

# "Quan vei" vs "Quisquis cordis" : the contrafactum as a bridge between linguistic boundaries

Autor(en): **Daolmi, Davide**

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# **“Quan vei” vs “Quisquis cordis”**

## **The contrafactum as a bridge between linguistic boundaries**

*Davide Daolmi*

The practice of contrafactum bears witness to the presence of links across national identities in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Europe.<sup>1</sup> It is one of the most evident connections among distant cultural contexts. By focusing on a specific case study – namely, the relationship between Bernart de Ventadorn’s *Quan vei la lauzeta mover* and Philip the Chancellor’s *Quisquis cordis et oculi* – I will attempt to outline two sets of questions that should be considered when addressing the tradition of contrafacta. In the first part of this essay, I will consider matters of cultural context; in the second, I will propose to look at issues of prosody and rhythm as crucial to comparative source analysis. I will argue that despite traditional interpretations – which conclude that Philip’s *Quisquis cordis* derives from Bernart’s *Quan vei la lauzeta* – the direction of the relationship between these two songs is far from conclusive. I suggest as an alternative theory that the Latin work may be earlier and that there is substantive evidence to support this claim.

The history of medieval Europe after the eleventh century is characterised by the emergence of a third player in the conflicts between papacy and empire: the concept of the nation state. The growing recognition that the vernacular could be acceptable as a language for artistic expression is the most evident cultural manifestation of this transformation. The concept of the nation does not necessarily imply the disintegration of the unity pro-

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<sup>1</sup> For a historiographic overview of the practice of contrafactum in the period, see Daniel E. O’Sullivan, “Contrafacture”, in: Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms, Methods, Trends*, 3 vols, Berlin: De Gruyter 2010, ii, 1478–1481.

moted by the Christian faith or by the imperial ideal; rather, national identity is channelled primarily by the desire to predominate over other states.<sup>2</sup>

This explains why the co-existence of Latin and vernacular tongues does not result in cultural fragmentation. Likewise, in the production of epic and lyric poetry, forms prove interchangeable and subject matter is remarkably similar across national borders. The two prominent literary traditions of Medieval Europe – the Matter of Britain and Matter of France, respectively designed to ennoble the Plantagenet and Capetian “nations” – adopt the same narrative strategies and propagate a common idea of courtly love. In this respect, poetic practice (where the reuse of music was probably more widespread than extant sources would suggest) appears to fall in line with the political trends of the time. The unity of Christendom, broken up by national identities, finds its correspondence in the lyric genre, unified in its subjects and forms, albeit divided by linguistic difference: music, with melodies that cross regional boundaries, is the primary element of cohesion.

It is true, of course, that the use of contrafacta is common to every period, and its dissemination is generally linked to popular traditions, as is suggested by formulas such as “on the tune of” or “cantasi come”. Moreover, in the context of courtly lyric, at least in certain circumstances, the practice of contrafactum performs a dignifying function by recalling older traditions. This role of contrafacta is clear in the forms of liturgical tropes, such as sequences and motets, where the musical model used to set new poetic texts is of sacred origin. Secular monody also seems to turn to similar strategies.

One could think, for example, of the pastourelle *Por conforter*. This song is attributed to Ernoul le Vielle, and it is possible to reconstruct a path of transformation that has its origin in the vocalisation of the word “virgo” extracted from the gradual *Benedicta et venerabilis* (Table 1).<sup>3</sup> Once the

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<sup>2</sup> See Charles Tilly (ed.), *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1975.

<sup>3</sup> As Table 1 shows, the relationship between *Crescens* (414) and *Por conforter* (415) can be traced back to the motets b, which correspond to clausula 2 of “go”. A number of contrafacta on the melisma of “virgo” (clausula “go”) were discussed for the first time by Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music: 900–1600*, Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America 1942, 238; these were subsequently deemed emblematic of the practice of contrafactum when discussed in Willi Apel, *Harvard Dictionary of Music*,

| ORGANA          |                          | F              | W <sub>1</sub> | W <sub>2</sub>           | StV | Ma                | Ba                        | Cl                 | Mo                 | M                           | Tu             | N |
|-----------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------|-----|-------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|---|
|                 | I                        | ii: 122'       | ii: 38         | ii: 77                   |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | II                       | iii: 29        | iii: 67        |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
| CLAUSULAE       |                          | F              | W <sub>1</sub> | W <sub>2</sub>           | StV | Ma                | Ba                        | Cl                 | Mo                 | M                           | Tu             | N |
| go              | 1                        | iii: 29'       | iii: 67'       |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | 2                        | iii: 11        |                |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | 3                        |                | ii: 38         |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | 4                        | ii: 123        | ii: 54         |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | 5                        | ii: 165        | ii: 58'        | ii: 77                   |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | 6                        |                | ii: 54         |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | 7                        | ii: 165        | ii: 58'        |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | 8                        | ii: 176        |                |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | 9a                       |                | ii: 60'        |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | 9b                       | ii: 165        |                |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | 10                       | ii: 165        |                |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | 11                       | ii: 165        |                |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | 12                       | ii: 165'       |                |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | 13                       | ii: 165'       |                |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | 14                       | ii: 172        |                |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | 15                       |                |                | ii: 291'                 |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | 16                       |                |                | ii: 291'                 |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | 17                       |                |                | ii: 291'                 |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
| orbis           |                          | ii: 184        |                |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
| clausit         |                          | ii: 182        |                |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
| clausit viscera |                          | ii: 165'       |                |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
| MOTETS          |                          | F              | W <sub>1</sub> | W <sub>2</sub>           | StV | Ma                | Ba                        | Cl                 | Mo                 | M                           | Tu             | N |
| benedicta       | a                        |                |                | ii: 221' [406]           |     |                   |                           | iii: 732 [407-6]   |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | b                        |                |                | ii: 250 [408]            |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | c                        | ii: 283' [410] | ii: 137' [410] |                          |     | ii: 54' [410]     |                           |                    | iii: 376' [409-10] |                             |                |   |
| go              | a = 4                    | ii: 393 [411]  |                | ii: 183' [411]           |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 |                          |                |                | iii: 154' [412-11]       |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 |                          |                |                | ii: 251' [413]           |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | b = 2                    | ii: 402 [414]  |                | ii: 240' [415]           |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | c                        | ii: 413 [416]  |                |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | d                        |                |                | ii: 145 [417]            |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 |                          |                |                | ii: 178' [417]           |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 |                          |                |                | ii: 220' [418]           |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 |                          |                |                | ii: 241' [418]           |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | e = 12                   |                |                | ii: 326 [419]            |     |                   |                           |                    | iii: 239 [419]     |                             |                |   |
|                 |                          |                |                | ii: 190 [420]            |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | f                        |                |                | ii: 248' [421]           |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 |                          |                |                | ii: 191' [422]           |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | g                        |                |                | ii: 243' [423]           |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
|                 | h = 16                   |                |                |                          |     |                   |                           | iii: 140' [424-25] | ii: 208' [424]     |                             | ii: 188 [424]  |   |
|                 | i = 15                   |                |                |                          |     |                   |                           | iii: 172' [424-25] |                    |                             | ii: 195' [426] |   |
|                 | k                        |                |                |                          |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             | ii: 192 [427]  |   |
|                 | l                        |                |                |                          |     | iii: 16' [429-28] |                           | iii: 303' [429-28] |                    | iii: 253' [428-29]          |                |   |
|                 | m = 17                   |                |                | ii: 291' [430]           |     |                   |                           |                    |                    |                             |                |   |
| 406             | Se longuement ai         |                | 412            | Virgo plena graciae      |     | 418               | Quant voi la rose espanir |                    | 424                | En tel lieu s'est entremis  |                |   |
| 407             | Mout laiaument           |                | 413            | Deduisant mialoie        |     | 419               | Li plusor                 |                    | 425                | Onques he se parti          |                |   |
| 408             | Benoite est et sera      |                | 414            | Crescens incredulitas    |     | 420               | Mellea vite vinea         |                    | 426                | Je les ai tant quises       |                |   |
| 409             | Benedicta Maria virginis |                | 415            | Por conforter mon corage |     | 421               | Au douz mais              |                    | 427                | Li dous chans des oisellons |                |   |
| 410             | Beate virginis           |                | 416            | Virtus est complacitis   |     | 422               | O pia caput hostis        |                    | 428                | Or voi je bien              |                |   |
| 411             | O Maria mater pia        |                | 417            | Benedicta regia          |     | 423               | Qant la verdor            |                    | 429                | Eximium                     |                |   |

**Table 1:** Summary of the polyphonic settings related to the gradual *Benedicta et venerabilis* (based on Ludwig, *Repertorium*, M32, see here note 3). The diagram makes it possible to identify at a glance not only the 18 versions of the clausula “go” and the 12 motets (*a-m*) on the same tenor (all for two or three voices, indicated as ii or iii). It also suggests that 6 of the motets (*a b e h i m*) are contrafacta of a clausula (shaded in grey). Of the 24 motet texts (Nos. 406–429), no fewer than 14 are French.

The image displays musical notation for three different settings of a tenor. At the top left, a short musical phrase is labeled 'V. Virgo' and 'Dé- i Géni- trix,'. An arrow points from this phrase to a larger, more complex musical passage enclosed in a box. Below this, a transcription of the beginning of two motets is shown on a two-staff system. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The second staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are written below the staves: 'Cres-cens in - cre - du - li - tas \_ Fi - dem do - mu - it \_ la - cens vi - lis ca - ri - tas \_' and 'Por con - for - ter mon co - ra - ge Qui d'A - mors s'es - froi - e L'au - tre jor \_ les un \_ bos - cha - ge'. The first staff is marked with a 'C' time signature, and the second staff is marked with an '8' time signature.

EX. 1: Incipit of the verse from the gradual *Benedicta et venerabilis* (*Liber usualis*, 1265); the section inside the box is the part that is transformed into an isorhythmic tenor for the clausula in Florence, *Pluteus* 29.1, f. 11r. Below: Transcription of the beginning of the motets *Crescens incredulitas* (F, f. 402r) and *Por conforter* (W2, f. 240v) on the same tenor; the two syllabic *moteti* correspond to the melismatic clausula (F, f. 11r) (the same pieces highlighted in bold type in Table 1).

melisma of “virgo” is isolated, it is isorhythmically adapted to become the tenor. It is then possible to overlay the duplum and triplum parts, to which both Latin and French motets correspond (Ex. 1).

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Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1944 (entry “Clausula”). It was Friedrich Ludwig (*Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, Halle: M. Niemeyer 1910) who linked the ancient clausulae and motets to the relevant liturgical tenor. Ludwig’s difficult writing style (“cryptic language”, as Apel describes it) did not help make these connections between different genres particularly clear. With regard to the tenor of *Benedicta et venerabilis* – to give but one example – all the polyphonic pieces mentioned by Ludwig are given in Table 1. Drawn from the PhD thesis of Livio Giuliano (*La pastorella francese del XIII secolo*, Rome: Università la Sapienza 2018), the table gathers Ludwig’s information according to the form that I outline in [www.examenapium.it/ludwig](http://www.examenapium.it/ludwig) (the web page was created in 2013); cf. also Peter Maddox, Jonathan Couchman, Richard Nemeth, “The Gradual ‘Benedicta / Virgo Dei Genitrix’: A Study of its Settings in the Notre Dame Repertoire”, in: *Comitatus* 10 (1979), 31–96.

Given that the duplum (or motetus) is the same as the previous clausula, the kinship between the two pieces is hard to deny, even though it is difficult to establish which one came first.<sup>4</sup>

The final phase of this transformation is the loss of the tenor in the French motet, which produces what is to all effects a chanson, with additional text for the second and third stanzas.<sup>5</sup> The melody is the same as in the duplum, constructed on the liturgical vocalisation of "virgo". However, if the intermediate steps had not survived, the chanson *Por conforter* would not have been traceable to the original gradual.

The theme of virginity that informs the tenor ("go" from "virgo"), though no longer present in the chanson, remains implicit in the tune and offers a key to the interpretation of the rape episode narrated in the pastour-elle. The knight who seduces the maiden could in fact be an ironic allusion to the angel Gabriel who appears to Mary in the Annunciation.

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<sup>4</sup> However, since Wilhelm Meyer ("Der Ursprung des Motetts: Vorläufige Bemerkungen", in: *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse* 5/2, 1898, 113–145) the motets were always considered as contrafacta of the clausulae, in the last thirty years scholars have begun to consider the possibility of the opposite process, especially with regard to motets in the vernacular. Wolf Frobenius maintained that the 13 clausulae of F derived from the related French motets – see his "Zum genetischen Verhältnis zwischen Notre-Dame-Klauseln und ihren Motetten", in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 44 (1987), 1–39. Marc Everist (*French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry and Genre*, Cambridge: University Press 1994, 16) challenged Frobenius's thesis but subsequently another four cases were proposed in which the French motet appears to have come first; see Fred Büttner, "Weltliche Einflüsse in der Notre-Dame-Musik? Überlegungen zu einer Klausel im Codex F", in: *Anuario Musical* 57 (2002), 19–37, and Catherine A. Bradley, "Contrafacta and Transcribed Motets: Vernacular Influences on Latin Motets and Clausulae in the Florence Manuscript", in: *Early Music History* 32 (2013), 1–70. While a margin of uncertainty remains, it is clear that nothing excludes the possibility that the relationship could be bi-directional. In any case, as Thomas B. Payne argues, motets in French seem to follow those in Latin "due to the more immediate connection of the Latin language to the liturgical domain that created organa, clausulae and motets" (Thomas B. Payne, *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*, Madison, WI: A-R Editions 2011, xxv).

<sup>5</sup> The music, as well as all three strophes attributed to Ernoul le Vielle, is found in MS Paris, Fr. 844, f. 102v.

The practice of *contrafactum* – i.e. the reuse of traditional songs – therefore conveys a pre-existent, unifying message that transcends a single piece. The spiritual values carried by the music metaphorically stand for the desire for unity that, in this period, seems to be reached through forms of shared faith.

Even if we tend to privilege the meaning suggested by the words, it is actually the music that provides the strong, unifying message, while words remain instrumental and corruptible. At the most basic level, the idea of unity operates through the strophic structure itself. It is, after all, music that gives coherence to the particular content of each individual strophe. A verse of text may be added or replaced, but the poetic unity – its essence – is preserved by the music. Reconstructing history exclusively on the basis of the extant written documentation alters this perception. Indeed, the focus on written words prioritises the literary text, giving only a faint trace of the musical component, which in the Medieval period was conveyed almost exclusively through memory and oral tradition.<sup>6</sup>

Moving from such premises, the study of the practice of *contrafactum* indicates new research paths, particularly in relation to courtly lyric. For this reason, I will now explore some aspects of the phenomenon based on the widely known example *Quan vei la lauzeta mover*.

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<sup>6</sup> Though currently accepted, acknowledgement of this relationship between memory and text in mediaeval poetry is relatively recent, starting especially from the notion of *mouvance* advanced by Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil 1972, and Id., *La lettre et la voix de la littérature médiévale*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil 1987. In the musicological context, see Friedrich Gennrich, *Der musikalische Nachlass der Troubadours*, 3 vols, Darmstadt: Gennrich 1958–1965. The question was then developed with reference to secular monody by Hendrik van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères. A Study of the Melodies and Their Relation to the Poems*, Utrecht: A. Oosthoek 1972, and Amelia E. van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation in Troubadour Lyric*, Berkeley: University of California Press 1991. With regard to polyphony, Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, Berkeley: University of California Press 2005, remains fundamental; to this may be added Davide Daolmi, “I vestiti nuovi di Notre Dame”, in: *Trans: Revista Transcultural de Música* 18 (2014), 1–26.

## A case study

This famous melody, traditionally associated with the lyrics by Bernart de Ventadorn, is also the melody of the Latin disputatio *Quisquis cordis et oculis*, attributed to Philip the Chancellor.<sup>7</sup> It is also associated with three French chansons and a further piece in Occitan from *The Mystery of Saint Agnes*. Analysing the song's metrical structure and intertextual possibilities reveals many other titles that can be added to the list, not only in Occitan, but also in Old French, Galician and Middle High German and there are probably even more to be discovered (Table 2).

It is difficult to draw a complete picture of the reuse of a given melody for three reasons: *a*) the small number of extant examples of notated poetical texts; *b*) the limited usefulness of modern catalogues and inventories of courtly lyric; *c*) the lack of studies across different linguistic areas.

*a*) With regard to the textual sources, music is preserved for more than half of the extant lyrics in Old French, but only for a tenth of those in Occitan; for Italian and Iberian languages, extant documentation is limited to the tradition of the *laude* and the *cantigas*; for German, only a few fragments exist along with later compilations; and for monodies based on Latin texts, no reliable estimate exists.<sup>8</sup>

*b*) It is often difficult to identify structural correspondences that inform us about the practice of contrafactum. Most of the metric repertoires avail-

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<sup>7</sup> The most recent comparative edition is in Hendrik van der Werf, *The extant troubadour melodies. Transcriptions and essays for performers and scholars*, texts ed. Gerald A. Bond, Rochester, NY: [author] 1984, ii, 62 (see also: i, 7, 30, 73). Both texts have a very wide circulation. For a recent study on their connection, see David Murray, "The Clerical Reception of Bernart De Ventadorn's 'Quan vei la Lauzeta Mover' (Pc 70, 34)", in: *Medium Aevum* 85/2 (2016), 259–277, and Jacopo Mazzeo, *The Two-Part Conductus: Morphology, Dating and Authorship*, PhD Dissertation, University of Southampton 2015, 71–77.

<sup>8</sup> See Aurelio Roncaglia, "Sul 'divorzio tra musica e poesia' nel Duecento italiano", in: Agostino Ziino (ed.), *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento: IV*, Certaldo: Centro di studi sull'Ars nova italiana del Trecento 1978, 365–397: 375; Van der Werf, *Chansons* (see n. 6), 15; for a catalogue of German musical sources see Robert White Linker, *Music of the Minnesinger and Early Meistersinger: A Bibliography*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1962.

|  | CATAL.      | FORM       | ATTRIBUTION                      | EPOCH         | TEXT      | MUSIC  |
|--|-------------|------------|----------------------------------|---------------|-----------|--------|
| <b>Latin</b>                               |             |            |                                  |               |           |        |
| <i>Quisquis cordis et oculi</i>            | —           | conductus  | Philip the Chancellor            | 12th-13th c.  | 27 mss +  | 4 mss. |
| <b>Occitan</b>                             |             |            |                                  |               |           |        |
| <i>Quan vei la lauzeta mover</i>           | PC 70.43    | canso      | Bernard de Ventadorn             | 12th c. (end) | 20 mss +  | *GRW   |
| <i>Tostemps vir cuidar en saber</i>        | PC 335.58   | sirventese | Peire Cardenal                   | 13th c.       | *CDIJKRTd | —      |
| <i>Planhen ploran ab desplaizer</i>        | PC 266.10   | planh      | Joan Esteve                      | 1289          | *C        | —      |
| <i>Ara farai, no-m puesc tener</i>         | PC 204.1    | sirventese | Guilhem Anelier                  | 1220 / 1270   | *C        | —      |
| <i>Sener, mil gracias ti rent</i>          | PC 461.218a | planh      | in <i>Mystery of Saint Agnes</i> | 14th c.       | —         | 1 ms.  |
| <i>Senyora, tot nostre voler</i>           | —           | planh      | in <i>Misterio de Elche</i>      | 15th c.       | —         | —      |
| <b>Old French</b>                          |             |            |                                  |               |           |        |
| <i>Li cuers se vait de l'oil plaignant</i> | RS 349      | chanson    | [trans. of Quisquis]             | 13th c.       | —         | °PX    |
| <i>Amis, qui est li mieus vaillant</i>     | RS 365      | jeu-parti  | —                                | 13th c.       | °CI       | °O     |
| <i>Bien mostre Dieus apertement</i>        | RS 640      | chanson    | —                                | 13th c.       | °H        | —      |
| <i>Quant voi l'aloete moder</i>            | RS 1799     | chanson    | [trans. of Quan vei]             | 14th c.       | °u        | —      |
| <i>Plaine d'ire et de desconfort</i>       | RS 1934     | chanson    | —                                | 13th c.       | °C        | °U     |
| <b>Middle High German</b>                  |             |            |                                  |               |           |        |
| <i>Der Winter waere mir ein zît</i>        | MF 35.16    | Lieder     | Deitmar von Aist                 | 12th c.       | ABC       | —      |
| <b>Galician</b>                            |             |            |                                  |               |           |        |
| <i>Sinner adars yeus vein querer</i>       | TC 21.1     | tenso      | Arnaut [Catalan]                 | 13th c.       | B         | —      |

**Table 2:** The sigla in the column labelled *Catalogue* refer to common inventories: [PC] Alfred Pillet, *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, ed. Henry Carstens, Halle: M. Niemeyer 1933; [RS] Hans Spanke (ed.), *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes*, Leiden: Brill 1955; [MF] Karl Lachmann, Moriz Haupt (eds.), *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, Leipzig: Hirzel 1857, repr. 1977; [TC] Giuseppe Tavani, *Repertorio metrico della lirica galego-portoghese*, Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo 1967. The sigla in the last two columns are used by the respective inventories to identify the manuscripts (\* and ° distinguish between Occitan and French). The pieces *Tostemps*, *Planhen* and *Ara farai* are without music, but their corresponding metrical scheme and more particularly their use of the same rhymes make it highly likely that they used the same music; *Senyora* requires the music of *Quan vei*, as specified in the manuscript. That *Der Winter* is a contrafactum of *Quan vei* is a suggestion made by Friedrich Gennrich, *Troubadours, Trouvères, Minne- und Meistergesang*, Köln: Arno Volk 1951, <sup>2</sup>1960. *Quant voi* is a translation into *Oil* of *Quan vei*, while *Bien mostre* is one of the many cases that displays metrical affinity (specifically in this case with *Amis qui est*). Whether *Bien mostre* is a contrafactum remains a matter of conjecture (as in the case of *Der Winter*). For a more detailed bibliography about *Quisquis cordis* and connected contrafacta, see my web page <http://www.examenapium.it/cordis>.

able to us are of little use, if none at all. This is because they are arranged by rhyme rather than according to the metrical structure of the stanza. Such a structure is indispensable for the identification of musical correspondences.<sup>9</sup>

c) Finally, the majority of the existing philological studies – which are deeply influenced by nineteenth century nationalist trends – focus on poetical corpuses in specific languages. As such, they are characterised by a lack of interest in the relationships between different geographical contexts, which are instead fundamental to any research into the circulation of poetry in Europe.<sup>10</sup>

Music is the ideal medium to bridge the gap in this direction; however, the musicological approach to secular monody has always been dependent on the dictates of Romance philology, which has generally shown little interest in going beyond its own disciplinary boundaries. In this respect, a key

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9 I refer in particular to István Frank, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie des troubadours*, 2 vols, Paris: Champion 1953–1957,<sup>2</sup>1966, and Ulrich Mölk, Friedrich Wolfzettel, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie lyrique française des origines à 1350*, München: W. Fink 1972 (here the attempt to provide research filters by means of punched cards attached to the book remains a solution that is mechanical no more than partial). In any case, in the absence of music, the identification of a possible contrafactum cannot be limited to the morphology of the strophe, but must also take into account the rhythm of the line, any caesuras, internal repetitions, the meaning of the text, where it was produced, etc.

10 Nevertheless several studies in this field exist: Istvan Frank, *Trouvères et Minnesänger: Recueil de textes pour servir à l'étude des rapports entre la poésie lyrique romane et le Minnesang au xii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Saarbrücken: West-Ost Verlag 1952; Friedrich Gennrich, *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters*, Langen bei Frankfurt: Gennrich 1965; John H. Marshall, "Pour l'étude des contrafacta dans la poésie des troubadours", in: *Romania* 101 (1980), 289–335; Giulio Cattin, "Contrafacta internazionali: musiche europee per laude italiane", in: Ursula Günther, Ludwig Finscher (eds.), *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, Kassel: Bärenreiter 1984, 411–442; Joachim Schulze, *Sizilianische Kontrafakturen: Versuch zur Frage der Einheit von Musik und Dichtung in der sizilianischen und sikulo-toskanischen Lyrik des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen: M. Niemeyer 1989; Dominique Billy, "Contrafactures de modèles troubadouresques dans la poésie catalane (xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle)", in: Anthonius H. Toubert (ed.), *Le rayonnement des troubadours*, AIEO conference, Amsterdam 16–18 December 1995, Amsterdam: Rodopi 1998, 51–74. Despite the numerous specific cases that have been studied, what is missing is an "international" catalogue of contrafacta.

element – and one which has been largely overlooked – is the direction of transmission. In the case of *Quan vei*, it is tempting to consider the Provençal *canso* as the piece from which the majority of the contrafacta originated.<sup>11</sup> However, given that a number of French *chansons* are certainly derived from *Quisquis cordis*, the question of which text came first is not easy to solve.<sup>12</sup>

On the basis of our current knowledge – although it might be more correct to say our current prejudices – *Quan vei* is usually considered the older piece, for the simple reason that Bernart de Ventadorn was a generation older than Philip the Chancellor. While Bernart's poetical skills are well-known, Philip's work largely relates to contrafacta.<sup>13</sup>

Bernart and Philip, however, are two giants of medieval poetry, and it is not difficult to imagine anonymous works being ascribed to one or the other. It is worth recalling that the oldest sources for both pieces do not mention the names of the authors. Moreover, the actual dates of the two poets are uncertain: we only know that Philip died in 1236, and, given his position as head of the University of Paris, it is likely that his poetical activity dates back to his youth. If this were the case, it would not be unlikely for *Quisquis cordis* to be the melodic model for *Quan vei*. Furthermore, the path from Latin to

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11 See Enrico Paganuzzi, "L'autore della melodia della 'Altercatio cordis et oculi' di Philippe le Chancelier", in Riccardo Allorto (ed.), *Collectanea historiae musicae: ii*, Florence: Olschki 1957, 339–345. Murray, "The Clerical Reception" (see n. 7) – the most recent contribution on the topic to date – contextualises the assimilation of *Quan vei* in the Latin context, which would lead to the production of *Quisquis cordis*, thus avoiding consideration of transmission in the other direction. Only Mazzeo, *The Two-Part Conductus* (see. n. 7), 75, expresses doubts in attributing the origin of the melody to one or the other.

12 *Li cuers se vait de l'oïl plaignat* most probably derives from the *canso*, because it is a translation of *Si quis cordis*; *Sener mil gracias ti rent* also makes clear the reference to *Quisquis cordis* in a manuscript annotation. See Karl Bartsch (ed.), *Sancta Agnes. Provenzalisches geistliches Schauspiel*, Berlin: W. Weber 1869, 68 n. 78.

13 For biographies of Bernart and Philipp, cf. respectively Martin de Riquer, *Los trovadores: Historia literaria y textos*, 3 vols, Barcelona: Planeta 1975, § xvi, and Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris: 500–1550*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1989, 294; these should be read in conjunction with the numerous studies by David Traill listed in Payne, *Philip the Chancellor* (see n. 4), 221.

the vernacular, as indicated by the case of *Por conforter*, is frequently attested in courtly lyric, whereas the opposite is less common.<sup>14</sup>

Whichever text came first, either scenario is interesting, although for different reasons. On the one hand, the idea that Bernart – or any other troubadour for that matter – might draw on a Latin moral *disputatio* circulating in the university context is intriguing. It would attest to his position as a well-educated man in close contact with the latest intellectual currents and with a strong awareness of his own poetic art.

If, on the other hand, we accept the common view that it was Philip who drew on *Quan vei* – a *canço* about profane love – as a source for his philosophical and moral *disputatio*, then not only must we accept that some songs enjoyed a sophisticated poetic status, to the point of becoming the *tenor* of a moral text, but also that they circulated in intellectual and academic circles as well as in the courtly environment.

Whereas both scenarios are reasonable, the choice of one over the other affects our understanding of the culture of those times. In the first case, with the shift from Latin to Occitan – for which I am arguing here – the troubadour regains the status of intellectual, traditionally upheld by Romance philologists. His work acquires a strong didactic element, addressed to a varied audience. In the second case (the commonly accepted one of a transition from Occitan to Latin), we would have to admit that the circulation of vernacular lyrics was not foreign to the academic world and that the author was by and large unaware of the political debates of the time. If in the early thirteenth century it would not have been unusual for a Provençal poet to use a widely known Latin text as the basis for his work, it is unlikely that a poet working in the Paris of Philip Augustus would use a text that was linked to Philip's rivals, the Plantagenets, who dominated western France. Moreover, the sophisticated and refined Provençal culture, which flourished in the southern Plantagenet dominions, was a cause of conflict with Paris which,

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14 The possibility that both lyrics used the same pre-existing melody independently from one another can be excluded, for it would be unlikely such a popular melody not to have left a trace. Furthermore, the hypothesis that the melody of one poem or the other was attributed later raises the question of what the original music was and why no trace of it remains.

among other reasons, fostered the brutal genocide of the Albigensian Crusade.<sup>15</sup>

## Unearthing evidence

It is not possible to date a lyric based on the manuscript codex in which it appears, since all the extant chansonniers are late ones. The earliest songbooks date from the mid-thirteenth century and their attempt to record a glorious past results in much ideological interference in their transmission of the lyrics. Not only were the older sources destroyed, but the new compilations chose which texts to record, corrected them, attributed their authorship, and generally put together a product that is above all of antiquarian interest. It is therefore unlikely that these later compilations were designed for practical use.<sup>16</sup> Fortunately, however, other sources come to our aid.

In his unfinished *Chronica*, Salimbene de Adam, a Franciscan friar from Parma who died in 1288, celebrates at length his singing teacher, the composer Enrico da Pisa, who had died in 1247.<sup>17</sup> Salimbene recalls that in the 1240s Enrico, then sick in Siena, composed the music for *Quisquis cordis*, which is mentioned in the *Chronica* as a poem by Philip the Chancellor.<sup>18</sup>

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15 Cf. the introductory notes in Francesco Zambon, *I trovatori e la crociata contro gli albigesi*, Milan: Luni 1999; repr. Rome: Carocci 2009.

16 The invention of fictitious authors is another feature that occurs in the compilation of the first *chansonniers*; see Davide Daolmi, “Raccogliere liriche, inventare poeti. L’identità immaginaria dei primi trovieri”, in: Federico Saviotti, Giuseppe Mascherpa (eds.), *L’espressione dell’identità nella lirica romanza medievale*, Pavia: Pavia University Press 2016, 115–125.

17 I have consulted the edition by Giuseppe Scalia, 2 vols, Bari: Laterza 1966. A more recent edition is Sebastiana Nobili’s, Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato 2002.

18 “Multas cantilenas fecit frater Henricus [...] Item cantum fecit in illa littera magistri Phylippi cancellarii Parisiensis [...] Et quia, cum esset custos et in convent Senensi, in infirmitorio iaceret infirmus in lecto et notare non posset, vocavit me, fui primus qui, eo cantante, notavi illum cantum. Item in illa alia littera, que est Cancellarii similiter, cantum fecit, scilicet [...] *Quisquis cordis et oculi*” [Friar Henry composed many songs ... And he set lyrics by Parisian master Philip the Chancellor ... When he was custodian in one Sienese convent, he was unable to write music because lying sick in bed. He called me, and I

Salimbene's claim seems rather implausible, unless we assume that Enrico's music was a new setting of the poem to replace the existing one, which was very well-known at the time. It is, however, more likely that Salimbene wished to pay tribute to his admired master by ascribing him as the author of famous pieces of music. Since *Quan vai* and *Quisquis cordis* were both well-known in the years when Salimbene was writing, his reference to *Quisquis cordis* seems to make it the reference text, which must thus pre-date *Quan vei*.<sup>19</sup>

Another clue, suggesting that the Latin text is older than the vernacular one, stems from the content. The *disputatio* is a debate between the Heart and the Eye: The Heart accuses the Eye of being the doorway to sin, but the Eye defends itself on the grounds that it is only the impotent slave of the Heart. In the end, Reason intervenes, blaming both: The Heart for being the cause of sin, and the Eye for promoting the occasion. The two protagonists appear in the first line of the opening stanza of *Quan vei*:

Quan **vei** la lauzeta mover  
de joi sas alas contra-l rai,  
que s'oblida e-s laissa chazer  
per la doussor c'al **cor** li vai,  
ai, tan grans enveya m'en ve  
de cui qu'eu **veya** jauzion:  
meravilhas ai, car desse  
lo **cor** de dezirer no-m fon.

When **I see** the lark joyfully moving  
its wings against the sun's rays,  
and falling because of the sweetness  
that enters its **heart**,  
ah! a great envy comes upon me  
of all those who **I see** happy:  
I am astonished that  
my **heart** does not melt with desire.

The word "heart" appears several times in the second stanza,<sup>20</sup> and, in the third the eye of the protagonist spies his beloved and is enchanted, as if gazing into the mirror of Narcissus.<sup>21</sup>

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was the first who notated his music after he sang it. He set the music for another text of the Chancellor, that is ... *Quisquis cordis et oculi*]; in: Scalia, *Salimbene* (see n. 17), i, 263.

<sup>19</sup> However, the possibility that Enrico da Pisa himself might have pretended that the melody was his own cannot be entirely excluded. It is certainly strange that Salimbene did not (or did not wish to) recognise such a well-known melody.

<sup>20</sup> "Tout m'a mo cor" (line 13), "cor volon" (line 16).

<sup>21</sup> I adopt the order of the strophes proposed in Carl Appel, *Bernart von Ventadorn: Seine Lieder. Mit Einleitung und Glossar*, Halle: Niemeyer 1915, n. 43. The sequence pre-

The heart and the eye are thus key elements in the *canso*, but are unlikely to generate an erudite dispute between the two body parts as is the case in the Latin poem. The *disputatio* then evokes a carnal sin which is never expressed, but which permeates each stanza of the *canso*. The vernacular poem could thus be read as an explanation of the *disputatio*; in the case of a derivation of the Latin poem from the vernacular song, the piece would be no more than an erudite abstraction of one of the many elements present in the song – a path that appears less plausible.

Even agreeing with the idea of a relationship between *Quan vei* and the songs of Raimbaut d'Aurenga and Chrétien de Troyes – a subject over which much ink has been spilled<sup>22</sup> – this does not exclude the derivation of *Quan vei* from the Latin *disputatio*. Rather, it enriches and completes the picture. The triangular relationship among these sources (which now gains a fourth player) makes Bernart's position at the end of the chain even likelier. Bernart's musical reuse of the Latin dispute creates a link between Reason and the role of the "final judge" assumed by Raimbaut. Last but not least, it explains the use of a different metre.<sup>23</sup>

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sented by Appel is from the oldest source. This source is the most coherent in terms of order of the content, in particular between the last strophe and the *tornada*. This is not, however, the option that is followed most frequently in the manuscripts (however, it is not the number of sources that guarantees a closer relation to the original). This discrepancy is discussed in Simon Gaunt, "Discourse Desired: Desire, Subjectivity and Mou-  
vance in 'Can vei la lauzeta mover'", in: James Paxson, Cynthia Gravlee (eds.), *Desiring Discourse: The Literature of Love: Ovid through Chaucer*, London: Associated University Presses 1998, 89–110.

22 Aurelio Roncaglia, "Carestia", in: *Cultura neolatina* 18 (1958), 121–137; Costanzo Di Girolamo, "Tristano, Carestia e Chrétien de Troyes", in: *Medioevo romanzo* 9 (1984), 17–26; Maria Luisa Meneghetti, *Il pubblico dei trovatori*, Modena: Mucchi 1984, 139–146 (2nd ed. Torino: Einaudi 1992, 101–108); Luciano Rossi, "Chrétien de Troyes e i trovatori: Tristan, Linhaura, Carestia", in: *Vox romanica* 46 (1987), 26–62; Costanzo Di Girolamo, *I trovatori*, Torino: Bollati Boringhieri 1989, § 5; Luciano Rossi, "Carestia, Tristan: Les troubadours et le modèle de saint Paul: Encore sur 'D'amors qui m'a tolu a moi'", in: *Convergences médiévales: Épopée, lyrique, roman: Mélanges offerts à Madeleine Tyssens*, ed. Nadine Henrard et al., Brussels: De Boeck 2001, 403–420.

23 Insistence on the metrical correspondence between Raimbaut and Bernart is the least convincing aspect, since a *heptasyllabe*, though *féminin* (used by Raimbaut in the

Other clues are offered by the music. Let me start with two preliminary remarks. Even if they do not help establish which text came first, they at least shed light on how the melody was used. If we compare all the musical settings, we may observe a substantial degree of uniformity in the melodies: the most significant variants are restricted to embellishments.<sup>24</sup> The exception, however, is the version of *Quisquis cordis* in MS Paris, Latin 8433. This is the latest of the four musical sources for the Latin *disputatio*, which differs in its modification of melodic tones from the other three surviving settings. A closer comparison with the oldest among these witnesses (MS London, Egerton 274) reveals that rather than a simple variant, the Paris version presents a shift of one tone when the hexachord changes (Ex. 2).

In the first and final parts of the Ex. 2, during the *naturalis* section of the hexachord the notes are essentially the same. But where in the London manuscript the melody changes to the *mollis* hexachord, in the Paris manuscript it slips a tone and changes to *durus*. The notes are only written differently, but they have the same names and are thus basically identical. It is difficult to explain this behaviour as a mistake made during the copying process; it is more likely due to a transcription based on a performance, or something written down from the copyist's own memory. Given that the Paris manuscript can be dated to the first decades of the fourteenth century, this means that the melody was still being sung more than a century after its composition. This contradicts the view that, in the fourteenth century, Latin poetry was a practice linked exclusively to textual or academic transmission. This observation also suggests that singing in Latin was far less elitist than is commonly believed.<sup>25</sup>

The second observation concerns the relationships between musical sources. This case study differs from usual trends in the contrafacta tradition,

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even-numbered lines) has nothing in common with Bernart's *octosyllabe*: the iambic metre of the former is not easily compatible with the trochaic metre of the latter.

24 In the Appendix, I have reproduced in summary form the music of all the known sources.

25 With regard to the persistence of Latin in non-scholastic environments, see Franco Cardini, "Alto e Basso Medioevo", in: *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo: Il Medioevo latino*, I/1, Rome: Salerno 1992, 121–143.

**NATURALIS** **MOLLIS**

a) re fa sol la fa mi re mi re fa mi fa sol (mi) fa mi re ut re mi  
[Quis-quis cor-dis et o - cu - li Non sen - tit in se iur - gi - a

b) re fa sol la fa mi re mi re fa mi fa sol fa mi re ut re mi

**NATURALIS** **DURUS**

**NATURALIS**

sol (la) sol fa re mi re ut (re) mi fa sol la fa mi fa re  
Non no - vit qui sint sti - mu - li Que cul - pe se - mi - na - ri - a]

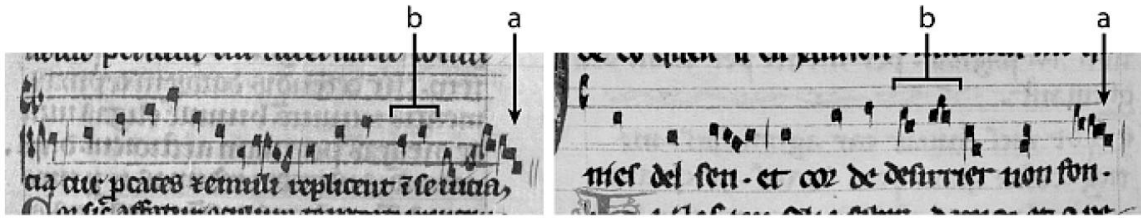
**NATURALIS**

sol fa re mi re ut mi fa sol la fa mi fa re

EX. 2: Comparison between the first four lines of the Latin *disputatio* (London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 24v: a) and the unusual version of the *canso* found in Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 8433 (b).

where melodies tend to remain stable when accompanying texts in the same language. Rather, the best melodic affinity is found in two sources of the Latin *disputatio* and the Occitan *canso* respectively, thus confirming the direct relationship between the two lyrics without intermediaries. The manuscripts are the aforementioned Egerton and the famous *Chansonniér du roy*, one of the oldest of the troubadour tradition, which includes a small troubadour section where we find *Quan vei* (it should be noted that the linguistic shape of the song in this songbook is characterised by a strong Oïl patina). Both codices were probably compiled in the third quarter of the thirteenth century in Norman territory.<sup>26</sup>

26 See Pamela Kay Whitcomb, *The Manuscript London, British Library, Egerton 274: A Study of its Origin, Purpose, and Musical Repertory in Thirteenth-Century France*, PhD Dissertation, Austin: The University of Texas 2000; and John D. Haines, *The Musicography of the "Manuscrit du roi"*, PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto 1998.



Ex. 3: Comparison between the end of the strophe of *Quisquis cordis* (London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 24v) and of *Quan vei la lauzeta mover* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fr. 844, f. 190v).

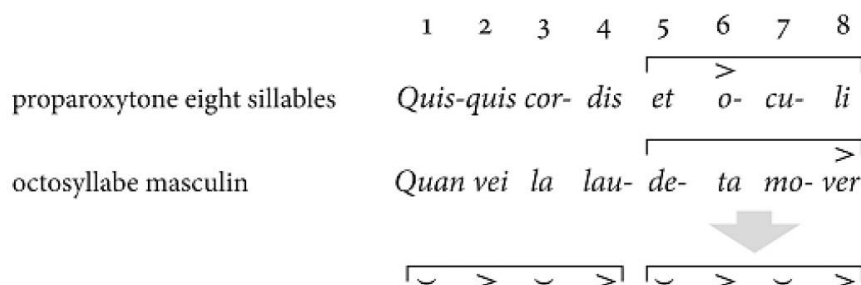
Besides the extraordinary similarity of the neumes, what is particularly interesting in these witnesses is the concluding *climacus* in the rare form without *currentes*, and with a lengthening of the second note which renders it a *clivis flexa* (Ex. 3.a). The presence of this peculiar neume suggests the existence of a common antigraph for the two manuscripts, if not a direct relationship between them. This is not impossible, given the chronological and geographical proximity of the workshops that most likely produced them.

The only variant that is particular to the Parisian codex is on neumes 4 and 5 in the last line, which are transformed into a vocalisation (Ex. 3.b): this reading is not found in any of the other 13 extant versions with music, thus suggesting a descendant form. Yet this evidence is not sufficient to establish the chronology of the various musical pieces because, as recalled above, these are all late manuscripts. Where it is possible, however, to find a degree of certainty with regard to the steps in the composition of the two texts, is in the metre and in its musical transformation.

## The contribution of music

The compatibility between a Latin proparoxytone line of eight syllables and the French octosyllabe is based on a weak-strong binary pulse, commonly known as iambic (see the example on p. 70).

This form originates from the combined metrical conclusions of the two lines necessary to adapt them to the music, which remain unchanged. This is a common pattern of metrical adaptation, which allows the Latin text's iambic metre to correspond to the French lines with their equally stressed syllables.



Though the iambic pace functions well for the majority of the lines in the *canso*, occasional adjustments are necessary, as in the very first line. The word *laudeta*, adapted to the metre of the line, is accented on its first and last syllables, whereas the correct stress should actually fall on the middle syllable “de”. This irregular accentuation occurs only occasionally. Yet given that the metre of the first line often determines that of the following lines, the anomalous setting suggests that the text was written for a pre-existent piece of music.

When comparing the melody of the Latin text with that of the Occitan, one notes that some of its parts seem to have been shifted. By making the music overlap, the consequent syllabic shift allows the syllable “de” to return to a strong position in the iambic metre, enabling the line to be sung without any artificial shift in the accents (see example on p. 71).<sup>27</sup>

This metrical instability in the *canso* is probably the most significant element that sheds light on the origin of *Quan vei* from *Quisquis cordis*. My earlier observations, though conjectural, would corroborate this hypothesis.

If we accept that *Quan vei* might be the contrafactum of a Latin *disputatio*, the author of the music of which remains unknown, we then have a more coherent scenario for the production phase of other contrafacta. At the same time, we can see that the reuse of an existing melody is not merely a practical solution. It is rather one that preserves the moral message of the original model. In this respect, the melody has the same function of the liturgical tenor and in the case of troubadour songs, the reuse tells us that, no

<sup>27</sup> With regard to correspondence between the tonic accent and the rhythm of the melody, cf. Davide Daolmi, “Identità della monodia medievale: Metro e ritmo fra laudi italiane e lirica cortese”, in: *Il saggiautore musicale* 26/2 (2019), in press.

The image displays three staves of musical notation in G-clef, 8/8 time. Above the staves, numbers 1 through 8 are placed over groups of notes, indicating measures. The first staff, labeled 'Quis-quis cor - dis et o - cu - li', shows a melody where the accent on 'dis' is misplaced relative to the syllable. The second staff, labeled 'Qan vei la lau - de - ta mo - ver', shows a melody where the accent on 'de' is misplaced. The third staff, labeled 'Qan vei la lau - de - ta mo - - ver', shows a melody where the accents are correctly placed. To the right of the second and third staves are the labels 'a) syllabic alignment (misplaced accents)' and 'b) melodic alignment (correct accents)' respectively. Arrows point upwards from the bottom of the third staff to the syllables 'Qan', 'vei', 'lau', and 'ver'.

matter which language is used, the unifying sense of the Christian faith is not lost. At the time of the Third Crusade, such a belief must have appeared as a foundational value of European creativity in contrast to the otherness of the lands across the seas.

The observations proposed here also place the *canso* in the later phase of Bernart's career, after his time at the Plantagenet court. This therefore suggests that the song was composed in Norman lands. The unusual reference to Tristan in the *tornada* – an emblem of the Matter of Britain – corroborates this hypothesis and indicates the possibility, at least in those years, of imagining some exchanges between the *langue d'oïl* of the Plantagenets and the Occitan of their territories in Aquitaine.<sup>28</sup> Thanks to his Poitevin origins, Bernart acts as an intermediary between the north and the south of the English territories, and through the filter of Latin creates his own typically Parisian product.

In such a perspective, the transnational network revealed by the other contrafacta mentioned earlier is coherent with Bernart's compositional process. If the numerous Occitan contrafacta derive from the successful reception of *Quan vei*, we cannot exclude the possibility that the anonymous

<sup>28</sup> The reference to Tristan has been discussed at length; for a bibliography see above note 21 and Don A. Monson, "Bernart de Ventadorn et Tristan", in: *Il miglior fabbro: Mélanges Pierre Bec*, Poitiers: Cescm 1991, 385–400.

authors of French *chansons*, though knowing Bernart's *canso*, may have used the Latin poem as a model. Moreover, the assimilation of Latin poetry produced in Paris is common in the *trouvère* culture, as is clear from the translation of *Quisquis cordis* into Oïl. While there is no doubt that the Galician versions are dependent on the Provençal tradition,<sup>29</sup> the authors of the other *contrafacta* might have been using the Latin text.

Meanwhile, the French-influenced Occitan version and another entirely in Oïl (see Table 2) indicate transmission in the opposite direction, from south to north. It is this direction that scholars consider to be the norm – and often, indeed, the only possible one; but in the case of the *Quan vei's* transmission, this pattern seems to apply only to a later phase.

The example I have presented suggests that the theory according to which the circulation of courtly lyric diffracted from the Provençal tradition is true only in part, and that it is unable to explain the complexity of the phenomenon and its cultural significance. One isolated case, however, cannot provide conclusive answers. It will thus be necessary to reconsider the practice of *contrafactum* as key to the study of the European circulation of courtly lyric and the ensuing creation of a system that operated across national boundaries.

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<sup>29</sup> See the caption of Table 2.

## Appendix

The appendix provides a comparative edition of all the examples of the *Quisquis cordis* melody and its associated contrafacta. With respect to Van der Werf's edition, *The extant* (see n. 7), ii, 62, minor errors have been corrected; also, the text, the form of the neumes with more than one note and the second strophe from the Santa Sabina manuscript have been added; the references within brackets refer to the line numbers in Van der Werf.

1. London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 24v (9/iv c)
2. Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1, f. 437v (7/iv a)
3. Paris, Bibl. Nationale, Lat. 8433, f. 46r (8/iv b)
4. Rome, Chiesa di Santa Sabina, Ms XIV L 3, f. 143v [two stanzas] (10/iv d)
5. Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, Chigi CV 151, f. 74v–75r [two similar version] (11/v)
6. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Fr. 847, cod. °P, f. 181r; and N.a.F. 1050, "Clairambault", cod. °X, f. 191v (6/iii)
7. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Fr. 846, "Cangé", cod. °O, f. 13v (5/ii)
8. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Fr. 20050, "S. Germain", cod. °U/\*X, f. 47v (4/i)
9. Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, R.71.sup, cod. \*G, f. 10v (3/G)
10. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Fr. 22543, "d'Urfé", cod. \*R, f. 56v (1/R)
11. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Fr. 844, "du Roi", cod. °M/\*W, f. 39v (2/W)

1 Quis-quis cor-dis et o-cu-li non sen-tit in se iur-gi-a

2 Quis-quis cor-dis et o-cu-li non sen-tit in se iur-gi-a

3 Quis-quis cor-dis et o-cu-li non sen-tit in se iur-gi-a

4 Si quis cor-dis et o-cu-li non sen-tit in se iur-gi-a

Cor sic af-fa-tum o-cu-lum te pec-ca-ti prin-ci-pi-um

5 Sey-ner mil gra-ci-as ti rent car no mi vo-les des-nem-brar

6 Le cuer se vait de l'oïl plei-gnant et dit q'il a fet mes pri-son  
Li cuers se vait de l'ueil plai-gnant et dit qu'il a fait mes pri-son

7 A-mis quelx est li mieuz vail-lanz ou cil qui gist to-te la nuit

8 Plai-ne d'i-re et de des-con-fort ploz en chan-tant m'en re-de-dui

9 Qan vei la lau-de-ta mo-ver d'ioi sas las con-tra-l rai  
Ha-las qant cui-a-va-sa-ber

10 Can vei la lau-ze-ta mo-ver de ioi sas a-las con-tra-l rai

11 Quan vei l'a-lo-e-te mo-der de ioi ses a-les con-tre al rai

non no - vit qui \_ sint \_ sti - mu - li que cul - pe se - mi - na - ri - a \_

non no - vit qui \_ sint \_ sti - mu - li que cul - pe se - mi - na - ri - a \_

non no - vit quid \_ sint \_ sti - mu - li que cul - pe se - mi - na - ri - a \_

non no - vit qui \_ sunt \_ sti - mu - li que cul - pe se - mi - na - ri - a \_

te fo - mi - tem \_ et \_ sti - mu - lum te mor - tis vo - co nun - ci - um \_

que nu - d'e - ra in - fr'es - ta gent ar suy ves - ti - da d'un drap car \_

qui doit es - tre \_ son \_ buen - voil - lant si ne li mos - tre se mal non \_

qui doit es - tre \_ son \_ bien - voil - lant si ne li mos - tre se mal non \_

a - vec sa mie \_ a \_ grant des duit et sanz fai - re touz \_ ses ta - lanz \_

fa - chiez de si \_ que j'ai grant \_ tort car as - sez trop har - di - e \_ fui \_

per la dol - çor \_ q'l \_ cor li vai \_ s'o - bli - da es lai - sa ca - der \_

que s'o - bli - da \_ lais - sas cha - zer \_ per la dos - sor \_ c'al cor li vay \_

que s'ou - bli - de et lais - se \_ ca - der per la dou - cor que'l cor li vai \_

cau - sam ne - scit pe - ri - cu - li cur al - ter - nant con - vi - ci - a

cau - sam ne - scit pe - ri - cu - li cur al - ter - nant con - vi - ti - a

cau - sam ne - scit pe - ri - cu - li cur al - ter - nant con - vi - ci - a

cau - sam ne - scit pe - ri - cu - li cur al - ter - nant con - vi - ci - a

tu do - mus me - e ia - ni - tor hos - tis non clau - dis os - ti - um

Ay - tal se - nor tan co - noy - sent deu - hom ser - vir es a - so - rar

ma - le - ment le vet de - ce - vant et fet vers li com - me fe - lon  
ma - le - ment le vait de - ce - vant et fait vers li co - me fe - lon

ou cil qui tost vient et tost prent et quant il a fait si sen fuit

quant mon cuer ne ma boi - che mui a rien qui te - nist a de - port

ha - las con grand en - vei na ve de cui que ve - ia iau - ci - on

ai - las tal en - ve - ya m'en ve de qui quieu ve - ya iau - zi - on

he tan granz en - vi - de men pre de co quest si en jau - si - on

cur pro-ca - ces et e - mu - li re - pli - cen in se - vi - ti - a

cur pro-ca - ces et e - mu - li re - pli - cent in se - vi - ti - a

cur pro-ca - ces et e - mu - li re - pli - cant in se - vi - ci - a

cur pro-ca - ces et e - mu - li re - pli - cent in se - vi - ti - a

fa - mi - li - a - ris pro - di - tor ad - mit - tis ad - ver - sa - ri - os

ques al sieus el no-i sol fayl - lir als obs ans lur vol a - iu - dar

et com-me fel et sou - dui - ant si l'en re - te de tra - i - son  
et co - me fel et so - dui - ant si l'en re - te de tra - i - son

ne be - e pas au re - me - nant amz queut la flor et laist le fruit

se por cert non qen - si re - cort mi - ré et mon duel et mon e - nui

me - ri veil - las ai car de - se lo cor de de - si - rer no-m fon

me - ra - vi - lhas ai car des - se lo cor de de - zi - rier nom fon

mi - ra - vill me q'un nies del sen et cor de de - sir - rier non fon

