<td>1231?</td>
<td>29, including one that is likely pseudo-Occitan</td>
<td>Occitan songs compiled in two areas of the manuscript (fol. 81r-91v, fol. 148v-150r).</td>
<td>Some, but all in a modern hand.</td>
<td>23 pieces out of 24 in the first section have notation. No notation in second set of Occitan pieces.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Sections not separated in any way from surrounding French pieces. First “Occitan” section includes two French pieces (fol. 82v-83v).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BnF fr. 24406</td>
<td>French V; Occitan n. “Lavallière”</td>
<td>Northern France</td>
<td>13th C.</td>
<td>1 (pseudo-?) Occitan piece</td>
<td>No, piece transcribed in French section, f. 151v.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>BnF fr. 795</td>
<td>Occitan Y</td>
<td>Northern France or Italy</td>
<td>middle-late 13th C.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Some in modern hand.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Lexical echoes with surrounding French texts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BnF fr. 844</td>
<td>French M; Occitan W. “Chansonnier du Roi”</td>
<td>Artois</td>
<td>1260s-1270s?</td>
<td>10 scattered throughout folios 1-185 (all in Occitan); ca. 56 in Gallicized Occitan fol.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Mostly</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call Number</td>
<td>Call Number/Other Names</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Date</td>
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<td>Songs in Separate Section?</td>
<td>Author Attributions?</td>
<td>Music Notation?</td>
<td>Geographical Tags (e.g. “poitevin”?</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>BnF fr. 12615</td>
<td>French T; Occitan δ “Chansonnier de Noailles”</td>
<td>Northern France</td>
<td>end of the 13th C.</td>
<td>2 (probably pseudo-) Occitan pieces, fol. 72-4</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bern Burgerbibliothek MS. 389</td>
<td>French C</td>
<td>Lorraine</td>
<td>end of 13th or early 14th C.</td>
<td>4 (one potentially pseudo-Occitan)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes. <em>Tuit demandent</em> attributed to Folquet de Marselha, other three pieces anonymous.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td><em>Tuit demandent k’est devengue amor</em> (fol. 234) marked as a “sor [son] poitevin” but other three Occitan pieces are not</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. Lat. MS. 1659</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>England or northern France</td>
<td>13th or 14th C.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Includes Gaucelm Faidit’s *planh* for Richard the Lionheart right at the end of Ambroise’s
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Call Number</th>
<th>Call Number/ Other Names</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number of Occitan Songs</th>
<th>Songs in Separate Section?</th>
<th>Author Attributions?</th>
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<th>Geographical Tags (e.g. “poitevin”?)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BnF fr. 846</td>
<td>French O. “Chansonnier Cange”</td>
<td>Burgundy</td>
<td>ca. 1280-1290</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No, Pistoleta’s <em>souhait</em> is in the anonymous section (f. 125r)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Estoire de la guerre sainte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BnF fr. 12786</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Northern France</td>
<td>early 14th C</td>
<td>0 (1 French piece labeled as “poitevin”)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Lyric by Gautier d’Épinal described as a “son poitevin”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Douce 308</td>
<td>French I</td>
<td>Lorraine</td>
<td>early 14th C</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No, Pistoleta’s <em>souhait</em> is in ballette section (f. 247)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Thott 1087</td>
<td>Occitan Kp</td>
<td>Northern France or Italy¹</td>
<td>14th C.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Yes (ff. 97-106; ff. 107-108)</td>
<td>Yes, a few (Folquet de Marselha, Peire Cardenal, Arnaut de Mareuil)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Also contains <em>La Mort le roi Artu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BnF fr. 12581</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Northern France</td>
<td>14th C</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No, Pistoleta’s</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Most scholars have opted for northern France, but the scribe of the *Mort* identifies himself as Coscio da Cezane in the colophon of this text (f. 103v). Don Skemer, curator of western manuscripts at Princeton, thinks the scribe of the troubadour section was also Italian. Consequently, I have omitted it from my discussion in this chapter.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Call Number</th>
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<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number of Occitan Songs</th>
<th>Songs in Separate Section?</th>
<th>Author Attributions?</th>
<th>Music Notation?</th>
<th>Geographical Tags (e.g. “poitevin”?)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Montpellier, Bibl. Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS. 196</td>
<td>“Montpellier Codex”</td>
<td>Northern France</td>
<td>14\textsuperscript{th} C</td>
<td>1 motet with two (pseudo-?) Occitan upper voices</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>souhait compiled with French songs (f. 88r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montpellier, Bibl. Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS. 236</td>
<td>French f</td>
<td>Picardy?</td>
<td>14\textsuperscript{th}-C. ms. with 15\textsuperscript{th} C. additions, including Occitan piece</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No, Pistoleta’s souhait incorporated into a French souhait</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gautier d’Épinal’s *Puis qu’en moi* (RS 1208) labeled as a “son poitevin” in BnF fr. 12786, fol. 47v.

Figure 1

[Image]
Figure 2
Table of contents in which second Occitan “section” of fr. 20050 appears (Bernart’s lark song is the eighth entry).
Figure 3
Table of contents in fr. 844 (folio Er) showing passage from *trouvère* to troubadour lyric.
Figure 4
Transition from oil lyrics (folio 81r) to first Occitan “section” in fr. 20050 (fol. 81v). The first text on fol. 81v is extracted from Bernart’s *Ab joi mou lo vers*.
De la bête bonté est venue
lors où la bonté en venait
aussi par un moté nel vaisseau
le son de nos par-
blanc.

De peluche la lèvre,
même de son cop ne pour-
rait son gazar fun autre for-
ne rien sûr désirer. Il est
enfin en bonté bien
moins ce moi, il est de seul à
le faire durant dansour amar;
condamner ensors qui nos re-
venez de faire ennu. Peluche chaleurie le dos de son me-
cont sonner; met enfantier,
rot non un autre.

Mère veau mazarie met lent anges mix mon sûr venant
les volet;
ne l'en monde mesure et jange, a bien enfant
entient; a bien enfant dan-

lance. Bête a home son pantal delevant le ne por ou un
lent ou saur mi...
Figure 5
Pistoleta’s *souhait* in the *Q* section of BnF fr. 846, fol. 125r
Figure 6
Pistoleta’s *souhait* in BnF fr. 12581, fol. 88r
Figure 7
Two pseudo-Occitan *lais* in fr. 12615 interrupted by a French *lai* on fol. 73v. This folio contains the end of *Markiol* and the beginning of the “Lai de Notre Dame.”
Figure 8
Figure 9
First folio of troubadour lyrics in fr. 795 (fol. 1r)
CHAPTER 5

The Rustic Troubadours: Pseudo-Occitan Literature in France

Up until this point, I have tried to show how both French narratives and songbooks generally treat troubadour lyric as an entirely natural and unremarkable presence within a francophone landscape. We have seen famous troubadour lyrics in the mouths of French-speaking characters in the narratives, with only the labels of “auvrignac,” “poitevin,” and “provençal” to distinguish them, if they are distinguished at all. Because two of these territories are so close to the isogloss, it is difficult to know whether to read them as “Occitan” (for lack of a better name) or as indicative of a kind of French with some Occitan linguistic traits, such as one would expect to find in these regions. The Gallicized form in which troubadour lyrics were transmitted may indeed have conjured up for medieval audiences the phonological features one expected to hear in these border areas. We have also seen that troubadour lyric is almost always transmitted anonymously, both in the narratives and songbooks, and that it is compiled and quoted in a way that suggests either a total lack of perception of cultural alterity, or a conscious effacement of that alterity.

However, at the same time as the troubadours were being Gallicized, anonymized, and quoted or compiled in the midst of *oil* lyrics, francophone authors were also at work producing what I would propose to call “pseudo-Occitan” texts. These are texts that can be linguistically shown—with more or less certainty—to have been composed by French speakers who wrote in a language containing some Occitan coloring. If the Gallicization of genuine Occitan compositions, the quotation of them by French speakers, and their compilation in French songbooks assimilates troubadour lyric into a French-language

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1 See the bibliography for each piece in Appendix 1.
trajectory, the composition of pseudo-Occitan moves in the opposite direction, suggesting a desire not just to make the troubadours French but to make French poetry Occitan. These two impulses might initially seem contradictory, but I hope to show that they are operating on different levels. We saw throughout Part I of this study how the “high register” canso was appropriated as French. What I would like to show here is that it is primarily “low register” pieces that were fictively cast as Occitan.\footnote{The only potential canso-like pseudo-Occitan piece I have come across is the version of the first Occitan insertion in the Violette in B (see Chapter 2, Appendix 2).} This division of register, in turn, frames Occitan as less prestigious than French. In parallel to this generic hierarchy, which positions Occitan within a body of “lesser” forms and dissociates it from the canso, the use of scatological, rustic and sexual themes confers a “primitive” quality on the texts. The pseudo-folkloric form and content of many of these pieces gives the impression that Occitan poetry is anterior to—but not quite distinct from—oil lyric.

The corpus I am considering here is particularly difficult to delimit, and I should begin by explaining my methodology. If we were to consider all the medieval verse that contains linguistic traits of both Occitan and French irrespective of provenance, we would be left with an enormous body of texts, including the epic poems Girart de Roussillon and Daurel et Béton, the set of Gallicized troubadour lyric, a parallel (but much smaller) corpus of Occitanized French lyric, and another set of lyric texts whose origins are more mysterious. Since my focus is on lyric poetry, the only potentially relevant parts of this corpus are Gallicized troubadour lyric (discussed in Part I) and the set of lyric poems whose provenance is less clear. As I mentioned above, recent scholarship has revealed that most of these pieces were probably composed by French speakers, even though some look so much like Occitan
that they were treated as part of the troubadour corpus for centuries. The majority, in fact, look much more like Occitan than do the Gallicized troubadour lyrics discussed in Part I.3

For the purposes of my discussion here, I have limited myself to lyric poems with Occitan traits which are transmitted exclusively in France and which do not exist in a version with no French linguistic traits. Both of these facts suggest that they were composed by native francophones, but I have chosen not to restrict myself to the corpus in which this can be demonstrated beyond any doubt to be true.4 I have not limited my corpus to texts where both Occitan and French occur at the rhyme, even though this would be the surest indicator that their fusion of languages was intentional, because this would artificially restrict a corpus whose contours are probably wider.5

The table below shows the pieces resulting from these two criteria (exclusively French transmission and absence of a “pure” Occitan version). There is a considerable amount of overlap with the corpus discussed by Robert Taylor (Taylor 1993). However, I have eliminated one of the pieces included in Taylor’s corpus because it is not extant in French transmission.5 I have also broadened Taylor’s count to include several motet texts with Occitan traits, as well as a refrain with Occitan coloring transmitted only in two of the three manuscripts of the late thirteenth-century Court de paradis. For texts and translations of these pieces, see Appendix 1.

3 One could compare, for example, Volez vos que je vous chante (Appendix 1, no. 5), which is one of the pseudo-Occitan pieces with the faintest Occitan coloring, to the Gallicized troubadour lyrics in any of the narratives discussed in Part I.
4 The fact that the genres of many of these pieces have no analogs at all—or no contemporaneous analogs—in Occitan lyric also points to a French origin.
5 This restriction to “hybridity” at the rhyme sound was proposed by Marshall (Marshall 1987).
6 The piece is Ara lausetz, lauset, lauset (PC 461,27b), which is a satire of monastic life. It is transmitted on two paper sheets in the archives of the abbey of San Juan de las Abadesas and may be Italian in origin (Bond 1985).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. in App. 1</th>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>RS/P C/Vd B Number</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Occitan Poetic Analogs</th>
<th>“Popular” Elements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Per vous m’e/zai, done del fermament</td>
<td>PC 461,19 2a</td>
<td>Marian song</td>
<td>12th-13th C.</td>
<td>Fr. 24406</td>
<td>Marian lyric in Occitan more common in the 14th C than in earlier periods</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>A l’entrade del tenz clar, eya</td>
<td>PC 461,12</td>
<td>Balada</td>
<td>13th C.</td>
<td>Fr. 20050</td>
<td>No Related to dance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>L’autrier cuidai aber druda</td>
<td>PC 461,14 6</td>
<td>“Parody” song</td>
<td>13th C.?</td>
<td>Fr. 844</td>
<td>No Scatological content</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>L’autrier m’e re levaz</td>
<td>PC 461,14 8; RS 935</td>
<td>Pastourelle</td>
<td>13th C.</td>
<td>Fr. 20050 and Bern 389</td>
<td>Yes Shepherdes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Volez vos que je vous chante</td>
<td>RS 318</td>
<td>Rêverdie</td>
<td>13th C.</td>
<td>Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal MS 3198; BnF fr. 845; BnF nouvelles acquisitions fr. 1050</td>
<td>No “Lyrico-narrative”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lai de Markiol</td>
<td>PC 461,12 4</td>
<td>Lai</td>
<td>13th C.</td>
<td>Fr. 844 and fr. 12615</td>
<td>Descort</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lai de Nompar</td>
<td>PC 461,12 2</td>
<td>Lai</td>
<td>13th C.</td>
<td>Fr. 844 and fr. 12615</td>
<td>Descort</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tuit cil qui sunt enamoraz</td>
<td>VdB 1822</td>
<td>Refrain (transmitted only in a French narrative, the Court de</td>
<td>late 13th C.</td>
<td>Fr. 837 and fr. 25532 (there is a third ms. of the Court, 1802, but</td>
<td>Refrain very rare in Occitan poetry</td>
<td>Refrain often used to distinguish “low register”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 The réverdie is a genre with particularly nebulous contours, but it is characterized by an amorous encounter involving a woman associated with the natural world—especially floral—in some kind of springtime décor (Bec 1977, 138). On the diffuse character of this genre, see Tyssens 1971, 589. Spanke counts only eight pieces that fit the generic definition.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. in App. 1</th>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>RS/P C/Vd B Numb</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Occitan Poetic Analogs</th>
<th>“Popular” Elements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>genres. This refrain also relates to dance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tuit cil qui sunt enamourat</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Motetus of the motet L'i jalous par tout sunt fiustat/ Tuit cil qui sunt enamourat / VERITATE M</td>
<td>late 13th C.?</td>
<td>Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, MS H 196</td>
<td>No Occitan motets</td>
<td>Related to dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>L'i jalous par tout sunt fiustat</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Triplum of the same motet</td>
<td>late 13th C.?</td>
<td>Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, MS H 196</td>
<td>No Occitan motets</td>
<td>Related to dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Onques n'ama loiaument / Mout m'abelist / FLOS FILIUS EIUS</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Occitan coloring present only in motetus and only in fr. 12615</td>
<td>late 13th C.?</td>
<td>Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, MS H 196 and fr. 12615</td>
<td>No Occitan motets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The manuscripts in which these pieces are transmitted—which are often the only evidence of their dates of composition—overlap considerably with those that transmit “real” Occitan lyric. Fr. 20050, fr. 844, and Bern 389 also transmit Gallicized troubadour poetry, as we have already seen. In fr. 20050, L'autrier m'iere levaz marks the end of the longer Occitan section (Tyssens no. 177) but A l'entraide del tens clar (Tyssens no. 155) appears in the middle of the sequence. In Bern 389, L'autrier m'iere levaz appears in close proximity to the French pieces L'autrier me chevalchoie (RS 1702) and L'autrier m'iere rendormis (RS 1609), but there are no Occitan pieces in the L section with which it might hypothetically be grouped. In fr. 844, L'altrier cuidai aber druda also appears in the middle of the Occitan section. This positioning of the pseudo-Occitan pieces in fr. 20050 and fr. 844 may suggest that they were perceived as
part of a continuum with genuine troubadour lyrics, even if many of the troubadour lyrics look much less Occitan than they do in their Gallicized form.

If these texts were, indeed, perceived as genuine Occitan, this would not be surprising. Some of them were thought to be real Occitan compositions even through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (this is why they were assigned numbers in Pillet and Carstens’s catalog of troubadour lyric). The provenance of *L'altrier cuidai aber druda* and *A l'entrade del tens clar*, which both show a very high concentration of Occitan linguistic traits, was especially contested. *Tuit cil qui sunt enamourat*/*Li jalous*/VERITATEM also falls on this end of the linguistic spectrum.\(^8\) By contrast, the linguistic coloring of *Volez vos que je vous chante* is much more faint. I hesitate to describe this spectrum in terms of degrees of “convincingness,” because I am not sure that the purpose of the Occitan traits was to “fool” the audience into thinking French pieces were actually written in a different language.\(^9\) As we have seen, the Gallicized form in which many real Occitan texts were transmitted worked to break down the barrier between *langue d'oc* and *langue d'oïl*. Moreover, almost all geographical labels position the Occitan pieces not in actual *langue d'oc* territory but on or near the isogloss. Consequently, rather than viewing the Occitan traits of these texts as an attempt to pastiche a foreign language, it might be more accurate to think of them as a coloring within French, which gives them a more “southern” feeling without constituting a real imitation of Occitan as a language.

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\(^9\) Cf. Taylor, who argues that, in an early period, these pastiches must have been good enough to evoke the proper “Occitan” signal, but not complete enough to fool an enlightened audience (Taylor 1993, 468). Taylor hypothesizes that the audiences became less and less savvy over time, and were eventually duped into thinking they were real (Taylor 1993, 468).
However we interpret this linguistic mixture, the pieces contain, on average, a higher concentration of Occitanisms than do the Gallicized troubadour lyric. Thus, to a French reader with no outside knowledge of the troubadour tradition, this corpus would have looked much more like Occitan than did most of the actual troubadour lyric transmitted in France. Such a reader’s idea of what Occitan poetry was—its themes, its form, etc.—might consequently have come more from this corpus than from the corpus of Gallicized troubadour lyric. Occitan, in this body of poetry, is generally not associated with the sorts of first-person declarations of unrequited love we are accustomed to come across in the *canso*, but with baser themes and lower registers.

I should state at the outset that I am not the first person to have noticed the fact that many of these poems are composed in what might be called a “low register.” Marshall, for example, makes this observation from the perspective primarily of form. 10 Billy, meanwhile, notes that these lyric “hybrids” were almost always composed in “des genres secondaires sinon mineurs” (Billy 1995, 2). To my knowledge, however, Billy and Marshall do not seem to impute any significance to this pattern. After asking what exactly we might mean by a “low register,” I would like to push Marshall and Billy’s observations further by unpacking the symbolic significance to the “low” quality of the pseudo-Occitan corpus.

Questions of genre—and especially of hierarchy among genres—are an especially thorny area in medieval studies. Although I would venture that most medievalists would acknowledge some validity to a notion of “high” and “low” register, most would probably also be hard pressed to commit to any strict criteria. I will review a few of the proposals that have been advanced, with an eye towards showing that all of these models would position

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10 He notes that “les traits métriques de type popularisant sont nombreux dans ces œuvres” (Marshall 1987, 38). In particular, he notes that the majority of the pieces are “heteromorphic,” which is to say neither heterostrophic nor isostrophic (Marshall 1987, 40).
the pseudo-Occitan corpus at the bottom of the heap, so to speak. Pierre Bec’s model has probably been the most influential. Bec proposed a set of three registers into which he argued all French medieval lyric genres fell: “aristocratisant,” “hybride,” and “popularisant” (Bec 1977, 35). On the top of the hierarchy are the following “aristocratisant” genres: the *canso*, *sirventes*, *planh*, tenso/jeu-parti, lai/desert*. Bec’s intermediary category includes the *pastourelle, réverdie, chanson de croisade, motet, estampie, rotrouenge, sotte chanson and fatrasie*. Finally, the “popularisant” register includes the following genres: the *aube, chanson d’ami, the malmarie, the chanson de toile, rondet, ballette, virelai and resverie*. If we take these criteria, the pseudo-Occitan pieces fall almost exclusively into Bec’s two lower registers. In my table above, numbers 4, 5, 7(?) and 8 would fall into the intermediary category and number 2 into the “popularisant” category. Only the two pseudo-Occitan *lais* (number 6) would qualify for Bec’s highest register.11

Zumthor has also proposed a distinction between two registers, one which he calls the register of the “requête d’amour” and the other that of the “bonne vie” (Zumthor 2000, 299). Zumthor’s distinction—at least as he discusses it in his *Essai de poétique médiévale*—is primarily stylistic (hypotaxis vs. parataxis, regular nouns vs. diminutives, etc.). Nowhere does he explain how these linguistic characteristics map onto the semantic content of the pieces he analyzes. Presumably, however, if the high register is characterized by a plaintive request for love, in the register of the “bonne vie,” love has already been attained or the poet’s aspirations are less clearly lofty. Using these criteria, we seem to be squarely in the register of the “bonne vie” in the pseudo-Occitan corpus. The only pieces to voice love for a woman in

11 I am not sure where Bec would place *Per vous m’esjau* (no. 1), which is a Marian lyric, and *L’altrier cuidai aber druda*, which Taylor describes as a "parody song." Both of these pieces are counter- *cansos*, in a sense. My question mark next to no. 7 reflects my reticence to describe it simply as a "motet." Motet voices take many forms, and the triplum of *Tuit cil qui sunt enamourat/Li jalous* approximates a *rondeau* (ABAaAbAB), a genre Bec considers to be “popularisant.” The form of *Li jalous*, the motetus, is more difficult to classify.
this corpus are the Marian lyric *Per vous m'esjau* (Appendix 1, no. 1), the motetus of *Onques n'ama loiaument/*Molt m'abelist l'amourous pensament/*FLOS FILIUS EIUS* (Appendix 1, no. 8), and the two pseudo-Occitan *lais* (Appendix 1, no. 6). Given its religious underpinning, *Per vous m'esjau* is obviously not a love song in any traditional sense. Only the two *lais* and the motetus of *Onques n'ama/Molt m'abelist* might fall clearly into Zumthor's "requête d'amour" category.\(^{12}\)

For his part, Page suggests a distinction between "high" and "low" styles (Page 1987, 16). Page's criteria are the most helpful for the present discussion, because they focus not just on form and language but also on content. Page's schema is divided as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“High Style”</th>
<th>“Lower Styles”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tendency towards stanzas of isometric lines</td>
<td>Tendency towards stanzas of polymetric lines, especially brief lines multiplying short-range and conspicuous effects of rhyme and meter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No refrain or refrain rare</td>
<td>Refrains common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusively lyric</td>
<td>Lyrico-choreographic / Lyrico-narrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beloved not named (except in enigmatic terms)</td>
<td>Beloved may be named, or protagonist(s) named</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{12}\) These three pieces are exceptional in the pseudo-Occitan corpus in almost every respect. In the case of the two *lais*, one has the impression that the composer(s) was quite familiar with the troubadour tradition and was, in fact, trying to pastiche it. Several passages are phraseologically reminiscent of extant troubadour lyrics. We might compare Markiol's “Qu'amors ven et vai / et leve et cai” (vv. 55-6) to the opening of Bernart de Ventadorn's *Lo tems vai e ven e vire*. The pairing of “ven” and “vai” also appears at the beginning of another poem by Bernart, *E mainh genh se volv e's vire*: “E mainh genh se volv e's vire / Mos talans, e ven e vai” (vv. 1-2). It can also be found in Jaufre Rudel. Stanza XI's discussion of a lark also conjures up Bernart de Ventadorn without constituting a quotation of any particular lyric: “Si poghes [comë] [i]ronde / pujar et descendre, / tost mi viras en l'esponde, / et poghes mi prendre” (vv. 160-170). *Nompar* explicitly announces that it has been composed according to “fin trobar” (v. 18). Overall, however, it reads less like a patchwork of troubadour reminiscences than does Markiol. Turning to the motet *Onques n'ama loiaument / Molt m'abelist / FLOS FILIUS EIUS*, one has a similar impression of a textual evocation of actual troubadour lyric. The opening line of the motetus of *Onques n'ama* is strongly evocative of Folquet de Marselha's *Tant m'abelis l'amorus pensament* (PC 155,22), although parallels seem to stop there. In sum, in all three of these instances, there seems to be a desire to engage with the troubadours on their own turf, so to speak, whereas the rest of the pseudo-Occitan deploys Occitan coloring to new ends.
Since Marshall has already discussed the metrical properties of these pieces at some length (Marshall 1987), I will not return to this issue. I would, however, note the relatively high frequency of refrains in the corpus in comparison to the body of genuine Occitan lyrics, where they are virtually non-existent. One piece—*Tuit cil qui sunt enamorat*—actually is a refrain, and it produced the refrain-based structure of *Li jalous par tout sunt justat/Tuit cil qui sunt enamourat /VERITATEM* (see Appendix 1, no. 7). *A l’entrade del tens clar* (Appendix 1, no. 2) also has a refrain: “Lassaz nos, lassaz nos / ballar entre nos, entre nos” (“Let us, let us dance amongst ourselves, amongst ourselves”). Although two out of eight pieces does not represent a high percentage in and of itself, it is astronomical when compared to the authentic troubadour corpus, which contains only a handful of pieces with refrains.\(^{13}\)

The element of Page’s chart that most resonates with the pseudo-Occitan corpus is his distinction between the “exclusively lyric” High Style and the “lyrico-choreographic” or “lyrico-narrative” Low Style. (What Page means by “exclusively lyric,” I would imagine, is the non-narrative emotional effusion of the *grand chant* or *canso*). Except for the Marian lyric, the two *lais*, *Onques n’ama*, and the refrain (which is too short to have a narrative quality), all of the pieces would fall into this second category. *A l’entrade del tens clar* and the motet version of *Tuit cil qui sunt enamorat* might both be called “lyrico-choreographic.” Both mention a dance led by a queen. The latter even issues an invitation to join the dance, suggesting the way in which it might be performed. Meanwhile, *L’autrier cuidai aber druda, L’autrier m’iere levaz*, and *Volez vous que je vous chante* are all “lyrico-narrative” pieces in the sense that they recount a story.

In addition to the traits described above, several more obvious features confer a “low” quality to the pseudo-Occitan corpus. The first of these is the fact that two of them

\(^{13}\) Aubrey notes that the use of structural refrains in Occitan is rare except among the last generation of troubadours (Aubrey 2000, 136–144).
describe sex in no uncertain terms. These are *L'altrier cuidai aber druda* and *L'autrier m'iere levaz* (Appendix 1, nos. 3 and 4). In the first, the narrator recounts an evening in which an old hag came into his bed in the place of his mistress. The old lady’s sagging body parts are described at considerable length. *L'autrier m'iere levaz*, which I discuss at greater length below, recounts a knight’s rape of an (Occitan?) shepherdess. The explicit language and the violent nature of the sexual act in both of these pieces contrast starkly with the elliptical language and unsatisfied desire of the *canso*.

We might expect the most defining feature of the “popularisant” register to be its relationship to the *peuple*, as suggested by Bec’s description of it as parafolkloric (Bec 1977, 34). *A l'entrade* and the two upper voices of *Tuit cil/Li jalous* all have a very “folk” feeling to them, even though they clearly evoke the “simple life” of the aristocracy rather than actual peasants. This is clear especially in *Li jalous*, in which the jealous are supposed to be kicked out of the circle “comme garçon” (“like lackeys”). *L'autrier m'iere levaz*, with its shepherdess, clearly represents an encounter with the lower classes, and *L'altrier cuidai aber druda* further heaps on rusticity. The narrator says he has proffered “vels vin ... peis et por salat” (“old and cloudy wine, fish, and salt pork,” vv. 10-11) to try to win over his mistress. Accordingly, he asks that she be punished with “pan mesalat, et carne de vella truda ou porc sorsemat, pis de mar qui de loig puda, vin cras et boutat” (“moldy bread and meat from an old sow, or tainted pork, seafish which stinks from afar and coarse, spoiled wine,” vv. 54-58). The shepherdess’s body is also condescendingly rusticized: her sagging breasts are compared to a “borsa pastor” (“shepherd’s bag,” v. 22). Even the speaker of *Nompar* (Appendix 1, no. 7) declares that he speaks “com hom vilains” (“like a peasant,” v. 99).

All of these features combined—the use of refrains, the narrative/choreographic quality of the pieces, their explicit discussion of sex, and their conspicuous focus on rural
life—all confer a (pseudo-) primitive quality on the corpus.\(^{14}\) Given our association between the simple and the old—this primitive quality alone is enough to confer on the corpus an archaic quality.\(^{15}\) But this dosage of faux vieux is supplemented by the use of the technique of assonance—the rhyming technique associated with one of the earliest known lyric genres in oïl—the chanson de toile—as well as with the early chanson de geste. Assonance appears most clearly in *L’autrier m’iere levaz* and *Volez vos que je vous chante*. The first stanza of *L’autrier* contains several instances:

\[
\text{L’autrier m’iere levaz;}
\text{ sor mon cheval montaz,}
\text{ sui por deduire alaz}
\text{ lag une praerie.}
\text{ Ne fui gaires esloignaz}
\text{ can me sui arrestaz}
\text{ et dessendi en praz}
\text{ soz une ante florie.}
\text{ S’ai Ermöson choisie:}
\text{ c’enkes rose espennie}
\text{ ne fu tals ne cristals.}
\text{ Vers li vois lièz et baus}
\text{ que sa beltaz m’agrie.}
\]

The assonance, in this instance, has not replaced rhyme, but rather supplements it. The same is true in *Volez vos que je vos chante*, which begins as follows:

\[
\text{Volez vos que je vos chante}
\text{ Un son d’amors avenant?}
\text{ V’ilain ne l’est mæ,}
\text{ Aïnz le fêt un chevalier}
\text{ Souz l’ombre d’un olivier}
\text{ Entre les braz s’amie.}
\text{ Chemisere avoir de lin}
\text{ En blanc pelicon hermin}
\text{ Et blïaut de soie,}
\text{ Chauces ot de jagolai}
\text{ Et sollers de flors de mai}
\text{ Estroitement chaucadé.}
\]

\(^{14}\) Obviously, if any of these pieces were the actual compositions of peasants, this sometimes-disparaging focus on rural life would actually seem out of place.

\(^{15}\) Zink traces our association between the rustic and the old in poetry to Montaigne (Zink 1996, 66), although he suggests that it probably goes back further.
Admittedly, this deployment of assonance is not quite what one would expect from the oldest French epic poetry—which uses assonance primarily at the end of lines—but it nevertheless confers an “old timey” feeling on the two pieces. Along with the “primitive” qualities outlined above, the use of assonance in parts of the pseudo-Occitan corpus frames these pieces as anterior to oil/lyric.

Frank’s conclusion about _Li jalous/Tuit cil_/VERITATEM is that it is the product of a northern composer attempting to create Occitan folklore. I believe that Frank, in drawing attention to the pseudo-rusticity of many of these pieces, has identified one of their important features. I disagree with him on the purpose of this folklore, however. Rather than inventing a mythology _for Occitania_, I would argue that this pseudo-Occitan piece—and with others—instead invents a mythology _for France_ that stages Occitania as both rustic and already domesticated. As we have seen, pseudo-Occitan was often used as a vehicle for imagining both the “simple life” and the lower classes, while the _canso_ came to look increasingly more French through both Gallicization and _trouvère_ imitations.

One very strong indicator of the powerful ideological work accomplished in the pseudo-Occitan corpus is the frequency with which it serves as the _pièce de résistance_ in nineteenth-century arguments regarding the “origin” of French poetry. Alfred Jeanroy, for example, describes _A l'entrade del tens clar_ as the only truly “folk” piece preserved in French and Occitan songbooks (Jeanroy 1889a, xix). Since he makes no mention of the linguistic characteristics of the piece, it is not clear whose folkloric tradition he thinks it belongs to. Later on, he conflates the female character in _Volez vos_ with the entire history of French folk lyric production: “Cette fée au costume fantastique et printanier, cette fille du rossignol et de la sirène, qui est ‘de France la loée,’ ne ressemble-t-elle pas un peu à notre poésie populaire du moyen âge?” (“This fairy with a fantastic, springtime costume, this girl born of the
nightingale and siren, who is from ‘France the praised,’ does she not resemble a little our folk poetry of the Middle Ages?” (Jeanroy 1889a, 449). It is unclear to me how a character in a poem could actually be thought to resemble an entire body of “folk” poetry—or any body of poetry at all, for that matter—but Jeanroy’s remarks show just how successfully Volez vos positions itself not just as folk poetry, but as the very origin of folk poetry. Jeanroy’s very willingness to see the poem as a synecdoche for all of French folk production testifies to the success of the myth of origins it spins. Accordingly, Jeanroy cites the poem in the closing lines of his book, Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France, with no mention of its Occitan coloring.

Long before Gaston Paris formulated his famous hypothesis that all European poetry originated in fêtes de mai, or springtime festivals, Paul Meyer proposed a relationship between two of the pseudo-Occitan pieces and the same types of festivals. Regarding both the triplum and motetus of Tuit cil qui sunt/Li jalous and A l’entrade, he declares: “Il est à croire que dans les deux cas nous avons affaire à un de ces chants de mai, à une de ces kalendas maias” (Meyer 1872, 405). He clearly takes both pieces seriously as Occitan folk poetry, commenting that “il est curieux que les deux chants de mai les plus caractérisés que possède la littérature provençale nous aient été conservés par deux chansonniers français. C’est une preuve de plus du peu de cas que les méridionaux faisaient de leur littérature populaire” (Meyer 1872, 405). It does not seem to occur to Meyer that both the folkloric and Occitan qualities to these pieces may be more veneer than substance.

Following Jeanroy’s (and Meyer’s?) lead, Gaston Paris uses Volez vos as the lynchpin in his hypothesis that all European poetry can be traced to springtime dances, or fêtes de mai (G. Paris 1892, 12 and passim). In his words, Volez vos is “le chef-d’œuvre de cette poésie printanière” (G. Paris 1892, 14). Unlike Jeanroy, Paris notes the Occitan features of the text,
and initially seems to suggest that the text has been altered: “elle est malheureusement altérée et sans doute incomplète; elle est en outre écrite dans une langue étrangement hybride, où des formes du Midi s’allient avec des formes du Nord.”¹⁶ In the next sentence, however, it becomes clear that the linguistic “hybridity” of this poem is part of its charm for him: “elle est pleine d’une charmante et bizarre poésie, bien rare dans notre littérature, et qui fait penser, par sa fantaisie gracieuse et vague, aux morceaux les plus aériens de Shakespeare” (G. Paris 1892, 14). The other piece Paris singles out—perhaps following Jeanroy—is A l’entrade del tems (51). The Occitan linguistic features of this text are strong enough that Paris describes it as “limousine,” thereby locating it in the region of France where he situates the oldest “French” poetry (G. Paris 1892, 50).¹⁷

Because Paris assumes that more “simple” poetry must come before more complex forms, he posits that his chansons de maieroles antedate the troubadours:

Je voudrais rendre vraisemblable cette thèse que la poésie des troubadours proprement dite, imitée dans le Nord à partir du milieu du XIIe siècle, et qui est essentiellement la poésie courtoise, a son point de départ dans les chansons de danse et notamment de danses printanières. (G. Paris 1892, 58)

Although Paris concedes that much later trouvère poetry was conceived in imitation of the troubadours, it is pieces such as Volez vos and A l’entrade that allow him to hypothesize the existence of an “original” French folk poetry. This allows him to reverse, or at least to complicate, traditional accounts of the direction of influence between Occitan and French lyric, which posited French imitation of Occitan poetry. In Paris’s schema, springtime French folk lyric sparked troubadour lyric, which, in turn, was the impetus for later French

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¹⁶ I am not sure why Paris thinks the piece is fragmentary.
¹⁷ For Paris’s theory on the Limousin, see Paris 1892, 27–8.
imitations. There is absolutely nothing about these pseudo-Occitan pieces that would indicate that they were composed before the troubadours were active, but their primitive qualities are so convincing that they do in fact invite this reading.

Joseph Bédier seems to agree with the basic idea of Paris’s *fêtes de mai* hypothesis. Like Paris, he also assumes that the “simplest” poetry must come before the more complex: “Il suffit de poser ces définitions et de mettre en regard les chansons de maieroles et ces pièces courtoises [...] pour faire pressentir aussitôt que ceci est sorti de cela” (Bédier 1896, 160). Like Paris, he concludes that these “archaic” *maieroles* pieces were written before 1140, a date he associates with the oldest troubadour poetry (Bédier 1896, 161). It is difficult to tell precisely which “chansons de maieroles” Bédier has in mind, but it is clear that *Volez vos* is one of them. He initially echoes Paris’s description of this poem as charming in its very strangeness before going on to describe it as both a point of origin and a link to the mayday rituals still practiced in nineteenth-century France. About the female figure in this poem, he asks: “Qui est-elle? Vêtue de fleurs, portant ceinture qui reverdit à la rosée, n’est-ce pas elle qu’honorent et figurent les reines de mai de nos villages? N’est-elle pas l’Esprit même de la végétation renaissante et comme la Muse de toute cette gracieuse poésie archaïque?” (Bédier 1896, 164). The female character of *Volez vos* exerts such a strong force on Bédier that he sees her both as the reflection of current “folk” rituals in France, and as the very muse behind this body of lyric. For Bédier, as for Jeanroy, she is the point of origin of this originary body of poetry. As we will see below, the basis for this fiction is spun in the poem itself. The lady of *Volez vos*, a quasi-incarnation of France, explicitly announces that all lyric

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18 Paris’s arguments for Occitan imitations of this folk poetry are not very persuasive. He adduces the frequency of springtime exordia in Occitan lyric, as well as the presence of “joie” in both sets of texts (G. Paris 1892, 58–9).
poetry descends from her. If she is the source of this body of pseudo-Occitan texts, they are framed not as Occitan but as French.

In order to illustrate these points about the rusticity and folkloric quality of the pseudo-Occitan corpus, I would like to turn to two poems in particular. Both pieces, *L’autrier m’iere levaz* and *Volez vos que je vos chante*, are situated in a liminal space between French- and Occitan-speaking territory. Both feature a man and a woman who converge on this border space and have a sexual encounter. In both poems, there is a clear power dynamic, where the French-speaking member of the pair comes out on top and Occitan identity is suppressed (in the case of *L’autrier*) or both disavowed and appropriated (in the case of *Volez vos*).

I turn first to *L’autrier* (Appendix 1, no. 4). Were it not for its unusual linguistic features, which, in fact, appear only in one of the two manuscripts that transmit the piece (fr. 20050), it would seem to be a fairly standard-issue *pastourelle* within the *oil* tradition.\(^\text{19}\) The scene begins with a mounted knight who approaches a pretty shepherdess named Ermenion. The shepherdess initially resists the knight’s advances, and warns him that her shepherd friend Perrin remains nearby. Unimpressed by the shepherdess’s reticence, the knight resorts to rape. Ermenion’s reaction to the sexual encounter is to declare that the knight has rescued her from sadness with his “game” (v. 64). She is, in fact, so overjoyed that she announces that Perrin has never served her so well. Perrin arrives on the scene just in time to realize what has happened, and accuses Ermenion of shaming him. She protests that she has merely offered company to the knight (v. 76).

Two features of the text suggest that it takes place somewhere near Occitania. The first is its linguistic features. A sense of “Occitaneity” is conveyed primarily through suffixes

\(^{19}\) On the differences between the *pastourelle* as cultivated in France and Occitania, see Callahan 2002.
in –az, only two of which are correct Occitan forms (levaz, v. 1 and montaz, v. 2). All of the others, such as seraz (Occitan seretz) and avatz (Occitan avetz), are incorrect (Paden 1996, 310). The only two other Occitanisms in the text are the forms “honorade” (v. 16, cf. Occitan onrata or onorata) and troberaz (v. 19; trouverez/trouveroiz in Old French; trobaretz in Occitan).

These linguistic features are not concentrated in either character’s speech. Some occur in the knight’s narration, some in his direct speech, and some in the shepherdess’s direct speech. The other feature of L’autrier m’iere levaz that suggests a relationship to Occitania is that it is situated somewhere near Limoges (v. 50), just on the southern side of the isogloss. At one point, the shepherdess announces rather cryptically that she was there the previous Tuesday. Only she, therefore, is concretely associated with Occitan geography; the knight, for his part, seems to be merely “passing through,” if we are to take the opening lines of the poem seriously. Consequently, it seems possible to read their encounter as one between French- and Occitan-speaking territories. Although the knight is never explicitly associated with France, the Occitan linguistic traits of the piece disappear conspicuously at the moment of the rape. Thus, if the knight’s “game” has “cured” the shepherdess (v. 64), the only symptom of this transformation is the absence of Occitan in the rest of the piece. The knight’s sexual conquest is mapped onto a linguistic one.

If I am correct in my reading, the shepherdess’s rusticity takes on additional symbolic significance. Her indigence (v. 21) and initial resistance to the knight—which is quickly transformed into sexual satisfaction—suggest a relationship in which the rustic Occitania is civilized reluctantly through a French presence there. Since there is very little to indicate the

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20 “Creanterie” (v. 51) may be an attempt at an Occitan conditional in –ia.
21 For a map of the isogloss, see Introduction, Figure 1.
22 The last form ending in –az appears at v. 48. It is possible that the direct object pronoun “lou” (v. 68) is an (incorrect) attempt at Occitan, but this form was found in Lorraine (I. Frank 1952, 63). It is also present in Bern 389, which otherwise bears no trace of Occitanisms.
pastourelle’s date of composition, it is impossible to know whether this is an allegorization of the Albigensian Crusade. Even if the piece were composed before the start of the war, however, it is still possible to imagine a situation in which Occitania was viewed as rustic and uncivilized. These stereotypes do seem to predate the war.23

*L’autrier m’iere levaz* is not the only pastourelle to suggest an equation between sexual conquest and territorial appropriation. Jean Bodel’s *Contre le douz tans novel* (Paden 1987, no. 20), composed sometime between 1198 and 1199, is the best-known example of the use of the pastourelle schema with a political subtext: the scene is set somewhere between the “mont de Cassel” and the Lys river, in the borderland between French and Flemish domains. The shepherdess of the pastourelle is unsure of the interloping knight’s political affiliation. She accuses him first of being Flemish and then French. Matilda Bruckner has shown that this poem’s location and set of cross-cultural tensions is probably a response to the events of August 1199, when Philip Augustus’s army was trapped in a confrontation with Baudouin IX, count of Flanders and Hainaut (Bruckner 2002, 123). Like *Contre le douz tans novel*, *L’autrier m’iere levaz* is set in a linguistic borderland, this time between French and Occitan domains. Another analogous piece is Gui d’Ussel’s *L’autre jorn, per aventura* (PC 194,14), which may also be intended to stage a subtle *oc-oil* encounter. The shepherdess’ choice is between the interloping knight, Robin, and her shepherd lover, Duran. As Gaston Paris remarks, the name Duran was typical of the Midi while that of Robin is indisputably northern (G. Paris 1892, 25).

*Volez vos que je vous chante* (Appendix 1, no. 5) shares the cross-cultural framework of these pieces. The poem describes an encounter between a mystical creature who announces

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23 Rodolfus Glaber’s complaints about the southerners all frame them as uncivilized (Paterson 2011, 2). The debate poem between Monge and Albertet, discussed in the introduction, also leans in this direction.
that she is from “France the praised” (v. 29) and a knight, who is also depicted as the composer of the poem (v. 4). For the lady’s statement that she is from France to make sense, the poem must presumably be set in a space outside of France. Unlike in *L’autrier*, the geographical framework of the poem is not circumscribed through a toponym, but we do learn that the poem was composed “under an olive tree” (v. 5). This detail alone is enough to conjure up the space of the Midi. This southern flavor is reinforced through a series of pseudo-Occitanisms which take the form of (inappropriate) suffixes in –ade, a suffix commonly used in Occitan and still evident in terms such as *tapenade*. The suffix appears six times in the poem. In most of these instances, one would expect to find the feminine adjectival ending –ée or a past participle (“chauçade,” “donade,” “dorade,” “saluade”). This is also the location where the composer of *L’autrier* decided to concentrate Occitan coloring, although he chose to replace the sound [e] in French with –az rather than –ade. In *Volez vos*, all of these terms are completely incongruous in that they bear very little relation to the expected Old French form.

While in *L’autrier*, the Occitanisms are not concentrated in the speech of any particular character, in *Volez vos*, they appear only in the narrator/knight’s speech. The nine lines of speech attributed to the woman are in fact conspicuous in the fact that they do not use the suffix, which has appeared almost every three lines in stanzas two through five. The preferred suffix in the woman’s speech—age—only one consonant away from –ade—aurally harkens back to it. This hint of a linguistic division between the knight/narrator and the lady subtly frames him as Occitan, while still not explicitly acknowledging any kind of linguistic

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24 In *L’autrier*, for example, most of the endings in -az replace an expected form in -é. In the first stanza, “L’autrier m’iere levaz; / sor mon cheval montaz, / sui por deduire alaz / laz une praierie. / Ne fu gaires esloignaz / can me sui arrestaz / et desendi en praz / soz une ant e florie,” most of the -az forms replace -é. The only exceptions are “laz” (for which we would expect “lez”) and “praz” (for which we would expect “prés”). The same pattern is discernible in *Volez vos*, where the -é has been replaced by -ade.
division between the two characters. The knight’s language is not presented as a foreign language, but contains, instead, Occitan linguistic coloring within French.

Although the graphic representation of the Occitanism –ade remains the same, its phonetic realization evolves over the course of the poem. The piece begins as follows:

Volez vous que je vous chant
Un son d’amors avenant?
Vilain ne l’fist mie,
Ainz le fist un chevalier
Souz l’ombre d’un olivier
Entre les braz s’amie.

Based on this stanza, we expect the following rhyme scheme: aabccb. This is confirmed in the second stanza, on the condition that we read -ade as a representation of [oj].

Chemisete avoit de lin
En blanc peliçon hermin
Et bïaut de soie,
Chauces ot de jaglolai
Et sollers de flors de mai
Estroitement chauçade.

In the next stanza, there is a reminiscence of the original aabccb structure but only through assonance.

Si chevauchoit une mule;
D’argent ert la ferreüre,
La sele ert dorade;
Seur la crope par derrier
Avoit planté trois rosiers
Por fere li honbrage.

The endings –ule and –üre can only be linked through assonance, and the same is true for –ier and -iers. If this is the case, it seems safe to extend the hypothesis of assonance to the coupling of –ade and –age. For this pairing to make any sense, we have to assume that –ade is no longer a graphic representation for [oj], but rather something like [adə]. If I am correct in my reading, then, the pseudo-Occitan suffix evolves from a graphic fiction to a phonetic reality over the course of the poem. Regardless of the pronunciation behind the spelling, it is
rhyme (and in some cases assonance) that accomplishes the ideological work of making French and Occitan one language—the language out of which the union of France and Occitania is born in the poem.

I have argued that this Occitania is a rather nebulous space constructed out of an olive tree and strategically-placed pseudo-Occitanisms in the speech of the knight/narrator. That this figure is Occitan is also suggested by the fact that it is he who composes the poem, thus acting as a troubadour (stanza I). What is strange, however, is that symbols of song and poetry proliferate not in association with the troubadour, but with the woman from France. Both the nightingale and siren—the woman’s parents (VI)—are longstanding symbols of song. Moreover, the woman’s illustrious lineage—and thus France’s fictional past—is constructed through these symbols of song. The “heights” of the woman’s ancestry are thus not merely metaphorical: her father’s song cascades from the branches of the highest forest while her mother’s serenade emanates from the highest bank. This woman’s genealogy—and, by extension, that of “France the praised” is illustrious because of its association with the act of song. Indeed, song is the genealogical core that stabilizes French identity. The only way to make sense of this hybrid lineage—nightingale, siren, woman—is by positing song as a trait passed from generation to generation, whether through culture or biology.

We saw in the introduction to this dissertation that the idea of a “gift of song” being passed from generation to generation appears elsewhere. In Philippe Mousket’s *Chronique rimée* this gift is attributed not to the French, but to the “Provençals.” As we have already seen, according to Mousket, Charlemagne bequeathed Provence to the minstrels who followed his army, which explains why they produce better songs than anyone else:

Dont departi Karles les tieres,
Qu’il avoit conquises par gierre [...] 
Li manestrel et li jougleur
Orent Prouvence, si fu leur.
“When Charlemagne divided the lands he had conquered through war [...] the minstrels and jongleurs had Provence. Through nature still we find this, that the Provençals make better melodies and lyrics than people from other countries, because of those from whom they were born” (Mousket 1836, vv. 6274–5, 6298–6303).

Volez vos appropriates the cultural legacy—lyric poetry—that was most strongly associated with Occitania, using it as the genealogical core through which the very essence of Frenchness is articulated. Indeed, the poem’s French identification through song is further shored up via performances already inscribed in it as part of its narrative framework: “Would you like me to sing you a beautiful song of love?” asks the narrator of his audience, interpellated through an indirect object pronoun, thereby perpetuating the lyric lineage imagined in the poem.

As in L’autrier m’ïere levaz, the power hierarchy in Volez vos is unequivocal. The French woman’s association with the siren frames her as a dangerous seductress. The siren was not a neutral symbol of song; she was most often described as a morally perilous force who exerted an extreme sexual power on her male victims, whom she often consumed after luring them with her song (Leach 2006; Leach 2007). While there is nothing overtly ominous about the encounter in Volez vos (the knight apparently escapes unscathed, if he is able to compose the poem), I think we should read the siren symbol as indicative of an appropriation of a power that was traditionally Occitan. It was Occitan, and not French, that was the language most widely used to voice desire in love lyric, and it is precisely this power to voice desire that the mysterious woman arrogates. It is she, and not the troubadour, who controls the sexual scenario of the poem. It is she who chooses the knight from amongst many possible suitors (vv. 26-27).
Paradoxically, however, it is the encounter with the troubadour that allows the woman (and, by extension, France?) to find a subject position: Frenchness can only be articulated via its Occitan other, as when the troubadour’s question—“Beautiful, where were you born?” (v. 28)—elicits both the initial instance of first-person speech and the revelation of the woman’s French identity. Up until this point, she is an immaterial creature whose body can only be inferred from the luxurious clothing heaped upon it. In the original French, no subject pronoun is used to describe the woman until the fifth stanza of the poem. The absence of both corporeal description and reification through subject pronouns further conflates the woman with France and lends her additional mystique. It is only through her encounter with the troubadour that she seems to fully come into being. The troubadour continues to provide the vehicle for French identification when he devotes the last stanza of the poem to a gushing description of the woman’s noble descent.

Up until this point, although I have tried to show that the troubadours are repeatedly assimilated into different francophone spaces and contexts, in no instance was there a clear equation between any of these francophone spaces and what we might call the proto-French nation. As we have seen, the “French” space of Jean Renart’s Rose—which comprises, paradoxically, the Holy Roman Empire—is a very different space from the apolitical francophone space of the songbooks we saw in Chapter 4. In pointing towards a francophone community on the border with Occitania, however, Volez vos, moves in yet another direction. I can make no claim to knowing precisely what political or geographic space the composer had in mind when evoking “France,” but it is nevertheless clear that this France is conceived as both a past and future community whose very contours and self-articulation are dependent on an Occitan other. Ostensibly, the union of the troubadour and France has not yet occurred: it lies just on the horizon of the poem, which concludes with
the marriage of the two figures. However, this union is also necessarily in the poem’s past, since, for the rhyme scheme of the piece to make sense, the conjoining of France and Occitania must already have occurred. In this sense, the poem is the condition of its own writing.

In this particular instance, I think it is safe to say that the imagined community of *Volez vos* is an ethnic rather than a purely linguistic one. France is depicted not just as a place of birth but as a space united through a descent group, the core of which is its relationship to song. From a contemporary perspective, we might say that the mysterious woman meets both criteria for French citizenship—those of *sol* and *sang*—the right of soil and the right of blood. From a more medieval perspective, Randal Bartlett has argued that the Middle Ages conceptualized ethnicity as founded primarily on descent, customs, language and law (Bartlett 2001, 47). *Volez vos* subtly positions Occitania within a French community united through common descent and a common language (not French, but French tinged with Occitan). This type of fiction is most often a retrospective one, as for example, in Étienne Balibar’s account of the workings of “fictive ethnicity.”

Given that the composer of *Volez vos* was active in the thirteenth century, either during or very shortly after Occitania’s official annexation to France, it seems impossible to consider the piece’s fiction retrospective. If anything, it seems either prescient or current. In any case, it is certainly the most powerful of the pseudo-Occitan pieces, all of which position Occitan not as a distinct language but as a kind of coloring found within “primitive” *oil* pieces.

The fiction of origins generated in this corpus is a kind of *mirage des sources* of the sort described by Roger Dragonetti (Dragonetti 1987). Dragonetti points out how many medieval

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25 According to Balibar, no political group possesses an ethnic base naturally; instead, it generates a fiction according to which all of its members form a natural community, with an identity of origins (Balibar 1988).
(and Renaissance) texts describe themselves as restorations or *remaniements*, thereby positioning their origins in a text or authority that is absent to them (Dragonetti 1987, 35–43). Similarly, Michel Zink has shown how much medieval French lyric gives the impression of having antecedents through techniques such as quotation and fragmentation (Zink 1996, 31–2). Rather than pointing beyond itself to the troubadour lyric which did, in all likelihood, chronologically precede it, the pseudo-Occitan corpus instead frames itself as its own point of origin—one in which Occitan is not the language of a separate and illustrious tradition of lyric poetry which spread throughout Europe, but a rustic coloring within French.
Appendix 1

Texts and translations of pseudo-Occitan corpus.

1. **Per vous m’esjau, done del firmament**

Edition reproduced from Jeanroy and Aubry (Jeanroy and Aubry 1900). Theirs is less interventionist than Epstein’s (Epstein 1997, 278). The translation is based on Epstein’s. See also Oroz Arizcuren 1972, 454–459.

Additional bibliography: Spaggiari 1993, 281–282

I. 1 Per vous m’esjau, done dis firmantet tres coralment alumas et engres de vostre preis laudar tant com podrie: s’agrade a vous et Dé, mes non voldrie. In you I rejoice, lady [of heaven] most heartfully. alight from and enthused by your worth to praise as much as I am [?] able. If it please you and God, I would ask for nothing else.

II. Quant Gabriel vous fist l’anonçalment, tout erraument se fu Diex en vous mes: Car a con gres qui ben ne le credrie, et sap que Diex en s’arme part n’aurie. When Gabriel made the announcement to you, immediately God was put within you: He has flesh like a stone knowing that God will have no part of his soul.

III. Done, de qui tout paravis resplent, per vous se sent aligrat [Aleujat] de greu feis et reige [rege] en peis toute humaine lignie: vide per mort vostre fius nous rendrie. Lady, through whom all paradise is bright through you the whole human race is lighten of a great burden and reigns in peace: Life for death your son will give us.

IV. Douce done, de vous mot et descent lou jauziment per que de vous chantes. Done, marces! Prejas Dé que non vie sobre poder de quel que dampnas sie. Sweet lady, from you rises and descends joy for which I would sing of you. Lady, have mercy! Pray God that I not come under the power of the one that is damned.

V. Mare au signar qui n’a començalment non finalment non avra il ja mès, grans nous pres en iste mortal vie et o ton fil en son regne nous guie. Mother of the Lord who has no beginning nor ending will he ever have, grant our prayers in this mortal life and take us to your son in his kingdom.
2. *A l'entrade del tens clar, eya*


Additional bibliography: Deroy 1973; Paganuzzi 1963

I.  
1. A l'entrade del tens clar, eya  
   pir joie recomençar, eya  
   et pir jalous irritar, eya  
   vol la regine mostrar  
   k'ele est si amoureuse.  
   A la vi', a la vie, jalous.  
   Lassaz nos, lassaz nos  
   ballar entre nos, entre nos.  
   At the beginning of clear weather, eya  
   to begin joy again, eya  
   and to irritate the jealous ones, eya  
   the queen wants to show  
   that she is in love.  
   Hit the road, jealous ones.  
   Leave us, leave us  
   to dance amongst ourselves, amongst ourselves.

II.  
   Ele a fait pir tot mandar, eya  
   non sie jusqa la mar  
   pucele ni bachelar  
   que tuit non venguent dansar  
   en la dance joiouse.  
   A la vi', a la vie, jalous.  
   Lassaz nos, lassaz nos  
   ballar entre nos, entre nos.  
   She has sent the message everywhere, eya  
   so there not be, from here to the sea,  
   maiden or young man  
   who does not come to dance  
   in the joyful dance.  
   Hit the road, jealous ones.  
   Leave us, leave us  
   to dance amongst ourselves, amongst ourselves.

III.  
   Lo reis i vent d'autre part, eya  
   pir la dance destorbar, eya  
   que il est en cremetar, eya  
   que on ne li vuelle emblar  
   la regine avrillouse.  
   A la vi', a la vie, jalous.  
   Lassaz nos, lassaz nos  
   ballar entre nos, entre nos.  
   The king comes there from elsewhere, eya  
   to disturb the dance, eya  
   for he fears greatly, eya  
   that someone wants to steal from him  
   the queen of April.  
   Hit the road, jealous ones.  
   Leave us, leave us  
   to dance amongst ourselves, amongst ourselves.

IV.  
   Mais pir neient lo vol far, eya  
   k'ele n'a soig de viellart, eya  
   mais d'un legeir bachelar, eya  
   ki ben sache solaçar  
   la donne savorouse.  
   A la vi', a la vie, jalous.  
   Lassaz nos, lassaz nos  
   ballar entre nos, entre nos.  
   But she does not want to do it for anything, eya  
   for she does not care for an old man, eya  
   but rather for a slender young man, eya  
   who knows well how to please  
   the sweet-tasting lady.  
   Hit the road, jealous ones.  
   Leave us, leave us  
   to dance amongst ourselves, amongst ourselves.

V.  
   Qui dont la veïst dançar, eya  
   et son gent cors deportar, eya  
   ben puist dire de vertar, eya  
   k'el mont non aie sa par  
   la Regine joiouse.  
   A la vi', a la vie, jalous.  
   Lassaz nos, lassaz nos  
   ballar entre nos, entre nos.  
   Whoever might see her dance, eya  
   and move her beautiful body, eya  
   he could truly say, eya  
   that she does not have an equal in the world,  
   the joyful queen.  
   Hit the road, jealous ones.  
   Leave us, leave us  
   to dance amongst ourselves, amongst ourselves.
3. *L’altrier cuidai aber druda*

Edition from Taylor 1986. Translation adapted from same source.

Additional bibliography: Billy 1987; Billy 1990

I. 1 L’altrier cuidai aber druda tota la meillor c’onques egusse veguda et la belisor: velle antiue, paupre et nuda, ben parlant d’amor. Trames per oc que 1 saluda, et fac plaz gensor. Mais la trace malastruda! Qu’eu per lei oi dat vels vin et troblat, peis et por salat. E l’oi calçada et vestuda, si me n’ab boisat. Qu’en loe d’amige es venguda, en tens tenebror. Tint son pan en sor, et eu sus li cor; et trobai la piau c[الف]juda, corde el col, espaulle aguda, memella pendant et viuda com borsa pastor, pis ossut et plat, e l ventre ridat, maigre rains et cuisse ruda, dur genoill et flat; et quant l’ai aper[گل]ude, es me vos irat! Ab itant vir a la fuda, non sui arrestat.

II. Tan m’en es cor creguda rancune et gramor, que continence ai perduda d’amar per amor. Que pensava la canuda, que non ab calor? Et volie essre batuda subra son tabor! Non ab tan langue esmoluda qu’egusse acontat demei la metat del mal qu’ab pensat dont deurie essre te[n]guda per son lait peccat: tos es gutta et mal qui suda sanz aber retor; freit et scif et plor od fresche dolor, ni ja l tendre n’i paruda.

The other day, I thought I had a sweetheart, the very best I had ever seen and the most beautiful (old, shameful, poor and shabby), well-spoken in matters of love. Therefore I sent word to greet her and made a very attractive accord. But what a wretched deal!

For I had given for her sake old and cloudy wine fish, and salt pork.

And I shod and clothed her yet she deceived me in the affair. For she came in the place of my mistress in the hours of darkness. She held her cloak up over her head

And I found her bald pate, a stringy neck, sharp shoulders, breasts limp and empty as a shepherd's bag, a bosom bony and flat and a wrinkled belly, scrawny hips and rough thighs, hard weak knees.

And when I saw her, was I upset! Straightway I turned and ran; I did not stay around.

So greatly in my heart have the rancor and bitterness developed that I have lost the ability to respond to love.

What was the hoary woman thinking, she who has no warmth?

And she wanted to be beaten on her drum!

There is not a tongue so talkative that it could have recounted a half of the evil I thought she should be afflicted with for her ugly sin: coughing and gout and disease making her sweat without any respite;

cold and thirst and tears with renewed grief;

and let no tenderness ever show.
Que non sie a mort feruda,
de tal mal qui non la tuda,
ainz (la) teigne en langor.
N’el non ait d’enfat
for pan mesalat,
et carne de vella truda
ou (de) porc sorsemat,
pis de mar qui de loig puda,
vin cras et boutat.
Ja ’n non es tant irascuda
que ’m quidai (essre) vengat.

Let her not be struck mortally,
but with the kind of suffering that does not kill her,
but rather keeps her languishing.
And may she not have any poison
except for mouldy bread
and meat from an old sow,
or tainted pork,
seafish which stinks far afar
and coarse, spoiled wine.
Never will she be so afflicted
that I will consider myself avenged.
4. L’autrier m’iere levaz


Additional bibliography: Bartsch 1870; I. Frank 1953; Marshall 1980; W. Paden 1996; Rivière 1974

I. 1 L’autrier m’iere levaz; The other day I had got up;  
sor mon cheval montaz, Mounted on my horse;  
sui por deduire alaz I went for amusement  
laz une prairie. along a meadow.  
Ne fui gaires esloignaz I had not gone far  
can me sui arrestaz when I stopped  
et dessendi en praz and dismounted in the meadow  
soz une ante floriz beneath a grafted tree in bloom,  
S’ai Ermonjon choisiz And I saw Ermonjon—  
c’onzes rose espiniez Never was blooming rose  
ne fu tals ne cristals. Or crystal the like of her.  
Vers li vois liez et baus Cheerful and happy I went toward her,  
que sa belaz m’agrie. since her beauty pleased me.

II. Quant la fui aprochaz When I had come near  
dis li: ‘Suer, car m’amaz, I said: “Sister, please love me!  
honorade en seraz You will be honored  
en tote vostre vie.” for all your life.”  
-- ‘Signer, ne moi gabaz; -- “Sir, don’t make fun of me;  
bien sai, prou troberaz I know well that you'll find many  
fenne cui ameraz, a woman you will love,  
plus riche et meuz vestie.’ richer and better dressed.  
-- ‘Ble, je ne quier mie -- “Pretty one, I don’t seek  
en amor seignorie; mastery in love;  
senz mi plaiz et belaz I like good sense and beauty  
dont grant plantaz avaz (of which you have an abundance)  
et dolce compagniez. And sweet companionship.”

III. De folie parlaz -- “You speak out of madness,  
car ren n’en portezaz, for you won’t get a thing,  
c’autres est affez since another has been promised  
d’avoir ma druderie. to have my love.  
Se tyst ne remontaz If you don’t quickly mount again  
et de ci non tornaz and go away from here,  
ja seraz malmenaz, soon you will be beaten,  
que Perrins nos espie, for Perrin is watching us,  
et s’a plus grant ai et he’ll have greater help  
des bergiers s’il s’escrie.’ from the shepherds, if he cries out.”  
-- ‘Ble, ja n’en dotaz, -- “Pretty one, never fear,  
mais a mei entandaz; but listen to me:  
vos dites grant folie!’ You’re talking great nonsense!”

IV. -- ‘Sire, al moins je vos pri, -- “Sir, I beg of you at least  
kar je remaindrai ci, (since I shall remain here)  
k’aiez de moi merci; to have mercy on me  
si serai mal baillie.’ (since I’ll have no protection).”  
-- ‘Ble, je vos affi, -- “Pretty one, I promise you,  
se m’avez a ami, if you take me as your friend,  
n’i aura si hardi no one will be so brave
qui oltrage vos die.  as to insult you.”
48  -- 'Sire, n’en parlez mie;  -- “Sir, don’t speak of it;
por de quanques je vi  for all I saw
a Limoiges mardi,  at Limoges on Tuesday
nel vos creanterie.’  I would not give you my promise.”

V.  52  -- 'Bergiere, or est ensi;
fol si quant plus vos pri,
c’ainz nul n’en vi joir
de longe roterie.’

56  -- “Shepherdess, this is how it is:
I'm a fool to beg you any more,
for I've never seen anyone enjoy
a long melody played on the rote.”

58  Lors la traïs pres de mi;
elle geta un cri
c’unques nuns ne l’oi.
Ne fu pas trop estrie,
ainz m’a dit cortesie:

-- “Sir, I was sad
when you came here.
Now my heart is glad;
your game has cured me.

60  Elle geta un cri
for I've never seen anyone enjoy
64  Vostres geus m’a garie.’

VI.  Perrins m’ait enginzie,  Perrin has deceived me,
car onkes en sa vie  for never in his life
si bel ne me servi;  has he served me so well;
por ceu se lou defi  therefore I condemn him
d’un mes de coupperie.’

And Perrin cried aloud,

Et Perrins haut c’esrie:  “I served you too well!
Je t'ai trop bien servie,
you've paid me back badly--

70  tu lou m’ais mal meri.  You've put me to shame before my eyes.

Davant moi m’ais honi;
I will never have a sweetheart!

76  Vi al lo cuer joli,
Or al lo cuer joli,

72  ‘Sire, g’iere marrie
qant vos venistes ci.
-- ‘Sir, I was sad
when you came here.
Now my heart is glad;
your game has cured me.

74  ‘Sire, g’iere marrie
qant vos venistes ci.
-- ‘Sir, I was sad
when you came here.
Now my heart is glad;
your game has cured me.

76  ‘Sire, g’iere marrie
qant vos venistes ci.
5. *Volez vos que je vous chante?*

Edition reproduced from Rosenberg and Tischler (Rosenberg and Tischler 1995). My translation is based on theirs.

Additional bibliography: Drzewicka 1974; Lods 1984; Planche 1989; Tyssens 1971

I. 1 Volez vous que je vous chante? Would you like me to sing
  Un son d’amors avenant? a beautiful song of love?
  Vilain ne l’ fist mie, It was not composed by a peasant,
  Ainz le fist un chevalier but rather by a knight
  Souz l’ombre d’un olivier under the shade of an olive tree
  Entre les braz s’amie. between the arms of his beloved.

II. 8 Chemisete avoit de lin She was wearing a shirt of linen,
  En blanc pelçon hermin in a white fur-lined coat of ermine,
  Et bliaut de soie, an overgarment of silk,
  Chausces ot de jaglola, slippers of gladiolus,
  Et solliers de flors de mai and shoes of mayflowers
  Estroitement chauçade. were tightly on her feet.

III. 16 Cainturete avoit de fueille She had a belt of leaves,
  Qui verdist quant li tens mueille; which became green in times of rain.
  D’or ert boutonade. Her buttons were of gold.
  L’aumosniere estoit d’amor; Her purse was made of love
  Li pendant furent de flor. and the ties were of flowers.
  Par amors fu donade. It had been given to her in love.

IV. 20 Si chevauchoit une mule; She rode a mule
  D’argent ert la ferreüre, whose shoes were of silver
  La sele ert dorade; and whose saddle was entirely golden.
  Avoit planté trois rosiers On the croup behind her,
  Seur la crope par derrier she had planted three rosebushes,
  Par fere li honbrage. so that she would have shade.

V. 28 Si s’en vet aval la pree; She goes throughout the fields.
  Chevaliers l’ont encontre, Knights have met her there.
  Biau l’ont saluade: They greet her courteously:
  - Bele, dont estes vous nee? ‘Beautiful one, where were you born?’
    - De France sui, la loee, ‘I am from France the praised,
      Du plus haut parage. of the highest extraction.’

VI. 32 ’Li Rosignous est mon pere ‘My father is the nightingale
  Qui chante seur la ramee who sings in the branches
  Qui chante en la mer salee of the highest woods.
  El plus haut boscaje; My mother is the siren
  La seraine, ele est ma mere who sings in the salty sea
  Qui chante en la mer salee on the highest bank.’
  El plus haut rivage.

VII. 40 Bele, bon fussiez vous nee, ‘Oh, beautiful one, you were born well,
  Bien estes enparentee and have a good parentage
  Et de haut parage; and of high extraction;
  Pleist a Dieu nostre pere Might it please God the Father
  Que vous me fussiez donee that you were given to me
  A fame espouade. as my wedded wife.’
6. Lai de Markiol

Edition from Billy 1995. The text of this piece is so garbled as to render it barely comprehensible. I have reproduced Billy’s French translation of the text (Billy 1995, 30–31) rather than attempting to translate it myself because the original is so incomprehensible.

Additional bibliography: Bartsch 1878

I

1 Gent m’en ais
quau de chais
en ist lais

4 Markiol.
Non cuit mais
jois m’encrais,
ne m’apais

8 si com sol,
per qu’en ai dol,
et a[i][l] cor mol.
C’uns esglais

12 cas de plais
qui m’abaïs
et m’aïol.
A cel, mais

16 fore en glais
per un bais
sol a sol;
mï dosn mi col

20 car non en vol!
Griu pantais
qui me plais,
et griu fais

24 n’ai el col
qui m’abraïs!
Et mon fais
-- sont veraïs

28 dis de fol --,
Dex le [m] destol
qu’e[n] v[a]n i rol.

II

32 Cil sui qui ment
et m’en repent,
quan de mi dosn non part neent:
en[a][n]/s/atent
son causiment,

36 et si ferai mon escient,
veraïent,
a son vivent.
Son cors jouent

40 et [m]on rient!
Irai a li, douce a talent,
per failliment
qui m’espo[e][n],

44 donc pris je pou mon ardiment,
dont sui dolent
et penedent.
Dosna valent
m'ai qu’altres cent,
prenas et donas mi prese[n]t,
non gins argent
ni garniment,
maiz un baiser celadament:
[com] aurai cent
viras manent!

III

Qu’amors ven et vai
et leve et caï!
Malvaise est la trace
del jalous salvai
ci sejorn’ et jai
a cele qui [m] plai.
Mais eu seu la trace
del b[u]eu Bertolai,
et se ja l’aurai
et ja la tendrai
et bruïll souz la fueille
a fin joi verai.

IV

Per hoc non eschai
c’aïnc non vi tant gente.
A Jh[e]su lou Rei
prei qu’a liei m’autre[i],
qu’ele es la pl[u]s valente.
Fol[s] est qui fol[e]i
e fol[l]s qu[i] per drei
s’en apelave trente.

V

Bien dei
dire
mon [con]sire
done sui pensaire,
car servire
et jausire
sui [et] amaire.

VI

[Mi fait frire dont desire
dont suis merchiaire.]
Li m’apire et m’aïre
qu’ensï lou pot faire:
li regart et li remire
pluz que fist sa maire.
Li me poig’ et li m’apire,
si ne coste gaire!
Veirs Dex qui non sis me[n]/tire,
tu [m] sies guiaire,
c’aïnc non trais pejor martyre
neguns fins amaire.

VII

Bele dosne cubinen[t]
merces vos praigne
daïquest vostre ben volen[t]
c’un jois li vaigne,
que d’altres n’aurie cent
que me[n] non daigne.
Mors lou [con]straigne, 
cel qui non daigne 
que lauzenger,
fol parler
mi coven;
et quant / mi comence, 
tout lou cor mi trence.
De ma [com]paigne
non sie estraigne, 
qu’eu, ni pleners, 
dreturers, 
vertaders, 
amis sans faill[e]nce, 
en fas la p[er]vence.
Dosne, n’estraigne, 
qui n vos bargaigne 
de fol parl[e]r; 
mençonger, 
car ester 
non trobe garence, 
ni altra valence.
Dosne bien savez 
se dire ou volez, 
que de preis valez 
meillors cent 
en un reng. 
Vostre amor m’ataig 
tant es [con]vincente. 
Et vos en valez 
ven les meillors des, 
de loig et de pres.
Jois m’ataig 
et non faig: 
vostre amor me çaig 
tant es combinente. 
Dit en ai mir ves 
que per vos sui les 
si vai mes. 
Vostre amor m’a çaig, 
et non/faig 
per l’altrui ensaig: 
de bon [a]volente.
Ja non ere 
vostre amere, 
ne non agre cure, 
non prisere 
nus pris gere 
que sabes tan dure, 
leu s amare 
fresche, clere, 
-- mais d’ital figure 
brune --, mere, 
[doce], clere, 
tot per m’aventure.
XI

Dosne, Jhesus me [con]fonde!
se volez entendre
qu'al meilleur mari del monde
tal mi poez prendre
u vendre.
156

Si pogh es [comë] [l]onde
pujar et descendre,
tost mi viras en l'esponde,
et pogh es mi prendre
ni vendre.

Dosne fresche, gente et blonde,
non pos mais atendre,
car voluntas desironde
fac et foc descend[e]r[e]
cel qui vol a vos [con]tendre
lai.

XII

Mes alegiers desiiers
est plus fers que tempers:
tan sui d'amors loucaders
que no [m] po[t] garir acers.

XIII

Dosne, s'eu ausaisse dir
que fussiez m'amic,
aiqui, hoc, volgre morir,
mais en icel die.

Mais vous avez tant d'abir
et de curteisie,
ben saurez lou meill causir.
La dame causie,

Dex vos laist tal meill causir,
que mon cor en rie.

XIV

Amor ant,
qui amant
non presant
maiz servol.

Cent itant
est pluz grant
que [u]c / del chant

Markiol.

Jhesu l'afol
qui ois no[n] / vol,
qu'eu veu et vol.

I. Je me tourmente bien quand de ma bouche jaillit le lai Markiol. Je ne pense plus que la joie m'engraisse ni ne me contente autant que d'habitude, c'est pourquoi j'ai du chagrin et je manque d'ardeur. Car un tourment [me] vient de l'affaire qui pourrait bien m'abattre et me mettre à mal. Avec celui-ci, je serais plus effrayé par un baiser donné sans témoins; c'est parce qu'elle n'en veut pas que ma dame m'accueille! J'en ai un pénible tourment qui m'écrase, et un lourd fardeau sur mes épaules qui tant portèrent. Et mon fardeau—ce sont de vrais propos de fou—, Dieu m'éloigne de moi, car je tourne en rond vraiment.

II. Je suis celui qui ment, et je m'en repens, car de ma dame je n'ai rien: j'attends plutôt sa clémence, et ainsi ferai-je, par ma foi, vraiment, tant qu'elle vivra. Comme son cœur est joyeux et riant! J'irai à elle, douce [dame] à souhait, quelle que soit l'erreur qui m'effraie, aussi fais-je peu de cas de ma hardiesse, ce dont je suis triste et me repens. Dame qui valez plus que cent autres, prenez et donnez-moi un présent, certes pas d'argent ni d'habits, mais d'un baiser en secret. Lorsque j'en aurai cent, alors vous me verrez riche!
III. Car l'amour vient et s'en va, s'élève et retombe. Mauvais est l'exemple du méchant jaloux qui séjourne et git près de celle qui me plaît. Mais je suis la trace du bœuf de Bertolai, et si jamais je l'ai, alors je la possèderai dans un bosquet sous la ramure pour la fine joie véritable.

IV. Pourtant, il ne se peut pas que l'on vit jamais aussi gracieuse. Je demande à Jésus le Roi qu'il me donne à elle, parce que c'est elle qui a le plus de valeur. Il est fou celui qui agit follement, et fou qui à bon droit en appelait trente fois.

V. Je dois bien dire le souci qui me préoccupe, car je suis à son service pour aimer et jouir.

VI. Elle me fait frissonner, celle que je désire et supplie. Qu'elle me fasse aller plus mal et me contrarie, puisqu'elle peut ainsi le faire; je la regarde et la contemple plus que ne la fit sa [propre] mère. Qu'elle me fasse souffrir et me tourmente, il lui en coûte si peu! Vrai Dieu qui ne mens pas, sois mon guide, car jamais aucun fin amant ne souffrit plus grand martyre.

VII. Belle dame bien faite, pitié vous prenne de votre ami: faites qu'une joie lui vienne, car d'autres femmes, il en aurait cent—que je dédaigne.

VIII. Que la mort le tourmente celui qui n'approuve que le médisant: je lui préfère un bavard inconsidéré; car, quand il m'entend [le médisant], le cœur tout entier me déchire. Qu'elle ne maîtrise pas ma compagnie, car j'ai la manière d'un ami entier, juste, vrai et sans défaut. Dame, il ne s'éloigne pas de vous celui qui vous contrarie à propos du bavard inconsidéré et menteur, car il ne trouve pas ailleurs protection, ni autre secours.

IX. Belle dame bien faite, pitié vous prenne de votre ami: faites qu'une joie lui vienne, car d'autres femmes, il en aurait cent—que je dédaigne.

X. Si je n'étais votre amant, et si cela m'était indifférent, je ne ferais aucun cas de votre dureté, là où je vous aime fraîche, lumineuse—but pas avec cette sombre mine--, pure, douce, gaie, pour mon plus grand bonheur.

XI. Dame, que Jésus me confonde si vous voulez comprendre que vous pouvez me considérer comme le meilleur mari du monde ou faire de moi ce que vous voulez. Si je pouvais monter et descendre comme l'hirondelle, vous me verriez bientôt au bord de votre lit, et vous pourriez me prendre et disposer de moi. Dame fraîche, gente et blonde, je ne peux attendre plus longtemps, car le désir désirant met sur des charbons ardents celui qui veut vous affronter. Là!

XII. Mais soulager [satisfaire?] le désir est plus redoutable que la tempête. Je suis tellement aux gages de l'amour que l'acier [même] ne peut me protéger.

XIII. Dame, si j'osais dire que vous êtes mon amie, alors oui, je voudrais mourir, pourvu que ce soit aujourd'hui même. Mais vous avez tant de jugement et de courtoisie que vous saurez choisir le mieux. Ma dame miséricordieuse, que Dieu vous laisse choisir un tel mieux, que mon cœur s'en réjouisse.

XIV. Ils ont l'amour, ceux qui aiment sans présomption mais avec dévouement: il y a là bien plus de grandeur que dans le chant Markiol. Que Jésus ruine qui ne veut pas la joie que je désire ardemment.
Lai de Nompar

My edition reproduces Billy's (Billy 1995, 78–81). Even though the text of this *lai* is much more comprehensible than *Markiol*, I have opted to reproduce Billy's French translation because there are still incomprehensible passages (e.g. vv. 145-6).

Additional bibliography: Bartsch 1878

I.  
1  Finament  
et jauent,  
yos comens
4  lai non par.  
Qui chantar  
non sap far  
ben deit escoutar,
8  car a fin joi comence,  
joies son, curteis chant.  
J'en vais laschant  
desore en avant,
12  per bon samblant.  
Ab siens  
sapiens  
et bon sens
16  ist d'amar,  
hoc, et de  
fin trobar,  
per qu'en dei jugar.
20  Car ital captinence  
tot li corteis dru fant,  
dosne valant,  
a Dieu vos comant,
24  qu'eu vai loignant.  
Avinens  
prs, valens  
et jovens
28  et donar  
dei regnar  
od les prous,  
per qu'en dei presar.
32  Saber et abstinence  
mi vai endoctrinant.  
Joi mi rent blant  
tal com eu demant,
36  tout sans engant.

II  
He! dosne fine,  
gens cors de regine,  
la fusse od vos
40  ou mous cors dessire,  
que d'al non consirre.  
M'en vai deleitrous  
au saint vas glorious.
44  ou Dex jut por nos.  
Ahi! chiere grine,  
maris, teste encline,  
çai restai, jalous:
son cor en griu tire
qui d'al non empire,
car eu sui jauous;
molt en est pesançous
et l'enfais langous.
Ah! bec d'espine
nafrens fu ma vine:
faus contralious,
tant mal vous consire,
lou cor vos arbre,
que disas des prous,
car est tant enviuous
et tant anvious!

Mais Deu lau
que nous au.
La meillor
tant m'esjau
que mentau
sa lauxor.
Per li vau
ver la nau
sanz paor.

Beltaz et prohece
et la grant richece
et mi dosn en fai.
Tant es ben aprese,
seignade et cortese.
que tot lament jai.

La terre urgalese,
la gent bersendese.
sal Dex per li, lai.

Mar je n'ai
joi verai,
sans jauzir
ai grant desir.
Tot m'apaï
qui m retrai
ses bels dis
que vol ausir.
Pos Dieu plai,
ben s'eschai
q'al suffrir
ai desservir.

Saint Martin bon pelegrin
pregon Dieu qu'il doint bon feus
et si me font la gent ris
lous en joi fore toz meus,
Or sui ci, sanz nul, fin grin,
et grain come faus romeus.

Or di folie
et vilenie.
com hom vilans;
de cor en ren,
car cil viages
et romasages
mi par salvages,
del flum Jordan.
Maiz tot aurie,
se Dieu plaisie;
non vines chai:
non volgre ren.
Al prin passage
cel douz voiage
verrai corage
fin et certan.
Sancta Marie,
tu rens m'amie,
et torne lai
ou el estai.
Pos del rivage
ou non vei message
ni alegrage,
non joi, non san.

VIII
Tost çai non vai jen
a Dé vous donen;
qui vous benedighe!

O Jherusalem,
com fort me tormen
que m tolas m'amighe.
Rex de Belleem
qu'aroent ereden,
ne m tornas sans trighe.

IX
Trinitas
et unitas
redemptor
et salvator,
mos peccas
mi perdonas;
pos rendes
m'a la geñor,
et si plas,
si me tornas
a la tor
de Blanchaflor.

X
Rex et salvaire,
c'est vostre peccaire
donas, s'il vous seyt bel,
asin doi lai bon lai.
per baiser selone
dins son ric chastel,
od lou fin del chadel,
sol, mon avinent,
curteis chant novel.

XI
Finament
et jauzent,
I. Avec joie et finesse j’entame un lai sans pareil. Celui qui ne sait pas composer doit bien écouter, car c’est avec une joie pure que commence une mélodie joyeuse, un chant courtois. Je m’en vais désormais pour de bon. Empreint de savoir, de sagesse et de bonté, c’est l’amour, qui l’inspire oui, et le subtil art du troubadour, par quoi je dois juger. Puisque tous les amants courtois ont une telle attitude, dame de valeur, je vous recommande à Dieu car je suis en train de vous quitter. La grâce, le noble mérite, la jeunesse et la libéralité doivent régner avec preux qui en sont d’autant plus prisés. Je m’en vais enseignant la sagesse et la continence. Le joie me rend flatteur, comme je le demande, sans la moindre hypocrisie.

II. Ah! noble dame, au corps élégant de reine, que ne puis-je être là avec vous que je désire, car je ne me soucie de rien autre. Je m’en vais heureux [malgré tout] au saint sépulcre glorieux où Dieu reposa pour nous. Ah! grisette mine, le mari, tête baissée, reste ici jaloux. Il traîne son cœur dans une peine qui n’augmente que parce que je suis joyeux; il en est très soucieux, et mon bavardage l’accable [plus encore]. Ah! il fut un croc d’épine blessant ma vigne: adversaires déloyaux, votre cœur vous inspire tout le mal que vous dites des preux, car il est si envieux et tellellement fâcheux.

III. Mais je loue Dieu qui nous écoute. La meilleure [des femmes] me réjouit tant, que je célèbre sa louange. Grâce à elle, c’est sans peur que je prends la mer.

IV. La beauté et l’excellence, et la grande richesse de ma dame en sont la cause. Elle est si bien éduquée, insigne et courtoise, que je ne peux me plaindre. Que pour elle Dieu sauve la terre d’Urgel, les Bersendois [?], là-bas.

V. Pour mon malheur je n’ai pas la joie véritable, et sans la jouissance mon désir est exalté. Je m’apaise totalement lorsqu’on me parle de ses belles paroles que l’on a plaisir à entendre. Puisque cela plaît à Dieu, c’est une bonne chose que son mérite s’accroisse à travers la patience.

VI. Que les bons pèlerins de Saint Martin prient Dieu qu’il [me] donne un bon fief, et si les gens me sourient, ma joie sera toute louange. Alors que je suis ici, seul, très affligé, et morne comme un pèlerin sans foi.

VII. A présent, je tiens des propos insensés et vulgaires, comme un rustre; je grogne volontiers, car ce voyage et pèlerinage au fleuve Jourdain me paraît cruel. Mais j’aurais tout, s’il plait à Dieu. Ne venez pas ici: je n’aurais plus de volonté. A la première traversée de cette douce expédition, je reprendrai fermement courage. Sainte Marie, tu rends mon amie, et je retourne là où elle demeure, puisque du rivage où je ne vois ni message ni allègresse, je ne jouis pas, je ne guéris pas.

VIII. C’est sans plaisir que je viens ici sans tarder, vous confiant à Dieu; qu’il vous bénisse! Ô Jérusalem, combien je me tourmente parce que tu me prends mon amie. Roi de Bethléem qu’adorent les croyants, ne m’en détournez pas dès à présent.

IX. Trinité et unité, rédempteur et sauveur, pardonnez-moi mes péchés; puis rendez-moi à la plus belle qui soit, et s’il vous plaît, ramenez-moi ainsi à la tour de Blanchefleur.

X. Roi et sauveur, au pécheur qui est devant vous donnez, si cela vous convient, [...] pour embrasser [...] dans son riche château, avec l’accord du seigneur, seul, mon nouveau chant, agréable et courtois.
XI. Avec délicatesse et joie je termine pour vous mon lai sans pareil. Nul sachant chanter ne peut en composer un meilleur, car il a une valeur telle qu'on ne peut que l'agréer. Dame de valeur, je vous en fais présent de tout cœur.
7. *Tuit cil qui sunt en amoraz* (refrain and motet)

My edition and translation.

Additional bibliography: Aubrey 1997

*Tuit cil qui sunt en amoraz viegnent dansser, li autre non* (BnF fr. 837)
*Tuit cil qui sunt enamoraz viegnent dancier et autre non* (BnF fr. 25532)

May all those who are in love, come to dance, but not the others.

*

* * *

I have relied on Tischler’s edition of the motet, which is number 169 in his count (Tischler 1978, 63). I have modified his translation slightly.

Additional bibliography: Aubrey 1997; Chambers 1985; Frank 1954; Meyer 1872

TRIPLUM

1. *Tuit cil qui sunt enamourat viegnent dançar, li autre non.*  
   *May all those who are in love*  
   *Come to dance, not the others.*

4. *tuit cil que sunt enamourat que li jalous soient fustat*  
   *The queen ordered this:*  
   *[and] that jealous ones be beaten*  
   *out of the dance with a stick.*

8. *Tuit cil qui sunt enamourat viegnent avant, li autre non.*  
   *May all those who are in love*  
   *come forward, not the others.*

MOTETUS

1. *Li jalous par tout sunt fustat et portent corne en mi le front;*  
   *The jealous ones are chastised everywhere*  
   *And wear a horn on their foreheads;*  
   *everywhere they must be booed.*

12. *La regine le commendat que d’un baston soient frapat et chacie hors comme larron.*  
   *The queen ordered*  
   *that they be struck with a stick*  
   *and chased away like thieves.*  
   *If they want to enter the dance,*  
   *kick them like lackeys.*

16. *S’en dancade veillent entrar,*  
   *VERITATEM*  
   *Truth*
8. *Onques n'ama loiaument / Molt m'abellist l'amourous pensament / FLOS FILIUS EIUS*


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRIPLUM</th>
<th>MOTETUS</th>
<th>TENOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>He never loved loyally,</td>
<td>FLOS FILIUS EIUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Onques n'ama loiaument&quot;</td>
<td>he who has abandoned love because of torment,</td>
<td>The flower is her son.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Qui pour tourment fine amour deguerpi,&quot;</td>
<td>nor does he have a heart which entirely</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ne n'en oi [ot?] cuer qui entierement&quot;</td>
<td>obeys his will;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>For no one could profit otherwise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;A son voleir n'obeï;&quot;</td>
<td>than if he completely</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Car profiter nus ne porroit autrement&quot;</td>
<td>places himself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Se ensement&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>at [Love's?] mercy;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ne se metoit bounement&quot;</td>
<td>for truly, all knowledge resides in it.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Du tout en sa merci;&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Car, voir, en li sont tuit enseignement.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOTETUS</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>&quot;Du tout en sa merci;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Molt m'abellist l'amourous pensament&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;at [Love's?] mercy;&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ki soutilement a mon cors assailli,&quot;</td>
<td>for truly, all knowledge resides in it.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>&quot;Et la beltat de mi dosne ensament&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ki tant consent sen et vaillance en li&quot;</td>
<td>as well as the beauty of my lady,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ke quant recor son sens et sa valour&quot;</td>
<td>who contains completely all sense and worth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Non pos aber tristece ne dolour,&quot;</td>
<td>For, when I see her sense and valor,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>&quot;Mais nuit et jour&quot;</td>
<td>I cannot experience sadness or pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Jois et blasdour et grant alegrement.&quot;</td>
<td>but [rather] night and day,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>joy and gladness and great levity.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EPILOGUE

It will hardly come as news to medievalists that thirteenth-century francophone authors, compilers and composers were interested in the troubadours. Indeed, the traditional story, which situates the troubadours as the forerunners to the trouvères, postulates just such a relationship of imitation. What I hope to have shown in French Troubadours is not just that early French audiences were interested in the troubadours, but that, in its early French transmission, troubadour lyric was separated from its original language, region of origin, compositional circumstances, and authorial voice. To illustrate this point, we might imagine a scenario in which we were forced to construct all of our knowledge about the troubadours from the French sources discussed here. Let’s imagine, hypothetically, that a natural disaster wiped out all Catalan, Italian and Occitan manuscripts and narratives with any relationship to the troubadours. In such a scenario, I would argue, we would not even have enough material to conceptualize such a thing as “troubadour song.” First of all, there would be very few actual troubadours in sight. Without the help of fr. 844, we would only know of one troubadour, Folquet de Marselha, thanks to an author attribution in Bern 389. If we had some idea of what Occitan sounded like as a language, we might notice that some anonymous pieces—usually scattered here and there rather than compiled in a self-contained section—had Occitan traits. If we were to imagine, logically, that some Occitan pieces had found their way into French sources, the pieces we would turn to first would be not the genuine troubadour lyrics discussed in Chapters 1-4, but instead the pseudo-Occitan corpus outlined in Chapter 5. It is these pieces, after all, that contain the highest degree of Occitan coloring. If we were to try to reconstruct the origin of the other pieces with Occitan coloring—those in which this coloring is much more faint—we would be led to believe that
they were mostly from Poitou, on the border between French- and Occitan-speaking territories. Thus, if we were to draw a line from northern France downwards, in the very north we would have a broad range of genres, including grands chants courtois, by named trouvères. Moving south, towards the isogloss with Occitania, but still on the northern side, we would have some anonymous pieces, mostly in a high register (these are the pieces we know from elsewhere to be genuine troubadour lyrics). Still further south, finally, we would have a handful of low register pieces, all anonymous (the pseudo-Occitan corpus). Thus, if the fate of the troubadours had been left to early French readers and compilers, there would be no troubadours. There would only be a body of anonymous lyric with more or less Occitan coloring, some of it adapted from actual troubadours and some newly composed.

It would be easy to take the argument I have sketched in French Troubadours as one of conscious oppression of Occitan culture. Such stories are legion. The Albigensian Crusade is still remembered with emotion in some circles and much scholarship on the Midi has been colored by the fact that many historians of the region are also political activists. Most famously, Robert Lafont was a vocal supporter of Occitan separatism. As Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie points out, this has created a situation in which “there is the danger of writing history that is Manichean, paranoiac, that would impute all that is evil to the France of Oïl” (Ladurie 1977, 22). It is not at all my intent to write such a history. If I have evoked the Albigensian Crusade in passing throughout this study, it is only to suggest that it was, in some sense, a non-event for these French authors and compilers—even those who depict historical knights who actually participated in the Crusade. Indeed, although the ground was ripe for cross-cultural hostility between French- and Occitan-speakers, there is no clear-cut instance of animosity towards Occitan culture. However, as we have seen, the troubadours
were not celebrated as part of a linguistically- and culturally-distinct movement. They were, instead, either treated as if they were—or made to be—francophone.

That this francophonie of the troubadours does not map onto any actual political space very easily should make us resist a reading of the assimilation of the troubadours in their early French reception as a concerted act of oppression. The French political sphere of Jean Renart’s *Rose* is the Holy Roman Empire, while, in the prose version of the *Violette*, the language is reserved for Burgundian circles. In many songbooks, French is not associated with any political space at all. That the troubadours can “pass” in any francophone space, however this space is politicized (or not), suggests that the processes I have charted in this study are the result of widespread adulation and envy extending beyond the bounds of any one political center. This envy is clearest in *Volez vos*, which shows how the very act of song—culturally associated with Occitania—has been appropriated as the foundation of French identity, whatever “French” might have meant to the composer.

At a distance of some eight hundred years from the heyday of Occitan lyric, it is difficult to imagine the kind of envy it might have inspired in French readers. But the tendency to appropriate some aspect of a culture, which is simultaneously viewed as foreign in other respects, is certainly not solely medieval. To take a very contemporary example, no one questioned the “Frenchness” of Zinédane Zidane until he famously head-butted another player during the World Cup final in 2006, at which point he was transformed in the media into a poorly-integrated Beur. As long as he served the purpose of upholding some standard of Frenchness—athletic prowess, in this instance—Zidane was regarded unproblematically as a member of the Republic (Swamy 2011, xv–xvii). That troubadour lyric was viewed as a natural part of—or blended into—an otherwise francophone landscape in medieval
narratives in its early French reception is surely an indication of the same kind of selective cultural inclusion.

This is not to say that the “Frenchness” of the troubadours was secured once and for all for posterity. Literary canons are in constant flux, and the battle over ownership of the troubadours continued long past the thirteenth century. For Jean de Nostredame, brother of the famous astrologer, they illustrated the glory of Languedoc and Provence. As in the early French songbooks and narratives discussed in this study, the provenance of troubadours who were not actually from these regions was creatively reinvented in Nostredame’s *Vies des plus célèbres et anciens poètes provençaux* (1575). Nostredame also concocted some troubadours who bore a suspicious resemblance to his contemporaries, including his famous brother (Haines 2004, 53; Kendrick 1995). For him, there was nothing remotely French about the troubadours. The same was true for the Italian Renaissance scholar, Pietro Bembo, who viewed troubadour lyric primarily as the source for the Sicilian school at Frederic II’s court and, consequently, as the origin of *Italian* rather than French poetry. To drum up the Italianness of the troubadours, Bembo grasped at biographical details from the *vidas*, such as the fact that Folquet de Marselha’s family purportedly came from Genoa (Bembo 1989, 91). Even the language of troubadour poetry took on an Italianate hue for Bembo, who posited (correctly) that Occitan was more closely related to the Tuscan language than to French.

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1 According to Bembo, the Occitans stole from the Sicilians: “De’ Provenzali non si può dire così; anzi se ne leggono, per chi vuole, molti, da’ quali si vede che hanno apparate e tolte molte cose gli antichi Toscani, che fra tutti gli’italiani popoli a dare opera alle rime sono senza dubbio stati primier, della qual cosa vi posso io buona testimonianza dare, che alquanti anni della mia fanciullezza ho fatti nella Provenza, e posso dire che io cresciuto mi sono in quella contrada. Perché errare non si può a credere che il rimare primieramente per noi da quella nazione, più che da altra, si sia preso” (Bembo 1989, 89).
Faced with this Italian appropriation, after having fallen into a period of critical oblivion, the troubadours suddenly became very French in the hands of scholars such as Henri Estienne and Étienne Pasquier (Cohen 2001, 547). According to Estienne, the prestige of Italian culture was the result of linguistic borrowing from Occitan. Etienne responds to Bembo’s comments on the Occitan influence on Tuscan by recasting the Italians’ appropriation as an act of theft. After listing page after page of borrowings from Occitan (and French), he declares: “[S]’ils [the Italians] sont riches, c’est de nos bienfaicts...” (Estienne 1914, 348). The glory of the Italian language would not exist, in his estimation, were it not for these acts of linguistic pilfering from French and Occitan. Likewise, for Pasquier, there was no question of the Frenchness of the troubadours, probably because they provided an easy method of arguing for French influence on Italian poetry. The scholar devotes a full chapter to troubadour verse in *De l’origine de nostre Poësie Françoise*, hammering in the fact that even Petrarch and Dante explicitly acknowledged their debt to Occitan poets (Pasquier 1996, 1395). If Pasquier thought the troubadours were the forerunners of the *trouvères*, he does not say so, framing them instead as the springboard for Italian lyric: “La fin de cette Poësie fut le commencement de celle des Italiens” (Pasquier 1996, 1398). Cultural “ownership” of the troubadours remains contested to this day, with their poetry still featuring in both French and Italian literary surveys.

There are a few objections one might make to the picture I am sketching. The first is that the type of linguistic admixture of French and Occitan found both in the Gallicized poems and in the pseudo-Occitan corpus is not unique to these two sets of texts. As I mentioned in the introduction, a similar corpus of Occitanized *oil* lyric can be found in

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2 This oblivion is best illustrated by Claude Fauchet’s famous *Recueil de l’origine de la langue et poésie française* (1581), which makes no mention of the troubadours, focusing instead on French-language production.
collections devoted primarily to the troubadours. As in French transmission, many of these pieces appear in isolation and are transmitted anonymously, leading Rosenberg to question, as I did above, whether the scribes even knew they were working with foreign material (Rosenberg 1998, 20). I would point out that although this phenomenon is comparable linguistically, it occurs on a much smaller scale. Rosenberg counts only twenty-seven such pieces, in comparison to the 109 Gallicized Occitan pieces documented by the Raupachs (Rosenberg 1998, 24).³

Another revealing difference emerges in the corpus of Catalan and Occitan narratives in which French lyric is quoted. In some manuscripts, these French pieces are Occitanized, but they are nevertheless flagged as foreign, either through authorial attribution or explicitly. In Raimon Vidal’s novas, *En aquel temps c’om era gais*, an anonymous French quotation, is still flagged as French: “Anc non auzis ni aprezes / So que dis us Franses d’amor? / Cosselbetz mi, senhor [...]” (“have you never heard or learned what a Frenchman says about love? Advise me, Lord...”) (Raimon Vidal de Besalú 1989, vv. 666–668), asks one character.⁴ In Matfre Ermengaud’s treatise, the *Breviari d’amor*, the quoted French lyrics are always attributed or addressed to the “Roi de Navarre” (Thibaut de Champagne). Although we know from other evidence that some of these attributions are erroneous, they still illustrate a desire to attach French lyric to a named author. In both of these cases, then, the picture is very different from the French narratives discussed in this study, where troubadour lyric is always anonymous and almost never flagged as Occitan.

While Gallicized Occitan has a parallel in Occitan transmission—both in the songbooks and in two narrative texts—there is no analog to the corpus of linguistic hybrids

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³ On linguistic transformations in this direction, see Ineichen 1969.
⁴ The quoted piece is a *jeu-parti* catalogued as RS 2014.
discussed in Chapter 5. There are, to my knowledge, no lyric poems by native Occitan speakers that feature the same kinds of French phonological coloring as we saw in this study. Although there are a handful of pieces by Occitan speakers that feature French, these pieces are either multilingual texts that place French alongside other languages, or are actually written in French.\footnote{Raimbaut de Vaqueiras’s descort (PC 392,4), mentioned in the introduction, includes French. Gaucelm Faidit may have written a poem in French (PC 167,50), and there is an extant cobla in French by Rainaut de Tres Sauzes (PC 415,2). On Gaucelm’s piece, see Mölk 2003. On Rainaut’s, see Meyer 1973, 130.}
The impulse behind the linguistic admixture we saw in in the pseudo-Occitan corpus is fundamentally different. Multilingual pieces like Raimbaut’s descort reinforce the division between languages by placing them in juxtaposition with one another. The effect of such a composition depends on contrast. Conversely, linguistic hybridity of the type found in the pseudo-Occitan corpus, fuses languages together.\footnote{Here I part ways with Paul Zumthor, who argues that the type of linguistic hybridity found in the pseudo-Occitan corpus is part of the same spectrum as bilingual and multilingual texts (Zumthor 1960; Zumthor 1963).} As I argued in Chapter 5, Occitan is framed not as a distinct language, but as a coloring within French.

Today, we tend to think of troubadour and trouvère lyric as two separate—even if mutually influential—repertoires. This is not the picture that emerges from the French songbooks and narratives that feature troubadour lyric. Despite plenty of evidence that French and Occitan were perceived as distinct languages in the period I have surveyed, troubadour lyric is framed as anything but a foreign presence in its early French reception. Given the linguistic proximity between French and Occitan, and the porousness of the boundary dividing French- and Occitan-speakers, this may not be surprising. However, I hope to have shown how Occitan lyric was actively transformed to bring it closer to French. Fictively relocated to the boundary between France and Occitania, anonymized, and
linguistically Gallicized, genuine troubadour lyric became just another song in most francophone narratives and songbooks.


Bonse, Billee A. 2003. “‘Singing to Another Tune’: Contrafacture and Attribution in Troubadour Song”. Ph.D., The Ohio State University.


