

STAR-STRUCK, LOVESICK, POET-MUSICIANS: TROUBADOURS AND THE
CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF MUSIC IN MEDIEVAL SOCIETY

BY

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ABSTRACT

This research investigates questions of how to understand troubadour song as music, in the absence of musical notation for most of the repertory, how troubadour song influenced social structures of music-making, and the extent to which troubadour song interacts with other aspects of medieval culture. The first aspect of medieval culture that has bearing on the musical nature of troubadour song is the knowledge organizational scheme known as the seven liberal arts. The definitions of music and poetry found in treatises on the seven liberal arts show a myriad of ways that they overlap, making song a difficult genre to categorize neatly. Boethius' influential tripartite categorization of music—*musica mundana*, *musica humana*, and *musica instrumentalis*—provides a useful framework for considering the role of troubadour song in other aspects of medieval culture. Musical cosmology or *musica mundana*, intersects with troubadour song along themes of astronomy and numerology in song structures. *Musica humana* draws connections between the music and the human body beneficial for the use of music in medical practice. Medical treatises and troubadour song both address symptoms and cures for lovesickness. Finally, *musica instrumentalis* concerns the practice of music; I survey the troubadour manuscripts for images of musical instruments and speculate about the use of instruments in accompanying troubadour song, shedding light on the changing social attitudes toward musicians in the context of feudal social networks.

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INTRODUCTION

Dating from the late eleventh century to fourteenth century, the troubadour repertory is among the earliest secular song in a western vernacular language to survive with musical notation. These songs include a wide range of topics from love to warfare and are unified by a common Romance language known in scholarship today as Old Occitan. While troubadour song originally flourished in southern France—centered primarily in Poitiers and Toulouse—the royal courts in Spain and Northern Italy also played a vital role in the growth and preservation of *fin'amor* (courtly love) as a musical-poetic aesthetic. The wide-spread appeal of the troubadours served as a catalyst for the emergence of analogous repertories in other vernacular languages such as Old French, Middle High German, Middle English, and Italian.

The troubadour repertory is historically significant for disciplines such as historical linguistics, literature, and music, but musicologists face a notable challenge when studying troubadour song as only ten percent of approximately 2500 songs survive with musical notation. Gaining access to the musical nature of the repertory requires creative thinking, and much of the scholarship on the troubadour lyric comes, not from musicology, but from literary disciplines. Since they are less oriented toward musicality, literary scholars generally treat the repertory as lyric poetry rather than song. This dissertation seeks new ways to discuss troubadour song as music in the absence of obvious markers like musical notation, as well as to use analysis of musical notation to aide in the interpretation of culture more broadly. By applying interdisciplinary methods from art, cultural studies, history, literature, and music, one can find a variety of different kinds of evidence that address two main questions: to what extent do the troubadours and their songs fit into the social structures of knowledge-production, music-making

and aesthetics of the period, and to what extent does this repertory challenge and redefine those roles.

The largest source of information about the troubadours comes from the *chansonniers* (song books) that preserve their songs. Out of approximately forty manuscripts and fragments containing troubadour lyrics, only four contain musical notation. However, these manuscripts provide information about musical life and the contexts of musical performance within the texts and through images. Through the lyrics, the troubadours proclaim skills like singing and composing melodies and “new songs.” Literary evidence of musical performance also comes from the pseudo-biographical *vidas* which portray individual troubadours as possessing (or lacking) skills in singing, composing melodies, and playing the *vielle*. For example, one *vida* of Bernart de Ventadorn says, “he knew how to sing, and how to invent poetry well, and he became courtly and learned.”¹ These paired skills—singing and creating poetry—are recurrent themes in the *vidas*, and they emphasize both the compositional and performative aspect of the art of *trobar* (art of invention, composition).

Furthermore, the *vidas* acknowledge three troubadours for their skill on the *vielle*: Pons de Capduelh, Perdigon, and Elias Cairel. Of the three, Perdigon is the only one who has been researched extensively.² More research is needed from the discipline of musicology especially, since five of Pons de Capduelh’s melodies have survived, but few have been examined critically. This dissertation provides an analysis of one of Pons de Capduelh’s songs. The lyrics of Pons de Capduelh and Elias Cairel have been translated into modern Italian with critical editions by

¹ Margarita Egan, *The Vidas of the Troubadours* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1984), 11.

² For Perdigon’s repertory see Luisa M. Perdigó, *The Life, Poetry, and Music of the Provençal Troubadour Perdigon: Texts, Translations and Interpretations* (Edwin Mellen Press, 2013). There are no surviving melodies by Elias Cairel.

Antonella Martorano and Giosuè Lachin, respectively.³

Extant manuscripts also contain artistic depictions of musical performance through the portraits of troubadours playing musical instruments, marginalia of musicians and minstrel troops, and large-scale illuminations of performing contexts at court or tournaments. The portrait of Perdigon playing his *vielle*, for example, is often cited in both scholarly and popular representations of the Middle Ages. Two main concepts of performance arise from this evidence. The first is that the troubadour lyric was sung, and singing was a prized skill within the chivalric code. Second, if musical instruments were involved in performance, the *vielle* was considered the most appropriate instrument for accompaniment.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Musicological scholarship specifically on the troubadours has never been prolific. The rare exception is Elizabeth Aubrey's pioneering book *The Music of the Troubadours* which provides a concise overview of the historical context, poetics, style, form, genre, performance, and transmission of these songs.⁴ Therefore, the following literature review draws on both literary and musicological publications on the troubadour-trouvère repertory which can be divided into five different types: catalogues, critical editions, manuscripts studies, historical studies of individuals, and critical and interpretive studies.

The two major catalogues were compiled in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that separate the troubadour and trouvère repertoires according to their respective languages, unfortunately using different systems of sigla for the same manuscripts. The

³ Antonella Martorano, *Pons de Chaptail: Poesie* (Firenze: Ediziono Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2017); Giosuè Lachin, *Il Trovatore Elais Cairel* (Modena: Mucchi Editore, 2000).

⁴ Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).

troubadour catalogue was updated in 1933: Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, *Bibliographie des Troubadours*.⁵ The trouvère catalogue was updated in 1980, Gaston Raynaud and Hans Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Lieder*.⁶ In 2011, a new thematic catalogue was published by Donna Mayer-Martin and Dorothy Keyse that attempts to recombine the repertoires; the entry for each song presents a melody derived from a “base manuscript,” a list of concordances in other manuscripts, and known *contrafacta*.⁷ While the song lists in this catalogue are more detailed and incorporate the largest collection of manuscripts, it seems unlikely that the Mayer-Martin numbers will replace Pillet-Carstens or Raynaud-Spanke numbers that have been used in the scholarship for over a hundred years.

Recent work in the digital humanities has also produced online catalogues like the “Troubadour Melody Database.”⁸ Unlike the printed catalogues, this online resource gives full transcriptions of all the variant melodies. The division of music and literary disciplines, however, is still apparent in the lack of links to the lyrics that belong to the melodies, making it an impractical resource to use for anyone wanting to study the “whole” song or wanting to perform a song.

Some critical editions bridge this gap, such as Hans Tischler’s *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition* from 1997.⁹ This monumental 15 volume work gives performable transcriptions of both melody and text, but his rhythmic interpretation imposed on

⁵ Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, *Bibliographie Der Troubadours* (M. Niemeyer, 1933).

⁶ Hans Spanke and Gaston Raynaud, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie Des Altfranzösischen Lieder* (E.J. Brill, 1955).

⁷ Donna Mayer-Martin and Dorothy Keyser, *Thematic Catalogue of Troubadour and Trouvere Melody* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 1992).

⁸ The Troubadour Melody Database (<http://www.troubadourmelodies.org/>) was designed by Kate Chapman as part of her dissertation project “Digital Approaches to Troubadour Song,” PhD diss. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 2020).

⁹ Hans Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition* (Neuhausen: Hänssler-Verlag, 1997).

the melodies is controversial, harkening back to the famous lawsuit between musicologists Pierre Aubry and Jean Back who both laid claim to the theory that the rhythm of troubadour song should be interpreted with the Franconian rhythmic modes. Current conventions for transcribing the melodies in modern standard notation avoid rhythmic implications by using note heads without stems, and in their commentaries, they describe different theories of how to interpret the rhythm such as the declamatory theory and the isosyllabic theory. Other editions of troubadour melodies include Friedrich Gennrich, *Der musikalische Nachlass der Troubadours* (1958-65), Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, *Las Cançons dels Trobadors* (1979), and Hendrik van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies* (1984).¹⁰ These rely on a “base” melody and only present lyrical variants in cases where the differences are extreme. I consulted Hendrik van der Werf’s edition and the Troubadour Melody Database when creating my own transcriptions because of their accessibility and more contemporary approach to transcription. Digital facsimiles of most troubadour manuscripts are currently available to study for free online.

Manuscript studies provide an alternative approach to catalogues and comprehensive critical editions. Studies on single manuscripts, such as the dissertations of John Haines, Elizabeth Aubrey, and Judith Peraino, include provenance, codicology, and melodic analysis.¹¹ The musicological perspective tends to ignore illuminations and typically only engages with the form of the lyrics but not with the content. The “New Codicology” happening in literary fields with works like Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric*

¹⁰ Friedrich Gennrich, *Der Musikalische Nachlass Der Troubadours* (Darmstadt, 1958), Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, *Las Cançons dels Trobadors* (Institut d’Estudis Occitans, Tobasa, 1979). Hendrik Van der Werf, *Extant Troubadour Melodies* (Rochester: Van der Werf, 1984).

¹¹ Elizabeth Aubrey, “A Study of the Origins, History, and Notation of the Troubadour Chansonnier Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, F. FR. 22543,” PhD diss. (University of Maryland, College Park, 1982); John Dickinson Haines, “The Musicography of the ‘Manuscript Du Roi’,” PhD diss. (University of Toronto, 1998); Judith Ann Peraino, “New Music, Notions of Genre, and the ‘Manuscript Du Roi’ Circa 1300,” PhD diss. (University of California, Berkeley, 1995).

and *Lyrical Narrative Poetry*, is gradually catching on in musicology thanks to the work of Jane Alden on *chansonnières* from the fifteenth century, and the 2015 volume *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, and Context* edited by Helen Deeming and Eva Elizabeth Leach, which contains chapters on songbooks from England and Germany as well as France.¹² Another important monograph on medieval manuscripts that takes a comparative approach is Marisa Galvez's, *Songbook: How Lyrics Became Poetry in Medieval Europe*.¹³ Galvez discusses the images and text within manuscripts from Germany, Spain, and France, but as a literary scholar, she considers musical elements outside the scope of her work.

Monographs on individual troubadours take an historical approach in documenting the lives of the troubadour and interpreting their songs within this historical context. Some examples of the "life and works" approach include Walter T. Pattison's, *The Life and Works of the Troubadour Raimbaut D'Orange* and Luisa M. Perdigó's, *The Life Poetry, and Music of the Provençal Troubadour Perdigon: Texts, Translations, and Interpretations*.¹⁴ The scarcity of surviving historical documentation makes this work difficult and places a great deal of reliance on the literary texts to create a narrative for individuals. This is especially true for those who lived on the fringe of social institutions that relied on writing, such as women. Since the 1980s, more books have been published on the women troubadour and trouvères.¹⁵

¹² Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Cornell University Press, 1987). Jane Alden, "Excavating Chansonnières: Musical Archaeology and the Search for Popular Song," *Journal of Musicology* 25, no. 1 (2008): 46-87; "The Scribe's Role in the Production of 15th-Century Chansonnières: New Perspectives," *Revue belge de Musicologie* 59 (2005): 43-64. Helen Deeming and Eva Elizabeth Leach, eds., *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, and Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

¹³ Marisa Galvez, *Songbook: How Lyrics Became Poetry in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

¹⁴ Walter T. Pattison, *The Life and Works of the Troubadour Raimbaut d'Orange* (University of Minnesota Press, 1952). Perdigó, *The Life, Poetry, and Music of Perdigon*.

¹⁵ See Magda Bogin, *The Women Troubadours* (New York: Norton, 1980); Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, Laurie Shepard, and Sarah Melhado White, *Songs of the Women Troubadours* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995); William D. Paden, *The Voice of the Trobairitz: Perspectives on the Women Troubadours* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

Studies incorporating critical and interpretative theories with themes such as gender, subjectivity, and intertextuality have been more common than traditional historical research in the last three decades. In the book *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry*, Sarah Kay argues that the subjects of a troubadour songs are the poets themselves rather than the idealized *domna* (lady). Kay interprets the poetic language of humility and courtship as a rhetorical device that masks misogyny as the troubadours seek to enhance their own social, moral, and cultural position.¹⁶

Judith Peraino combines various postmodern approaches of gender, sexuality, and subjectivity in *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut*.¹⁷ Peraino investigates the paradox emerging from an autonomous subject—the lyric “I”—expressed in a single line of melody, and the musical-poetic conventions of collaborative performance with *joglars* (minstrels) and later scribal transmission. Peraino argues that this paradox was embraced by the troubadours as a source for irony, parody, and intertextual referencing. In 2013, compositional conventions such as quotation, contrafacta, and the use of refrains were explored in depth by Kay in the book *Parrots and Nightingales: Troubadour Quotations and the Development of European Poetry*, and Jennifer Saltzstein in *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry*.¹⁸

Lastly, the field of organology offers valuable insights for troubadour scholarship. Both Howard Mayer Brown and Christopher Page have published multiple works on the fiddle in the Middle Ages. Brown’s contributions to organology include an article on the fiddle in Trecento Italy and a book about musical iconography in premodern European history. Page relates the use

¹⁶ Sarah Kay, *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

¹⁷ Judith Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹⁸ Sarah Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales: Troubadour Quotations and the Development of European Poetry* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Jennifer Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 2013).

of the *vielle* to French epics and romances more than troubadour lyric.¹⁹ However, Brown's writings are influential as studies of the construction of the instrument, and I am interested in exploring the social structures in which the *vielle* functioned. Throughout the Middle Ages, instrumentalists generally held lower social status. Two of the three troubadours who were remembered for playing the *vielle*—Perdigon, and Elias Cairel—were both members of the *laboratores* (i.e. laboring class), while Pons de Capduelh was a baron and member of the *bellatores* (warrior class).

METHODOLOGY

This dissertation uses a combination of several methodologies including intertextuality, literary analysis, music theory, analysis of visual art, and critical-interpretive theories such as Object-Oriented Ontology and Actor-Network Theory. Intertextual and literary analysis is important for drawing connections between troubadour songs and other cultural and intellectual spheres that draw on music. I look at ancient and medieval didactic texts, medical texts, and literary texts to understand the significance of music in medieval culture. I also apply literary analysis to understanding the poetic structure of troubadour songs and the philological importance of words pertaining to the act of composing and performing songs such as: *cant/chant* (song, singing), *vers/canso* (poetry, song), *trobar* (to invent, compose), and *son* (sound, melody, tune). My starting point for locating significant Occitan words is the *Concordance de L'Occitan médiéval* a CD-ROM of the troubadour corpus compiled by Peter T.

¹⁹ See Howard Mayer Brown, and Joan Lascelle, *Musical Iconography: A Manual for Cataloguing Musical Subjects in Western Art before 1800* (Harvard University Press, 1972); Howard Mayer Brown, "Trecento Fiddle and Its Bridges, *Early Music* 17, no. 3 (1989): 308-329; and Christopher Page, "An Aspect of Medieval Fiddle Construction" *Early Music*, 2 (1974): 166-167; *The Owl and the Nightingale* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons LTD, 1989); *The Summa Musicae: A Thirteenth Century Manual for Singers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Ricketts in 2001.²⁰ After locating these words in troubadour works and discussing how they are used in the immediate context of specific songs, I look more broadly at how they establish rhetorical conventions of love song as a central element within *fin'amor* (courtly love) and chivalry. In a few cases, where musical notation survives, I use musical analysis to understand how the poetic structure is enhanced or altered by the melodic setting. I also speculate how the *vielle* may have influenced the composition and performance of troubadour melodies.

Methods from art history and visual studies are useful in examining musical iconography in the *chansonniers*. Out of all 35 *chansonniers*, I found seven that contain images of musical instruments and musical performance: MS A (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticani latini 5232), MS I (BN f.f. 854), MS K (BN f.f. 12473), MS M (BN, f.f., 12474), MS R (BN f.f. 22543), and MS W (BN f.f. 844), and MS N (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS M.819). There are two types of images that appear in the *chansonniers*: marginalia and miniature portraits of the troubadours. Some marginalia are a visual representation of the song lyrics. Other *chansonniers* use musical instruments in the margins to create a whimsical and musical atmosphere on the page. The miniature portraits help depict the social status and reputation of the troubadour through the clothes they wear and the tools they use, such as playing instruments. Unlike traditional organological studies which use iconography to understand the origin and construction of musical instruments, I am interested in what the illuminations can tell us about the implied role of musical instruments in networks of relations as well as what the manuscripts are and how they functioned.

Pioneers of visual studies such as Michael Baxandall, W. J. T. Mitchell, and Keith Moxey have argued that the visual object is often neglected or lost in the quest for discovering

²⁰ Peter T. Ricketts, *Concordance de L'Occitan medieval* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2001).

the meaning of a picture.²¹ The concept of “presence effects” restores the ontological status of a picture by insisting that images have an existence independent of language.²² Both the experience of an image and a description of it depend on the presence of the object. In some *chansonniers*, the images have an intrinsic connection to the texts and their creators, as in the case of manuscripts presenting portraits of troubadours alongside their songs. Other *chansonniers*—which contain whimsical or fantastical images like a hybrid man-snake creature playing a *vielle*—seem far removed from the songs on the same page, raising questions of how these images affect the viewer and impact the meaning of the songs.

Such seeming paradoxes create an aesthetic dimension that Timothy Morton compares to realism in the book *Realist Magic, Objects, Ontology, Causality*.²³ Speculative realist approaches, like Object Oriented Ontology (OOO), maintain the position that things exist, but things limit what can be known about them outside of webs of relations with other things. Extending Heidegger’s concept of tool-being, Graham Harman writes that tool-being possesses a quality of “readiness-to-hand,” the idea that we can only know things through our interaction with them.²⁴ Things withdraw from the ability to fully know them. Morton calls this “The Rift” (*chorismos*) between a thing and its appearance. The region where things interact and leave traces and footprints, Morton calls the aesthetic dimension. It is inside this aesthetic dimension where the dialectic properties of an object can be reconciled, and the music inside a manuscript that contains “silent” words and images can be “heard.”

²¹ See Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (Yale University Press, 1985); W.J.T. Mitchell, “Showing Seeing: A Critique of Visual Culture,” *Journal of Visual Culture* 1/2 (2002): 165-181; Keith Moxey, *Visual Time: The Image in History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

²² Moxey, *Visual Time*, 54.

²³ Timothy Morton, *Realist Magic: Objects, Ontology, Causality* (Ann Arbor, MI: Open Humanity Press, 2013).

²⁴ Graham Harman, *Tool-Being: Heidegger and the Metaphysics of Objects* (Chicago: Open Court, 2002), 31.

The agential realism of Karen Barad goes one step further in combining ontology and epistemology with the concept of performativity. She avoids the ontological gap (The Rift) created by systems of representation that presume things exist with inherent qualities prior to their representation; she rejects the equation that knowledge mediates between the known and the knower. A performative understanding of ontology and epistemology (onto-episteme-ology) promotes the possibility of a coherent philosophical position without ontologically separate entities needing representation.

Barad departs from OOO by abandoning Heidegger's reliance on "things." Matter, she says, is not a "thing" but a "doing," "congealing of agency," an "intra-active becoming."²⁵ Material phenomena are relations rather than things, because of the ontological inseparability of the observed object (the known) and agencies of observation (the knower). On the other hand, discursive practices enable and constrain what can be said and known, thus materialization is the relationship between discursive practices and material phenomenon. Problems of determinism and relativism are avoided by Barad's explanation of *agential separability* or "the local condition of *exteriority-within-phenomena*," that is, the boundaries between things, people, ideas become clear within the processes of being and knowing.²⁶ Thus, matter and meaning are mutually determined through enacted relations.

While posthumanist ontologies are useful in accounting for the existence of objects and their interactions alongside humans and ideas, a more practical methodology comes from actor-network theory (ANT). The name actor-network points to important elements of the method including the heterogeneity of materiality, semiotic relationality, and process. Firstly, the actors

²⁵ Karen Barad, "Posthumanist Performativity: Toward an Understanding of How Matter Comes to Matter," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28.3 (2003): 801-831.

²⁶ Barad, "Posthumanist Performativity," 815-816.

in ANT can be anything—people, things, ideas—and the heterogeneity of the actors and the degrees of materiality they embody make ANT case-studies robust and adaptable. This adaptability is key for translating to the field of musicology, a method originally used in the fields of science and technology in the work of Michel Callon, Bruno Latour, and others.

Secondly, the networks are webs of interactions among the actors that resist efforts to classify the relationships into neat hierarchical structures. Latour calls these webs “nodes” to avoid previous sociological understanding of structures.²⁷ Additionally, the webs of relations in ANT are not stable, rather they are so easily susceptible to change that some scholars call them fragile or precarious. I use ANT to describe the networks of relations between the troubadour and the beloved, the song as communication between these two, as it is transmitted through singing and the *vielle*, as well as through the *chansonniers*. Other audiences for the song circulate in and out of courtly society (kings, courtiers, scribes, clergy, etc).

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The aim of this research is to understand the role of music in troubadour songs and in medieval culture. My first objective is to find medieval definitions of music and poetry and to suggest how these definitions may have influenced the creation of the troubadour repertory. I examine didactic treatises on the seven liberal arts that address definitions of music and poetry, singing techniques, and the art of composing. I compare this to references to singing, melody, and composition within the troubadour lyrics. The liberal arts curriculum in medieval universities was divided into the *trivium*—the three language arts (grammar, rhetoric, and logic), and the *quadrivium*—the four mathematical arts (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music).

²⁷ Bruno Latour, “On Actor-Network Theory: A Few Clarifications,” *Soziale Welt*, 47 (1996): 370.

The genre of lyric song fits precariously between these divisions. Poetry was often discussed as a subcategory of grammar as in John of Garland's pedagogical treatise, *Parisiana Poetria* (c. 1220), while musical treatises also claim primacy over song with the two main definitions of music being science of singing along with the more mathematic definition of music as the art of measurement.

One popular treatise that established music as a mathematic discipline was *De institutione musica* by sixth-century Roman philosopher, Boethius, who divided music into three categories: *musica mundana*, *musica humana*, and *musica instrumentalis*. I take these categories as an organizing principle for my other research objectives because their impact permeated multiple areas of medieval culture including education, philosophy, literature, the arts, medicine, and music.

My second objective is to understand the intersections between troubadour song and the concept *musica mundana* or "music of the universe" because the numbers, ratios, and astrological themes connected to *musica mundana* can also be found when analyzing and interpreting troubadour songs. Sometimes called the "harmony of the spheres," *musica mundana* is rooted in Pythagorean cosmology which believes the rotation of the planets and stars creates sound that can be numerically represented by harmonic intervals. Plato reveals the Pythagorean numerology in his telling of the creation of the World-Soul from the philosophical dialog *Timaeus*.

As a result of musical cosmology other aspects of nature, like the human body, were also thought to reflect harmonic ratios and be influenced by music. My third objective is look at how medieval medicine used music, especially in treating the disease of lovesickness, which gives insight into the reasons the troubadours compose and sing songs. The troubadours often sing

about the suffering of love as if they experienced symptoms of a disease. The third chapter examines the history of lovesickness and its representation in poetry, mythology, troubadour song, and medical texts.

My final objective is to compile artistic evidence of musical instruments in troubadour manuscripts and to hypothesize how instruments may have been used in the performance and composition of troubadour song. I also explore the extent to which the *vielle* reinforces social structures of medieval Europe and starts to change them in subtle ways. The *vidas* of the three troubadours remembered for playing the *vielle* closely resemble the stratification of the three estates: *oratores* “those who pray,” *bellatores* “those who fight,” and *laboratores* “those who work.” In keeping with Boethius’ classification of instrumentalists as the lowest kind of musician, medieval theologians and clergy warned against fraternizing with instrumentalists whose wanton performances would lead people into sin. The one exception to the religious prohibition is the example of King David from the Old Testament. Sermons from the twelfth century, however, begin to speak more favorably of *viellists* who sing uplifting tales of kings’ and saints’ lives. This shifting attitude toward instrumentalists correlates to the emergence of epic and lyrics songs composed in vernacular languages of Europe. As a member of the warrior class who had a reputation for great skill on the *vielle*, Baron Pons de Capduelh is a particularly intriguing troubadour. Famous *viellists* more commonly come from the *laboratores* or “working class” like Perdigon, the son of a fisherman.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROJECT

I believe this project is significant in its attempt to understanding the musical nature of medieval vernacular song and how music created meaning in medieval society. Traditionally, the field of musicology has relied heavily on the analysis of musical scores to create narratives about

the historical trajectory of musical genres and styles, which takes for granted a basic understanding of what music “is.” The field of ethnomusicology, on the other hand, has underscored the vital importance of putting cultural assumptions like this under a microscope. This dissertation establishes a bridge between these two approaches by beginning with medieval definitions of music and poetry. It is also significant for literary disciplines to have a definition of poetry, and to explore how the voice is used in the performance of poetry and how the voice contributed to communities of reading and writing. Although my particular focus is on the works of the troubadours, I also believe this project will have an impact more broadly in understanding the trajectory of musical-poetic genres from antiquity to Dante.

Specific troubadour songs bear this out in both lyrics and surviving melodies, few of which have been analyzed together as a whole artistic entity. The historic contexts of troubadour song can provide a deeper understanding of musical instruments and their role in changing social values pertaining to gender, race, and class.

Additionally, this dissertation has ramifications for the history of science and medicine, which often draw on well-documented historical narratives from antiquity (especially ancient Greece and Rome) and skip over the Middle Ages to mark the beginning of the Scientific Revolution at the beginning of the early modern period (circa 1540s). Since music tethers ideas of the nature and the cosmos to concepts of health and the human body embodied within music-making practices, medieval music history can help fill this gap.

CHAPTER 1: TO SING OR NOT TO SING, THE SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS AND DEFINITIONS OF MUSIC AND POETRY

The first step in understanding the role and impact of music in troubadour song is to unpack definitions of music and poetry from the period (around the fourth to fourteenth century) and the broader classification schemes to which they belonged. Extant writings pertaining to the categorization of disciplines like poetry and music usually have a pedagogical function in the Middle Ages and are connected to broader classifications of knowledge known as the seven liberal arts. These seven disciplines are divided into two groupings: the three language arts (*trivium*) and the four mathematical arts (*quadrivium*). The *trivium* consists of grammar, logic, and rhetoric. The *quadrivium* consists of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. Poetry is a subcategory of grammar, the first foundational discipline, and music is the last and all-encompassing discipline.

This order of the *quadrivium* dates back to Plato's *Republic* in which he discusses the ideal education for a "philosopher-king,"²⁸ but the earliest complete surviving work on all seven liberal arts is an allegory from the fifth century by Martianus Capella called *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (On the marriage of Philology and Mercury), also known as *De septem disciplinis* (On the seven disciplines). Martianus maintains the order of the seven liberal arts with grammar first and music last, and the importance of these two disciplines is implied from the outset with the title of the allegory: Philology personifies the love of language, and Mercury is a

²⁸ See Book VII of Plato's *Republic*. The seven arts were not standardized in the ancient world; for example, Varro outlines nine liberal arts including medicine and architecture. However, Martianus Cappella, Augustine of Hippo, and others consider these last two to be practical professions rather than academic subjects. Varro's treatise on the liberal arts, *Disciplinarum libri IX* (An encyclopedia on the liberal arts, of which the first book dealt with grammar), only survives in fragments mostly pertaining to grammar.

messenger god, closely associated with music through his invention of the kithara—the musical instrument played by professional poet-musicians in Ancient Greece.

While not all medieval treatises keep music as the seventh discipline, in this chapter I will argue that music is emphasized as a paradigm for understanding all branches of knowledge. Moreover, grammar and music intersect and overlap in ways that make lyric song particularly difficult to categorize neatly. Johannes Aegidius Zamora (c. 1240-1316) illustrates this overlap in his treatise on music, where he refers to the authority of Plato's musical cosmology and pedagogy in the following quote:

For this reason, Plato also recommends the study of music, saying that music is the sister of all the sciences, as arithmetic is their mother: in fact, according to him any scientific knowledge, as remarkable as it may be, it cannot be considered complete without the study of musical science. For example, in grammar the use of music is evident if one considers consonance and dissonance of letters in orthography, the consonance of metrical feet, or in logic, with the consonance and dissonance of propositions in syllogisms, or in rhetoric.²⁹

Zamora emphasizes the role of sound in relationship between music and grammar, as well as logic and rhetoric, the other two disciplines in the *trivium*. Because of contemporary categorizations of poetry and song as different genres, scholars have struggled with the entanglement of words and music in medieval song. Emma Dillon writes that literary and musical scholars generally agree on the basic structure of a song as containing words plus music. The creation of each possibly involves two separate creative processes that come together in performance, but also can exist independently from one another.³⁰ However, if lyrics and music are separated, can they retain the status of song? As Dillon asserts, the fundamental and self-evident status of song is “something to be sung.”³¹ I suggest that medieval definitions of music

²⁹ Michel Robert-Tissot, ed. *Johannes Aegidius de Zamora: Ars musica* (American Institute of Musicology, 1974).

³⁰ Emma Dillon, “Unwriting Medieval Song,” *New Literary History* 46, no. 4 (2015): 602.

³¹ Dillon, “Unwriting,” 596.

and poetry, presented in treatises on the seven liberal arts, show that song is its own singular genre residing in the intersection of categories rather than two separate things added together.

These categories and definitions are relevant for troubadour song because of the prevalence of ideas about singing and composing new songs found in troubadour lyrics and in treatises on the art of *trobar* (invention, composition). First, I will discuss two definitions of music found in pedagogical treatises contemporary to the troubadours. These definitions developed from centuries of writings on the seven liberal arts, and I will focus especially on treatises by Augustine of Hippo (354-430 CE), Martianus Capella (fl.c. 410-420 CE), Boethius (c. 480-524 CE), Cassiodorus (c. 480-573 CE), and Isidore of Seville (c. 559-636 CE) because of their ubiquitous influence on medieval learning. Along with the definitions of music, I will address topics that show how music and grammar overlap, including issues of sound, voice, reading, and singing technique.

Next, I will show examples of the seven liberal arts influencing the troubadours in Peire de Corbian's *Lo tezaurs* (c.1225) and a debate song by Guillem Augier Novella. The following section considers issues of grammar and music in Old Occitan treatises on the art of *trobar* and in troubadour songs. Lastly, I will draw on research in neuropsychology that explains the impact of music on the memory and emotions, alongside claims of singing as a universal human act from Boethius and the evidence of troubadours singing in their song lyrics and the *vidas*.

DEFINITIONS OF MUSIC AND THE SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS

Medieval treatises typically provide two definitions of music. Music is both a mathematical discipline relating to the measurement of sound and the science of singing well.

These two definitions coalesce in succinct form by the thirteenth century in treatises on music such as *De plana musica* and *De musica mensurate*. In *De plana musica* (c. mid-thirteenth century), Johannes de Garlandia also gives two definitions of music. His first chapter, entitled *De scientia* (On science), places music among the branches of mathematics. “Music is defined thus: Music concerns number related to sounds.”³² In chapter two, entitled *De musica* (On music), Johannes repeats the primary definition of music as number/sounds along with the secondary definition of music as song, and more specifically, singing: “Music concerns the multitude of sounds, and equally their manner. Music is the true science of singing and the easy way to perfection in singing.”³³ The anonymous writer from St. Emmeram switches the order of number and singing in his definition in *De musica mensurata* (1279): “Music is the science of singing truly and the easy route to perfection in singing. Or music is the science of number as it relates to sound or about the number of sounds.”³⁴

As a closely related discipline, poetry aligns with these two definitions of music because language involves the articulation of sound, and poetic meter is a way of measuring sound rhythmically. Furthermore, scholars often state that poetry was sung in the ancient world into the Middle Ages.³⁵ Educational treatises on the seven liberal arts provide insight into how these definitions of music developed, the relationship of poetry and music, and poetry and singing. The seven liberal arts also appear in troubadour song, and I suggest that the seven liberal arts

³² “*Unde musica sic diffinitur. Musica est de numero relato ad sonos*,” Nigel Gwee, “*De plana musica* and *Introductio musicæ*: A Critical Edition and Translation, with Commentary, of Two Treatises Attributed to Johannes de Garlandia” (PhD diss., University of Western Australia, 1989), 140.

³³ “*Musica est de multitudine sonorum, item quantum ad modum. Musica est vera canendi Scientia facilis ad canendi perfectionem via*,” Gwee, “*De plana musica*,” 141.

³⁴ Jeremy Yudkin, *De Musica Mensurate: The Anonymous of St. Emmerman* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 67.

³⁵ Leo Trietler, “Troubadours Singing Their Poems,” in *The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry* eds., Rebecca A. Baltzer, Thomas Cable, and James I. Wimsatt, 15-31 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 15-16.

influenced the way the art of *trobar* was taught in treatises by later generations of troubadours like Raimon Vidal and Uc Faïdit, who wanted to preserve the tradition of courtly love and teach non-native speakers how to write songs in Occitan.

One early treatise, *De musica* (387-391) by Augustine of Hippo, illustrates the overlap of music and poetry in the liberal arts. From the outset, the stated intention of *De musica* is to define music and explain its species; however, the majority of the content concerns rhythm as it relates to words and poetic meter. The treatise is written as a dialogue between teacher and pupil, and the teacher begins by asking the student questions about prosody. They analyze the words *modus* and *bonus* according to its syllabification and poetic foot (i.e. *pyrrhic*). The reason for choosing these two words to analyze becomes apparent when Augustine uses them in his definition of music. The student admits that he learned this type of analysis from a teacher of grammar. Augustine deliberately distinguishes grammar and music by writing that there are “a great many kinds of sound in which distinct measure can be observed, and we admit these kinds are not to be attributed to the art of grammar.”³⁶

The teacher then makes a somewhat unexpected and ironic shift, asking the student if he knows the name of this discipline that measures sounds. Then, answering his own question, he says, “For I don’t believe it is news to you that a certain omnipotence in singing is usually granted the Muses. If I am not mistaken this is what is called music.”³⁷ The etymology that connects music to the Muses is commonly found in later treatises which explore several metaphors between music and the mythological gods of artistic inspiration. Here, the reference to the Muses links music to the power of singing. Other references to singing in *De musica*

³⁶ Augustine, *On Music*, trans. R. Catesby Taliaferro (Annapolis: St. John’s Bookstore, 1939), 2.

³⁷ Augustine, *On Music*, 3.

characterize singing as embodied motion mentioned in conjunction with other physical activities like walking and dancing.³⁸

Augustine eventually comes to his definition of music, often quoted throughout the Middle Ages, as “the science of modulating/measuring well” (*scientia bene modulandi*).³⁹ The adverb *bene* is related to the adjective *bonus*, meaning “well” or “good,” and *modulandi* comes from the verb *modular* (noun *modus*). *Modus* is used and translated several ways, but its use in ancient Greek music theory is as a concept of measurement, particularly the measurement of motion which creates sound. Typically, the concept of measurement of sound in ancient and medieval writings deals with what we would call, in modern music theory, pitch (frequency)—a measurement of sound traveling through space. Augustine, however, only discusses rhythm and meter in his treatise. Rhythm is measurement of sound in time rather than space; and in the context of Augustine’s treatise, rhythm and meter are integrally connected to words, that is, sung poetry.

For Augustine, rhythm (ρυθμος) unifies music through all its mathematical proportions, and meter is a subset of rhythm.⁴⁰ Augustine writes that rhythm is a succession of continuous sounds, measured in longs and shorts. Meter is limited by number, defined by the pattern of longs and shorts. For example, iambic pentameter has five feet, and each foot is comprised of a short and a long syllable. Augustine writes that one could potentially create countless meters, and he lists 568 of them by name in *De musica*. The fact that most of *De musica* covers rhythm and poetic meters is interesting in the context of Augustine’s own education.

³⁸ For example, see Augustine, *On Music*, 204 and 370.

³⁹ Augustine borrows his definition from Varro (116-127 BCE, Varro by Censorinus, *De die natali* 10, Brennan 280n31). See also Brian Brennan, “Augustine: ‘De Musica’,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 42, no. 3 (1988): 267-281, who translated the line as: “music is the science of measuring well,” 272.

⁴⁰ Brennan, “Augustine: ‘De Musica’,” 273.

Augustine was an extremely prolific writer, and we know much about his life from his autobiography *Confessions* and many of his personal letters. His education started him on a career as a *grammatici*, teaching grammar in Carthage and Rome before attaining the highest post in the field at the time: the chair of rhetoric in Milan.⁴¹ As a professor of rhetoric, Augustine was extremely knowledgeable in the pedagogical foundations of grammar. He wrote a treatise on grammar, which is the first discipline taught to children as the basis of their education.

In 386 CE, Augustine converted to Christianity and retired from his secular post to devote himself to religious life. While he was waiting to be baptized, he occupied himself by writing *De musica*. He planned to write about all seven liberal arts, but he only completed *De grammatica* (now lost) and the six books of *De musica*. We know of Augustine's plan and the loss of these works through two sources. The first is a letter to a good friend of Augustine, Memor, bishop of Beneventum, around the year 408.⁴² Memor requests a copy of *De musica* for the edification of his son, but Augustine says he no longer has a complete copy of it, and the sixth book is the only one worth reading because the first five books are too esoteric—one would need a specialist on hand to interpret it.⁴³ In this letter Augustine also says that he planned to write another six books on melody (*De melo*).⁴⁴ Augustine's *Retractions* also tells us that he finished one book of *De grammatica* and six books of *De musica* and had started writing about the other liberal arts but never found the time to finish because of his ecclesiastical duties.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Vivien A. Law, "St. Augustine's 'De grammatica': Lost or Found?," *Recherches Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 19 (1984): 155-183.

⁴² Augustine, "Letter 101," trans. J.G. Cunningham, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series*, vol. 1, ed. Philip Schaff (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887).

⁴³ James J. O'Donnell, *Augustine: A New Biography* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005), 279-280. See also Augustine's "Letter 101."

⁴⁴ Saint Augustine, *Retractions*, trans. Sr. Mary Inez Bogan R.S.M. The Fathers of the Church, vol. 60 (Catholic University of America Press, 1968), 22.

⁴⁵ Augustine, *Retractions*, 22.

The earliest surviving work covering all seven liberal arts is the allegory *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* by Martianus Capella (c. 420 CE). It is his only known work and was extremely popular and influential in the Middle Ages.⁴⁶ The narrative frame unfolds as a courtship and betrothal of Mercury and Philology. Mercury is a messenger god who was considered a symbol for eloquence in Middle Ages, and some versions of his mythology connect him to music through the invention of the kithara. The name Philology means the “love of language,” and her character represents the love of learning. On their wedding day, the seven liberal arts are presented as a gift to Philology, to be her handmaidens. Each handmaiden gives a speech introducing herself, starting with Grammar and ending with Harmony (music). Grammar is an old woman who carries within her toolbox a knife to correct the mistakes of young students. While “arcane poems and manifold rhythms” are reckoned to be a part of her discipline, she begins by teaching the alphabet and then nouns.⁴⁷ Her speech comes to an end when Minerva, goddess of wisdom, gets bored and interrupts her.

Harmony, the last liberal art, enters the scene just in time to distract a bored Venus from causing trouble. Jupiter introduces Harmony as the most prestigious of the liberal arts, capable of saving gods and humans from negative emotions like boredom: “Now, therefore, let us give audience to that most eminent of ladies, Harmony, who is the last of Mercury’s maidens to be heard. She indeed, above all others, will be able to sooth the cares of the gods, gladdening the heavens with her song and rhythms.”⁴⁸ Clearly in this scenario, they were saving the “best” for last.

⁴⁶ William H. Stahl, “To a Better Understanding of Martianus Capella,” *Speculum* 40, No. 1 (1965): 102-115, 103.

⁴⁷ William Harris Stahl and Richard Johnson, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 66.

⁴⁸ Stahl and Johnson, *Martianus Capella*, 349.

In her speech, Harmony identifies herself as the twin sister of Arithmetic, firmly placing herself in the *quadrivium*. Her celestial task was to assign tones to the movement of the planets, and to introduce restraint and harmony in all things. She also joined together the body and the soul. The second section of her speech gives an overview of her role in famous myths and human history. For example, she helped in all military victories and in peacetime she accompanies the recitation of laws and decrees, helps physicians heal the sick, quells drunken mobs, and tames wild animals. The last and longest portion of the speech is the didactic portion where she presents details of music theory starting with the concept of pitch (whole tones and half tones) and moving on to scales and intervals. Her last section covers rhythm, and she claims it as “a branch of my discipline.”⁴⁹

Harmony describes rhythm as visual, auditory, or tactual. Visual rhythm is observed in the movements of a dancer. One perceives auditory rhythm by listening to a vocal performance. Tactual rhythm is like a doctor taking a pulse.⁵⁰ She states that there is a significant difference between rhythm and meter, which she will explain later, but Martianus neglects to return to the topic of meter. Harmony’s speech does not give nearly as many meters as Augustine, but she does cover a more comprehensive musical vocabulary. For example, she defines *tempus* as the smallest unit of time for rhythm, and she defines a poetic “foot” as a rising (*arsis*) and falling (*thesis*) of the voice. This suggests that there was more melodic contour present in the performance of poetic meter than is typically used today. Today, meter is addressed in terms of length (long and short) or accentuation (stress and unstressed), rather than a change in pitch.

Finally, the last detail of Harmony’s speech is one worth noting for the field of gender studies. Harmony, genders rhythm as masculine and melody as feminine: “We recognize that

⁴⁹ Stahl and Johnson, *Martianus Capella*, 372.

⁵⁰ Stahl and Johnson, *Martianus Capella*, 373.

rhythm is masculine and melody feminine. For melody is the subject which lacking a particular form, is judged on its own; rhythm, however, as a result of the manly activity involved in it, produces form, as well as various other effects, by sounds.”⁵¹ The meaning of this passage is obscure, however, a discussion of gender and musical education found in Plato’s *Republic* may help to arrive at a possible interpretation of Martianus’ statement. There was level of anxiety in ancient patriarchal societies that cautioned against consuming the wrong kind of music because it would make men soft. In *The Republic*, Plato discusses the power of simple music to temper the spirit of a warrior and make it hard as iron. On the other hand, if the music is overly complicated or in the wrong mode, the soul would waste away until the warrior is feeble.⁵² For this reason, Plato advocates for young men to receive the “correct” musical education. The misogynist values regarding music in Plato’s *Republic* are evident; good and noble music forms the strong “masculine” soul. Perhaps Martianus calls rhythm a “manly activity” because of this kind of association of form with masculinity, or perhaps the idea that rhythm produces form stems from the fact that poetic meters are governed by strict rules. Therefore, melody lacking form may mean there are no written rules yet to confine the composition of melody.

Boethius’s treatise *De institutione musica* (c. 500-510 CE), situated music primarily in the mathematical disciplines. It would be difficult to overstate the influence of Boethius on the understanding of music in the Middle Ages, as he is widely quoted as the primary authority on the topic.⁵³ While Boethius did not write about all seven liberal arts, he did coin the term

⁵¹ Stahl and Johnson, *Martianus Capella*, 381.

⁵² Plato, *The Republic*, trans. Tom Griffith, ed. G.R.F Ferrari (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 103.

⁵³ Johannes de Garlandia, for example, cites Boethius in the subtitle to his treatise *De plana musica: Treatise on Music collected from those things said by Boethius above and exposition on practical music*.

quadrivium to describe the fourfold pathway of the mathematical disciplines.⁵⁴ According to Calvin M. Bower, Boethius intended *De institutione musica* to be read alongside *De institutione arithmetica*, another one of his earliest works.⁵⁵

Despite the absence of a simple definition of music in *De institutione*, Boethius provides a detailed description of historical mythologies about music and the social functions of music—like inspiring warriors in battle or treating mental and physical illnesses—before launching into the mathematical fundamentals of music. One of his introductory topics pertains to the physical characteristics of sound. Boethius defines sound near the beginning of his treatise, situating sound and hearing within the context of human perception and the five senses. Sound is motion that is produced by some pulsation or percussion of the air. He demonstrates an understanding of sound waves in a section entitled “How we hear” by giving the example of a stone falling into water. The stone sends out ripples the same way air moves in a circular motion when struck, and this sound dissipates over distance as the ripples in the water fade.⁵⁶ Boethius also describes frequency in sound waves: slower motions produce lower sounds, faster motions produce higher sounds. He uses the Latin term *vox* (Greek: φθόγγος) to explain this understanding of pitch and frequency. The term *vox* has a range of meanings, especially in music treatises. It can mean pitch, sound in general, or the human voice.

Later medieval writers both agree and disagree with Boethius in the use of the word *vox*. Isidore of Seville (c. 559-636) argues that *vox* should be used only to mean human voice. He

⁵⁴ Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, *The Fundamentals of Music*, trans. Calvin M. Bower (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), xix. See also Andrew Hicks, *Composing the World: Harmony in the Medieval Platonic Cosmos* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 75.

⁵⁵ Boethius, *The Fundamentals of Music*, xix. Andrew Hicks provides a kind of Boethian definition of music from *De institutione arithmetica* in the process of listing the mathematical categories as discrete quantities and continuous quantities. Music is a discrete quantity or multitude known “in relation to others,” see *Composing the World*, 75.

⁵⁶ Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 21.

gives two examples of “improper” non-human uses of *vox*: “the voice of the trumpet bellowed” and “voices [of rocks] broken on a shore.”⁵⁷ The proper word to use in these instances is *sonare* (to sound), according to Isidore. In a thirteenth-century treatise, *De plana musica*, Johannes de Garlandia groups together sound vibrations, the human voice, and musical instruments under the same etymological umbrella: “If it is asked what voice is and how it is named, the reply should be: voice is air set into regular vibration in the mouth and formed by natural instruments. It is named from the word *voco*, *vocas* [to call] because we vocalize by means of making a sound purely, by whole tone or semitone, in ascent or descent.”⁵⁸

Moreover, just as Boethius begins with an explanation of sound, grammar treatises often start with an explanation of sound as “air that has been struck” and sound (*vox*) as the material of speech to introduce the letters of the alphabet—the same way a linguist today might talk about phoneme. Since correct speaking and writing was the key focus for these grammar treatises, writers distinguished between categories of sound that can be written down (*vox articulata*) and sounds that cannot be written (*vox confusa*). *Vox articulata* is rational sound that can be expressed with letters and clearly pronounced in human speech. *Vox confusa* is irrational sound that cannot be written, such as animal voices. The *Instituta artium* of Marcus Valerius Probus (c. 20-105 CE) adds to *vox confusa* these subcategories: animate sounds such as animals’ voices; and inanimate sounds such as cymbals, flutes, laughing, whistling, coughing, the crack of a whip, and pounding waves. In *Ars grammatica*, Diomedes (c. fourth century CE) also places the melodic sounds of musical instruments in *vox confusa* with the caveat that, although music cannot be written, the

⁵⁷ Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof, trans., *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 96.

⁵⁸ *Si queratur quid sit vox et unde dicatur, respondendum est sic: vox est aer remissus in ore verberatus rectus naturalibus instrumentis formatus. Et dicitur ab hoc verbo voco, vocas quia in ascensu et descensu plene et semiplene intemerate sonum agendo vocamus.* Gwee, “*De plana musica*,” 245.

sound can measurably differentiated (i.e. distinguishable by pitch). He calls this *vox modulata*. However, there is one grammarian, Gaius Marius Victorinus (fl. fourth century CE), who places musical (instrumental) sound as a species of *vox articula* and equally as writable and intelligible as common speech.⁵⁹

Unlike Isidore of Seville and some of these grammarians, Boethius was familiar with ancient Greek musical notation which used the alphabet. The only time Boethius mentions rhythm in *De institutione musica* occurs when he is discussing ancient Greek musical notation.

Ancient musicians, for the sake of an abbreviation—lest it always be necessary to write out complete names of notes—devised certain written symbols whereby designations of the strings might be notated, and they distributed them throughout the genera and the modes. At the same time, using such abbreviations, they were striving to reach a point where a musician who wanted to write down some melody over a verse, set out in the rhythmic structure of some meter, could add these written symbols for the sounds. Through this remarkable means, then, they discovered that not only the words of songs—conveyed through letters—but also the very melodies themselves—expressed in these written symbols—could be preserved in the memory for posterity.⁶⁰

This passage demonstrates that the melody and the rhythm of a song could be notated by letters of the alphabet just as easily as the words of the song. Other medieval treatises on music compare alphabetical pitch designations with more familiar concepts, as seen in *Musica Hermanni Contracti* by the Herman “the Lame” (1013-c.1066). The main focus of this treatise is the pitch and interval system, illustrated on the monochord and by specific hymns, where Herman compares seven pitches to the seven days of the week and the eight varieties of grammar.⁶¹

⁵⁹ See Blair Sullivan, “The Unwritable Sound of Music: The Origins and Implications of Isidore’s Memorial Metaphor,” *Viator* 30 (1999): 1-14. Other grammar treatises Diogenes of Babylon; Dionysius of Thrax; Donatus; Charisius; Varro; Probus “*Instituta atrium*”; Marius Victorinus *Ars grammatical*; Diomedes *Ars grammatical*.

⁶⁰ Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 123.

⁶¹ Leonard Ellingwood, *Musica Hermanni Contracti* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Rochester, 1936),

Further connections between literacy and music are mentioned briefly by Isidore and a later music theorist known as Lambertus (fl. 1270). Isidore writes that in his day it has become as shameful “to be ignorant of music” as it is not to read and write.⁶² In *Tractatus de musica* (c. 1265-75), Lambertus praises music which allows everyone, even the illiterate and blind, to gain knowledge: “Moreover, music was discovered because so disagreeable was it not to know music than [not to know] letters. For in ancient times, instruments were unreliable, and a great number of singers were blind.”⁶³ Lambertus also underscores music’s high position in the liberal arts: “Also, by Boethius’s testimony, music maintains first place among the seven liberal arts, for without it nothing remains.”⁶⁴

A contemporary of Boethius, Cassiodorus (c. 480-573), wrote about all seven liberal arts in *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum* (Institutions of divine and secular learning, c. 552-562 CE). The content of his treatise repeats much of what we have seen so far because they are summaries of earlier important writers. The value of Cassiodorus’ *Institutions* lies in the bibliographic lists he gives as sources or for further reading. For example, he writes that “the art of grammar is clearly the basis and foundation of the liberal arts,” grammar being “the skill of speaking stylishly gathered from famous poets and writers; its function is to compose prose and verse without fault; its purpose is to please by the impeccable skill of polished speech or writing” and those writers who have received “glory and fame in their own times” include Palemon, Phocas, Probus, and Censorinus.⁶⁵

⁶² Barney, *The Etymologies of Isidore*, 95.

⁶³ Christian Meyer, *The “Ars Musica” Attributed to Magister Lambertus/Aristoteles*, trans. Karen Desmon and Barbara Helen Haggh (Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015), 17.

⁶⁴ Meyer, *The “Ars Musica,”* 15.

⁶⁵ James W. Halporn and Mark Vessey, *Cassiodorus: Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning and On the Soul* (Liverpool University Press, 2003), 175.

Cassiodorus' definition of music firmly places music in the mathematical disciplines: "music is a discipline that deals with numbers, which relate to quantities that are found in sounds, as double, triple, quadruple and the like indicate the relationship of one thing to another."⁶⁶ From this definition, Cassiodorus moves directly to the three parts of music as harmonics, rhythmic, and metrics. Harmonics distinguishes high and low pitches; rhythmic consists of words and sounds coming together; and metrics deals with poetic meters (e.g. heroic, iambic, elegiac).⁶⁷ Cassiodorus writes with impressive brevity, while still covering the same material as Boethius. The very last section of *Institutiones* references Augustine's *De musica* by name, although James W. Halporn believes that Cassiodorus never read it and did not have a copy in his library.⁶⁸ If indeed that is the case, his one-sentence summary of Augustine is very apt for one who never read it.

Another important source for Cassiodorus' opinions on grammar and music comes from his letters. Where *Institutiones* shows restraint and brevity, his letters are full of passionate language about learning and music. In a letter to the Roman senate pleading for teachers' salaries to be increased rather than cut, Cassiodorus writes,

For the school of grammar has primacy: it is the fairest foundation of learning, the glorious mother of eloquence, which has learnt to aim at praise, to speak without fault. As good morals view an alien crime, so it views a dissonant error in course of declamation. For, as the musician created the sweetest song from a choir in harmony, so, by well-ordered modulations of sound, the grammarian can recite in meter.⁶⁹

In this passage, Cassiodorus sets grammar as the foundation of learning, but uses music as an analogy for how the language arts use and perform sound. He seems to equate singing with

⁶⁶ Halporn and Vessey, *Cassiodorus*, 217.

⁶⁷ Halporn and Vessey, *Cassiodorus*, 218.

⁶⁸ See Halporn and Vessey, *Cassiodorus*, 222n226. Cassiodorus also cites for further reading suggestions: Alypius, Euclid, Ptolemy, Albinus, Gaudentius of Mutianus, and Apuleius of Madaura, in addition to Augustine.

⁶⁹ Cassiodorus, "Letter to the Senate in Rome," IX, xxi.III, lii, in *Variae*, trans. Thomas Hodgkin (London: Frowde, 1886).

poetic recitation, and by learning the rules of these disciplines, the student also learns the difference between morality and criminality.

The last discussion of the liberal arts I would like to introduce was also extremely influential for medieval categorization of knowledge. Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (c. 625 CE) is an encyclopedic compendium of knowledge with a particular focus on the origins of words. He introduces the art of grammar (Book I) with a brief outline of the seven liberal arts, after defining the words discipline, science, and art. Grammar is the first discipline, but Isidore counts music as the fifth discipline which "consists of poems and songs,"⁷⁰ although topics pertaining to poetry—including syllables, feet, and meter—are presented in the book on grammar. Blair Sullivan believes that Isidore used Augustine and Cassiodorus as sources for his section in music; however, there are several differences between Isidore and Augustine's idea of poetic meter.⁷¹ Isidore writes that syllables are long and short, and there are 124 different metrical feet (*pes*), whereas Augustine counted at least 568. In keeping with the conceit of etymologies, Isidore says that the term "foot" is used in poetry because meters advance with a certain timing of syllables the same way humans walk with their feet.⁷²

Further evidence of the overlap between the disciplines of grammar and music can be seen in Isidore's etymologies for accent, prosody, and his definition of a poem. Accents were invented for the sake of pronunciation and distinguishing words from one another. The word prosody is from the Greeks *προς* (pros: to, toward) and *ὕδῃ* (ode: song), which word-for-word in Latin is *ad* and *cantus* or "accent." Isidore gives an analogous example of "adverb" joined to a verb the same way accent is joined to song (*cantus*). In addition to "accent," Latin also uses the

⁷⁰ Barney, *The Etymologies of Isidore*, 39.

⁷¹ Sullivan, "The Unwritable Sound of Music," 1-14.

⁷² Barney, *The Etymologies of Isidore*, 47.

terms *tonus* (pitch) and *tenor*.⁷³ This suggests a similar understanding of intoning poetry with pitches that provide a melodic contour.

The word Isidore uses for poem (*carmen*) can also mean song. He defines it as “Whatever has metric feet is called a ‘poem’ (*carmen*). People suppose that the name was given to it either because it was pronounced ‘in pieces’ (*carptim*), just as today we say that wool that the scourers tear in pieces is carded (*carminare*), or because they used to think that people who sang those poems had lost (*carere*) their minds.”⁷⁴

In book III, *De mathematica*, Isidore places the subject of music as the second discipline in the *quadrivium*. Even though Isidore places music second and not last like Martianus, he does stress the importance of music for all the other disciplines. First, he says that it is as shameful to be ignorant of music as it is to be illiterate; and second, he writes “without music, no other discipline can be perfected, for nothing is without music.”⁷⁵

Isidore’s three-fold division of music is also similar to Cassiodorus in the words he chooses (*harmonicus*, *organicus*, *rhythmicus*), but how Isidore defines and elaborates these shows quite a departure. *Harmonicus* deals with vocal music and will be discussed below at length. *Organicus* pertains to wind instruments and *rhythmics* to plucked stringed instruments, which I will discuss more in a later chapter. *Harmonicus* is the modulation of the human voice (*vox*) wherein air is beaten (*verberare*) by the breath. The root “word” (*verbum*) also comes from this idea of breath creating motion of the air through the vocal chords, according to Isidore. He also emphasizes that this use of the word *vox* is particularly human. Since *vox* can also be used to designate specific pitches or sound in general, Isidore takes a distinctive approach to categorizing

⁷³ Barney, *The Etymologies of Isidore*, 49.

⁷⁴ Barney, *The Etymologies of Isidore*, 64.

⁷⁵ Barney, *The Etymologies of Isidore*, 64.

different voice-types and the quality of vocal tones. He first defines song (*cantus*) as the voice changing pitch, in contrast to other sounds which are more evenly pitched. Like Augustine, he mentions *arsis* and *thesis* as the raising and lowering of pitch. However, for Augustine, *arsis* and *thesis* described the function of accent in metric poetry, and Isidore seems to be describing melodic contour and cadence because he writes that *arsis* corresponds to a beginning and *thesis* to the end.

SPEAKING, READING, AND SINGING

The seven liberal arts demonstrate several ways that language and music overlap, the first of which is the foundational role of sound. The two definitions of music—a form of measurement and the science of singing—also incorporate both poetry and music. Writing systems for both language and music developed to encode sound in visual symbols or signs. Reading was initially the act of decoding the sign into sound again, involving both the sense of seeing and of hearing. Stephen Roger Fischer adds another step into his definition of reading: the act of understanding or comprehending the meaning of the text.⁷⁶ In medieval society, reading was a collective activity involving listening and interpretation for several reasons. Books were expensive to make, and few people had access to the type of education that required literacy. Fischer also stresses that people were rarely alone in localized communal societies like a cloister or a castle where books were kept and treasured.⁷⁷ Therefore, when someone read a text, they read it out loud for whole the community to hear. Understanding the text was an important element of knowing how to read because it impacted how the reader used their voice. One community that was invested in reading, understanding, and singing was the Christian church. A

⁷⁶ Stephen Roger Fischer, *A History of Reading* (London: Reaktion Books, 2003), 12.

⁷⁷ Fischer, *History of Reading*, 141-142.

significant movement to reform education and to standardize the Christian liturgy came during the reign of Charlemagne (748-814 CE) who wanted an educated clergy who could read the Latin Bible and sing correctly. During this period, there were innovations in musical notation so that books of chant (*antiphoners*) could be dispersed throughout the Carolingian empire along with cantors from Rome who Charlemagne recruited to teach clergy to sing the liturgy “properly.”⁷⁸

One of the earliest treatises devoted entirely to singing is Guido of Arezzo’s *Micrologus*, written around 1025. Guido invented a method to teach choir boys to learn new chants by sight-reading musical notation, and he is transparent about this goal in *Micrologus*. The first step of Guido’s method is for the singer to familiarize themselves with the musical alphabet with the help of a monochord (one-string musical instrument). The analogy to the first step of grammar is clear, and Guido points to it in a poetic version of his treatise, *Regule Rithmice*, “Just as in all writing we have twenty-three letters, so in all chant, we have only seven pitches.”⁷⁹ These pitches start with the Greek letter gamma Γ and continues A through G (alpha to gamma). Once the singer is familiar with the pitches in the musical alphabet, they can apply the solmization syllables to reading notes on a 4-line staff. Guido took the solmization syllables—Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La—from a hymn to John the Baptist: *Ut queant laxis*. Guido claims that this method can be learned in a month, and by using sight-singing, choirboys will be able to learn new chants in only three days—to the “wonderment of many.”⁸⁰

⁷⁸ W. Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1965), 176-178.

⁷⁹ Dolores Pesce, *Guido d’Arezzo’s Regule Rithmice, Prologus in Antiphonarium, and Epistola Ad Michaelem: A Critical Text and Translation with an Introduction, Annotations, Indices, and New Manuscript Inventories* (Ottawa, Canada: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1999), 477.

⁸⁰ Warren Babb, trans., and Claude V. Palisca, ed. *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 58.

Guido presents other parallel examples between music and grammar in chapter 15 of *Micrologus*, where he discusses how to compose melodic lines. He writes that the letters and syllables in verse are like sounds (*phthongi*) in music that are grouped together by *neumes*. *Neumes* are notated musical gestures of 2 or 3 pitches, and Guido calls these “parts” of the melodic line. One or more of these “parts” make up a “distinction,” that is, a musical phrase. These musical phrases are similar to verses in poetry, made up of feet and lines. Guido notes that the end of a “distinction” is a suitable place to breathe for the singer.⁸¹ While it is clear that Guido’s writings were intended for singers in the practice of liturgy, the resonances with grammar treatises suggest that he anticipated a need for singers to create new poetic-melodic material.

While Guido was concerned with singing and reading music, the significant differences between reading words and singing as performative techniques have been discussed by both grammarians and music philosophers since ancient times. Quintilian (c. 35-100 CE), for example, spends a good deal of space writing about music in his *Institutio Oratoria*, because “music is the oldest of the arts related to literature.”⁸² Quintilian also states that the art of music and the art of letters were once united and letters were subordinate to music, according to Archytas (a Pythagorean philosopher) and Euenus (a poet-philosopher).⁸³ Quintilian highlights the importance of varying tone and rhythm when giving speeches because this technique can affect the emotions of the audience. However, a beginning student must start at the basic level of knowing how to read words properly. One must understand both the content and the genre of

⁸¹ Babb, *Hucbald, Guido, and John*, 70.

⁸² Quintilian writes that this is something “Timagenes asserts,” H.E. Butler, trans., *The Instituto oratoria of Quintilian* (London: W. Heinemann, 1922), 165.

⁸³ Archytas and Euenus are both contemporaries of Plato. “I will therefore pass by the fact that the art of letters and that of music were once united: indeed, Archytas and Euenus held that the former was subordinate to the latter,” Butler, *Institutio oratoria*, 169.

what one reads: “I will give but one golden rule: to do all these things, he must understand what he reads. But above all his reading must be manly, combining dignity and charm; it must be different from the reading of prose, for poetry is song and poets claim to be singers.”⁸⁴

One difference between reading with a speaking voice and singing is how the breath is sustained. Boethius discusses the use of breath in *De institutione musica* through the classification of different voices. Boethius explains three different kinds of voices: continuous (συνεχής), sustained (διαστηματική), and intermediate (διάμεσος).⁸⁵ A continuous voice concerns speaking or reciting prose oration. A sustained voice is used in singing. The third class of voice is somewhere in between speaking and singing, and Boethius says that this is the voice used for reciting heroic poems.⁸⁶ According to Boethius, a speaking voice is limited by breath and a singing voice is limited by vocal range. From a practical point of view, it seems Boethius may be suggesting that the impact of singing is greater than speaking, because the controlled projection of the breath from the diaphragm is louder when one sings rather than speaks. The limit of vocal range in the singing voice also suggests that singing may employ higher pitches than are typically used in speaking, and that higher frequencies carry further, especially in spaces where a court is gathered for troubadour performance.

Modern science has studied the impact of deliberate or mindful breathing on the human body and has found that slow breathing calms the parasympathetic nervous system and has a host of other beneficial impacts on the body such as improving oxygen levels to the brain and heart.⁸⁷ Breathing also impacts emotional states, which has long been recognized in the ancient and

⁸⁴ Butler, *Institutio oratoria*, 147.

⁸⁵ Boethius quotes Albinus in a lost treatise about this third category: Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 20n79.

⁸⁶ Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 20-21.

⁸⁷ Marc A. Russo, Danielle M. Santarelli, Dean O'Rourke, “The Physiological Effects of Slow Breathing in the Healthy Human,” *Breathe (Sheff)* 13, no. 4 (2017): 298-309.

medieval world. For example, Herman the Lame (1013-c.1054) acknowledges the role of breathing in song, attributing emotional and spiritual benefit to the use of breath in singing.

Breathing indeed has two parts, i.e. *arsis* and *thesis*, raising and lowering, the raising or ascension in order that we may be advised in the sweetness of song which is produced by the breath impelling the sound from the depths to the heights, to lift our hearts from things earthly to things celestial; otherwise he sings in vain whose mind does not blend with his voice.⁸⁸

Herman's use of the words *arsis/thesis* departs from the usual application of these terms in the context of singing. Both Augustine and Isidore apply the concept of raising and lowering to a change in tone and emphasis while speaking or singing rather than raising and lowering the breath. The connection between the breath and emotions, for the troubadours, involved embodied actions like singing, sighing, and weeping. The third stanza of Peire Vidal's *Ajostar e lassar* contrasts sighing and weeping with the happiness of singing in the context of courtly love.

Sospirar e plorar	To sigh and to weep
Mi fai manta sazo	She makes me many times
Qu'alegrar e chantar	When to be happy and to sing,
Volgra mais, si.l fos bo.	I wish instead, if might be pleasing to her. ⁸⁹

In addition to Boethius' three-part classification of voice based on breathing, there were several other ways that music theorists classified voice types. Johannes de Garlandia links the musical alphabet to vocal range in his three-part classification. Johannes describes the seven letters, or pitches, in music by range spanning low (*graves*), high (*acutes*), and very high (*superacutes*) pitches. Accordingly, human voices naturally fall into three ranges; chest, throat, and head voices sing in these respective pitch ranges. "It must be known that every human voice

⁸⁸ Leonard Ellingwood, *Musica Hermani Contracti* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Rochester, 1936), 47.

⁸⁹ Veronica Mary Fraser, *The Songs of Peire Vidal: Translation & Commentary* (New York: P. Lang, 2006), 62-64. My translation.

obtains in three different states: it is either the chest, throat, or head.”⁹⁰ This is the only medieval work I have found that addresses voice register in this modern way and suggests that Johannes had training as a singer. In *Ars musica* (c.1280), Lambertus also explains a three-part typology of *vox*, but here he includes both the human voice and other sound-types, even though his discussion takes place under the rubric of *music humana*.⁹¹ These voices are labeled proper, empty, and omitted. A proper voice refers to human voices powered by the lungs. An empty voice is “artificial sound” made by musical instruments or by boys whose voices cannot sing properly. An omitted voice seems to refer to a silence in a song, where the voice rests for some portion of time.

The most complex classification given for different voice types comes from Isidore. Isidore identifies 10 qualities of voices that are characterized by their tone, and how they use the breath, volume, timbre, and articulation. Several are compared to the sound of musical instruments, and Isidore seems to especially approve of the timbre of stringed instruments. Two are gendered like the voices of women (delicate voice) and men (rich voice).

Sweet (*sauvis*) voices are refined and compact, distinct and high. Clear (*perspicuus*) voices are those that are drawn out further, so that they continually fill whole spaces, like the blaring of trumpets. Delicate (*subtilis*) voices are those that have no breath, like the voices of infants, women, and sick people, and like the plucking of strings. Indeed, the most delicate are the strings of musical instruments, which emit light refined sounds. Voices are rich (*pinguis*) when a great deal of breath is sent forth all at once, like the voices of men. A high voice (*acutus*) is light and elevated, just as we see in the strings of musical instruments. A hard (*durus*) voice is one that emits sounds violently, like thunder, or like the sound of the anvil, when the hammer strikes on the hard iron. A harsh (*asperus*) voice is hoarse and uttered with brief irregular beats. A blind (*caecus*) voice is one that stops short as soon as it is emitted, and being stifled is not prolonged any further, like the sounds of clay utensils. A charming (*vinnolus*) voice is soft and flexible; and it is so named from *vinnus*, that is, ‘softly modulated.’ A perfect (*perfectus*) voice is high,

⁹⁰ “*Sciendum est quod omnis vox humana se habet in triplici differentia: au test pectoris aut gutturis aut capitis*”: Gwee, *De plana musica*, 244.

⁹¹ Christian Meyer, *The “Ars Musica” Attributed to Magister Lambertus/Aristoteles*, trans. Karen Desmon and Barbara Helen Haggh (Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015), 97.

sweet, and distinct: high, so that it can reach the high range; distinct, so that it fills the ears; sweet, so that it soothes the spirits of the listeners. If it lacks any of those qualities, it is not perfect.⁹²

This section is significant for the singular attention it pays to the human voice and for the implications each voice-type has on the practicalities of performance. Voices that can project with the use of the breath and manipulate timbre and vocal range will be heard by the audience and influence their emotional state. Some scholars argue that Guido was the first writer to address singing technique, but I would argue that Isidore shows an understanding of the physical aspects of singing technique in the passage. The main difference between Isidore and Guido is that the intention of Guido's treatise was to teach people to sight-sing, while Isidore worked to classify knowledge in a way that implies practical applications rather than stating them outright.

TROUBADOURS AND THE SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS

The prevalence of the seven liberal arts as a way to classify knowledge infiltrated culture beyond the university setting. Many of the troubadours were well acquainted with the seven liberal arts curricula, and it impacted the creation and dissemination of courtly love (*fin'amor*) as a system of values that regulated social interactions. The debate song (*tenso*) between Guillem Augier Novella and another troubadour named Guillem, is one example of the role of music in courtly social interactions discussing the seven liberal arts and wealth. The first troubadour, Guillem Augier Novella, asks whether the second Guillem would rather have land and wealth or knowledge according the seven arts. Guillem chooses knowledge because it is possible to lose wealth but learning stays with you forever.

⁹² Barney, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, 96.

Guillem Augier Novella:

Guillems, prims iestz en trobar a ma guiza
Troban vueilh doncs saber
Ta voluntat pos tant la i as misa.
Qal volries mais aver:
esser rics de terr'e d'aver
Entre.ls plus rics o la sciens'apriz
Ab lo saber qe las set artz deviça?

Guillem:

Mais volgr'aver la siensa conqisa
Qe.m deges remaner
Qe la ricor, qe causza es devisa
Q'als rics po pauc valer
Qar pot hom leu d'aut bas chazer
e.l siença non chai pos s'es asisa:
cel q'a.l saber es rics en sa camisa!

Guillem Augier Novella:

Guillem, since to my taste you are the best
at composing, I want to know through
composing (song), your desire, since you
have put so much of it into this. Which
would you prefer: to be among the very
richest men in land and wealth or to have
the learning acquired with the knowledge
which the seven arts set out?

Guillem:

Rather than wealth, I would prefer to have
gained knowledge in such a way that it
stayed with me; it is certain that (wealth)
can be of little worth to the rich men, for it
is easy for a man to tumble down from on
high but learning does not fall once it is
firmly in place: a man who has knowledge
is rich, even if all he has is his shirt!⁹³

Since the *tenso* is a debate, the question of whether wealth or knowledge is more valuable is argued by an equal number of stanzas per side. The second Guillem argues that knowledge is better than wealth that cannot be lost once you acquire it, and he references the wisdom of Aristotle and Solomon as a legacy that survived past their material wealth. Guillem Augier Novella counters by saying Aristotle had to ask for money from rich patrons and he would rather be someone who gives money than asks for it. This *tenso* is one of the only debates that has an accompanying judgement that survives. Guillem Augier asks Sir Romieu to decide who won the debate because he has both wisdom and wealth. Sir Romieu has been identified as Romeo de Villanova, a judge in the court of Count Raimon Berenguer V of Provence. Romeo takes a humorous stance in his *tornada* (concluding stanza), saying that wisdom is worth more than wealth, but he, personally, would choose wealth.

⁹³ Ruth Harvey and Linda M. Paterson, *The Troubadour Tensos and Partimens: A Critical Edition* (Rochester: D.S. Brewer, 2010), 548-54.

Another example of a troubadour who valued the knowledge of the seven liberal arts is the cleric-troubadour Peire de Corbian, who wrote the didactic poem *Lo tezaurs* around 1225. This 840-line poem is a compendium of knowledge with stanzas dedicated to the seven liberal arts, as well as other topics that comprise a wise person's education (Old and New Testament, mythology, medicine, etc.). The title for the poem comes from lines 16-18, where Peire writes that he has collected a rich treasure more precious than gems, gold, or money. This treasure is knowledge and each section of the poem outlines how much Peire knows about each of his subjects. The section on music mentions details of modal music theory, sight singing, playing instruments, and composing different genres of songs and dance tunes.

De muzica sai ieu tot aondozamens
Catre tons principals e catre sotz jazens;
Li catre vau en sus descordans autamens,
El catre van en jus en cantan bassamens.
Pero en catre letras an totz lors finemens
(En totz aquestz no son mas set voz differens),
E puejon s'en per tons en semitons plagnens,
La primeirana corda s'entona jos breumens,
Mais la quarta e la quinta, quel son entreferens
S'acordon per descort ab leis mult doussamens.
La primeir'e l'octava son aisi respondens
C'amdoas paron una, tan sono unetamens.
Per aquest art sai ieu tot evezadamens
Far sons e lais e voûtas e sonar estrumens.
Tota la solfa sai e los set mudamens
(E tocar per la man deforas e dedens),
Si con Guis e Boecis feron diversamens.

Concerning music, I know all abundantly, the four principal tones and four placed under; four are strong high above discord, four go down in singing low. Thus, the four letters go to all their finals. (In all, this does not sound except by seven different voices [pitches]). And they advance by tone and semitone pleasingly, the first chord intoned down briefly, but the fourth and the fifth, whose sounds collide, harmonize by themselves very sweetly in regard to discord. The first is the octave, the sound answers so that both speak as one, sounding in much unison. By this art, I know all graciously, I make melodies and *lais* and

voltas and play instruments. All the sol-fa [solfege] I know, and the 7 changes. (And to touch by hand outside and inside), just as Guido and Boethius hit variously.⁹⁴

Since poetry, as a genre, employs brevity, Peire de Corbain merely lists the subjects that he knows rather than provide details or explanations of these subjects. Thus, the reader must know a little bit about the subject to understand the poem. For the modern reader, a few things on this list are ambiguous and need some interpretation. Peire mentions the seven pitches on the scale and the four authentic and the four plagal scales. The authentic modes use their tonic as the first pitch—Dorian (D), Phrygian (E), Lydian (F), and Mixolydian (G). The four plagal modes start on the fourth pitch below the tonic—hypodorian, hypophrygian, hypolydian, and hypomixolydian. Peire refers to the three perfect intervals: P4th, P5th, and P8th.

In addition to knowing music theory, he also claims to sing, play instruments, and compose (a *lai* is a song form and a *volta* is a dance). His reference to “sol-fa” pertains to the solfeggio sight-singing system developed by Guido of Arezzo. Peire mentions Guido and Boethius by name in the last line of this section on music. The classification of indoor and outdoor instruments designates stringed instruments, typically played indoors, and loud wind instruments that are often performed outside in parades, military campaigns, or hunting. The statement that Guido and Boethius “hit” (*ferir*) or “touch by hand” (*tocar*) various instruments is ambiguous. It might refer to the “Guidonian hand” which Guido famously developed as a mnemonic device used in sight-singing. Or perhaps it refers to that fact that both Guido and Boethius recommend the use of the monochord in teaching music. The terms “touch” and “hit” were applied to other musical instruments like the fiddle or the keyboard. One etymology for the old Nordic epics before 1200 called the performer of the fiddle a *fidlu-slætti* (fiddle striker).⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Alfred Jeanroy and Bertoni Giulio, “Le « Thezaur » de Peire de Corbian,” *Annales du Midi: Revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale* 58, no. 92 (1911): 294. My translation.

⁹⁵ Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: W.W.Norton & Company, 1940), 274.

By the late Renaissance (c.1590s), the concept of “touching” (*tocar*) a keyboard instrument developed into a musical genre called the “toccata.” Even though some scholars like Alfred Jeanroy and Giulio Bertoni find Peire de Corbain’s monorhymes and boasting in this poem lacking in artistic merit,⁹⁶ *Lo tezaurs* inspired similar works in other languages like Brunetto Latini’s *Tesoretto* in Italian and Emanuele da Roma’s *Ninth Meḥabbereth* in Hebrew.

TROUBADOUR TREATISES AND LYRICS

By the thirteenth century, the popularity of troubadour song had inspired writers among the Catalan literati to create their own texts on how to compose in the style of the troubadours. The first of these texts is the *Razos de trobar* by Raimon Vidal (c.1200). The *Razos* was written for an audience that wanted to compose their own songs and also wanted to know about composition so that they could critique the songs of others. Raimon writes that everyone from all religions (Christian, Jew, or Muslim) and every social class (emperor, king, prince, cleric, burgher, peasant, shepherd, etc.) wished to compose and sing songs. For Raimon, the value of troubadour song for these wide populations lies in telling the stories of all good and evil deeds. He writes that both composing and singing inspire and memorialize all brave deeds: “And inventing and singing equally are the beginning and end of all gallantry (*E trobar e xantars egalment son cap de totas gallardias*).”⁹⁷

The majority of the Occitan treatises on the art of *trobar* resemble grammar textbooks. Three quarters of the long version of *Razos de trobar* explicates the morphology of Occitan nouns, pronouns, and verbs, likely because Raimon Vidal’s native language, Catalan, does not

⁹⁶ Jeanroy and Giulio, “Le « Thezaur » de Peire de Corbian,” 19.

⁹⁷ John Henry Marshall, *The Razos de Trobar of Raimon Vidal and Associated Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 3. My translation.

share the Occitan case system.⁹⁸ Later treatises such as *Donatz proensals* by Uc Faidit (1240) and *Regles de trobar* by Joffre de Foxa (c.1286-1291) follow the model set by Raimon Vidal. The stated goal of the *Regles de trobar* is to elucidate technical concepts of versification in Occitan for those who have not previously studied Latin. The influence of Latin grammar books is clear from the title of *Donatz proensals*, which is named after Aelius Donatus, the fourth-century Roman grammarian who wrote an important Latin grammar textbook popular throughout the Middle Ages.

Even though the Occitan treatises predominantly contain information about grammar, medieval etymologies of the word “music” point to a strong connection between the art of *trobar* and music. The Occitan word *trobar* means to find, to discover, or to invent. Medieval etymologies of the word “music” are related to concepts of memory and seeking through the mythology of the Muses.

One etymology of music concerning the Muses pertains to the Greek word “to seek” (μῶσθαι). Cassiodorus names Clement of Alexandria’s *Against the Pagans* (c. 150-215 CE) as the source for the etymology, but the earliest source is Plato’s *Cratylus*. Cassiodorus writes that music comes from “the Muses themselves named από του μῶσθαι, i.e. from seeking, since through them, as the ancients believed, the power of song and the harmony of the voice was sought.”⁹⁹ Isidore, Aurelian of Réome, and St. Emmeram each present this etymology almost verbatim, albeit with some confusion over the original Greek words.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ MS B has the long version of the *Razos*: Marianne Shapiro, *De Vulgari Eloquentia: Dante’s Book of Exile* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 102-103.

⁹⁹ Halporn and Vessey, *Cassiodorus*, 217.

¹⁰⁰ Isidore says music comes from the Muses who are named from *apotumasion* “which means to acquire because it was through them, as the ancients liked to believe, that the power of poetry and the ability to produce musical sounds with the voice might be acquired,” Barney, *The Etymologies of Isidore*, 67. Aurelian of Réome writes, “According to the Greeks, it was called από του μῶσθαι, that is from seeking, because through it were sought the sound and power of melody,” Lawrence Arthur Gushee, “The *Musica Disciplina* of Aurelian of Réome: A Critical Text and Commentary” (PhD diss: Yale University, 1963), 7.

The idea of music being rooted in the concept of seeking gains new layers of meaning when juxtaposed with the art of *trobar*. The troubadours are named for the act of finding or inventing new songs. If music is the act of seeking power through song, then the troubadours “find” an affective mode of communication through composing and performing songs. One Occitan treatise on composing stands apart from the others because it is not a grammar book, but rather a compendium of troubadour genres: *De la doctrina de comprendre dictats*. The author of the *Doctrina* is unknown, but Marshall suggests that it could also be by Raimon Vidal, possibly written as a supplement to *Razos*, since it immediately follows the *Razos* in manuscript H.¹⁰¹

This is the first Occitan treatise on the art of *trobar* to mention music, and it stresses the importance of composing a new melody for significant song genres, combining the concepts of music as “seeking” and the art of *trobar* as “finding” or “inventing new songs.” The *Doctrina* presents fifteen song genres, the appropriate subject matter for each genre, the number of stanzas and *tornadas*, and significantly for this study, whether to compose a new melody (see Table 1).

The genres with the most social capital, the *canso*, *vers*, and *lay*, required a new melody. These genres are highly valued because of the seriousness of their subject matter: Love, Truth, and God, respectively. All the genres may use a newly composed melody except for the *tenso*, a debate song between two performers. The *Doctrina* reads, “if you want to compose a *tenso*, you must answer in some tune which has beautiful notes (*Si vols far tenso, dues l’apondre en algun so qui haia bella nota*).”¹⁰² Five more genres may use either a borrowed tune or a newly composed melody (*serventes*, *pastora*, *planh*, *gelozesca*, and *coblas esparses*). Billee Bonse’s dissertation on the practice of contrafacture in the troubadour repertory explains the difficulty in discussing these songs as contrafacts because of the lack of surviving musical notation for either

¹⁰¹ MS H, Barcelona, Bibl. Central, 239, Marshall, *The Razos de Trobar*, lxxv.

¹⁰² Marshall, *The Razos de Trobar*, 97.

the original model or the contrafact. She writes that only three *serventes* have survived that duplicate a preexisting *canso*, and only one *tenso* has an extant melody that may have been borrowed from a song by Alamanda, one of the interlocutors of the *tenso*.¹⁰³

Genre	Subject	Stanzas	Tornadas	Melody
Canso	love or praise	6-8	1-2	new music
Vers	truth, proverbs, elegies	6-8	1-2	new music
Lays	God, contrition	6-8	1-2	new music
Serventesch	deeds of arms, good or evil deeds, laws, events	May be a contrafact with the same number as old song (or not)	-	new or borrowed
Retronxa	unhappy love	4 + a refrain	-	new music
Pastora	pastoral or “animal” name	6-8	-	new or borrowed
Dança	dance song with instrumental accompaniment	3	1-2	new music
Planh	love, sadness, lament	any number	-	any tune except a dance tune
Alba	dawn, love	any number	-	new music
Gayta	watchmen, love	any number	-	new music
Estampida	any topic	4 + refrain	1-2	new music
Sompni	dreams	5-6	-	new music
Gelozesca	jealousy, reproach	4 + refrain	1-2	new or borrowed
Descorts	torment from love	3 + refrain irregular	1-2	-
Coblas espares	n/a	2-3	1-2	any tune you wish
Tenso	dispute, contest	4, 6, or 8	-	borrow a well-known tune

TABLE 1: Troubadour Song Genres from *De la doctrina de comprendre dictats*

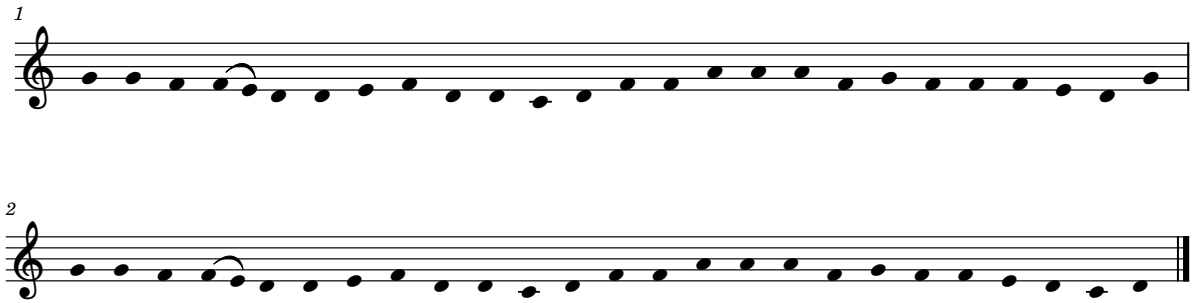
There is not much direction in the *Doctrina* on how to compose these tunes, but the author implies that melodies contribute to the mood and style of each genre when discussing the *planh*, the *lays*, and the *descorts*. The *planh* is a lament song that may use a borrowed melody, with the exception of the melody of a dance. The *dansa* must have a pleasant sound and is

¹⁰³ Billee A. Bonse, “Singing to Another Tune: Contrafacture and Attribution in Troubadour Song” (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2003), 2.

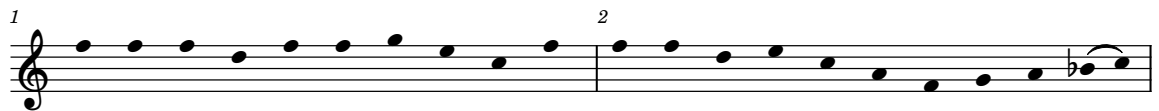
naturally sung while dancing; thus a dance melody would be inappropriate for a lamentation.

Another example is the *lays*, a song about God and contrition, so one must compose “new and pleasing music in ecclesiastical manner (*so novel e plazen, o de esgleya o d’altra manera*).”¹⁰⁴

Additionally, the *descorts* is a “discordant” song about the torments of love. Since the subject of this genre is discord, the form can be irregular with extra words in each verse, and the melodic line should “fall” in places one would normally expect it to rise. This suggests that a descending line can express grief as it does in later periods.¹⁰⁵ The two *descorts* that survive with melodies attest to the accuracy of the *Doctrina* concerning descending melodic motion. Both “Ses alegratge” by Guillem Augier Novella and “Us gais conortz me fai gajamen far” by Pons de Capduelh begin with a descending contour, which is unusual for troubadour songs.



EXAMPLE 1: “Ses alegratge”



EXAMPLE 2: “Us gais conortz me fai gajamen far”

¹⁰⁴ The Old Occitan is found in Marshall, *The Razos de Trobar*, 95; the translation is Shapiro’s, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, 128.

¹⁰⁵ See Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 369-372.

The word “melody” does not appear in Old Occitan works such as troubadour lyrics or these early treatises on the art of *trobar* until the treatise *Leys d’Amor* (Laws of Love), c.1328-1356. The author, Guilhem Molinier, writes that the science of *trobar* was invented so that people can “hear and learn good words and also beautiful melodious songs (*e bos motz entenda, et aprenda, e yssamens per ques hom per bels chans melodiozes*).”¹⁰⁶ Elizabeth Aubrey argues that the use of the word *melodia* in the *Leys d’Amors* does not mean melody in the musical sense because it occurs in a section on rhetoric. In this context, Aubrey writes that *melodia* pertains to the euphony of words.¹⁰⁷ I agree that Molinier describes words as melodious, particularly in the context of how to accent words (*arsis* and *thesis*), but he also describes the musical side of song as melodious outside of the rhetoric section of the treatise. The quote above, for example, comes from the beginning of the treatise defining the art of *trobar*. In this passage, *melodia* modifies *chans* (songs) and is distinguished from hearing good words.

Another use of *melodia* in the *Leys d’Amors* describes how the melody of the *vers* should sound. Following in the footsteps of the *Doctrina*, Molinier writes that the *vers* is about truth and wisdom, or love. It has five to ten stanzas and one or two *tornadas*, and the melody should be long with a contour that rises and falls beautifully.

E deu have lonc so pauzat	And it must have a long tranquil tune
E noel am belas montadas	And new with beautiful ascents
E desshendudas e passadas	And descents and passages
Doussas plazens e graciozas	Sweet, pleasant, and lovely
Acordans e melodiozas.	Harmonious and melodious. ¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Guilhem Molinier, *Las Flors del gay saber estier dichas las leys d’amors*, ed. and trans. d’Aguilar and d’Escouloubre, revised by M. Gatien-Arnould, 2 vols. (Toulouse: Privat. 1843; Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1977), 10. The word melody comes from the Greek μέλος (melos).

¹⁰⁷ Elizabeth Aubrey, “References to Music in Old Occitan Literature,” *Acta Musicologica* 61, no. 2 (1989): 110-149; 111n5.

¹⁰⁸ Molinier, *Las Flors del gay*, 350-352. My translation.

In the troubadour lyrics, the Latin-derived word for melody does not appear. Instead, the troubadours use the word *son* (sound), which is usually translated into English as “melody” or “tune.” While the concept of “sounding” applies to both words and music, Aubrey believes that the ambiguity of the term *son* is rare in troubadour songs because it often appears in contrast to *motz* (words).¹⁰⁹ Some examples of song lyrics that juxtapose the words *motz* and *son* come from Marcabru, Folquet de Marselha, Raimbaut d’Aurenga, and Sordello. The first line of Marcabru’s “Fetz Marcabrus los motz e.l so” states that Marcabru made the words and the music of the song.¹¹⁰ Folquet de Marselha’s “Chantars mi torn’ad afan” mentions making a new song with new words and a new melody. Folquet seems in sync with Raimon Vidal’s impression that everyone wants to compose or sing new songs by saying everyone demands a song from him, but Folquet departs from the deliberation of the *Doctrina* by taking a cavalier attitude toward choosing a subject.

Mas quex demanda chanso
e no.lh cal de la razo :
qu’atressi m’es ops la fassa
de nou, quom los motz e.l so.

But everyone demands a song
and without concern for the subject:
so that I need to make it
new, the words as well as the tune.¹¹¹

Folquet’s glib attitude also appears in Raimbaut d’Aurenga (c.1150-1173) and Sordello’s (c.1225-1260) desire to compose “light” songs as opposed to serious love songs. Raimbaut d’Aurenga juxtaposes the names of two genres of song, suggesting that the *vers* is more serious and a *chanson* is more playful and accessible to listeners with ordinary and common rhymes.

A mon vers dirai chansso
ab leus motz ez ab leu so
ez en rima vil’e plana.

I shall call my *vers*, a *chanson*
with light words and with light melody
and in ordinary and common rhymes.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Aubrey, “References,” 111.

¹¹⁰ Nathaniel B. Smith, “Rhetoric,” in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, eds. F.R.P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 409.

¹¹¹ Aubrey, “References,” 112.

¹¹² Aubrey, “References,” 112. My translation.

Sordello's desire to use light or easy words is to make the song agreeable:

Bel m'es ab motz leugiers a far
chanson plazen et ab guay so.

It pleases me to compose, with light words,
an agreeable song and with a gay melody.¹¹³

The newness of the sound is another important concept in the *Doctrina* and the *Leys d'Amor*.

While expounding on the features of different genres, the *Doctrina* uses the phrase *novel son* (new melody) twelve times. According to the *Doctrina*, creating contrafactum was acceptable for five of the fifteen genres, but newness was highly valued for the most prestigious genres like the *vers* and *canso*. These two genres are declamatory songs about love and truth. The description of the *vers* from the *Leys* in the quote above describes the ideal melody for that genre as long, tranquil, and new. According to Stevens, Butterfield, and Karp, *vers* is the term used most frequently by the troubadour lyrics from c.1100-1150 to describe their songs. The word derives from the Latin term for line or row: *versus*. Originally an agricultural term for planting rows of crops in lines, it became a metaphor in poetry for a single line. The concept of "verse" as a single line of poetry is still used in literary scholarship today. After 1150, troubadour genres expanded to be more multifaceted, and *canso* became the term for a serious song about courtly love in a "high style" (*trobar clus*) in contrast to the style of light or humorous songs (*trobar leu*).¹¹⁴

The troubadours were much more likely to use through-composed melodies than their northern French counterparts, the trouvères, who used refrains and bar-form (AAB) more consistently. I suggest that the use of through-composed melodies was another way the

¹¹³ James J. Wilhelm, trans., *The Poetry of Sordello* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987), 14-15. My translation.

¹¹⁴ I'm skeptical about this generalization because the earliest known troubadour, Guilhem IX Duke of Aquitaine, uses both words in his songs. The *vidas* seem to support this assumption, but a more rigorous study is needed in which all the instances of *vers* and *canso* are cataloged. John Stevens, Ardis Butterfield, Theodore Karp, "Troubadours and Trouvères," Grove Music Online, 2001; Accessed March 11, 2024. <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001>.

troubadours cultivated “newness” in their works. Within the melodies, repetition underscores important pitches or pitch centers, short motives and melismas, and even entire phrases. Aubrey writes that finding relationships between melodic phrases when analyzing troubadour melodies can be difficult because of a dearth of exact repetition. In Aubrey’s analysis of large-scale melodic structure, she finds 57 melodies that are through-composed (18% of all songs) and 64 melodies that are mostly through-composed but have some repetition (20%). Another 38% of the troubadour songs use bar form consistently.¹¹⁵

Troubadour song lyrics often stress the value of newness, and they often state that intention in the first stanza of the song, as if the act of creating and performing a new song is as important as choosing the subject and argument for the song. In the first stanza of “Atressi co.l perilhans,” Peire Vidal says that his beloved is like a lucky star who has given him a reason “to compose a new song” (*de far novella chanso*). Because of her great worth, strength, and nobility, he recites (*retrac*) to her in stanza six his “new song with a new melody” (*ma chanso novela ab novel so*).¹¹⁶ Another example from Peire Vidal, “Pus ubert ai mon ric thesaur,” begins by opening a rich treasure and taking out “a joyful new little song (*trairai.n un gai sonet novell*).”¹¹⁷

Other troubadours, like Raimbaut d’Aurenga, take a humorous approach to composing new songs that are light and easy to understand. The song “Aissi mou” starts out with the diminutive term “sonet” which I translate here as little tune. By using terms of captivity, “fasten and bind” (*fermare* and *lasar*), as a metaphor connecting the melody to the song (*chanson*), Raimbaut implies that the melody is the tool to capture the words of the song. The humor is

¹¹⁵ Aubrey, *Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996), 146.

¹¹⁶ Fraser, *Songs of Peire Vidal*, 102-105. There is no extant melody for this song.

¹¹⁷ Fraser, *Songs of Peire Vidal*, 172.

apparent in the following lines, which compare this easy and light chanson with the serious *vers* that is so difficult it makes foolish listeners go deaf.

Aissi mou	Here, I begin
Un sonet nou	A new little tune
On ferm e latz	In which I fasten and bind
Chanson leu,	A light song,
Pos vers plus greu	Since the <i>vers</i> is more difficult
Fan sorz dels fatz.	It makes the foolish deaf. ¹¹⁸

In “Ab nou cor et ab nou talen,” Raimbaut d’Aurenga makes liberal use of the concept of newness, using the word “new” eight times in the first six lines.

Ab nou cor et ab nou talen	From a new heart and from new desire,
Ab nou saber et ab nou sen	From new knowledge and from new wisdom
Et ab neu bel captenemen	And from new noble conduct
Vuoill un bon nou vers commensar;	I wish to begin a good new <i>vers</i> ;
E qui mos bons nous motz enten	And whoever understands my good new
Ben er plus nous a son viven	Words, indeed, he will be more new in his life
Qu’us veills en deu renovellar.	Than an old man ought to be renewed from it. ¹¹⁹

A new desire has made his heart new and given him new wisdom and knowledge. Inspired by a new nobility from this new love, he creates a new *vers* with new words. The result of the song is new life. While my translations of these lyrics favor a musical interpretation, the concept of sounding encompasses the words and the melody together as one expressive act.

Another popular etymology for how the word music comes from the Muses concerns memory. Augustine mentions in *De musica* that the Muses inspire the poets to sing, thus the word “music” derives from the Muses. In *De ordine*, Augustine writes that the Muses are the daughters of Jove and Memory, according to fables of the poets.¹²⁰ As an etiological myth, it is

¹¹⁸ Pattison, *Life and Works*, 125. My translation.

¹¹⁹ Pattison, *Life and Works*, 184. My translation.

¹²⁰ “That which the mind see is always present and judged to be immortal (numbers clearly have this nature); sound, on the other hand, because it is perceived by the senses, flows by into the past and is impressed upon the memory. In the past poets pretended reasonably enough, with the support of logic ... that the Muses were the daughters of Jove and Memory. Thus, this discipline, taking part in both sense and intellect, acquired the name of music,” Sullivan, “The Unwritable Sound,” 2.

significant that the Muses are the progeny of Memory; Augustine explains that sound is perceived through the senses and imprinted upon the memory; thus, music facilitates the memorization of poetry. Isidore of Seville explains further in *Etymologiae* that if the memory cannot store sounds, music will be lost because sounds cannot be written down. This observation demonstrates a loss of knowledge regarding ancient forms of musical notation which were used as early as 10,000 BCE in Mesopotamia. However, Isidore's comments are applicable to the loss of music for most of the troubadour songs, which has prompted much scholarly discussion on the importance of memory in transmission of troubadour song, and how medieval manuscripts fit into a paradigm that still relies heavily on oral/aural transmission.¹²¹

Today, memorization and literacy are often characterized as opposites. Mary Caruthers describes the relationship between memory and writing in the Middle Ages as complimentary. She quotes Cicero's statement from *Partitiones oratoriae* that memory is "in a manner the twin sister of written speech [*litteratura*]," and explains the metaphor of memorization is the act of imprinting something on the mind the way letters are inscribed on a wax tablet.¹²² While any sensory perception—visual, auditory, tactile, or olfactory—can be imprinted on the memory, one of the most common medieval memorization techniques employed a practice of visualization known as the "memory palace" or the method of *loci*. It works by imagining a well-known place (*loci*)—for a person in the Middle Ages that might be the palace where they grew up or worked—and visualize traveling through each room placing the words or things to be remembered in the details of those rooms. In *De Oratore* and *Institutio oratoria*, respectively, Cicero and Quintilian credit Simonides of Ceos (c. 556-c. 468 BCE) as the inventor of this

¹²¹ On memory and troubadour song, see Dillion, "Unwriting," 595-622; William Paden, "What Singing Does to Words: Reflections on the Art of the Troubadours," *Exemplaria* 17, no. 2 (2005): 481-506.

¹²² Mary J. Caruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 16.

memorization technique. Simonides was a famous poet-musician who was performing at a banquet one tragic evening when the ceiling collapsed and killed everyone inside except him. He was able to identify the bodies by remembering where every was sitting during his performance.¹²³ In the ancient world, poets like Simonides memorized large repertories, and from the field of neuropsychology today, we know that the sounding of the words and music together aided the practice of memorization. The earliest reference to melody and memory that I have found comes from the fourteenth century Occitan treatises on the art of *trobar*, which emphasize memory as important for the audience and the performer. The *Ley d'amor* argues that the art of *trobar* was invented in such a way that beautiful sounding rhymes would aid in memory retention.

Esta sciensa foc atrobada per so que quascus dictatz siam ays agradans, e mays plazens, per los rimes sonans, consonans, e leonisme. E cascun miels e plus tost puesca reporter cascun dictat, per so que recitan e legen hom sen departe, e bos motz entenda, et aprenda, a yssamens per ques hom per bels chans melodiozes.¹²⁴

This science was invented so that each composition might be more pleasant and more pleasing, through assonant, consonant, and leonine rhymes. And each person can better and more readily recount each composition, so that one can recite and read without departure, and hear and learn good words. And likewise, one can hear/understand on account of beautiful melodious songs.

Guilhem Molinier emphasizes the grammatical aspect of rhymes to remember verse. In an assonant rhyme, the vowel sounds in the rhyming syllable are the same, but not consonant sounds; in a consonant rhyme, the consonant sounds in the rhyming syllable are the same, but not the vowel sounds; and a leonine rhyme involves two rhyming words in the middle of a line. Molinier states that rhyming sounds aid in both reading a song correctly and recitation from

¹²³ Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 1-2.

¹²⁴ Molinier, *Las Flors del gay saber*, 10. My translation.

memory. The audience can acquire a good vocabulary by listening to songs, and the melody of the song helps the listener hear and understand the song.

For Raimon Vidal, troubadour songs help people remember historic events—good and evil deeds, and the people who perpetrated these deeds. For the troubadour Bernart de Ventadorn, his songs help him remember his beloved, as seen in “Pel dous chan.”

Sapchatz, lo melher messatgers	Know this, the best messenger that I have from
C'ai de leis es mos cossires	her is my longing (in verse), which makes me
Que.m recorda sos bels semblans.	remember her beautiful appearance. ¹²⁵

Bernart de Ventadorn claims that he does not need a message or messenger from his beloved because his own feelings, memorialized in song, help fortify his memory of her. The word he uses for his longing or desire (*cossires*) also designates a type of poetic genre. Therefore, the song encapsulates longing through remembrance of the beloved.

Folquet de Marselha's song “In cantan m'aven a membrar” displays a complicated relationship between the act of singing and memory. The singer tries to use singing as a mechanism to cope with the pain of love, but singing causes him to remember the pain instead. The opening rhyme scheme juxtaposes these two opposites: to remember and to forget (*membrar/oblidar*) and pain versus love (*dolor/amor*).

In cantan m'aven a membrar	While singing it happens that I remember
Cho q'eu cuich cantan oblidar.	What I intended to forget by singing.
Mas per sochant q'eu oblides la dolor,	But although I sing to forget the pain and
E.l mal d'amor.	Suffering of love,
Mais on plus chan plus mi sove,	The more I sing, rather, the more I remember.
C'a la bocha nulla res no m'ave,	Since from my mouth, nothing else comes out,
Mais sols merce!	Except, have mercy!
Per q'es vertaz e sembla.n be,	Since it is true and seems good, that in my
Q'inz il cor port domna.m vostra faizon.	heart I carry, Lady, your face, Which entreats
Qe.m chastia q'eu no vir ma rason.	me that I not to change my reasons. ¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Stephen G. Nichols, *The Songs of Bernart de Ventadorn* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1965), 139. My translation.

¹²⁶ Nancy Ellen Washer, “Los Motz e.l so: Words, Melody, and Their Interaction in the Songs of Folquet de Marseille” (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 2002), 281. My translation.

The impact of music on memory not only makes it easier to remember the sequence of words as in lyric poetry, but music also helps conjure up emotions in the performer and the listener. The BRECVEM model, a common framework cited in cognitive studies and neuropsychology, points to several of these themes expressed in troubadour lyrics. The BRECVEM model consists of the following psychological mechanisms: Brain stem reflexes, Rhythmic entrainment, Evaluative conditioning, Contagion, Visual imagery, Episodic memory, and Musical expectancy.¹²⁷

Troubadours like Bernart de Ventadorn and Folquet de Marselha seem to be drawing on what is now known as the psychological mechanisms of episodic memory, visual imagery, and contagion. Music can evoke episodic memories by recalling emotions that have been imprinted in the memory through lived experiences. These can be either good or bad emotions, as seen in Folquet's recalling the pain of love. Bernart de Ventadorn's song conjures up the emotions tied to visual memory of the beloved's appearance. Emotional contagion functions through the perception of emotion in the music by the listener, who then internalizes that emotion through "mimicking" the emotion. I would argue that two of the goals of troubadour song are to engage the listener's (i.e. the beloved's) favor through emotional contagion or to use the song to process their own emotional state.

EVERYBODY SINGS, EVEN BAD SINGERS

The definition of music as the science of singing is apt for troubadour songs as a medium that is sung. Some scholars, like Dillon and Paden, stress the importance of singing alongside the

¹²⁷ See Patrik N. Juslin and John A. Slobada, "Music and Emotion," in *The Psychology of Music*, ed. Diana Deutsch, 583-645 (San Diego: Academic Press, 2013) 612-620; and *Handbook of Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, Applications*, eds. Juslin and Slobada (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 266 and 609.

troubadour repertory, but none have yet discussed singing as an embodied act requiring specific vocal techniques. In a book on embodiment and vocality, Virginie Magnat asserts that vocalization, as an embodied form of expressivity, has not been investigated by arts and humanities disciplines as much as linguistic and aesthetic theoretical frameworks rooted in discursive knowledge systems.¹²⁸ Yet understanding vocality as a physical act gives insight into how vocal performance can impact the emotions. Magnat writes, “from a neuroscience perspective, singing engages highly complex mechanisms that require multiple networks for vocal motor control and sensory feedback processing.”¹²⁹

Through deliberate use of the breath, vocal cords, and head cavities, singing engages the mind and the emotions of the performer and can activate the mind, emotions, and body of the listener. The troubadours proclaim that they employ the physical act of singing to process their emotions, to remember the beloved, or to persuade the listener. Today, neuroscience explains the relationship between music and the emotions as cognitive mechanisms, but medieval musical philosophy asserts that singing unites the body and the soul. Boethius believed that humans sing because of the outpouring of “sweetness from the soul.” Following Plato’s cosmology, Boethius writes that the body and soul are united by the harmonic ratios that conjoin the universe. Therefore, “sets of pitches, suitable for melody, are joined together and united” in ways that people find pleasure in hearing and singing.¹³⁰ Boethius claims that every person, no matter their age or sex, enjoys music. He specifically mentions infants, who enjoy consonant music and dislike dissonant sounds, and women, who characteristically sing lament songs for mourners.

¹²⁸ Virginie Magnat, *The Performative Power of Vocality* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 41.

¹²⁹ Magnat, *Performative Power*, 43.

¹³⁰ Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 7.

Cognitive studies in neuropsychology support Boethius' observation that infants enjoy music. Around the age of one year old, infants can spontaneously sing; at 18 months, they can produce recognizable and repeatable songs with form, discrete pitches, repetition of rhythms and melodic contours.¹³¹ Furthermore, Boethius writes that even people who are bad singers find pleasure in the activity: "Someone who cannot sing well will nevertheless sing something to himself, not because the song that he sings affects him with particular satisfaction, but because those who express a kind of inborn sweetness from the soul—regardless of how it is expressed—finds pleasure."¹³² Approximately 400 years later, Regino of Prüm (840-915 CE) echoes this sentiment in *De harmonica institutione* and *Tonarius*.

No man who understands himself has any doubt that music is naturally inherent in all men, and at all ages, and in both sexes. For what age or what sex is not delighted by musical songs? For it is a proper quality of human nature for the soul to be delighted at sweet modes and to be irritated by the opposite kind...no time of life at all that is free from the delight in sweet songs. And even if there are some who are not able to sing with skill and sweetness to others; nevertheless, to themselves they produce song unsweetly sweet."¹³³

The defense of singing as an activity that moves the soul across several centuries, from Boethius to Regino, resembles Raimon Vidal's passionate appeal in *Razos de trobar* that claims everyone wants to compose troubadour song. The desire to perform these songs is ubiquitous according to Raimon, but the ability to sing them well is perhaps more in line with Boethius' and Regino's statements, according to the troubadour *vidas*. Several *vidas* mention whether or not the troubadour could sing well. For example, Aimeric de Peguilhan sang badly, and Gaucelm Faidit is remembered as the worst singer in the world. Eighteen troubadours are described as knowing

¹³¹ Isabelle Peretz, Lise Gagnon, Sylvie Hébert, and Joël Macoir, "Singing in the Brain: Insights from Cognitive Neuropsychology," *Music Perception: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 21, no. 3 (2004): 374.

¹³² Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 8.

¹³³ Sister Mary Protase LeRoux, "The *De harmonica institutione* and *Tonarius* of Regino of Prüm: Latin Text with English Translation" (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 1965), 39.

how to sing or being able to sing well.¹³⁴ Two troubadours, Peire Vidal and Elias de Barjols, sang better than anyone else “in the world” according to the author of their *vidas*. In addition to the singing ability of individual troubadours, three *vidas* mention the relationship between troubadours and *joglars*. Bertran de Born employed Papiol to sing his songs. Giraut de Borneill was called a “master of inventors” and taught “letters” at a school during the winter but traveled with two singers over the summer months. Pistoleta’s *vida* mentions that he was the singer of Arnaut Maruoill.

Other references to singing in the *vidas* provides reasons for singing or mention the outcome of singing. The Monk of Montaudon was ordered to sing by King Alfonso, who also commanded him to eat meat and court women. This suggests that singing troubadour songs as part of the courtly love tradition was an important aspect of chivalry but went counter to the ascetic lifestyle of a Benedictine monk. Guillem de Cabestaing sang because he loved his lady and composed songs about her. Guillem de Balaun served his lady by talking and singing. Lastly, Peire de Maensac’s songs must have been very persuasive since his *vida* says that he sang so much about his lady, she let him abduct her. Singing as an act of persuasion further demonstrates the significance of the musical side of songs.

CONCLUSION

I have argued that it is important to understand song as a genre that is more than the sum of its parts in order to appreciate the emotional impact of sound through the combination of language and music. The organization of knowledge into the seven liberal arts shows the overlap

¹³⁴ The list of troubadours who knew how to sing well includes: Arnaut de Maruell, Bertolome Zorzi, Cadenet, Elias de Barjols, Gausbert de Poicibot, Guillen IX, Guillem Figueira, Guillem de la Tor, Peire d’Alvernhe, Peire Cardenal, Peire Raimon of Toulouse, Peire Rogier, Peire Vidal, Pistoleta, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Richart de Berbezill, Sordel, Uc de Pena.

of language and music in the pedagogical approach that begins with grammar as the first discipline students learn and places music as mathematical discipline encompassing all the others. Therefore, song exists as both a subdiscipline of grammar and of music. Moreover, the two definitions of music found in medieval treatises further substantiates the entanglement of language and music. The first definition of music—the art of measuring sound—can be applied to musical pitch and harmonic intervals, as Boethius demonstrated, and also to poetic meter, as shown by Augustine. The second definition—the science of singing—pertains to music and language combined in a single performative act.

The popularity of singing as an embodied act spans the centuries from Boethius' belief that all humans sing—out of a sense of satisfaction, pleasure, or grief—to the Old Occitan treatises on the art of *trobar*, which promote the idea that all people want to compose and sing in the style of the troubadours. Boethius, Isidore, and others classify voice types based on how the breath is used, vocal range, and quality of voice. Each of these features impact practical considerations of performing song and facilitate the communication of emotions between performer and audience.

Additionally, the treatises on the art of *trobar* show the entanglement of grammar and music within the genre of song, as their stated goal is to teach readers how to compose in the style of the troubadours, but primarily discuss Old Occitan grammar. The concept of words and music “sounding” together is underscored by the prevalence of the Occitan word *son* (sound) rather than *melos* (melody) in these treatises and in troubadour lyrics. Conversely, when Guilhem Molinier does start using the word melody in the *Leys d'amor*, he describes both words and music as melodious. However, music and words together can engage the memory and the emotions beyond what words alone can do. For the troubadours, singing expresses the joy of

love and mitigates the pain of unrequited love, seeking either to ease suffering or to persuade the beloved to reward love with mercy and favor.

CHAPTER 2: THE HARMONY OF THE SPHERES AND TROUBADOUR SONG

Boethius' oft-cited three branches of music—*musica mundana*, *musica humana*, and *musica instrumentalis*—provides the framework for this and the following chapters since it underscores the importance of music in both philosophy and socio-cultural practice. *Musica mundana* pertains to the relationship between cosmology and music. Also called “the harmony of the spheres,” *musica mundana* is deeply rooted in the science of astronomy and mathematics. Greek mathematician Pythagoras was credited by his followers—including Plato and Boethius—with discovering the harmonious mathematical proportions seen in a well-ordered universe and all of nature. As a microcosm of nature, the human body also reflects these harmonic proportions, leading to the concept of *musica humana*. The practice of music, *musica instrumentalis*, was considered “artificial” by Boethius and later writers; the Latin *artificium* means the knowledge or skill (*ars*) to make things (*facere*). Artificial music was contrasted with natural music or sounds that occur naturally in the environment and the cosmos. Nevertheless, *musica instrumentalis* still relied on these same harmonic ratios calculated from *musica mundana*, and examples of music on instruments were used to illustrate the sounds thought to be produced by celestial bodies.

I begin with Boethius because of his undisputed influence on medieval musical philosophy which, in turn, influenced the practice of music as seen in the troubadour repertory. Boethius wrote *De institutione musica* in the sixth century, and it became the most comprehensive and most cited musical treatise since its rediscovery during the ninth-century Carolingian renaissance. It survives in over 130 manuscripts between the ninth and fifteenth centuries. This suggests that many people read Boethius' ideas about music and considered *De*

institutione musica to be an important manuscript to copy and pass on to the next generation.¹³⁵

In this chapter, I establish the inheritance of Boethius' musical categories in medieval treatises on music, which either quote Boethius directly or, in some cases, expand upon his arguments about cosmic music. The second section will look at Pythagoras and the Pythagorean influence on Plato, including the details of esoteric mathematics that influenced troubadour musical culture, particularly the songs of Giraut Riquier. Lastly, I will explain other cosmological themes in troubadour lyrics such as the concept of good fortune connected to astrology, navigation, the passage of time, a sobriquet of Mary, mother of Jesus, and Hebrew Kabbalah. The variety of different themes pertaining to cosmology demonstrates how the troubadours incorporated contemporary concerns (i.e. science and mysticism) in their music and interacted with multiple religions.

THE BOETHIAN TRIPARTITE DIVISION OF MUSIC

Boethius devotes the second chapter of *De institutione musica* to the three branches of music and their influence on the natural world. According to Boethius, *musica mundana* can be observed in the heavens (revolving planets), in the four elements (earth, fire, water, air), and in the four seasons. An explanation of how these are connected is somewhat lacking, although it can be found in Plato's *Timaeus*, which also circulated widely in the Middle Ages. Boethius does give a detailed argument concerning how we can know that the motion of the planets creates sound even though the sound does not reach our ears. He writes that the extremely fast motion of large bodies, with some orbits higher and some orbits lower, creates a diversity of sound that

¹³⁵ David E. Cohen, "Boethius and the *Enchiridion* Theory: The Metaphysics of Consonance and the Concept of Organum" (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1993), 4.

combines harmoniously. Since the motion of the planets creates sound, musical modulation “cannot be separated from this celestial revolution.”¹³⁶ Several medieval music theorists use Boethius’ tripartite division of music, and some even cite Boethius directly. These include John of Garland (fl. c.1240-1320), Juan Gil de Zamora (fl. c.1241-1318), the anonymous writer of St Emmeram’s Abbey (1279), Magister Lambertus (fl. c.1270), and Jerome of Moravia (d. 1271). I draw upon the writings of these theorists to suggest the prevalence of musical cosmology in both medieval academia and courtly culture—overlapping environments in which the troubadours worked and performed.

John of Garland flourished around the mid-thirteenth century, working at the University of Paris, and for a brief time, at the University of Toulouse. Toulouse was an important center for troubadour song, especially during the reigns of Counts Raymond V (c.1134-1194), Raymond VI, (1156-1222), and Raymond VII (1197-1249). John of Garland calls on Boethius’ authority many times in the treatise *De plana musica*, and the following quote expands on Boethius’ simple statements about the three genera of music.

Music is divided into categories, for it is either ‘cosmic,’ which focuses on the harmony of the orbits of the planetary sphere with respect to each other or on the structure of the elements or on the diversity of the seasons, and in this manner it is a part of astronomy; Or it is ‘human,’ which focuses on the harmony of the qualities of the opposing elements in a composite being existing at a given time, or on the composition of the body and soul, from which results the harmonious conjunction of the parts both rational and irrational, and in this manner it is a part of natural science; Or it is ‘instrumental,’ which focuses on instruments of harmonious concord.¹³⁷

John of Garland classifies cosmic music as part of astronomy because of the planetary orbits.

Cosmic music also encompasses the biological structure and composition of the earth, that is, the elements and the seasons. Along with this natural science, human music manifests the

¹³⁶ Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 9.

¹³⁷ Gwee, “*De Plana Musica*,” 141-142.

harmonious proportions within the composition of the body and soul, and the relationship between the rational mind and irrational emotions. The presence of the harmony of the spheres in all of nature and the human body imbues music with unparalleled access to maneuver human emotion.

Juan Gil de Zamora (fl. c.1241-1318) offers another perspective on the harmony of the spheres in the treatise *Ars musica*. Juan Gil de Zamora was a Spanish philosopher who worked at the court of Alfonso X of Castille, which was an important center for learning, translation, and the development of the sciences—like astronomy and medicine—due to the intersection of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim cultures.¹³⁸ Juan Gil augments Boethius’ categories of music by differentiating between heavenly music (*coelestis*) and world/earth music (*mundana*): “Music has many practical species or modes. Accordingly, one is of this world, another human, another heavenly, another instrumental or artificial.”¹³⁹ The order of his list interests me because Juan Gil puts human music between worldly and heavenly music, perhaps implying an understanding of humans as having both a physical body and a spiritual soul. All three of these categories exist in the “natural” world whereas instrumental music is considered “artificial.”

Additionally, Juan Gil de Zamora provides an etymology of the word *musica* coming from *mundica* (universe, world). He reasons that “this is because the Beginning was accomplished under the influence of the song of the Universe.”¹⁴⁰ Other music theorists, such as Jerome of Moravia, reiterate this etymology.¹⁴¹ The mythology of music playing a role in the

¹³⁸ Alfonso X, King of Castille, León, and Galicia “El Sabio” (the Wise). See Jerrilynn D. Dodds, María Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 4-5.

¹³⁹ “*Musicae peritias multae sunt species siue modi. Siquidem alia est mundane, alia humana, alia coelestis, alia instrumentalis seu artificialis*,” Robert-Tissot, *Zamora: Ars musica*, 56. My translation.

¹⁴⁰ Robert-Tissot, *Zamora: Ars musica*, 54.

¹⁴¹ Jerome of Moravia writes, “Others call it music as in *mundicam*, from *mundus*, that is from song of the heavens.” Laura Webber, “Intellectual Currents in Thirteenth Century Paris: A Translation and Commentary on Jerome of Moravia’s *Tractus de musica*” (PhD diss., Yale University, 2009), 194.

creation of the universe is not part of the Jewish or Christian traditions; rather, it comes from Plato's writings.¹⁴²

An anonymous writer from the Abbey at St. Emmeram gives a comprehensive overview of all three categories in *De musica mensurata* (1279). Here, I provide only what is written about cosmic music, since the writer hints at some of the mathematics from Plato's *Timaeus*—the golden series and the three perfect musical intervals.

Music is the concordant diversity of voices and it is divided into three parts, that is to say music of the universe, music of man, and instrumental music. Music of the universe consists in the concord of the combination of the four elements and units of time and higher bodies; which otherwise is called the golden series of the measure of threefold harmony, that is to say the octave, the fifth, and the fourth.¹⁴³

As in Boethius' treatise, *De musica mensurata* mentions the four elements, to which the anonymous author adds the "higher bodies" (the planets) and the four units of time. The four medieval units of time are the hour, *puncta*, *minuta*, and *momenta*. According to a diagram from the manuscript Clm. 14456 fol. 70v-71r (see Figure 1) written at St. Emmeram Abbey in the Carolingian period, a day is divided into 24 hours, and hour consists of four *puncta*, ten *minuta*, or 40 *momenta*.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² A connection between music and the cosmos can be seen in many ancient mythologies across the globe. In the western hemisphere, the Maidu people of Sierra Nevada (Northern California) believed the earth came to be in a collaborative musical effort between *K'ódojapem* (Worldmaker) and *Wépam* (Coyote), who sing together to find the earth and make it big and beautiful enough for all the creatures. The female elders of Métis people in Canada narrated say that the world was created by the song of the "old lady." Early Daoist poet, Zhuangzi (Chuang Tzu) writes of how the Yellow Emperor performed music in the wilds around a lake: "This music performed by man, tuned to Heaven, played with ritual principle, and established in Great Purity." The Chinese approach to the "art of numbers" (*suan shu* or *shu shu*) bears a similarly wide range as Greek *mathematike* from arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, harmonics and "number-mysticism." See Siglind Bruhn, "Musical Nature of the World-Soul," in *The Musical Order of the World: Kepler, Hesse, Hindemith* (NY: Pendragon Press, 2005); and Eleanor M. Nevins, ed., *World-Making Stories: Maidu Language and Community Renewal on a Shared California Landscape*, Weje-ebis (Keep Speaking) Jamani Maidu Language Revitalization Project, Tom Young, Roxie Peconom, Dan Williams, Maym Gallagher, Kenneth Holbrook, William Shipley, and Daniel Stolpe (Lincoln; London: University of Nebraska Press, 2017).

¹⁴³ Jeremy Yudkin, *De musica mensurata: The Anonymous of St. Emmeram Complete Critical Edition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 67.

¹⁴⁴ Faith Wallis, ed., *Bede: The Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool: University Press, 1999), 267-268.

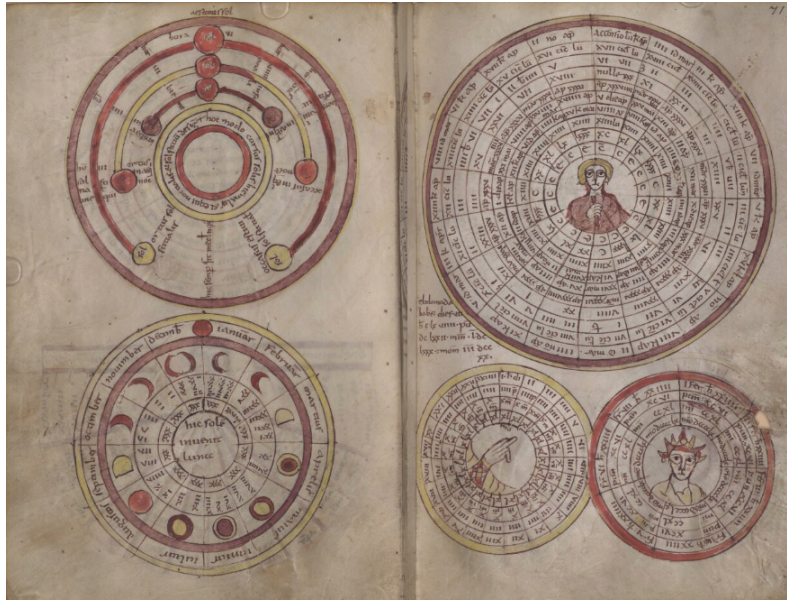


FIGURE 1: Cm. 14456 fol. 70v-71r, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek¹⁴⁵

This explanation stresses the combination of diverse elements which produces harmony and names the three perfect intervals. Magister Lambertus, writing under the name Aristoteles (a certain Aristotle), stressed the union within cosmic and human music in his treatise, *Ars musica* (c. 1280). For cosmic music, the union is between the elements, time, and the planets. For human music it is union between the body and soul. Lambertus defines instrumental music as something that is discernable with the senses. He uses the words *discernere* (to see) and *dignoscere* (to discern), suggesting a two-step process that coordinates the physical act of seeing and the intellectual act of distinguishing the characteristics of the observed object.

Musica mundana is when a union is formed from the combination of the elements and times, and of the heavenly bodies. *Musica humana* is that which results from the joining of body and soul. *Musica instrumentalis* is ascribed to the discernment and discovery of songs.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00046449?page=142,143>

¹⁴⁶ Christian Meyer, ed., and Kaern Desmond, trans., *The 'Ars musica' Attributed to Magister Lambertus/Aristoteles* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), 9-10.

Later in the treatise, Lambertus cites Boethius' arguments for the social value of music as the reason why music should be used in church services, even though music is a science: "Also by Boethius' testimony, music maintains first place among the seven liberal arts for without it nothing remains. For truly this world is said to be established upon a particular harmony of sounds and the heavens themselves to revolve under a harmonic modulation."¹⁴⁷ Lambertus mentions the musical relationship between the creation of the world and the order of the heavens similarly to how Juan Gil de Zamora connects the role of music in the origin of the universe.

The last treatise that discusses Boethius' three-part division of music is the *Tractus de musica* by Jerome of Moravia, which compiles many earlier sources of music theory up to the thirteenth century. Jerome quotes Boethius and John of Garland verbatim, but also incorporates large-scale encyclopedic works like Richard of St. Victor's *Liber exceptionem* and the Arabic source *De Scientiis* by Al-Fārābī. As prior of the Abbey of St. Victor from 1162-1173, Richard was highly trained in the liberal arts; many treatises on natural philosophy came out of the School of St. Victor. Jerome of Moravia writes that Richard of St. Victor says:

Musica mundana exists in elements, either in weight, number, or measure; in planets, either remaining in place, in motion, or in their nature; in time, whether it is [the passage] of the year, namely the changing of spring, summer, fall, and winter, or of the month, namely the waxing and waning of the moon, or of the day, namely the interchange of day and night.¹⁴⁸

Jerome's quote of Richard of St. Victor delves into a more granular list than that of Boethius, taking account of the weight, measurements, and orbits of the planets. Richard also mentions the passage of time as it pertains to the seasons, the lunar calendar, and day versus night. These categories of time are important thematic material in troubadour songs.

¹⁴⁷ Meyer, *The 'Ars musica'*, 15.

¹⁴⁸ Weber, "Intellectual Currents," 211. For a full list of all the sources Jerome uses see Weber's appendix.

Jerome's quotation of al-Fārābī comes from *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* (Classification of the Sciences), which the Arabs of Spain considered an "indispensable guide to studies in the sciences," according to Ṣā'id ibn Aḥmad (d. 1070).¹⁴⁹ Al-Fārābī was born at Fārāb in Transoxiana around 870, and died in Damascus circa 950. He was educated in Baghdād and Ḥarrān, and in addition to being a philosopher, he was a practicing musician with a good reputation.¹⁵⁰ I believe his musical training significantly influenced his approach to music theory since, in his division of the science of music into practical and speculative, he discusses practical music first, whereas, most western music treatises elevated the philosophy of music over the practical side, as in the case of Boethius' *De institutione musica*.

Al-Fārābī settled in Aleppo and wrote his most important works there under the patronage of Ḥamdābid sultan Saif al-Daula. His enduring reputation in the Middle Ages was as the greatest philosopher among the Arabs.¹⁵¹ He is also referred to as "the second Aristotle" because many of Aristotle's works were reintroduced into European intellectual circles through the dissemination of his writings at the translation schools in medieval Spain. Al-Fārābī's Aristotelian training led to a departure from Pythagorean *musica mundana* since Aristotle did not ascribe to the literal sound of the planets in motion. However, the enduring cultural saturation of musical cosmology is still apparent in Al-Fārābī's explanation of speculative music as metaphysical and essential for understanding first principles.

And the science of theoretical music is divided into five major parts. The first of them is the discourse about principles and fundamentals, the purpose of which is that they should be used in the elucidation of what is in this science, and the method of the application of those principles, and in which way this art is elucidated, and from what things and from how many things it is made up, and what sort of person the enquirer into it should be.¹⁵²

6. ¹⁴⁹ Henry George Farmer, ed., *Al Fārābī's Arabic-Latin Writings on Music* (New York: Hinrichsen, 1965),

¹⁵⁰ Ibn Ghaibī, *Sharḥ al-adwār*, in Farmer, *Al Fārābī*, 309.

¹⁵¹ Farmer, *A History of Arabian Music to the XIIIth Century* (London: Luzac, 1929), 175.

¹⁵² Farmer, *Al Fārābī*, 15.

Jerome's interpretation reflects a much clearer recognition of cosmology. According to Henry George Farmer, Jerome was likely using Vincent of Beauvais' Latin translation of al-Fārābī entitled *Speculum doctrinale*.¹⁵³ Therefore, the following summary of al-Fārābī in Jerome's *Tractus de musica* may be filtered through Vincent's interpretation of the text.

Speculative [music] is divided into five large parts. The first part concerns principles, whose particular nature is that they are guides in the use of music: what is in the discipline, how the universe is in conformity with those principles, how this art was invented, and from what and how many things it is composed.¹⁵⁴

Where al-Fārābī stresses the importance of first principles, what the science of music is, and how to apply these principles, Vincent of Beauvais' translation highlights the role of the universe in understanding the principles of music. The seven liberal arts categorized music and astronomy in the mathematical disciplines, and the troubadour Peire de Corbian observes several aspects of musical cosmology in *Lo Teseur*.

Peire de Corbian's *Lo Teseur* is an encyclopedic work, an exposition of Peire's entire body of knowledge which he calls his "treasure" (*tesaur*). The first section is arranged by each liberal art. Music is listed as the first of the quadrivium, but the longest section—over 100 lines—is on astronomy (lines 280-391).

D'Astronomia sai con bos clergues sabens,
Qu'eu sai ben con torneja lo cels el firmamens;
D'aquesta part de sai que a nom Oriens
Torneja ves aquella qu'es dicha Occidens,
E girals doze signes ab se mescladamens.
D'aquels sai ieu los noms els significame,
Qui son nomat de bestias d'estrainz fabulamens.
Lors calitats sai totas els apropiamens,
E cant gras a chascus pojans o dessendens;
E de las set planetas cal son contracorrens,

¹⁵³ Farmer, *Al Fārābī*, 21-22. Other translations of al-Fārābī include John of Seville's *De scientiis*, Gerard of Cremona's *De scientiis*, and Gundissalinus' *De divisione philosophiae*.

¹⁵⁴ Weber, "Intellectual Currents," 207.

Noms e proprietatz els locs els estamens,
 E sai be en cal signe chascus es plus podens,
 E com si fan als homes dans e profechamens,
 Tot aissi con ill son de maintz deguisamens.
 L'us es chautz, l'autres fretz, l'us secs, l'autre humens,
 L'us es bos, l'autre mals, l'uns tartz, l'autre correns.
 Aquelas discordansas els contrariamens,
 Ab las autras estelas, que i fan ajudamens,
 Fan los trons e las folgres e las pluejas els vens.

About Astronomy, I know as a good clerk knows,
 I know it well, like the turning of the heavens and firmament;
 This part I know has the name East
 Turn toward that which is called West,
 And the 12 signs turn from themselves combined.
 Of this I know the significance of the names,
 Which are named after animals from foreign fables.
 Their qualities I know all appropriately,
 And how great things rise or descend;
 Against the flow of the 7 planets,
 The placement of these, the names, and properties,
 And I know well which sign is more powerful,
 And just as any man makes harm or profit.
 So to all the sounds of many destinies,
 One is hot, the other cold, one dry, the other moist,
 One is good, the other bad, one late, the other swift,
 That one discordant and these the opposite,
 From the other stars, which there gives aide,
 Makes thunder and lightning and the rain and wind.¹⁵⁵

Even though Peire's statements are superficial, in the style of a *gab* (boasting song), he insists that he is a good cleric because he knows about the rotation of the stars and the seven planets. He knows that the 12 astrological signs are named after foreign fables, and the stars impact human destiny. These powerful signs harm people or bring them profit, as all great things rise and descend by the stars. As with Boethius' concept of *musica humana*, Peire connects discordant and harmonious sounds to the balance of the qualities and temperaments of the human body (hot, cold, dry, and moist). While it's clear Peire makes a connection between the revolving planets,

¹⁵⁵ Jeanroy and Giulio, "Le Thezaur," 457-458. My translation.

music, and destiny, he does not reference any ancient authority concerning this knowledge. The main source for the details of how music is related to the rotation of the planets is Pythagoras, and the writings of other Pythagoreans like Plato and Boethius.

ANCIENT COSMOLOGIES AND PYTHAGORAS

The mathematical principles underlying the harmony of the spheres are accredited to Pythagoras of Samos (c. 570-495 BCE). The Pythagorean cosmology of a harmonious universe created by numbers profoundly influenced western medieval culture from music and mathematics to philosophy and religion. Gene H. Anderson explains the transmission of Pythagorean music theory as it eventually merged with Platonism from the sixth to fourth centuries BCE, was revived in the time of Cicero, and disseminated throughout Middle Ages via Boethius' quadrivium.¹⁵⁶

Several biographies and myths of Pythagoras portray him with the superhuman skill of being able to hear these harmonic ratios in the tones generated by the motion of the planets. Iamblichus of Chalcis (c. 250-c. 325 CE), a Syrian Neoplatonist philosopher of Arab origin, wrote in his *Life of Pythagoras* that, "he extended his ears, and fixed his intellect in the sublime symphonies of the world, he alone hearing and understanding, as it appears, the universal harmony and consonance of the spheres, and the stars that are moved through them, and which produce a fuller and more intense melody than anything effected by mortal sounds."¹⁵⁷ Porphyry (c. 234-c. 305) also wrote a biography of Pythagoras in which he underscored this unique ability.

[Pythagoras] soothed the passions of the soul and body by rhythms, songs and incantations. These he adapted and applied to his friends. He himself could hear the

¹⁵⁶ Gene H. Anderson, "Pythagoras and the Origin of Music Theory," *Indiana Theory Review* 6, no. 3 (1983): 35.

¹⁵⁷ Chapter 15.44, Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, trans. Thomas Taylor (London: A.J. Valpy, 1818; Project Gutenberg, 2020), 14.

harmony of the Universe, and understood the universal music of the spheres, and of the stars which move in concert with them, and which we cannot hear because of the limitations of our weak nature. This is testified to by these characteristic verses of Empedocles.¹⁵⁸

According to Andrew Hicks, the writings of Iamblichus and Porphyry were unknown in the Middle Ages, but the oral tradition that connects Pythagoras to astronomy is hinted at in several popular texts that circulated widely in the Middle Ages.¹⁵⁹ For example, in *De Institutione musica*, Boethius calls Pythagoras a “night owl” who spent time contemplating the heavens. Additionally, in *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, Martianus Capella places Pythagoras as a wedding guest “cogitating certain celestial numbers,” slightly apart from Orpheus and Aristoxenus, who were playing their lyres at the wedding.¹⁶⁰ This positioning suggests that Pythagoras was less interested in practical music than the demi-god Orpheus and the musician Aristoxenus, both legendary practitioners of the lyre.

Pythagorean musical cosmology survives in large part in Plato’s *Timaeus*, which was well-known in the Middle Ages through the translation and commentary of the fourth-century philosopher, Calcidius. The *Timaeus* dialogue relates the harmony of the spheres tradition through the fictional voice of Timaeus of Locri, a Pythagorean philosopher, and Critias, an Athenian poet-philosopher. Through the voice of Timaeus, Plato describes the creation of the universe in mathematical terms, including the measurements and proportions of the World-Soul and the numbers which comprise the esoteric mathematical principles of Pythagoreans.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ See section 30 of Porphyry, “Life of Pythagoras,” trans. Kenneth Sylvan Gutherie, Accessed March 11, 2024, https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/porphyry_life_of_pythagoras_02_text.htm.

¹⁵⁹ Andrew Hicks, “Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages,” in *A History of Pythagoreanism* ed. Carl Huffman (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 421.

¹⁶⁰ Stahl and Johnson, *Martianus Capella*, 62.

¹⁶¹ Bruhn, *The Musical Order of the World: Kepler, Hesse, Hindemith* (NY: Pendragon Press, 2005), 142.

First, Timaeus speaks of the four elements of the universe: fire, earth, water, and air. There is a visibility and solidity that come from fire and earth. The mean or average that unifies the fire and earth are water and air: “As fire is to air, so is air to water, and as air is to water, so is water to earth...and it was harmonized by proportion.”¹⁶² Since water and air function as unifying elements bringing harmony to the universe, the medieval definition of sound takes on an additional layer of meaning. Music is not merely an acoustical phenomenon requiring either water or air as a medium through which to travel, it is the mythological thread that binds the fabric of the universe together.

Later, Timaeus speaks of the creation of the soul (even though he admits the soul was created before the world and is the “elder,” “ruler,” and “mistress” of the two). From the elements and essences, the Creator divided and mingled various proportions.

First of all, he took away one part of the whole [1], and then he separated a second part which was double the first [2], and then he took away a third part which was half as much again as the second and three times as much as the first [3], and then he took a fourth part which was twice as much as the second [4], and a fifth part which was three times the third [9], and a sixth part which was eight times the first [8], and a seventh part which was twenty-seven times the first [27]. After this he filled up the double intervals [i.e. between 1, 2, 4, 8] and the triple [i.e. between 1, 3, 9, 27] cutting off yet other portions from the mixture and placing them in the intervals, so that in each interval there were two kinds of means, the one exceeding and exceeded by equal parts of its extremes [as for example 1, $\frac{4}{3}$, 2, in which the mean $\frac{4}{3}$ is one-third of 1 more than 1, and one-third of 2 less than 2], the other being that kind of mean which exceeds and is exceeded by an equal number. Where there were intervals of $\frac{3}{2}$ and of $\frac{4}{3}$ and of $\frac{9}{8}$, made by the connecting terms in the former intervals, he filled up all the intervals of $\frac{4}{3}$ with the interval of $\frac{9}{8}$, leaving a fraction over; and the interval which this fraction expressed was in the ratio of 256 to 243.¹⁶³

¹⁶² Plato, *Timaeus*, trans. Benjamin Jowett (Pearson, 1st edition, 1959, The Internet Classics Archive, <http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/timaeus.html>), 13.

¹⁶³ Plato, *Timaeus*, 15.

If the above passage seems to obfuscate the significance of these numbers, recent scholarship suggests that Plato deliberately obscures these numbers because they are a part of Pythagorean secret teachings.¹⁶⁴

These numbers, nevertheless, were powerful symbols for the Pythagoreans and captured the imaginations of medieval thinkers across Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. First, the Pythagorean symbol which includes the numbers 1 through 4, was named the tetraktys (loosely translated as “fourness”). Initiates of the Pythagorean cult began three years of silence with the following prayer that highlights the importance of fourness: “Bless us, divine number, thou who generates gods and men! O holy, holy tetraktys, thou that contains the root and source of eternally flowing creation!”¹⁶⁵

Plato implies the importance of these numbers in *Timaeus* but does not explain how they are important. The number One represents the divinity of the “monad.”¹⁶⁶ For the Pythagoreans, the monad was the first principle, the originator of good. The number One encompasses opposites like male and female, and even and odd numbers—when one is added to an odd number it becomes even and vice-versa. Vincent Hopper writes that, in medieval numerology, One is “the great Even-Odd, producer of number, indivisible, essential, desirable, uncreated, good.”¹⁶⁷ As the “Manifold One,” monotheistic thinkers of the Middle Ages were happy to name the monad “God” respective to their particular theology.

Like the monad, the duad was also a principle rather than a “real number.” Two represents diversity, matter, and daring.¹⁶⁸ The number Two embodies the duality of spirit and

¹⁶⁴ Bruhn, *Musical Order*, 143.

¹⁶⁵ Bruhn, *Musical Order*, 65.

¹⁶⁶ “Pythagoreans believed that numbers are self-existent, eternal, and immutable—hence divine,” Bruhn, *Musical Order*, 65.

¹⁶⁷ Vincent Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism, Its Sources, Meaning, and Influence on Thought and Expression* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 39.

¹⁶⁸ Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism*, 39.

matter. Two is bound by the number Three and produces Three when added to One. Thus, Three is the animation of the soul of the cosmos. For Pythagoreans, the triad represented “unity” comprehensible to human experience as “form,” and Christian theologians understood this tri-fold unity as the Trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit). Lastly, the cosmos unfolds in its physical aspect in the number Four. As a multivalent number, Four is located in many significant places for medieval philosophy: the square, the seasons, the elements, ages of man, principles of a reasonable animal, lunar phases, and cardinal virtues (prudence, courage, temperance, justice).¹⁶⁹ Added together, the numbers one through four equal 10. The decad signifies the whole functioning organism of the universe. The Pythagoreans depicted the tetraktys as a triangle made up of rows of dots (Figure 2).

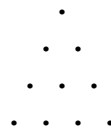


FIGURE 2: Pythagorean Tetraktys

The tetraktys has implications for music since the numbers one through four give rise to the harmonic ratios known as the “perfect” intervals. The octave, or perfect 8th, is expressed as the ratio of 2:1. The perfect 5th is 3:2, and the perfect 4th is 4:3. These proportions can be heard in the relative lengths of strings a musician would use to play these intervals on a monochord. According to the well-known myth, told by Boethius and others, Pythagoras “discovered” music by happenstance while passing the workshop of blacksmiths using hammers of different weights and hearing them produce the perfect intervals. Pythagoras returned home and experimented with these ratios on a monochord and with other instruments.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism*, 42-43.

¹⁷⁰ Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 17-19.

Next, Plato continues his narration of the creation of the World-Soul with the numbers of the “*lambdoma* matrix,” also called the “Pythagorean table” or “the abacus” (see Figure 3). This was a popular symbol of the Pythagoreans where the powers of 2 are juxtaposed with the powers of 3 in two limbs branching out from the central unifying “one.”

$$\begin{array}{cc}
 & 1 \\
 2 & 3 \\
 4 & 9 \\
 8 & 27
 \end{array}$$

FIGURE 3: *Lambdoma* Matrix

Boethius refers to the *lambdoma* matrix as the “abacus” and graphically depicts all three means (averages) important to the Pythagoreans: the geometric mean, the harmonic mean, and arithmetic mean. For the Pythagoreans, these averages represented all the measurements in the created world. However, Leonardo Pisano, a contemporary of the troubadours who is known by his nickname “Fibonacci” (c. 1180-1250), developed a fourth method of calculating an average often called “the golden mean” based on a sequence of numbers where each successive number is the previous two numbers added together (Fibonacci sequence). Then, the golden mean derives from dividing any number in the sequence by the number that comes before it. For centuries, the golden mean has been associated with beauty in European philosophy, and astronomer Johannes Kepler (1571-1630) called it “divine.”¹⁷¹

The arithmetic means and harmonic means are important to understand because they are the foundation of ancient Greek music theory, and the reason why the pitches are arranged in the whole-step and half-step combination of the modern western scale. Boethius was the first to record the 12 pitches in the western gamut, each separated by a semi-tone or half step and named

¹⁷¹ Vladimir J. Konečni, “On the ‘Golden Section’,” *Visual Arts Research* 31, no. 2 (2005): 76-87.

for the first seven letters of the alphabet.¹⁷² The Pythagorean octave stems from dividing the monochord into 12 equal parts. If you divide the string of the monochord at the half-way point, you will hear an octave above the original pitch. Thus, the ratio 12:6 (or 2:1) represents the octave. The arithmetic mean involves adding a set of numbers together and then dividing by the number of elements in the set: $(12+6)/2 = 9$. Thus, the arithmetic mean of 12 and 6 is 9, and 9:6 gives us a reduced ratio of the perfect fifth (3:2).

The harmonic mean is “the reciprocal of the average of the reciprocals,” and more accurate than the arithmetic mean when dealing with rates, ratios, or series of numbers. If you have two numbers a and c, b is the mean represented in the following equation:

$$\begin{aligned} a:c &= (a-b) : (b-c) \\ &\text{or} \\ b &= 2ac / (a + c) \end{aligned}$$

This calculation produces the ratio of a perfect fourth when a is 12 and c is 6. The harmonic mean of 12 and 6 is 8, creating the ratio of 8:6 or 4:3.

The Pythagorean whole tone ends up as the “left-over” space of the juxtaposed perfect fifth and fourth, derived mathematically as the difference between the results of the arithmetic and harmonic means: $3/2$ divided by $4/3$ equals $3/2$; $3/2$ multiplied by $3/4$ equals $9/8$. If one uses modern musical language, in the key of C major, a fifth spans from C up to G, and a fourth above G is D; the gap left over to arrive at an octave is a major second D-C. Boethian manuscripts depict this visually with the following diagram representing a monochord:

¹⁷² Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 128.

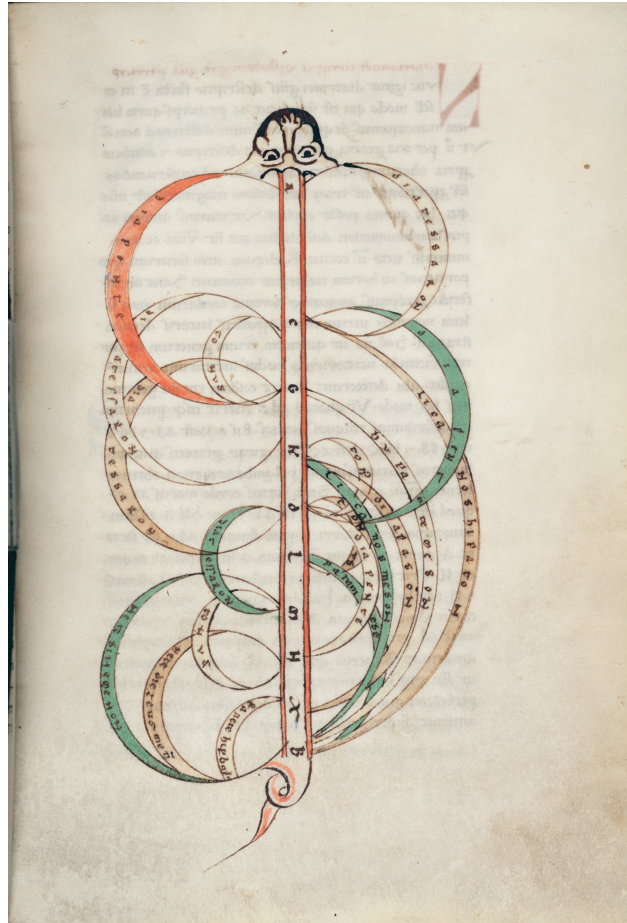


FIGURE 4: Zoomorphic diagram. Boethius, Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus, ca 480-525: *De Musica*. Ref: MSR-05-f058r. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22911989

Pythagoras added all these numbers together ($6 + 8 + 9 + 12 = 35$) and called the number 35 “Harmony.” Plato understood the complex ratio 6:8:9:12 to be a numerical representation of the procreation of the soul: “And the World-Soul was created through proportions molded according to ratios 3:2, 4:3, and 9:8.”¹⁷³ The mixture of these proportions joins together in motion with the center of the universe (the Earth) and the seven celestial bodies: Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Saturn, Mars, and Jupiter. I refer this ratio, 6:8:9:12, as the World-Soul ratio.

¹⁷³ Plato, *Timaeus*, 15-17.

GUIRAUT RIQUIER AND COSMOLOGY

Cosmology and Pythagorean mathematics bring to bear meaningful contexts for some troubadour songs, especially the works of Guiraut Riquier. Among the troubadours, Guiraut Riquier was the most deliberate about collecting his complete works and providing a metanarrative for the poetic structure. Michel-André Bossy describes this metanarrative and explains the number symbolism exhibited in the way Guiraut Riquier organized his entire opus.¹⁷⁴ In *Chansonnier C*, the heading that introduces Guiraut's work specifically states that the songs and "everything here" (i.e. dates and rubrics) are transcribed from "that very book written in his [Guiraut's] own hand."¹⁷⁵ The proximity of the making of *Chansonnier C* (c. 1300) and the date of Guiraut's last song (1292) suggests a level of reliability in this rubric not often attested in medieval manuscripts.

Bossy's analysis of Guiraut's 54 songs follows a genre distinction between the *canso* (love song) and the *vers* (moral/didactic song). He shows two ways of dividing these songs that reflect the importance of the number 27, a "complete and harmonious cube (3^3)," and also the sum of the numbers in the *lambdoma* matrix ($1+2+4+8+3+9=27$). Bossy also ties his analysis to the creation story of *Timaeus*.

Bossy's first approach to Guiraut's opus is to divide it into two sections. The first half consists of 19 *cansos* and 8 *vers*, the second half contains of 8 *cansos* and 19 *vers*. The 27th song that divides these two "halves" is "Voluntiers faria," a *canso redonda* (round song), which is a song with a revolving poetic structure where the concluding (tail) rhyme of each stanza becomes the beginning (head) rhyme of the following stanza.¹⁷⁶ While Bossy's work articulates the

¹⁷⁴ Michel-André Bossy, "Cycliclical Composition in Guiraut Riquier," *Speculum*, 66, no. 2 (1991): 277-293.

¹⁷⁵ Bossy, "Cycliclical Composition," 279.

¹⁷⁶ Bossy, "Cycliclical Composition," 282. The *canso redonda* is also sometimes called *coblas capcaudadas* (head-tail stanza).

numerical scheme of Guiraut’s complete corpus, he does not address details of the structure of individual songs beyond the basic definition of a *canso redonda*. My analysis of the cyclic structure of “Voluntiers faria” shows how the poetic and melodic structures correspond to the numerology of the World-Soul ratio.

Guiraut’s inventive structure has six stanzas of 12 verses that can be divided into two halves of six lines (12:6), much the same way the monochord is divided into 12 tones and the halfway point creates an octave. Moreover, the range of this melody is an octave (from C4-C5).

Verses	Rhyme scheme		Melodic structure
1	-ia	a	A
2	-ella	b	B
3	-iva	c	C
4	-ia	a	A
5	-ella	b	B
6	-iva	c	C
7	-iva	c	D
8	-ella	b	E
9	-ella	b	D
10	-iva	c	E
11	-iva	c	F
12	-elha	b	G

TABLE 2: “Voluntiers faria” Poetic and Melodic Structure

Along with the poetic structure, the melodic structure can be split into two equal parts. The rhyme scheme and melodic phrasing of the first half cycles through three end-rhyme sounds and three melodic phrases. This initial cycle is heard twice over the first six verses, creating two groups of three (3:2). The second half of the song switches the pattern into three groups of two: two alternating melodic phrases and two alternating end-rhymes. However, the last two melodic phrases depart from the pattern, perhaps to signal the return to the A phrase in the following stanza.

The rhyme scheme has another cyclic pattern across all six stanzas. Each successive stanza adds one new end-rhyme, totaling six rhymes throughout the song. If Guiraut had included an additional seventh stanza, the end-rhymes would be identical to the first stanza.

Stanza 1: abc abc cb bc cb

Stanza 2: bcd bcd dc cd dc

Stanza 3: cde cde ed de ed

Stanza 4: def def ef fe fe

Stanza 5: efa efa af fa af

Stanza 6: fab fab ba ab ba

1 A Vo-lun-tiers fa - ri - a tal chan-so no - ve - la que fos a - gra - di - va

2 B

3 C

4 A si far la po - di - a; mas ra - zos cap-de - la monchant e l'a - bri - va

5 B

6 C

7 D per qu'ieu tan can vi - va, vuelh ser - vir la be - la

8 E

9 D que de grat sa - ge - la sos faitz, gent ai - zi - va,

10 E'

11 F hu - mils et es - qui - va, pla - zens et ys - ne - la.

12 G

EXAMPLE 3: “Voluntiers faria”

Two of the World-Soul ratios are present in “Voluntiers faria”—12:6 and 3:2. The one ratio missing here (4:3) features prominently in another song by Guiraut Riquier, “Mentaugutz.”

Lorenzo Proscio discusses the concept of cyclic structure in the lyrics of Guiraut's song "Mentaugutz," as well as the astrological meaning connected to the song. He explains the troubadour technique of *coblas capcaudadas*, rhyme patterns that scroll forward by using the tail rhyme of one stanza as the head rhyme of the following stanza. Proscio argues that this scrolling reflects the perceived circularity of the cosmic order; as the planets move in concentric circles, so the rhyme schemes circulate through each strophe. His article looks at a Roman calendar, a ninth-century astrological table, and a tenth-century planetary map that displays the movement of the planets by scrolling through the alphabet letters A-G. These letters also make up the musical alphabet and are an example of microcosm/macrocosm fascination in medieval philosophy.¹⁷⁷

The scrolling rhyme pattern in "Mentaugutz" progresses through five stanzas containing thirteen verses each. The entire song employs only five rhymed sounds that rotate through each stanza as follows:

Stanza 1: ab ab ab ab c dd ee
 Stanza 2: ea ea ea ea b cc dd
 Stanza 3: de de de de a bb cc
 Stanza 4: cd cd cd cd e aa bb
 Stanza 5: bc bc bc bc d ee aa

Proscio explains that "Mentaugutz" is a religious song celebrating the birth of Christ written in December 1283 approximately around the winter solstice.¹⁷⁸ The winter solstice is a day of astrological importance because it has the shortest amount of daylight and the longest night of the year, marking the beginning of winter. Many cultures celebrate the solstice as a time to reflect on rebirth, the return of light, and the hope for renewal. For example, Germanic and

¹⁷⁷ Revival of astronomical texts in the eleventh century was especially reliant on Arabic translations. Lorenzo Proscio, "Il Riflesso Cosmologico nella Rimica dei Trovatori Guiraut Riquier e Rigaut de Berbezilh," *Romance Philology* 68, no. 1 (2014): 121-136.

¹⁷⁸ Proscio, "Il Riflesso Cosologico," 130. See also, Bossy, "Cyclical Composition," 277-293.

Nordic peoples called the winter solstice “Yule,” and the Romans celebrated the god Saturn in a festival called “Saturnalia.” As Christianity spread across Europe, the Church chose to celebrate the birth of Jesus at this time of year because Christian theology connects the life of Christ to these themes of rebirth and renewal. Thus, the structure of “Mentaugutz” encodes multiple layers of cosmological meaning. One thing missing in Proscio’s article is an analysis of the musical structure. My analysis of the melodic structure and the pattern of syllabification in the lyrics shows further implications of musical numerology and a connection to *Timaeus*’ creation narrative seen in the World-Soul ratio.

The syllabification follows a pattern of alternation of threes and fours across the first eight lines of poetry. That pattern shifts after the unrhymed ninth line to an order of four syllables followed by three, creating a palindrome-like cycle.

Verse	Rhyme scheme	Syllabification	Musical phrase
1	a	3	A
2	b	4	
3	a	3	B
4	b	4	
5	a	3	A
6	b	4	
7	a	3	B
8	b	4	
9	c	3	C
10	d	4	
11	d	3	
12	e	4+3	A’
13	e	4+3	B’

TABLE 3: “Mentaugutz” Poetic and Melodic Structure, Version 1

The use of the 4:3 ratio in the syllabification and rhyming pattern suggests that Pythagorean mathematics may have influenced the composition of this song. If we look at the entire structure, we can also find an emphasis on each number within the World-Soul ratio. In total, there are six pairs of rhymed lines. Eight of the lines alternate the rhyming patterns. The ninth line is

unrhymed within the stanza (but rhymes with lines in the other stanzas). Thus, there are twelve lines total that rhyme in a single stanza, emphasizing the numbers 6:8:9:12.

Another way of understanding this structure leans toward a Christian understanding of creation. Hendrik Van der Werf writes that the meter of the lyric is ambivalent because you can either think of the rhyme scheme designating 13 distinct verses, or you can consider the a-rhymes to be internal rhymes, placed halfway through the line.¹⁷⁹ This second method of analysis matches the musical phrasing in the following way:

Verse	Rhyme scheme	Syllabification	Musical phrase
1	ab	3+4	A
2	ab	3+4	B
3	ab	3+4	A
4	ab	3+4	B
5	cdd	3+4+3	C
6	e	4+3	A'
7	e	4+3	B'

TABLE 4: “Mentaugutz” Poetic and Melodic Structure, Version 2

Where the first method of analyzing the rhyme scheme into 13 lines highlights the World-Soul ratio, this second method emphasizes the number seven, which suggests a Christian understanding of creation of the world in seven days. Through this lens, we see seven total verses, and the syllable pattern 3+4 also emphasizes the number seven. Furthermore, the seven verses play with the ratio of 4:3, with the first four lines using the alternating rhyme and musical phrase pattern of AB/ab. The last three lines change the pattern while using many of the same melodic motifs.

The musical content of “Mentaugutz” follows a similar numerology. My transcription of the melody in Example 4 labels the repetitions in the melodic structure (phrases A, B, and C), and each verse of the lyrics (verse 1-7) is depicted as its own “measure.” Modern transcriptions

¹⁷⁹ Hendrik Van der Werf, *Extant Troubadour Melodies* (Rochester: Van der Werf, 1984), 193.

of troubadour melodies typically give each verse its own staff line, which privileges a visual depiction of the poetry because the end-rhyme is easily detected when it comes at the end of the staff line. I chose to pair together verses 1-2, 3-4, and 6-7, marking the end of the verse with a bar line in order to highlight the repetition and cadences in the melody. The A phrase features the numbers three and four. The first half of this melody ascends a fourth from D to G, and descends the same interval with a melisma between G and D. The second half of the melody leaps down a third to B, then ascends through D to another G, the apex of the range. Van der Werf calls this technique chaining thirds.¹⁸⁰ The first and last pitch of this phrase is D, providing a cyclic “cosmological” concept of ending where it started. With A as the lowest pitch and G as the highest, we also see the use of the number seven in the range of this phrase. The B phrase contrasts with the A phrase by using a descending contour and emphasizing the tonal centers of C and a low G, a descending fourth rather than the ascending chain of thirds from the A phrase.

The C phrase is distinguished by the longest melisma at the beginning of the phrase, ascending to the highest pitch of the entire song (a high A), and descending a full octave (see Example 4). If you divide the phrase by the syllabification 3+4+3, the resulting tonal centers are B, up to F, back down to B. However, the skeletal range of a fifth is obscured by the melismatic and neumatic ornamentation. The word *mort* (death) is sung to the isolated pitch F, which could possibly be understood as text painting in the context of the B tonal centers before and after if sung as a diminished fifth.

¹⁸⁰ Van der Werf, *Extant Troubadour Melodies*, 31.

1 A
Men - tau - gutz auch que Dieus es e cre - zutz que de totz bes

2 B

3 A
es sa - lutz e que.l mon fes e que nutz per nos mort pres

4 B

5 C
e del vas re - ssors de mort per qu'es - tort

6

7 A'
son e se - ran pe - ne - den tug li ve - ray pe - ne - den.

8 B'

EXAMPLE 4: “Mentaugutz”

The last two phrases blend the melodic motifs and contours from the original A and B phrases. For example, the sixth phrase (measure six) has a descending contour until an ascending A-B ligature in the middle of the phrase, like in the B section. I decided to label this phrase A-prime because it begins and ends on the pitch D, like the A phrase, but it could just as easily be understood as a B-prime. Similarly, I decided to label the seventh phrase B-prime because it begins on C and ends on G, like the B phrase. Although phrase seven could be considered a variation of the A phrase, because it uses similar melisma shapes found in both the A phrase as well as the B phrase. The most noteworthy of these is the melisma that falls of the third syllable

of the A phrase, right before the halfway point of the verse, on the internal rhyme. In the seventh phrase, this melisma is almost a retrograde-inversion of the first, and it occurs on the fifth syllable. It is followed by another melisma that is a retrograde-inversion of the ornamentation of the 6th syllable of the B phrase. The final pitch of the last phrase is a G, and the singer must leap up a perfect fifth (to D) to start the A phrase for the next stanza. Therefore, the melodic structure revolves around the intervals of the perfect fifth (3:2), and perfect fourth (4:3), with one octave (2:1) at the penultimate point in the structure. The emphasis on these perfect ratios in the melody connects the song to the World-Soul ratio.

Another song by Guiraut Riquier, “Pus astres no m’es donat,” speaks directly about the impact of astrology on love. The first words of the song say that the stars do not grant him good luck in love. Thus, he is traveling to Catalonia where the people are well known for their knowledge of courtly love, and there he will learn much. The date of this composition, 1262,¹⁸¹ coincides with the years that Guiraut spent at the court of Alfonso the Wise, possibly interacting with N’At de Mons, a troubadour who exchanged didactic epistles with Alfonso on the topic of astrology.

I.	
Pus astres no m’es donatz,	Since the stars do not give me
Que de midons bes m’eschaya,	Good luck from my lady
Ni nulhs mos plazers no.l platz,	None of my pleasures pleases her
Ni ai poder, que.m n’estraya,	Nor am I able to give her up
Ops m’es qu’ieu sia fondatz	It is necessary for me to be instructed
En via d’amor veraya;	In the ways of true love
E puese n’aprenre assatz	And I could learn much
En Cataluenha la gaya,	In Catalonia, the joyous,
Entre.ls Catalas valens	Among the worthy Catalans
E las donas avinens.	And the charming ladies. ¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ Bossy, “Cyclical Composition,” 293.

¹⁸² C.A.F. Mann, *Die werke der troubadours, in provenzalischer sprache* (Berlin: Duemmlers Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1855), 80. My translation.

The structure of “Pus astres” is straightforward and contains the numbers of the tetraktys (1+2+3+4=10) (see Table 5). There are 10 lines in this song, organized in the following arrangement: 1 refrain, 2 sections of 4 lines of poetry each, 3 main sections, and 4 basic melodic phrases. Additionally, the syllabification alternates between 7 and 8, both significant in medieval numerology for the days in creation (days of the week, musical alphabet) and the number of planets.

Verse	Rhyme scheme	Syllabification	Musical phrase
1	a	7	A
2	b	8	B
3	a	7	A
4	b	8	B
5	a	7	C
6	b	8	D
7	a	7	C'
8	b	8	B'
9	c	7	D' refrain
10	c	7	D'' refrain

TABLE 5: “Pus astres” Poetic and Melodic Structure

The first half of the song follows the typical ABAB pattern in both the rhyme scheme and the melodic phrasing (see Example 5). The melody for all four lines begins on a D and ends on an E, with the range extending to middle C as the lowest pitch and G4 as the highest. The A phrase is distinguished by chaining thirds in an ascending triad: C-E-G. The B phrase also highlights those pitch centers, and has a descending third from F to D.

The second half of the melody contrasts with the first half in its elevated range, starting on the pitch E and ascending to A (the highest pitch in the entire song) in the C phrase. Similarly, the D phrase begins on the pitch E, but follows a descending contour down to middle C. The only difference between the C and C' phrase is the initial note C (rather than E). The last phrase of this section functions as a bridge that concludes the stanza and leads into the refrain. I chose to

label it B' because it begins and ends on the same pitches as the B phrase, and it progresses in a similar contour.

1 A 2 B
Pus as - tres no m'es do - natz Que de mi - dons bes m'es - cha - ya

3 A 4 B
Ni nulhs mos pla - zers no.l platz, Ni ai po - der, que.m n'es - tra - ya,

5 C 6 D
Ops m'es qu'ieu si - a fon - datz En vi - a d'a - mor ve - ra - ya,

7 C' 8 B'
E puesc n'a - pren - re as - satz En Ca - ta - luen - ha la ga - ya,

9 D' 10 D''
En - tre.ls Ca - ta - las val - ens E las do - nas a - vi - nens.

EXAMPLE 5: “Pus astres”

The character of the B prime phrase is different than B, due to mirroring effect of the two melismas that underscore the word “Cathaluenha,” which recurs in every stanza as the troubadour sings about how knowledgeable the Catalans are in the ways of courtly love. I suggest that Guiraut uses the melody and the refrain to emphasize words for Catalonia and the

Catalan people to gain favor with that community as an outsider visiting from Narbonne (Southern France).

COSMOLOGY IN OTHER TROUBADOUR WORKS

Other themes in troubadour songs related to cosmology include fortune, navigation, the passage of time and seasons, and spiritual connections to celestial bodies like the sun, moon, and stars. The relationship between the stars and good or bad fortune is a recurring theme in other troubadour genres including a didactic epistle by N'At de Mons, the *vida* of Arnaut de Mareuil, and several other lyric songs. N'At de Mons exchanged a poetic epistle, *Al bon rey de Castela* (To the King of Castile), concerning astrology and predestination with Alfonso the Wise. In his critical edition, Fabrizio Cigni writes that, during the years 1254-1259, the scientific output of the Castilian court was preoccupied with astronomy and astrology, as evidenced by King Alfonso's commission of the *Libro de las Cruces* (Book of the Crosses) and the *Libro Conplido en los ludizios de las estrellas* (Complimentary Book of the Judiciary of the Stars).¹⁸³ Starting from an encyclopedic view of Nature and the Cosmos, N'At de Mons presents a dialectical argument between free will and predestination, giving particular emphasis to astronomy and relationship between beginning and endings (*comensamen* and *fenimen*) assigned by the stars. As king and patron, Alfonso is asked to serve as judge over the debate: whether human destiny is ordained by the stars or whether humans are completely at the mercy of chance or adventure. Further discussion of this work is beyond the scope of this chapter because there is no mention of music, but I believe it is important to recognize the engagement troubadours had with this scientific discipline.

¹⁸³ Fabrizio Cigni, "Il lessico filosofico di N'At de Mons di Tolosa," *Studi mediolatini e volgari* 47 (2001): 233-242.

The *vida* of Arnaut de Mareuil provides further evidence of the impact of astrology on troubadour culture. To describe the good fortune of finding a patroness, the *vida* says that “his good star” led him to the court of his beloved, Adelaide, daughter of Raimon V of Toulouse and wife of Roger II, Viscount of Beziers.¹⁸⁴ The theme of a guiding star can be found in religious contexts such as the star that announced the birth of Christ and guided the Magi to Bethlehem. There is also a connection to the use of stars in navigation; Arnaut’s “good star” guided him to Adelaide. Seafaring relies on this well-established navigational technique because of the absence of landmarks on the water. The song “Atressi co.l perilhans” by Peire Vidal employs maritime imagery, in addition to astrology, to describe being unlucky in love.

I
 Atressi co.l perilhans
 Que sus en l'aigua balansa,
 Que non a conort de vida,
 Tan suefre greu escharida
 Que paors li toll membransa,
 E pueis quan ven a bon port
 Per astre o per secors:
 Tot aitals astres m'a sors
 Per qu'ieu ai assaz razo
 De far novella chanso.

V
 Fis amics sui benanans
 Et ai per dreg benenansa
 Tan bon'aventura.m guida,
 Que lieis qu'a valor complida
 M'a mes em bon'esperansa,
 E m'a trait de mala sort,
 Si que.l neus me sembla flors
 E.l glatz jardis e verdors,
 Et ai fag per dreg mon pro
 Tant quez enrequit en so.

I
 Because of the danger
 That I am in from stormy waters,
 I have no comfort in life,
 So much suffering from evil fortune
 That fear robs my senses,
 And I could, when I come to a good port
 By star or by aide:
 Such a star has lifted me up
 Thus, I have enough reason
 From which to compose a new song

V
 Faithful friend I am happy
 And I have by right happiness
 So much good fortune (is) my guide,
 For she who has perfect valor
 Has given me good hope,
 And I have dealt with evil fortune,
 Since the snow, to me, resembles flowers
 And the ice a garden in green,
 And I have gained by right my favor
 Until I am enriched in this.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ H.J. Chaytor, *The Troubadours* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), 50.

¹⁸⁵ My translation. The Old Occitan can be found in Fraser, *The Songs of Peire Vidal*, 102-103.

An evil fortune has descended on the poet, like a sailor in a dangerous storm. He will not survive unless his beloved rescues him by giving guidance to a safe port like “a good star.” Furthermore, at the end of the first stanza, the poet adds that this celestial aid provides the reason to compose a new song. Stanza five of “Atressi co.l perilhans” repeats the theme of the beloved as a “guide” and “good fortune” by giving hope to conquer evil fortune. The second half of this stanza touches on another cosmological theme: seasonal change. Not only is the beloved a guiding force to good fortune, but she also causes the winter to seem like spring with the snow and ice resembling flowers and a green garden.

The passage of time through seasonal imagery is a common motif in troubadour song. With the return of fecundity, springtime suggests merriment and joy, a time when love can flourish. Fall and winter are typically forlorn seasonal changes for love songs. Seasonal change was also thought to impact the four humors of the body, and medieval physicians considered certain times of the year to be better for courtship and sex than other times (see Chapter Three). The following two examples by Arnaut Daniel and Guiraut de Calanso combine the specific references to planets and stars in conjunction with seasonal change. The incipit of Arnaut Daniel’s song “Er vei vermeills, vertz, blaucs, blancs, gruocs” (I see scarlet, green, blue, white, yellow) immediately draws on seasonal imagery by applying these colors to spring foliage and describing the musical sounds of birds. The fourth stanza suggests that Arnaut is not in the same physical location as the object of his desire, causing the suffering he feels because of unrequited love. The last stanza voices a longing for time to move faster, presumably to a point where he can be with his beloved again. The poet laments that the art of music cannot compel God to shorten the time away from his beloved. In the last couplet of this stanza, Arnaut switches out of

his introspective first-person point of view and addresses the sun and moon directly, complaining that they shine too much and move too slowly.

Entr'autres fatz soven feinz juocs,
 E'l jorns sembla'm us anoaus,
 E pesa'm, car Dieus no'm cossint
 Com pogues temps breujar ab art,
 Que loncs respiegs fai languir fin aman:
 Lun'e soleills, trop faitz long vostre cors!
 Pesa'm car plus sovens
 No'us faill resplandres.

Among others I often pretend merriment,
 And the day resembles to me a year.
 And I think that God does not allow me to
 shorten time with art, longing for a long time
 makes true love suffer:
 Moon and sun, so long you run your course!
 I think that more often
 You do not fail to shine.¹⁸⁶

My second example, “Los grius dezirs que-m solon far doler” by Guiraut de Calanso, also uses a celestial metaphor to express the lovers’ suffering in the last couplet of the stanza. Here the sun is melting fresh snow, just as the beloved shines with a splendor that causes sweet suffering. The reference to melting snow also suggests a seasonal change from winter to spring.

Los grius dezirs que.m solon far doler
 Ai oblidatz, dompna ric' e valens,
 Qu'enaissi m'es camjatz lo cors e.l sens
 Que res no vuelh mas sol vostre voler,
 E.ls mals d'amor que.m solon far languir
 Pres de la mort, quant ieu amav' alhor,
 Mi fai semblar ab joi plazen doussor,
 Si quo.l solelhs fai la neu devenir
 Aiga doussa, tant es dous sos resplandres.

The difficult desire makes me alone suffer;
 I have forgotten, noble and worthy lady,
 Thus, you changed my heart and mind
 I want nothing except your wishes only,
 And the evils of love that make me languish
 Alone near death, when I loved elsewhere,
 It appeared to me as sweet joyous pleasure,
 Just like the sun makes new snow, sweet
 water, so is her great splendor sweet.¹⁸⁷

The second stanza of this song employs further astrological imagery of stars, which cannot shine as bright or clear as the sun. This metaphor applies to the beloved who shines brighter than all other joys, beauty, and goodness in the world. The third stanza reiterates this by calling the lady a diamond that shines as bright as a resplendent day.

¹⁸⁶ James J. Wilhelm, trans., *The Poetry of Arnaut Daniel* (New York: Garland Publishing), 56. My translation.

¹⁸⁷ Willy Ernst, “Die Lieder Des Provenzalischen Trobadors Guiraut Von Calanso,” *Romanische Forschungen* 44, no. 2 (1930): 305. My translation.

Tot atresi com re no pot valer
 Fuecs ni clartatz ni estela luzens
 Contra.l solelh, m'es autres jois niens
 Contra.l vostre, qu'el mon non puese vezer
 Neguna res, lai on pus m'o cossir,
 Que de beutat, de pretz ni de valor
 Ni de bos faitz, que.s tanhan a ricor,
 Que sol apres de vos puesca venir
 De la gran mar tro lai on cor Menandres.

Just as all things cannot avail against fire,
 neither the clearness nor light of the stars
 against the sun, other joys are nothing to me
 compared to you, so that I cannot see the
 world, not a thing, since when my thoughts of
 this one, that of beauty and of worth and of
 valor, nor of goodness you make, that is fitting
 for her nobility, that after you alone I can come
 from the great sea up to where the Meander
 flows.

Belhs Diamans devetz be nom aver,
 Qu'aissi cum es bels dias resplandens
 Clartatz del mon, dompn' etz vos onramens
 D'autras dompnas, don deu om retener
 Vostres rics faitz de vezer e d'auzir!
 Et atressi cum en un mirador
 Vezon li uelh manta belha color,
 Pot om en vos tot aurtre ben chausir,
 Per que-m plai mout lo lauzars e l'espandres.

Beautiful diamond you must certainly be
 named, thus just as a beautiful resplendent day
 is clarity for the world, Lady, you are the
 honor of other women, God gives man to hold.
 You make nobility from seeing and hearing!
 And just as in a mirror the eye sees many
 beautiful colors, one can well choose all others
 in you, through which I praise her and spread
 [her fame] in many verses.¹⁸⁸

In addition to seasonal songs, there is a genre of troubadour song that addresses the passage of time during individual days, specifically the time right before dawn when the night is ending, and lovers must part with one another because of the pressures of social expectations. This genre is the *alba* or “dawn-song,” and much scholarly debate over the definition of this genre grapples with what characteristics should define the genre, and which songs fit in this category. Some prominent questions include whether the *alba* is sacred or secular, and whether it has a refrain section or merely repeats the word *alba*.¹⁸⁹ The presence of the word “dawn” is an essential element of the eighteen songs which might qualify as an *alba*, but only two mention celestial bodies associated with the dawn. One *alba* that specifically mentions stars is Folquet de Romans’ “Vers Dieus.” The first stanza begins like a benediction in the name of God and the

¹⁸⁸ Ernst, “Die Lieder Des Provenzalischen,” 305-306. My translation.

¹⁸⁹ Elizabeth Wilson Poe, “New Light on the ‘Alba’: A Genre Redefined,” *Viator* 15 (1984): 139-150.

Virgin Mary. Folquet de Romans proclaims that as the sun rises all good Christians should awake, and praise God, who takes the night away, and pray for peace. The refrain reiterates the passing of the night and the coming of the dawn which is “clear and serene,” “full and fair.”

Vers Dieus, e·l vostre nom e de sancta Maria
m'esvelharai hueimais, pus l'estela del dia
ven daus Jerusalem que m'ensenha qu'ieu dia
estatz sua e levatz,
senhor, que Dieu amatz!
que·l jorns es aprosmatz
e la nuech ten sa via;
e sia·n Dieus lauzatz
per nos et adoratz,
e·l preguem que·ns don patz
a tota nostra via.

La nuech vai e·l jorns ve
ab clar cel e sere,
e l'alba no·s rete
ans ven belh'e complia.

True God, in your name and (that) of holy Mary,
I will awaken now, since the star of the day
comes toward Jerusalem which taught me so that I say:
Dwell gently and rise,
Lords who love God!
For the day is approaching,
and the night takes his way;
We must praise God
through us and adore (him).
And pray that he gives us peace for all our journey.

The night goes and the day comes,
with a clear and serene sky,
and the dawn does not delay
On the contrary, it comes fair and full.¹⁹⁰

The second alba with astronomical references is the famous “Reis glorios” by Guiraut de Bornelh. While this song begins with a prayer to God, it also leans strongly in the direction of a

¹⁹⁰ A. T. Hatto, *Eos: An Enquiry into the Theme of Lovers' Meetings and Partings at Dawn in Poetry*, (London: Mouton, 1965), 377. My translation.

secular love song—typical of the *alba* genre where the watchman warns his friend that his beloved’s husband will return to their chamber as the morning approaches. Therefore, by juxtaposing the concept of the “King of Glory” as “true light and brightness” with the “Star that brings the day, rising in the East,” “Reis glorios” exemplifies the blending of sacred and secular themes in the troubadour corpus.

Reis glorios, verais lums e clartatz
deus poderos, senher, si a vos platz
Al meu compan siatz fizels ajuda
Qu’eu no lo vi pos la nochs fo venguda
Et ades sera l’alba!

King of Glory, true light and brightness, Lord
God almighty, I beseech You to take my friend
into Your loyal care; for I have not seen him
since night fell, and the dawn will soon be
here.

Bel companho, si dormetz o velhatz,
No dormatz plus, suau vos ressidatz!
Qu'en orien vei l'estela creguda
C'amena.l jorn, qu'eu l'ai be conoguda,
Et ades sera l'alba!

Fair friend, are you awake or sleeping still?
Sleep no longer, gently rouse yourself; For I
see the star that brings the day, rising in the
East—for I recognize it well—and the dawn will
soon be here.¹⁹¹

The sacred/secular binary is further complicated by the intertextual relationships of troubadour songs and sacred hymns. Margot Fassler explains intertextuality in medieval song using the example of “Ave maris stella,” a hymn to the Virgin Mary probably written in the ninth century, and its widespread use suggests a cultural familiarity with the melody and the concept of Mary as the “star of the sea.”¹⁹² While there is not much surviving evidence of contrafacts within the troubadour repertory, there are several instances of the use of this melody as a contrafact with other repertories including a twelfth-century sequence, “O Maria stella maris;” a thirteenth-century motet, “Ave beatissima/Ave Maria/ Ave maris stella;” a fourteenth-century 3-voice setting; and a fifteenth-century keyboard setting in the Faenza Codex. There was also a twelfth-century vernacular hymn, “O Maria Deu maire,” written in Old Occitan. This hymn is the only

¹⁹¹ Ruth Verity Sharman, *The Cansos and Sirventes of The Troubadour Giraut de Borneil: A Critical Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 365-367.

¹⁹² Margot Fassler, *Music in the Medieval West* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2014), 3-10.

example of a written melody with vernacular text underlay for each strophe, rather than the melody accompanying only the first stanza. Fassler describes the layers of meaning that accumulate in the strophic songs with the repetition of the melody for each stanza that echoes in the use of the melody for newly composed words. Fassler, however, does not include Guiraut de Bornehl's "Reis glorios" in the list of contrafacts of "Ave maris stella." While Guiraut de Bornehl's melody is not identical to "Ave maris stella," the similarity in mode and contour strongly suggests a reference to this famous hymn or perhaps the Old Occitan version since they share the same language and theme. "O Maria Deu maire" asks for Mary to intercede on behalf of the singer to her "glorious son." The first stanza of "Reis glorios" is a prayer to the "glorious king" to help a friend, with the singer as intercessor. The melodic connection between these sacred songs and a troubadour song is significant because it demonstrates an enduring legacy of music across several centuries—from the ninth century "Ave maris stella" to the twelfth century "Reis glorios." Moreover, the transmission of music does not always conform to scholarly categories of "sacred" and "secular" songs, therefore, it is important to not only study the troubadour repertory in isolation but also comparatively with other repertories in other languages.

Several other troubadour songs describe Mary as a light, a star, and curiously as the "star of the sea," which resonates with the navigational theme in troubadour song. The nickname "star of the sea" seems to be a mis-transliteration that occurred after St. Jerome translated the *Onomasticon* (On the Place-Names in the Holy Scripture) of Eusebius of Caesarea from Greek into Latin in the year 388 CE.¹⁹³ Eusebius reasoned that the Hebrew name for Mary, *Miryam* (מרים), was as a compound of *mar* (מר) "drop" and *yam* "sea" or "drop of the sea." In

¹⁹³ Richard Hinckley Allen, *Star-Names and their Meanings* (New York: G.E. Stechert, 1899), 454.

Jerome's Latin, this became *stille maris* (drop of the sea), which a later scribe altered to *stella maris* (star of the sea), either by accident or design. The navigational metaphor of the "star of the sea" captured the medieval imagination and both hymns and troubadour songs used this language to depict Mary as a guiding light to her son, Christ Jesus, or even directly to heaven.

An example of the star of the sea sobriquet can be found in Peire de Corbian's dedication to Mary at the beginning of *Lo Teseur*, sometimes called the "Prière à la Vierge" (prayer to the Virgin).

Domna, estela marine	Lady, star of the sea,
de las autras plus luzens,	Among the others more bright,
la mars nos combat e.l vens;	The sea fights us and the wind;
mostra nos via certana;	Show us the sure path;
car si.ns vols a bon port traire	For if you wish to carry us to a fair port
non tem nau ni gouvernaire	Ship nor helmsman fear not
ni tempest que.ns destorbelha	The tempest that troubles us
ni.l sobern de la marina.	Nor the tide of the sea. ¹⁹⁴

The first stanza of this prayer compares Mary to the earth that bears fruit without toil and a star that is the mother of the sun: "terra que sees labor grana / estela, del solelh maire."¹⁹⁵ The third stanza is completely devoted to the "star of the sea" metaphor. Mary is the brightest star that guides sailors through wind and storm to a safe haven.

A LUNEL LUTZ UNA LUNA LUZENS

The metaphor of woman as an astrological entity and the theme of religious mysticism coalesces in the song "A Lunel lutz una luna luzens" (In Lunel shines a shining moon). Patrick Hutchinson gives two possible interpretations of the moon/light imagery in Guilhem Montanhagol's song. First, the song could be a simple riddle in which Guilhem Montanhagol

¹⁹⁴ Chaytor, *The Troubadours*, 93-94. My translation.

¹⁹⁵ Chaytor, *The Troubadours*, 47-48.

asks fellow troubadour Blacasset to guess the name of the lady whom he calls the shining light of Lunel. Second, the shining light of Lunel may refer to the practice of Jewish mysticism which shares some common themes with Pythagorean cosmology.

The first interpretation is that the name of the lady of light is what Guilhem Montanhagol asks Blacasset to guess. Martin de Riquier somewhat dismissively calls this an “easy riddle.” The *senhal* (nickname) Guilhem Montanhagol assigns to hide his lady’s identity is “Gauseranda,” a play on the words “gai seran e sors” (they will be cheerful and uplifted) or “jauzen seran” (they will be happy or in enjoyment), both phrases that appear in the same stanza with the name Gauseranda. The use of a *senhal* is a common in troubadour songs; however, challenging someone to a guessing game is unusual.

The idea of being joyful and uplifted could also apply to the Jewish mysticism of the Kabbalah, known to have flourished in Provence during this time. Mysticism involves concepts of transcendence, experiencing divine light, illumination, ecstasy, and union—themes that also occur in many troubadour love songs. Guilhem Montanhagol emphasizes the name of the city Lunel by intertwining it with ideas of shining and illumination to an exaggerated degree. The first stanza of the song highlights these two ideas of place and illumination.

A Lunel lutz una luna luzens
Qe dona lum sobre totas lugors!
D’aqui pren lum jois, dompneis ez amors
E gais solatz e beutatz e jovens.
E qan le lums pres a Lunel luzensa,
Q'enlumina daus Tolsa part Proensa,
Estavan jois e dompneis tenebros,
Mas ara-ls fai Lunels luzir amdos.

In Lunel shines a shining moon
Which gives light above all splendor!
From which light takes joy, devotion
And love, merry pastime, beauty and youth.
And when the light took to shining Lunel, that
Illuminates Toulouse from beyond Provence,
Joy and devotion dwelled in shadow,
But now Lunel makes both shine.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶ Peter T. Ricketts, *Les poésies de Guilhem de Montanhagol, troubadour proveçal du XIIe siècle* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1964). My translation.

The city of Lunel is a township in the region of Montpellier, Occitania, located between Toulouse and Provence. The name Lunel is a reference to the moon depicted in the heraldic coat of arms of Lunel: a star above a crescent moon on a blue shield. According to the local legends, Jews from Jericho founded Lunel in the year 68, after fleeing the occupation of Judaea by the Roman emperor Vespasian.¹⁹⁷

Jericho is also known as the “city of the moon” based on one etymology that traces the name Jericho from the Hebrew-Canaanite word for moon (*yareah*, ירח), which is connected to the concept of the “wanderer” (*arah*) since the moon wanders through its celestial cycles.¹⁹⁸ Thus, Lunel seems a fitting name for a wandering, displaced people from Jericho settling in a new home in France.

The second stanza of Guilhem Montanhagol’s song emphasizes the name of this light, that is, truth and beauty.

Le noms del lum es clars e resplendens,
Q'aitan vol dir als bos entendedors
Gauseranda com gai seran e sors
Cill qui veiran sos gais captenemens,
E qe jois er donatz cui ill agensa,
E qe jauzen seran de gran jauzensa
Ella e cill qe volra far joios:
Vers es le noms, qui be l'enten, e bos.

The name of the light is clear and resplendent, so much so that she wishes to speak to the good lovers. Gauseranda, how many will be merry and exalted? Those who see his lively manners, and this joy he gives to those who please, and this pleasure they will have with much joy, she and those who desire to make joy. True is the name, and good, for those who understand well.¹⁹⁹

On the surface, the name suggested here seems to be that of a lady who will reward courtesy and devotion with much joy and great pleasure, in typical troubadour fashion. However, there is a deeper level of meaning found in the rhyming word from the second line: *entendedors*. The verb

¹⁹⁷ Jules Farber, *The Pope’s Jews in Provence*, trans., Jacques Levy (Éditions Actes Sud, 2e édition, 2013).

¹⁹⁸ Isidore Singer and M. Seligsohn, “Moon,” *Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1901). Accessed March 11, 2024, <https://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/10975-moon>.

¹⁹⁹ Ricketts, *Les poésies de Guilhem de Montanhagol*. My translation.

entendre can mean “to be in love with” but it also means “to hear, listen, and understand.” Thus, those who hear and understand the name that embodies truth and goodness will be exalted. Guilhem Montanhagol also uses this word in the last line of this stanza, *qui be l’enten*, which I have translated here as “those who understand well.”

Three theological implications arise from the possibility that the name in Guilhem Montanhagol’s riddle is “truth and goodness” that pertain to the three main principles in Kabbalah. These are the principle of God’s name (the tetragrammaton), the principle of Torah as an organism, and the principle of the infinite meaning of the divine word.

In the tetragrammaton (YHWH, יהוה), we see again the importance of names rooted in the idea of being. At the burning bush, Moses asks for God’s name to tell other people and the answer he receives is “I am who I am” (אהיה אשר אהיה).²⁰⁰ In the ancient world, the practitioners of many pantheistic religions believed that knowing the name of a god gave them a level of power over or influence with that god. If a supplicant invoked the name of the god, they expected to have their prayer answered. Judaism was unique among other ancient religions as a monotheistic religion and by the name of God being essentially connected to the existence of God. Observant followers of the Talmudic tradition do not speak the tetragrammaton; instead, they use other names for God, one of the most common being *HaShem* (השם: the Name). This resonates with the riddle in Guilhem Montanhagol’s song in an interesting way, that is, names are powerful and the inaccessibility of the name of the beloved could suggest an infinite and unknowable God.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ Exodus 3:14.

²⁰¹ This concept in Kabbalah is known as *en-sof* (without end); the hidden root of an infinite unknowable God, which is embodied as a woman like the personified Sophia (wisdom) of the Cathars.

Secondly, the principle of the Torah as an organism gives rise to metaphors such as fire and light, but also elements in nature like trees. Moses de Leon (c. 1240-c. 1305) describes the Torah as a tree in *Sefer ha-Rimmon*:

The Torah is called the Tree of Life...Just as a tree contains branches and leaves, bark, sap, and roots, each one of which components can be termed tree, there be no substantial difference between them, you will also find that the Torah contains many inner and outward things, and all for a single Torah and a tree, without differences between them.²⁰²

Gershom Scholem thinks Moses de Leon wrote much of the *Sefer ha-Zohar* (the Book of Splendor), considered the crowning work of medieval Spanish Kabbalism.²⁰³ However, Scholem writes that Kabbalah mysticism was “born” in Languedoc, Provence, and thrived in cities like Lunel, Narbonne, and Posquières.²⁰⁴ In the first quarter of the thirteenth century, it was transplanted to Spain, particularly Castille and Aragon.²⁰⁵

Lunel, in particular, was an important center of Jewish learning with a school that produced many books and commentaries. Lunel was called “the residence of the Torah.” *Sefer ha-Bahir* (The Book of Illumination), a collection of mystical writings was first published in Lunel in 1197. Furthermore, several learned rabbis from Lunel carried the Jewish nickname “Yarhi,” also derived from *yareah* (moon) like the name of the city Lunel. Some of these famous scholars include Abraham ben Isaac (d. ca. 1179), master of a school in Narbonne and president of the rabbinical court; Abraham ben David of Posquières, (d. 1190), aka Rabad, son-in-law of Abraham ben Isaac; Jacob ha-Nazir (the Nazarite, c. 1160-1235); and Abraham ben David, aka Isaac the Blind, (d. ca. 1232-1236). Scholem calls these the “leading men of Provence,”²⁰⁶

²⁰² Gershom Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*, trans. Ralph Manheim (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 46.

²⁰³ Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 1.

²⁰⁴ Perhaps also in Toulouse, Marseilles, and Arles: Gershom Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, ed., by R.J. Zwi Werblowsky, trans. Allan Arkush (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1962), 13.

²⁰⁵ Scholem, *Origins*, 12.

²⁰⁶ Scholem, *Origins*, 37.

possibly making them the “scientists” or “wise men” of Provence that Guilhem Montanhagol refers to in the closing stanza, *tornada*, when he asks asks Blaccaset to interpret the name.

The *Bahir* is the first compilation that codifies another symbolic tree in Kabbalah: the *sefiroth*. The ten branches of the *sefiroth* are stages of divine emanation, attributes of God reflected in every realm of Creation depicted as “spheres of light” (Figure 5 shows an early version of the *sefiroth*). The earliest extant book of Jewish mysticism,²⁰⁷ *Sefer Yeşirah* (Book of Creation), gives three etymologies for *sefiroth*: *sefer* (book, scroll); *sefor* (to count); and *sippur* (a story, recounting). Here the combination of letters and numbers take on mystical proportions giving infinite meanings of the divine word, the third principle in Kabbalah. The numbers behind letters and names represent energy or divinity that cannot be fully translated in human language; thus, many symbols and interpretations are used to understand the ineffable.

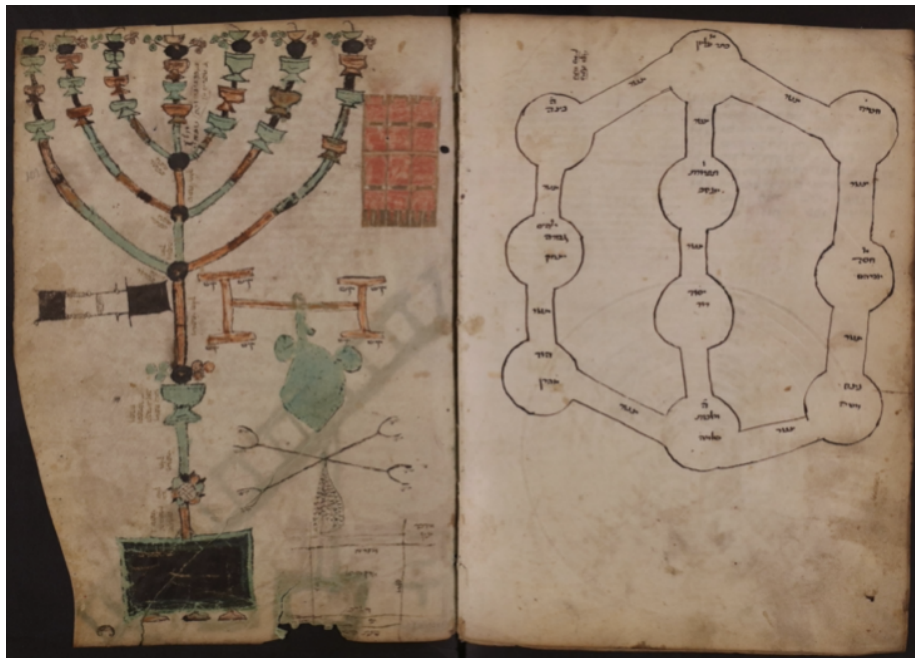


FIGURE 5: *Temple implements and sefirotic tree, Ashkenazi fourteenth century, Moscow, RSL, MS Guenzburg 82, fols. 100b-101a*²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ The earliest sources date to the 10th century. See Tzahi Weiss, “*Sefer Yeşirah*” and Its Contexts: *Other Jewish Voices* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

²⁰⁸ The Russian State Library. "Ktiv" Project, The National Library of Israel. [https://www.nli.org.il/en/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH990000861520205171/NLI#\\$FL62303956](https://www.nli.org.il/en/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH990000861520205171/NLI#$FL62303956)

Like Pythagoras' tetraktys, the numerology of Kabbalah begins with the first 10 "primordial" numbers which can represent the ten manifestations of God, the ten powers or faculties of the soul, or the ten structural forces of nature.²⁰⁹ The twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet are added to this, creating the 32 paths of the *ḥokhmah* (divine wisdom). The Pythagoreans considered 32 to be the number of righteousness because of the numerous ways the number can be divided. The poetic structure of Guilhem Montanhagol's song, perhaps coincidentally, follows a syllabification scheme primarily using lines of 10 syllables, with the exceptions of two verses of 11 syllables (adding up to 22).

CONCLUSION

The Pythagorean concept of the harmony of the spheres clearly influenced medieval musical culture. The philosophical ideas stemming from musical cosmology found in the troubadour repertory suggests a broad ownership of these concepts in society at large. The troubadours used astronomical imagery of planets and stars in three primary ways. One involves the passage of time, the measurement of which entails the movement of the stars. Songs in this category reference the passage of night and day according to celestial lights, and there is a whole genre of troubadour song about the dawn (*alba*). Another use of cosmology in troubadour song is the concept of luck or fortune, which has ties to both astrology and the Christian theology of predestination. Lastly, the idea of navigation by the stars draws on maritime practices and a tangential connection between the sea and the Virgin Mary evolved out of a scribal error that became creatively inspiring to many poets.

²⁰⁹ Rabbi Yitzchak Ginsburgh, *What You Need to Know about Kabbalah* (Jerusalem: Gal Einai Institute, 2006).

CHAPTER 3: MUSIC AS MEDICINE, TREATMENTS FOR LOVESICKNESS AND TROUBADOUR SONG

The concept of lovesickness is an important theme in troubadour song, closely tied to motivations for composing and singing *cansos*. Obsessive contemplation of the beloved, combined with loving from a distance—either physical or metaphorical—leads to a myriad of physical symptoms caused by unrequited love. The ubiquity of this suffering is apparent in both love songs and medieval medical texts that address lovesickness with descriptions of symptoms, diagnostics, definitions, and treatments for the disease. Throughout the Middle Ages—from Galen’s writings in the second century until the medical revolution of Paracelsus²¹⁰ and Vesalius in the sixteenth century—physicians believed that health emanates from a balance of the body’s natural disposition or “complexion,” combined with environmental factors such as the season, the weather, and air quality. Therefore, treatments for lovesickness attempted to restore balance of the four bodily humors, often through lifestyle changes that promoted moderate regimes of diet, exercise, sleep, good hygiene, entertainment, and comradery. Since the theory of *musica humana* stressed the relationship between the harmony of the universe and the structure of the human body, we see music playing a role in several of these healthy lifestyle regimes, particularly exercise, sleep, and entertainment.

This chapter delves into medical texts that address the use of music in medicine, cures for lovesickness, and analogs from troubadour songs. First, I survey historic examples of music therapy in Boethius, Isidore, and Avicenna’s writings. Boethius establishes the numerical precedents for the relationship between the natural world and the human body; the number four

²¹⁰ Joseph F. Borzelleca, “Paracelsus: Herald of Modern Toxicology,” *Toxicological Sciences*, 53, no. 1, (2000): 2-4.

is emphasized in Empedocles' natural elements, Hippocrates' four humors, and Galen's four temperaments. Boethius and Isidore both provide several mythical-historical examples of the practice of ancient music therapy. Isidore advocates for the musical training of physicians, and Avicenna gives examples of how music was used in medieval medical practice. Next, I summarize legendary and historical accounts of lovesickness as well as Constantine the African's *Viaticum*, a medical treatise devoted to lovesickness as a disease. Constantine prescribes music as part of a course of treatment for lovesickness, as do two thirteenth-century commentaries on the *Viaticum*: Gerard of Berry's, *Glosule super viaticum* (c. 1236), and Bona Fortuna's, *Tractus super viaticum* (c. 1294). The final section of this chapter compares the treatment of lovesickness in these medical treatises with similar references in troubadour song.

MUSICA HUMANA AND HUMORAL THEORY

In *De Institutione musica*, Boethius writes that the cosmic harmony observable among the revolving planets unites the four elements and the four seasons. His concept of *musica humana* postulates that the body and soul coalesce on account of this cosmic harmony. Boethius describes the joining of the body and the soul with the metaphor of tuning a high and low pitch together to create a consonance. Moreover, harmony establishes order throughout all the parts of the body and merges each element within the body.²¹¹ Medical theories concerning the relationship between the human body and the natural world are closely related to Boethius' concept of *musica humana*, which explains why many physicians argued for the efficacy of music in healing physical and mental illness.

²¹¹ Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 10.

Empedocles (c. 494-c. 434 BCE) is one Greek physician credited by Boethius with using music to calm the rage of a young man. As an influential natural philosopher, Empedocles wrote about the four fundamental elements—water, air, earth, and fire—that established the foundation of the humoral theory of the human body. These four elements likely derive from earlier Mesopotamian and Egyptian writings and bear resemblance to theories of nature found in Ancient Indian and Chinese medicine.²¹² The application of the four elements to ancient Greek medicine is usually credited to Hippocrates of Kos (c. 460-c. 370 BCE), whose teachings *On the Nature of Man* (Περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου) were recorded by Polybus, Hippocrates’ student and son-in-law.²¹³ Polybus writes:

IV. Τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ αἷμα καὶ φλέγμα καὶ χολὴν ξανθὴν καὶ μέλαιναν, καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ φύσις τοῦ σώματος, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀλγεῖ καὶ ὑγιαίνει. ὑγιαίνει μὲν οὖν μάλιστα, ὅταν μετρίως ἔχη ταῦτα τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα κρήσιος καὶ δυνάμιος καὶ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ μάλιστα² μεμιγμένα ἢ· ἀλγεῖ δὲ ὅταν τούτων

IV. The body of man has in itself blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile; these make up the nature of his body, and through these he feels pain or enjoys health. Now he enjoys the most perfect health when these elements are duly proportioned to one another in respect of compounding, power and bulk, and when they are perfectly mingled.²¹⁴

Blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile make up the four humors considered to be the essential fluids that nourish the body and regulate body temperature. The complexion of each body also contains four qualities of temperature and moisture: hot, cold, dry, wet. A person is healthy when all four humors and qualities are in balance. Greek physician Galen (c. 129-216 CE) theorized that different people have different mixtures of the four humors and four qualities naturally occurring in their body based on their body type and the geographic region where they live.

²¹² Oskar Cameron Gruner, *A Treatise on the Canon of Medicine of Avicenna* (New York: AMS Press, 1973), 5, 14.

²¹³ Jacques Jouanna, “At the Roots of Melancholy: Is Greek Medicine Melancholic?” In *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen*, ed. Philip van der Eijk, 229-258 (Brill, 2012), 299.

²¹⁴ Hippocrates of Cos, *On the Nature of Man*, trans. W.H.S. Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), 8-9.

Galen called these mixtures the four temperaments: sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic, melancholic.²¹⁵ Temperament impacts personality as well as physical characteristics, and the humors may fluctuate depending on the season, potentially causing imbalances and sickness. For example, according to the anonymous medical treatise *Sapientia artis medicinae* (The Wisdom of the Art of Medicine), winter is the most appropriate season for sexual intercourse because of the excess of black bile: “Autumn will last 64 days. Refrain from lovemaking, for it vitiates. Before the third kalends of December, black bile bursts forth, salty and moist, and one should make love [*one manuscript adds: for those to whom it is permitted*].”²¹⁶ *Sapientia artis medicinae* limits the appropriate time for sex in regard to the season in order to keep the four humors in balance. The lack of access to sex, however, is one of the causes of lovesickness, especially in unrequited love for an inaccessible beloved.

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL EVIDENCE FOR MUSIC THERAPY

Evidence of the use of music in medical practice in the ancient and medieval world exists, but exactly how music was used in medical treatments is unclear. Boethius recounts six examples of the use of musical therapy in the introduction of *De institutione musica* to underscore the importance of musical studies. The first examples include two poet-musicians who flourished around 700-650 BCE: Terpander and Arion of Methymna, who saved the people of Lesbos and Ionia—respectively—from serious illness with song.²¹⁷ A third example is the aulos-player Ismenias the Theban, who relieved the Boeotians of distress from sciatica with

²¹⁵ Galen, *On Temperaments; On Non-uniform Distemperment; The Soul's Traits Depend on Bodily Temperament*, ed., Ian Johnston, Leob Classic Library 546 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020), lxxviii.

²¹⁶ Faith Wallis, ed., *Medieval Medicine: A Reader* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010) 19.

²¹⁷ Boethius seems to be the only record of these particular stories. See *Fundamentals of Music*, 6n24-25. However, there is a well-known myth of Terpander mediating a dispute in Sparta with music.

specific musical modes. Both Pythagoras and Empedocles calmed the wrath of enraged youths by manipulating musical modes and rhythms. The last story Boethius recounts concerns Hippocrates attending to a fellow physician, Democritus of Abdera, who was experiencing fits of madness, so neighboring citizens put him under house arrest and called for Hippocrates. Hippocrates felt that using music or religious incantations in medicine was the practice of charlatans, but Boethius argued that “the whole structure of our soul and body has been joined by means of musical coalescence. For just as one’s physical state affects feeling, so also the pulses of the heart are increased by disturbed states of mind.”²¹⁸ According to Boethius, Democritus conveyed this reasoning to Hippocrates in justifying the use of music for his own treatment.

About a century later, Isidore of Seville wrote that doctors should be familiar with music because of the long history of using music to heal illness.

Music ought not to be unknown by him [a doctor], for many things are said to be accomplished for ill men through the use of this art, as is said of David who cleansed Saul of an unclean spirit through the art of melody. The physician Asclepiades also restored a certain insane man to his pristine health through music.”²¹⁹

Like Boethius, Isidore is concerned with documenting historic-mythical examples of musical practice to illustrate the relationship between music and health. Asclepiades of Bithynia (born c. 130 BCE), a Greek physician who practiced medicine in Rome, is remembered for practicing music therapy to treat mental illness and pain. Asclepiades prescribed specific musical modes for different diseases: “The sad must be cheered with melodies in the Phrygian mode, the frivolous calmed with melodies in the Dorian mode.”²²⁰ The example of David adds the Jewish and Christian perspective to the history of ancient Greek medical practice. David is the most

²¹⁸ Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 7.

²¹⁹ Faith Wallis, *Medieval Medicine*, 9-10.

²²⁰ Use of the flute was discouraged because he thought it was too energetic, although later authors write that he used music to treat scorpion stings and viper bites believing that the music of the flute caused the infected areas of the body to dance, relieving the pain. Ana Marta González, *The Emotions and Cultural Analysis* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 73.

prominent musician mentioned in the Bible. Before his famous battle with Goliath, his reputation as a musician earned him a place in the court of King Saul. David would play the *kinnor* (כִּנּוֹר), the Hebrew lyre, for King Saul whenever Saul felt distressed by an evil spirit. David's music was the only thing that soothed him.²²¹ In the Middle Ages, King David was understood as an early inventor of music, and as an instrumentalist, David became an iconic symbol of music. Isidore combines ancient Greek and Biblical history to endorse musical education for doctors.

The etymology Isidore presents for medicine is closely tied to medieval etymologies for music. Isidore gives *modus* (moderation or due proportion) as a possible etymology for the term medicine. Isidore interprets this textual relationship to mean that moderation is healthy for the body, but there is also an important connection to music. Medieval etymologies of music, like Augustine's definition in *De musica*, links music to the word *modus* because of concepts such as measurement and rhythm (see Chapter 1). The use of musical rhythm in listening to the human pulse is one practical application of music in medical practice used by Galen and later promoted by Ibn Sīnā (980-1037 CE), a Persian philosopher and polymath particularly influenced by Aristotle.

After the eleventh century, Eastern physician-philosophers played an important role in transmitting medical knowledge to western Europe as well as contributing their own innovations to ancient knowledge of medicine. Ibn Sīnā, known in the West as Avicenna (a Latin corruption of his patronym), wrote descriptively about the use of rhythm to diagnose irregular heartbeat in the *Canon of Medicine* (*al-Qānūn fī'l-tibb*). This was an influential encyclopedia of medical

²²¹ See 1 Samuel 16: 14-21.

knowledge that became a standard medical text at medieval universities, the influence of which bestowed on Avicenna the sobriquet “father of early modern medicine.”²²²

I found seven references to music in the *Canon*, in which Avicenna describes how music can be used in the practice of healing. First, Avicenna applies music in diagnosing rhythms of the pulse, a direct correlation with the concept of *modus* as a measurement of rhythm and medicine. He writes that the pulse can be characterized musically through dynamics, rhythm, articulation, and meter. Moreover, Avicenna classifies the intervals between the beats as either harmonious or inharmonious.²²³

For one must now see the musical character of the pulse. For in the art of music, sounds are juxtaposed in orderly relations of loudness and softness which keep on repeating at regular intervals; rates of utterance vary—some sounds coming close to one another, and others being further apart; the attack may be abrupt or gentle, sharp or dull. The notes may be sounded clearly or be indefinite; they may be strong or weak; the volume ‘full’ or ‘thin’. The rhythm of the sequence of the sounds may be regular or irregular.²²⁴

Avicenna attributes specific rhythmic intervals in relation to the pulse to Galen, and like Isidore, seems to suggest the usefulness of musical training to gain the skill needed to ascertain these rhythms.

According to Galen, pulse could be felt in only one of the following rhythms of music: 1:3, 1:2, 1:15, 1:1, and 1:1.25 [double time, three-four time, common time, four-five time, five-six time, and so on]. For those who have a sensitive touch and a keen sense of rhythm with a training in the musical art, such minute of observation could be correlated in the mind.²²⁵

An irregular pulse is an important symptom of lovesickness found in both medieval medical treatises and ancient case-studies. The following section will compare a mythologized case study

²²² Richard Colgan, *Advice to the Young Physician: On the Art of Medicine* (New York: Springer, 2009), 33.

²²³ Avicenna, *The Canon of Medicine (al-Qānūn fī'l-tibb)* (The Law of Natural Healing), trans. Hamidreza Doostdar, ed., Laleh Bakhtiar, vol. 1 (Chicago: Great Books of the Islamic World Inc., 2014), 290-292.

²²⁴ Avicenna, *The Canon*, 290.

²²⁵ Avicenna. *The Canon*, 292.

of lovesickness diagnosed by Hippocrates with a similar case study told by Galen in order to establish the extent to which physicians considered lovesickness a disease within their purview and not merely the concern of poets and musicians like the troubadours.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF LOVESICKNESS

The treatment of lovesickness by ancient Greek physicians is a common trope in mythical-historical accounts. In the *Life of Hippocrates*, Soranus of Ephesus recounts the story of Hippocrates treating the illness of Perdiccas II of Macedon (c. 450-413 BCE) who fell in love with his father's mistress, Phila, after his father died. Other physicians thought that King Perdiccas was sick with consumption, but Hippocrates was able to observe a change in Perdiccas' color when he looked at Phila.²²⁶ This story was later mythologized in the *Miniature Epic in Vandal Africa*, where the anonymous author changes the character of Perdiccas to a youth returning home after a long absence for his education. As punishment for neglecting to worship Venus, Cupid's arrow causes Perdiccas to fall in love with a woman in a dream while on his journey. When he arrived home, the woman from his dream turns out to be his mother, whom he has not seen for many years. Suffering from the shame of this love, Perdiccas sickens, and Hippocrates is summoned to treat him. In this version of the tale, Hippocrates diagnoses the lovesickness by a change in the pulse.²²⁷

In Plutarch's *Lives*, another famous mythical-historical example of Antiochus and Stratonice tells of the relationship between lovesickness and the pulse. Antiochus, son of King Seleucus I, falls in love with his father's wife Stratonice. The court physician Erasistratus

²²⁶ See Jody Rubin Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends* (E.J. Brill, 1992), 61. Bright says Hippocrates cured Perdiccas by telling him not to be in the same room as Phila, but that does not appear in Soranus' *Vita*.

²²⁷ David F. Bright, *The Miniature Epic in Vandal Africa* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 224.

quickly decides that love is the cause of Antiochus's illness and waits in his chamber to observe the patient's response to women in the room. Stratonice was the only woman to cause Antiochus to suffer "all Sappho's famous symptoms," a reference to a poem by Sappho that lists common signs of lovesickness.²²⁸ Sappho's list includes a faltering of the voice, a flushed face, weakened eyes, irregular violent pulse, and a faint and trembling body.²²⁹ Seleucus graciously saves Antiochus by stepping down from his role as king and allowing his son to marry Stratonice.

As a critique of other physicians' methods of diagnosis, Galen relates his own case study in *On Prognosis* where he diagnosed lovesickness of a young woman—the wife of Justus—through the changes of her pulse.²³⁰ He was called in to treat her insomnia and first ruled out fever as the cause. He surmised that she either had an excess of black bile leading to melancholia or some other cause that she was unwilling to confess. A fortunate happenstance occurred when Galen was on a house call: someone who had just come from the theater entered the lady's room and began talking about the dancer Pylades. At the mention of this dancer, her pallor changed, and Galen took her pulse which was greatly agitated and irregular. Galen then conducted an experiment over his next two visits, arranging for a servant to enter the room and mention the name of the dancer Morpheus and another member of the dance troupe. The lady did not exhibit the same symptoms when these other dancers were mentioned; thus, Galen deduced that she was in love with Pylades, and the mental distress from this love was the cause of her physical symptoms.

²²⁸ Sappho's poem reads "Blessed as the gods the man who sits beside you hears you speak, and sees you smile. For me, at the first sight of you, my speech fails, my tongue breaks, thin flame runs through me, my eyes are blinded, my ears tingle, a cold sweat overflows me, all my body trembles, my color goes, my very death seems coming upon me," A.H. Clough, trans., *Plutarch's Lives* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1941), 135.

²²⁹ Clough, *Plutarch's Lives*, 135.

²³⁰ In this passage, Galen critiques the physician Erasistratus by name. Arthur J. Brock, *Greek Medicine: Being Extracts Illustrative of Medical Writers from Hippocrates to Galen* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, LTD, 1929), 213-214.

By the twelfth century, these results of lovesickness are so embedded in the courtly love tradition that Andreas Capellanus codifies them among the rules of love in his treatise *De amore*. Rule fifteen documents the typical pallor of the sick lover, and rule sixteen mentions the lover's racing pulse.

XV. Every lover regularly turns pale in the presence of his beloved.

XVI. When a lover suddenly catches sight of his beloved his heart palpitates.²³¹

In Galen's case study, he only describes the diagnosis of the lover's sickness and neglects to mention any treatment. Avicenna, on the other hand, mentions the use of music in several procedures to maintain health. Avicenna writes that music can be used in exercise, to help keep the rhythms of vigorous movement in activities like wrestling. Music can also be used as a means of alleviating pain, especially if the music aids in sleep.²³² In volume four of the *Canon of Medicine*, Avicenna describes many types of fevers and catalogues them as systematic diseases. A Type-1 fever is caused by an excess of emotions such as grief, anxiety, anger, excessive joy, or fear. This type of fever may also be the result of over-thinking, incorrect amounts of sleep, and physical or psychological exhaustion.²³³ Avicenna's treatment for excessive emotions, especially anger, is relaxation through entertainment. He gives a list of a variety of entertainments, but he specifically mentions funny stories and "life-sustaining music."²³⁴

The evidence from troubadour lyrics suggests that composing and performing songs was a method for treating lovesickness when other physical acts for expressing erotic or romantic love were not possible. Bernart de Ventadorn's song "Non es meravilla seu chant" provides a quintessential example of themes of lovesickness in troubadour song. Bernart begins the song by

²³¹ Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*, trans. R.D. Hicks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), 185.

²³² Gruner, *A Treatise on the Canon*, 365.

²³³ Avicenna, *Canon of Medicine*, vol. 4, 77.

²³⁴ Avicenna, *Canon of Medicine*, vol. 4, 83.

boasting that he sings better than all other singers because he is commanded by his heart to love. His heart controls the reins of his body, drawing him toward love. Bernart uses two Old Occitan verbs in this stanza that both mean “to draw, drag, attract:” *traire* and *tirare*. The word *tirare* is also used for the sense “to pull” as in pulling a horse with a bridle, which creates an image of Love riding the heart like a horse or pulling at the “heartstrings.” Stanzas three, four, and six speak unequivocally about lovesickness, describing several of the classic symptoms of the illness including crying and sighing, trembling, and changing color in the face. In stanza four, Bernart equates the pain of love with the joy of love. It is a wound that he “sweetly savors” in his heart, and though it kills him a hundred times a day, it also revives him as much. The word “mals” occurs successively in three verses (lines 5-7) and, while it is sometimes translated as “evil,” it can also mean “illness;” I argue that this meaning better fits the sentiment of the entire song because of the use of other references to good versus bad health. Illness represents the beloved because it has a beautiful appearance, brings goodness to the singer, and is stronger than any other goodness. The singer is confident that his welfare will return after a period of suffering.

IV.
 Aquest'amors me fer tan gen
 Al cor d'una dousa sabor:
 Cen vetz mor lo jorn de dolor
 E reviu de joi autras cen.
 Ben es mos mals de bel semblan,
 Que mais val mos mals qu'autre bes!
 E pois mos mals aitan bos m'es,
 Bos er lo bes apres l'afan.

IV.
 This love wounds me so agreeably,
 To savor one sweetness in the heart:
 I die a hundred times each day from pain,
 And I am revived by joy another hundred.
 Indeed, my illness is of beautiful appearance,
 For my illness is stronger than another good!
 And since my illness is so good to me,
 My welfare will be good after the
 suffering.²³⁵

The poetic form consists of eight verses in each stanza with eight syllables in each verse. The rhyme scheme rolls through an interlocking pattern over the course of two stanzas. The odd-numbered stanzas feature the rhyming syllable “-an” in the first and fourth verse, and “-en” in

²³⁵ Nichols, *The Songs of Bernart de Ventadorn*, 132-133. My translation.

the fifth and eight verse. In the even-numbered stanzas, these rhyming syllables switch places while the rhyming syllables “-or” and “-es” remain stable in verses 2-3 and 6-7, respectively. The rhyme scheme effectively divides the stanza in half, which is supported by the melody. The melodic structure repeats approximately the same four phrases in each half: A, B, C, D and A, B’, C’, D’.

Verse	Rhyme Scheme		Melodic phrases	
	odd stanza	even stanza	MS G	MS W
1	-an	-en	A	A
2	-or	-or	B	B
3	-or	-or	C	C
4	-an	-en	D	D
5	-en	-an	A	A
6	-es	-es	B’	C’
7	-es	-es	C’	E/C
8	-en	-an	D	F/D

TABLE 6: “Non es meraviglia seu chant” Poetic and Melodic Structure

The melody from MS G supports the alternating rhyme scheme between even- and odd-numbered stanzas by providing melodic notation for two stanzas, rather than the more common approach with strophic songs of writing the melody once with text underlay for only the first stanza.²³⁶ Furthermore, the two instantiations of the melodies are not identical. The melody accompanying the second stanza uses the same four melodic phrases in the first half, but then extracts the first two pitches [a leap from D to A] of the A-melody in line 5, causing a shift of 2-3 pitches over the next three melodic phrases (see note *a* in the score below). The extracted leap is reinserted at the end of the last melodic phrase.

²³⁶ Manuscript G, folio 9r; Biblioteca Nazionale Ambrosiana, R71 sup.

1 A 2 B

Stanza 1

Non es mer - a - vel - ha s'eu chan Melhs de nul aut - re chan - ta - dor

Stanza 2

Ben es mortz qui d'a - mor no sen Al cor cal que dou - sa sa - bor!

3 C 4 D

St. 1

que plus me tra.l cors vas a - mor E melhs sui faihz a so co - man

St. 2

E que val vi - ure ses a - mor Mas per e - noi far a la gen

5 A' 6 B'

a. two-note shift

St. 1

Cor e cors e sa - ber e sen E fors' e po - der ja mes

St. 2

Ja Dom-ne-deus no.m a - zir tan Qu'eu ja pois vi - va jorn ni mes.

7 C' 8 D'

St. 1

Si.m ti - ra vas a - mor lo fres q'en-ver al - tra part no m'a-ten.

St. 2

Pois que d'e - noi se - rai mes-pres Ni d'a-mor non au - rai ta - lan.

EXAMPLE 6: "Non es meravilla seu chant"

This shifting back and forth of the melody and the rhyme scheme implies the struggle for balance, just as one must balance the humors in order to maintain a healthy body. The struggle for balance is reflected in the lyrics as well. Love pulls the poet-singer in the direction of the beloved and the lover invests his heart, body, and mind in the pursuit of love, including all his physical strength and singing ability. Alternating back and forth between the concept of suffering from an illness and the joy of love resonates with the shifting structure of the whole song.

VIATICUM AND COMMENTARIES

One of the most extensive treatments of lovesickness in the Middle Ages comes from the *Viaticum* by Constantine the African (died c. 1099). Two legends tell the life-story of Constantine the African. The earliest, written by Peter the Deacon (12th century), says that Constantine was born in Carthage and studied all the liberal arts, as well as medicine, in Babylon, India, Ethiopia, and Egypt.²³⁷ After 39 years of study, he returned to his homeland, but his countrymen tried to kill him because they were jealous of his accomplishments. He fled to Salerno disguised as a poor man and was recognized by the visiting King of Babylon. The ruler of Salerno, Duke Robert Guiscard, received him with great honor. Then Constantine traveled to Montecassio, where he did his translation work after becoming a monk.

The second legend comes from Salerno and portrays Constantine as a merchant who brings many Arabic medical texts to Italy after learning about the lack of medical knowledge there. He suffered an illness while in Italy and the doctor who attended him was inexperienced and lacked the basic knowledge found in Arabic medical practice such as asking for a urine

²³⁷ Mary Frances Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: The Viaticum and Its Commentaries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 33-34.

sample.²³⁸ He and his cargo survive a storm on their way, and this leads to his conversion and subsequent translation of the texts into Latin. Both legends depict Constantine as a cultural hero for bringing Arabic knowledge to the West.²³⁹

Constantine's translations became important medical textbooks, used well into the seventeenth century, and made important Arabic medical treatises accessible to western European medical practice including authors such as Razes, Ibn Imran, Ibn Suleiman, and Ibn al-Jazzar. The *Viaticum peregrinantis* is a translation of the popular medical handbook by Abu Ja'far Ahmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn abī Khālid al-Jazzār (d. 979) entitled the *Kitāb Zād al-musāfir wa-qūt al-ḥāḍir* (Provisions for the Traveler and the Nourishment of the Settled).

According to Mary Frances Wack, Constantine was the first scribe to translate the Arabic word *ishk* into Latin by borrowing the Greek word for passionate love: *eros*, ἔρως (love, desire).²⁴⁰ Constantine created new Latin terms for those who suffer from lovesickness—*eriosos*, *eriosis*—possibly drawing on other medical terms such as the term for alcoholism (*ebriosus*) or mania (*maniosus*). Later scribes authoring their own commentaries on the *Viaticum* adjust their understanding of those who suffer from lovesickness by changing *eros* to *heros*, *hereos*. The act of naming the disease *amor heros* implies a deep connection to chivalry and courtly love as heroes or knights that suffer from lovesickness do so within the musical-literary culture of *fin amor*. Gerard of Berry's *Glosule super viaticum* (c. 1236) is one of the later commentaries that calls the disease *amor heros* and describes the typical patient in this way: "Heroes are said to be noble men who, on account of riches and the softness of their lives, are more likely to suffer this disease."²⁴¹

²³⁸ Karl Sudhoff, *Essays in the History of Medicine* (New York: Medical Life Press, 1926), 242.

²³⁹ Wack, *Lovesickness*, 33-34.

²⁴⁰ Wack, *Lovesickness*, 182.

²⁴¹ Wack, *Lovesickness*, 203.

Wack points out the paradox inherent in the concept of a “pleasurable disease” when health regimens cross paths with courtly love tradition from both medieval Arabic-Islamic poetry and Christian Europe. Proponents of courtly love believe that it is wholesome or beneficial to be lovesick because suffering for love makes a chivalrous knight more noble.²⁴² For doctors tasked with healing disease, this attitude creates a challenge of how to balance the use of music and poetry, which may serve as both a cause and cure for the disease.

Many early Islamic philosopher-physicians condemn love songs for inflaming the passions of “profane love,” a pastime they consider to be an indulgence of idle men. Persian philosopher Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (c. 865-925), for example, criticizes men who are addicted to love stories, poetry, and sad music. He faults this “unmasculine” behavior as deserving of suffering from lovesickness.

But men that are effeminate, flirtatious, idle, soft, and given over to appetite, who make pleasure their sole interest and seek only for worldly gratification, who take it to be a great loss and sorrow to lose it and reckon what they cannot attain to be a real misery and misfortune—such men are hardly delivered from this affliction. Especially is this the case if they are much addicted to reading lovers’ tales, to recitation of delicate, amorous poetry and to listening to sorrowful music and singing.²⁴³

While Constantine draws on the work of al-Rāzī elsewhere in his corpus, the *Viaticum* disagrees with this position on the role of music in lovesickness. Instead, Constantine relies more extensively on the Greek physicians Galen and Rufus of Ephesus (fl. c. 100 CE) in his definition of the disease and the recommended treatments. Constantine follows Galen and defines *eros* as a disease (*morbus*) of the brain afflicting the thoughts.²⁴⁴ This is a departure from Aristotle, who locates lovesickness in the heart. A certain Giles, author of *Glose super viaticum*, agrees with Aristotle that lovesickness is a disease of the heart. Other commentaries on Constantine’s

²⁴² Wack, *Lovesickness*, 38-39.

²⁴³ Arthur J. Arberry, *The Spiritual Physick of Rhazes* (London: John Murray, 1950), 38.

²⁴⁴ Wack, *Lovesickness*, 187.

Viaticum expand the debate between the importance of three organs—the brain, heart, and liver—in the origin of lovesickness within the body.

This debate about the most important organ has ramifications for emotional and mental health due to the associations made between the organ and soul. Ultimately, the heart emerges as the organ most closely associated with love in troubadour song, but the troubadours also reference the role of the brain in obsessive contemplation of the beloved, as well as the role of the liver and virility. The Ancient Mesopotamians considered the liver to be the central organ in the human body, as it appeared to be the largest organ and filled with the most blood. As hepatocentrists, they believed that life, the soul, emotions, and intelligence were all located in the liver. For this reason, the Babylonians practiced haruspicy, a ritual divination based on inspection of the liver and other viscera of sacrificed animals.²⁴⁵

In other regions of the Middle East and North Africa, the liver held similar linguistic and cultural values. For example, the etymology of the word for liver in Hebrew (*kabhedh*, כבדי) suggests the concept of “weight” because the liver is the heaviest internal organ. Connections to life force and the emotions can be seen in the Book of Proverbs and Lamentations. Proverbs 7:23 says that a man who visits prostitutes will lose his life just as “an arrow pierces his liver.” The Book of Lamentations describes the mourning of the Hebrews after the Babylonians destroyed the city of Jerusalem in 587 BCE. Lamentations 2:11 lists the physical embodiment of grief as “my eyes fail with tears, my internal organs are troubled, my liver is poured upon the earth” (כלו בדמעות עיני חמרמרו מעי נשפך לארץ כבדי על־שבר בת־עמי בעטף עולל ויונק ברחבות קריה).²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ Riccardo Orlandi et al., “I Miss My Liver: Nonmedical Sources in the History of Hepatocentrism,” *Hepatology Communications* 2, no. 8 (2018): 982-989.

²⁴⁶ Westminster Leningrad Codex, Lamentations 2:11.

The Hebrew words for internal organs and liver used in this passage are מעי (*mey-ah*, bowels/internal organs) and כבדי (*kabedi*, liver).

The liver was also considered the seat of life in Arab culture. The Prophet Muhammad used the term “moist liver” in reference to the soul. One story about the Prophet grieving describes him weeping all night “as though his liver would crack.”²⁴⁷ More joyous emotions were expressed in terms of the liver among the Berbers from North Africa. Men expressed emotion and deep affection referencing the liver, “You are my liver,” in a ritual betrothal dance which meant “you are the best thing about me, the most precious one.”²⁴⁸ Berber brides would accept marriage proposals saying, “you have won my liver.”²⁴⁹

Other ancient cultures were cardiocentrists and considered the heart to be the most important organ. In ancient Egypt, the liver was honored by removal from a corpse prior to mumification and placed in a jar decorated with images of the god Imsety, who protected the liver in order to revivify the body in the afterlife. However, the Egyptians believed the heart was the seat of the soul and left it in the mummified corpse as a method to keep the person alive eternally and to guarantee the soul’s passage into the afterlife.²⁵⁰ The broader cosmology of the cult of the heart connected an individual’s heart to the rising and setting of the sun, which is why it was replaced in a corpse after embalming. Small models of the heart were made that were placed in coffins to testify on behalf of the dead on the Day of Judgment.²⁵¹

The influence of both Egyptian and Mesopotamian natural philosophy in ancient Greek writings led to a debate about the most important organ that lasted well beyond the Middle Ages.

²⁴⁷ Orlandi et al., “I Miss My Liver,” 985.

²⁴⁸ Orlandi et al., “I Miss My Liver,” 985.

²⁴⁹ Thomas S. Chen and Peter S. Chen, *Understanding the Liver: A History* (London: Greenwood Press, 1984), 5.

²⁵⁰ Orlandi et al. “I Miss My Liver,” 983.

²⁵¹ Ole M. Høystad, *A History of the Heart* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007), 25.

The evidence in Homeric writing propounds a bipartite soul residing in the brain and the lungs. The term *psyche* (ψυχή) was the part of the soul that resided in the brain and ensured immortality. The word *thymos* (θυμός) refers to the soul that resided in the chest. A close connection to the breath designated *thymos* as a substance of life energy that is inhaled at birth and exhaled at death.²⁵² Later, Stoic philosophy linked *thymos* to *pneuma* (πνεῦμα: breath, spirit, soul).

In the *Republic*, Plato expands the concept of the soul into three parts: the rational soul, affective soul, and nutritive soul. The rational, noble soul resides in the brain. The emotional, affective soul resides in the chest. The nutritive, baser soul resides in the liver.²⁵³ Aristotle also reasons that humans have three types of soul: the vegetative or nourishing soul, the animal or sensitive soul, and the rational or intellectual soul. While humans possess all three parts of the soul, animals and plants only have the first two parts. Unlike Plato, Aristotle elevated the heart as the primary organ of the body, and the source of blood, vital heat, and the vascular system.²⁵⁴ Despite the importance of Aristotle's reasoning about the heart in the thinking of later generations of physicians, Galen maintained that the liver was the source of the veins and sanguification. According to Galen, the process of sanguification created two by-products: black bile and yellow bile. Galen writes that black bile resides in the spleen and is thick and muddy. Yellow bile is light and thin and exits the liver through the vena cava. The vena cava is a vein that travels to the heart, but Galen thought it went to the gall bladder.²⁵⁵

Later Arabic physicians such as Rhazes (c. 850-923), Avicenna (c. 980-1037), and Avenzoar (c. 1091-1161) used Galen's concepts of the humors and *pneuma*, but they had to

²⁵² Chen and Chen, *Understanding the Liver*, 47-49.

²⁵³ Chen and Chen, *Understanding the Liver*, 49.

²⁵⁴ Chen and Chen, *Understanding the Liver*, 50.

²⁵⁵ Chen and Chen, *Understanding the Liver*, 52.

make a choice to follow either Galen or Aristotle in regard to organ function. For example, contrary to Galen, they all promoted the brain as the source of sensation and cognition with three cerebral ventricles: 1) faculty of imagination, 2) thought and judgement, and 3) memory. The debate over the brain, the heart, or the liver as the source of lovesickness continued into the Middle Ages and resonated with the way these organs are mentioned in troubadour songs.

Constantine gives two causes for lovesickness that stress the role of the liver and the brain in the course of this disease. Either the body needs to expel an overabundance of the humors, or the patient suffers due to excessive contemplation of beauty. The first cause typically refers to an excess of black bile found in the liver and was connected to depression and melancholy. Constantine quotes Rufus, who prescribes sex as a healthy method to expel this humor: “Rufus says ‘Intercourse is seen to benefit those in whom black bile and frenzy reign.’”²⁵⁶

While some troubadour songs speak openly about intercourse, Raimbaut d’Aurenga’s song #33 (incipit lost) is the only song I found that mentions the liver and gall bladder.

Si per razo am vilana	Indeed, for this reason, I love a low-born woman
Com es sesta don ieu chan;	As is this one of whom I sing;
M’i fos enpres ab talan	I was attacked by love
Sai entre·l Monteill e Gorda.	Here between Monteux and Gordes.
La forsa c’ai en las ancas	The strength which I have in my thighs
Perda ieu, e·l fetg’e·l fel,	May I lose, and the liver and the gall bladder,
S’ieu trop pel agues ferran	If I should have too much grey hair
Non fezes guerr’e deman.	Not to make a faithful war and claim. ²⁵⁷

This song draws connections between the ardent emotions of love and the members of the body that imply masculine strength, and virility of the lover based on age. The woman in this stanza is described as “low-born” (*vilana*), and while there is no nickname mentioned here, Raimbaut’s

²⁵⁶ Wack, *Lovesickness*, 189.

²⁵⁷ Pattison, *Life and Works*, 182. My translation.

vida says that he was in love with a woman named Maria de Vertfuoil, whom he called his *joglar*.²⁵⁸ As a professional performer, the position of *joglar* would be consistent with a *vilana*. In some cases, a female *joglar* may also have been a sex worker, as was Guillelma Monja, the wife of troubadour Gaucelm Faidit. His *vida* calls her a *soudadiera* which can mean both prostitute and a woman who performed with *joglars*.²⁵⁹ Guillelma Monja traveled and performed with Gaucelm after they married, and his *vida* also describes her as beautiful and learned. If Maria de Vertfuoil was also a *joglar* and/or sex worker, it is conceivable that she would have been the type of lover Rufus would prescribe as treatment for an excess of black bile.

The second cause of lovesickness, according to Constantine, emanates from the faculties of the brain. Ideally, reason tempers or balances the emotions and physical sensation. However, when the lover indulges in excessive contemplation of the beloved, the symptoms of lovesickness occur. Here again, Constantine quotes Rufus of Ephesus, warning that the dangers of excessive thoughts can have “serious consequences for the soul.”²⁶⁰ Because the soul and body impact each other, this makes the lover susceptible to melancholy.

Gerard of Berry’s commentary *Glosule super viaticum* (c.1236) greatly expands Constantine’s explanation of the brain as locus for lovesickness. Gerard writes that when a lover believes that one woman is better, more noble, and more desirable than all the others, the estimative faculty—located in the middle ventricle of the brain—orders the imaginative faculty to fixate on that single person. The physical result of this obsession is that the heat is drawn to the middle ventricle of the brain, leaving the first ventricle—where the imaginative faculty resides—cold and dry. The resulting imbalanced complexion makes the lover melancholy.²⁶¹

²⁵⁸ Egan, *Vidas*, 87.

²⁵⁹ Egan, *Vidas*, 37n3.

²⁶⁰ Wack, *Lovesickness*, 189.

²⁶¹ Wack, *Lovesickness*, 199-201.

Many troubadour songs mention both the heart and the head. The love songs that mention the heart are so numerous that it would be imprudent to discuss them all here. Fewer love songs talk specifically about the brain, although the theme of obsessive thoughts about the Beloved frequently occurs. Raimbaut d'Aurenga provides us with examples of songs that reference both the heart and the brain; "Un vers faral de tal mena" specifically mentions the heart as a source of suffering in four of the seven stanzas. First, desire is sown (*semenar*) in the heart and Love makes it grow with such abundance that all other joys are forgotten. This forgetfulness, however, is not passive; the heart actively repulses or avoids (*esquivar*) all other joys.

II.
 Qu'ins en mon cor me semena
 Us volers, e crey que·y cresca
 D'Amors que·y met tal creyssensa
 Que d'als non ai sovinensa,
 Ni res qu'ieu aya no·m fa gaug;
 Ans lays, e mos cors esquiva,
 Autre joy que d'al non ay sonh.

II.
 Within my heart, one desire is sown in me
 And I believe that it grows
 From Love who causes such growth
 That I do not have a recollection of anything,
 Neither do the things that I have give me joy;
 Rather I leave behind and my heart avoids,
 Other joys of which I have no concern.²⁶²

The first line of the second stanza discusses the pain and suffering within the heart caused by love. The grammar emphasizes the locality of the heart by using two prepositions for the word "in" (*ins* and *en*) side by side: "Qu'ins en mon cor me semena." This grammatic structure highlights the heart, inside of the body, as the fertile ground where desire is sown. In the third stanza, Raimbaut repeats this grammatic structure to describe the great pain (*gran pena*) which causes the heart to jump and tremble: "Qu'ins en mon cor sal e tresca." A heart that jumps and trembles sounds like an irregular pulse, one of the most common symptoms of lovesickness seen in medical treatises. Raimbaut pushes further into the realm of medicine in the fourth stanza by naming his suffering a wound without a cure. Not even a famous doctor from Provence has

²⁶² Pattison, *Life and Works*, 83. My translation.

medicine to cure him of this wound. The specification that a doctor comes from Provence could refer to famous schools for medicine in the south of France, such as the University of Toulouse and University of Montpellier.²⁶³ Toulouse was an important center for troubadour song because of the patronage of Counts of Toulouse, and it is possible that Raimbaut would have had firsthand knowledge of the quality of medical practice there because his estate at Orange was close to Toulouse. Nevertheless, a doctor's lack of ability to cure lovesickness is further underscored by Raimbaut's claim that no medicine is capable of curing lovesickness.

IV.
Ben m'a nafrat en tal vena
Est'amors qu'era · m refresca
Don nuls metges de Proensa
Nadius no · m pot far guirensa;
Ni mezina que · m fassa gaug,
Ni ja non er hom qu'escriva
Lo greu mal qu'ins el cor m'esconh.

IV.
Certainly, she has wounded me in such a vein,
It is love which was refreshed in me
A doctor native to Provence gives nothing
And cannot protect me;
No medicine would make me joyful,
Indeed no one can write about
The grievous ill which hides in my heart.²⁶⁴

While this song does not specifically mention the brain, it does discuss melancholy thoughts in two places. Walter Pattison translates the line, “E vau quo fal res penssiva,”²⁶⁵ as “And I go about lost in melancholy thoughts.” The word *penssiva* may imply melancholy thoughts, but a more literal translation is “And I go where I do thoughtful things.” The verb in this line is *far/faire* (to do, bear, carry, perform) and the lover does thoughtful or pensive things, like compose and sing a love song. The act of “doing” in this line is contrasted with “showing” (*mostrar*) in the following line: “Quar non aus mostrar mon bezonh” (Because I do not dare show my passion).²⁶⁶ Like the suffering of the woman in Galen's case study, these lines

²⁶³ See Cyril Eugene Smith, *The University of Toulouse in the Middle Ages: Its Origins and Growth to 1500 A.D.* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1958), 6; and Isaac Alteras, “Jewish Physicians in Southern France during the 13th and 14th Centuries,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 68, no. 4 (1978): 209-223.

²⁶⁴ Pattison, *Life and Works*, 84. My translation.

²⁶⁵ Line 34 in the fifth stanza, Pattison, *Life and Works*, 84.

²⁶⁶ Pattison, *Life and Works*, 84. My translation.

demonstrate the fundamental paradox of lovesickness; the desperate need to not reveal love causes the mind and body stress that cannot be concealed. Raimbaut continues the theme of confused thoughts in stanza six. Pattison translates line 36-37, “Ben ai ma voluntat plena/De tal sen que s’entrebescas” as “My desire is filled with confused thoughts.”²⁶⁷ The term *entrebescas* means “to interweave, to bind,” creating an image not just of confusion, but of a mind that is trapped by desire. A more literal translation of this line would be: “Indeed, I have my desire filled of such thoughts that bind it.”

Another song by Raimbaut d’Aurenga, “Ara·m so del tot conquis,” mentions the heart and the brain in the same stanza.

VI.
 Mon cor ai eu tan isnel
 Que a penas m’en sofris;
 C’amors me pueg’el cerval,
 Si que cor ai que lei dia
 A totz—tals talens m’en ve—
 Mas Temers e Cortesia
 E dreg Ben-Amor m’en te.

VI.
 I have such a rapid heart
 That with difficulty I suffer from it;
 For love rises in my brain,
 Since the heart has the right, I may speak
 To all—such desire in me comes—
 But Respect and Courtliness
 And the True-Love holds me from it.²⁶⁸

Here again, evidence of suffering is visible in the “rapid heart” of the lover and love rises in the brain (*cerval*). The lover experiences a yearning to tell everyone about this love, but the rules of courtliness forbid it, as we saw in Andreas Capellanus’ laws of love. In this stanza, Raimbaut d’Aurenga personifies Respect (*Temers*), Courtliness (*Cortesia*), and True-love (*Ben-Amors*), all of whom hold him back from declaring his love.

²⁶⁷ Pattison, *Life and Works*, 84.

²⁶⁸ Pattison, *Life and Works*, 167-168. My translation.

SYMPTOMS OF LOVESICKNESS

After providing a definition and theoretical explanation of lovesickness in the *Viaticum*, Constantine lists the symptoms. A description of the symptoms is one of the most common passages in medical treatises because it helps physicians diagnose the illness, thus Constantine's list is similar to the lists in Avicenna's *Canon* and elsewhere. These symptoms are also commonly found in love treatises like Andreas Capellanus' *De amore* and the troubadour song lyrics. Constantine restricts his list of symptoms to what is observable in the patient's eyes and the pulse. The eyes may appear hollow, show rapid movement, heavy eyelids, or a yellowish color, which come from heat caused by motion and follows sleeplessness. The pulse of the heart grows hard and does not dilate naturally or keep a proper beat.²⁶⁹

There is a common metaphor about the relationship between the eyes and the heart in the courtly love tradition, seen in both romances and lyric poetry. The God of Love—possibly Eros or Cupid—appears as an archer who shoots darts of love into the eye or the heart of the lover. At other times the wound comes directly from the beloved herself who impales and wounds the lover either from her beauty or from a glance which positions the lover and beloved eye-to-eye.

A passage from Sordello's song "Bel m'es ab motz leugiers a far" describes it as such:

Ab selh esguar m'intret en aisselh dia	With that look Love entered me in this way
Amors pels huelhs al cor d'aital semblan	Through the eyes to the heart, from such likeness
Que·l cor en trays e mes l'a son coman,	That the heart was removed and put at her command,
Si qu'ab lieys es, on qu'ieu an ni estia.	So it is with her, wherever I go or stay. ²⁷⁰

Another example of the connection between the eyes and heart from troubadour song is Bernart de Ventadorn's "Non es meravilla seu chant." These two lines address the symptoms of being ill from lovesickness with crying eyes and a sighing heart.

²⁶⁹ Wack, *Lovesickness*, 189.

²⁷⁰ Wilhelm, *The Poetry of Sordello*, 14-15. My translation.

Del cor sospir e dels olhs plor, From my heart I sigh and from my eyes I cry,
 Car tan l'am eu, per que i ai dan. Since I love her so much, on account of her I am ill.²⁷¹

A third example, “Pro ai del chan essenhadors” by Jaufre Rudel, shows the eyes weeping and the ramifications of lovesickness on the heart. In this case, Jaufre Rudel writes of a pain that comes from hearing and imagining where the beloved is. The *vida* of Jaufre Rudel tells the famous story of how he fell in love with the Countess of Tripoli based on hearing accounts of her beauty and worthiness. In this case, audition, rather than vision, impacts his imagination of and obsession with the beloved. The lyrics of this song establish the parallel roles of vision and audition in causing lovesickness. Jaufre goes as far as to suggest that his sighing and weeping could be cured by one kiss, and the one kiss is enough to cure his heart and keep it healthy.

VII.	VII.
Per so m'en creis plus ma dolors,	Through this, my pain grows more in me
Car ieu au lieis en luec[s] aizit[z]	Since I hear her in agreeable places
Que tan no fauc sospirs e plors	For I do not sigh and weep so much
Que sol baizar per escarit[z]	That through one kiss alone
Lo cor no • m tengues san e sau	The heart would not remain healthy and cured. ²⁷²

More detailed observations of the symptoms of lovesickness come from Gerard of Berry's commentary, where he discusses whether symptoms derive from the soul or the body. Depression and anxiety come from the soul. The numerous symptoms which Gerard says come from the body resemble Constantine's initial list of symptoms. The eyes may be sunken and dry unless the patient is actively weeping. The pulse is disordered, being particularly “frequent and swift” if the patient remembers or thinks of something similar to the beloved object.²⁷³ These conditions of the pulse are reminiscent of Galen's case study and the Hippocrates myth.

²⁷¹ Nichols, *The Songs of Bernart de Ventadorn*, 132. My translation.

²⁷² George Wolf and Roy Rosenstein, *The Poetry of Cercamon and Jaufre Rudel* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1983), 129. My translation.

²⁷³ Wack, *Lovesickness*, 201.

Conversely, in addition to weeping, the patient may laugh easily, or exhibit rapid changes in behavior from tears to laughter. Under these circumstances, Gerard mentions music for the first time and specifically describes love songs. Gerard writes, “He weeps when he hears love songs and especially if mention is made of rejection and separation of beloved objects.”²⁷⁴

The themes of rejection and separation are common in troubadour song. Separation from the beloved has its own aesthetic category in the courtly love tradition known as *amor d'lonh* or “love from afar.” This can refer to literal physical distance or metaphoric situations surrounding unrequited or secret love. Three troubadours address the phenomenon of emotional and mental instability that lovesickness causes, which relates to Gerard of Berry’s description involving both tears and laughter. First, Giraut de Bornelh characterizes himself as someone who is mentally deranged in the song “Un sonet fatz malvatz e bo.” In the second stanza, Guiraut claims that “I am sick even though there has never been a healthier man” (*Mal ai, q’anc hom plus sans no fo*).²⁷⁵ This theme is continued in stanza eight:

No sai de que m’ai faich chansso Ni cum, s’autre no m’o despo; Car tant fols asabers m’ave, Re non conosc que m’aperte. Cella m’a faich outracuiar Que no •m vol amic apellar!	I do not know what I have made my song about nor how, unless another explains it to me; Since I have such foolish knowledge with me, I don’t recognize anything that belongs to me. This matter has made me lose my mind She who does not wish to call me her lover!
Ella •m pot e mon sen tornar Si •m deignava tener en car.	She can return me to my senses, If she judged me worthy to hold in esteem. ²⁷⁶

A second song, “Atressi com lo leos” by Rigaut de Berbezilh, mentions laughter and jokes juxtaposed with tears and troubled thoughts. Moreover, he refers to a direct impact on the

²⁷⁴ Wack, *Lovesickness*, 201.

²⁷⁵ Sharman, *The Cançons*, 369.

²⁷⁶ Sharman, *The Cançons*, 369-372.

body—of gaining or losing weight because of this mental and emotional stress. In the *tornada*, the poet goes so far to say that Love is killing him on account of his beloved.

Marrit mi ten e ioios,
soven chan, soven m'irais,
soven magris et engrais,
c'aissi s'es en mi partida
Amors ioios' e marida
c'ab rire et ab iogar,
ab consir et ab pensar,
mostra sas ricas valors
a mi entre.ls ris e.ls plors.

...Mais per vos m'auci Amors.

I consider myself troubled and joyful,
often I sing, often I am grieved,
often I become thin or grow fat,
so it is if she is separated from me.
Love joys and suffering
from which to laugh and from to joke,
from to worry and to think,
I show her fine health/strength, for me
between laughter and tears.

...But because of you Love kills me.²⁷⁷

Third, Jaufré Rudel's song "No sap chanter qui so non di" describes the physical consequences of love and not eating. Love ravages his flesh, weakens him, and makes him grow thin.

III.
Colps de joi me fer que m'ausi,
E ponha d'amor que m'sotra
La carn, don lo cors magrira;
Et anc mais tan greu no m'feri
Ni per nuill colp tan no langui
Quar no cove ni no s'esca.

III.
A stroke of joy strikes and kills me,
As does a prick of love which ravages
My flesh, and makes me grow thin;
And never have I been so stricken
Or weakened by any blow,
For it is not right and does not happen.²⁷⁸

Andreas Capellanus echoes these symptoms of the impact of lovesickness on the appetite and sleep in *De amore*. The twenty-third Law of Love states: "He whom the thought of love vexes eats and sleeps very little."²⁷⁹ In a similar way that Rigaut de Berbezilh describes the confusion of weight loss, Guilhem de Peiteu's song "Farai un vers de dreit nien" exhibits the pain and confusion of sleeplessness.

²⁷⁷ Camille Chabaneau and Joseph Anglade, *Les chansons du troubadour Rigaut de Barbezieux*, (Montpellier: Société des Langues Romanes, 1919), 58.

²⁷⁸ Wolf and Rosenstein, *The Poetry of Cercamon*, 135.

²⁷⁹ Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*, 185.

II.
 No sai cora.m fui endormitz,
 Ni cora.m veill s'om no m'o ditz;
 Per pauc no m'es lo cor partitz
 D'un dol corau;
 E no m'o pretz una fromitz,
 Per saint Marsau!

V.
 Malautz soi e cre mi morir,
 E re no sai mas quan n'aug dir;
 Metge querrai al mieu albir,
 E no.m sai tau;
 Bos metges er si.m pot guerir,
 Mas non si amau.

II.
 I do not know when I am asleep,
 Nor when I am awake, if one does not tell me this;
 I almost had my heart split
 From a heartfelt pain;
 But that is not worth an ant to me,
 By St. Martial!

V.
 I am sick and I am afraid to die,
 But I don't know anything except when I hear it
 spoken; I will seek a doctor to my liking,
 But I do not know any;
 He will be a good doctor if he can heal me,
 But not if I get worse.²⁸⁰

The opposites compared in Guilhem de Peiteu's riddle relate to Bona Fortuna's addition to this list of symptoms in the *Tractus super viaticum*, namely, insomnia. Bona Fortuna separates the symptoms of lovesickness into two categories: signs that come from behavior or from the body. His list of symptoms overlaps with all of Gerard's with the one important addition of insomnia. Bona Fortuna describes insomnia as sleep that is light. In terms of behavior, Bona Fortuna writes that a patient will seek solitude and weep or sing when they are alone. Even when the patient is asleep these behaviors of weeping or singing may occur.²⁸¹

Other songs employ the theme of insomnia; Giraut Riquier's song "Ab plazen/pessamen" consists of three verses describing insomnia from lovesickness. Here pleasant thoughts of love and desire torment the poet by keeping him awake. Tossing and turning all night causes harm to the body and multiplies his suffering with obsessive thoughts and a dark, gloomy heart.

²⁸⁰ Gerald A. Bond, ed., *The Poetry of William VII, Count of Poitiers, IX Duke of Aquitaine* (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1982), 14. My translation.

²⁸¹ Wack, *Lovesickness*, 257.

I.
Ab plazen pessamen amors
Ai cozen mal talen cossiros,
Tant quell ser no puesc durmir,
Ans torney e vüelf e vir
E dezir vezer l'alba.

II.
Per trebalh que m'assalh ser e jorn,
Joys me falh, don nualh, ab cor morn,
El ser dobla·m mo martir,
Que'en elh tenc tot mon albir,
E dezir vezer l'alba.

III.
Mals saber es, lonc sers pervuelhar
Ses plazers, e jasers ses pauzar
E ben amars ses jauzir;
Per quell ser velhan sospir,
E dezir vezer l'alba.

I.
With pleasant thoughts of love
I have, causes pain, harmful desires worry me,
So much that I cannot sleep at night,
Rather I turn and toss and turn aside
And I long for the dawn to come.

II.
Through torment that attacks me night and day,
Joy fails me, from whence laziness, with a
gloomy heart, doubles my suffering at night,
So that it takes all my thoughts,
And I long for the dawn to come.

III.
It is harmful to know longing all night long,
Without pleasure, and to lie down without rest
And to love well without joy;
Throughout the night to stay awake to sigh,
And I long for the dawn to come.²⁸²

The example of physical symptoms of lovesickness found in troubadour songs is fever, as mentioned in Cercamon's "Qant la douch'aura s'amarcis." The fever in Cercamon's song involves shaking, shivering, and trembling, in addition to insomnia.

Totz tressaill e bram e fremis
Per s'amor, dormen e veillan...

I shake, shiver, and tremble
For her love, asleep and awake...²⁸³

SHOULD A LOVER HIDE SUFFERING FROM THE BELOVED?

One reason lovesickness takes such a hold of the lover in troubadour songs is the need for secrecy. The necessity of keeping love a secret comes partly from an initial fear of rejection, but also from social constraints that promote the arrangement of marriages for wealth and status of the family rather emotional consideration or inclinations. In his short list of the twelve "chief

²⁸² C.A.F. Mahn, *Die werke der troubadours, in provenzalischer sprache* (Berlin: Duemmlers Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1853), 95. My translation.

²⁸³ Wolf and Rosenstein, *The Poetry of Cercamon*, 40-41.

rules of love,” Andreas Capellanus legislates the importance of secrecy from both the point of view of the lovers and from the perspective of any friends or servants who are privy to their love.

VI. Thou shalt not have many know of thy love affair.
X. Thou shalt not be a revealer of love affairs.²⁸⁴

The reason Andreas gives for not revealing love affairs is that love “rarely endures” when made public.²⁸⁵ However, the debate over the practicality of secrecy in courtly love was far from settled and this topic is taken up in the *tenso* between Raimbaut de Vaqueiras and Conon de Béthune. Conon argues that a lover should speak of his suffering to his beloved, for that is the best way to be cured.

Certes, Raimbaut, cum q’eu faza aillors, Ja ma domna mon mal non celarai, Car hom pot trop tart qerir lo secors, E que me val socors pos mort serai? Fols es qui cela al mege son malage Qe.l n’es plus greus e plus greu ensoage, Anz lo dei hom si per tems descobrir, Si sa dame vol, puosc’ades garir.	Certainly, Raimbaut, however I act with others, I will never hide my illness from my lady, Since a man can ask too late for help, But what value is help, if I am dead already? He is a fool who hides from the doctor his illness Which is then more painful and difficult to cure, Rather, a man ought to reveal it in time, If his lady wishes, he can be cured immediately. ²⁸⁶
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Galen’s case study of the lovesick woman proves Conon’s point. By remaining silent and not telling a doctor about the cause of her distress, the lady was condemning herself to her illness.

Peire Raimon de Tolosa provides another lyrical example of a troubadour who promotes honesty about lovesickness over secrecy. In his song “Pos lo prims verjans brotona,” Peire seeks a remedy for his illness in the forgiveness and pity of his lady.

²⁸⁴ Andreas Cappellanus, *De Amore*, 81-82.

²⁸⁵ Andreas Cappellanus, *De Amore*, 185.

²⁸⁶ Harvey and Paterson, *Troubadour Tensos*, 1090-1091. My translation.

Si ma domna no'm perdona,
Grieu viurai mais ses corduelh,
E vueilh q'om viu me repona,
Qar anc li mostriei ergueilh;
Mas dretz es qi merce crida
Que trueb de son mal mescina.

If my lady does not forgive me,
I will live with grief but without my heart
And I wish that someone would bury me alive,
since I never showed her pride;
Rather, it is just that he who cries for mercy
should find a remedy for his illness.²⁸⁷

CURES FOR LOVESICKNESS

The remedies for lovesickness found in medical treatises cover a wide range of what we would today consider healthy lifestyle recommendations for physical, mental, and emotional wellness such as diet, exercise, rest, and entertainment. In the *Viaticum*, Constantine mentions several social activities designed “to help erotic lovers by lifting thoughts and spirits.”²⁸⁸ First, Constantine recommends temperate and fragrant wine as part of the diet, and quotes Rufus of Ephesus who prescribes temperate baths along with wine. Constantine continues to illustrate the efficacy of this treatment by stating that often people are inspired to sing when they drink wine while bathing. Furthermore, Constantine claims certain philosophers demonstrate this when they “say that sound is like the spirit and wine like the body, each of which is aided by each other.”²⁸⁹ In addition to the authority of Rufus and unnamed philosophers, Constantine adds the mythical voice of Orpheus. When emperors invited Orpheus to a banquet, he was able to use music to move the spirit in positive directions: “As I wish I am able to bend their spirits from anger to mildness, from sadness to joy, from avarice to liberty, from fear to boldness.” Constantine continues, “This is the regulation of music and wine for the health of the spirit.”²⁹⁰ However,

²⁸⁷ Joseph Anglade, “Poesie du troubadour Peire Raimon de Toulouse: Texte et traduction,” *Annales du Midi* (1920): 268. My translation.

²⁸⁸ Wack, *Lovesickness*, 191.

²⁸⁹ Wack, *Lovesickness*, 191.

²⁹⁰ Wack, *Lovesickness*, 191.

Constantine issues one caveat pertaining to wine. He estimates that wine is a perfect cure, only if your companions are outstanding in beauty, wisdom, or morals.

For exercise, Constantine prescribes walking in bright sweet-smelling gardens with fruit and clear running water. Gardens or clean bright rooms are good for socializing with friends especially when combined with aromatherapy (roses, myrtle, willow, basil, and similar things). Constantine further recommends conversation with dear friends and a curiously vague statement of amusing yourself with beautiful men and women. The last two very specific remedies suggest that this “amusement” simply means entertainment. One is listening to different types of music, “*audire genera musicorum*,” and the other involves the recitation of poetry, “*uersus recitacio*.” Both cures closely resemble the practice of the troubadours inventing and singing songs. Jaufre Rudel’s song “Qan lo rius de la fontana” depicts several of these remedies, starting with a clear running fountain near sweet-smelling sweetbriar rose. In the stanza quoted above, Jaufre sings of the wish to spend time in a garden or room with desirable company (*desirada comapaigna*).

Gerard of Berry’s process of curing lovesickness is similar to Constantine’s, but he begins with purging excess humors. After this process he prescribes lengthy sleep, humectation (preserving moisture), good nourishment, and freshwater baths. Where Constantine recommends activities that lift the spirit, Gerard of Berry frames these as methods of distracting the lovesick from their obsessive thoughts of the beloved. Gerard believes gossipy old women are useful in this regard, because they are good at disparaging other people. Apparently, Gerard thinks that an old woman will be able to list all the bad qualities of the beloved, thus removing them from the pedestal of love’s blinders. Gerard’s second suggestion for distracting the lovesick man is to repeatedly have sex with many different women. As an aside, he also mentions hunting and games as helpful activities.

Gerard brings up music again at the very end of his commentary. Earlier, he addresses the act of weeping at the sound of love songs as a symptom of love sickness. In contrast, his closing remarks are about instrumental music and why instruments are useful in music therapy. Gerard compares instrumental music to the soul. Since music moves the soul and the soul moves the body, Gerard reasons that instrumental music is a useful remedy for physical illness.

The sound of musical instruments is compared to the soul, for the soul delights most greatly in them, whence the delight is transferred to the body, for it is closely allied to the body. Because, therefore, the body suffers in love as well as the soul, he thus teaches a common remedy for both.²⁹¹

Bona Fortuna also recommends, for particular people, that “songs and the sounds of musical instruments are beneficial” for curing lovesickness.

CAN A DOCTOR CURE LOVESICKNESS?

Whether doctors are necessary for healing lovesickness, however, is a question that numerous troubadour songs answer with a resounding “no.” Jaufre Rudel simply turns to the power of love for a cure, rather than a wise or learned doctor (*metge sapien*) in “Pro ai del chan essenhadors.”

Bona es l'amors, e molt per vau,
E d'aquest mal mi pot guerir
Ses gart de metge sapien.

Love is good and is very powerful,
And from this illness, it can cure me
Without the help of a learned doctor.²⁹²

Marcabru also credits love with the ability to cure lovesickness in the song, “L'iverns vai e'l temps s'aizina.” In this instance, the personification of love, *Bon Amor*, uses medicine like a doctor would.

Bon' Amor porta meizina
Per guerir son compaignio

Good Love carries medicine
In order to cure his companion.²⁹³

²⁹¹ Wack, *Lovesickness*, 205.

²⁹² Wolf and Rosenstein, *The Poetry of Cercamon*, 129.

²⁹³ Simon Gaunt et al., *Marcabru* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, Limited, 2000), 392.

Four troubadour songs specify the actions of the beloved, rather than love in general, as having the capability to cure lovesickness. For example, Cercamon, Peire Bremon Ricas Novas, Guilhem de Peitieu, and Sordel each turn to the beloved to heal them. In “Qant la douch’aura s’amarcis,” Cercamon expresses confusion about his illness, but he is confident that the mercy of the beloved will cure him even though he cannot predict when or if he will receive her mercy.

No muor ne viu e no guaris, E mal non sen e si l’hai gran, Qar de s’amor no soi devis; No sai si ja l’haurai ni qan; Q’en leis es tota la merces Qe·m pod sorzer o deschazer.	I do not die nor live or recover, And I do not feel pain, and yet it is great, For I cannot prophesy about her love. I do not know if indeed I will have it nor when; For all mercy is in her Which can raise me up or cast me down. ²⁹⁴
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In the song “Iratz chant e chantant m’irais,” Peire Bremon Ricas Novas describes his sickness as a branch that grows out of his body and has him bound and captured. Peire doubts that his suffering will stop but knows his beloved can cure him.

Ges non sapcha lo ram que·m nais Del mal que m’a lassat e pres! Non cug la dolor ges m’apays, Mas il m’en pot far metzina.	People may not know the branch that grows out of me Of illness which has bound and captured me! I do not think my suffering will be well satisfied, But she can cure me. ²⁹⁵
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Guilhem de Peitieu points to the beloved as the healer but also the cause of death and loss depending on how she feels toward her suitor in the song “Mout jauzens mi prenc en amar.” Her anger can cause loss of beauty and nobility, madness, and even death, while her joy makes the sick man healthy.

²⁹⁴ Wolf and Rosenstein, *The Poetry of Cercamon*, 42-43.

²⁹⁵ Paolo Di Luca, *Le Poesie del Trovatore Peire Bremon Ricas Novas: Edizione Critica* (Napoli: University of Naples, 2007), 108. My translation.

V.
 Per son joy pot malautz sanar,
 E per sa ira sas morir
 E savis hom enfolezir
 E belhs hom sa beutat mudar
 E·l plus cortes vilaneiar,
 E·l totz vilas encortezir.

V.
 On account of her joy, the sick can become healthy,
 And through her wrath the healthy die,
 And a wise man goes mad,
 And a handsome man loses his beauty,
 And the courteous becomes vulgar,
 And the coarse become knightly.²⁹⁶

Sordel agrees that the beloved can cure lovesickness in “Si co·l malaus qe no se sap gardar,” and he presents an interesting perspective on the relapse of the illness. A certain amount of responsibility falls on the shoulders of the sick person, who must take of care of themselves after the initial healing so that they do not become sick again. The beauty of the beloved is both the initial cause of lovesickness and the ultimate cure.

Si co·l malaus qe no se sap gardar
 Qan es garitz, per qe·l mals lo repren
 E·l fai trop peig en son recalivar
 Qe non a faich, aisi m'es pres e·m pren
 Del mal d'amor dun sui recalivatz;
 Qar no·m gardei qan eu n'era escapatz,
 Ar ai tal mal dun jamais non garai
 Si no·m garis la bella per cui l'ai.

Just as the sick who does not know to guard himself when he is cured, so that the illness returns, and makes him much worse in his infection, than it had not done [before], so she has taken and imprisoned me from the sickness of love by which I have relapsed; Since I did not guard myself when I had escaped, now I am so sick that I will never be cured, if I am not cured by the beauty through whom I received it.²⁹⁷

The last example of the beloved curing lovesickness is Arnaut Daniel's “Ans que cim reston de branchas.” Arnaut describes her “charming medicine” as kissing and embracing, which is similar to the remedy prescribed by some medical treatises for the excess of humors, that is, sex.

M'en sap far mezina coigna,
 Baisan, tenen; e·l cors, si tot si vola,
 No·is part de lieis, qe·l capdella e·l governa.
 Cors, on qu'ieu an, de lieis no·t loinz ni·t
 sebres!

She knows how to make me a charming medicine, to kiss, to hold; and my heart, even if it flies, it does not leave her who guides and rules it. Heart, wherever I go, do not depart nor be separated from her!²⁹⁸

²⁹⁶ Bond, *The Poetry of William VII*, 32. My translation.

²⁹⁷ James J. Wilhelm, *The Poetry of Sordel*, 38-41. My translation.

²⁹⁸ Wilhelm, *The Poetry of Arnaut Daniel*, 66. My translation.

THE PERSPECTIVE OF WOMEN

The degree to which women agreed to play the role of physician or medicine is difficult to discern because of the lack of surviving evidence of women's voices. There are approximately eighteen named women troubadours (*trobairitz*) and likely several more anonymous women within this repertory. While these women compose in the style of *fin'amor*, their perspectives are unique to their individual voices and often counter the male perspective found in the rest of the troubadour repertory. For example, in a *tenso* with Elias Cairel, Lady Isabella (born c. 1180) calls him out for being a pretender: "like a man who says he's sick when he hasn't got the slightest pain (*com hom qui's feign de dol aver/de so don't el non sent dolor*)."²⁹⁹ Another perspective on the efficacy of music to balance the emotions, is Clara d'Anduza's song "En greu et en greu pessamen." Although she does not specifically mention illness and medicine, Clara d'Anduza does describe the suffering from distant love and unfulfilled desire.

Amics, tan ai d'ira e de feunia	Friend, I'm so angry and resentful
Quar no vos vey, que quan ieu cug chantar,	From not seeing you that when I try to sing
Planh e sospir, per qu'ieu non puesc so far	I weep and sigh; and I can't make music
Ab mas coblas que'l cors complir volria.	With the strophes that my heart is willing to supply. ³⁰⁰

Like Bernart de Ventadorn and Jaufre Rudel, Clara's weeping and sighing interferes with her ability to sing, but she credits her anger and resentment at being separated from her beloved rather than lovesickness perse. Her heart wishes to compose stanzas/songs (*coblas*), but she encounters the difficulty of making them sound (*son*) through music and singing.

²⁹⁹ The incipit for this well-known *tenso* is: "N'Elias Cairel, de l'amor". Meg Bogin, *The Women Troubadours* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1980), 113. Bogin's translation.

³⁰⁰ Bogin, *The Women Troubadours*, 130-131. Bogin's translation.

CONCLUSION

There are some discrepancies between the remedies prescribed by medieval physicians and practicing poet-musicians. The troubadours approach singing and composing songs as treatment for their symptoms, if not a complete cure for lovesickness. Singing is a way to remember the beloved and cope with the longing of love, but ultimately, they will not be healed until the beloved returns their love. Physicians, on the other hand, promote the use of music to distract the lovesick patient from obsessive thoughts about one single object of their desire. Comparative studies of different genres like medical texts, histories, and songs are significant for music history because they enrich our understanding of music as an embodied experience, which has practical implications for physical and emotional well-being. Scholarly inquiry into the use of music in ancient and medieval practice can inform music therapy today. Music therapy is a relatively new discipline that employs “clinical, evidence-based use of music interventions”³⁰¹ in a scientific approach to therapy. More interdisciplinary study is needed that can connect the modern scientific approach to music and medicine with practices from the distant past, and address questions about composers’ motivations for composing love songs, why love songs are so popular for both performers and audiences, and how music can make meaningful contributions to health more broadly.

³⁰¹ American Music Therapy Association, “About Music Therapy & AMTA,” American Music Therapy Association, Accessed March 11, 2024, <https://www.musictherapy.org/about/>.

CHAPTER 4: FIDDLING TROUBADOURS AND THE THREE ESTATES

Objects in the Middle Ages often imbued those who used them with a special power. Relics and medallions impacted spiritual and physical health; swords had transformative power as the skills of a smith were considered a magic; and musical instruments could alter the emotions and behavior of the listener. Each object or tool helped define the identity and social role of their user: a knight with a sword, a cleric with a book, and a musician with an instrument. Object Oriented Ontology is a philosophical approach from the twenty-first century, influenced by Heidegger, that seeks to dismantle the privileging of human existence above nonhuman objects. According to Heidegger, humans gain knowledge about objects within a web of relations he called “tool-being.” Graham Harman explains that tool-being has a quality of “readiness-to-hand,” the idea that humans can only know things through interaction with them.³⁰² Yet interacting with objects changes both the object and the human as seen in the way social roles were depicted in medieval images.

Scholars of visual studies such as Michael Baxandall, W. J. T. Mitchell, and Keith Moxey are also concerned with the ontological status of visual objects. Their theory of “presence effects” argues that visual objects exist independent of language, and the presence of the object is necessary for both an experience of the image and the description of it.³⁰³ The “presence effects” of musical iconography in medieval manuscripts necessitates approaching manuscripts, like the troubadour *chansonniers*, as musical objects. Furthermore, the visual depiction of musical instruments implies their various roles in society.

³⁰² Harman, *Tool-Being*, 31.

³⁰³ Moxey, *Visual Time*, 54.

One particular musical instrument, a medieval fiddle called the *vielle* in modern scholarship, emerges as the dominant instrument in the twelfth and thirteenth century, traversing multiple social strata. I will argue that the use of instruments in troubadour song contributed to the social capital of the *vielle*. The goal of this chapter is to understand the extent to which the *vielle* participated in constructing social structures of music-making as well as the “music itself” in thirteenth century Europe.

Traditionally, scholarship in the field of organology attempts to understand medieval musical instruments through two methods: studying etymology and establishing typologies. Pierre Bec provides an example of the first methodology, delving into uses of the words *vielle*, *violes*, fiddle, and other related terms.³⁰⁴ Typologies are created through classifying the component features of a given instrument and tracing the development or changes of these features chronologically and geographically. Examples include Howard Mayer Brown’s study of the shape of bridges of the Italian trecento fiddle,³⁰⁵ Mary Remnant’s examination of bowed chordophones of England,³⁰⁶ and Linda Marie Zaerr’s discussion of the off-board string on the 5-string medieval fiddle. Studies in New Organology go further to understand the use of an instrument within a socio-historical context and possibly a specific repertory.³⁰⁷ Timothy McGee explains the tuning, technique, and repertory of the medieval fiddle, but stops short of looking at any extant musical notation.³⁰⁸ In an article that combines the history of science with

³⁰⁴ Pierre Bec, *Vièles ou violes? Variations philologiques et musicales autour des instruments à archet du Moyen Age* (XI-XV siècle), (Paris: Klincksieck, 1992).

³⁰⁵ Howard Mayer Brown, “The Trecento Fiddle and its Bridges,” *Early Music* 17 (1989): 308-29.

³⁰⁶ Mary Remnant, *English Bowed Instruments from Anglo-Saxon to Tudor Times* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1986). While Remnant’s focus is on England, she also discusses instruments from Scotland and Wales.

³⁰⁷ Linda Marie Zaerr, “The Off-Board String on the Medieval Fiddle,” *Performance Practice Review* 19/1 (2014): 2-26.

³⁰⁸ Timothy J. McGee, “The Medieval Fiddle: Tuning, Technique, and Repertory,” In *Instruments, Ensembles, and Repertory 1300-1600: Essays in Honour of Keith Polk*, eds. Timothy McGee and Stewart Carter, 31-56 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

Renaissance musical instruments, Emily Dolan and John Tresch propose a new taxonomy for instruments that reworks Foucault's framing of ethics as "the self's relation to the self," emphasizing the aestheticization of existence. The New Organology of Dolan and Tresch has four dimensions: material disposition, mode of mediation, map of mediations, and telos. The "material disposition" of the instrument includes the materials, parts, and nature of configuration that constitutes that instrument. The "mode of mediation" considers whether the action of the instrument is autonomous or passive, modifying or transparent, hidden or visible. A "map of mediations" depicts the complex joining together of distinct elements like sound, air, composers, performers, audience, etc. "Telos" refers to the purpose or end of an instrument's activity including the social contexts and uses of the instrument; the social, economic, and political relations they express, reinforce, or modify.³⁰⁹

The perennial difficulty of conducting research on medieval musical instruments hinges on the dearth of extant information about individual instrumentalists and the music they made. Among the troubadours, however, we find names of musicians and a handful of surviving melodies which furnish a glimpse of the impact instruments had during this period. At certain times throughout history, instrumentalists had little social standing as they were often associated with undesirable echelons of society. My argument suggests that the use of instruments by the troubadours, in the context of *fin'amor* (courtly love), instigated a shift in attitudes towards instrumentalists in this part of the world. First, I will address the feudal social-structures and the evidence for the low status of instrumentalists. Next, I will look at musical instruments connected to the troubadours, either as illustrations in *chansonniers* or as mentioned in song

³⁰⁹ John Tresch and Emily I. Dolan, "Toward a New Organology: Instruments of Music and Science," *Osiris* 28 (2013): 278-298.

lyrics. Last, I will connect these musical instruments to specific troubadours who were remembered for playing them and hypothesize how the instruments may have influenced the melodies they composed and performed.

INSTRUMENTALISTS AND THE THREE ESTATES

The social construct known as the three estates is a generative place to begin because it describes medieval feudalism according to the structures that separated people by their skills and contributions to society. The three estates were made up of *oratores* (those who pray), *bellatores* (those who fight), and *laboratores* (those who work). Individual people and their pastimes are further categorized by social values such as “worth” or “virtue” which, along with reputation, are important themes embedded in troubadour song. For example, the song “M’entencion ai tot’ en un vers mesa,” by a troubadour named Peirol, has the line: “And a vers, he who knows well how to make it, must be of greater worth wherefore I now wish to display my skill in this form (*e vers, qui ben faire.l sabia, es ben semblan que degues mais valer, per qu’ieu hi vuoill demonstrar mon saber*).”³¹⁰

One of the earliest testaments of the three estates comes from King Alfred’s tenth century Anglo-Saxon translation of Boethius’ *Consolation of Philosophy*. Alfred adds his own commentary on the duties of a king who, in order to reign successfully, must “have his land well-peopled; he must have prayer-men, and army-men, and workmen (*gebedmen, fyrdmen, weorcmen*). You know that without these tools no king can exhibit his craft.”³¹¹ Here the feudal hierarchy divides the three groups by their contributions to society and places the king at the top,

³¹⁰ S.C. Aston, *Peirol: Troubadour of Auvergne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 113-115. My translation.

³¹¹ Giles Constable, “The Orders of Society,” in *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 279.

but also emphasizes the extent to which the king is reliant on the people. He cannot practice his “craft” without these three groups.

Other versions of these social divisions differ slightly in how they name the categories and where they draw the borders between them, but medieval thinkers consistently choose tripartite groupings. For example, John of Garland writes about “three kinds of characters and three kinds of men” in *Parisiana Poetria* (c. 1218-1249). He divides society into peasants, city-dwellers, and courtiers—those who dwell at courts (both religious and secular).³¹² Interestingly, John links his social stratification to the triple poetic style of Virgil in this treatise, which discusses both poetry and music. Virgil’s three main poetic works are the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*, which according to Victor Pöschl, concerns three social categories: shepherds, farmers, and warriors.³¹³ John states that he is writing *Parisiana Poetria* for the purpose of attracting more students to attend the University of Paris. This suggests that he believes poetry and music would be popular subjects for young men to study, and that the application of this musical-linguistic field is important for all three levels of society. Of the three topics in this treatise, two are language-based: prose (letter writing) and quantitative verse. John classifies the third topic, “rhymed syllabic verse,” as a branch of the art of music, using Boethius’ *De institutione musica* as his foundational source for music theory.

In addition to the three-part musical cosmology, Boethius’ musical treatise also contains a tripartite definition of a musician that establishes a kind of social hierarchy. The lowest class of musician is the instrumentalist who may have the skill of a master-craftsmen but lacks sufficient understanding of their craft.

³¹² Traugott Lawler, trans., *The Parisiana Poetria of John of Garland* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974), 11.

³¹³ Viktor Pöschl, “The Poetic Achievement of Virgil,” *The Classical Journal* 56, no. 7 (1961): 290–99.

Those of the class which is dependent upon instruments and who spend their entire effort there—such as kitharists and those who prove their skill on the organ and other musical instruments—are excluded from comprehension of musical knowledge, since, as was said, they act as slaves. None of them makes use of reason; rather, they are totally lacking in thought.³¹⁴

The second class of musician is the poet-composer, like the type of aspiring student for whom John of Garland wrote *Parisiana Poetria*. This second class can also be applied to the troubadours whose name derives from the verb *trobar* (to invent, find, discover), because they invented both words and melodies of their songs. Boethius' third category is the "true musician," a philosopher who through reason and logic judges good music from the bad. The troubadour repertory also elevates the role of the judge, often at the end of a song where the poet-composer asks a patron to judge the quality of the song as in the case of the debate song between Uc de la Bacalaria and Bertran de Saint Felitz.

Bertrans, tos temps conosc qe duraria	Bertran, I know that it could last forever,
Nostra tensons, per q'eu voill qe.l plaig sia	Our debate, therefore, I desire that the decision
E ma domna Na Tiborc, on estan	Be placed before my lady Tiborc, in whom
Prez e valors qant l'autre van baissan.	Worth and valor dwell when others descend. ³¹⁵

One particular image in the illuminated manuscript Pluteo 29.I (c. 1245-1255) conveys the ubiquity of Boethius' musical cosmology and definition of the true musician in the thirteenth century (see Figure 6).³¹⁶ MS Pluteo 29.I is a collection of liturgical music in the style of Notre Dame de Paris whose frontispiece illumination depicts the harmony of the spheres and reflects the prevailing marginalization of instrumentalists.

This image consists of six panels with the left-hand column displaying three portraits of the goddess, Lady Musica, gesturing to the images in the right-hand column (Figure 6).

³¹⁴ Boethius, *Fundamentals of Musc*, 51.

³¹⁵ Harvey and Paterson, *Troubadour Tensos*, 1244-1245. My translation.

³¹⁶ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Pluteo 29.I



FIGURE 6: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Pluteo 29.1 fol. 1v
The image of Lady Musica and Boethius' tripartite division of music,
Reproduced by permission, any further reproduction by any means is prohibited.

At the top of the page, *musica mundana* is represented by a circular universe encompassing the four elements (earth, air, fire, water). The middle panel represents *musica humana* as Lady Musica points toward four people who represent Galen's four temperaments: choleric, melancholic, phlegmatic, and sanguine. The four men are holding hands and pointing toes in a gesture that often indicates dancing and visually suggests the sound of music. The bottom panel, *musica instrumentalis*, contains several musical instruments stacked on the floor and hanging on the walls, but the *vielle* is featured as the only instrument being played by a musician. Rather than pointing to the instrumentalist in a gesture of approval like the above panels, Lady Musica

raises the index finger of her right-hand in admonishment of the fiddler.³¹⁷ Tilman Seebass suggests this interpretation of Lady Musica's gesture toward the instrumentalist because the fiddle is being actively played in a storeroom of several different musical instruments. According to Seebass, the fiddler represents secular music which "needs to be kept in check" rather than a morally neutral depiction of instruments on their own.³¹⁸

The use of this illumination as the opening image for a book of sacred music implies a deeply ingrained prejudice towards musical instruments and their performers. Further evidence of this prejudice can be seen in medieval sermons that attempt to classify different types of performers and their varying probability of salvation.

The terminology pertaining to performers is ambiguous and Christopher Page's research shows how medieval sermons can be useful in trying to discern the nature of medieval performative arts.³¹⁹ Some of these terms discussed by Page include *mimus* (mime), *histriones* (performer, actor, mime), and *ioculatores* (joker, jester). Today, scholars often translate these words into the single term "minstrel," which comes from the Old French *menestral* and the Latin word for servant (*ministerialis*). This strategy is useful for conveying the social status of performers to a degree but loses the nuance of the varied kinds of performances and specialization. Professional clergy, like Peter the Chanter and Thomas Chobham, attempted to differentiate between performers so as not to condemn them all indiscriminately.

Peter the Chanter became the cantor at Notre Dame de Paris in 1183 and preached against the payment of performers, because they tempt people into sin through the "wantonness and

³¹⁷ Piero Wiess and Richard Taruskin, eds., *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents* (Belmont, CA: Thomas/Schirmer, 2008), 30-31.

³¹⁸ Tilman Seebass, "Lady Music and Her 'Proteges' from Musical Allegory to Musicians' Portraits," *Musica Disciplina* 42 (1988): 29.

³¹⁹ See Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons LTD, 1989).

obscurity of their bodies, deforming the image of God.”³²⁰ He does, however, allow performers to receive alms as paupers. Peter writes: “I believe that anyone who gives to *histriones* because they are *histriones*, and not because they are men, sacrifice to demons.”³²¹ Therefore, it was more socially and spiritually acceptable, in the eyes of the Church, to be a professional beggar than a professional performer. Peter’s reasoning here seems to be that, as humans, beggars are created “in the image of God”—thus deserving of charity—while performers are analogous to demons when they use their bodies in obscene ways causing the audience to sin.

Not all performers receive this level of condemnation from Peter. He makes an exception for instrumentalists who provide important services to the Church and for society at large. In a list of different skilled laborers, such as farmers and weavers, Peter includes instrumentalists. He writes, “Players of musical instruments are also necessary so that boredom and depression can be relieved by them and so that devotion, not wantonness, may be inspired by them.”³²²

Thomas Chobham, a student of Peter the Chanter, further categorizes different types of performers and their spiritual acceptability in a sermon circa 1215. The first two categories of performers are damnable: acrobats and contortionists whose performative gestures embody shamelessness, and those who perform gossip and lies at court.³²³ The third category encompasses singer-instrumentalists who may be acceptable to the Church, depending on the content of their songs and where they perform.

There is a third kind of minstrel using musical instruments to entertain people, but there are two varieties of these, some go to public drinking places and wanton gatherings so that they may sing wanton songs there to move people to lustfulness, and these are damnable just like the rest. There are other, however who are called *ioculatores*, who

³²⁰ Page, *The Owl*, 21.

³²¹ Page, *The Owl*, 19.

³²² Page, *The Owl*, 20.

³²³ Thomas Chobham gives further details of sinful performances, “Some [*histriones*] contort and distort their bodies with shameless jumps of shameless gestures, or in shamelessly denuding their body, or in putting on horrible garments or masks, and all such are damnable unless they relinquish their trades,” Page, *The Owl*, 21.

sing the deeds of princes and the lives of the saints and give people comfort either when they are ill or when they are troubled...³²⁴

For Thomas Chobham, the acceptable songs are morally uplifting histories and epics like the *chansons de geste*. These serve an important social function of treating sickness and relieving the stress of everyday life—a service closely associated with Old Testament figure of David. Before he became a king, David played the harp for King Saul when he was troubled in spirit. The instruments cited by Thomas as most appropriate for accompanying these songs are the *vielle* and the *cithara*.³²⁵

By the time the Parisian musical theorist, Johannes de Grocheo, wrote his treatise *De musica* (c. 1300), the value of this secular music had risen to the point that he completely breaks with the Boethian hierarchy of *musica mundana*, *humana*, and *instrumentalis*. He says that those who maintain these distinctions are merely blinding following Pythagoras and are “ignorant of nature and logic.”³²⁶ Johannes de Grocheo argues against trying to invent a universal system that can account for all music everywhere because, “The parts of music are many and diverse according to diverse uses, diverse idioms, or diverse languages in diverse cities or regions.”³²⁷ Instead, he restricts his classification to the place he knows best, the musical scene of Paris, where there are three types of music: *musica vulgata* (monophonic vernacular song), compound measured music (polyphony), and sacred music. This is the first time a Latin treatise addresses “popular” genres which overlap somewhat with the generic categories of the troubadour tradition (i.e. *cantus/cantilena*, *rond/rontundellus*, *ductia* and *stantipes*) and epic genres (*chanson de geste*). The following quote is the classification scheme of Johannes de Grocheo. As with MS

³²⁴ Page, *The Owl*, 23.

³²⁵ Page, *The Owl*, 24-26.

³²⁶ Weiss and Taruskin, *Music in the Western World*, 54.

³²⁷ Weiss and Taruskin, *Music in the Western World*, 54.

Pluteo 29.I, Johannes foregrounds the *vielle*; however, this time it has a position of highest esteem.

Instruments are divided by some people on the basis of how they generate artificial sound. They say that sound on instruments is made by the breath, as in trumpets, reed instruments, flutes, and organs; or by percussion, as in strings, drums, cymbals, and bells. Among these, stringed instruments occupy the chief place, i.e. the psaltry, harp, lute, and fiddle. And here, of all the instruments of the string family, so we feel, the fiddle occupies the main place, for a good performer on the fiddle uses normally every kind of *cantus* and *cantilena* and every musical form.³²⁸

The Parisians and Johannes de Grocheo elevate the *vielle* above other instruments because of its versatility. With the *vielle*, a good performer can play every kind of musical genre, especially to accompany songs (*cantus*). In the Old Occitan vernacular of the troubadours, the word for song (*canço*) came to signify a genre concerned with the topic of love. This was venerated as the highest ideal in the chivalric aesthetic of courtly love, also known as *fin'amor* (true love). While contemporary clergymen, like Peter the Chanter and Thomas Chobham, would not have approved of these love songs, they were extremely popular, as attested in the large collections that survive from France, Italy, and Spain. Each of these territories, as well as German-speaking lands, developed their own vernacular versions of courtly love-song. I contend that the use of the *vielle* in these songs, and the appearance of characters who play the fiddle in clergy-approved epic genres, contributed to a change in social attitudes toward the *vielle*.

Musical instruments are an ideal case-study for the theory of object-oriented ontology and, in particular, Karen Barad's concept of performative onto-episteme-ology.³²⁹ Barad writes that material phenomena are relations rather than things because of the ontological inseparability of the "observed object" and "agencies of observation." Discursive practices both enable and constrain what can be said and known, thus materialization is the relationship between discursive

³²⁸ Weiss and Taruskin, *Music in the Western World*, 55.

³²⁹ Barad, "Posthumanist Performativity," 801-831.

practices and material phenomenon: “matter is substance in its intra-active becoming—not a thing but a doing, a congealing of agency.”³³⁰ This idea may have been more easily embedded in medieval culture because the Latin word for thing/object is *res* which also means an action/event/circumstance.

Musical instruments, like the *vielle*, are silent material objects until placed in the hands of the performer. The sounds made by the *vielle* in the act of performance—the doing—creates a relationship between the performer and the instrument, without which music would not exist. The *vielle* shapes the music that can be played by it because of its materiality: the size, shape, number of strings, and tuning. All the features of the instrument’s construction limits and enables the kind of music it plays. The *vielle* acts upon the performers’ body, through the techniques that the performer uses, like how the instruments is held, and whether the performer sits, stands, or dances while playing. Jonathan De Souza developed a theory of musical embodiment which incorporates technology (i.e. instruments) and techniques which he calls “musical technics.”³³¹ Inspired by the German word *Technik* and the French *la technique*, which can be translated as either technique or technology, De Souza coined the term “musical technics” to show the complementary nature of these two concepts and to argue that musical knowledge is not merely constituted by bodies alone but also relies on “an interplay of techniques and technologies.”³³² He writes, “The acquisition of instrumental technique—a process of bodily ‘technicization’—affects the ways that players perceive, understand, and imagine music.”³³³

Today, violin technique is mostly standardized, but medieval manuscript illuminations show a wide variety of playing postures such as resting the instrument on the right shoulder

³³⁰ Barad, “Posthumanist Performativity,” 828.

³³¹ Jonathan De Souza, *Music at Hand: Instruments, Bodies, and Cognition* (New York: OUP., 2017), 2.

³³² De Souza, *Music at Hand*, 2.

³³³ De Souza, *Music at Hand*, 2.

across in front of the body instead of the left shoulder. The instrument also acts on the performer in a fundamentally ontological way; the performer takes the instrument's name: *viellist*. The "intra-active becoming" is further extended into the environment where the performance takes place and in the reception of the audience. The *viellist* is judged as morally acceptable according to the music that is played with the instrument and the performance venues where the instrument is played, whether tavern, court, or church.

A SURVEY OF INSTRUMENTS IN *CHASONNIERS*

The evidence that musical instruments were used in the performance of troubadour songs comes from three places: manuscript illuminations, song lyrics, and *vidas* of three troubadours. While some of the miniatures of troubadours playing instruments in the *chansonnières* are well-known and widely cited in scholarship, this dissertation contains the first survey of all 35 extant manuscripts conducted specifically for illustrations of musical instruments. I found seven *chansonnières* depicting musical instruments either in marginalia or in miniature portraits of the troubadours. Most of these instrumentalists are dressed as members of the *laboratores*, with two outliers wearing royal crowns. First, we will look at instruments depicted in the margins of the manuscripts, followed by a description of the miniatures of specific troubadours. Analysis of the musical iconography in troubadour songbooks provides visual evidence of the aural environment in which the troubadour repertory was produced and preserved.

Occasionally, marginalia can be connected to the textual content on the page, but often the images in the margins present whimsical characters, colors, and shapes that have no bearing to the written text. Manuscript N (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS M.819) contains this first type of marginalia with a drawing of a man climbing a tree and a man playing a 3-string

fiddle on the same page as a song by Folquet de Marseille, “Sal cor plages ben for’oïmais sazos.”³³⁴ Folquet’s song is about a man who is unlucky in love and wishes to leave it behind, but he fails to abandon love completely. Folquet uses the metaphor of a man climbing a tree to describe this indecisive position. He gets stuck halfway up and is too afraid to climb down or to climb higher to achieve his goal.

The image in the left-hand margin depicts a nervous-looking man climbing the tree in accordance with the metaphor. The other image in the lower right-hand corner of this page depicts a musician playing a *vielle*. None of the lyrics specify playing an instrument, but the fourth line in the fifth stanza references a professional minstrel or *joglar*.

A zo conosc q’eu sui nemps pauros	For this I think that I am too timid
car al comenzamen m’en desesper	Since at the beginning I despair of it [love]
en mas chanzons, puois voil merce qerer	In my songs, I can desire to seek Mercy
farai o duncs aissi co·l joglar fai	I will do it, therefore, just like the <i>joglar</i> does,
aissi con mou mos lais los fenirai.	Just as I begin my lais, I will finish it. ³³⁵

In this stanza, the lover fears rejection from the beloved and almost allows fear stop him from approaching the beloved or asking for “mercy.” The *joglar* in the simile motivates the lover to finish what he started. Because of this line about the *joglar*, Sylvia Huot has suggested that the marginalia shows Folquet playing the *vielle* while contemplating whether to become a *joglar*.³³⁶ This is a creative interpretation, but goes beyond the literal sense of the lyric. I propose that the *viellist* represents a generalized figure of the *joglar* as a metaphor for the lover overcoming fear, in the same way that the image of the man in the tree represents the fearful lover. A *joglar* was a professional musician who often worked for troubadours transmitting their songs to new courts

³³⁴ Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS M.819 (troubadour manuscript N); For a printed version of this image see Kelli McQueen, “A Hierarchy of Instruments in Troubadour Chansonniers,” *Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 77 (2024): 123-132. A digital facsimile of this image can be found on the Pierpont Morgan Library’s website at: <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/chansonnier-provenccal/147160/120>

³³⁵ Washer, “Los motz e.l so,” 290. My translation.

³³⁶ Sylvia Huot, “Visualization and Memory: The Illustration of Troubadour Lyric in a Thirteenth-Century Manuscript,” *Gesta* 31/1 (1992), 5.

and patrons, including the ladies to whom the songs were addressed. Folquet compares himself to a *joglar* in that he seeks mercy from his lady by composing a *lais*. The reader/viewer would have recognized the marginalia of the *joglar* by the tool of the musician's trade: a fiddle. Therefore, I suggest that the image of the *vielle* serves as an embodiment of a musician, as well as the concept that music is the best method of courtship.

Manuscript M (Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français, 12474) contains both miniature portraits and marginalia. While not as lavish as some *chansonniers*, the marginalia of MS M hosts a wide variety of animals, mythical creatures, and scenes. One hybrid creature with a human upper half and a snake-like tail on bottom plays a fiddle (Figure 7).



FIGURE 7: MS M: BN, f.f. 12474, fol. 236r
*Image of a hybrid man-creature playing a vielle. Preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
 Courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF*

The third manuscript with marginalia, manuscript R (Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français, 22543), has some damage from fading ink and pages having been trimmed. The ink on the first folio is badly fading, thus it is difficult to identify the three figures on the page. In my estimation, the bottom margin has a fiddle on the right and possibly a lute on the left (Figure 8). There may also be a harp at the top of the page, but the image is too degraded to identify it concretely. Nevertheless, I believe it is significant that there are two (possibly three) musicians with instruments on the first folio of MS R, identifying the manuscript as a musical book and visually connecting the sound of instruments with the troubadour/trouvère repertory.

Additionally, on folio 6v, there is a fiddler and a woman dancing, but the top of the page has been trimmed cutting off the heads of the figures (Figure 9).



FIGURE 8: MS R: BN, f.f. 22543, fol. 1r

Possibly an image of a lute on the left and a vielle on the right. Preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF



FIGURE 9: MS R: BN, f.f. 22543, fol. 6v

Image of a viellist and a woman dancing to the music. Preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.

Lastly, folio 11r includes a horn and tambourine which extend into the margins from historiated initials. The horn is played by a comical disembodied head with a pointy beard (Figure 10), and a woman in a green dress and flower crown plays the tambourine (Figure 11).



FIGURE 10:
MS R: BN, f.f. 22543, fol. 6v
Image of a horn player



FIGURE 11:
MS R: BN, f.f. 22543, fol. 6v
Image of a woman playing tambourine

*Preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
Courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.*

The other four manuscripts that depict musical instruments place them in the hands of specific performers as miniature portraits. In two of these manuscripts, the only instrument is a fiddle. MS W has the only image of a five-string *vielle* in the *chansonniers* (see Figure 12).³³⁷ It is a portrait accompanying the songs of a minor trouvère named Pierrekin de la Coupele who, curiously, is portrayed wearing a crown. Nineteenth-century scholars Paulin Paris and Arthur Dinaux reasoned that the crown proves Pierrekin won a poetry competition and was crowned “king of the minstrels;” however, they offer no evidence of his participation in such a competition.³³⁸ Scarcely any scholarship since the nineteenth century has included Pierrekin. Huot briefly mentions Pierrekin’s portrait in comparison to another more prominent trouvère, Adenet le Roi.

³³⁷ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Français 844 (MS W).

³³⁸ Paulin Paris, *Les manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, VI, (Paris: Téchener, 1845), 453. See also Arthur Dinaux, *Les trouvères artésiens* (Paris: Téchener, 1843), 373.

Like Pierrekin, illustrations of Adenet portray him with a crown and a *vielle*.³³⁹ His nickname “le roi” comes from his job title as the “king of minstrels,” a position that he held in the court of Guy de Dampierre, Count of Flanders.³⁴⁰ Huot explains that the iconography of the minstrel—including a scroll, a musical instrument, and honorific crown—helps to define a class of musicians who participated in the oral and written transmission of lyric poetry.³⁴¹ Moreover, I would add that the iconography of the musical instrument conveys the essential role of music in the performance and transmission of lyrical song, especially in manuscripts where musical notation is not present. Why the image of a fiddler-king accompanies the poems of Pierrekin de la Coupele deserves more research. Nevertheless, it is important that the musical instrument placed in the hands of a king is a fiddle because the association of the fiddle with kingship elevates the status of the instrument.



FIGURE 12:
MS W, BnF 844, fol. 163r
Pierrikin de la Coupele playing a vielle



FIGURE 13:
MS K, BnF 12473, fol. 36r
Perdigon playing a vielle

*Preserved at Bibliothèque nationale de France.
Courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.*

³³⁹ Huot, *From Song to Book*, 41–42, and 60–61.

³⁴⁰ Martine Clouzot, “Roi des ménestrels, ménestrel du roi? Statuts, fonctions et modèles d’une >autre< royauté aux XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles,” in *Les ‘autres’ rois: Études sur la royauté comme notion hiérarchique dans la société au bas Moyen Âge et au début de l’époque moderne*, ed. Torsten Hiltmann (München: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2010), 24–43, at 27.

³⁴¹ Huot, *From Song to Book*, 60–61.

Similarly, MS K (Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 12473) only has one image of a musical instrument, depicting the troubadour Perdigon with a 4-string fiddle (Figure 13). The pairing of Perdigon and a *vielle* is the strongest evidence of the use of this instrument with troubadour song since his *vida* remembers him for playing the *vielle*. There are also references to Perdigon playing the *vielle* in other troubadour lyrics, although he never mentions the *vielle* in his own songs as do the trouvères Colin Muset and Gautier de Coincy.³⁴²

The portraits in MS A (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticani latini 5232) have not yet been studied by organologists, likely due to a lack of accessibility of the manuscript.³⁴³ The images of musical instruments in this manuscript are an important find for this study because it is the only place where Elias Cairel is depicted playing *vielle* (MS A, Vat. Lat. 5232, fol. 50v). Perdigon also holds a fiddle in his portrait in MS A (Vat. Lat. 5232, fol. 158v). The similarity of color and positioning of the musician suggests a standardized approach to the fiddle as a visual archetype.

The third musical instrument in this manuscript is a harp played by King Richard I, of England (Vat. Lat. 5232, fol. 203r). This is also a significant find because Richard's family history is deeply connected to the troubadours. His great-grandfather, William IX, Duke of Aquitaine is considered to be the earliest troubadour, and his mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, was an important patron to troubadours like Bernart de Ventadorn. Richard, himself, is also included in the list of troubadours with two surviving songs in Old Occitan, but he has never been connected to musical instruments in the scholarship with one exception—an apocryphal legend of his musical relationship to the trouvère Blondel de Nesle. In the satirical pseudo-history,

³⁴² See Gautier de Coincy's "Ma vièle vieler vieut un biau son" and Colin Muset "Sire cuens j'ai viélé."

³⁴³ For a printed version of these images see McQueen, "A Hierarchy of Instruments in Troubadour Chansonniers," *Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 77 (2024): 128, 178-179. A digital facsimile of these images can be found on the Vatican Apostolic Library's website at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.5232.

Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims, Blondel searches for the captured Richard, and finds him in the castle of the Duke of Austria by singing a song that they composed together and was only known by the two of them. He sang this song to the accompaniment of his *vielle*.³⁴⁴ This image in MS A appears to be the only time Richard is depicted as an instrumentalist.

Lastly, MS I (Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 854) illustrates the most musical instruments in miniature portraits: Perdigon with fiddle (Figure 14); Aimeric de Sarlat with pipe and tabor (Figure 15); Guilhem Montanhagol with a harp (Figure 16); and Albertetz with a plucked chordophone (Figure 17).³⁴⁵ With the exception of Perdigon, there is no further evidence connecting these troubadours to these specific instruments.



FIGURE 14:
MS I: BN f.f. 854, fol. 49r
Image of Perdigon with vielle



FIGURE 15:
MS I: BN f.f. 854, fol. 123v
Image of Aimeric de Sarlat with pipe and tabor



FIGURE 16:
MS I: BN f.f. 854, fol. 124v
Image of Guilhem Montanhagol with harp



FIGURE 17:
MS I: BN f.f. 854, fol. 133v
Image of Albertetz with a gittern

³⁴⁴ Robert Levine, *A Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle (Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims): A Translation and Introduction* (New York: Edwin Mellon Press: 1990), 28.

³⁴⁵ Called by various scholars gittern, citole, or lute. MS I: BN f.f. 854, is preserved at Bibliothèque nationale de France. Courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Source gallica.bnf.fr/BnF.

Overall, the survey of these seven *chansonniers* shows nine fiddles, two harps, two lute-type plucked chordophones, two wind instruments, and two percussion instruments. All together these images give the impression of the musical atmosphere surrounding troubadour song, and the prevalence of the *vielle* suggests a greater popularity of that instrument during this period. When combined with additional evidence from the *vidas* and troubadour song lyrics, a hierarchy of musical instruments emerges with the *vielle* as the most prominent. Furthermore, the clothing and positioning of the figures playing these instruments hints at their social status. The only two seated figures wear crowns implying kingship and the privilege of comfort and intimacy while playing. All the other instrumentalists are standing, or perhaps dancing, displaying performative postures which implies actively performing for an audience.

VIDAS AND LABORATOIRES AND MELODIES

The social boundaries between professional instrumentalists and members of the *bellatores* seem to subsist in the illuminations from the *chansonniers*. However, the evidence from the *vidas* and song lyrics suggests a symbiotic relationship between members of the *laboratores* and *bellatores* to the extent that a mutual appreciation of music and poetry causes a shift in the acceptability of instrumental music as a leisure activity in which warriors can actively participate. It is well documented that troubadours from the aristocracy would write songs for a beloved and send the song off with a *jolgar* (professional minstrel) to play for the beloved and at other courts abroad.³⁴⁶ Conversely, *joglars* would compose songs in praise of their patron, spreading the fame and reputation of their lord or lady. In return, the patron would support the

³⁴⁶ For example, see W. Powell Jones, "The Jongleur Troubadours of Provence," *PMLA* 46/2 (1931): 307-311, and Maria Dobozy, *Re-membering the Present: The Medieval German Poet-Minstrel in Cultural Context* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005).

joglar economically. I argue in the following section that the musical exchange between these social groups instigated a shift in attitudes towards instrumentalists within the context of chivalry. The *vielle*, in particular, became an instrument associated with warrior culture. Evidence of the *vielle* as a warrior's instrument can be found in twelfth- and thirteenth-century chivalric romances including Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan* and the *Nibelungenlied*. In Gottfried von Strassburg's famous version of the legend of Tristan and Isolde, Tristan is a knight and a multi-instrumentalist playing both harp and fiddle. King Mark declares that he desires the Tristan's companionship because of Tristan's courtly skills, combining masculine activities like hunting with courtly musical activities.

Tages sô sul wir rîten jagen,
des nahtes uns hie heime tragen
mit höfshlîchen dîngen:
harpfen, videlen, singen.

Days we shall ride hunting,
nights here at home, we will sustain ourselves
with courtly things:
harping, fiddling, singing.³⁴⁷

King Mark offers Tristan a horse and clothing, both common forms of payment for a liegeman or court musician. Judith Peraino argues that Mark and Tristan have a symbiotic relationship where Mark shares wealth and power with Tristan, and Tristan—with his musical skills—fulfills Mark's desire for courtliness and refinement.³⁴⁸ Where the *Tristan* romance juxtaposes hunting and riding with music, the *Nibelungenlied* overlays fiddling with swordplay.

In the *Nibelungenlied*, Volker the Fiddler is a knight-minstrel who appears in several important scenes featuring the *vielle*. In the first scene, the traveling Nibelungs stop to rest at the court of Rüdîgar, the Margrave of Pöchlarn. They are greeted with a customary welcoming kiss from the ladies of the household including the Margrave's young and beautiful daughter,

³⁴⁷ For the German text and translation see Judith Peraino, "Courtly Obsessions: Music and Masculine Identity in Gottfried von Stassburg's *Tristan*," *Repercussions* 4/2 (1995): 59-85, 68.

³⁴⁸ Peraino, "Courtly Obsessions," 68.

Gotelind. Volker falls in love “at first sight” with Gotelind and sings her a song of his own composition while accompanying himself on the *vielle*. Gotelind rewards him with a dozen bracelets and requests that he wear them sign of her favor as if he were a professional minstrel.

As the conflict—Kriemhild’s revenge on the Burgundians for the death of her husband Siegfried—climaxes in the pivotal battle scene, Volker wields his bow as effectively as a sword. His actions are described through musical metaphors, situating the *vielle* as a prominent actor in the battle. “Valiant Volker leapt up from the table and, wielding his fiddle bow, made loud music; Gunther’s minstrel played some very rough tunes—and what scores of enemies this earned him among the fearless Huns!”³⁴⁹

The way the text intertwines music and battle, it can be challenging to distinguish whether Volker is using a sword or his sword-like fiddle bow. At one point in the battle Volker helps defend the door from more enemy soldiers who are entering the hall to join the battle, and as Volker approaches these fresh troops, he begins “to fiddle his way through the palace, making his hard sword ring out as he swung it time and again, and earning the Rhenish warriors’ warm applause.”³⁵⁰ This passage seems to ascribe musical qualities to a sword which rings out as Volker “fiddles” through enemy troops. On the other hand, in statements made by friendly characters and characters on the enemy side of the battle, Volker seems to be fighting with the bow of his fiddle. The enemy Etzel, King of Hungary, observes that “There is a man out there called Volker, who fights like a wild boar and he is a minstrel too. I bless my good fortune that I eluded the fiend! His [songs] grate on the ear, his fiddle-bow draws red, and his tunes fell warriors past counting.”³⁵¹ At another point in the battle, Gunther, King of Burgundy, turns to his

³⁴⁹ A.T. Hatto, trans., *The Nibelungenleid* (London: Penguin Books, 1969), 243.

³⁵⁰ Hatto, *The Nibelungenleid*, 244.

³⁵¹ Hatto, *The Nibelungenleid*, 247.

vassal, Hagen, and marvels at the battle sounds and the “tunes which Volker is playing to the Huns.” Gunther’s comments underscore the relationship between the materiality of how the fiddle works and the metaphor of Volker fighting with the fiddle: “It is a red rosin that he uses for his bow.”³⁵²

While these fictional romances establish a clear link between the fiddle and the chivalric ideal of warriors who can both dominate in battle and be subservient to worthy ladies, the troubadours provide examples of historic figures who were both knights and musicians. An examination of the *vidas*, lyrics, and melodies of the three troubadours who were known as instrumentalists provides evidence of the link between the *vielle* and warrior culture. In addition to miniature portraits, the *chansonniers* occasionally provide a rubricated *vida*—a short pseudo-biography which serve as a testament to the reputation of the troubadour and how they were remembered by subsequent generations. Notably, the *vielle* is the only musical instrument mentioned in the *vidas*. The troubadours who are remembered for playing the *vielle* include: Perdigon (c. 1190-1220); Elias Cairel (fl. 1204-1222); and Pons de Capduelh (c. 1190-1237). The juxtaposition of these three troubadours provides insight into the relationship between musical instruments and social position in feudal hierarchies and the degree to which social mobility was obtainable for musicians. Perdigon and Elias Cairel are examples of the *laboratores*, yet as poet-musicians, they were laborers who socialized with the aristocracy because of their musical skills. Pons de Capduelh, on the other hand, was a baron and member of the *bellatores*.

According to his *vida*, Perdigon was the son of a poor fisherman. His wit and skill at inventing poetry earned him honor and great fame, so much so, that the Dauphin of Auvergne

³⁵² Hatto, *The Nibelungenlied*, 247.

made him a knight and gave him all the trappings of a vassal: clothing, arms, and land that generated income from rent. Moving from poor minstrel to landed knight makes Perdigon a successful example of the kind of social mobility available to thirteenth-century musicians. The typical *vida* begins with a statement of where the troubadour was born, but Perdigon's *vida* mentions the *vielle* in the introductory sentence: "Perdigon was a *joglar* and knew very well how to fiddle and invent and to sing (*Perdigos fo joglars e saub trop ben violar e trobar e cantar*)."³⁵³ This suggests that Perdigon's identity was closely entwined with the *vielle*, and that the author of the *vida* attributes a significant amount of credit for Perdigon's success to the musical instrument. Further evidence of Perdigon's close association with the *vielle* is seen in his portrait in three different manuscripts as well as the lyrics of one of his debate songs.

Most troubadours are either depicted in their portraits in a rhetorical stance with a hand upraised as if giving a speech, and dressed in a way that displays their status such as a monk, bishop, or most commonly, knight. A few are shown with tools, objects, or animals associated with them. For example, Arnaut de Meruoill was a clerk before becoming a troubadour, and his portrait stands in front of a manuscript on a podium in MS I (folio 46r), and the notorious gambler, Guillem Magret, sits next to a gambling table rolling dice (MS I folio 139r). The miniatures of Perdigon with the *vielle* from MSS I (Figure 14) and K (Figure 13) are so well-known in troubadour scholarship that they have become the iconic defining image of a troubadour,³⁵⁴ even though, examples of musical instruments in the hands of the troubadours are relatively rare. The example of Perdigon, however, provides the strongest evidence of the use of

³⁵³ Luisa Marina Perdigó, *The Life, Poetry, and Music of the Provençal Troubadour Perdigon* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellon Press, 2013), 102.

³⁵⁴ The image from MS A is less frequently cited. See Perdigó, *The Life, Poetry, and Music*, 385-391. The author includes the portraits from MS AIK but the images are poor quality, copied from other facsimile sources. She also incorrectly attributes the image of Albertetz with a gittern to Perdigon.

the *vielle* in this repertory. In addition to the prominence of the *vielle* as a featured attribute in Perdigon's miniatures, he is the only troubadour to have the fiddle mentioned in both his *vida* and one of his songs "En Azemar, chauzes de tres baros."

This song comes from a genre of debate songs with more than two interlocutors called a *tourneyamen* (tournament). Ruth Harvey and Linda Paterson suggest that this particular song, possibly composed around 1187-1189 or 1196, may be the first of its kind.³⁵⁵ They explain that when the troubadour-knight Raimbaut de Vaquieras introduces the topic for debate he also explains how the debate will work. Raimbaut first asks Sir Ademar, Count of Valentinois, to choose the most virtuous of three barons. The first baron is "generous and merry, and given to ostentatious display"; the second is somewhat generous, but primarily a prudent ruler of his lands; and the third spends his money solely on the upkeep of his soldiers.³⁵⁶ Then Raimbaut instructs Perdigon to make his choice after Sir Ademar, and they proceed in alternating stanzas that logically support their choice of the most virtuous baron.

Ademar argues in favor of the responsible baron who takes care of his land first and foremost, and Perdigon chooses to support the ostentatious lord who spends money on entertainment. These unsurprising choices, and their subsequent arguments, support the archetypes associated with the social position occupied by each of these men. As a ruler of a politically important region, Ademar should be concerned about the welfare of his lands. Raimbaut was a knight who fought on the fourth crusade, so it is logical for him to support the payment of military troops. Perdigon, a minstrel who makes his living through entrainment, would be in favor of an extravagant ruler who spends lavishly on entertainment. Part of the humor of the debates songs comes from the hyperbolic rhetoric that overemphasizes these social

³⁵⁵ Harvey and Paterson, *Troubadour Tensos*, 1082.

³⁵⁶ Harvey and Paterson, *Troubadour Tensos*, 1079.

stereotypes. When Raimbaut mentions Perdigon and the fiddle, his tone is exaggerated and mocking.

e.N Perdigos viule descortz o dansa, que contrafa N'Estornel ab sa lansa, e no s'onra de luy aitals mestiers.	And Sir Perdigo, let him fiddle a <i>descorts</i> or dance, for with his lance he acts like Sir Estornel, and it is not honored by him in such a way. ³⁵⁷
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This *tornada* reveals a close association of Perdigon with the fiddle as his *vida* claims.

Raimbaut's imperative command for him to play frivolous dance music is dismissive of Perdigon's wit and ability to win a debate competition. Raimbaut associates the *vielle* with genres that are not considered as serious as love songs; that is, the *descorts*, an irregular form that expresses irritation or confusion, and the *dansa*, a lively dance song.

Raimbaut also compares the lance and the *vielle* in this line as tools suitable for particular tasks. The lance is the tool of a warrior with phallic associations. Harvey and Paterson interpret the reference to the lance as sexual mockery, thus, Raimbaut is accusing Perdigon of being a poor lover and bad singer of love songs.³⁵⁸ The title "Sir Estornel" is likely a pun on Perdigon's name. *Perdigo* means "partridge," and in medieval culture, partridges were considered to be so passionate that the female bird could conceive simply by hearing the partridge's song or smelling his scent.³⁵⁹ The *estornel*, on the other hand, is a starling—a species known for imitating the songs of other birds and not having their own unique song. Thus, Raimbaut's pun implies that Perdigon imitates other lovers' song with his fiddle rather than using his own "equipment" in an honorable way. The rivalry and roasting between two troubadours are frequent themes found in

³⁵⁷ Harvey and Patterson, *Troubadour Tensos*, 1080. My translation.

³⁵⁸ Harvey and Paterson, *Troubadour Tensos*, 1084.

³⁵⁹ Madeleine Pelter Cosman, "A Feast for Aesculapius: Historical Diets for Asthma and Sexual Pleasure," *Annual Review of Nutrition*, 3 (1983): 1-33, 6.

the debate songs and contributes to the element of competition within the contest. This song, and the portraits, and *vida*, all confirm that Perdigon's reputation was as a skilled fiddler.

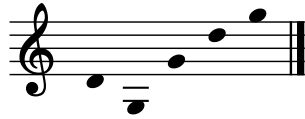
Next, I will provide a musical analysis of one of Perdigon's songs as if it were performed with the fiddle. This is a speculative approach since there is no direct evidence that Perdigon used the *vielle* when composing or performing his love songs. However, it seems reasonable given the strong evidence of his reputation as a *viellist* that the *vielle* may have influenced his compositional style.

Furthermore, I believe this kind of analysis is useful because it suggests the ways in which the fiddle may have influenced troubadour song and, how fiddle music may have been shaped by vocal techniques of the period. Often in traditional music around the world, the vocal and fiddle ornaments mimic one another,³⁶⁰ and the close sonic relationship between the timbres of the voice and the fiddle may be one reason why the bowed instrument became so popular in the Middle Ages. Many early music performers today sing to the accompaniment of a droning *vielle*. The prevalence of medieval instruments that produce a drone—such as the bagpipe, organ, and organistrum (hurdy-gurdy)—in addition to the way that early organum developed in notated polyphonic sacred music suggests that the drone was an important part of medieval musical aesthetics. Therefore, the two components I want to focus on in this musical analysis are tuning and ornamentation for an accompanying drone on the *vielle*.

Musicologists often write of Jerome of Moravia's tunings from the *Tractus de musica* (c. 1280), and that fact that they "work" for all extant melodies, especially his second tuning which

³⁶⁰ See John L. Whitener, "Sharing Global Musics: A Multimedia View of the Music of Mongolia," *Music Educators Journal* 104/1 (2017): 14-21, and Beatrice L. Stevenson, "The Gulse Singer and His Songs," *American Anthropologist* 17/1 (1915): 58-68.

Jerome specifically says has a wide enough range to accommodate all secular songs: [d G g d' g'] (see Example 7).³⁶¹



EXAMPLE 7: Jerome of Moravia's tuning



EXAMPLE 8: Berkeley MS 744 tuning

When I tried this tuning with Perdigon's songs, however, I ran into problems with the range and dissonance. The pitch range of his melodies spans from middle C as the lowest pitch up to F5, and when musical phrases begin or end on these pitches, an open drone of D or G will create a dissonance.

Because of this dissonance and the fact that the image of Perdigon's instrument shows only 4 strings, my analysis will use an alternative tuning found in the fourteenth century Berkeley Theory manuscript. This treatise gives tunings for four different instruments by placing the letter name of the note on top of the string. The fiddle here is tuned: C, d, g, c' (see Example 8). Perdigon's song, "Los mals d'amor," shows that the range of the melody is comfortable in this tuning. There are plentiful choices for open string chords and drones accompanying the melody, some options are shown on the bottom line on the sheet music (see Example 9).

³⁶¹ See Christopher Page, "Jerome of Moravia on the Rubebe and Vielle," *The Galpin Society Journal* (1979): 77-98 and Timothy McGee, "The Medieval Fiddle: Tuning, Technique, and Repertory," in *Instruments, Ensembles, and Repertory 1300-1600: Essays in Honour of Keith Polk* eds. Timothy McGee and Stewart Carter, 31-56 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013). On the piano the tuning is D4, G3, G4, D5, G5.

The musical score for 'Los mals d'amor' consists of five systems, each with a melody staff and a drone staff. The melody is written in treble clef and the drone in bass clef. The systems are numbered 1 through 9 above the melody staff. The drone part consists of sustained notes, often with a long slur across the final system.

EXAMPLE 9: “Los mals d’amor”

The few phrases that cadence on C could be played without a drone. Moreover, several of the ornaments fit well with idiomatic fiddle fingerings. The ornaments in phrase 4, for example, can be played with all four fingers on the second string, which avoids a string crossing in the other tuning (see Example 10, note *a*). A similar thing happens in the last phrase, where the motive is repeated sequentially on the lower set of strings (see Example 11, note *b*). Finally, one

of the last melismas of the song ornaments the pitch F from a major second above F and then a major third above F. The gesture is unique to this song and works well as a fiddle ornamentation (see Example 11, note *c*).



EXAMPLE 10: “Los mals d’amor” excerpt



EXAMPLE 11: “Los mals d’amor” excerpt

The lyrics of “Los mals d’amor” are standard courtly love fare about the pains of unrequited love and the worthiness of the beloved. The *tornada* of “Los mals d’amor,” however, is an interesting example of patronage and reciprocity in the social networks of the troubadours.

Vas n’Azimans vuelh, chanso, que tengatz,
Et a.N Tostems, car lur seretz plazens;
Mais non tengatz entre las avols gens,
Car qui mais val, crei que mielhs vos entenda.

Go to Sir Azimans, Song, I wish that you remain,
And to Sir Tostems, because you will please them
But do not stay among base men
For he who is more worthy, I believe that he will better understand you.³⁶²

³⁶² Perdigó, *The Life, Poetry, and Music*, 4. My translation. Full lyrics and score in the appendix.

This concluding stanza addresses the personified song and commands the song to go and remain with two men and to entertain or “please” them. These two individuals are worthy of the song because they can understand it; thus, I would place them in Boethius’ category of a “true musician” who can understand and judge good music. Perdigon refers to these men by the pseudonyms (*senhal*) “Sir Azimans” (Sir Charm) and “Sir Tostems” (Sir Always), and scholars have not been able to identify who they are. Chaytor wrote that they are friends of Folquet de Marsielle, who was a troubadour himself before becoming the Bishop of Toulouse.³⁶³ Folquet often uses these *senhals* in his lyrics, and because manuscripts C and R misattribute “Los mals d’amor” to Folquet, scholars like Stronski and Hoepffner suggested that this *tornada* could be apocryphal.³⁶⁴ Stronski believed that Aziman is the troubadour Bertran de Born, because Bertran also uses the *senhal* “Aziman” in his lyrics. The reasoning here must be that Bertran and Folquet refer to each other by the same *senhal* when exchanging songs back and forth. Since the purpose of the *senhal* is to disguise the identity of the interlocutor, I believe using the same nickname would circumvent that purpose. It seems more likely that all three troubadours used the name Aziman in reference to another unidentifiable individual, perhaps the Count of Montfort and Sir Guillen de Baus who are mentioned in the long version of Perdigon’s *vida*. Nevertheless, even without knowing specifically who they were, the “worthiness” of Aziman and Tostems in Perdigon’s *tornada* is contrasted with “las avols gens,” that is, poor or base men, who cannot understand songs.

Like Folquet de Marsielle and Bertran de Born, Perdigon became a Cistercian monk in his later years. Although Perdigon’s *vida* ascribes his conversion to a loss of his good fortune when

³⁶³ H.J. Chaytor, “Les Chansons de Perdigon,” (Paris: H. Champion, 1926), 75.

³⁶⁴ Ernest Hoepffner, “La Biographie de Perdigon,” *Romania* 53/211 (1927): 343-364, 346. Stanislaw Stronski, *Le Troubadour Folquet de Marseille* (Cracovie, Librairie: Spolka Wydawnicza Polska, 1910), 131.

all his friends and patrons died, while the social status of Bertran de Born remained the same since he was already a wealthy aristocrat as the Lord of Hautefort, and Folquet's position was elevated from a merchant family to the Bishop of Toulouse. Thus, in Perdigon's song and *vida*, we see the movement of a troubadour among the three layers of feudal social networks: *laboratores*, *bellatores*, and *oratores*. He began life as the son of a poor fisherman, rose to the rank of a landed minstrel-knight, then became a monk in retirement.

In contrast to Perdigon, Elias Cairel did not emerge with a sterling reputation as an instrumentalist in his *vida*. There are two different versions of his life story. The less flattering version survives in three manuscripts and claims that he was originally a gold and silversmith.³⁶⁵ He became a minstrel and traveled around the world but "he sang very badly, and invented poetry badly, and played the fiddle badly, and spoke worse than bad, but he wrote words and melodies well (*Mas mout cantava mal, e mal trobava, e mal viulava, e pieitz parlava, mas ben escrivia motz e sons*)."³⁶⁶ Despite his lack of skill as a live performer, his inventiveness as a composer seems to be the root of his success. The other *vida* attempts to restore a decent reputation to Elias saying that "he knew his letters well, was very clever at invention, and in all that he wished to do or say. (*E saup be lettras, e fo molt sotils en trobar, et en tot quant el volc far ni dire*)."³⁶⁷ The author of the second *vida* explains that Elias disdained the rulers of his day, therefore his work was not as well-received as it deserved.

Elias' portraits depict him in a simple rhetorical stance (Figure 17, 18), except for the portrait in MS A which portrays him with a fiddle. These two images of Perdigon and Elias Cairel playing *vielle* from MS A are strikingly similar, the only differences between the two are

³⁶⁵ See MSS AIK.

³⁶⁶ Giosué Lachin, *Il Trovatore Elias Cairel* (Mucchi Editore, 2004), 68. My translation.

³⁶⁷ Found in MS H, Città del Vaticano, B.A.V. ms. Lat. 3207, fol. 31c. Lachin, *Il Trovatore Elias Cairel*, 72. My translation.

that Elias is wearing a flower garland on his head and he has red hose instead of blue. Even though the artist used a kind of “stock” image for both fiddlers, these images are significant for this study because they are both fiddles with 4-strings. Unfortunately, none of Elais Cairel’s melodies survive.



FIGURE 18:
MS K: BN f.f. 12473, fol. 91r
Portrait of Elias Cairel



FIGURE 19:
MS I: BN f.f. 854, fol. 106r
Portrait of Elias Cairel

*Preserved at Bibliothèque nationale de France. Courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France,
Source gallica.bnf.fr/BnF.*

The third fiddling troubadour, Baron Pons de Capduelh, sits towards the top of the social hierarchy. The author of his *vida* describes him as the epitome of knighthood: good at arms, eloquent, learned, tall and handsome, and “a gracious wooer of ladies” (*e gen domnejanz*).³⁶⁸ Furthermore, he knew how to compose poetry, how to play the fiddle, and how to sing.³⁶⁹ While it is unsurprising for a member of the *bellatores* to be educated and eloquent by the late twelfth century, the fact that Pons de Capduelh had a reputation for playing the fiddle does seem noteworthy because of the ubiquity of Boethian definitions of musicianship throughout the Middle Ages. Furthermore, the miniature portraits of Pons de Capduelh support the claim that his identification as a knight superseded his reputation as a musician. In MS K and I, Pons is

³⁶⁸ For the Old Occitan see: Martín De Riquer, *Los Trovadores: Historia Literaria y Textos Vol. 3* (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1983), 1263. For the English translation see: Egan, *The Vidas*, 86.

³⁶⁹ Egan, *The Vidas*, 86.

depicted on horse-back, wearing armor, and holding a lance and shield (Figures 20 and 21). For contrast, MS A shows him as a lover, in conversation with a lady.³⁷⁰



FIGURE 20:
MS K: BN f.f. 12473, fol. 57r
Portrait of Pons de Capdeulh



FIGURE 21:
MS I: BN f.f. 854, fol. 73r
Portrait of Pons de Capdeulh

*Preserved at Bibliothèque nationale de France. Courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France,
Source gallica.bnf.fr/BnF.*

Four of Pons de Capdeulh's songs have extant melodies, all of which begin in a higher register and extend through a large range of an octave or more. If we take the notated melodies at face value, two of them fall below the range of the Berkely MS tuning.³⁷¹ However, Jerome's tuning runs into difficulties at the beginning at ends of melodic phrases because of the preponderance of F and C, which create dissonances of major and minor seconds if the open strings are tuned to D and G. Two of these melodies, however, fit nicely within the Berkely MS tuning: "Lials amics cui amors tient jojos" and "Seu fi ni dis nuilla sazón." The following analysis of "Lials amics" shows coordination between the melodic syntax and poetic grammar in the vein of Leo Trietler's method from his article, "Troubadours Singing Their Poems."³⁷² Treitler argues that medieval melodic structure is comparable to grammatic syntax and less likely

³⁷⁰ For the portrait of Pons de Capdeulh with a lady see, MS A: Biblioteca Vat. Lat. 5232, fol. 56v: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.5232.

³⁷¹ *Meillz co no pot dir ne pessar* (375016) and *Us gays conortz me fay gaya men far* (375027R).

³⁷² Leo Trietler, "Troubadours Singing Their Poems," in *The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry* eds., Rebecca A. Baltzer, Thomas Cable, and James I. Wimsatt, 15-31 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991).

to have semantic resonances that are frequently found in later periods such as the prolific text painting in Renaissance madrigals. While I think semantic interpretations of poetry and melody are possible in troubadour song, syntactic relationships are also worthwhile to find.

Verse	Rhyme scheme	Syllables	Melody
1	a	10	A
2	b	10	A'
3	a	10	A
4	b	10	A'
5	c	11	B
6	d	10	C
7	d	10	A'
8	c	11	B'

TABLE 7: “Lials amics” Poetic and Melodic Structure

“Lials amics” has five stanzas with eight verses in each stanza. Most of the verses consist of ten syllables, except the fifth verse and the eighth verse which have eleven syllables. This syllabification and the rhyme scheme divide the stanza into two equal halves. The rhymes in the first half alternate abab, and in the second half the “outer” verses rhyme with each other (verse 5 and 8) and the rhyme of the “inner” verses match (verse 6 and 7).³⁷³

The melodic structure can be interpreted in two different ways: two equal parts of four melodic lines each; or three lines plus five lines. The first interpretation corresponds to the rhyme scheme and syllabification. The first four melodic lines are nearly identical to each other with the exception of the last two syllables that ascend to C5 in lines one and three (melodic phrase A) and descend to F4 in lines two and four (phrase A'). This works particularly well with both the highest and lowest string of the *vielle* tuned to C because the A-phrase will cadence on a unison and the A'-phrase will cadence on a perfect fourth. One distinguishing feature of this melodic line is the long melisma on the fifth syllable (see Example 12, note a).

³⁷³ A full set of lyrics and musical score can be found in the Appendix.

The image shows a musical score for a troubadour song. It consists of two staves: 'melody' and 'drone'. The melody is written on a treble clef staff and is divided into two sections, A and A', with a long melisma between them. The lyrics are: Li-als a-micscui a-mors ten jo-jos Deube es-ser a - le-gres e jau-sens. The drone is written on a bass clef staff and consists of a single note, C, which is sustained throughout the piece.

EXAMPLE 12: "Lials amics"

Normally in troubadour songs, melismas occur at the end of the melodic phrase; however, this unusual placement corresponds to the poetic grammar. In the poetic syntax, the fifth syllable begins a new clause across all four verses with the A/A' melody. In the first verse, it is a relative clause beginning with the pronoun "whom" (*cui*). In the second and third verses, the fifth syllable initiates a list of paired attributes, and the melisma divides them appropriately: "happy and joyful" (*alegres e jausens*) "generous and honest" (*larcs et adretz*) "humble and loving" (*humils et amors*).

The fourth verse stands out because it functions as a pivot line in the odd numbered stanzas (#1, 3, and 5), which leads to the second interpretation of the melodic structure. This interpretation divides the stanza into two unequal parts: three verses plus five verses. Both sections, however, balance on a tertiary structure. The first section of three melodic phrases is a balanced A, A', A. If we take this pivotal fourth melodic phrase to be the beginning of the second section of the song, then resulting melodic pattern is nicely balanced: A'/B, C, A'/B'. Here, the tertiary structure is formed by the paired A/B melodies on both sides of the unique C phrase.

The A' and B melodic lines pair well together because they both cadence on F (with an accompanying drone fitting appropriately on C). The C-phrase stands out because it is shorter than the other melodic phrases. Like the first A-phrase, it cadences on C5 and has a melisma in

the middle of the phrase. The C-phrase melisma comes a syllable earlier than in the A-phrase, but it resembles a truncated inversion of the long melisma in the A-phrase (see Example 13, note b).

EXAMPLE 13: “Lials amics”

This melisma ornaments significant words in the poetry. In the first stanza, the melisma occurs on the last syllable “el rosignols” (the nightingale). Each of the following stanzas also have the melisma ornament significant words in the poetry: *trobar* (find), *no m’aura* (she will not have me), *am* (love), and *meneson* (threaten), respectively. Without taking the melodic structure into consideration, it would be difficult to understand why most of the poetic stanzas conceptually fall into a section of three lines and a section of five lines. The full transcription in the appendix suggests one possible way to use open-string drones while playing the melody on the *vielle*.

I hypothesize that as more nobles such as Pons de Capduelh began to play the *vielle*, the more acceptable the instrument became in the eyes of society. The only other historical evidence of a knight playing the *vielle* that I have found is Bertan II, Count of Forcalquier, whose seal minted in 1168 depicts him playing the fiddle on one side and on the other side he is armed and mounted.

The embodiment of these values of masculinity and nobility in the fiddle, with emphasis on the bow, suggests that the fiddle played a distinctive role in medieval social-artistic networks. Actor-Network Theory (ANT) contains some useful concepts to apply to troubadour-song

networks for three reasons: first, it describes the relationships between diverse elements; second, it expands binaries that are often discussed in relation to troubadour song; and third, it emphasizes the concept of movement or flow between multidimensional connections. First, Bruno Latour explains that ANT: “does not limit itself to human individual actors but extends the word actor—or actant—to non-human, nonindividual entities.”³⁷⁴ Thus, ANT incorporates the role of objects like musical instruments and manuscripts, performances of the song “itself,” and ideas like gender. Second, Latour argues that ANT expands common binaries that appear in social theories like far/close, local/global, inside/outside. ANT eliminates the “tyranny of distance” from the geographer’s point of view, that is physical space, and instead considers associations or connections in the network. This can be applied to the famous troubadours’ theme of *l’amor de loin* or “love from a distance.” One of the goals of composing and performing love songs and sending a song to the beloved or patron with a *joglar*, is to foster the relationship between the troubadour and audience, using the music to engage the memory and emotions in a way that transcends physical distance. Similarly, the local and global divide disintegrates when a song—that was written for a specific person, or court, or event—circulates beyond that localized place and becomes so widely known and valued across several kingdoms that scribes from two hundred years after the birth of the song write it down in the *chansonnières*, providing evidence for scholars and performers today to engage with the song.

Third, in ANT the boundary that separates inside and outside change into the connection between actors. Latour writes: “A network is all boundary without inside and outside.”³⁷⁵ For troubadour song, the interiority of subjective emotions are deliberately exposed secrets in courtly love. This interiority of emotion is a kind of “inside” that dissolves when the song is performed

³⁷⁴ Latour, “On Actor-Network Theory,” 369.

³⁷⁵ Latour, “On Actor-Network Theory,” 372.

“outside” for a public audience. Another type of inside/outside boundary that troubadour song nullifies is a linguistic one, which begins with the localized Old Occitan spoken in the courts in Southern France, and extends into Spain, Italy, and beyond, influencing the eventual development of other written vernacular languages. Finally, ANT emphasizes the movement or flow between multidimensional connections rather than viewing the network as a static “thing.” The influence of troubadour song of the fluidity of social status of the *vielle* is apparent, with connections to the three estates: the morality of the *oratores*, the masculinity of the *bellatores*, and the hard work of the *laboratores*.

CONCLUSION

The interplay among the various actors in the troubadour-*vielle*-song network indicates a multidirectional role within a network of many layers. The inner layer involves the troubadour, the beloved, and the *vielle*-accompanied song which functions as a message communicating the troubadour’s love. Sometimes the song is handed to a *joglar* who becomes an intermediary for the troubadour taking on the first-person perspective of the poet-lover and courts the beloved by proxy. Or, in the case of Perdigon, these roles fuse into one person with a fiddle on hand to aid in the transmission of the poetry. The aggregate formed in this web of relationships is a melding together of Boethius’ lowest two categories of musician: the instrumentalist and the poet-composer. Boethius’ category of the “true musician”, the philosopher who judges the quality of the song, is also present in the troubadour networks, as attested in Perdigon’s *tornada* from “Los mals d’amor.” The agency of the personified song is revealed in Perdigon’s exhortation that the song finds a worthy audience, who in turn, will judge the worthiness of the song. Perdigon deems two patrons worthy for this task showing the reciprocity of medieval patronage.

With the application of speculative analysis, we can further imagine the impact of the *vielle* on the performance and creation of these songs. I add the manuscript to the *vielle*-song complex as the medium through which one iteration of the song is frozen in time and reaches us today. In some cases, the beloved responds with a token of acknowledgement. Perhaps she favors the troubadour with her love or even writes him a song in return.

CONCLUSION

The main research questions driving this dissertation were: how do we understand troubadour song as music? And how does troubadour song fit into medieval culture and practice of music? In chapter one, I discussed definitions of music and poetry coming from the didactic treatises pertaining to the seven liberal arts. From the fourth century to the thirteenth century, authors concerned with delineating the seven liberal arts—like Augustine of Hippo, Martianus Capella, Isidore of Seville, and Johannes de Garlandia—focused on two definitions of music. The first definition classified music as a mathematic discipline of measuring sound. The second definition viewed music as the science of singing. These definitions of music overlap and become entangled with ideas of language and poetry such as the way music and language both relate to sound and are similarly invested in the inscription and performance of sound, that is, they both can be written down, read, intoned, or sung. Scholars like Stephen Fischer have created historical narratives of reading and writing, and musicologists like Jane Alden, Helen Deeming, Elizabeth Eva Leach, and Emily Dolan have explored the tension between medieval performance and scribal practices, yet there is a need for more scholarship on the history of singing that can account for vocal technique as described in medieval music treatises, didactic literature, and literary-musical genres like troubadour song and even some romances.

The relationship between singing, poetry, and other literary forms can be traced back to ancient Greece. According to Quintilian, the ancient poets were singers, as were the troubadours whose reputations as singers survive as an important feature in their *vidas*. The act of singing and composing new songs are two themes that often appear in troubadour lyrics, and the Occitan treatises on the art of *trobar* promoted the singing and composing of new songs. Further exploration of singing and performance in romances such as thirteenth century *Guillaume de*

Dole (the other *Roman de la Rose*) and conduct literature like the *Reggimento e costumi di donna* by Francesco da Barberino (c. 1297-1304) is essential for expanding the history of singing to include the role of women in music. Several female characters sing in *Guillaume de Dole*, and Francesco da Barberino describes the performance posture and vocal technique of the ideal young lady who must sing at the request of her lord, mother, or friend to entertain guests.³⁷⁶

Chapter two looked at the intersections of musical cosmology and troubadour song with a focus on analysis of song structure and common themes in troubadour songs involving the stars and planets. Pythagorean mythology and numerology maintained that the motion of revolving planets emit sound represented by the perfect harmonic intervals—Pythagoras himself was reported to be able to hear these sounds. In *Timaeus*, Plato relates the myth of the creation of the World-Soul and describes the origin of the harmonic ratios emphasizing the significance of the World-Soul ratio (6:8:9:12). The numerological significance of these musical numbers persevered in different religious mystical tradition including Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and resonate in the structure and cultural meaning of troubadour songs. Two songs by Guiraut Riquier—“Voluntiers faria” and “Mentaugutz”—are composed of numbers of the World-Soul ratio in their poetic and melodic structures. Additionally, several troubadour songs convey themes related to astronomy and astrology such as navigation by the stars, the passage of time, and the stars bringing good or bad fortune. One notable song by Guilhem Montanhagol, “A Lunel lutz una luna luzens,” has connections to the Jewish mystical practice of Kabbalah because

³⁷⁶ Eleonora Stoppino, “The Italian *Reggimento e costumi di donna* (selections) and *Documenti d’amore* (selections) of Francesco da Barberino,” in *Medieval Conduct Literature: An Anthology of Vernacular Guides to Behavior for Youths with English Translations*, eds. Mark D. Johnston, Kathleen Ashley, Emily C. Francomano, Ann Marie Rasmussen, Claire Sponsler, Eleonora Stoppino, and Olga Trokhimenko, 127-183 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); Jean Renart, *The Romance of the Rose, or, Guillaume de Dole*, eds. Patricia Terry and Nancy Vine Durling, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.

the city of Lunel was an important center for Jewish learning where philosophers produced collections of mystical writings like the *Sefer ha-Bahir* (The Book of Illumination).

In chapter three, I explore the interplay between medical texts and troubadour lyrics that address love and a sickness. The use of music in medical practice has a long history, several examples of which we find in Boethius' *De institutione musica*, and in Avicennas' *Canon of Medicine*. Ancient Greek physicians Hypocrites and Galen reportedly diagnosed cases of lovesickness, which manifests in several physical symptoms such as fever, insomnia, rapid eye movement, and irregular pulse. The use of music as treatment for lovesickness is found in the medical text *Viaticum* by Constantine the African, and later commentaries on the *Viaticum* written by Gerard of Berry and Bona Fortuna. These three writers prescribe a variety of treatments for lovesickness including relaxation, bathing, wine, conversation with friends, sex, and music. The troubadours also address the disease of lovesickness, listing the symptoms and possible cures. The cure favored by the troubadours is the favor or mercy of the beloved. In cases where love remains unrequited, I argued that music was a means of coping with lovesickness. This research has implications for the history of medicine, which has yet to delve into the realm of medieval music, and for music therapy, which, as an emerging subfield in medicine and psychology, can be enriched by the authority of an historical perspective.

Lastly, chapter four surveys the musical iconography present in the troubadour *chansonniers* and speculates how musical instruments may have been used in the accompaniment of troubadour song. The presence effect of images of musical instruments on the page next to song lyrics, and occasionally musical notation, is three-fold. First, musical iconography can represent the whimsy, fantasy, or variety encased in medieval manuscripts. This type of marginalia, while unrelated to the text on the page, creates feeling of musical

performance visually rather than aurally. Second, images of musical instruments may be a mimetic representation of the themes or story of the song, as in the case of Folquet de Marseille's "Sal cor plages ben for'oimais sazos." Both the lyrics of this song and the accompanying marginalia depicts the fear and indecision of pursuing love as a man who tries to climb a tree and gets stuck halfway up. The image of the *joglar* with the *vielle* is the solution to this fear: to pursue love, one must start a song and finish it like the *joglar*. In this instance, the *vielle* identifies the *joglar* as a musician even though the lyrics do not specifically mention a musical instrument. Third, the musical iconography helps characterize the talents and social roles of individual troubadours, like Perdigon who is depicted in his portraits with the *vielle* while the Baron Pons de Capduelh is depicted as a knight on horseback even though he also was known for playing the *vielle*. Since the *vielle* is the instrument most often represented in the *chansonniers*, and the only instrument mention in the *vidas*, I believe speculative analysis concerning how it may have been used in the composition and performance of songs is useful for the practice of these songs today.

I have also argued that *vielle* influenced changing attitudes towards instrumentalists in feudal society. Members of the *oratores* such as Peter the Chanter and Thomas Chobham preached against the moral failing associated with performers except in regard to specific genres of music that told stories of saints' lives or the good deeds of kings. They proclaim these types of songs were socially beneficial for relieving the weary laborer and uplifting the spirit. As the popularity of troubadour song grew and developed a culture of chivalry among the *bellatores*, the warrior class took up the *vielle* to perform every kind of song. The *vielle* took on cultural values of chivalry and masculinity, seen in fictional characters like Tristan and Volker the Fiddler. Thus, attitudes about instruments shifted from the *vielle* as tool of the members of the

laboratores, such as Perdigon and Elais Cairel, to being socially acceptable for members of the *bellatores* to play including Pons de Capduelh and Bertran II, Count of Forcalquier.

The troubadour repertory is a significant part of history because these songs influenced the development of written vernacular languages and written musical notation, standing in a pivotal position between the oral/aural tradition and the burgeoning manuscript tradition. The troubadours, their songs, and the instruments they played provide a glimpse into the flow of ideas, objects, and people along the layers of feudal social networks. I believe more research on the troubadour repertory is needed that can account for the musical nature of song because of music's distinctive capacity to impact the emotions of the performer and listener. Music influenced the movement of ideas and cultural values like knowledge organization, cosmology, medicine, and gender. I hope that further research will expand this list into even more significant areas of culture and their relationship to troubadour song.

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APPENDIX A: SONGS

Perdigon: “Los mals d’amor”

1 2

melody

Los mald'Am-or ai eu ben totz a - pres Man anc los bes no puec un jorn sa - ber

drone

3 4

melody

E si no fosqu'arieu ai bon es - per Ben cu - jer - a que no n i a - gues ges

drone

5 6

melody

Et ag - ra dreg qu'eu fos de - ses - per - atz Tant ai a - mat et anc no fui a - matz

drone

7 8

melody

Pe - ro si.l bes es tandous e pla - zens Quomes lo mals en - gois - sos e co - zens

drone

9

melody

Anz vuel mu - rir qu'eu an - car non l'a - ten - da.

drone

Perdigon: “Los mals d’amor”

I.

Los mal d’Amor ai eu ben totz apres,
Mas anc los bes no puec un jorn saber,
E si no fos qu’ar ieu ai bon esper
Ben cujera que no.n i agues ges;
Et agra dreg qu’eu fos desesperatz,
Tant ai amat et anc no fui amatz;
Pero si.l bes es tan dous e plazens
Quom es lo mals engoissos e cozens,
Anz vuel murir qu’eu ancar non l’atenda.

II.

Atressi.m cug que.l mortz mais me valques
Que vida sai tostemps ses Mon Plazer;
E doncs m’es mielhs que mueir’en bon esper
Qu’aia vida que ja pro no.m tengues;
Qu’assatz es mortz totz hom que viu iratz,
A cui non es jois ni plazers donatz;
Eu sui ben cel que negus jausimens
No.m pot dar joi per que sia jausens
Tro qu’a mi dons plassa qu’a merce.m prenda.

III.

E s’ieu per so sui forfaitz ni mespres
Quar sol vos aus dezirar ni voler,
Jes per tot so no.m tuelh de bon esper,
Que major tort perdona ben Merces;
Pero si.l tortz mi fos a dreg jutgatz
Non cujera tan esser encolpatz;
Mas vencutz es tot so que forza vens,
Que negus dreg no.i pot esser guirens,
Per que m’es ops que Merces me defenda.

IV.

La gran beutatz e.l valors qu’en leis es
E tuich bon aip que dompna puese’aver
Mi fan ades estar en Bon Esper;
Que so non cuich que ges esser pogus
Que lai on es totz autres bes pausat
Que no.i degues esser Humilitatz;
So.m fai sofrir mas dolors bonamens,
Qu’Humilitatz, Merces e Chausimens
M’en pot valer sol qu’a midons s’enprenda.

I.

All the evils of Love, I have well learned,
But I cannot know the virtues once,
And if it were not that now I have Good Hope
I would think that it has none at all;
And I would have the right to despair,
So much have I loved and yet I will never be loved;
But if the benefits are so sweet and pleasing
Like the harm is agonizing and painful,
Rather I wish to die than not wait more for it.

II.

Likewise, I thought death would be worth more to me
Than always knowing life without My Pleasure
And therefore, it is better that I die in good hope
Than have life which never brings aid;
For everyone is very dead who lives in grief,
To whom neither joy nor pleasure is given;
Indeed, I am one in whom no pleasure
Can give me joy by which I know rejoicing
Until my lady pleases to take mercy on me.

III.

And if I am a criminal and guilty through this
Only because I dare to desire and want you,
Well for all this, I would not take away good hope,
While greater wrongs, Mercy indeed pardons;
Therefore, if my wrong were judge rightly
I do not think I would be accused so much;
Rather all is conquered that is conquered by force
For not any right could be protected,
Because it is necessary that Mercy defends me.

IV.

The great beauty and the valor that is in her
And all the good qualities that a lady can have
Always make me dwell in Good Hope;
For I do not believe that this is possible
That while one is paused among all others, indeed,
It must not be Humility;
This makes me suffer more pain happily,
That Humility, Mercy, and Discretion
Can strengthen me only when it takes root in my lady.

V.

Eu et Amors em d'aïtal guis'enpres
Qu'ora ni jorn, nueg ni mati ni ser,
No.s part de me ni eu de Bon Esper;
Que mort m'agra la dolors, tant greus es,
Si'n bon Esper no.m fos asseguratz;
Pero mos mals no.n es en re mermatz,
Que Bos Espers m'aura fag longamens
Estar marriz et en grans pessamens
Et ancor tem que plus car no m'o venda.

VI.

Mas s'ieu un jorn fos amics apelhatz
De tant bon cor quom ieu li.m sui donatz,
A la bella don no.is part mos talens,
Anc tant Amors no.m destreis malamens
Qu'en eis lo jorn no.m agues fch esmenda.

VII.

Vas n'Azimens vuelh, chanso, que tengatz
Et a n'Tostems, car lur seretz plazens;
Mais non tenhatz entre las avols gens,
Car qui mais val, crei que mielhs vos entenda

V.

Love and I are united in such a way
That no hour nor day, night nor morning nor evening,
It is not separated from me, nor I from Good Hope;
Death would have me from the pain, it is so heavy,
If I was not secured in Good Hope;
But my illness is not diminished in anything,
That Good Hope will have made me for a long time
To dwell troubled and in great melancholy
And yet again I fear that it will cost me dearly.

VI.

But if I one day were called friend
From such a good heart as I gave to her,
To the beautiful lady, my desire does not leave her,
Ever so much Love torments me badly
That on the very day, it has not made me recompense.

VII.

Go to Sir Azimans, Song, I wish that you remain,
And to Sir Tostems, because you will please them
But do not stay among base men,
For he who is more worthy, I believe that he will better
understand you.

Pons de Capduelh: “Lials amics, cui amors ten jojos”

melody

A 1

Li-als a-mics cui a-mors ten jo-jos

A' 2

Deube es-ser a - le-gres e jau-sens,

drone

melody

A 3

Larcset a-dretz, hu - mils et a - mo-ros,

A' 4

E-raquan ven lo gais ter-mi-nis jens

drone

melody

B 5

Que fai las flors es-pan-dir per la plai - gna,

C 6

El ro-si-gnols chan-ta jos-tal vert fuoill

drone

melody

A' 7

Maseu non am son doutz chantan quansuoill

B' 8

Pois mi-donzplai que totz jois mi so - fraign-na.

drone

Pons de Capduelh: “Lials amics, cui amors ten jojos”

I.

Lials amics, cui amors ten jojos,
Deu be esser alegres e jausens,
Larcs et adretz, humils et amoros,
Era quan ven lo gais terminis jens
Que fai las flors expandir per la plaina,
El rosignols chanta jostal vert fuoill,
Mas eu non am son doutz chan tan quan suoill:
Pois midonz plai que totz jois mi sofrainna.

II.

Pero ben sai, que dretz es e rasos,
Que cel, qu'es francs et humils e sofrone,
Sia plus mais d'autr'om e plus fellos
Quan noill ten pro merces ni chausimens;
E, puois midons m'es salvai'et estraingna,
Leu po trobar ab mi mal et orguoill,
Mas lei no cal, si m pert, per qu'eu nom duoill
Mais de s'amor ni ai cor que m'en plainna.

III.

Non dic eu ges, que tostemps sieus no fos,
O non fezes totz, sos comandamens,
Sol que nom fos, sos cors tan orgoillos;
Mas, sitot s'es bon'e bell'e plasens,
Franqu'e gentils e d'avinen conpaingna,
Ja no m'aura, si no vol tot quan vuoill;
Ailas, quem val, s'ieu l'am o si m'en tuoill:
Qu'il fai semblan qu'en re de mi noill taingna?

IV.

Per so n'estau marritz e cossiros,
Quar anc amei ni m faill tan mos sens,
Car per un joi, don no sui poderos,
Soan aillors totz autres jausimens:
Aisi nom sai conseil ab cui romaingna,
S'autres non am, et il me desacuill;
Fols esqui cre tot quan veson siei huoill,
Ni qui pert trop per so que no gasaingna.

I.

The loyal friend, for whom love holds joy,
Must certainly be happy and joyful,
Generous and honest, humble and loving,
Now when comes the joyful pleasing season
That makes the flowers spread out through the plains,
The nightingale sings among the green leaves.
But I do not love its sweet song as much as I used to:
Since my lady pleases that all joy fails me.

II.

However, I know well what is right and reasonable,
He who is sincere and humble and patient,
I may be more than other men, or more cruel,
When nothing prevails, neither mercy nor pity.
And, since my lady is hard towards me and distant,
She can easily find harm and pride from me.
But she does not care if she loses me, therefore I do
not grieve, except from her love, neither do I have a
heart which in me laments.

III.

I am not politely saying that I may be hers forever,
Or not do all she commands,
If only she did not have such a proud heart;
But, even if she is good and beautiful and pleasant,
Sincere and noble and charming company,
Indeed, she will not have me, if she does not desire
as much as I desire; Alas! Who does it help if I love
her, or if I am prevented: For she pretends, so that
nothing is fitting for me?

IV.

Although I am not dwelling in torment and anxiety,
Since ever I loved nor my reason failed so much,
Because of one joy, from whom I am not powerful,
I scorn elsewhere all other joys:
Here I do not know what to do,
If I love not another, and she rejects me;
Fools are those who believe all that your eyes see,
Or he who loses too much for what he does not win.

V.

Totz malmenatz for a fiels e bos,
Francs et omils, e cellatz e sufrens
Ses trop parlar, e de totz engans blos,
E saubra ben entre.ls desconoissens
Cobrir mon joi, quil fals, cui dieus contraingna,
No meneson de nostr'amor jangloill,
S'aisi.m volgues la gensar que.s despouill:
Ja no.ill fera fencha ni bruich ni laingna.

VI.

Andreu, lonc temps ai estat en Bretaingna,
E fai o mal midons quem mostr'orguoill
S'ieu plus que tuich l'autr' Amador la vuoill
Ni plus la am; es doncs dregs que m'en
plaingna.

V.

She has greatly mistreated all the faithful and good,
Sincere and humble, and discrete and patient
Without too much speaking, and from all deception,
And I know well, among the arrogant,
To conceal my joy, so that the false, whom God
opposes, do not threaten our love with slander,
If henceforth I desire the most beautiful one who
undresses: Indeed, I would not make a pretense,
neither to speak nor complain.

VI.

Andreas, I have dwelled for a long time in Brittany,
And it hurts my lady who shows me pride
If I desire her more than all the other Lovers
No, I love her more, then it is right that I complain.