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IN SEARCH OF LOST TROUVÈRE SOURCES AND MELODIES

A gap of several decades existed between the first sung performances of trouvère melodies and the earliest surviving songbooks to collect them in notation. A thriving culture of written and notated song grew up in parallel to the unquestionably oral culture driving the trouvère tradition. This article traces the vestiges of that written culture through surviving sources. Empty staves and absent music demonstrate the existence of lost notated sources and reveal their relationship to surviving songbooks. The case studies, taken from thirteenth-century trouvère sources, take part in a recent scholarly trend towards revisiting written transmission. The article drives this trend forward by distinguishing notated transmission from written transmission in text-only sources. The continuing existence of vernacular songs in notation, including many unique melodies, was only possible thanks to lost manuscripts. The article points the way towards further research into notated song culture and new bodies of evidence.

I. INTRODUCTION

Car il est bien apiert qu'il a parole pour ce que tote escriture si est fete por parole mostrer et por ce c'on le lise. Et qant on le list, si revient-ele à la nature de parole … Por çou me covient-il, quant je ne puis trouver merci, metre greignor paine que onques mès, ne mie à forment chanter mès à forment ataignanment dire: car le chanter doi-je bien avoir perdu.

For it is clear that it [my writing] has speech, because all writing is made to show speech and to be read. And when it is read, it returns to the nature of speech …

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For this reason it suits me, when I could find no mercy, to put greater effort than ever before not into singing loudly but in speaking strongly and to full effect: for I seem to have lost singing. (*Li bestiaire d'Amours*, p. 7, lines 4–5; p. 8, lines 9–10)[1]

For the trouvères, music's sound was ephemeral, even if its impact was enduring. Richard de Fournival, trouvère, cathedral canon and author of the *Bestiaire d'Amours* quoted above, makes a great show of 'recanting past lyricism', abandoning singing in favour of a more textual and therefore more durable approach to courting his lady.[2] By encoding himself and his voice on the parchment page, Richard could be present even in his absence. In contrast, composers of Old French song often complained of losing their songs and their effort when the lady dedicatee of their music refused to hear or learn those songs.[3] Like the voice of the nightingale, their melodies would cease to exist after a single, earnest performance. Their lyrics emphasise the individual sung utterance as a means of expression. The collection of both texts and melodies in the large repositories known as chansonniers thus seem inadequate to recuperating the initial lost moment of singing and inventing. Yet even within Richard's world, one that already included notated chansonniers by his death in 1260, loss matters. Scribes, notators and editors took pains to ensure that every note of music was provided for trouvère songs, even if in many cases they failed. Music notation came into existence, developed and spread centuries before Richard, even if his perspective seems to belie its existence. Richard's lost singing demands that we ask, as Elizabeth Eva Leach and Jonathan Morton have, whether even the pitch-specific square notation of the

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[1] R. de Fournival, *Li bestiaires d'Amours di Maistre Richart de Fornival e Li response du Bestiaire*, ed. C. Segre (Milan and Naples, 1957), pp. 7–8; my translation. Alternative translation in J. Beer, *Beasts of Love: Richard de Fournival's* Bestiaire d'amour *and a Woman's* Response (Toronto, 2003), pp. 3–4: 'That it describes in words is obvious, because all writing is performed to reveal the word and to be read. When it is read, the writing then reverts to word-form. . . . Wherefore, it behooves me, when I find in you no mercy, to put greater effort than ever before *not* into loud song, but into loud and penetrating speech. I am bound to have lost my singing, and I shall tell you why.' For an elaborated discussion of the presence of voice in the text of Richard's *Bestiaire*, see E. E. Leach and J. Morton, 'Intertextual and Intersonic Resonances in Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'amour*: Combining Perspectives from Literary Studies and Musicology', *Romania*, 135 (2017), pp. 311–51, esp. p. 322.

[2] This phrase in Beer, *Beasts of Love*, p. 7. On the importance of the written and drawn image as an extension of human memory in the *Bestiaire*, see *ibid.*, pp. 11, 18; Leach and Morton, 'Intertextual and Intersonic Resonances', pp. 323–5.

[3] For example, see Hugue de Bergi's complaint of his lost songs in *Encor ferai une chançon perdue*, no. 2071 in *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes*, ed. H. Spanke, Musicologica, 1 (Leiden, 1955; hereafter RS); no. 117-3 in R. W. Linker, *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics*, Romance Monographs, 31 (University, MS, 1979; hereafter L), and Thibaut de Champagne's complaint that his lady would not hear his dying, nightingale-like cries in *Li rossignos chante tant*, RS 360 / L 240-36.

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thirteenth century was adequate to preserving the sound of songs.[4] If the notation of songs has been lost, are we really missing that much? Even if notation could preserve organised sound in a way analogous to text preserving speech, it failed to preserve the 'unwritable' animal sounds of Richard's bestiary or of Thibaut's nightingale. This fact, coupled with a belief that most vernacular song transmission took place orally, prompted some musicologists to turn away from notation as the primary object of study. Richard's complaint also forces us to ask what else was lost in the path songs took from their earliest performances to their present-day survival in songbooks.

  In recognising that performances and songbooks were not the only modes of existence for trouvère melodies, modern scholars have prioritised one location above all others: the minds of the trouvères. Trouvères have been taken at their word when they addressed their songs as living entities, sprung directly from the mind and capable of effortless travel through time and space. Envois copied into songbooks have been used in support of the idea that the same musical object existed in both modalities.[5] Some early philologists of trouvère texts and melodies attempted to trace the flights of songs from their composer's minds to the pages of surviving manuscripts.[6] Others hoped to trace them as far back as the performances that inspired manuscript transcription, weeding out scribal errors where possible.[7] The fear has been that a song's temporal voyage was akin to that of the ship of Theseus, altered piecemeal over the course of its journey and composed of entirely different materials on its arrival. The blame for such transformations was at first attributed to the imagination of unreliable scribes. Many melodies were presumed to have been altered when

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[4] Leach and Morton, 'Intertextual and Intersonic Resonances', p. 316.

[5] G. Gröber, 'Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours' (in table of contents 'Ueber die Liedersammlungen . . .'), in *Romanische Studien*, ed. E. Boehmer, 6 vols. (Berlin, 1871–95), ii (Heft 9, 1877), pp. 337–670, at p. 342.

[6] The earliest major attempt is that of E. Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften: Ihr Verhältniss, ihre Entstehung und ihre Bestimmung* (Berlin, 1886). For Schwan's view of the relationship of composition and transmission, see p. 267.

[7] By the 1960s, Theodore Karp still adhered to the view that the comparison of variants could reveal errors and aid in approaching an original version but also admitted the existence of 'intentional alteration' by scribes and performers and the validity of variants: T. Karp, 'The Trouvère MS Traditions', in *The Department of Music, Queens College of the City University of New York: Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Festschrift (1937–1962)*, ed. A. Mell (New York, 1964), pp. 25–52, at pp. 49–50. Hendrik van der Werf's editorial work, despite his status as champion of the oral view of transmission, still evaluated melodic variants by asking how close they could have been to performances and on how close the scribes themselves were to being jongleurs; see H. van der Werf, 'The Trouvère Chansons as Creations of a Notationless Musical Culture,' *Current Musicology*, 1 (1965), pp. 61–8, at pp. 65–6.

copied into intermediate manuscripts. Any attempt to resurrect these intermediate sources for their own sake was not usually considered to be worth the effort. Surviving sources, reliable or otherwise, have consequently been treated with more or less importance depending on whether they bring us closer either to a sounding performance or to an authorial original. As a result, the recent tolerance afforded to melodic variance has meant tolerance only for those individual variants that clearly originated in sung performance. When scholars have identified a variant as the product of a scribe, they have usually treated that variant as an error or as corruption.[8]

New scholarship in this century has balanced this previous emphasis on authorial originals and the sonic turn with a renewed historical focus on surviving manuscripts as witnesses to other song sources now lost.[9] The current article welcomes and participates in this realignment of priorities, with a particular emphasis on the notation of song melodies and their circulation in manuscript. The point of departure for the current study lies closest to Leach's recent work on the trouvères, as well as that of John Haines and Robert Lug. These scholars represent a growing consensus view that 'very small ephemeral materials' were used as exemplars by the copyists of some trouvère manuscripts.[10] Those who have looked for such exemplars have often focused on the earliest period of trouvère transmission,

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[8] See for example the view espoused by editors such as A. Bahat and G. Le Vot in their *L'œuvre lyrique de Blondel de Nesle* (Paris, 1996), pp. 26–8. Even when scribal alterations are acknowledged as valid, that validity is justified through a connection with performance, as in Van der Werf, 'The Trouvère Chansons', p. 65: 'the scribe must have sung to himself'. For the locus classicus, most often cited as the authority for the embrace of variance, see B. Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante* (Paris, 1989), passim.

[9] E. E. Leach, 'Shared Small Sources for Two Early Fourteenth-Century Metz Chansonniers?' in Leach, J. W. Mason and M. P. Thomson (eds.), *A Medieval Songbook: Trouvère MS C* (Woodbridge, 2022), pp. 121–45; R. Lug, 'Common Exemplars of **U** and **C**', in *ibid.*, pp. 82–120; J. Haines, 'Erasures in Thirteenth-Century Music', in R. Rosenfeld and Haines (eds.), *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance: Essays dedicated to Andrew Hughes* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 60–88; J. Haines, 'Aristocratic Patronage and the Cosmopolitan Vernacular Songbook: The *Chansonnier du Roi* (*M-trouv*) and the French Mediterranean', in J. Saltzstein (ed.), *Musical Culture in the World of Adam de la Halle* (Leiden, 2019), pp. 95–120. Outside of trouvère studies, this approach to musical sources has a longer history. For work incorporating the study of lost sources in other repertoires of French song, see L. Earp, 'Machaut's Role in the Production of Manuscripts of His Works', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 42 (1989), pp. 461–503, esp. pp. 490–92; S. Curran, 'A Palaeographical Analysis of the Verbal Text in Montpellier 8: Problems, Implications, Opportunities', in C. Bradley (ed.), *The Montpellier Codex: The Final Fascicle: Contents, Contexts, Chronologies* (Woodbridge, 2018), ch. 2, pp. 32–65

[10] Leach, 'Shared Small Sources', p. 123.

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particularly chansonniers *U* and *M*.[11] Leach and Lug's consideration of later sources pushes that focus away from the moment of invention and toward a focus on written transmission as its own object of study. My choice to focus on later generations of chansonniers reflects this shift. The culture this article describes is accordingly not the live orality of the trouvère courts and urban puys, realities that might best

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[11] Lug, 'Common Exemplars of **U** and **C**'; Haines, 'Aristocratic Patronage'.

This article makes use of the commonly recognised sigla for trouvère manuscripts as established in Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften*, pp. 2–6. The same sigla are used in RS, pp. 1–20. Unfortunately, troubadour manuscripts have a completely independent system of sigla, laid out in K. Bartsch, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der provenzalischen Literatur* (Elberfeld, 1872), p. 27, and adopted by A. Pillet and H. Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle, 1933) (henceforth PC), pp. vii–xliv. A list of major trouvère collections and troubadour collections with notated music appears below.

Trouvère manuscripts:

A: Arras, Médiathèque de l'Abbaye Saint-Vaast, fonds principal 657 (*CGM* 139), fols. 129–60; 'Chansonnier d'Arras'
B: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 231
C: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 389
D: Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Abteilung Mittelalterliche Handschriften, Lat. fol. 7
E: Den Haag, Fragment
F: London, British Library, Egerton MS 274
G: London, Lambeth Palace, 1681 (Misc. Rolls 1435)
H: Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, alfa r.04.04 (Estero 45) = Troubadour *D*
I: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308
K: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 5198; 'Chansonnier de l'Arsenal'
L: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français (F-Pnm fr.) 765
M: F-Pnm fr. 844 = Troubadour *W* = Motet siglum *R*; 'Chansonnier du roi'
N: F-Pnm fr. 845
O: F-Pnm fr. 846; 'Chansonnier cangé'
P: F-Pnm fr. 847
Q: F-Pnm fr. 1109
R: F-Pnm fr. 1591
S: F-Pnm fr. 12581
T: F-Pnm fr. 12615 = Motet siglum *N*; 'Chansonnier de Noailles'
U: F-Pnm fr. 20050 = Troubadour *X*; 'Chansonnier Saint-Germain de Pres'
V: F-Pnm fr. 24406; 'Chansonnier La Vallière'
W: F-Pnm fr. 25566; 'Adam de la Halle manuscript'
X: F-Pnm nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1050
Z: Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati, H.X.36
a: Vatican, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana (V-CVbav), Reg. lat. 1490
b: V-CVbav Reg. lat. 1522
k: F-Pnm fr. 12786

Troubadour manuscripts with music notation or staves:

G: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, R 71 sup.
R: F-Pnm fr. 22543
V: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Stranieri Appendice 11 (MS 278)
W: F-Pnm fr. 844 = Trouvère *M*
X: F-Pnm fr. 20050 = Trouvère *U*

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be inferred from narrative accounts rather than musical transcriptions. Its object of inquiry is instead textual music culture: the reception of notated song and the methods of its production. The focus here is on the notated sources that existed in parallel to the unwritten medieval songs in performances by trouvères and hired jongleurs. The examples below celebrate unsung (perhaps literally so) notated sources. The arguments that accompany them seek to recuperate both lost music and the lost potency of notation.

This attempt to look behind surviving sources is in certain respects complementary to recent work by Emma Dillon that has sought to separate the question of what trouvère melodies mean from how they originated.[12] Dillon has approached songs through a cultural lens, describing the significance of trouvère song in its sounding context, thereby avoiding the seemingly hopeless task of peeling back layers of melodic or textual alteration, and privileging commonalities over differences. Her approach offers to bring musicology into alignment with the work of literary historians, who have long treated the importance of music as a poetic topic within trouvère song more than as an integral part of textual expression.[13] Dillon has moved away from the lexically fixed world of manuscripts and editions and focuses on the meanings of voices and sounds as implied by the poems. By bringing our attention back to what is lacking in extant notation, she brings us closer to what that notation purports to represent.

Other scholars have followed a divergent path in reacting to the cultural turn, leading a revival in philological approaches to song. In her analytical work, Leach has championed a positively framed 'hermeneutic circle' in trouvère studies, a method of analysis that relies on combining critical editing with the interpretation of melodic form and rhetoric.[14] Through her melodic comparisons, Leach has begun the work of building up our understanding of medieval networks of musical meaning that had the potential to transcend individual scribes and authors.[15] This approach avoids the heavy

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[12] E. Dillon, 'Unwriting Medieval Song', *New Literary History*, 46 (2015), pp. 595–622, esp. pp. 600–4.

[13] See P. Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris, 1972), pp. 251–64. See J. Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut* (New York, 2011), passim, esp. pp. 7–8, 17, for a response to Zumthor, which incorporates melodic and formal analysis of songs.

[14] Leach, 'Do Trouvère Melodies Mean Anything?', *Music Analysis*, 38 (2019), pp. 3–46, at p. 5. For the 'hermeneutic circle' (hermeneutische Zirkel) in music editing, see also J. Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method, and Practice* (Cambridge and New York, 1996), p. 30; G. Feder, *Musikphilologie: Eine Einführung in die musikalische Textkritik, Hermeneutik und Editionstechnik* (Darmstadt, 1987), pp. 67, 90–1.

[15] Leach, 'Do Trouvère Melodies Mean Anything?', pp. 4–5, 35–7.

reliance on narratives of written transmission found in earlier models of critical editing, even at the same time as Leach's other work offers new evidence of that transmission.

The current article follows the new philological turn, represented by Leach's, Lug's and Haines's welcome reconsideration of lost sources and of musical philology. However much we want trouvère melodies to mean something, such a conclusion must rest on philological evidence. For the majority of trouvère manuscripts, it remains to be shown whether the notation we have now reflects sounds that mattered in the Middle Ages. Crucially, this work emphasises the relationship of lost notation to the surviving chansonniers, reflecting the turn towards book history visible both within and outside of trouvère studies.[16] By homing in on loss, the authority traditionally ceded to surviving sources is displaced, since they are regarded not as ultimate points of explanation for an imagined history of medieval song, but as contingent historical records shaped by the gaps, silences and shared omissions of scribes. At the same time, surviving sources reclaim the foreground as our primary source of evidence, as we search for their lost predecessors.

Two different types of musical loss haunt the trouvère repertory: lost music sources and sources of lost music. With respect to the former, it has long been recognised that few major trouvère chansonniers have survived intact since their copying in the middle and late thirteenth century.[17] Some have been mutilated, others destroyed completely.

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[16] S. Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, NY, 1986), was a major development toward focus on the history of the chansonnier. The work closest to my approach here is found in Leach, Mason and Thomson (eds.), *Medieval Songbook*, but see also precedents such as E. E. Leach and H. Deeming (eds.), *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context* (Cambridge, 2015), where each chapter focuses on a music collection in the context of the material culture of medieval manuscript production and use. S. Curran, 'Writing, Performance, and Devotion in the Thirteenth-Century Motet: The "La Clayette" Manuscript', in *ibid.*, pp. 193–220, has served as a particularly useful model. A similar shift in focus, mainly towards the study of scribal behaviours, may be observed in J. Stoessel, 'Scribes at Work, Scribes at Play: Challenges for Editors of the *Ars Subtilior*', in T. Dumitrescu, K. Kügle and M. van Berchum (eds.), *Early Music Editing: Principle, Historiography, Future Directions* (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 49–75, at p. 58; L. Earp, 'Interpreting the Deluxe Manuscript: Exigencies of Scribal Practice and Manuscript Production in Machaut', in J. Haines (ed.), *The Calligraphy of Medieval Music* (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 223–40.

[17] Estimating the rate of survival for any given genre of manuscript, especially the trouvère chansonniers, is a difficult problem. One technique, borrowed from ecology, has recently been proposed; M. Kestemont et al., 'Forgotten Books: The Application of Unseen Species Models to the Survival of Culture', *Science*, 375/6582 (2022), pp. 765–9. Adapting this model to vernacular chansonniers might offer a reasonable guess at the number of sources that have been lost. However, it fails to take into consideration differences between manuscript types. Two different song collections are more equivalent to entirely different ecosystems than to individual observations of a camera

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The *Mesmes* chansonnier, for example, perished in a fire at Thomas Johnes's library at Hafod in 1805.[18] Through excellent luck it had already been described when it came into the hands of Claude Fauchet and was later used as the basis of a transcription of eleven chansons by John Stafford Smith, who had borrowed the manuscript just in time to transcribe them before it burned.[19] As a result of Fauchet's description, the manuscript is regularly cited in bibliographies and editions. Thanks to Smith's transcriptions, Theodore Karp was able to hazard a guess at how closely the *Mesmes* chansonnier related to extant sources.[20] It is sheer luck that some documentation survived to give an idea of what this manuscript was like. The happenstance of its survival in transcription implies that many other chansonniers containing notation remain lost without trace.[21]

A second type of loss is represented by chansonniers which contain empty space intended for music notation, whether in the form of

trap. The use of a non-parametric model avoids assumptions about how common or uncommon unica are in any given repertoire and assumes instead that rates of survival should be the same across manuscript witnesses of a given text. Determining how such a model could best be applied to manuscript cultures would likely require close collaboration between statisticians and historians.

[18] Other lost trouvère manuscripts are known to have existed but may have lacked notation. For example, the anthology of Philippe de Navarre's works described in the author's own narrative memoirs, *Des quatre tenz d'aage d'ome*, contained lyrics and potentially musical notation for their melodies. See P. de Novare, *Mémoires, 1218–1243*, ed. C. Kohler (Paris, 1913); J. Haines, 'The *Manuscrit du Roi* (*M-Trouv.*) and the French Mediterranean', in Saltzstein (ed.), *Musical Culture*, pp. 95–120, at p. 110.

[19] T. Karp, 'A Lost Medieval Chansonnier', *The Musical Quarterly*, 48 (1962), pp. 50–67, at pp. 51–2, 61. Smith's transcriptions were published as part of the miscellany J. S. Smith, *Musica antiqua* (London, 1812).

[20] For example, the chansonnier has a description in RS, p. 7; for the melodic comparison, see Karp, 'A Lost Medieval Chansonnier', pp. 53–61.

[21] Two major discussions of lost music sources from Latin repertories also inform this article. One is that regarding the possible lost archetypes of 8th-c. plainchant: see K. Levy, 'Charlemagne's Archetype of Gregorian Chant', *Journal of the Musicological Society*, 40 (1987), pp. 1–30, esp. pp. 5–11; J. McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000), pp. 101–24; D. G. Hughes, 'From the Advent Project to the Late Middle Ages: Some Issues of Transmission', in S. Gallagher et al. (eds.), *Western Plainchant in the First Millenium* (Routledge, 2003), pp. 181–98; L. Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it was Made* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 131–3, 144–5; C. Atkinson, *The Critical Nexus: Tone-System, Mode, and Notation in Early Medieval Music* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 50, 137; S. Rankin, *Writing Sounds in Carolingian Europe: The Invention of Musical Notation* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 8–12, 45. The other surrounds the *Magnus liber organi* of the 12th and 13th cc., germane to this discussion since such books would have been copied in scriptoria from around the same time and place as the earliest trouvère sources: see e.g. E. Roesner, 'Who "Made" the Magnus "Liber"?', *Early Music History*, 20 (2001), pp. 227–66, at pp. 264–6; L. Treitler, 'The Vatican Organum Treatise and the Organum of Notre Dame of Paris: Perspectives on the Development of a Literate Music Culture in Europe', in Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, pp. 39–67.

blank space or empty staves. The fact that we miss musical notation does not always mean that it went missing; there are cases where notation was never intended. Yet there are also cases, of interest here, where notation was clearly planned but never added. These empty staves provide a sign that melodies existed (perhaps even in notation) but are lost to us. Two sources are remarkable for their amount of missing musical notation: trouvère chansonnier *C* and troubadour chansonnier *V*. Trouvère *C* has until recently been sidelined in musicological study due to its lack of musical notation.[22] Similarly, troubadour *V* receives only fleeting mention in the one comprehensive study of troubadour music to date, by Elizabeth Aubrey.[23] Another source with empty staves, trouvère *U*, has received more attention due to its early date and also because of its use of neumes instead of square notation, unique among these manuscripts.[24] Like several other trouvère manuscripts, *U* contains both songs with empty staves and fully notated songs.[25] Occasionally in these chansonniers a song begins with staves and a melody but the staves and the space left for them stop short, interrupted by a block of text.[26] There are numerous trouvère and troubadour chansonniers that contain songs or collections of songs that are wholly or partially 'lost' in this sense. This article will seek to identify these losses and ask how they occurred as a means to a further end. Interrogating the points where these manuscripts were left incomplete provides clues to missing music and other, previously unknown missing sources.

Different types of incompleteness in surviving trouvère and troubadour chansonniers are distinguished and summarised in Tables 1 and 2. Table 1 records all instances where music staves were never entered in partially notated chansonniers. Type A lacunae are un-notated songs copied without space left for music in a manuscript that also transmits notated songs in another section. Type

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[22] That is, before the current decade. For the most stimulating discussions of the various exemplars thought to have informed the copying of trouvère *C*, see Leach, 'Introduction', in Leach, Mason and Thomson (eds.), *A Medieval Songbook*, pp. 1–12, at p. 8; Lug, 'Common Exemplars of **U** and **C**', esp. fig. 6.6, p. 97; Leach, 'Shared Small Sources'; M. P. Thomson, '**C** and Polyphonic Motets: Exemplars, Adaptations, and Scribal Priorities', in Leach, Mason and Thomson (eds.), *A Medieval Songbook*, pp. 192–209.

[23] E. Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington, 1996), p. 28. See also A. Ziino, 'Caratteri e significato della tradizione musicale trobadorica', in *Lyrique romane médiévale: La tradition des chansonniers: Actes du Colloque de Liège, 1989*, ed. M. Tyssens (Liège, 1991), pp. 85–218, at pp. 92–8.

[24] Namely, 'Messine' neumes: see Lug, 'Das "vormodale" Zeichensystem des Chansonnier de Saint-Germain-des-Prés', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 52 (1995), pp. 19–65.

[25] See Table 1, col. 'Type D'.

[26] See Table 1, col. 'Type D', and Table 2, col. 'Type 2'.

Table 1.   Catalogue of Missing Music in Selected Trouvère Sources

Manuscript	Codicological Unit	Empty Staves (see Table 2)	Type A — Entire sections in text-only layout	Type B — Songs in notation layout and in text-only layout interspersed	Type C — Blank space, staves not drawn	Type D — Space not allocated for staves in parts of songs	Type E — Missing staves in parts of songs
Trouvère P	Unit 1 1r–210v				202r–203r		
Trouvère Q	Adam section 311r–325v		319v–325v	311r–312v			319r
Trouvère R			16r–27r				
Trouvère T	First Layer			73r–74r		50v–51r, 62r–72r, 75v–77r, 78v–80r	
	Later insertions 167r–178v		177r–178v				
	'Arrageois' unit 179r–223v			204r–v	197v–198v, 204r		
	Adam de la Halle unit 224r–233r				231r–232v		
Trouvère U (Troub. X)	See Table 3						
Trouvère a					38v, 133v		

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Table 2.   Catalogue of Empty Staves in Selected Trouvère Sources

Manuscript	Fascicle	Type 1 Blank staves for entire songs and entire pages	Type 2 Blank staves for entire songs, but not entire pages	Type 3 Blank staves for entire pages, but not entire songs	Type 4 Blank staves for part of song and part of page
Trouvère *A*					138^r
Trouvère *F*	Fascicle IV 98^r–118^v	107$^{r–v}$, 110$^{r–v}$*,^{a} 111^v–112^r*, 113^r–115^v			
	Inserted bifolium 131^r–132^v				
Trouvère *K*					p. 413
Trouvère *M* (Troub. *W*)		7^r, 14^v–15^v*			
	M 1^r–57^v	29^r*, 34^r*, 36^r, 38^r, 39^r, 40^v*, 49^v*, 57^v	24^v–26^r*, 27^r*, 28^v*, 29^v, 34^v*, 35^v, 38^v*, 48^r*, 55^r*, 56$^{r–v}$, 57^r		20^v–21^r
	Mt 59^r–76^v	73^r	69^v		68^r, 72v*, 74r
	M 79^r–214^v	79^v, 95^r*, 96^v*, 111^v, 159^r*, 163^v, 169^r, 171^v*, 173^r, 176^r, 177^v, 179^v–180^v, 181^v–183^r, 193^v, 197^v–198^v	79^r, 94^v*, 96^r*, 112^r, 113^r*, 136^r*, 142^v*, 147^v*, 152^v*, 158^v*, 164^r, 169^v, 172$^{r–v}$*, 174^r, 175$^{r–v}$*, 176^v–177^r*, 181$^{r–v}$, 183^v, 192^r, 194^v–195^r, 197^r, 199^r		121^r, 122^r, 156^v–157^r, 163^r, 168^v, 178^r

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(*Continued*)

Manuscript	Fascicle	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4
		Blank staves for entire songs and entire pages	*Blank staves for entire songs, but not entire pages*	*Blank staves for entire pages, but not entire songs*	*Blank staves for part of song and part of page*
Trouvère *N*					125^r*
Trouvère *O*		25^v*, 27^r, 90^r, 98^v–99^r, 141^r	2$^{r–v}$*, 3^v, 15$^{r–v}$, 16^v–17^r, 27^v, 38^v–39^r, 40$^{r–v}$, 98^r, 111^r, 112$^{r–v}$, 132$^{r–v}$, 136^r, 140^v–141^r		
Trouvère *P*	Unit 1 1^r–210^v	18^r–29^r, 46^v, 48^v, 54^v, 88^r–89^r, 107^r, 117^v, 122$^{r–v}$, 129^r, 131^r	49^r, 55^r, 106^v, 131^v	112^r	76^v
Trouvère *R*	1^r–184^v		53^r		78^r, 83^v, 85^v
Trouvère *T*	Chansonnier 1^r–166^v	1^r–6^v, 8^r–10^r, 11^v–16^v, 17^v–20^r, 75^v–76^r (lai), 110^r, 113^v–114^v, 115^v–118^r, 127$^{r–v}$, 160^v, 162^r, 165^r	7$^{r–v}$*, 10^v, 17^r, 32^v–33^v, 75$^{r–v}$, 81^v–82^r, 102$^{r–v}$, 109^v, 128^v, 163^r, 164^r, 165^v, 166^v, 167^v, 171^v, 174^v, 175^r, 175^v	93^v, 161^v	24^v, 28^r, 29^r, 31^v, 35^r, 45^r, 50^r, 53^r, 68^v, 71^r, 76^v, 79^v–80^r, 82^v–83^r, 83^v–84^r, 120^v, 121^v, 159^r
	Later insertions 167^r–178^v	167^r, 172^r–174^r, 176$^{r–v}$			
	'Arrageois' unit 179^r–223^v	197^r			
	Adam de la Halle unit 224^r–233^r	227^r–230^v	226^v		

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Trouvère *U* (Troub. *X*)	Unit 1 4^r–91^v	20^v–22^v, 36^{r-v}, 39^v, 40^v, 41^r, 42^r, 43^{r-v}, 68^v–81^r	44^r, 48^r, 81^v	37^v, 38^v, 43^r	89^v
	Inserted bifolio 161^r–162^v	161^r			
Trouvère *V*	Unit 1, Gathering 5	33^r			33^v
	Unit 2, Gathering 3	152^v–155^r			
Trouvère *W*	Unit 2 10^r–37^r		22^v–23^r		
Trouvère *a*	5^r–181^v	38^v, 44^r, 45^v, 49^r–51^v, 66^v, 73^v, 87^v, 93^v, 111^v–112^r, 114^r, 127^v, 134^v–135^r, 178^v–179^r	17^v, 24^{r-v}, 25^v, 46^r, 52^r, 74^v, 90^{r-v}, 99^v, 116^v, 119^r, 124^r–125^r	48^v, 115^v–116^r	22^v, 37^v, 38^r, 74^r, 75^r, 167^v
Troubadour *W*	*See Trouvère M*				
Troubadour *X*	*See Trouvère U*				

[a] Folio ranges marked with an asterisk contain staves that were initially left blank but subsequently received notation in a later hand.

B lacunae are songs laid out without space for notation copied alongside songs with notation. Type C lacunae are occasions when space is left for staves but neither staves nor music were provided. Type D lacunae are occasions when notation was added for only parts of melodies. Type D lacunae do not include the usual practice of leaving a textual 'residuum' after the first stanza of strophic songs but are typically situations that require further investigation, where part of the first strophe lacks space for notation or where the song is through-composed but not notated throughout, as in some lais. Many such cases reflect informal and sometimes erroneous techniques of indicating musical repetition. One final example, under Type E, does not fit into any of these categories: notated staves appear throughout the song in the left-hand column, but the two staves planned to appear in the right-hand column were never drawn.

Table 2 records instances where staves are provided but notation is not. These occasions are common enough and diverse enough to merit a separate table subdividing them into further types. Type 1 lacunae in this table are cases where the notation is lacking for long enough that both multiple songs and multiple pages are affected. For Type 2 lacunae, notation is left out of entire songs but not entire pages. Type 3 indicates the reverse situation, where a song containing notation continues onto a page that entirely lacks notation. In Type 4 lacunae, only part of the page and part of the song is affected; for example, in the case of songs with multiple refrains, some of which are left with blank staves; or more rarely, songs where, for whatever reason, notation could only be supplied for part of the melody.

The separation of evidence into two tables captures a distinction between absent staves and blank staves. Where space for staves was never provided (Table 1), it suggests that music was either never intended, or the need for it was overlooked at an early stage of manuscript planning, usually by a text scribe. Where space was allocated for staves or staves had already been drawn (Table 2), the responsibility for the absence of music can only lie with the music notator or, as in the case of the notationless *C*, the probable lack of one. The sections below interrogate some of these cases, asking where the scribe expected the melody to come from. The present article cannot accommodate a systematic explanation of every empty staff, or even every type of empty staff in the trouvère repertoire, let alone in thirteenth-century vernacular song in general. A comprehensive study of these traces of lost sources would also need to investigate the many instances of scribal erasure, some of which have already been

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catalogued by Haines.[27] The scope of the current study only allows for the inclusion of representative examples. These examples highlight the most revealing instances across the spectrum of possibilities, thereby laying the ground for further study.

Section II of this article examines some of the most forceful arguments up to the present for the existence of lost written trouvère sources. This discussion raises the question of whether written sources were necessarily notated sources. If there were already clear evidence for written sources, why consider the question of lost notated sources separately, or indeed at all? The evidence presented in section II justifies my distinction between the two branches of lost sources. It is with this in mind that the evidence of section III is necessary: the examples there demonstrate that notated sources *did* exist. It also outlines and challenges alternative hypotheses, namely that the trouvère melodies that have come down are due to text-only sources' having been supplemented by either the memory or the invention of notators. One of these alternative hypotheses, the idea of scribal invention, is particularly important to how we understand the melodies that survive and what it means to be a melodic unicum. We shall also see in section III that these lost notated sources travelled in time and space, much like the ephemeral materials that Leach and Lug have already described.

II. LOST SOURCES IMAGINED AND FORGOTTEN: EXEMPLARS OF TEXT AND NOTATION

Despite frequent heated arguments between trouvère scholars, it is possible to construct a narrative of trouvère transmission (the progress of a song from the mind of its inventor to its compilation in surviving manuscripts) that reflects certain fundamental and long-standing points of agreement. According to an implicit consensus, the trouvères had relatively little to do with the compilation of the chansonniers containing their songs.[28] They composed their texts, perhaps with parchment or entirely orally, and sang them to music that many of them would not have known how to notate.[29] Paid

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[27] Haines, 'Erasures in Thirteenth-Century Music', esp. p. 70.

[28] Possible exceptions are Thibaut de Champagne, Gace Brulé and Adam de la Halle, though few would argue their examples hold for the majority of trouvères. See F. Gennrich, 'Die Repertoire-Theorie', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 66 (1956), pp. 81–108, at p. 88; J. Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Song* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 18.

[29] Here Gröber, 'Die Liedersammlung der Troubadours', p. 342, assumed that the lack of music in the majority of troubadour collections reflected the moment of copying and a

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performers learned these songs, performed them in various places and ensured they became popular. At some point, a demand arose for written and often notated versions of the pieces, at which point paid scribes did the work of collecting and inscribing texts and melodies.[30] This initial work of compilation did not immediately result in the surviving chansonniers but in their predecessors.[31] The existing chansonniers relied on some combination of scribal knowledge and these exemplars to become the large repositories which have come down to us.

Disagreement arises over the details glossed over by the phrases 'perhaps with parchment', 'at some point' and 'some combination of scribal knowledge and these exemplars'. Occasionally, scholarly arguments seem to arise from scholarly misreadings. Accounts of 'primarily written transmission' become caricatured as arguments for an exclusively written transmission, and insistence on the importance of oral culture is attacked as denial of any lost notated sources.[32] What all versions of this account for a long time held in common, however, was prioritising knowledge of performances and of the earliest

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    lack of notational expertise among recipients of the earliest sources. Gennrich's response, 'Die Repertoire-Theorie', p. 83, tends to elide knowledge of writing with knowledge of musical notation.

[30] While Van der Werf's starker claims around the invention of chansons may seem to suggest a complete denial of written transmission, he moderated his position in his role as editor, where he accepted the importance of scribes and even the possibility of errors. See the running commentary on (and occasional emendation of) missing or superfluous notes in his anthology, for example when editing Gace Brulé's RS 111 / L 65-18: H. van der Werf (ed.), *Trouvères-Melodien*, 2 vols., Monumenta monodica medii aevi, 11–12 (Kassel, 1977–9), i, p. 579. Hans Tischler acknowledged (albeit grudgingly, and only for the early period) the influence of 'improvisation' on melodic variants in the Introduction to S. N. Rosenberg and H. Tischler with M.-G. Grossel (eds.), *Chansons des trouvères: Chanter m'estuet* (Paris, 1995), p. 18. His correction of transpositions by a third does show a difference of opinion regarding the reliability of scribes; see H. Tischler (ed.), *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies*, 15 vols. (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1997), ix, no. 813-3, where Tischler corrects RS 1440 / L 240-28, in contrast to the same melody in Van der Werf (ed.), *Trouvères-Melodien*, i, p. 195, without correction or comment.

[31] Some have argued that surviving rolls and single sheets *were* performance copies, made to aid memory and presumably based on oral transmission: e.g. A. Roncaglia, 'Rétrospectives et perspectives dans l'étude des chansonniers d'Oc', in *Lyrique romane médiévale*, ed. Tyssens, pp. 19–41, at pp. 20–1. These rare survivals are late, however, with the latest case dated to 1272. See also Lug, 'Common Exemplars of **U** and **C**', p. 90.

[32] For example, H. van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht, 1972), pp. 28, 33, has been read as an indirect attack on Gröberians, although what Van der Werf argues against is an extreme position in denial of oral transmission, something Gröber himself never proposed. Where Van der Werf's criticisms are clearest is in his stated philosophy of critical editing, 'The Trouvère Chansons', pp. 62–3.

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possible versions. Most also foregrounded the question, why did melodies change, who changed them and when? The medieval culture of written transmission has been considered, with few exceptions, as a legitimate means of understanding variance and thereby establishing an acceptable approach to editing. The specifics of this historical narrative intertwine with questions of authorship, editing and musical transformation. How an individual scholar phrases the transmission narrative has usually determined how they edit vernacular song and how they explain the existence of absent music, erased music and missing staves.

In such a context, the work on early sources of trouvère song by Haines, Lug and Leach represents a major stride forward. This new development is especially welcome as it reorients the field, implicitly or explicitly, towards the study of book history, how sources were made and what kinds of objects and behaviours enabled their creation. Section II*a* below asks how the evidence now coming to light relates to the much older conversations around vernacular song transmission, particularly the question of notated versions. The section asks whether new evidence for lost written sources also implies the existence of early notated sources. We shall see one example that offers evidence of a possible divide between textual transmission and the transmission of notation. In section II*b*, we shall see whether such a disconnect is conceivable for manuscript *U*, with more examples of empty staves used to test whether notated as well as written sources were used at an early date.

a. Copying from Exemplars: Textual Criticism and Notationless Exemplars

Perhaps the most obvious (and certainly the oldest) hypothesis for where the makers of chansonniers found melodies and texts is one that posits early trouvère sources already in circulation by the time the first surviving chansonniers were copied. This basic premise describes a variety of situations. The most widely circulated idea, originating from Gustav Gröber, is that individual leaves or groups of a few leaves of music and text must have been in circulation during the lifetimes of the first troubadours and trouvères.[33] These song leaves ('Liederblätter') were

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[33] Gröber, 'Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours', p. 342. Gröber's work on the troubadours is the locus classicus for this hypothesis, and the terms 'Liederblätter' and 'Gelegenheitssammlungen' refer to his theory of transmission stages. For a description of rolls containing medieval lyric, usually included under the term 'Liederblätter', see W. D. Paden, 'Lyrics on Rolls', in *'Li premerains vers': Essays in Honor of Keith Busby*, ed. C. M. Jones (Leiden, 2011), pp. 325–40. Most of these rolls date from the 14th c. or later.

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copied out and circulated by the troubadours, trouvères and performers contemporary with them. Eventually, these exemplars were collected into increasingly large and increasingly well-organised fascicles or books ('Gelegenheitssammlungen'), culminating in large, ornate chansonniers. In a handful of cases, Gröber believed songbooks were collected or directly influenced by the troubadours who had composed them, resulting in single-author volumes he dubbed 'Liederbücher'.[34] Hand in hand with Gröber's model went the work of Eduard Schwan on the trouvère chansonniers.[35] In Gröber's view, the argument for transmission through 'Liederblätter', 'Gelegenheitssammlungen' and 'Liederbücher' would need to be tested by comparison among multiple surviving sources.[36] Schwan undertook this type of work for the French trouvère sources, constructing a stemma codicum of manuscript families based on the comparison of errors, variants, author attributions and contents. The publications of Gröber and Schwan together constitute a corpus of evidence that has remained relevant for editors and has also provided the inherited narrative against which subsequent scholars could set up their own opposing views. Together they offer a model for the entire process of chansonnier transmission, from the moment of creation, to first transcription, to collection in surviving chansonniers. Gröber's focus on the troubadours, rather than the trouvères, expands his time range backwards, so that he posits continuous written transmission starting at least as early as Arnaut Daniel (second half the of the twelfth century).[37] The last part of that narrative, the arrival of songs in the chansonniers that survive, is more tractable, given the evidence, and that is what this article examines.

Leach, Lug and Haines's work pushes beyond asking whether lost sources existed (they clearly did) and towards the work of describing their size, material (wax or parchment?) and function (transmission or planning?). Were written copies of songs collected in order to make multiple chansonniers as part of the same project?[38] Might there have been a number of uniform stock exemplars kept by professional book-makers or puy members for the express purpose of

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For a recent rehabilitation of Gröber's work, see Haines, 'Aristocratic Patronage', pp. 97–100, and his discussion of rolls, p. 104.

[34] Gröber, 'Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours', pp. 345–55.

[35] E. Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften*. See also the discussion of stemmata in Lug, 'Common Exemplars of **U** and **C**', pp. 86–90.

[36] Gröber, 'Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours', p. 342.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 344.

[38] The proposal in Leach, 'Shared Small Sources', p. 123, and Lug, 'Common Exemplars of **U** and **C**', p. 86, implies that collected materials would be kept for a considerable length of time. Specifically, the smaller sources collected by the copyists of *U* were kept for several decades before being used for the late sources *C* and *I*.

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copying, analogous to the pecia system in use for university books?[39] Or were exemplars scarce and collected together with difficulty?[40] And did exemplars contain both text and music as most trouvère chansonniers now do, or did these predecessors resemble the situation for troubadour song, with music copied infrequently?

The stakes of this last question are high, both for what we are to make of the surviving trouvère melodies and for how we imagine the circulation of written song sources in the thirteenth century. Leach has argued that the 'very small ephemeral materials' used by the copyists of manuscripts *I* and *C* must have contained some melodies, despite the lack of notation in the two sources copied from them.[41] In her view, '**I** chose to omit the notation', whereas *C*'s makers were simply unable (owing, one assumes, to time or financial constraints that prevented the hiring of a skilled notator) to finish the project of filling its empty staves.[42] However, Leach makes it clear that not all of the ephemeral materials had notation for every song, particularly in one example in the jeux-partis section of *I*.[43] Being able to show that a particular song did or did not have notation *in an exemplar* is a remarkable result, particularly when that lack or presence of notation does not correspond to the situation in the manuscript copied from it. Using the same exemplars for both text and music, as seems to have been the intention behind *C*, surely would have been more convenient. However it is clear that was not always possible. Elizabeth Aubrey has suggested, in her consideration of troubadour chansonnier *R*, that some text scribes were overly optimistic in leaving space for staves because they had no responsibility for finding or copying from notated manuscripts.[44] In section II*b*, I consider an

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[39] On the pecia system, see R. Rouse and M. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols., Studies in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art History, 25 (Turnhout, 2000), i, pp. 85–99. The maintenance of large, constantly-growing collections of exemplars may also bring to mind the theories surrounding the work of Guillaume de Machaut; it seems the extant Machaut manuscripts reflect the existence of both large and small exemplars starting during Machaut's life: see M. Bent, 'The Machaut Manuscripts *Vg, B*, and *E*', *Musica disciplina*, 37 (1983), pp. 53–82, at pp. 61–82; L. Earp, 'Machaut's Role in the Production of Manuscripts of His Works', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 42 (1989), pp. 461–503, at pp. 472, 489–90.

[40] For an incisive discussion of similar questions that arise in studies of the polyphonic repertoire around the same period, see Curran, 'A Palaeographical Analysis', pp. 48–9.

[41] Leach, 'Shared Small Sources', pp. 123, 145.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[44] Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours*, p. 49; E. Aubrey, 'The Transmission of Troubadour Melodies: The Testimony of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, f. fr. 22543', *Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship*, 3 (1987), pp. 211–50, at pp. 214–21. See also John Stevens's assessment of trouvère *R* in 'The Manuscript Presentation and Notation of Adam de la Halle's Courtly Chansons', in *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music:*

instance where the makers of a surviving chansonnier that does contain notation had recourse to an exemplar that lacked it. I conclude that the music notator relied on a notated source that the text scribe lacked, or instead relied only on musical memory to notate the blank song. In light of this example, the rest of the article operates under the assumption that the existence of lost text exemplars cannot be taken as evidence of lost notated exemplars.

Let us now turn to a song that may well have circulated in a text-only exemplar, perhaps even in a single-author collection. *Tout autresi con descent la rousee*, RS 554 / L 199-10, is one unicum among many in manuscript *V*. Yet we must be careful not to imagine it as marginal on that account. It follows sections of songs by the major trouvères Thibaut de Champagne and Gace Brulé and of other composers whose pieces appear in a similar sequence in other sources: Gillebert de Berneville, Richard de Semilli and the Vidame de Chartres. Many of the unica in this particular section have been attributed to Philippe de Remi, author of various narrative poems, fatrasies, lais, and saluts d'amour and father of the jurist of the same name. This song explicitly portrays itself as being from the mouth of Philippe in lines 5–8 of the envoi:

> Que Phelippes de Remi en l'estage
> Est de s'amour, que point n'est achevee
> La volenté qui plus est desirree;
> Or prit por moi; mes maux point n'asouage.[45]

(Tell Girart) . . . that Philippe de Remi is sheltered by his love, that his most sought-after wish is not yet granted. Now pray for me; it does not soothe my pains at all.

In the absence of concordances in other manuscripts, or a marginal attribution in *V*, this is the most solid evidence we have of the song's author.[46] There is thus reason to associate the song with non-lyric traditions of poetry that circulated exclusively without notation.

To understand the process of copying a trouvère song, we must consider the shape of that song. The verse scheme of *Tout autresi* is standard. Two feminine rhyme sounds govern the entire poem, the

a-ending (-ee) and the b-ending (-age), as demonstrated by the first stanza, reproduced below. Apart from the first stanza, where poetic line 5 is deficient by four syllables, each poetic line is decasyllabic.[47] The eight-line rhyme scheme may be represented as follows: ababbaab (the text of the first stanza, below, is labelled accordingly). In this repertoire, the typical alternation of a and b rhymes in the first four poetic lines usually aligns with musical repetition to create parallel *pedes*, whereas the rest of the melody continues without significant repetition to the end. With *Tout autresi*, our knowledge of the musical form is hampered by the omission of an entire poetic line's worth of music due to a scribal error.

> a Tout autresi con descent la rousee
> b Qui le sec tenz moitit et rassouage
> a **Vient** bonne amour par une estroite entree
> b Et rafreschist le cuer et le courage
> b Quant par l'ueil fet passage
> a Et si est si sa vertuz esprouvee
> a Que par li est cortoisie donnee.
> b À tretouz ceus qu'il sont en son servage.

Just as when the dew descends that moistens and softens the dry season, good love **comes** by a narrow entry and refreshes the heart and the spirit when she makes her passage through the eye. And thus is her virtue proven: for by her is courtliness given to absolutely everyone who is in her service.

The song begins at the end of the right-hand column of fol. 52^v (Figure 1). As is usual in all trouvère chansonniers, only the music for the first stanza is notated, with the text of subsequent stanzas (the residuum) following it in prose format. For this same reason, the music of *Tout autresi* follows directly on the text for the final stanza of the previous song. The scribe reached the end of the page on the first word of poetic line 3 (given in bold in the transcription above) and continued copying across the opening, on fol. 53^r (Figure 2). But here, in the middle of the poetic line, the standard chansonnier format of text and music together gives way to chaos. The text scribe neglected to leave space for the music at the top of the new folio and, for three lines, reverted to prose format. There are still six poetic lines left in the stanza and all of them need staves and music above them.

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[47] I strictly differentiate what I call 'poetic lines', units of versification indicated by rhyme sound and occasional punctuation, from written lines of text matching the width of the writing block. Poetic lines frequently spill over the writing block into the next written line.
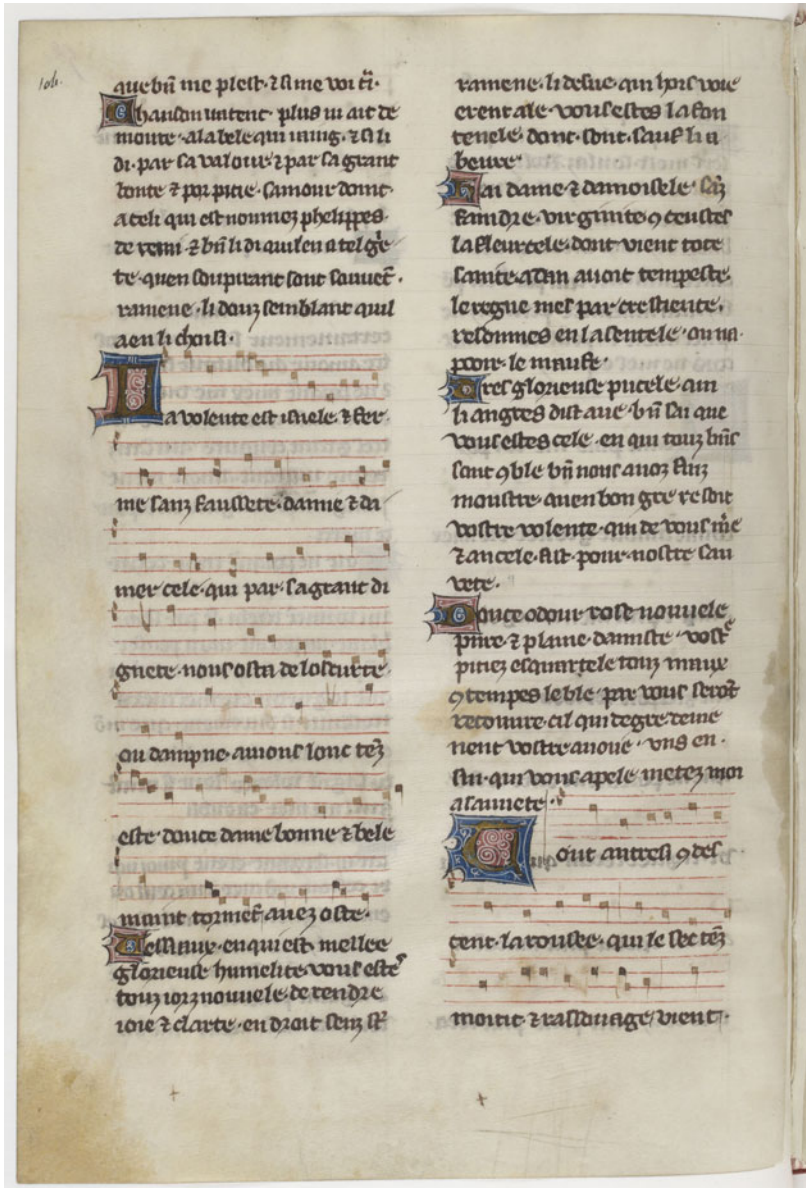
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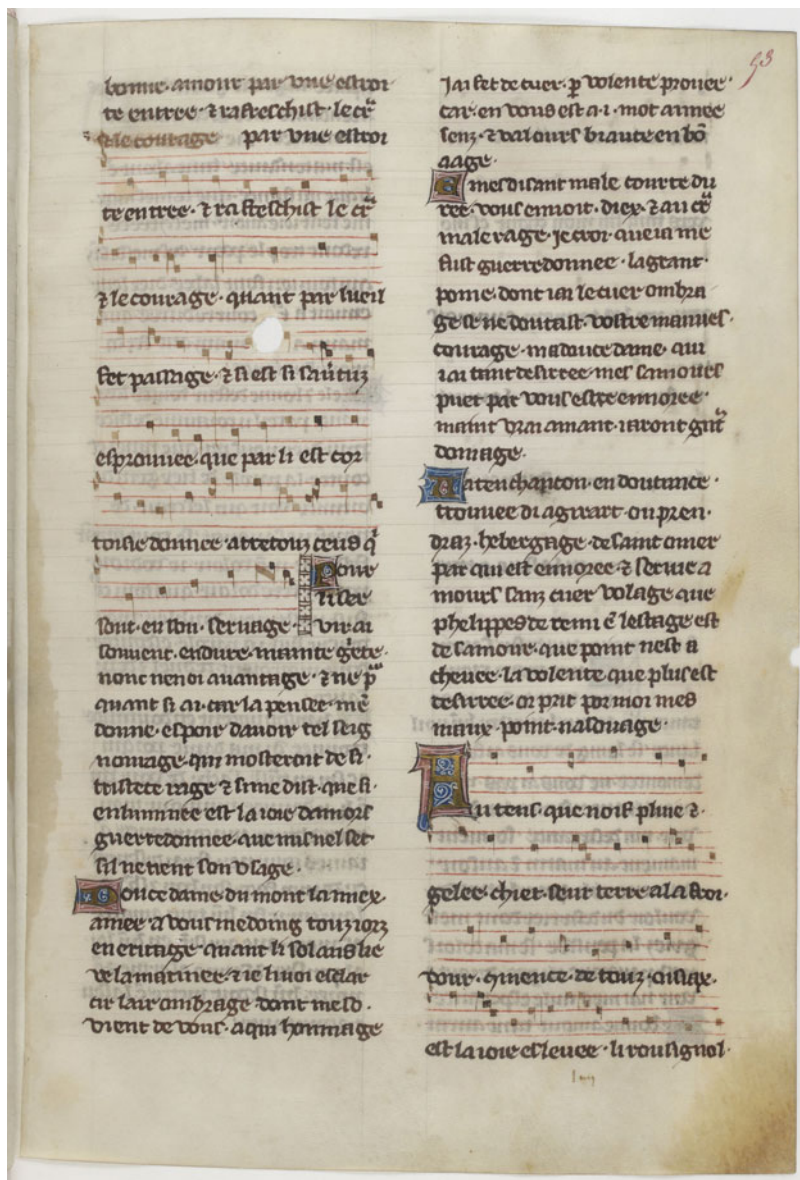Figure 1   Trouvère *V*, fol. 52ᵛ: Beginning of [Philippe de Remi], *Tout autresi*

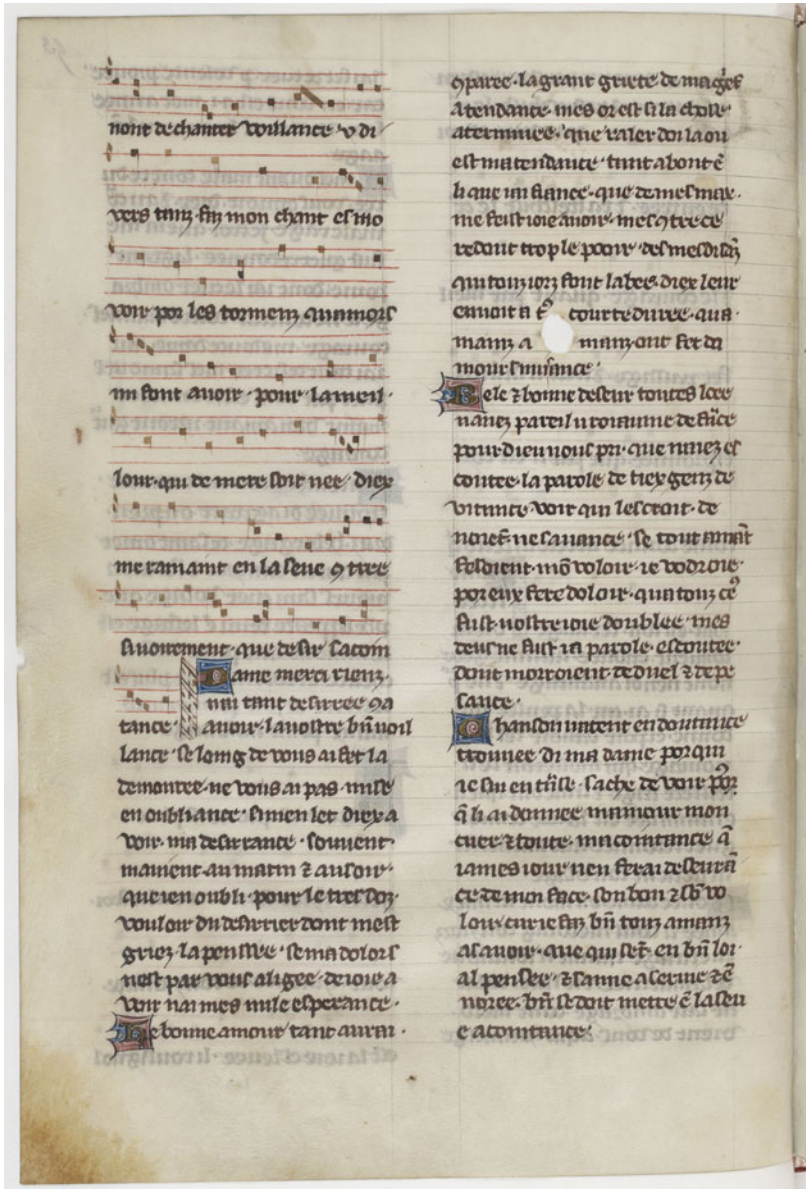Figure 2 Trouvère *V*, fol. 53ʳ: Continuation of *Tout autresi*

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Figure 3   Trouvère *V*, fol. 53ᵛ: Reverse of the hole in the music of *Tout autresi*

When the scribe realised the problem, there was already text where those staves should have been.

Undoing the damage thus posed a challenge. Rather than immediately erasing the extra text, the scribe first repeated the text already copied, this time in a more appropriate position, after a space allocated for staves and music. It is no coincidence that the three lines of staffless text occupy exactly the space one staff would have taken up; it is exactly one staff of music that is still missing. The scribe intended to bring the first line of text, 'bonne amour par une estroi-' down two rulings and place a staff above it by erasing the intervening redundant text. However, as the attempted erasure of 'et le courage' shows, the correction was more easily planned than done. Erasures are always dangerous on parchment, and this folio is more than usually delicate. The scribe probably showed foresight in deciding against an erasure. Even without scraping, a hole opened in the third staff, over 'est'. This must already have been present when the staves were drawn, as the staff terminates a little before the hole and starts again with a safe margin of distance (see Figure 2). The text on the verso side (Figure 3) displays similar adjustments, such as the use of abbreviation, in order to leave space around the hole. The decision not to erase may well have been based on the existence of physical damage on the same folio.

This is a scribe familiar with planning music notation, and their attempts to remedy a layout catastrophe are interesting in themselves. Still more interesting is the question of how a scribe who was expecting music notation could make such a mistake in the first place. There are so many ways that *we* know that music was always meant to continue (from the structure of the stanza, the layout of other sources, even the shape of the melody) that it is difficult to imagine how the scribe could *not* have known. We can only assume they lacked access to all those signals. The scribe must not have been thinking very hard about the form and order of the stanzas while copying them (which probably rules out transcription from memory). But it is also hard to imagine the scribe forgetting to leave room for staves while looking at an exemplar that contained notation.

It might be that the scribe began writing on fol. 53ʳ without looking back at the exemplar. But this would imply that the scribe had only just seen the staff spacing on fol. 52ᵛ when they made their mistake. This would mean that something (such as dipping the pen in ink) distracted the scribe enough to make them forget staves were needed, but not enough to dislodge around two lines of text (a sensible transfer unit) from their memory. This turn of events is plausible, but

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the simpler possibility is that the scribe was copying from a source containing only text. Imagine that the scribe paused in the act of writing upon reaching the midpoint of the gathering, the end of fol. 52^v. On returning to the task, they found the leaving-off place marked precisely in the text-only exemplar, and blank ruled lines on the column onto which it was to be copied. The result is what we see.

The example suggests that music and text derived from different sources for at least this section of manuscript *V*. Those sources might conceivably have been leaves, rolls, or collections devoted to Philippe de Remi, perhaps even dating to the author's own lifetime, though the attribution of the entire group of songs to Philippe remains speculative.[48] The example serves to demonstrate what scholars have long known: trouvère chansonniers, even when organised into purportedly single-author sections, are messy affairs, with music and text arriving in them by separate routes. If the hypothesis of a text-only exemplar is correct, text and music followed different paths of transmission up until the moment of copying. The synthesis of text and music in *V* represents one possible combination of variants, perhaps one that was realised numerous times in parallel lost manuscripts and performances. What is sure is that we can identify one such moment of synthesis in *V*.

Further examples of absent music in other chansonniers, catalogued in Tables 1 and 2, suggest something similar, as the text scribes who left space for missing melodies evidently failed to predict whether it would be possible to add music later.[49] Some of these empty staves may reflect situations similar to what we have seen in *V*. The evidence there rules out the use of a single notated collection as an exemplar for the Philippe de Remi section, calling into question the role of 'Liederbücher' in transmission and collection of music, and demanding that we use caution when assuming that evidence of lost written exemplars implies the existence of lost notated exemplars.

b. A New Leaf: Early and Late Notated Sources

What does the circulation of text-only exemplars mean for the lost sources behind other trouvère chansonniers? The exceptionally early dating of manuscript *U* and its high number of empty staves make it particularly worth revisiting. The earliest date, 1231, has been

[48] S. N. Rosenberg, 'The Lyric Poetry of Philippe de Remy', *Romance Philology*, 49 (1995), pp. 13–24, at pp. 14–16; Remi, *Jehan et Blonde*, p. 516.

[49] See Aubrey's interpretation of blank staves in troubadour *R* in *The Music of the Troubadours*, p. 49.

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proposed by Lug, another neo-Gröberian and the reigning expert on *U*.[50] For Lug, quirks of manuscript organisation prove the existence of sheets containing pairs of songs, used as exemplars for the earliest layer of *U* and for chansonnier *C*.[51] Taken together, Lug's arguments imply the existence of written trouvère sources by the year 1231. If these small exemplars also contained notation, we can then take this as the start date for copying trouvère melodies between manuscripts, the terminus ante quem for a history of vernacular song's transmission via notation.

Such a history would be fraught with uncertainty. The dating of most trouvère chansonniers is insecure. Lug's dating of *U* has been contested.[52] Haines's dating to the 1250s for *M* relies on the likely supposition that it was commissioned by Charles of Anjou for William of Villehardouin, not universally accepted.[53] Yet these are two of the most securely datable trouvère manuscripts. Stones's dating of manuscript *a* relies exclusively on art-historical grounds, placing its illuminations earlier than *A*'s and both manuscripts probably before 1297.[54] The date of manuscript *P* has often been listed as around the 1270s, along with *K*, *N* and *X*.[55] Its contents include songs by relatively late trouvères such as Colart le Boutellier, Gillebert de Berneville, Perrin d'Angecourt, yet no song can be definitively dated past the 1250s and most are also present in manuscript *M*. The inclusion of Adam de la Halle's songs in manuscripts *A*, *R*, *V* and *a* tends to push them later, since his activity as an author is known to extend from the 1260s into the 1280s. Still, none of the individual songs in these

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[50] For Lug's dating of the earliest layer of *U*, see his 'Katharer und Waldenser in Metz: Zur Herkunft der ältesten Sammlung von Troubadour-Liedern (1231)', in *Okzitanistik, Altokzitanistik und Provenzalistik: Geschichte und Auftrag einer europäischen Philologie*, ed. A. Rieger (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), 249–74. For a dating closer to mid-century, see M. Tyssens, Introduction to *Le chansonnier français U*, ed. Tyssens (Paris, 2015), pp. i–li, at p. x.

[51] Lug, 'Common Exemplars of **U** and **C**', pp. 90–9.

[52] Tyssens, Introduction to *Le chansonnier U*.

[53] J. Haines, 'Songbook for William of Villehardouin, Prince of Morea (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 844): A Crucial Case in the History of Vernacular Song Collections', in *Viewing the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*, ed. S. E. J. Gerstel (Washington, DC, 2013), pp. 57–109, at pp. 91–5; J. Longnon, 'Le Prince de Morée chansonnier', *Romania*, 65 (1939), pp. 95–100, at pp. 96–9; V. Agrigoroaei, 'Le *Manuscrit du Roi*, un chansonnier que le prince de Morée Guillaume de Villehardouin n'a sans doute jamais connu', *Textus & musica*, 6 (2022), https://textus-et-musica.edel. univ-poitiers.fr/index.php?id=2350, passim.

[54] A. Stones, 'Some Northern French Chansonniers and Their Cultural Context', in *Ars musica septentrionalis: De l'historiographie à l'interpretation, Colloque Cantus 21, Douai, 2005*, ed. B. Haagh and F. Billiet (Paris, 2011), pp. 169–87, at p. 172.

[55] E. Aubrey, 'Sources, MS, §III, 4: Secular Monophony: French', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 29 vols. (London, 2001), xxiii, pp. 851–60, at pp. 852–3 (*K*), 853–5 (*N*), 855 (*P*), 859 (*X*).

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manuscripts offers an indisputable terminus post quem in this range.[56] Mary O'Neill has attempted to divide manuscripts into phases on the basis of musical palaeography, and according to her categorisation *M*, *P* and *U* fall into an earlier group than *A*, *R*, *V* and *a*.[57] For *V*, further evidence exists in the form of coats of arms on the opening folio of the manuscript. These have been tentatively identified as belonging to the Artesian families of Bernastre and Varrennes as they would have appeared near the end of the thirteenth century or early fourteenth century, with the caveat that such armorial evidence remains equivocal.[58]

A definitive chronology of trouvère sources thus remains out of reach. What can be asserted with some confidence is that manuscript *V* is at least a few decades more recent than the earliest layer of *U* and that *A*, *M*, *T* and *a* likely fall somewhere in between. Any differences between *U* and *V* in terms of the information they furnish about lost sources therefore become interesting from a historical perspective. If we could find consistencies between the two, we could conclude that lost notated sources were a common feature in the production of trouvère manuscripts from the very beginning, and the discussion would be closed. Instead, we find differences that provide clues to a developing written culture in which manuscript makers adapted their habits to circumstances, changing them in the middle of the preparation of a single manuscript.

Empty staves in *U* have been variously catalogued and explained, usually as reflecting the limited knowledge, time and resources of the scribe.[59] The later units of *U* are particularly limited in what notation they offer. The one song melody they contain is likely to have been entered late in the manuscript's history.[60] Table 3 offers a breakdown of the different codicological sections of *U*, informed by the work of Madeleine Tyssens and Christopher Callahan, along with the empty or missing staves in each section. Much of the information is duplicated from Tables 1 and 2, but Table 3 offers greater

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[56] C. Symes, 'The *School of Arras* and the Career of Adam', in Saltzstein (ed.), *Musical Culture*, pp. 21–50, at p. 31, considers a date for Adam's birth roughly around 1250 to be reasonable, based on the autobiographical events of Adam's *Jeu de la feuillée* of 1276 or 1277 and on the attested untimeliness of Adam's death between 1284 and 1288.

[57] M. J. O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 27–52.

[58] N. Bleisch, 'The Copying and Collection of Music in the Trouvère Chansonnier F-Pn fr. 24406' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2019), pp. 98–101.

[59] Lug, 'Katharer und Waldenser in Metz', pp. 257–8.

[60] This is at fol. 170ᵛ.

Table 3.   Fascicles of Trouvère *U* / Troubadour *X* (F-Pnm fr. 20050)

Text Hand[a]	Fascicle Contents	Gathering	Folios	Text-only Layout	Missing staves	Empty Staves	Type 3 Empty Staves
T, U1, U3	Index	I	1–3	1^r–3^v			
U1	French songs (Trouvère *U*)	II	4–11				
		III	12–19				
		IV	20–7			20^v–22^r, 23^v–24^v, 25^v–27^v	
		V	28–35			28^r–35^v	
		VI	36–43			36$^{r–v}$, 37^v, 38^v, 39^v, 40^v, 41^r, 42^r, 43$^{r–v}$	
		VII	44–51			44^r, 48^r	
		VIII	52–9				
		IX	60–7				
		X	68–75			68^v–75^v	
		XI	76–83			76^r–81^v	
	Occitan songs (Troubadour *X*)	XII	84–91				89^v
a, a', U4	French songs	XIII	92–3	93^v	92^r–93^r		
U2	French songs	XIV	94–101	94^r–101^v			
		XV	102–9	102^r–109^v			
U3	French songs	XVI	110–17		110^r–117^v		
		XVII	118–19, 121–6	121r	118^r–119^v, 121^v–126^v		
U3, U4	French songs	Insertion 120		120$^{r–v}$			
		XVIII	127–9, 131–5		127^r–129^v, 131^r–135^v		

(*Continued*)

Text Hand[a]	Fascicle Contents	Gathering	Folios	Text-only Layout	Missing staves	Empty Staves	Type 3 Empty Staves
U3, U4	French songs	Insertion	130	130^{r-v}			
		XIX	136–143		136^r–143^v		
		XX	144–50, 152	147^r, 152^v	144^r–146^v, 147^v–150^v, 152^{r-v}		
U3	French songs	Insertion	151				
U3, U4	French songs	XXI	153–60	153^r–154^r, 157^v, 160^v	154^v–157^r, 158^v–160^r		
a″, U4, a‴, U3	French songs	XXII	161–2	162^{r-v}	161^r		
		XXIII	163–70	163^r–170^r			
		XXIV	171–2	171^v–172^v	171^r		

[a] According to Tyssens, 'Introduction', pp. viii–xviii.

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codicological detail for this one manuscript.[61] The compilers of Unit 2 (Gatherings XIV–XV) left no space for staves, and while the compilers of Unit 3 (Gatherings XVI–XXIV) left space for melodies in nearly every song, very few staves were actually drawn. Within Unit I, notation and empty staves alternate. Gatherings V and XIII contain empty staves throughout, while Gatherings II–III, VIII–IX, and XII are notated throughout. Still more confusingly, Gathering IV has a mere three notated songs, and Gathering X begins with the end of a fully notated song and then continues with nothing but empty staves until fol. 81ᵛ, midway through Gathering XI. These three gatherings have given some scholars the impression of a notator with limited access to the repertoire, flipping through the text scribes' work and notating if and when the music was available.[62]

Gatherings VI (fols. 36–43) and XII (fols. 84–91) contain by far the most interesting instances of empty staves in the source and include clear new evidence for the *U* notator's reliance on lost sources. The reason for their existence has not yet been adequately accounted for.[63] As Tyssens has noted, this section contains numerous songs with only empty staves, and some partially notated songs: 'at the top of fols. 37ᵛ, 38ᵛ, 89ᵛ, the last two staves of a song remained blank'.[64] To this short list may be added the final staff of the song *Fine amors et bone esperance*, RS 221 / L 65-35, which is fully notated on fol. 42ᵛ (Figure 4) but whose final staff runs onto fol. 43ʳ where it remains blank (Figure 5). Thus, the word 'pesance', which straddles the opening, is notated only for its first syllable. Tyssens refrains from offering an explanation for these omissions, yet their oddity is precisely what yields evidence. It is hard indeed to explain this musical lacuna if the manuscript were bound at the time of copying, so much so that it serves as compelling evidence that the music scribe copied music into an unbound gathering. When the gathering is imagined as a stack of unbound bifolia (Figure 6), it becomes clear that the music copyist proceeded not by song but by bifolio side. Let us consider that the second bifolio of the stack

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[61] A complete table of notation by gathering appears in C. Callahan, 'Copying Trouvère Lyric at the Peripheries: The Lessons of MSS Paris, BnF fr. 20050 and Bern, Burgerbibliothek 389', *Textual Cultures*, 8/2 (Fall 2013), pp. 15–30, at p. 17. Callahan's table also provides folio numbers for each gathering. Tyssens, Introduction to *Le chansonnier U*, pp. ix–xii, also provides a gathering structure and description of the blank staves.

[62] Callahan, 'Copying Trouvère Lyric', p. 18; Tyssens, Introduction to *Le chansonnier U*, p. x.

[63] Callahan, 'Copying Trouvère Lyric', p. 17.

[64] Tyssens, Introduction to *Le chansonnier U*, p. x: 'au sommet des ff. 37v, 38v, 89v les deux dernières portées d'une chanson sont restées vides'.
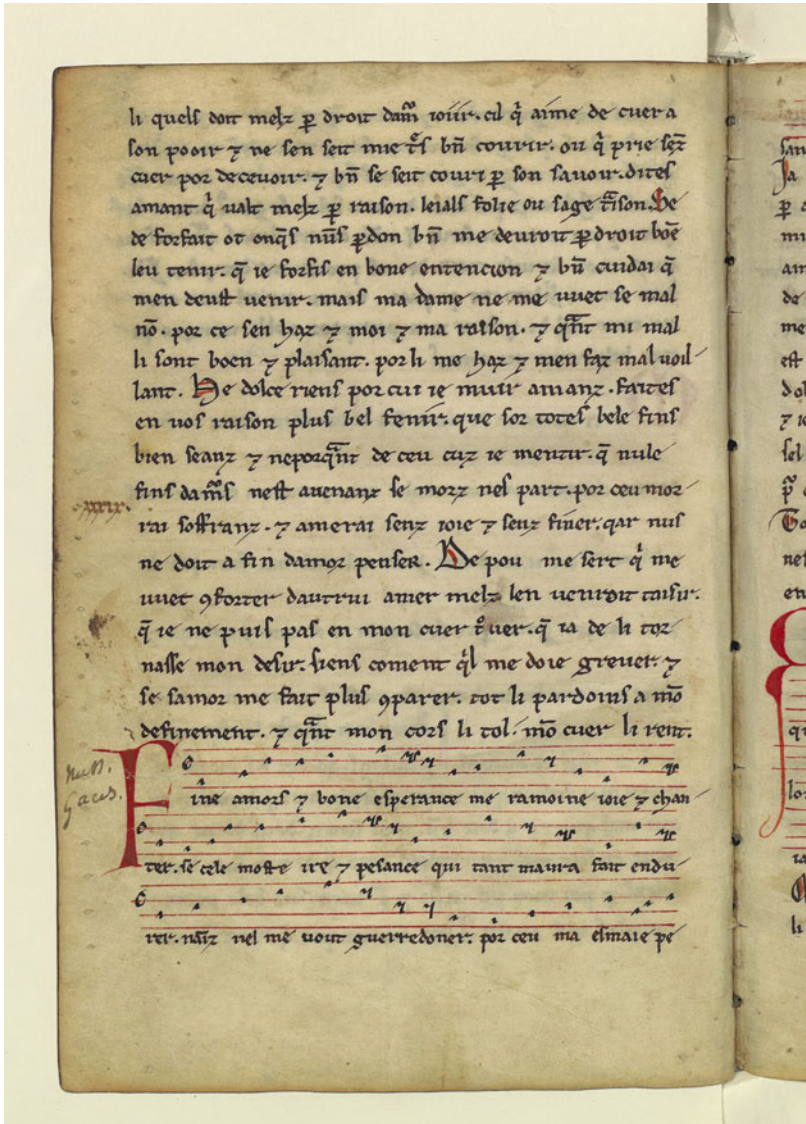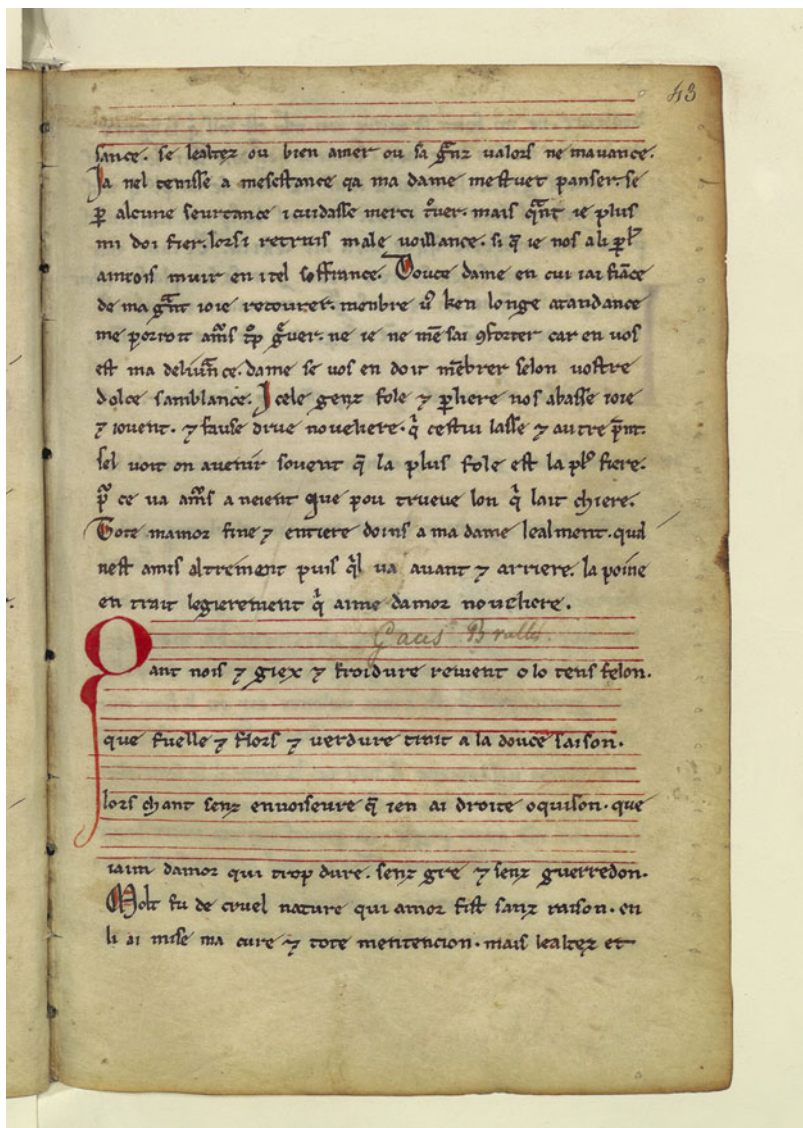
31

Figure 4   Trouvère *U*, fol. 42ᵛ: Beginning of *Fine amors et bone esperance*

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Figure 5   Trouvère *U*, fol. 43ʳ: Unfinished notation of *Fine amors et bone esperance*
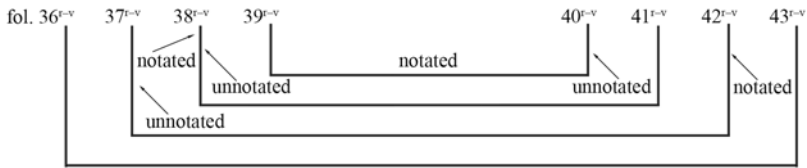
Figure 6 Gathering structure of trouvère *U*, Gathering VI (fols. 36–43)

comprises fols. 37 and 42. The flesh side includes fols. 37^r and 42^v and the hair side fols. 37^v and 42^r. The music copyist appears to have copied all the music appearing on the flesh side and left it to dry, perhaps intending to finish the hair side later. The copyist then turned his or her attention to the next bifolio in the stack: fols. 38/41, beginning with the hair side, fols. 38^r and 41^v. Both of these pages are notated, however the flesh side (fols. 38^v and 41^r) contains only blank staves. Furthermore, we find that the entire outer bifolio (fols. 36/43) has staves drawn but no music notated. We find too that while the innermost opening of the gathering, fols. 39^v–40^r, *does* contain notation, the outer side of that bifolio (fols. 39^r and 40^v) does not.

From the material point of view of a copyist, this makes perfect sense: why smudge wet ink when it would be perfectly simple to work on a new bifolio while the previous one dries? The scribe could work through a stack of bifolia in one direction before then turning each sheet upside down to work through again. This hypothesis, if true, holds implications for the transmission behind the source. The image of a copyist working through a stack of pages, regardless of whether the songs continue onto the next page, contradicts the idea that a jongleur took the unbound manuscript and 'solicited contributions of various scribes as he carried the loose gatherings with him through the Lorraine'.[65] It is also hard to reconcile with the idea that the notator copied what they could only when an exemplar came to hand or only when they knew the melody. It shows instead that the notator was copying onto a few unbound leaves at a time. We might further speculate that, if they were notating from memory, the copyist had enough confidence in their knowledge of the music to be able to finish copying a given song after interrupting work on it. Alternatively, that

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[65] E. Aubrey, 'Literacy, Orality, and the Preservation of French and Occitan Medieval Courtly Songs', *Revista de musicología*, 16 (1993), pp. 2355–66, at p. 2364. For an example demonstrating that entering melodies on the basis of knowledge was a real possibility in the Middle Ages, albeit in an earlier repertoire, see J. Grier, *The Musical World of a Medieval Monk: Adémar de Chabannes in Eleventh-Century Aquitaine* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 44.

confidence might have been born out of working with an easily navigable notated exemplar, which should have made it possible quickly to relocate a song after setting it aside. Unlike the single-author collections often imagined as the earliest repositories of multiple trouvère songs, Gathering VI includes anonymous songs as well as songs attributed to several different trouvères.[66] We would have to hypothesise a sizable collection of notated material for the bifolio-by-bifolio copying method to make sense. If the notator was working with single-sheet 'first transcriptions from oral performance', they must have assembled and organised a large number of them before copying.[67]

There are then two reasonable explanations for why the notator failed to complete their work in manuscript *U*: one is loss of musical knowledge and the other is time. Lug has proposed that the deadline for the completion of the manuscript became too tight for the ambition of the project, forcing it to a hasty conclusion.[68] That would explain the situation whether the notator knew the songs or copied them from an exemplar. Either view is completely consistent with the evidence of Gathering VI and with what we know about the small written sources: the notator still had access to the melodies they had begun to copy, but never had the time to finish the other side of the folios where their texts continued. The idea that the notator knew the melodies but simply ran out of time is harder to reconcile with the Type 3 empty staff on fol. 89. As before, the beginning of the song on the recto side, *Molt ai estat q'en bon esper non vi* (PC 370.14), is notated. It is only in the portion that continues onto the incomplete verso that the notation fails. Yet the second song on that verso, *S'om poguez partir son voler* (PC 167.56), *is* fully notated, meaning that the notator must have had time to turn the page and carry on their task. Why would a notator who knew the song *Molt ai estat* have neglected to finish it when they clearly had time to work on that folio? The clear explanation is the loss of access to an exemplar. The notator chose, or more likely had, to prioritise *S'om poguez partir* by the time they finally began work on the verso because that was the song available to them at that moment. In the time between finishing 89ʳ and beginning 89ᵛ, the exemplar was misplaced, had to be returned or, if it was a wax tablet, was erased.

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[66] Callahan, 'Copying Trouvère Lyric', pp. 18–19, has commented on this peculiarity of *U*'s organisation or seeming lack thereof.

[67] Lug, 'Katharer und Waldenser in Metz', p. 257: 'Ersttranskriptionen nach mündlichem Vortrag'. See also Lug, 'Common Exemplars of **U** and **C**', p. 90.

[68] Lug, 'Katharer und Waldenser in Metz', p. 258.

Trouvère chansonnier *U* does not give us any knowledge of what sources, if any, existed during the lifetimes of the early trouvères. Studying its exemplars probably does offer the best picture we have of what song manuscripts looked like at the start of the period of collecting songs into large chansonniers. The case studies of empty staves supplement Lug's analysis based on song organisation, by treating issues of notated transmission separately from the broader question of written transmission. The evidence leaves doubt about the existence and number of notated exemplars, suggesting more about scribal overconfidence than about any definite set of exemplars. The process of copying this source was clearly drastically different from what went on behind the projects of later manuscripts. That might be due to the quirk of the notator, differences in place or the fact that this source was compiled at a time when collecting notated melodies together was uncharted territory.

III. MELODIC TRANSMISSION: WRITTEN, ORAL, HYBRID?

By now, my sympathy towards theories of transmission involving lost sources should be clear. We have seen that the latest direction in the study of trouvère song has rehabilitated and deepened older hypotheses about 'Liederblätter' and 'Liederbücher'. We have also seen that a question remains over notation in particular. If melodies were not copied from the same sources used for the text, but from somewhere else, what was that somewhere else? Was it always a source we should take seriously? Section III considers three possibilities: oral transmission of melodies, the invention of melodies by musical scribes and the working out of melodies in wax before copying. At some stage, a music notator probably had the leaves of a future chansonnier with the texts already copied into it and space laid out for music. In theory, they could then have copied melodies into it directly (and inaccurately), either from public performances (unlikely) or taken down by dictation (more plausible). The notator might also have relied on their own knowledge of the repertoire, adding the music only for familiar songs (though in *U*'s case, the evidence argues against this). Or the notator might have relied on their own musical creativity instead, intervening in order to correct what they copied, substituting any melody that could fit the text or even inventing entirely new melodies. All of these scenarios are compatible with the increasingly accepted circulation of a textual tradition in writing. In fact, it seems more than likely that much of the transmission of vernacular song relied on such combinations of written and oral

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transmission. Indeed, describing such behaviour as 'hybrid' transmission risks imposing modern categories on what would have been seen as normal practice. With or without notated exemplars, a good music scribe always relied on musical knowledge and memory. What we should ask is what kind of memory that was and how it was accessed.

My reason for focusing on notation so particularly is that melodies have held a special position in arguments against written transmission during the turn toward orality in the 1970s. Hendrik van der Werf saw trouvère and troubadour chansons and chansonniers as 'creations of a notationless culture'.[69] At the same time, the critical editing of music made urgent the question of separating 'good' from 'bad' melodies. This has been true for committed Gröberians interested in musical stemmata as it has been for some champions of oral transmission.[70] Section III*a* describes how the embrace of orality has often gone hand-in-hand with a mistrust of scribes and the praise of melodic variance in general at the expence of particular variants. Section III*b* then offers a final case study that demonstrates the existence of lost notated sources, specifically for a manuscript whose unusual melodies have been questioned. Section III*c* addresses the possibility that wax tablets were used in the preparation of trouvère chansonniers. This final section considers how the medium of wax could have interacted with the surviving chansonniers and to what extent preparatory materials can explain the evidence of lost notated sources considered throughout the article.

a. The Turn to Orality and the Defense of Marginal Melodies

The turn toward oral transmission of melodies in the work of Van der Werf in the 1960s and '70s had precedents. Gröber himself acknowledged that it was possible 'Liederblätter' were copied by performers who had learned the songs of a troubadour, not by troubadours themselves; he also considered oral transmission of melodies more than likely.[71] Theodore Karp, though committed to a 'trouvère manuscript tradition', still acknowledged that stemmata constructed on the basis of textual comparisons failed to account for relationships between manuscript versions of melodies.[72] The perceived role of orality in the process of song transmission expanded in the middle of the twentieth century as a

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[69] Van der Werf, 'The Trouvère Chansons'.

[70] Karp, 'The Trouvère MS Traditions', p. 45; J. Schubert, *Die Liederhandschrift Paris, Bibl. nat. fr. 1591: Kritische Untersuchung der Trouvèrehandschrift R* (Frankfurt am Main, 1963), p. 33.

[71] Gröber, 'Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours', pp. 342–3.

[72] Karp, 'The Trouvère MS Traditions', pp. 33–5. See also T. Karp, 'Troubadours, Trouvères, §III, 1: Music: Manuscript Sources', in *New Grove*, xxv, pp. 807–10, at p. 808.

means of explaining variance. The initial Gröberian admission reappeared as an independent theory that replaced 'Liederblätter' with performers entirely. The new model, the 'Repertoire-Theorie' proposed by Friedrich Gennrich in the title of his seminal article, supposed that transmission from performer to performer nearly always served as an intermediary stage between the invention of song and its inscription in parchment.[73] 'Repertoire-Theorie' does not preclude written transmission but merely insists that the first stage of that transmission occurred when performers transcribed every song they knew from memory.

Gennrich could not believe the degree of musical variance found in the chansonniers could arise from written copying.[74] The process of collecting notated melodies, he argued, could not be as neat as the progression from song leaves to author collections to song books. He acknowledged that written collections, organised into author sections, might have appeared at an early stage and influenced the way song texts were arranged in chansonniers. But that did not mean the melodies were copied from them in the same sequence. Rather, for Gennrich and his followers, the operative unit of melodic transmission was the repertoire of an individual performer, hence the name 'Repertoire-Theorie'. That performer would then either write or dictate their melodies, perhaps separately from the inscription of the texts. The repertoire of a single performer might not perfectly match the planned contents of a manuscript, thus explaining many blank staves, drastic changes in melodic family within a single source and in many manuscripts the violation of author groupings. Intentional variation was introduced by these performers and then either reproduced by transcriptions of their performances or copied by performers themselves as a study aid. Different performers would have different versions of a melody in their respective repertoires, and those repertoires and the melodies would change over the life of a performer.[75]

For Gennrich, 'Repertoire-Theorie' separated the melodies surviving in the chansonniers from their authors and thus called into question the task of critical editing and the search for authorial

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[73] Gennrich, 'Die Repertoire-Theorie', pp. 101–6. Schubert, *Die Liederhandschrift Paris, Bibl. nat. fr. 1591*, p. 32, already admits the existence of multiple generations of written source between performer and chansonnier. Van der Werf later developed a more sophisticated model of transmission, reformulated multiple times. See Van der Werf, 'The Trouvère Chansons', passim; Van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, pp. 33–4; and his commentaries on musical editions, e.g. his 'Musical Introduction' to *The Songs Attributed to Andrieu Contredit d'Arras, with a Translation into English and the Extant Melodies*, lyrics ed. and trans. D. Nelson, melodies ed. H. van der Werf, Faux titre, 59 (Amsterdam, 1992), pp. 23–50, at pp. 23–9.

[74] Gennrich, 'Die Repertoire-Theorie', pp. 86, 98–9.

[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 105–6.

originals.[76] Yet the subsequent turn toward orality in the work of Van der Werf served to reclaim melodic variance as evidence of a rich performance culture. In his extensive writings on both trouvère and troubadour traditions, Van der Werf argued that melodic change in an oral culture is likely to stem from both scribes and performers treating songs as variable objects.[77] In Van der Werf's works, both editions and studies, scribal alterations are often taken to be indistinguishable from changes made by performers.[78] This realisation has been the single most enduring challenge to the idea of a written record that could enable the philological study of original trouvère melodic versions.[79] A heavy suspicion of traditional textual criticism when applied to trouvère melody thus pervades his work and that of most trouvère scholars after him.[80] However, for Van der Werf as for many others, melodic correction was still possible. If anything, melodic variance produced in performance could be relied on to reflect medieval sound, whereas changes made by scribes might reflect haste, musical incompetence and mechanical error. Manuscripts *R* and *V* in particular have borne the brunt of this new suspicion of scribes, until more recent work has defended their melodies. While Van der Werf's assessment of these manuscripts can be determined only from interventions in his melodic editions, there have been numerous explicitly negative analyses of these chansonniers ever since Gennrich, as the following paragraphs describe.

The sloppy appearance of trouvère *R* prompted early speculation that it was copied swiftly by non-professionals connected to one of the puys, organisations whose membership included performers and whose events included song competitions.[81] The image is that of musicians with minimal scribal training hastily jotting down melodies as they were sung, perhaps even as they were invented. *R* was thus an obvious candidate to apply 'Repertoire-Theorie' to, a task which

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[76] *Ibid.*, pp. 81–2.

[77] Van der Werf, 'The Trouvère Chansons', p. 68.

[78] See nn. 8, 30 above. It is probably significant that the consensus in other fields coincides with this view; see e.g. R. F. Person jr, *Scribal Memory and Word Selection: Text Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Atlanta, 2023), p. 26.

[79] Van der Werf, 'The Trouvère Chansons', passim.

[80] This suspicion remained implicit for Van der Werf. See e.g. what I read as his sarcasm in H. van der Werf, 'Music', in F. R. P. Akehurst and J. M. Davis (eds.), *A Handbook of the Troubadours* (Berkeley, 1995), pp. 121–66, at p. 124; Van der Werf, *Trouvères-Melodien*, i, p. ix. More vocal is G. Le Vot, 'Pour une épistémologie de l'édition du texte lyrique français médiéval', in M. Huglo (ed.), *Musicologie médiévale, notations et séquences: Actes de la table ronde du C.N.R.S. à l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 6–7 septembre 1982* (Paris, 1987), pp. 187–207, at pp. 190–1.

[81] Schubert, *Die Liederhandschrift Paris, Bibl. Nat. fr. 1591*, p. 30.

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Johannes Schubert undertook as his doctoral dissertation.[82] For Schubert, the chansonnier (at least where music was concerned) was a collection of attempted holograph copies of first-hand transcriptions, thus not so different from Lug's exemplars of *U*.[83] *R* is unusual in that melodies in different sections of the manuscript resemble the notated songs from totally different manuscript families, at times the *KNPX* group, at others sources like *A*, *M*, *T* and *a*.[84] In the 'Repertoire-Theorie', these different melodic families reflect the repertoires of the different performers who participated in the creation of the manuscript.

Schubert also offered another hypothesis, that some songs in *R* were 'forgeries' (Fälschungen), 'faked' (fingierte) by the notator.[85] These songs were invented by the scribe when no exemplar was available, 'to remove the appearance of incompleteness from the manuscript' ('der Handschrift den Anschein des Unfertigen zu nehmen') by filling blank staves.[86] Hans Spanke, too, had identified melodies that he considered to be the result of scribes with too much time and creative energy on their hands.[87] In other words, these melodies had no existence prior to their notation. For the melodies shared in common with trouvère chansonnier *V*, Schubert deemed that these sources must have been deplorably copied, suggesting that the interventions and inventions of these notators were musical failures.[88] The fact of their composition in writing delegitimated them in Schubert's eyes, as much as written composition by a named trouvère would have sanctified them. A hierarchy of variance based on assumptions around performance grew up in editions of trouvère music. These supposed scribal inventions occupied the bottom of this hierarchy of variants.

Some twenty years after Schubert's dissertation, Hans-Herbert Räkel took up the task of teasing apart variants produced by successive generations of performers from those due to scribal error.[89] Manuscript *R* played a much smaller role in this analysis than in Schubert's exercise in 'Repertoire-Theorie', but Räkel's assessment reflected Gennrich's and Schubert's influence. Räkel dismisses *R* as

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[82] *Ibid.*, pp. 35–6.

[83] Lug, 'Katharer und Waldenser in Metz', p. 257.

[84] Schubert, *Die Liederhandschrift Paris, Bibl. Nat. fr. 1591*, p. 127.

[85] *Ibid.*, pp. 179, 184–6.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 179.

[87] H. Spanke, 'Studien zur Geschichte des altfranzösischen Liedes: I.', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 156 (1929), pp. 66–79, at p. 70.

[88] Schubert, *Die Liederhandschrift Paris, Bibl. Nat. fr. 1591*, p. 178.

[89] H.-H. Räkel, *Die musikalische Erscheinungsform der Trouvèrepoesie* (Bern, 1977).

riddled both with errors and with later reinventions by uneducated scribes.[90] The result is, at best, a 'representative workpiece by an admirer of trouvère lyric' who took as their task not to capture melodic performances but to possess the texts and simulate the appearance of melody.[91] Rather than being copied for the sake of preservation, its melodies were fabricated by scribes to enhance the value of the texts.

While there are cases elsewhere of 'music' notation consisting of no more than square note-heads added to staves at random heights, the inauthenticity of *R*'s music is less obvious.[92] There are certainly instances where *R*'s notation looks much sloppier than that of most chansonniers. The alignment of music with text is frequently inscrutable (a charge that could equally be levelled at manuscript *V*).[93] And *R* (like *M* and *V*) contains many melodies that are completely distinct from those that consistently accompany the concordant texts in other manuscripts. Yet there is nothing in any of *R*'s music (beyond some vagueness in text–music co-ordination and sloppy penmanship) to suggest that the notes are random or purely invented by a notator for appearance' sake. There may be 'flights of scribal fancy'[94] in *V* as in *R* and *M*, in the sense that only one scribe ever presented a certain melody in a certain way. But this is no sure sign that the music as written had no connection to the music as sung.

The attractiveness of the idea that some melodies in these sources were scribal inventions lies in its power to explain why many melodies vary so dramatically from other sources. It is a peculiar feature, often remarked on, that the melodies of trouvère songs display difference beyond variance, with entirely different melodies in different manuscripts for the same song.[95] These diverging melodies have been called

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[90] See also Van der Werf's denigrating comments in his 'Musical Introduction', p. 28.

[91] Räkel, *Die musikalische Erscheinungsform*, p. 339: 'repräsentatives Werkstück eines Bewunderers der Trouvèrelyrik'. Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours*, p. 56, also considers the possibility that divergent melodies for the same text resulted when 'a scribe provided a new melody for a poem for which he could not find music'.

[92] This 'simulated' or 'false' musical notation appears in manuscript *o* of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, F-Pnm fr. 2193: see Räkel, *Die musikalische Erscheinungsform*, p. 338 ('den Inhalt gar nicht zu bewaren, sondern zu simulieren'); K. A. Duys, 'Manuscripts that Preserve the Songs of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (Listed by Date and Siglum)', in *Gautier de Coinci: Miracles, Music, and Manuscript*, ed. K. M. Krause and A. Stones (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 367–8, at p. 368, n. 3.

[93] Schubert, *Die Liederhandschrift Paris, Bibl. Nat. fr. 1591*, p. 178, notes this particularly in the melodies *R* and *V* share.

[94] I thus translate the phrase 'fantaisies personnelles' from A. Henry (ed.), *L'œuvre lyrique d'Henri III Duc de Brabant* (Bruges, 1948), p. 79. H. Spanke, 'Studien zur Geschichte des altfranzösischen Liedes', p. 70, refers to one implausible melody as 'das Erzeugnis der müßigen Stunde eines Schreibers' (the result of a scribe's idle hour).

[95] The topic of melodic sameness and difference is a rich one. Because of the variance inherent in trouvère melodic tradition, it can be difficult to assert that two melodies are

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'isolated' or 'marginal melodies' or also the results of 'Kontraposition', a twist on contrafaction.[96] The term 'Kontraposition' assumes that the same text was set to music multiple times independently. For Schubert and Räkel, this took place in writing. Music scribes, eager to complete their task despite a lack of exemplars for some melodies, might be expected to take matters into their own hands and adapt a stock tune to the text being copied. The quality of the resulting song would vary wildly along with the competence and conscientiousness of the notator. We do indeed see variance in style and coherence in the melodies of *R* and *V*, and there is evidence that one of *V*'s music scribes took considerable creative license to get out of trouble when aligning music above the text.[97] It is thus worth taking seriously the possibility that some or all of these 'Kontraposita' were invented and asking what evidence to that effect can supplement melodic comparison.

It is in this context that Christopher Callahan has championed marginal or isolated mélodies as legitimate alternatives to their cousins.[98] Callahan considers the three hypotheses in circulation to explain isolated melodies: invention by scribes, oral transmission of a 'secondary lyric practice' (in other words, invention by performers in the context of 'Repertoire-Theorie') or transcription from lost written sources.[99] Callahan noted that isolated melodies were ubiquitous in *R* and *V*. In the latter source, he noticed that they appear clustered into groups. His focus was on the collection of songs by Thibaut de Champagne, and it is within the Thibaut section of *V* that a surprising break appears between concordant melodies and isolated melodies. It is a particularly interesting area of the manuscript in which to find extreme variance, since in the view of many scholars since Gröber single-author sections like that of Thibaut were most likely to be

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[96] elaborated versions of the same basic template, modal reworkings of a shared melodic contour, or two different, entirely unrelated compositions. In the case of manuscript *V*, the contrast between divergent and concordant melodies is extreme. See C. Callahan, 'À la défense des mélodies "marginales" chez les trouvères', *Cahier de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes*, 26 (2013), pp. 69–90, discussed below. For a detailed analysis of variance in *V*, see Bleisch, 'Copying and Collection', pp. 196–233.

[96] For the origin of the term 'Kontraposition' see W. Bittinger, 'Fünfzig Jahre Musikwissenschaft als Hilfswissenschaft der romanischen Philologie', *Zeitschrift für Philologie*, 68 (1953), pp. 161–94, at p. 178.

[97] N. Bleisch, 'Between Copyist and Editor: Away from Typologies of Error and Variance in Trouvère Songs', *Music & Letters*, 103 (2022), pp. 1–26, at pp. 21–4.

[98] Callahan, 'À la défense des mélodies "marginales"'.

[99] Callahan, e.g. 'Copying Trouvère Lyric', p. 18, generally accepts the importance of written transmission in the compilation of chansonniers even from the earliest period.

copied from extremely early written collections.[100] Every melody in *V* before fol. 17 is very similar or even identical to the melodies for the same text in other sources, especially *K, N* and *X*. From fol. 17 to fol. 24, by contrast, there is a long string of melodies that are all 'marginal' or 'isolated', to translate Callahan's terms ('marginales', 'isolées').[101] On the basis of the concentration of melodies in *V*, Callahan leans toward his third hypothesis: that the isolated Thibaut melodies in *V* were copied from lost notated sources. This seems to indicate the circulation of contradictory melodic versions of Thibaut's song collections.

Callahan suspected that the beginning of the string of isolated melodies coincided with a new gathering but was unable to view the manuscript in person to verify the hypothesis. My own collation, based on examination of the manuscript, confirms this intuition. Fols. 1–16 make up the first two gatherings of manuscript *V*, and fols. 17–24 make up the third (see Table 4).[102] The music in the first two gatherings was copied entirely from a notated source with melodies in agreement with the other surviving sources. The music of the third gathering could reasonably have been copied from a lost notated source. Switches from concordant to isolated melodies stop lining up with gathering breaks at this point. The last two songs of Gathering III correspond closely to their concordant versions, and then the final song by Thibaut de Champagne, in the middle of Gathering IV, again has a unique melody. These alternations between concordances and isolation persist throughout the rest of the manuscript. For these later gatherings we might now ask whether the music scribe copied from a notated source with now-isolated melodies, if they relied strictly on their own musical knowledge, or if they resorted to invention. To answer that question, I turn once again to empty staves, this time found within a section of isolated melodies.

b. Empty Staves and Lost Notated Sources

Leaving aside the appended fols. 119–155,[103] *V* contains only one song fully lacking in notation, the fittingly texted *Ne m'i sont pas achoison de chanter* ('I have no reason to sing'), RS 787 / L 65-52 (Figure 7). The

[100] Huot, *From Song to Book*, pp. 64–6; Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères*, p. 35; Haines, 'Aristocratic Patronage', pp. 104, 111.

[101] Callahan, 'À la défense des mélodies "marginales"', p. 76. See also Bahat and Le Vot (eds.), *L'œuvre lyrique de Blondel de Nesle*, p. 30.

[102] For a full discussion of the different text and music hands of *V*, and correlations between changes in layout, notational styles, and melodic concordances, see Bleisch, 'Copying and Collection', pp. 65–97, 196–229, 276–302, esp. pp. 69–70, 232.

[103] These folios are copied on different parchment, with a different gathering structure, in a different hand and with different decoration. The separate nature of this section, containing an otherwise unknown treatise on *Les Sept Sages*, a truncated version of the *Bestiaire d'Amour* of Richard de Fournival and a number of Marian chansons in French

Table 4.   Gatherings, Concordances and Missing Music in Trouvère *V* (F-Pnm fr. 24406)

Folios	Gathering	Codicological Unit	Text Hand	Music Hand	Primary Melodic Concordances	Empty Staves
1–8	I	*V¹*	Scribe A	Notator 1	*KX*	
9–16	II					
17–24	III				Divergent melodies until 24^r	
25–32	IV				*KX* or *R*	
33–40	V				Divergent melodies until 37^r and again from 39^r	33$^{r–v}$
41–48	VI				Mostly *KX*, divergent 42^v–44^v and 45^r–48^v	
49–56	VII			Notator 2	Textual unica	
57–64	VIII				*R* or unica	
65–72	IX		Scribe B		Mix of divergent melodies and close relations to *KX* or *R*	
73–80	X				Divergent until 76^v then *KX* or *R*	
81–88	XI				Mix of divergent melodies and those related to *KX*	
89–96	XII				Mix of textual unica, diveregent melodies and melodies related to *KX* or *R*	
97–104	XIII				Mostly unica	
105–112	XIV				Mostly divergent melodies	
113–119	XV				Mostly divergent. *KNPX*, *O* and *a*	
120–131	XVI				*O* and *a*	
132	XVII	*V²*	*V²* Scribe	Non-lyric texts		
133–135	XVIII					
136–139	XIX					
140–143	XX					
144–145	XXI					
146–155	XXII			*V²* Notator	*X*	152^v–155^r

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song begins a new folio (fol. 33), indeed, a new gathering (Gathering V), and the staves are blank from the beginning of the song. These blank staves do not continue for long. The next song, *Ne puis faillir a bonne chanson fere*, RS 160 / L 65-51, has notation provided for most, but not all, of the first stanza (Figure 8). Notation begins not at the start of the song, but in the middle of the staff and even in the middle of the sentence, on the second word of poetic line 5, 'meillor'. The rest of the song is fully notated. To demonstrate the abruptness of the beginning, the text of the first stanza is reproduced with translation below, with the start of the notation placed in bold type.

> a Ne puis faillir a bonne chanson fere
> b quant ma dame m'en prie que je chant
> a s'ele me fust tant franche et debonnere
> b con je sui li bien porroie mon chant
> c fere **meillor**. s'en seroit miex amez
> c mes por itant m'en sui reconfortez
> c que nus biens n'est d'amors trop desirrez

I cannot fail to make a good song when my lady asks me to sing, and she was so honest and graceful to me. When I am so, I might well make my song **better**. And I will be better loved for it. But for all that I am reassured: that no-one good is too much desired by love.

(mostly contrafacta of other trouvère songs, some of them found elsewhere in *V* but with different melodies) has long been recognised: see J. Brakelmann, 'Die dreiundzwanzig altfränzosischen Chansonniers: in Bibliotheken Frankreichs, Englands, Italiens und der Schweiz', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 23/42 (1868), pp. 43–72, at pp. 46, 49; Aubrey, 'Sources, MS, §III, 4', pp. 857–8; Bleisch, 'Copying and Collection', pp. 43–53; D. E. O'Sullivan, *Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century French Lyric* (Toronto, 2005), pp. 83–6; R. Lug, *Semi-mensurale Informationen zur Liedrhythmik des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 2019), p. 78; Leach, 'Shared Small Sources', p. 130. The unusual appearance of the staves and notation has led to the speculation that they were inserted as part of one of the bibliographic projects of the Enlightenment; see E. Aubrey, 'Medieval Melodies in the Hands of Bibliophiles of the *Ancien Régime*', in *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman*, ed. B. Haggh (Paris and Tours, 2001), pp. 17–34, at pp. 21–9. However, the singular variants (which cannot have been copied directly from an extant chansonnier), the extensive knowledge of examples for the contrafacta, and the obvious attempt to adhere to square notation would be more in keeping with a medieval collector's activity, albeit one with limited skill as a notator. Aubrey has noted early gathering signatures beginning on fol. 119 and running through the end of the manuscript and then continuing at its beginning. The two manuscripts must have been united at an early date in the opposite order from how they now appear. The blank staves in this separate section begin with *De la mere dieu doit chanter chascuns*, fol. 152ᵛ, and continue through the rest of the songs in the manuscript.
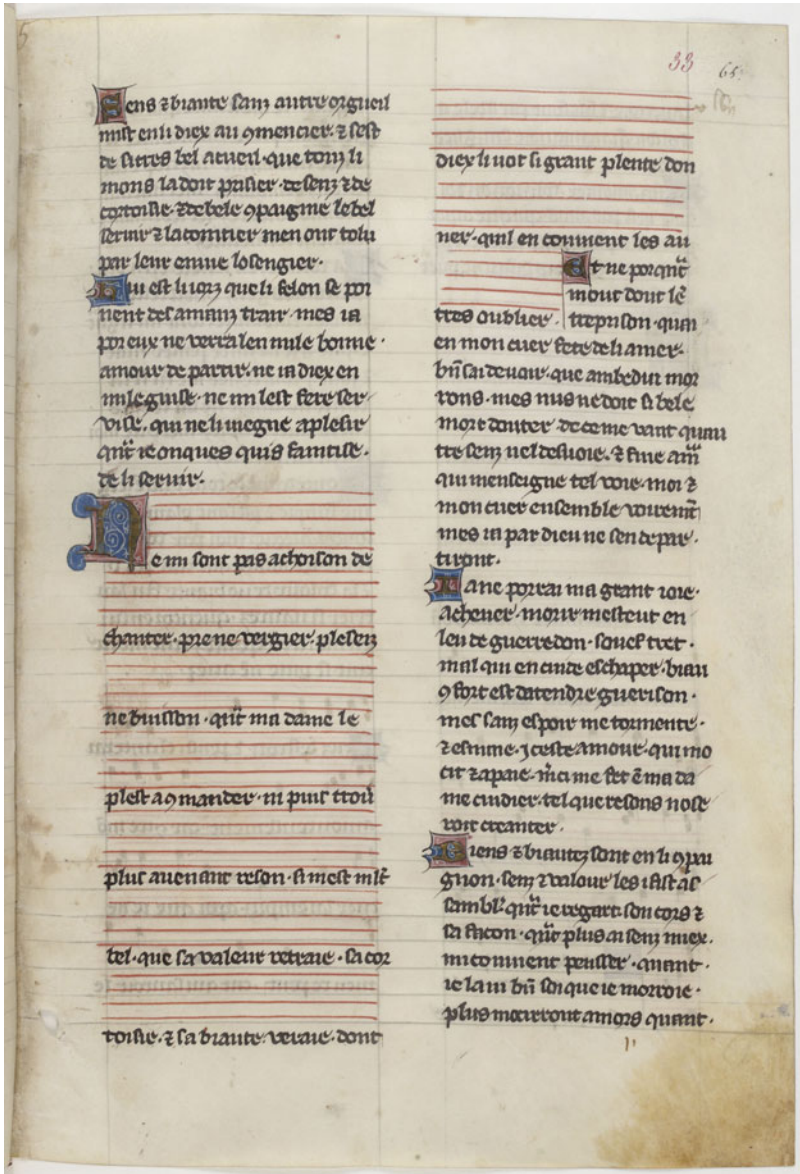
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Figure 7   Trouvère *V*, fol. 33ʳ: Empty staves for *Ne m'i sont pas achoison de chanter*

Figure 8 Trouvère *V*, fol. 33ᵛ: Incomplete notation
of *Ne puis faillir a bonne chanson fere*

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There is much to puzzle over here. It is easy to see why notation might be absent from *Ne m'i sont pas*: generally, staves were left empty due to lack of knowledge, lack of an exemplar or lack of time. It is less easy to imagine why the notator notated only the second half of *Ne puis faillir*. Had the notation begun again with a new folio, as we saw in the case study from chansonnier *U*, we might have suspected the notational lacuna came as a side effect of copying folio by folio. If it began with a new song, we might have attributed the lacuna to a lapse of memory. But only the second part of *Ne puis faillir* is notated; this is the cauda, which, unlike the opening pedes of most songs, is unrepeated and thus likely more difficult to learn and remember. Had the notation begun with a new poetic line, we might have argued instead that the easily-remembered opening was not worth notating but the ending was.[104] If the song had come directly from a scribe's knowledge as a performer, or were their own creation, we would have had notation from the beginning of the song or the beginning of a line. There is a chance, however slim, that the music was left out for dramatic effect to match the texts of *Ne m'i sont pas* and *Ne puis faillir*; but in that case, why is the eye-catching stunt reserved only for these two songs, when the themes of trouvères failing to sing and improving their songs are so ubiquitous throughout the repertoire, including elsewhere in this manuscript? The puzzle only resolves if we postulate a lost notated exemplar for *V*. While the abrupt start of notation does not correspond with a page break or a new gathering in *V*, it might have corresponded to such a break in the exemplar. If that exemplar were damaged, or if the notator had access only to part of it, they might well have seen only the second half of the song, starting from the second word of the fifth line of poetry.

Ne puis faillir can be found undamaged and with complete notation in the closely interrelated sources *K*, *N*, *P*, *X* and *L*. But the music that does exist in *V* has very little discernable relationship to the surviving music in the other sources. The music transcribed in Example 1 facilitates the comparison. The melody from *V* (also seen in Figure 8) is compared to *L* and to a regularised version of *KNPX*, and I offer staves for variant readings when they occur among these four sources. In poetic line 5, *V*'s music for the first five notated syllables, 'meilleur s'en seroit', corresponds roughly to the pitches in the other sources and matches their contours. *V*'s first three notes at the beginning of poetic line 7 seem to mimic those in the other sources but in transposition by a

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[104] Selective notation that follows a similar rationale may be found among plainchant hymns at a period when an oral repertoire was transitioning towards notation: see Susan Boynton, 'Orality, Literacy, and the Early Notation of the Office Hymns', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2003), pp. 99–168, esp. pp. 124–32.

Example 1   Comparative transcription of *Ne puis faillir a bonne chanson fere*

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fifth. Elsewhere in the song, *V* reverses directions, replaces single notes with ligatures and vice versa and generally reorganises the modal shape of the piece. The *KNPX* and *L* versions centre around *g* with a secondary emphasis on outlining the octave *d–d′*; what survives of *V*'s version is firmly in an F mode. None of the three cadence points is the same for *V* as for the concordant sources. While the opening of line 7 suggests some relationship between the versions, the rest of the piece resembles what Schubert calls a 'Falschung' and Räkel calls 'Kontraposition'. Moreover, the piece appears in a section of the manuscript primarily populated with isolated melodies.[105] This is the primary reason for focusing on this example, as it raises the question of how such melodies come to be in surviving manuscripts.

Examples of empty staves beginning in the middle of a song *and* in the middle of a folio are rare among trouvère chansonniers. I find such instances only in later sources, specifically *V*, *a* and *R*, and *Ne puis faillir* is the sole example that corresponds to a unique melody. In trouvère *R*, we see a close approximation of the situation in *V*, with the song *Onques ne fui sans amour*, RS 1964 / L 192-16, on fol. 85ᵛ (Figure 9), though in this case the melody agrees with other sources. As usual, the text follows an abab structure, though the cauda contains a c-rhyme and a refrain.

a Onques ne fui sans amour
b En toute ma vie
a Ne ja ne serai nul jour
b Car cil ne vit mie
c Qui son **temps** n'i a tourné
c Fine amour m'a asené
d **Par** son plaisir
d La dont je ne quier partir
d Pour mal souffrir.

I have never been without love in all my life nor will I ever be. For he does not live at all who does not devote his **time** [to love]. Fin'amour has wounded me **with** her pleasure which I never seek to leave on account of suffering ill.

In poetic lines 5 and 6, between the words 'son' and 'Par', the notator has skipped almost (but not quite) an entire staff of music. The notation trails off after the second syllable of the fourth line of the lyric (in bold in the text transcription above) and only picks up again with the refrain, at the very end of the staff (also in bold). As in the previous example, neither the mise en page of the song nor the organisation of its text or melody explain why this particular

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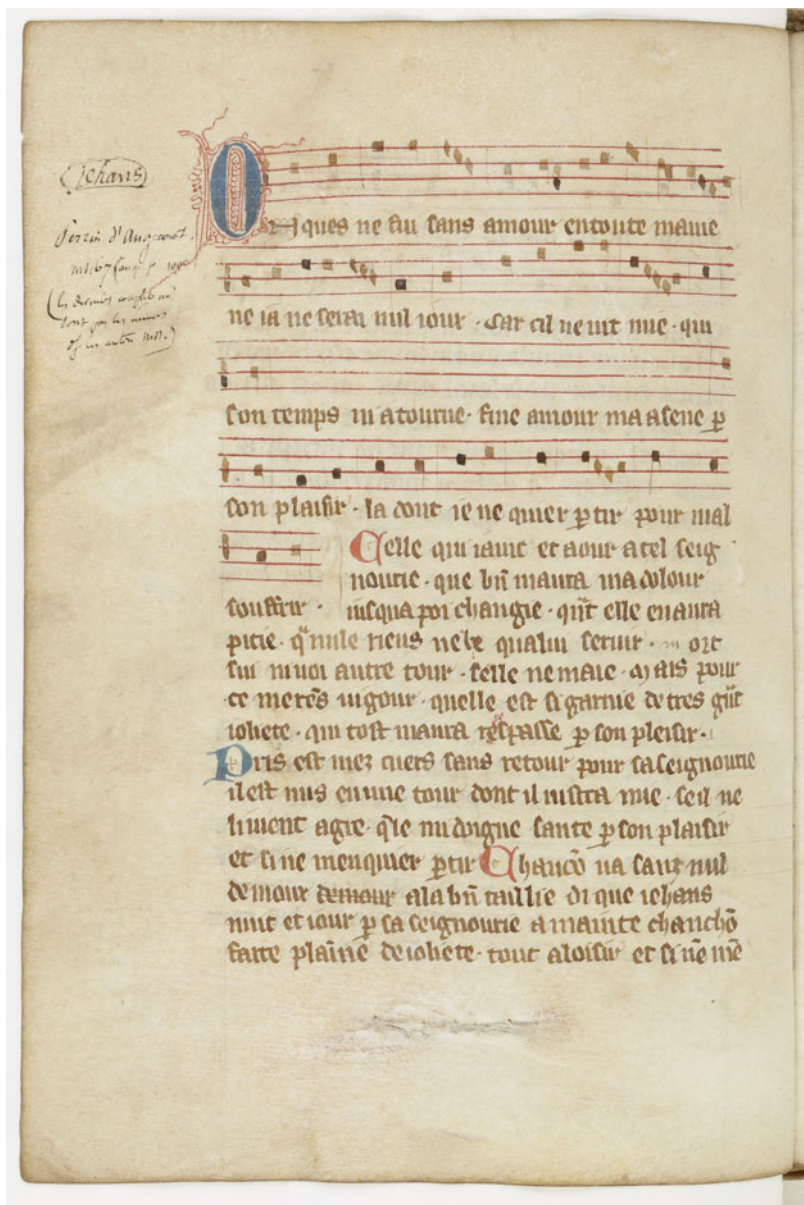[105] Bleisch, 'Copying and Collection', Table 10.1, pp. 399–400.

Figure 9   Trouvère *R*, fol. 85ᵛ: Incomplete notation of *Onques ne fui sans amour*

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segment of the notation is missing and a lost exemplar seems the most obvious explanation. The missing phrase would be just about the right length to correspond to a single staff if the piece were laid out in bicolumnar format, as it appears in all sources but *R* and *Z*.

The work of Spanke, Schubert and Räkel is impressive in its embrace of scribal agency, even if Callahan's defense of isolated melodies against them remains convincing. It is reasonable to imagine that at some point, the role of scribe and inventor overlapped, as did those of scribe and performer. Determining when precisely this took place was of paramount importance for philologists in the early and middle twentieth century, as it could aid in sorting melodies that came through a respectable oral tradition from simulations of trouvère melody. Yet the specific idea that empty staves were filled with newly invented melodies cannot be reconciled to the apparent attitudes of chansonnier music scribes. The existence of examples like those above sets limits on the musical knowledge and creative liberties taken by scribes, even in the very sources considered by Schubert, Räkel and Spanke. Examples like these narrow the range of possible modalities of copying, as they demonstrate a certain level of care for accuracy over comprehensiveness on the part of the *V* and *R* scribes. These notators could not have been guilty of inventing melodies wholesale, otherwise why not fill in the missing lines with another 'personal fantasy'?[106]

More generally, it is hard to reconcile the attitude behind *Ne puis faillir*'s blank staves for these melodies with confident scribal knowledge, either from memory or from invention. How could a scribe know a song well enough to copy it but not remember the repeating opening? And how could a scribe have the gall to invent only the second half of a song? It is perhaps easier to imagine the gap in *R* resulting from a faulty memory than it is for the *V* and *a* examples: the first four poetic lines (with repeating musical pedes) and the refrain (with repeating text in each stanza) would probably have been the most memorable parts of the melody. Other examples of missing music in *R* and *a* do correspond to page breaks and argue against memory issues as a major contributor to absent music: problems of codicological organisation seem a more likely culprit.[107] Even in the case of *Onques ne fui sans amour* in *R*, it seems odd that anyone could remember exactly the first two notes of the cauda and no further. A

[106] Henry (ed.), *L'œuvre lyrique de Henri III*, p. 79; see n. 94 above.
[107] *R*, fols. 52ᵛ–53ʳ, 83ʳ⁻ᵛ; *a*, fol. 75ʳ.

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notator who relied on a fragmented notated exemplar for the first five poetic lines and also knew the refrain by memory might have produced exactly what we see on *R*'s page.

The previous examples push ever closer to the conclusion that notated exemplars played a significant, perhaps even dominant role in the compilation of chansonniers such as *R*, *U* and *V*. Text scribes would have had little use for such exemplars and probably relied instead on more compact and less skill-intensive, text-only sources, as we saw evidenced by the text scribe's error in *Tant autresi con descent la rousee* (see Figure 2 above). Music scribes for some large chansonniers on the other hand must have made use of notated exemplars, as seen in the cases of *Ne puis faillir* and probably *Onques ne fui sans amour*. The rest of this article seeks to show how empty staves can reveal what these lost notated exemplars may have looked like.

c. Preparatory Materials or Notated Tradition? Another Dinosaur Philologist post-Extinction

If not the 'Liederblätter' of the late nineteenth century, what kind of notated sources should we imagine being used as exemplars for sources such as *R*, *U* and *V*? The idea of 'very small ephemeral materials' being used as exemplars for copying songs may bring to mind the wide-spread use of wax tablets during the Middle Ages.[108] In fact, Haines has considered the possibility that such tablets were used both for trouvère texts and their melodies in his codicological work and study of medieval book culture.[109] This final section attempts to integrate wax tablets into the growing narrative of lost written trouvère sources and asks how they relate to the case studies we saw above.

Haines's chapter on the manuscript context of Adam de la Halle is a rehabilitation of Gröber of sorts, in that Haines is interested in the earliest written vernacular songs and the earliest notation of their melodies. His defence of the 'dinosaur philologists' brings into focus evidence from library inventories, erasures in manuscripts and the same accounts of the lives of trouvères and author organisation used by Gröber and Schwan.[110] Haines also emphasises two types of media known to have played a large role in medieval written culture in general:

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[108] See Leach, 'Shared Small Sources', p. 123.

[109] Haines, 'Aristocratic Patronage', pp. 101–6.

[110] See Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante*, p. 69, cited in Haines, 'Aristocratic Patronage', p. 97, for the phrase 'les dinosaures' applied to philologists. On libraries, see Haines, 'Aristocratic Patronage', p. 100, and for erasures, see Haines, 'Erasures in Thirteenth-Century Music', pp. 66–7. For the description of single-author collections, see Gröber,

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the parchment roll and the wax tablet. Haines infers that both forms of written communication must have played a role in the transmission of trouvère music, without negating the fact that the creation, performance and memorisation of this music took place in a primarily oral culture. Haines, like most scholars today, still accepts that oral transmission and written transmission occurred simultaneously over the whole course of the trouvère period.[111] Within this background, the 'immediate ancestors' of the extant chansonniers can be studied with greater certainty than first performances or transcriptions.[112]

Thus Haines does not offer anything like a chronological progression from authorial originals to 'Liederblätter' to 'Liederbücher' and 'Gelegenheitssammlungen'.[113] Haines's work, along with Leach's and Lug's, serves as a moment of reorientation toward manuscript studies. He differs from Leach and from the current article in that he does not suggest any way that evidence from surviving chansonniers could be used to establish which type of medium was used in their copying. His focus instead is showing that trouvère songs transcribed in single-author collections (resembling Gröber's 'Liederbücher'), parchment rolls (resembling 'Liederblätter') and wax tablets, all must have existed. Haines's review of the evidence is refreshing and it raises important questions. How did these lost writing materials relate to surviving chansonniers? One part of this issue is the question most deeply tied up with debates over oral and written transmission, that of whether song leaves or performance collections were used for copying. This has been partially answered above. Another question, brought up by Haines's demonstration of how trouvère songs would look inscribed in wax, is whether chansonnier scribes themselves ever wrote songs out on wax tablets or scraps of parchment prior to inscribing them in chansonniers. In other words, was their act of copying into the chansonniers one of sight-reading, or a polished performance? The examples of empty staves considered here do not challenge any particular theory in Haines's work, but rather shift the focus towards how these media (and which of them) could plausibly have interacted with the surviving chansonniers.

'Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours', pp. 345–54; Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften*, p. 266.
[111] Haines, 'Aristocratic Patronage', p. 96.
[112] For the phrase 'immediate ancestors', see *ibid.*, p. 102, where Haines ascribes their study to Gröber and Schwan.
[113] Compare Gröber's overview of the various hypothetical strands of transmission behind the extant sources (complete with ample caveats) in 'Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours', pp. 656–61, and Van der Werf's view of the stages of oral transmission and the transition to writing in 'Music', in Akehurst and Davis (eds.), *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, pp. 129–30.

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A wax tablet, due to the affordances of the soft material, can be erased and rewritten. For this reason alone, mistakes made on wax were less costly. Wax was exceptionally suited for the preparatory function described by Gröber for parchment leaves and van der Werf for leaves and wax, as an aid to scribes and composers.[114] Parchment was less suited to this purpose, since the process of inscribing ink on it was all but permanent. Binding parchment into roll or codex format added another layer of determination to the source. Yet any written-upon surface has the potential to serve multiple functions. There is the preparatory function just mentioned, but also the repository function (best exemplified by the chansonniers), and the mnemonic function exemplified in the performance copies, touched on above. Most importantly for Gröber and for Haines is the function of transmission, written surfaces carrying their contents from one place, or more precisely one mind, to another. It should be clear that parchment could fulfil any of these roles. That a wax tablet could be extensive enough to qualify as a medium for a small song collection, and thus serve as a means of transmission, is clear from the examples provided by Marilynn Desmond in her consideration of the role of tablets in the composition of long poems.[115] Needless to say, a written source could be produced with one purpose in mind and then later serve another, incidental function. This is what Gröber imagines when he describes preparatory 'Liederblätter' being used to transmit songs to construct larger collections, or what Gennrich envisages when he hypothesises memorial performance copies later becoming exemplars.[116] This is also precisely what Lug and Leach have demonstrated

[114] Gröber, 'Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours', pp. 338, 355–7; Van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, p. 28.

[115] M. Desmond, '*Translatio* in Wax: The Wax Tablet and the Composition of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*', *Viator*, 49/1 (2018), pp. 51–76, at p. 57: the largest of the sets of tablets associated with the French royal household contained 26 writing surfaces, enough to hold 781 lines of text. See E. Lalou, 'Inventaire des tablettes médiévales et présentation générale', in Lalou (ed.), *Les tablettes à écrire, de l'antiquité à l'époque moderne* (Turnhout, 1992), pp. 233–88, at p. 268; A. Morgan, 'Absent Material: Waxed, Wooden, and Ivory Writing Tablets in the Medieval and Modern Periods', in R. G. Sullivan and M. Pagès (eds.), *Imagining the Self, Constructing the Past: Selected Proceedings from the 36th Annual Medieval and Renaissance Forum* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2016), pp. 166–89. Desmond, '*Translatio* in Wax', p. 54, also offers evidence for lyrics inscribed in wax, namely a line in the Harley Lyrics, 'Scripsi hec carmina in tabulis' (I have written these songs on tablets): *The Complete Harley 2253 Manuscript*, ed. and trans. S. Fein with D. Raybin and J. Ziolkowski, 3 vols. (Kalamazoo, MI, 2014), ii, p. 234, song 55, line 17.

[116] Van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, p. 28, describes something similar for wax, where 'a "draft", probably on some inexpensive or reusable material like a wax tablet or a slate [could have] been used for two or more of the preserved manuscripts'.

in their studies of shared exemplars for *I* and *C*, which Lug argues started life as preparatory materials for *U*.[117] The current case study aims to differentiate between different functions, if not media, of lost written exemplars. While it is impossible to identify the imagined purpose of a source at the moment of its creation without any direct knowledge of that source, it is possible to know how it was used when it became an exemplar for sources that do survive.

Given the way songs are notated in the trouvère manuscripts *R* and *V*, it seems unlikely any preparatory efforts were made by their music scribes. Notators behaved as though they were seeing exemplars for the first time, indeed, as if they were not the ones to have prepared whatever source they were copying from.[118] Furthermore, if wax tablets were employed as a means of determining layout, surely both notation and text should have been taken into account. Rather, examples like *Tout autresi con descent la rousee* (section II*a* above) demonstrate that the text hand did not always know what the music hand would be doing.[119] A few further examples argue specifically against effective co-ordination between the planning of layout and music notation, even in one of the most elaborately decorated chansonniers, trouvère *T*. Staves in this source are frequently drawn for refrains, but only some of these refrains were supplied with music. Some entire songs were never notated, despite being situated between other fully-notated songs, such as *Dame des ciels*, RS 1353 / L 102-5, on fol. 32ᵛ (Figure 10). Some stanzas of songs were mistakenly given staves, such as the final stanza of *Trop est costumiere amors*, RS 2018 / L 1-7, on fol. 81ᵛ (Figure 11). Similarly, in the case of non-strophic lais, the scribes determined that it was unnecessary to copy out all of the repetitive and formulaic sections in full. However, there was disagreement about how much or how little notation was necessary, as can be seen in the second half of the *Lai d'Aeliz, En sospirant de trop parfont*, RS 1921 / L 265-659, on fol. 68ᵛ (Figure 12), listed under Type D of Table 1 and Type 4 of Table 2. While the text scribe was parsimonious in providing staves, the notator still deemed three of them (those at the top and bottom of the page) superfluous in the final process of notation.

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[117] Leach, 'Shared Small Sources', pp. 123, 144; Lug, 'Common Exemplars of **U** and **C**', pp. 85–6.

[118] On the sometimes haphazard or improvisatory character of *V*'s notation in particular, see Bleisch, 'Between Copyist and Editor', pp. 21–5.

[119] Other manuscripts in similar repertoires from around the same time period exhibit the same lack of co-ordination. Aubrey, 'The Transmission of Troubadour Melodies', pp. 214–21, observes that the text scribe of troubadour *R* was ignorant of the music copied in that source.

Figure 10   Trouvère *T*, fol. 32ᵛ: Empty staves for *Dame des ciels*

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Figure 11   Trouvère *T*, fol. 81ᵛ: Superfluous staves for the final stanza
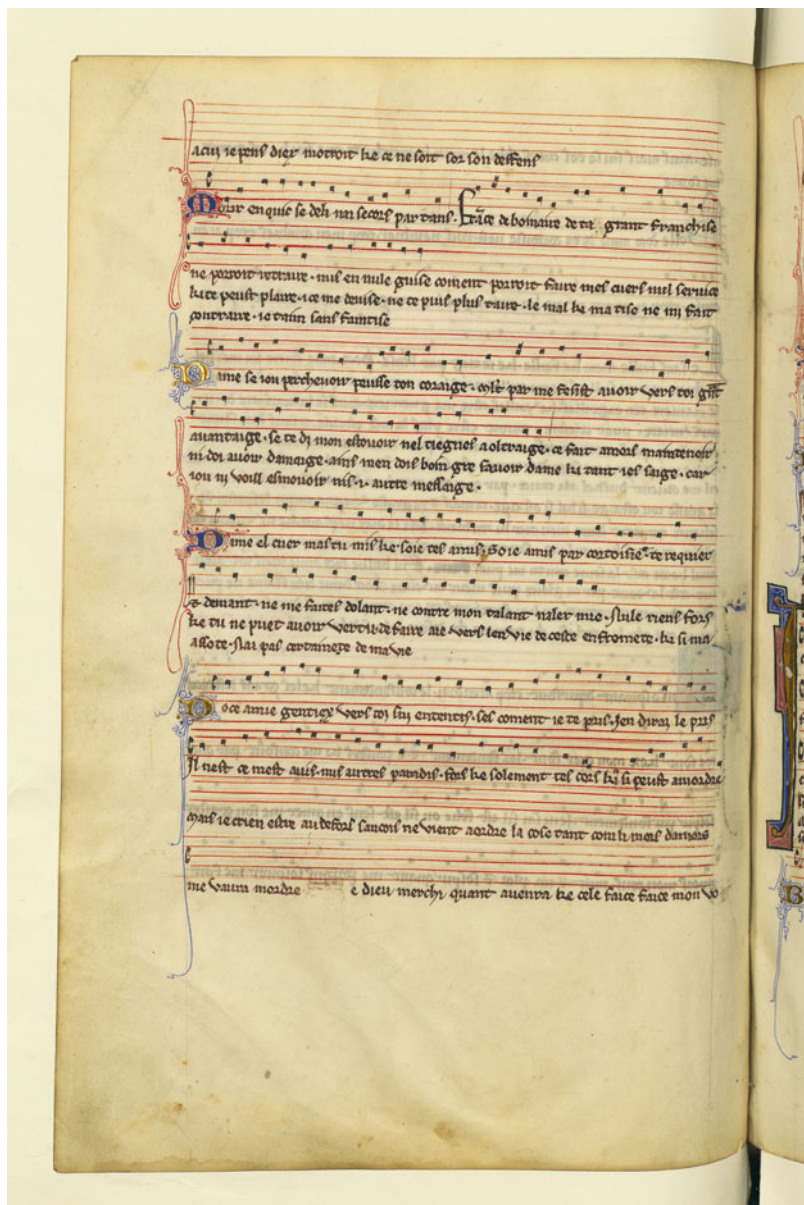of *Trop est costumiere amors*

Figure 12   Trouvère *T*, fol. 68ᵛ: Superfluous staves in the *Lai d'Aeliz*

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Such examples also undermine the idea of any consistent preparatory efforts to work out the notation itself, independently of the text, in wax. In general, notators may well have felt the need to decide on notational questions such as which ligatures to employ and where to place the clef before risking marring a clean copy of the text with notational mistakes. Errors in text–music alignment and transpositions by a third could then have crept in as the notation from the tablets was transferred onto parchment.[120] While this is a reasonable hypothesis, it is incapable of explaining the gap we saw in Figure 8, at the beginning of *Ne puis faillir a bone chanson fere* on fol. 33ᵛ of chansonnier *V*. If the notators themselves were in the habit of notating entire melodies in wax before copying them to parchment, what happened to the beginning of the piece? Damage to the wax tablet should have been easily remedied by the notator relying on their own knowledge of the song. The lack of notation rules out that knowledge.

In sum, text–music alignment, layout and notational choices show a distinct lack of planning in the very sources for which lost exemplars are most likely. Wax tablets were almost certainly employed at some stage of the construction process of some chansonniers, but their explanatory power over the errors and imperfections we see in chansonnier *V* is limited. Wax tablets play into this story only insofar as they are separated from the preparatory function so often associated with them. Notators may have copied from another source onto the wax tablet and then from the wax tablet into the chansonnier, in which case we are dealing with the existence of two lost sources: the wax tablet, and a now lost parchment witness to trouvère song. The only way wax could explain what we see in chansonnier *V* is if it was a lost source in the same way we normally imagine parchment to have been: the wax itself would need to have changed hands, potentially even across generations, allowing mistakes to arise from errors of interpretation. In that case, the function of the wax changes. It ceases to be preparatory material (prepared by the scribe for the scribe) to a medium of transmission, a lost ephemeral source carrying melody across space and time via the medium of notation. The act of copying from wax tablets is not in itself enough to explain the errors and omissions we see. We must posit that a lost notated surface (parchment or wax) changed hands. A scribe with knowledge of the specific song copied onto it, and a scribe with less knowledge of that song copied from it.

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[120] Clef choice was clearly not always easy for chansonnier notators. For a discussion of the irregular use of clefs in *V* and the impact of pre-drawn staves, see Bleisch, 'Copying and Collection', pp. 253–7; also Haines, 'Erasures in Thirteenth-Century Music', pp. 73–8, for errors of transposition in monophonic and polyphonic sources.

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IV. CONCLUSION

Trouvère and troubadour chansonniers with music were copied by scribes hampered by the materials available to them. Their attempts to compensate for those materials, as well as their own mechanical errors, left flaws in the finished product. Those flaws are now clues to the process by which sound became notation, and to the physical objects that afforded that process. The case studies we have just seen analyse these flaws. On the one hand, what they reveal is purely factual. But each of these arguments makes a historical claim about melodic transmission, summarised in the next few paragraphs.

The first example, *Tout autresi* as copied in manuscript *V*, showed that a text scribe of a late-thirteenth-century chansonnier was probably not in possession of notated sources. The text scribe lost track of the need for a notated melody, leaving a fortunate flaw on the parchment in the form of a half-hearted erasure and correction. Even when both 'Liederbücher' and fully realised chansonniers had already existed for decades, copyists relied on partial knowledge and imperfect sources. This raises a question for the study of lost songbooks, which is whether evidence of lost written exemplars implies the existence of lost notated exemplars. Chansonnier *U* offered an opportunity to consider how music scribes worked in a situation where we know written sources existed. The attitude of *U*'s notator in these gatherings shows that melodies were not being copied down as they came to hand, but rather as the physical medium of the parchment came to hand. Even if knowledge of trouvère and troubadour melodies and access to their notation was unreliable, the priorities were speed and adherence to familiar habits of working. Sheets of parchment were left to dry and their undersides were never finished. If notated exemplars pre-date the oldest collection of troubadour songs (troubadour *X*), these examples must make us further question how common the sources were and for how long they circulated, a line of reasoning that has begun with Lug's and Leach's consideration of the written sources of manuscripts from Lorraine.[121] Incidentally, evidence from sections of anonymous songs challenges any link between authorial collections and early notation.

We have seen the importance of this question of notation for mid-twentieth-century trouvère scholars and for comparison of melodic versions. In particular, models of melodic transmission determine how we view isolated melodies, some of which reflect a lost notated tradition. The empty staves in *Ne puis faillir* in *V* and *Onques ne fui* in *R*

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[121] Leach, 'Shared Small Sources'; Lug, 'Common Exemplars of **U** and **C**'.

are the most unequivocal evidence demonstrating that music scribes copied from notated exemplars. While disagreeing with the melodies of other sources, *V*'s divergent melody for *Ne puis faillir* also circulated in a lost notated source. One might further conjecture that other such isolated melodies once had multiple witnesses and now have become the sole witnesses of lost variant versions. These case studies demonstrate that notators were not likely to invent music, even in the sources that have most been suspected of such fabrication. Rather, empty staves in *V* and *R* show at least some level of commitment to accuracy over completeness. More than one medieval scribe looked at the notation of *Ne puis faillir* and *Onques ne fui* and believed it fit well with the lyrics in question. That makes *V*'s and *R*'s renditions not so different from the canonical melodies of better-respected manuscripts.

We saw an alternative way of describing exemplars from Haines, who, like Leach, Lug and myself, has made a point of using manuscript imperfections to draw conclusions about lost sources. His recent arguments rely primarily on historical accounts, catalogues of missing manuscripts and rare survivals of ephemeral materials such as rolls and tablets. Section IIIc of this paper connected that landscape of sources to what can be proved through the case studies above. The way chansonnier music scribes related to their exemplars shows that those exemplars changed hands. The section focused on differences between the functions of media, differentiating the preparatory function of wax, or of some of Gröber's imagined 'Liederblätter', from the transmitting function of rolls and other small circulating materials. Examples taken from manuscript *T* along with the earlier examples from *V* show that scribes and notators carried out much of their work without planning it out in wax. Preparatory wax inscriptions may have existed, or even been the norm, but they were not universal.

These are the historical claims argued in the foregoing pages. On the other hand, even this cursory overview goes beyond fact-finding. These case studies shift the focus from questions of how sound interacted with writing to questions of how written sources interacted with each, and how surviving chansonniers relied on notated sources. Written and notated media were known to exist early in the thirteenth century, and we can be reasonably certain they were used to record trouvère songs from an early date. Yet the question of whether trouvères themselves wrote down their songs is not the point, nor is the question of how strictly performers adhered to the trouvères'

wishes. Viewed in this light, the case studies push us towards considering chansonniers and lost sources as making up a distinct culture of notation, coexistent with and dependent on the performance culture so inaccessible to us.[122] There is still a voice in the notated text, even if that voice is that of the notator and not a performer. Pursuing this set of questions requires new methods and a new body of evidence. The case studies each take an example of absent music in an otherwise notated manuscript and ask how the notator must have been interacting with their musical environment to arrive at that situation. They also reveal an aspect of textuality Richard de Fournival failed to predict: notation, both when present and when conspicuous by its absence, makes it possible to recover loss.

Only a handful of examples of unfurnished or erased notation have been considered here. Haines has touched on the extensive repertory of erasures, the surest indicators of errors and hence valuable sources of information for notators' musical judgment.[123] Tables 1 and 2 offer another body of evidence, that of songs lacking staves and staves lacking notation. This article has hardly mentioned, for example, the important trouvère chansonnier *M* and its numerous empty staves. Examples from this and still other sources will show greater diversity in approaches to copying and in access to knowledge and to notated exemplars. They may show that some notators *did* also work by memory.[124] Aubrey's work of 'codicological comparison . . . to discover possible stemmatic relationships' with a focus on troubadour chansonnier *R* should be supplemented with further work on the absent music in troubadour *G* and the Occitan songs housed in the same volume as trouvère *M* (troubadour *W*).[125] The lack of music looks different from chansonnier to chansonnier. Each empty staff is a distinct case: the scholar must investigate each instance separately to deduce where and how music was present.

KU Leuven

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[122] On the romantic, even erotic, notion of desire to recuperate medieval voices and sonorities from the surviving texts, see P. Zumthor, *Speaking of the Middle Ages*, trans. S. White (Lincoln, NE, 1986), p. 22; P. Zumthor, *La poésie et la voix dans la civilisation médiévale* (Paris, 1984), pp. 11, 37–9; Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love*, pp. 7–8.

[123] Haines, 'Erasures in Thirteenth-Century Music', pp. 67–71.

[124] The fact that only the repetitive and therefore memorable first four poetic lines of *Bien me cuidoie partir*, RS 1440 / L 240-28, on fol. 68ʳ, *Rois thibaut sire en chantant respondez*, RS 943 / L 19-1, on fol. 72ʳ and *Tant ai amors servies longuement*, RS 711 / L 240-51, on fol. 74ʳ in the Thibaut de Champagne section of *M* (F-Pnm fr. 844) suggests that the through-composed caudae were either deemed unnecessary or too difficult to supply accurately.

[125] Aubrey, 'The Transmission of Troubadour Melodies', p. 212; see n. 44 above.