

The Early Troubadours and the Latin Tradition



Richard Goddard

The Early Troubadours and the Latin Tradition

Richard Goddard

Copyright Richard Goddard

ISBN 978-94-6380-022-8

Production-Print Datawyse | Universitaire Pers Maastricht

The Early Troubadours and the Latin Tradition

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Oxford, December 1985, by

Richard Neal Basire Goddard

To Vida, wherever you are

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	7
Note on texts	9
List of illustrations	11
Introduction	13
Part I: The Poets and their milieux	17
Chapter 1 William IX, his domain and his court	21
a) Scholarly caricature and William the Troubadour	22
b) The schools of Northern Aquitaine and the ducal family	34
(i) The schools of Poitiers, Poitou and Saintonge	34
(ii) Latin learning and the ducal family	42
c) William IX, his audience, and their ethos	53
Chapter 2 The following generation	65
a) The court of William X and the diffusion of trobar	66
b) Troubadours, jongleurs, <i>sirven</i> and <i>soudadier</i>	72
c) Non-noble troubadours and the clergy	78
Part II: Vernacular and Latin poetry and song	85
Chapter 3 Love lyric	87
a) Early troubadour love lyric: form and content	88
b) Rhythmical Latin love lyric in Northern Aquitaine	94
c) Metrical Latin love poetry	104
Chapter 4 Topical and satirical verse	113
a) The early troubadour satirical <i>registre</i>	114
b) Contemporary Latin satire	126
Chapter 5 Literary Allusion: two examples from Marcabru	137
a) Marcabru's "Pois la fuoilla revirola" (song XXXVIII)	138
b) Marcabru's " <i>Soudadier</i> , per cui es iovens" (song XLIV)	150

Part III: Reflections of basic schooling	175
Chapter 6 Reading and writing	177
a) Sentence, authority and proverb	178
b) Animal imagery, proverb and fable	198
c) Personification and psychomachy	214
Chapter 7 Argument and thought	229
a) Dialogue form	231
(i) The debate poem	231
(ii) The pastourelle	239
b) Definitions and distinctions	244
(i) Love divided	244
(ii) Whole and fractured thought	250
(iii) Nature and the natural	255
(iv) Wisdom and knowledge	260
Conclusions	269
Appendices	273
Bibliography	275
Index	291

Acknowledgements

As ever, it is impossible to thank everyone who has helped in the gestation of a doctoral dissertation. The following are merely the tip of the iceberg of those who aided me. Thanks must first of all go to my supervisors, Linda Paterson of Warwick University, who taught me throughout the three-year period, and Dr. Nico Mann and Dr. Peter Godman of Pembroke College, Oxford, who each guided me for one term. Other colleagues and friends gave criticism, advice and hospitality at various stages, among whom, M. Favreau of the *Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale* in Poitiers, M. Villard of the *Archives départementales de la Vienne*, Mme Garand of the *Institut de recherche et d'histoire de textes*, Ruth Harvey of Royal Holloway College, London, Simon Gaunt of Warwick University, Elspeth Kennedy of St. Hilda's College, Oxford, and Richard Sharpe of the Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, must be mentioned. Finally, this work was funded by H.M. Government under the auspices of the Department of Education and Science and then the British Academy, and completed with support from the *Freiherr vom Stein Stiftung*, Hamburg. Travel overseas was additionally funded by Trinity College, Oxford, and the Zaharoff Fund of the Taylor Institution.

Update on publication in book form

The original 1985 dissertation has been retyped and reformatted, with footnotes and illustrations now appearing at the relevant point in the text rather than at the end in order to facilitate comprehension. The list of abbreviations has also been deleted, as these and other abbreviations have been expanded in the footnotes, again for ease of reference. The Note on texts on the following page has been brought forward so that it precedes any references to the said texts. Typographical and factual errors have been corrected. Repetition, duplication and redundant text have been removed, particularly in the concluding material within and at the end of chapters and at the end of the book. Language has generally been clarified without materially changing its sense. References have been updated, especially where the former ones would have been difficult to trace, for example, because of the renaming of a relevant institution or manuscript. No attempt has been made to update or correct the content in the light of later research.

Additional thanks are due to Ubbo Noordhof of Datawyse/University of Maastricht Press for formatting and to Sonia Bidoli for proof-reading the present publication.

Note on texts

Unless otherwise stated within the text, early troubadour songs will be quoted by number, plus strophe or line, from the following editions:

Nicolò Pasero	<i>Guglielmo IX. Poesie</i> (Modena, 1973)
Alfred Jeanroy	<i>Les poésies de Cercamon</i> (Paris, 1922)
J.-M.-L. Dejeanne	<i>Poésies complètes du troubadour Marcabru</i> (Toulouse, 1909)
Alfred Jeanroy	<i>Les chansons de Jaufre Rudel</i> (2 nd edition, Paris, 1924)
Alfred Jeanroy	<i>Jongleurs et troubadours gascons des XIIe et XIIIe siècles</i> (Paris, 1923) (for Alegret and Marcoat)
Ernest Hoepffner	<i>Les poésies de Bernart Marti</i> (Paris, 1929)
Alberto Del Monte	<i>Peire d'Alvernha: Liriche: testo, traduzione, e note</i> (Turin, 1955)

Both more recent and older editions of these poets and individual poems are referred to when they offer superior texts for individual passages. Two songs by Marcabru, numbers XXXVIII and XLIV, are re-edited with variants in Chapter 5.

List of illustrations

Figure 1	Map of selected locations referred to in Aquitaine	18
Figure 2	Map of selected locations referred to in Poitou-Saintonge	19
Figure 3	Map of selected locations referred to in Limousin	20
Figure 4	Charter of the collegiate church of Saint-Hilaire, Poitiers, 1077	49
Figure 5	Detail of the charter in Figure 4 showing autograph crosses of Duke Guy-Geoffrey-William (William VIII) of Aquitaine (below), and of Archbishop Goscelin of Bordeaux (above)	50
Figure 6	Charter of the Abbey of Saint-Jean-l'Evangeliste de Montierneuf, Poitiers, 8 June 1083	51
Figure 7	Detail of the charter in Figure 6 showing autograph crosses of Bishop Isembert of Poitiers above left, William VIII, Duke of Aquitaine below left, and of his son, William IX below right	52
Figure 8	The Woman on the Beast from the Gerona Beatus completed in A.D. 975, f. 63 (MS G)	166
Figure 9	The Woman on the Beast from the mid-twelfth century Saint-Sever Beatus, MS Paris BN lat. 8878, f. 52v (MS S)	167
Figure 10	Noah's Ark from the Beatus copied by Facundus for King Ferdinand I of Léon and his wife Sancha, completed in A.D. 1047, from Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional Ms. Vit. 14-2, f. 109 (MS J)	168
Figure 11	The Bird and the Snake from the mid-twelfth century Saint-Sever Beatus, MS Paris BN lat. 8878, f. 13 (MS S)	169
Figure 12	The Bird and the Snake from the Gerona Beatus completed in A.D. 975, f. 18v (MS G)	170
Figure 13	The Whore and the King (detail) from the Beatus copied by Facundus for King Ferdinand I of Léon and his wife Sancha, completed in A.D. 1047, from Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional Ms. Vit. 14-2, f. 224v (MS J)	171
Figure 14	The Beatus of Liébana manuscripts, their present situations, their dates and provenances (lettering of Wilhelm Neuss, where applicable)	172
Figure 15	Beatus manuscripts containing illustrations of the Woman on the seven-headed Beast (I), the Woman on the Beast (II), Noah's Ark (III), and the Bird and the Snake (IV)	173

Figure 16	The Fable of the Dog and the Meat from Adémar of Chabannes's grammatical anthology, MS Leiden University VLO 15, f. 195v	212
Figure 17	The Fable of the Ass and his Master from Adémar of Chabannes's grammatical anthology, MS Leiden University VLO 15, f. 197	213
Figure 18	Illustrated <i>Psychomachia</i> of Prudentius in Adémar of Chabannes's grammatical anthology, MS Leiden University VLO 15, f. 42	225
Figure 19a	Map of the distribution of Romanesque sculptural representations of Prudentius's <i>Psychomachia</i> in western France (key on following page)	226
Figure 19b	Key to the map on the previous page	227
Figure 20	Sculptural psychomachy on the west portal of the church of Saint-Pierre-de-la-Tour, Aulnay-de-Saintonge, Charente-Maritime (detail)	228
Figure 21	Sculptural psychomachy on the portal of the church of Saint-Gilles, Argenton-les-Vallées, Deux-Sèvres	228

Introduction

The “early troubadours” will encompass, for the purpose of this study, the two generations of troubadours before the “classical period” of the third quarter of the twelfth century. William, VIIIth Count of Poitiers and IXth Duke of Aquitaine (1070-1126) (“William IX”) is the only extant poet of the first generation. Of the three major representatives of the second generation, Cercamon and Marcabru were certainly active at the court of William’s son, William X (1100-1137), and Jaufre Rudel was likely to have been associated with this court. Four further troubadours, although their dating is even more uncertain, will be included in the second generation for the present purpose because of their relationship with Marcabru: Alegret, Marcoat, Bernart Marti and Peire d’Alvernhe. Alegret is addressed in a song by Marcabru (XI, 65). A song by Peire (I) may be parodied by Marcabru in his songs XXV and XXVI.¹ Marcoat (song I, line vii), Bernart (song IX, line 58) and Peire (song XIII, strophe vi) all compliment or defend Marcabru, while Alegret, Bernart and Peire closely imitate Marcabru’s allusive satirical style. The chosen texts thus date approximately from the first half of the twelfth century with a probable lee-way of ten years on either side. They consist of slightly fewer than a hundred songs, of which almost half are attributed to Marcabru.

The concept “Latin tradition” is potentially much broader, but will be limited by only including material in Latin which is helpful in elucidating the lives and works of the early troubadours. First priority will be given to material from the period *ca.* 1050-1150 and which is directly associated with the cathedral and abbey schools of Poitou, Saintonge and Limousin, the area which appears to have been the cradle of early troubadour lyric. Secondary consideration will be given to Latin works which, based on circumstantial evidence, were probably known in or around this region at that time.

A number of books and articles have examined different aspects of the relations between the troubadours and Latin writings. Many of these were written or conceived in the 1930s and had an overriding interest in the “origins” of troubadour lyric. Guido Errante’s *Marchabru e le fonti sacre dell’antica lirica romanza* finds biblical sources for practically all of Marcabru’s imagery.² Hans Spanke’s *Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik* sees liturgical chant as the source of much

¹ Rita Lejeune, “Thèmes communs de troubadours et vie de société”, pp. 75-88 of *Actes et mémoires du IIe congrès international de langue et littérature du Midi de la France, Aix, 2-8 septembre 1958* (Aix-en-Provence, 1961), pp. 75-88 (pp. 80-88)

² Guido Errante, *Marchabru e le fonti sacre dell’antica lirica romanza* (Florence, 1948)

troubadour music and many of its verse-forms.³ Dimitri Scheludko finds sources for images and ideas in troubadour lyric from the Bible, the Church Fathers, and Classical, Late Antique and Medieval Latin literature, notably in his “Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altprovenzalischen Lyrik”.⁴ Significant post-Second World War contributions include D.W. Robertson’s article, “Five Poems by Marcabru”, where the American Anglicist applies his theories of the exegetical reading of medieval literature to Marcabru,⁵ and Linda Paterson’s *Troubadours and Eloquence*. The latter monograph demonstrates knowledge of Latin rhetorical terms and techniques in the songs of Marcabru and his successors, but concludes that this only constitutes one strand in the creation of their new vernacular eloquence.⁶ These and other works of criticism will be appraised and discussed in context.

The present study will refer to and build on such scholarly works as these, but will significantly differ from them in three principal ways. Firstly, the two generations before the “classical period” of troubadour lyric are treated without anachronistic reference to later developments. Troubadours of the third and fourth generations continued to experiment with their art, but it was an art which was becoming increasingly defined by the thematic and technical parameters of its own tradition. Songs composed in the first fifty years of *trobar* are far more eclectic than those of later periods in terms of their allusion to and borrowings from the literary and intellectual world outside.

Secondly, analysis of the relations between early troubadours and contemporary Latin writings aims to be as comprehensive as possible, while respecting historicity. The extant documentary material has therefore been divided and investigated according to three main categories: historical, literary, and educational. In the first part (chapters 1-2), Latin documents are used in conjunction with the vernacular lyric as a means of inquiring into the lives of the early troubadours and their patrons, their relations with the clergy, and biographical evidence for some level of school learning. The second part (chapters 3-5) addresses the question of the relationship of the Latin poetic tradition in Northern Aquitaine with the two main strands of early *trobar*, the love lyric and the satire. The third part (chapters 6-7) explores specific aspects of early *trobar*, where clerical training, learning to read, write, think and argue, may have had an impact on the ways the troubadours express themselves and communicate with their audience.

The influence of biblical exegesis and classical rhetoric will, perhaps surprisingly, not occupy distinct sections in this enterprise. This is partly because of the original work undertaken in these fields by Robertson, Leo Pollmann,⁷ Ulrich Mölk,⁸ Paterson and Nathaniel Smith,⁹ which has often led to conjectural and inconclusive results. It is also

³ Hans Spanke, *Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Metrik, der Musik (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse)* 3. Folge, No. 18, Berlin, 1936

⁴ Dimitri Scheludko, “Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altprovenzalischen Lyrik”, *Archivum Romanicum* XI (1927), pp. 273-312; vol. XII (1928), pp. 30-127; vol. XV (1931), pp. 137-206

⁵ D.W. Robertson, “Five poems by Marcabru”, *Studies in Philology* 51 (1954), pp. 539-560

⁶ Linda M. Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence* (Oxford, 1975)

⁷ Leo Pollmann, “*Trobar clus*”. *Biblexegese und hispanoarabische Literatur* (Münster, 1965)

⁸ Ulrich Mölk, *Trobar clus, trobar leu; Studien zur Dichtungstheorie der Trobadors* (Munich, 1968)

⁹ Nathaniel B. Smith, *Figures of Repetition in the Old Provençal Lyric. A Study in the Style of the Troubadours* (Chapel Hill, 1976), Chapter I D, “The Troubadours, Rhetoric and Literary Tradition”

partly because these subjects have seemed of less importance than others within the overall perspective of this study. These topics will therefore be touched on throughout part III under the different section headings of chapter 6, "Reading and writing", and chapter 7, "Argument and thought".

Finally, the Latin material used will, as far as possible, be justified both chronologically and geographically as being available in the relevant regions at the relevant time. This will necessitate some discussion of Latin historical and literary texts for their own sake, and not simply as tools for the understanding of Occitan works. It will also lead to different conclusions from previous scholars specialised in the vernacular literatures, who have tended to treat Latin texts with excessive deference, not to be translated, interfered with, or have their dating, availability or meaning valued or questioned.

The critical approach adopted will, generally speaking, be more investigative than theoretical, since the fragmented and diverse nature of the surviving evidence makes structuring around a central hypothesis impractical. Each section will therefore begin with the analysis of material pertinent to a question which either has some chance of resolution, or, as in the analysis of contemporary Latin love lyric and satire in chapters 3 to 4, is so important as to necessitate its confrontation. Such an approach serves to reveal the limitations of available sources, while nevertheless providing a framework within which to explore and potentially explain specific examples of interaction between the two traditions.

Part I: The Poets and their milieux

Introduction

The first two chapters of this study will leave aside the lyric of the early troubadours *per se* and concentrate on the individuals who composed, performed and experienced it. They will attempt to answer questions such as the following. Who were these individuals? What were their social positions? Who were their patrons, if any? Where did they live and where did they travel?¹⁰ Were they educated? And if so, to what level? The establishment of such background information is essential in order to be able to assess what access the early troubadours and their audiences may have had to Latin learning, and what their response to it may have been in the context of the performance of the new vernacular lyric.

An historian of the period has remarked of the troubadours that, “We know nothing of the lives of these men outside their poetry”.¹¹ This is an exaggeration, but not a great one. There is just enough contemporary or near contemporary evidence in relation to the early troubadours and their milieu to attempt answers to the questions asked above, but not so much that this would require an entire monograph rather than part of one. The one hundred or so songs surviving from the half-century of lyric examined here provide some elements of historical and personal information. The *vidas*, or lives of the troubadours, can also be valuable sources once one is aware that amorous adventures and any details which can be extrapolated from the songs are unlikely to be trustworthy.¹² These vernacular sources can often be supplemented by Latin ones, especially in the case of noblemen, by using Latin documents, such as charters, letters, chronicles, and even verse, a source seldom taken into account by more specialised historians of the region.

¹⁰ See the maps in figures 1-3 on the next three pages for locations mentioned in the following chapters

¹¹ Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual 1050-1200* (London, 1972), p. 113

¹² Stanislaw Strónski, *La poésie et la réalité aux temps des troubadours* (Taylorian lecture, Oxford, 1943)

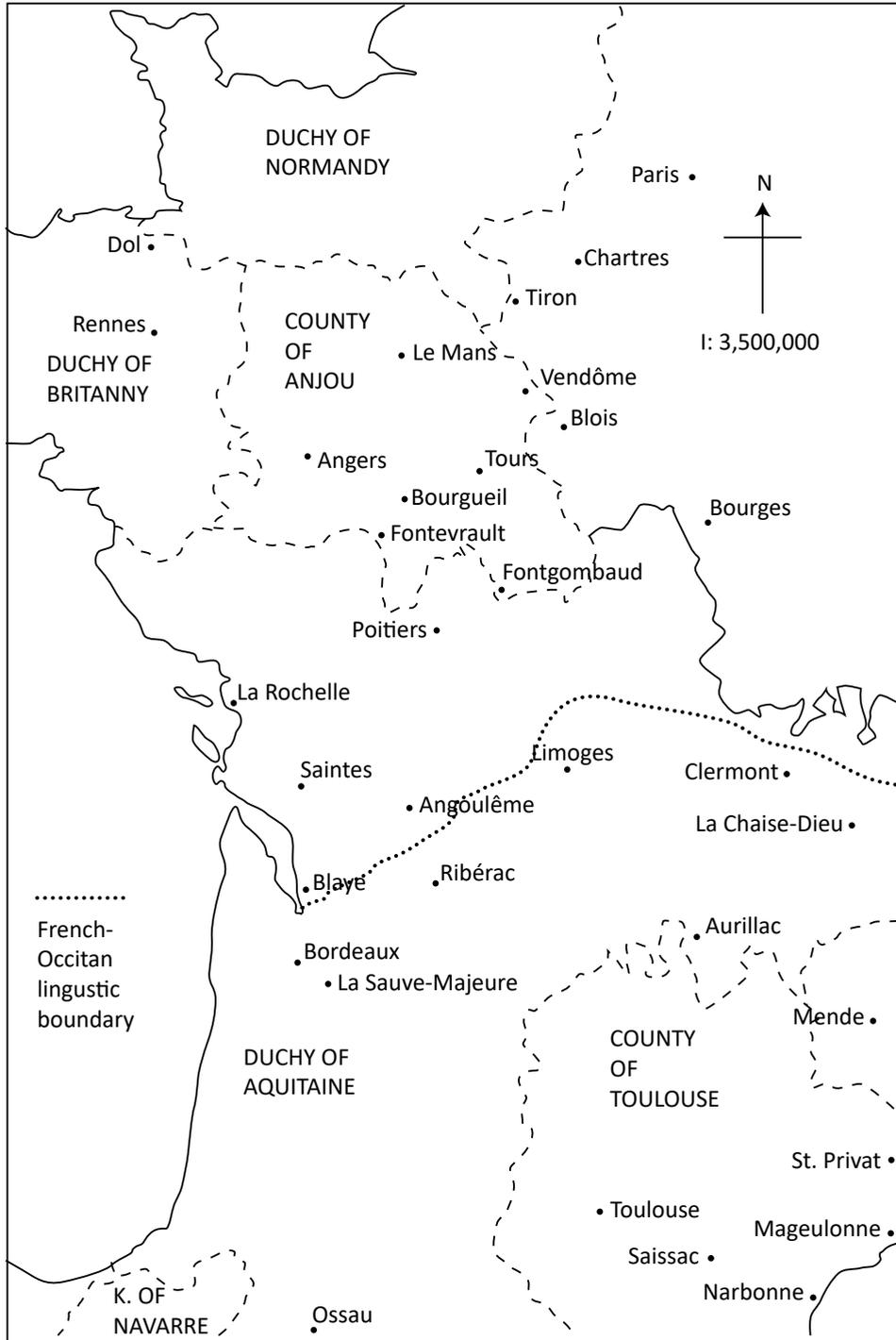


Figure 1 Map of selected locations referred to in Aquitaine

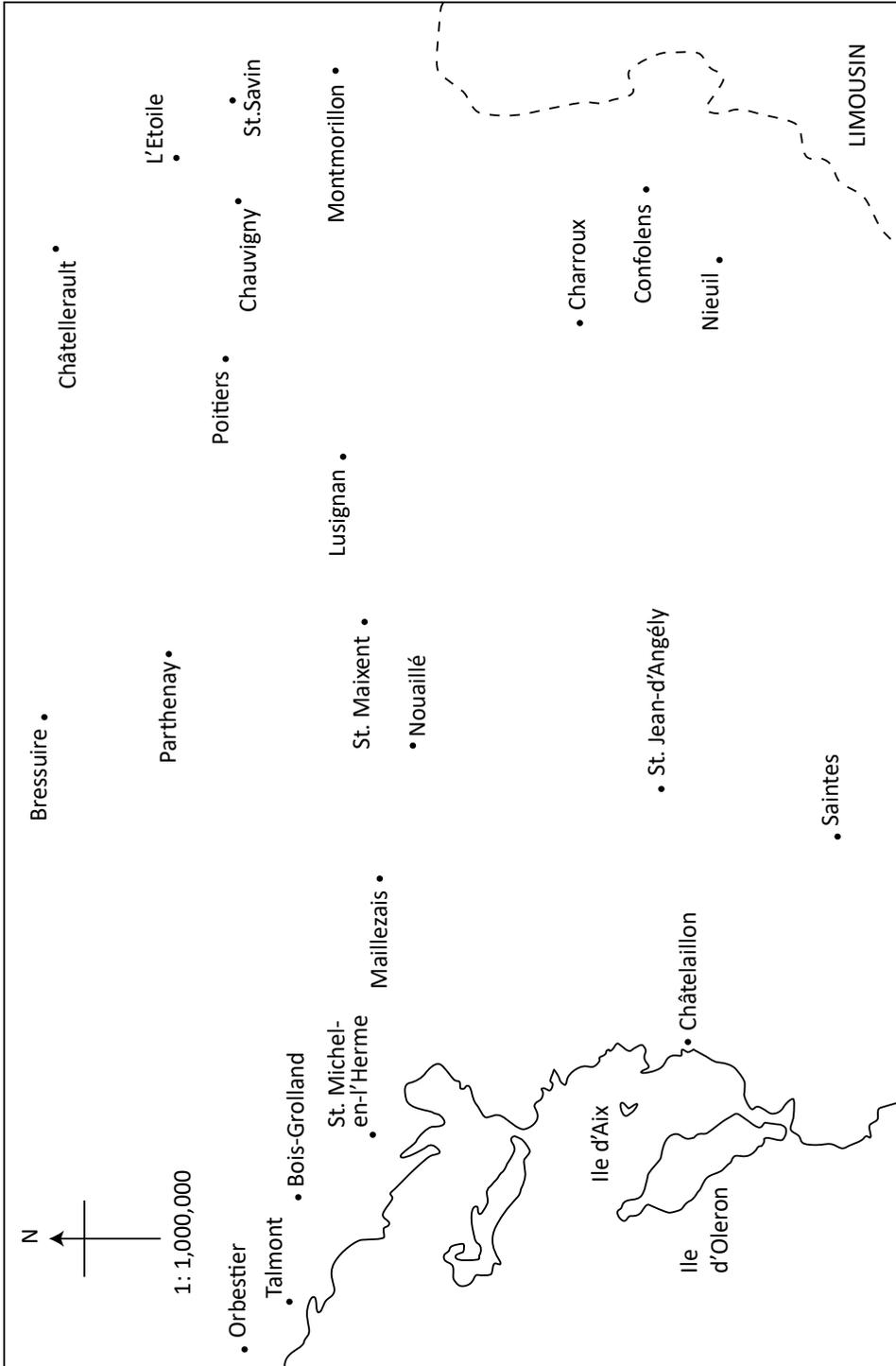


Figure 2 Map of selected locations referred to in Poitou-Saintonge

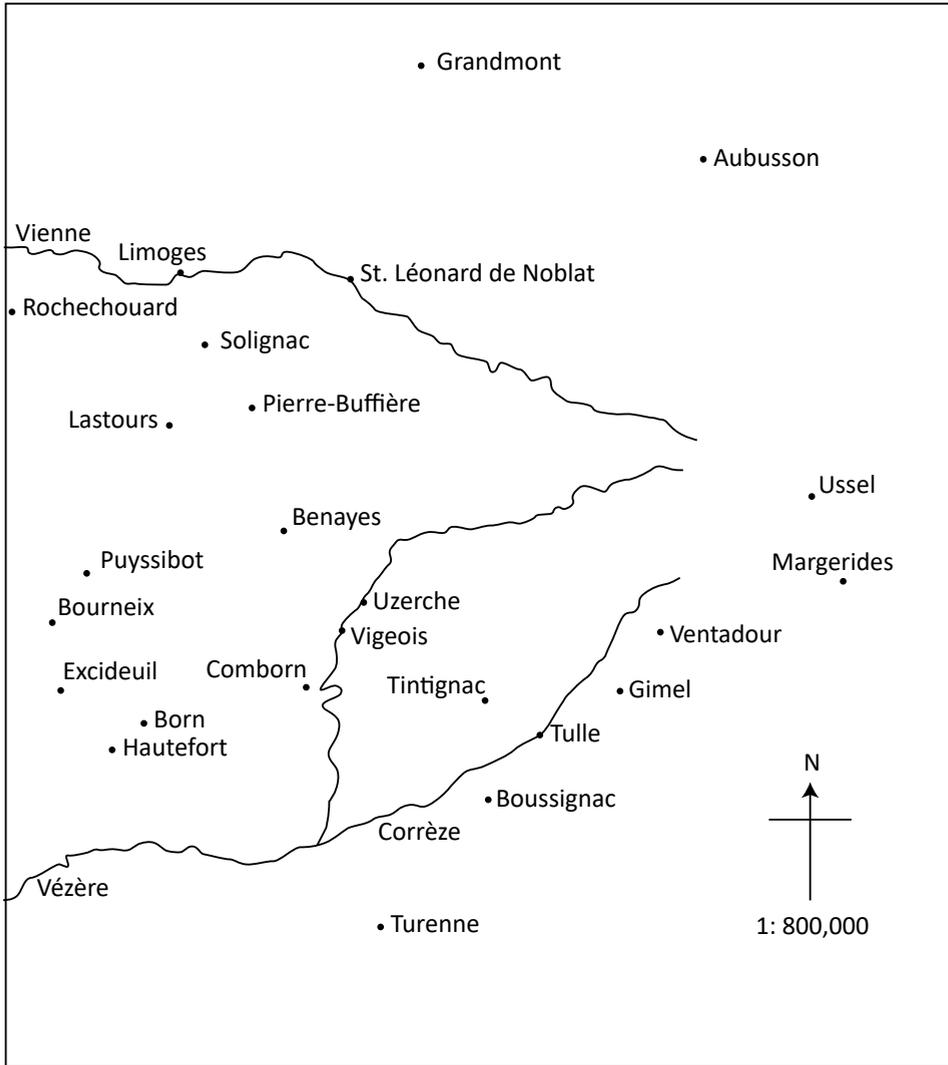


Figure 3 Map of selected locations referred to in Limousin

Chapter 1

William IX, his domain and his court

CHAPTER 1

a) Scholarly caricature and William the Troubadour

The question, “Who was William VIth Count of Poitiers, IXth Duke of Aquitaine, the first known troubadour?” is superficially easy to answer. He was one of the most powerful lords of western Christendom, the direct ruler of Poitou and Saintonge, and to a greater or lesser extent overlord of most of what is now South-Western France. Unlike almost all other troubadours, it is possible to establish with certainty a chronology of his life:

1071:	Born to Guy-Geoffrey, William VIth Count of Poitiers, VIIIth Duke of Aquitaine (“William VIII”), and to his third wife, Hildegarde of Burgundy
1086:	Succeeds to his father’s titles at the age of fifteen
1087:	Death of Bishop Isembert and appointment of Peter II of Poitiers
1094:	Marries as his second wife Philippa (or Matilda), heiress of Toulouse
1098-1100:	William IX’s first occupation of Toulouse
1099:	The future Duke William X is born
1100:	Confrontation with the legates of Urban II at a Council at Poitiers
1101-1102:	Participates in a disastrous crusade to the Holy Land
1113-1122:	William IX’s second occupation of Toulouse
1114-1115:	Repudiates Philippa in favour of the Viscountess of Châtellerauld and is excommunicated by Bishop Peter II of Poitiers
1117:	Bishop William Gilbert succeeds Peter II; the excommunication lapses
1119:	A former wife complains to Pope Calixtus II at a synod at Reims
1120:	Takes part in Alfonso I of Aragon’s victory over the Moors at Cutanda
1121:	William X marries the daughter of the Viscountess of Châtellerauld
1127:	William IX dies and is succeeded by William X

The outline of William’s biography is well-known, but his personality has always been a subject of controversy. He has been denounced as militarily and politically incompetent, as being of a wholly frivolous disposition, as sexually immoral and a scourge of the Church. Each of these charges, in so far as they are separable, will be examined in turn in this section, beginning in each case with a reappraisal of the more influential and important Latin sources for the duke’s character. By redrawing this background, it is possible to move beyond eight centuries of caricature by historians and literary critics alike, in order to assess to what extent the first known troubadour could have known and even employed in his songs the inherited Latin culture from within and around his domains.¹³

Two twelfth-century chroniclers have been particularly damaging to William’s political, military and moral reputation: the Anglo-Norman monk, William of Malmesbury (*ca.* 1095–*ca.* 1143) and Geoffroy du Breuil, Prior of Vigeois in the

¹³ The twelfth- and twentieth-century attitudes discussed below are almost identical to the prejudices of the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, as seen for example, in Antoine Dadin de Hautesserre, *Res Aquitanicae*, volume I (Toulouse, 1648), book 10, chapter 14, pp. 498-504; Thibaudet, *Histoire de Poitou* (Niort, 1839), vol. I, p. 229; and Dom Charles/Dom François Clément, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 11, “La suite du XIe siècle de l’Église jusqu’à l’an 1141”, reprint (Paris, 1841), pp. 41 and 43

Limousin, who wrote in the third quarter of the twelfth century. The Anglo-Norman historian begins a sustained example of “his biting portraiture”¹⁴ with unequivocal hostility.¹⁵

“Erat tunc Willelmus comes Pictavorum fatuus et lubricus;¹⁶ qui, postquam de Jerosolima...rediit, ita omne vitiorum volutabrum premebat quasi crederet omnia fortuitu agi, non providentia regi.”

(William, Count of the Poitevins, was then alive, a foolish and slippery character; who, after he returned from Jerusalem, immersed himself in the whole hog pool of vices, as if he believed the world was ruled not by providence, but by chance.)

Geoffroy was no less anxious to slur the Duke’s character. However, he does so less for moral or rhetorical ends than in order to make William scapegoat for the catastrophic crusading expedition of 1101-1102. The Aquitanian contingent had assembled in Limoges, but provided a sorry sequel to the Limousin glories of the first crusade:¹⁷

“Dux Aquitanorum Guillelmus cum multis aliis Hierosolymam perrexit: verumtamen nomini Christiano nihil contulit: erat nempe vehemens amator foeminarum, idcirco in operibus suis inconstans exstitit.”

(The Duke of the Aquitanians, William, set off for Jerusalem with many men, but did nothing to promote the name of Christ, for he was a passionate lover of women and for that reason inconstant in his enterprises).

This equation of military failure with the Duke’s supposed frivolity, lasciviousness and irreligion is typical of much of the historiography relating to William IX.¹⁸ The same can also be said of the contradictory interpretation of events by the two writers. The Anglo-Norman monk imagines defeat as causing William to take refuge in vice, while the Limousin prior sees his military failure as being the result of the Duke’s deeply flawed personality. As will be demonstrated below, both historians are embroidering the bare facts at their disposal for their own ends and must therefore be treated with the utmost caution.

It is not possible to assess the relationship between piety and greed for money, power and glory in the motives of the crusading duke, nor is it possible to apportion blame for his army’s annihilation. It is, however, possible to make the following mitigating statements in William’s favour. His was just one of several groups of crusaders to be ambushed and massacred in Asia Minor in 1101. Other commanders,

¹⁴ H. Farmer, “William of Malmesbury”, *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (1967), vol. IV, p. 928

¹⁵ William Stubbs, ed., *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque; Historiae novellae libri tres* (*Rolls Series* 97, London 1887-1889), vol. II, p. 510, section 439

¹⁶ There are no overtones of sexuality, as there are in Modern French *lubrique*

¹⁷ Philippe Labbé, ed., *Chronica Gaufredi coenobitae monasterii D. Martialis Lemovicensis, ac prioris Vosiensis coenobii, Novae bibliothecae manuscriptorum librorum tomus secundus: rerum aquitanicarum* (Paris, 1657), vol. II, ch. XXXII, p. 297

¹⁸ The persona in William IX’s *Vida* is not dissimilar. He is said there, presumably based on the content of his songs, to be “uns...dels majors trichadors de domnas”, (one of the greatest cheaters of women), ed. Jean Boutière/Alexander H. Schutz, *Biographies des troubadours, textes provençaux des XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Paris, 1963), no. I

including Welf, Duke of Bavaria, and Hugh, Count of Vermandois and brother of the King of France, met with exactly the same fate at the hands of the Seljuk Turks, who were much better prepared and organised than at the time of the First Crusade. Despite this defeat and the consequent financial strain on his purse, William IX successfully retained and consolidated his hold on Saintonge, which had been reconquered from the rival Counts of Anjou by his father. He also extended his inherited territories by occupying the County of Toulouse for much of his reign, and generally kept his warring vassals, such as the Taillefer and Lusignan, Counts of Angoulême and of La Marche respectively, at bay at a time of endemic local warfare.¹⁹

Indeed, a number of contemporary, clerical sources who were arguably neutral or of opposing political allegiance, celebrated the military vigour and prowess of the Count of Poitiers. Geoffrey, abbot of La Trinité, Vendôme in Anjou (ca. 1070-1131), whose house had dependent properties in Aquitaine and who was frequently in conflict with the duke and his vassals, addressed a letter to him as “Guillelmo omnium militum magistro”, (William, master of all knights).²⁰ The author of a charter of 1104 from the collegiate church of Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers, added an unusual detail to its dating formula: “Willelmo Aquitanorum Duce in flore iuventutis militiam agente”, (With William, Duke of the Aquitanians, in the flower of his youth waging war).²¹ The *Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium*, written from the standpoint of the insurgent Count Vulgrin of Angoulême, described William in 1118 as both “strenuissimus” (most vigorous) and “mirae audaciae et strenuitatis”, (of marvellous boldness and vigour), terms mirrored by the term, “strenuus”, used in the Aragonese chronicle of San Juan de la Peña to describe the William IX’s role at the battle of Cutanda in 1120.²² Finally, the chronicle of Saint-Maixent in Poitou marked the year of his death as follows: “Hic virtute secularis militia super omnes mundi principes mirabiliter claruit”, (He marvellously outshone all the lords of the world in his skill at worldly warfare).²³

William’s reputation for a degree of frivolity unbecoming his position stems partly from his alleged amorous exploits, which were not rare in men in his position at this or any time. A more important reason for this reputation, however, arguably derives from the fact that this powerful *seigneur* composed and performed verse in the vernacular, in what his vassal, Jaufre Rudel, called the “plana lingua romana”, (the plain romance

¹⁹ For the rising dynasties of Angoulême and Lusignan, see Prosper Boissonnade, “L’Ascension, le déclin et la chute d’un grand état féodal du Centre-Ouest. Les Taillefer et les Lusignan, comtes de la Marche et d’Angoulême, et leurs relations avec les Capétiens et les Plantagenêts (1137-1314)”, *Bulletins et Mémoires de la société archéologique et historique de la Charente* (1935), pp. 1-258

²⁰ Jean Besly, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou et ducs de Guyenne* (Paris, 1647), p. 421; Jacques-Paul Migne et al., *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina* (“*Patrologia Latina*”) (Paris, 1841-1855), vol. 157, col. 201, *Epistles*, book V, no. XIX

²¹ Louis- François-Xavier Rêdet, *Documents pour l’histoire de l’église de St.-Hilaire de Poitiers* (*Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l’Ouest*, XIV, 1847, Poitiers, 1848), no. CVIII, p. 119; Besly, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou*, p. 425

²² Jacques Boussard, ed. *Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium* (Paris, 1957), pp. 32-33 ; *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña* (*Biblioteca de escritores Aragonenses, Zaragoza*, 1876), cited in Marcelin Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne aux XIe et XII siècles* (Paris, 1949), p. 160, n3

²³ Jean Verdon, ed. *La chronique de Saint-Maixent (751-1140)* (Paris, 1979), p. 194

tongue) (song II, line 31). Alfred Jeanroy justly described the chroniclers' reaction to this, as follows:²⁴

“Ce qui paraît les avoir le plus frappés, c’est le tour plaisant et sarcastique de son esprit, le cynisme de ses propos, qui rendaient ce haut potentat fort semblable à un jongleur.”

The censorious Anglo-Norman monk, William of Malmesbury, was predictably the harshest among twelfth-century chroniclers in his judgment of this unprecedented breach of social norms:²⁵

“Nugas porro suas, falsa quadam venustate condiens, ad facetias revocabat, audientium rictus cachinno distendens.”

(Furthermore, he turned trifles into jokes, blending them with a certain false elegance, and made his auditors' mouths gape with laughter).

William of Malmesbury clearly disapproved of William's performances, which he regarded as trifling and improper; yet he was unable to conceal the fact that the Duke possessed his own brand of wit and that many were amused.

Another Anglo-Norman monk, Orderic Vitalis (1075-*ca.*1142), who was also a contemporary of the duke, and arguably a more balanced historian than William of Malmesbury,²⁶ is both more explicit and more sympathetic in his account of William's personality and talents:²⁷

“Anno itaque dominicae incarnationis M.C.I. Guillelmus Pictaviensium dux ingentem exercitum de Aquitania et Guasconia contraxit, sanctaeque peregrationis iter alacris iniit. Hic audax fuit et probus, nimiumque iocundus, facetos etiam histriones facetiis superans multipliciis.”

(In the year of our Lord's incarnation 1101, Duke William of the Poitevins gathered a huge army from Aquitaine and Gascony and embarked on the holy and joyful pilgrimage. He was a bold man and upright, excessively amusing, even outdoing witty actors with his many witticisms).

He continues, after the failure of William's crusade:²⁸

“Pictavensis vero dux peractis in Ierusalem orationibus, cum quibusdam aliis consortiis suis est ad sua reversus, et miserias captivitatis suae, ut erat iocundus et lepidus, postmodum prosperitate fultus coram regibus et magnatis atque Christianis cetibus multotiens retulit rithmicis versibus cum facetis modulationibus.”

(The Poitevin Duke, having completed his prayers in Jerusalem, returned with a number of new companions to his own affairs. Being an amusing and charming fellow, and buoyed by his good

²⁴ Alfred Jeanroy, *La poésie lyrique des troubadours* (Paris, 1934), vol. II, p. 4

²⁵ Stubbs, ed. *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque*, vol. II, p. 510, section 439

²⁶ Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford, 1969-1980), vol. I, pp. 39-40

²⁷ *Ibid.* vol. V, p. 324, *lib. X, ca. XX*, iv.118

²⁸ *Ibid.* vol. V, p. 342, *lib. X, ca. XXI*, iv.132

fortune, he publicly described before the kings, magnates and assembled Christian forces the wretchedness of his captivity, in rhythmical verses with witty melodies).

Unlike Geoffroy du Breuil, Orderic did not consider William's moral failings to be a cause of defeat. On the contrary, he describes the crusading Duke as *probus*, "upright" and *audax*, "bold". Unlike William of Malmesbury, Orderic is not critical of the Duke's talents as an entertainer, although elsewhere in his *Historia*, Orderic censured *mimi*, *ioculatores* and *histriones*, and associated them with *parasites*, "spongers", and *meretrices*, "whores".²⁹ William IX is rather complimented as *nimumque iocundus*, "excessively witty", *facetus*, "jesting" (not pejorative as in English "facetious" and French "facétieux"),³⁰ and *lepidus*, "charming". The duke outdid the professional players in their own art, a fact which the chronicler found remarkable and implicitly seemed to admire.

The time-honoured notion that William IX was uncontrollably sexually promiscuous derives largely from a misreading of his verse, combined with the distorted reporting of the break-down of his second marriage. William of Malmesbury continued his character assassination of the troubadour with a series of anecdotes. In the first of these, William is said to have raved that he intended to found an abbey of whores near Niort, singing out repeatedly (*cantitans*) the names of famous strumpets who would be abbess, prioress and other officers of the house.³¹ As plausibly suggested by Pio Rajna, the use of *cantitans* rather suggests that the chronicler is recounting the content of a lost satirical song by the troubadour.³²

In more recent years, the departmental archivist of the Vienne has persisted with the idea that "Les aventures amoureuses du Troubadour sont bien connues, lui-même s'en est suffisamment vanté".³³ More recently still, a literary critic, Jean-Charles Payen has conflated historical knowledge of William's concubine, the Viscountess of Châtelleraut, with the fictional portrayal of his two favourite "mistresses" in the song, "Companho, farai un vers qu'er covinen" (I), and imaginatively declared that the Viscountess "n'aime pas les jeux érotiques à trois auxquels s'est autrefois complu le comte".³⁴ All three writers, despite the interval of eight hundred years and their divergent interests, project the same erotic persona from the Duke's songs onto William himself. It is a tribute to that artistic *persona* that it has remained so compelling, despite its limited historical foundation.

The main cause outside William IX's verse for his reputation for sexual immorality, and the only event in William IX's life which caused as much adverse comment as the loss of his crusading army, was his repudiation in 1114 of his second wife, Philippa. This

²⁹ *Ibid.* vol. III, p. 102, *lib.* V, ca. X, iii.382; and vol. III, p. 318, *lib.* VI, ca. X, iii.99

³⁰ Jeanroy, nevertheless, describes William as "un Don Juan facétieux, qui rit de tout et se fait gloire de son dévergondage", *La poésie lyrique*, vol. II, p. 4

³¹ Stubbs, ed. *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque*, vol. II, p. 510, section 439

³² Pio Rajna, "Spigolature provenzali II, La badia di Niort", *Romania* VI (1877), pp. 249-253 (P. 250)

³³ François Villard, "Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine et le concile de Reims de 1119", *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* XVI (1973), pp. 295-302 (p. 297)

³⁴ Jean-Charles Payen, *Le Prince d'Aquitaine. Essai sur Guillaume IX, son œuvre et son érotique* (Paris, 1959), p. 59

event and the taking of one of his major vassal's wives as his concubine resulted in William's excommunication by Peter II, Bishop of Poitiers. Most of William of Malmesbury's pen-portrait deals with these events, before leading, in a rhetorical crescendo, to the story of Bishop Peter's exile, death, and the quotation of two panegyric poems on him. The chronicler immediately followed these with the stories of the founding of the Abbeys of Fontevraud and Tiron by Robert d'Arbrissel and the future Saint Bernard of Tiron respectively, two personalities strongly associated with Poitiers and Poitou. This context implies that the purpose of William of Malmesbury's depiction of William IX was primarily to contrast his character with the saintliness of Peter of Poitiers, and to dissociate the duke from the reforms of the Church in his immediate domains.

A satirical poem on the same events, "Petre, super petram nec inaniter aedificasti", survives by Hildebert, Bishop of Le Mans (ca. 1056-1133). The larger portion of this poem again consists of praise of Bishop Peter II, while the criticism of William IX is rhetorical rather than explicit, as for example in lines 11-12:³⁵

"de thalamo nuptam, sponsam de sede fugarat,
Templa, thorum, patrium, vi, pellice, labe gravarat."

(He has chased his wife from their bedchamber, his spouse from their throne, he has defiled the Church, their bed, his fatherland, with violence, a concubine and filth).

This is another example of satire rather than history, but in verse rather than prose. Hildebert, as an Angevin had even less reason than William of Malmesbury to praise a Count of Poitiers, the eternal rival of the Counts of Anjou.

Another Latin poem, which is attributed by some scholars to Hildebert, may actually be by a partisan of William IX in this affair. This poem in honour of the city of Poitiers and its deceased bishop, is entitled, "De civitate Pictavi", and begins: "Si cunctas urbes numeremus Alpius infra". There are four versions, including two longer versions where the third line reads:³⁶

"Hanc decorant princeps, plops maxima, clerus honestus."

(The prince, the excellent people and the honourable clergy adorn it (i.e. the city of Poitiers)).

In the two shorter versions, one of which is used of Peter II by William of Malmesbury,³⁷ this is one of the lines left out. This poem may therefore have been deformed in order to retain praise of the city's bishop, but no longer bear any mention of its secular overlord.

A third and later Anglo-Norman chronicler, Ralph of Diceto, Dean of St. Paul's in London (ca. 1120/30-1202), would seem to add more information concerning the end

³⁵ A.B. Scott, *Hildeberti Cenommansis episcopi carmina minora* (Leipzig, 1969), no. 49, p. 39; *Patrologia Latina* 171, co. 1392

³⁶ *Patrologia Latina* 171, cols. 1434-1435 (19 couplets); Jakob Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Aarau 1905), no. 18, pp. 16-17 (17 couplets)

³⁷ Stubbs, ed. *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque*, vol. II, p. 511, "Versus de Petro episcopo Pictavorum" (7 couplets); c.f. André Boutemy, "Notes additionnelles à la notice de Ch. Fierville sur le ms 115 de St. Omer", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XXII (1943), pp. 5-33 (p. 10)

of William's marriage.³⁸ He declared that William IX's replacement of his wife with a concubine, Amalbergis, led to a protracted revolt by his son and heir, who was captured, then set free and finally died expiating his impiety on pilgrimage at Compostella. There is, however, no other evidence for such a revolt, and William Stubbs, Ralph's editor, notes that the paragraph is probably an invention of the chronicler. It is, indeed, extremely unlikely. The future Duke William X married the daughter of the Viscountess of Châtellerauld, his father's concubine, in 1121 (he did not die until 1137), and he occurs on a charter with his father and the latter's "wife", probably the Viscountess (see below), at the Abbey of Saint-Jean-l'Évangéliste de Montierneuf in 1119.³⁹ The future William X was twenty years old in 1119, making it improbable that he had already been at war with, captured by and reconciled with his father. It is more likely that Ralph is making an imaginative leap to fill in gaps in his knowledge, perhaps in order to discredit morally the family of Eleanor of Aquitaine, through whom King Henry II of England had inherited the province.

The remaining source of information on the end of William IX's marriage with Philippa of Toulouse is Orderic Vitalis. His testimony is indirect, since he is reporting an incident which occurred at the synod held in the presence of Pope Calixtus II in Reims in 1119, and which was a later side-effect of the rupture. The passage is also obscure in some details, but when disentangled may provide further clues as to the actual turn of events in 1114 to 1117. A Countess Hildegardis of Poitiers is said to have come to the council to complain that she had been abandoned in favour of Malbergio, wife of the Viscount of Châtellerauld. William was defended in his absence by "Guillelmus eloquentissimus juvenis, episcopus sanctonensis et plures episcopi et abates de Aquitania", (William, a most eloquent young man, the Bishop of Saintes and several bishops and abbots of Aquitaine), but was nevertheless ordered to take back his wife. The identity of the young man, William, is unknown, and that of Hildegardis is disputed. François Villard has argued that the Countess here was in fact Philippa; that William had taken her back in 1115-1116, when their son, Raymond, was allegedly born, or at least by 1117, when the excommunication lapsed; that he abandoned her again in 1119, when he was losing his hold on Toulouse; that William believed himself mortally ill at the time of this council and was therefore unable to come; that he then reconciled himself with the church and took her back once again; and finally, that Philippa lived until the 1120s or even the 1130s.⁴⁰

There are a number of weaknesses in M. Villard's arguments. Neither Philippa nor her mother was called Hildegardis; the date of Raymond's birth is not known and may have been before 1115;⁴¹ the excommunication may have lapsed because of Philippa's death or for other, political, reasons; William did not finally quit Toulouse until 1122;⁴² and there is no first-hand evidence that Philippa lived beyond 1114. M. Villard cites two

³⁸ William Stubbs, ed., *Ymagines historiarum 1148-1202 (Rolls Series 68, London 1876)*, vol. I, p. 366

³⁹ François Villard, *Recueil de documents relatifs à l'abbaye de Montierneuf de Poitiers (1076-1319) (Archives Historiques du Poitou VIX, Poitiers, 1973)*, charter no. 61, pp. 92-95 (p. 93)

⁴⁰ Villard, "Guillaume IX", pp. 295-302

⁴¹ Richard, *Histoire*, vol. I, p. 270, believes that 1114 is the most probable date

⁴² *Ibid*, pp. 484-489

charters as proofs of her longevity.⁴³ One of them is not extant, but is quoted in *Gallia Christiana*, the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Benedictine compilation, and relates to the Abbey of Montierneuf in Poitiers.⁴⁴ The second charter is from the cartulary of the later Cistercian Abbey of Notre-Dame de Bois-Grolland in Bas-Poitou.⁴⁵ The former document does name Philippa as the widow of William, but consists of a brief paraphrase to which Philippa's name may have been added incorrectly. The latter comprises an extract and does not record a present donation by Philippa, but confirms a previous one. It is entirely in the past tense.

The solution to the problem of "Hildegardis" proposed by Alfred Richard, who remains the definitive historian of the reign of William IX, is much simpler than M. Villard's, despite the latter's criticism of its complexity. Richard supposes that "Hildegardis" is Ermengarde, William's first wife, and daughter of Hildegard of Beaugency.⁴⁶ Her second husband had died only seven days before this session of the council, a situation which may explain this act of desperation on her part. Since William X married Aenor, daughter of the Viscountess of Châtellerauld, in 1121, William IX's *uxor* in the 1119 Montierneuf charter is not likely to be Philippa, but much more likely to be the Viscountess, to whom he could have been married by loyal clerics. Judging by the Hildebert and Pseudo-Hildebert poems and the remarks of Orderic, there seems to have been no shortage of these.

There are several reasons for the vehemence of the sexual-moral criticism levelled at William IX by contemporary and later clerics. As already mentioned, Hildebert of Le Mans, William of Malmesbury and Ralph of Diceto may all have had particular political axes to grind. Hildebert and William of Malmesbury were both accomplished satirical writers in their respective media, and all three authors reflected a notable shift in mainstream clerical opinion during the latter part of the eleventh century. When William IX's father, was threatened with excommunication on taking his third wife before being legally separated from his first one, the Pope overlooked the matter on the understanding that the Duke would found a splendid *Novum Monasterium*, i.e. Montierneuf, in Poitiers.⁴⁷ This sort of compromise was no longer possible in a political climate when, as a result of the Gregorian reforms, the clergy was taking a much firmer stand on lay marriage and divorce. As described below by Georges Duby, the crisis seems to have been precipitated at the highest level in 1092 by the scandalous adultery and bigamy of King Philip I of France (reigned 1060-1108) with Bertrade of Montfort, wife of Fulk IV Rechin, Count of Anjou.⁴⁸

⁴³ Villard, "Guillaume IX", p. 296

⁴⁴ *Gallia Christiana*, vol. II, cos. 1266-1267

⁴⁵ Paul Marchegay, *Cartulaires du Bas-Poitou (Département de la Vendée)* (Les Roches-Baritaud (Vendée), 1877), p. 252, no. LXVII

⁴⁶ It was not uncommon for noblewomen to be referred to by their mother's name. Philippa was, for instance, often referred to as Matilda

⁴⁷ Alfred Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou, 778-1204*, vol. I (Paris 1903), ch. XV, pp. 306-308

⁴⁸ Georges Duby, *Medieval Marriage. Two Models from Twelfth-century France*, trans. Elborg Forster (Baltimore/London, 1978), p. 45

“The controversy over Philip’s double-marriage, I am convinced, constituted the major turning-point in the dialectic between two competing conceptions of the matrimonial order.”

William IX was Philip’s successor as a victim of the clash between new clerical ideals and the historical aristocratic reality, where marriage had been primarily a matter of political expedience.⁴⁹

The repudiation in 1114 by William IX of his second wife, Philippa, represented the third in date of three occasions when the Duke clashed with the Church establishment. The first of these three occasions related to a local territorial matter, while the second one comprised another issue of lay matrimony. The former dispute had blown up in 1094, when the young William IX failed to intervene when an aggressive local lord, Eble of Châtellaillon, seized a church situated on the island of Oléron, off Saintonge-Aunis, which belonged to the Abbey of La Trinité, Vendôme. Pope Urban II himself, at Abbot Geoffrey’s request, wrote to William, urging him to imitate his father’s piety and restore the property or be excommunicated.⁵⁰ A charter of La Trinité from 1096-97 then contains a lengthy first-person apology by William, where he reminds the clergy of his immaturity on his accession, his present youth, explains that he had let himself be bullied by his own vassals, and finally curses and condemns any Judas who should again injure La Trinité.⁵¹ The document is witnessed by a number of William’s vassals and ecclesiastical dignitaries, and appears to be the transcript of a public atonement performed by the duke at the new castle of Benayes in Limousin. If William had any part in composing his own apology, which is at least *made* to sound personal, then it leaves an impression not only of deep contrition, but also of a certain eloquence.

William’s first clash with the Church hierarchy on a matter of lay matrimony occurred at the Council of Poitiers held in 1100, where action against his cousin, the adulterous Philip I of France, was to be discussed. The *Gesta in concilio Pictaviensi* record that William was asked by the King to bring an end to the Council, that he arrived in a rage with his men, that the papal legate, John, following his namesake the Baptist, offered his head to William, and that the duke, seized with guilt, prostrated himself and asked forgiveness of the legate.⁵² This story is suspiciously similar to and may be a source of William of Malmesbury’s account of the 1114 excommunication of William IX, when Peter II of Poitiers also allegedly offered his head to the Duke.⁵³ Geoffrey the Fat, biographer of Bernard, Abbot of Tiron, is even less restrained than the *Gesta* in his reporting of the Council of Poitiers. He claimed that as soon as William heard of the King’s threatened excommunication, this enemy of all virtue and sanctity (“totius pudicitiae et sanctitatis inimicus”), frightened of being indicted on a similar charge, ordered his men to despoil, beat and kill the conciliar participants. In Geoffrey’s version,

⁴⁹ See *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque*, ed. Stubbs, vol. II, section 404, pp. 479-480, for his venomous attack on Philip and Bertrade

⁵⁰ Charles Métais, *Cartulaire saintongeais de la Trinité de Vendôme* (*Archives Historique de la Saintonge de l’Aunis* XXXVII, Paris 1893), no. XXXVII, pp. 65-66; c.f. Besly, *Histoire*, p. 415; Richard, *Histoire*, p. 403

⁵¹ Métais, *Cartulaire saintongeais de la Trinité de Vendôme*, no. XXXVIII, pp. 66-70

⁵² *Gesta in concilio Pictaviensi circa excommunicationem Philippi I Francorum Regis*, in *Recueil des historiens*, ed. Bouquet, vol. XIV, pp. 108-109

⁵³ Stubbs, ed. *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque*, vol. II, pp. 510-511

it was his local heroes, Bernard and Robert d'Arbrissel, and not the papal legate who stood firm against the Duke and his men.⁵⁴

Based on these contradictions between different Latin chroniclers, it would seem that both William of Malmesbury and Geoffrey the Fat used poetic licence to burnish the reputations of their clerical heroes at the expense of William IX, by reading the Duke's excommunication in 1114 back to the Council of Poitiers in 1100. The more objective Hugh of Flavigny (1065-1115), chronicler of Verdun, tells a less sensational story about the Council of Poitiers. According to him, the duke and the bishops begged that the king should not be excommunicated, were rebuffed, and walked out threateningly with a host of clerks and laymen.⁵⁵ If, as seems likely, this latter, more sober account is nearer the truth, then it appears that this incident was not an act of sacrilege by a violent sexual reprobate. It was rather an expression of frustration in the context of conflicting political interests, not only between laity and a newly confident clergy, but also within the clergy.⁵⁶

If William IX was not as spectacularly and actively anti-clerical as the events of 1094, the confrontation at the Council of Poitiers in 1100, and his relationship with Peter II of Poitiers in 1114 have led scholars to believe, it could still at least be argued that the duke was spiritually passive, particularly in comparison to his predecessors. Reto Bezzola, like Alfred Richard,⁵⁷ pictures William as oscillating between hostility and indifference to the Church:⁵⁸

“Guillaume IX, comme nous l'avons vu, contrairement à ses ancêtres, notamment à son illustre grand-père, s'était toujours profondément désintéressé des questions religieuses.”

Bezzola was struck by the fact that William took no part in the three purportedly most important religious movements in Aquitaine during his reign: the foundation of the Abbey of Fontgombaud in 1091, and of the abbeys and orders of Fontevraud in 1107 and Grandmont in 1076. Yet, Fontgombaud and Fontevraud were not within the borders of Aquitaine, but were in the County of Anjou. Fontgombaud was in the diocese of Bourges, and Grandmont in that of Limoges, and there is limited evidence that the Dukes of Aquitaine actively patronised the Church in either see. Fontevraud was, however, then in the diocese of Poitiers, was supported by Peter II, Bishop of Poitiers, and was the abbey chosen by William's first two wives and his daughter when they took

⁵⁴ *Vita B. Bernardi abbatis de Tironio. Auctore Gaufrido Grosso, ejus discipulo*, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Dom Martin Bouquet et al. (Paris, 1738-1904), vol. XIV, p. 69, or *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 172, cols. 1361-1446 (col. 1396)

⁵⁵ *Chronicon Hugonis monachi Virudensis et Divionensis Abbatis Flaviniacensis*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, vol. VIII, pp. 280-503 (p. 493)

⁵⁶ See Jane Martindale, *The Origins of the Duchy of Aquitaine and the Government of the Counts of Poitou (902-1137)* (unpublished DPhil thesis, Oxford, 1965), pp. 180-189, for the attempts of the Church to break away from ducal control at this period

⁵⁷ Richard, *Histoire*, pp. 452-453, 456, 473, 477

⁵⁸ Reto Bezzola, “Guillaume IX et les origines de l'amour Courtois”, *Romania LXVI* (1940), pp. 145-237 (p. 188); reprinted in *Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en occident 500-1200* (Paris 1944-1963), vol. II, 2, pp. 243-326 (p. 277)

CHAPTER 1

orders.⁵⁹ It is probable in this case that William kept a discreet distance from an ascetic movement verging on the fanatical, with great appeal to noblewomen, and centred on the charismatic personality of Robert d'Arbrissel (ca. 1055-1117). Fontevraud was also on the border with Anjou, and Robert and his foundation were principally patronised by Angevin laity and clergy.⁶⁰

Contrary to Bezzola's assertions, William IX can be seen actively supporting the Church throughout his reign. This is evident from ecclesiastical charters, where he dispensed and supported gifts to individual institutions. These were, however, mostly within his personal domains, and generally confined to a number of establishments which he personally favoured or had been favoured by his family. The following list provides an illustrative sample:

- ca. 1095: William IX returns land to the Abbey of Sainte-Marie-des-Dames de Saintes, despoiled by William Freeland. He is commended for his love of God and the Virgin.⁶¹
- 1096: The Abbey of Saint-Jean-l'Evangeliste de Montierneuf, Poitiers, begun by William VIII and completed in the reign of William IX, is solemnly consecrated by Pope Urban II in person.⁶²
- 1098: Gift to the Abbey of Sainte-Croix, Talmont-Saint-Hilaire, in the Duke's hunting-grounds in Bas-Poitou.⁶³
- ca. 1100: Gift to the Abbey of Saint-Jean-d'Angély in Saintonge, 100 kilometers south-west of Poitiers.⁶⁴
- 1102: Gains a prebend for a certain Arbard at the collegiate church of Saint-Hilaire, Poitiers, of which the Dukes were hereditary abbots.⁶⁵
- 1107: Grants land for the foundation of the Abbey of Saint-Jean d'Orbestier near Talmont to Fulcher, a disciple of Robert d'Arbrissel.⁶⁶
- ca. 1112: Gift to the Abbey of Sainte-Croix, Talmont.⁶⁷
- 1113: Takes the monastic hospital of Maison-Dieu, Montmorillon, 50 kilometers to the west of Poitiers, under his protection and confirms various gifts.⁶⁸
- 1116: Gift to the Abbey of Sauve-Majeure in the Bordelais.⁶⁹

⁵⁹ Bezzola, *Les origines*, vol. II.2, p. 290

⁶⁰ Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making 843-1180* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 339-340, 367-368

⁶¹ Théodore Grasillier, *Cartulaires inédits de la Saintonge*, II. *Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Saintes* (Niort, 1871), no. 78, p. 70

⁶² *De constructione monasterii novi Pictavi a Martino monacho*, in Villard, *Recueil Montierneuf*, pp. 424-441 (pp. 438-439)

⁶³ Louis de la Boutière, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Talmond (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, Poitiers, 1872)*, no. CLXIV, pp. 202-203

⁶⁴ Georges Musset, *Le cartulaire de St.-Jean d'Angély (Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis)*, Paris, 1903), vol. II, no. CCCXX, pp. 82-83

⁶⁵ Rédet, *Documents pour l'histoire de l'église de St.-Hilaire de Poitiers*, no. CIV, pp. 114-115

⁶⁶ L. de la Boutière, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye d'Orbestier (Vendée) (Archives Historique du Poitou, VI, Poitiers, 1877)*, no. 1, pp. 1-4

⁶⁷ Boutière, *Cartulaire Talmond*, no. CCI, p. 228-229

⁶⁸ *Tables des manuscrits de D. Fonteneau conservés à la bibliothèque municipale de Poitiers*, vol. I, in *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, IV (Poitiers, 1839), p. 111

⁶⁹ *Archives historique de la Gironde*, XII (1870), p. 317

- 1119: Confirms gifts and privileges granted by his ancestors to Montierneuf.⁷⁰
 1122: Gift to the Abbey of La Chaise-Dieu in Auvergne, within the Duchy of Aquitaine.⁷¹
 1126: Grants rights to the collegiate church of Sainte-Radegonde in Poitiers and the Abbey of Sainte-Croix, Talmont.⁷²

The above examples have been chosen as representative of the pattern of William's patronage of the Church. He confirmed donations, granted further gifts and rights, and protected the rights of monastic houses throughout the region and his reign. These houses generally comprised a number of specially favoured establishments in Poitiers, Poitou and Saintonge, but he also occasionally granted favours to houses outside his personal domains, but within Aquitaine. Although he may occasionally have had bad relations with individual clergymen and the church hierarchy both within and without his own domains, there was no period in William IX's life when he ceased to be a patron and protector of the Church in his dukedom.

After citing so much rhetorical defamation of William's character, it seems appropriate that this section should close with a relatively little-known funeral panegyric of the duke from one of his favourite abbeys, Sainte-Croix de Talmont.⁷³

"Ipso scilicet anno quo Willelmus consul, totius speculum probitatis obierat, quem instar Alexandri, Philippi vel Pompei Romani, seu quoque juxta nomen magnorum qui sunt in terra virorum, ob magnam suam prerogativam virtutum universalis urbanitas vocari censeat magnum; cui munerum universa streinuitas, universa humana liberalitas eo tenus se minuerat⁷⁴ ut nichil supra, nichil extra putaretur, presertim quia quantum hominis interest experientia, omnes actus, omnes mores noverat mortalium, cunctos motus et item omnimodos humanorum affectus comprehenderat animorum, ut nulli unquam injuste irasci, nulli umquam incompetenter videretur misereri; quem si mundus aliorum mortibus redimere posset, ad omnium bonorum arbitrium, decimum quemquam quos sustinet hominum haud injuria pro eo dare deberet."

(That was indeed the year of the death of Count William, that mirror of all probity, who, by common consent of all people of urbanity, also deserves, like Alexander, Philip, Roman Pompey and the other great men who have inhabited the earth, to be called "the Great" on account of his outstanding virtues. He was so well endowed with the gifts of boundless strength, vigour and universal human generosity, even to the point of impoverishing himself, that nothing above or beyond can be imagined. This was especially true of his knowledge of men's lives, their actions and customs, for he understood every motive and every emotion of the human soul, so that he was never seen to lose his temper unjustly or pity anyone misguidedly. If the world could buy him back by the deaths of others, all good men would agree that it would not be unfair to exchange for him a tenth of the men whom the world sustains.)

⁷⁰ Villard, *Recueil Montierneuf*, no. 61, pp. 92-95

⁷¹ *Gallia Christiana*, vol. II, co. 521

⁷² *Tables des manuscrits de D. Fonteneau*, vol. I, p. 120

⁷³ Boutière, *Cartulaire Talmond*, no. CXCVIII, pp. 226-227 (p. 227)

⁷⁴ MS *minerceraverat*

b) The schools of Northern Aquitaine and the ducal family

After filling in some details of William IX's relations with state, family and the Church, and modifying the traditional view of him as an anti-clerical blasphemer, an appropriate context has been created to consider to what degree the duke was educated in, or at least sympathetic to, Latin literary culture. Before this, however, it will be necessary to bring together the scattered evidence for Latin scholarship in his domains.

(i) The schools of Poitiers, Poitou and Saintonge

Poitiers and Poitou have been seen by some scholars as front-runners in the implementation of the Gregorian reforms up to the turn of the eleventh century.⁷⁵

“Poitiers, au XIe siècle, a été une des capitales de la restauration de la discipline ecclésiastique en même temps que de la renaissance de l'art chrétien.”

Many great churches were begun or worked on in Poitiers in the reigns of William IX, his father and grandfather: Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand was consecrated in 1049; Montierneuf was founded in 1078; and, towards the end of the century, Sainte-Radegonde and perhaps the Cathedral were all under construction or reconstruction. The Northern Aquitanian variant of Romanesque style is renowned among art historians.⁷⁶

“De toutes ces conditions naît, dans le cours du XIe siècle, ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler une école romane du Poitou.”

This activity continued into the twelfth century and much credit for this and related ecclesiastical reforms has been given to Peter II of Poitiers,⁷⁷ who became Bishop of Poitiers in 1087 and died in exile in 1115. Due recognition must, however, also be given to the ducal family, the principal lay protectors of these churches.

William IX's father, William VIII, had strongly supported the adoption of Cluniac monastic reforms in his domains, even when this was resisted by local clergy, for example, at Saint-Martial of Limoges. Peter II's predecessor as Bishop of Poitiers, Isembert II, confirmed the attachment of the Abbey of Saint-Cyprien to Cluny in 1076, and William VIII placed his favourite Abbey of Montierneuf under the auspices of this order on its foundation two years later. A selection of gifts by William IX to religious houses in Poitou and beyond has already been listed in the preceding section of this chapter.

The last known charter signed by William VIII was at the collegiate church of Sainte-Radegonde, and this gives some indication of his expectations for his son. This charter, which confirms a gift to the female canons of this church, was witnessed by his fifteen-year old son and successor, William IX, Rainald, Abbot of Saint-Cyprien, Gervais, Abbot

⁷⁵ Gabriel Le Bras, “L'activité canonique à Poitiers pendant la réforme grégorienne (1049-99)”, in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet à l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire par ses amis, ses collègues, ses élèves et les membres du C.E.S.C.M.*, ed. Pierre Gallais and Yves- François Riou (Poitiers, 1966), vol. I, pp. 237-239 (p. 237)

⁷⁶ Jean Chagnolleau, Gaston Dez, René Crozet and Jacques Lavaud, *Visages de Poitou* (Paris, 1942), pp. 99

⁷⁷ George T. Beech, “Biography and the Study of 11th Century Society. Peter II of Poitiers 1087-1115”, *Francia* VII (1980), pp. 101-121

of Saint-Savin, Simon II, Bishop of Agen, William II of Parthenay, Treasurer of Saint-Hilaire, Hugh VI of Lusignan and William Freeland.⁷⁸ This was the group of ecclesiastical and lay intimates and advisors which William IX was expected by his father to inherit. William VIII could not have foreseen that his principal vassals would attempt to take advantage of his son's youth and so cause frictions with the Church, and that the election of Peter II the following year, without the influence of the ducal family, would lead to further tensions between the Church and laity.

In contrast to the surviving Romanesque architecture, which bears witness to the vigour of and investment in the Church in Northern Aquitaine in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, there is little direct evidence for scholarship and the literary arts, including versification at this time. Robert Favreau only managed to find two or three manuscripts from Saint-Hilaire up to the beginning of the twelfth century, despite his assertion that:⁷⁹

“Au Xième siècle l'école de St.-Hilaire-le-Grand de Poitiers était le plus grand foyer culturel au sud de la Loire.”

This dearth of documents is almost certainly to be blamed on the sixteenth-century wars of religion. In 1562, for instance, an armed Protestant band controlled Poitiers for two months, during which time they plundered and ravaged shrines and churches. The relics of Saint Radegonde were burned in the street; the tomb of William IX was demolished; and the fabric of Saint-Hilaire, Montierneuf, Saint-Cyprien and many other monuments was badly damaged.⁸⁰ Local historians have therefore supposed that the vast majority of manuscripts from this area were among the ecclesiastical property destroyed.

Favreau (up to 1100) and Nikolaus M. Häring (up to 1200) have nevertheless been able to draw up remarkably complete lists of *magistri* of Saint-Hilaire and of the cathedral chapter of Poitiers using diplomatic documents.⁸¹ Favreau traced the careers of several late eleventh-century *magistri* at Saint-Hilaire and showed their close relations with the court of William VIII. Chief among these scholars was Tetbaldus or Thibaut, who was not only *magister scholarum* at Saint-Hilaire but, until at least 1077,⁸² also Chancellor of William VIII's court, a combination of ecclesiastical and lay functions which would not be possible once the Gregorian reforms had been fully implemented in Poitiers. It appears that Thibaut's brother, William, was Chancellor and then sub-Deacon of Saint-Hilaire, and that he succeeded Thibaut as *magister scholarum* there.⁸³ These brothers, “Tetbaldus...grammaticus et frater eius Willelmus subdecanus sancti Hylarii”, are also referred to in a fascinating charter of the Abbey of Nouaillé from *ca.* 1088-1091, where William IX and Peter II jointly force them to return mills apparently seized

⁷⁸ Richard, *Histoire*, I, p. 372

⁷⁹ Robert Favreau, “Les écoles et la culture à St.-Hilaire-le-Grand de Poitiers, des origines au début du XIIe siècle”, *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* III (1960), pp. 473-478 (p. 473)

⁸⁰ Hubert Le Roux, *Dictionnaire de Poitiers* (Poitiers, 1976), p. 36; Gaston Dez, *Histoire de Poitiers (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, IV, s. 10, 1966), (Poitiers, 1969) p. 97

⁸¹ Favreau, “Les Ecoles”, pp. 473-477; Nikolaus M. Häring, “Zur Geschichte der Schulen von Poitiers im 12. Jahrhundert”, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 47 (1965), pp. 23-47

⁸² Häring, “Zur Geschichte der Schulen von Poitiers”, p. 46

⁸³ Favreau, “Les écoles”, p. 477

by their father from the abbey.⁸⁴ The importance of this judgment, which served to underline the new demarcation between ecclesiastical and lay spheres, is underlined by the presence not only of the young duke and the newly elected Bishop of Poitiers, but also of Rainald, Abbot of Saint-Cyprien, the Abbot of Saint-Maixent, Count Boso III of La Marche and Hugh VI of Lusignan, among others.

Nikolaus Häring, whose work does not seem to have been known to or is at least not mentioned by Favreau, has tabulated the school masters of Saint-Hilaire and the cathedral chapter of Poitiers from the period of the brothers, Thibaut and William, to the end of the twelfth century. His research confirms that these were the two main schools in the city and indeed the region, but that they were only consistently organised from the period of Bishop Peter II of Poitiers. The schools in the cathedral town of Saintes seem to have been the only other ones to have used the title of *magister scholae* or *scholarum* at the same period in Poitou-Saintonge. However, none of these masters nor the *grammatici* who are sporadically mentioned in local charters, attained the wider fame achieved by the masters and pupils associated with the ducal capital and the monasteries of its hinterland. The following paragraphs illustrate this point by briefly describing those individuals most closely associated with the schools of Poitiers in approximate chronological order.⁸⁵

William of Poitiers, the biographer of William the Conqueror, is known to have left his native Normandy to study in Poitiers in the mid-eleventh century.⁸⁶ Orderic Vitalis explains his surname as follows:⁸⁷

“Pictavinus autem est, quia Pictavis fonte philosophica ubertim imbutus est.
Reversus ad suos omnibus vicinis et consodalibus doctior enituit.”

(He is called “of Poitiers” because he drank deeply at the fount of philosophy in Poitiers. When he returned home he excelled in learning among his neighbours and companions.)

Orderic adds that this William of Poitiers wrote in the style of Sallust and composed rhetorical verse of a high standard.

Abbot Rainald of Saint-Cyprien, who died in 1100, has been described as one of “the leaders in the great expansion of Poitevin society at the end of the 11th century”.⁸⁸ He was part of the inner circle of both William VIII and his son, at least in the early years of the latter’s reign, when the Abbey of Saint-Cyprien was the object of a number of gifts.⁸⁹ It was apparently the reputation of Rainald which brought Bernard of Tiron, the

⁸⁴ Dom Pierre de Monsabert, *Chartes de l’Abbaye de Nouaillé de 628 à 1200* (*Archives Historiques du Poitou*, XLIX, Poitiers 1936), no. 187, pp. 254-256 (p. 255)

⁸⁵ Compare the chronological account from earliest times by Emile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, vol. V, *Les écoles de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIIe* (*Mémoires et travaux des Facultés catholiques de Lille*, 1940), ch. IV, “Les écoles des régions méridionales”, pp. 44-79 (“Les écoles d’Aquitaine”, from p. 58). He was followed by Marcel Garaud, “Les écoles et l’enseignement à Poitiers, du IVe à la fin du XIIe siècle”, *Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l’Ouest*, 3rd series, vol. XIV (1946-1948), pp. 82-98

⁸⁶ See Raymonde Foreville, ed. *Guillaume de Poitiers. Histoire de Guillaume le conquérant* (Paris, 1952), pp. xxxvii-xliii, for his exceptionally wide knowledge of classical authors

⁸⁷ Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History*, vol. II, p. 258, lib. IV, ii.217

⁸⁸ Beech, “Biography”, p. 120

⁸⁹ Richard, *Histoire*, vol. I, p. 391

founder of the abbey of Tiron, to Saint-Cyprien to study. Bernard's biographer, Geoffrey the Fat, describes Rainald as follows:⁹⁰

“Raynaudus vir apprime litteris eruditus, tanta sapientia praeditus, ut in publicis conciliis causarum perorator esset eloquentissimus: cujus rei gratia in Romana etiam curia bene notus et acceptus erat, et in Aquitania famosissimus habebatur.”

(Rainald was a man most learned in letters and endowed with such wisdom that he was the most eloquent pleader of causes in public councils: by virtue of which he was even well-known and welcome in the Roman Curia, and was considered most famous in Aquitaine.)

According to Geoffrey the Fat, Bernard had heard that Rainald had been a disciple of Saint Robert of Turlande, who founded the great Abbey of Chaise-Dieu in Auvergne. The biographer then mentions other famous names associated with this house and Saint-Cyprien, including Abbot Gervais of Saint-Savin, who had previously been Prior of Saint-Cyprien, and Audebert of Montmorillon, Archbishop of Bourges from 1093, who had been a monk at La Chaise-Dieu and Abbot of Saint-Cyprien.

The Abbey of Maillezais, situated in the Vendée almost a hundred kilometres west of Poitiers, seems an unlikely hotbed of a scholarship. However, this was a monastery which had been particularly favoured by the Dukes of Aquitaine. It was situated in one of their hunting grounds, three dukes were buried there, and it was attached to Cluny in 1057, at the beginning of William VIII's reign. These connections perhaps explain how this house came to have an abbot from 1100 to 1128 with the intellectual credentials of Peter of Maillezais. An exchange of letters and of scholarship survives between Peter and the historian and Latin metrical poet, Baldric, Abbot of Bourgueil and Archbishop of Dol (1046-1130). Baldric apparently sent Peter his *Historia Hierosolymitana*, and Peter sent Baldric his “glosulas...super Moysi Pentateuchum”.⁹¹ William IX and Abbot Peter of Maillezais are known to have met on numerous occasions.⁹²

Peter of Poitiers, secretary to Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny (ca. 1092-1156), may be so-named because he originated from or studied in Poitiers.⁹³ The same may also be true of the chronicler and poet, Richard of Poitiers or of Cluny, a monk of Cluny, who in later life settled on the island of Aix off the coast of Saintonge. His poems, which are not of a high quality, include a patriotic lament on the death of William X (d. 1137).⁹⁴

The ecclesiastical satirist Berengar of Poitiers was also presumably born and/or at least part-trained in Poitiers. His prose letters directed against Bernard of Clairvaux, the Carthusians and the canons of Mende in Languedoc provide no exact details of his

⁹⁰ Vita B. Bernardi abbatis de Tironio, in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 172, col. 1374

⁹¹ Abbé Lacurie, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Maillezais* (Fontenay-le-Comte, 1852), pp. 237-245 (pp. 240, 244) or *Patrologia Latina* 166, cols. 1056-1062

⁹² For example, at Saint-Maixent in 1110, per Alfred Richard, *Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de St.-Maixent* (*Archives Historiques du Poitou*, XVI, Poitiers, 1886), no. 235, pp. 263-264

⁹³ M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol III (Munich, 1931), pp. 900-903

⁹⁴ A.B. Scott, “Some poems attributed to Richard of Cluny”, in *Medieval Learning and Literature. Essays presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander/M.T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), pp. 181-199

career. He seems to have been a pupil of Peter Abelard and to have flourished in the 1140s.⁹⁵

Peter Helias, whose unpublished commentary on Priscian was widely read in the second half of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth centuries,⁹⁶ seems to have been trained in Poitiers, to have taught grammar and rhetoric at Paris, and to have returned to Poitiers before 1147.⁹⁷ He is associated with some of the most famous scholars of his day, Ivo and Bernard of Chartres, Peter Lombard and Peter Abelard, in the satirical fantasy *Metamorphosis Goliae Episcopi*, which was composed *ca.* 1142:⁹⁸

“Celebrem theologum vidimus Lombardum;
Cum Yvone, Helyam Petrum, et Bernardum,
Quorum opobalsamum, spiratos, et nardum
Et professi plurimi sunt Abaelardum.”

(We saw the famous theologian, the Lombard, Ivo, Peter Helias and Bernard. Their mouths were fragrant with balsam and nard, and several of them professed the opinions of Abelard.)

Peter Helias may also have been an intimate of William X, as further discussed in the next chapter.

The most famous representative of the Poitiers schools of the early to mid-twelfth century was Gilbert of Poitiers or de la Porrée (1085-1154), Bishop of Poitiers. It seems that he originated from and was originally schooled in Poitiers, perhaps under Hilarius, attested as *magister scholae* of the cathedral chapter between at least 1105 and 1121. Gilbert then attended lectures with Bernard of Chartres and Anselm of Laon; returned to Poitiers as a canon of the cathedral by 1120; moved back to Chartres as a canon in 1124, and become chancellor of the cathedral there in 1133. At some stage, Gilbert also taught in Paris, where John of Salisbury heard his lectures.⁹⁹ He is also known for his successful refutation of certain doctrines of Peter Abelard in support of Bernard of Clairvaux at the Council of Sens in 1141.

It seems that Gilbert did not continue teaching from the date of his appointment as Bishop of Poitiers in 1142. His preaching was, however, apparently sufficiently rich in theological content that his Trinitarian doctrines were publicly condemned by two of his archdeacons, Calo and Arnaldus, surnamed “Qui-non-ridet”, who was *magister scholae* of the Cathedral chapter of Poitiers between 1124 and 1156. There are two particularly remarkable elements to this story. Firstly, Gilbert’s two closest associates in the cathedral chapter had the intellectual confidence and courage to challenge the thinking of their bishop, arguably the leading theologian of his day. Calo and Arnaldus took their

⁹⁵ R.M. Thomson, “The Satirical Works of Berengar of Poitiers. An edition with Introduction”, *Mediaeval Studies*, XLII (1980), pp. 84-138

⁹⁶ Richard William Hunt, *The History of Grammar in the Middle Ages* (Amsterdam, 1980), pp. 1-38, “Studies on Priscian in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Petrus Helias and his predecessors”

⁹⁷ Charles Thurot, “Notices et extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l’histoire de doctrines grammaticales au moyen âge”, *Notices et Extraits de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, vol. XXII.2 (Paris, 1874), pp. 18-24, 508

⁹⁸ Thomas Wright, *Latin poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes* (London, 1841), pp. 21-30 (pp. 28-29, lines 197-200)

⁹⁹ See Häring, “Zur Geschichte der Schulen in Poitiers”, for supporting evidence for the assertions in this and the following paragraph

case to Pope Eugenius III in Italy, and it was debated at the Councils of Reims and Paris in 1147 and 1148, in the presence of the future Saint Bernard of Clairvaux and many other leaders of the Church and its intellectual establishment. Secondly, following Gilbert's acquittal, both Calo and Arnaldus continued to collaborate with him, and Calo succeeded him as bishop in 1152.

Finally, there is the case of Radulfus Ardens, who was probably born in Beaulieu, near Bressuire in Poitou and was previously thought to have been the chaplain of William IX. Radulfus was the author of the most important moral encyclopaedia of the day, the *Speculum universale*, and was particularly influenced by the teachings of Gilbert de la Porré.¹⁰⁰ It is now known that he was actually a chaplain to Richard I, King of England and Duke of Aquitaine (1089-1099), based on charters placing him at Luçon, Tours, Talmont and Longchamps in the period 1190-1198.¹⁰¹

Further evidence from Latin verse shows that relations between Northern French and Aquitanian intellectuals were not only close in terms of wider scholarship, but also in the realm of secular Latin poetry. This is, for example, proven by reference to the poets of the so-called Loire Valley School, such as Baldric of Bourgueil and Hildebert of Le Mans, who composed pieces in elegiac couplets, the newly fashionable Ovidian metre of their clique. Baldric wrote twice as many poems about Poitiers, its church, its rulers, and even its laity, than about any other town south of the Loire. These included poems composed in honour of such Poitevin clerics as Rainald, a canon of Poitiers, Radulfus, an archdeacon of Poitiers, and Rainald, Abbot of Saint-Cyprien.¹⁰² In another poem, Baldric mentions Gerard, Abbot of Montierneuf.¹⁰³ He even composed two highly unusual pieces on bourgeois life in Poitiers, one an enthusiastic description of a palatial house in the town, the other, in praise of a wealthy citizen called John.¹⁰⁴

Other Northern Aquitanian figures occurring in Baldric's verse include a personal friend, possibly a layman, named William of Saintes, and Odo, Abbot of Saint-Jean-d'Angély.¹⁰⁵ On one occasion, Baldric's correspondent, Domina Constantia, regrets that Poitou retained him on business.¹⁰⁶ Some of these pieces were evidently meant for circulation in funeral rolls and most of them must have been diffused in Northern Aquitaine. Baldric himself is known to have met William IX at least once, since they appear together on a charter of 1105 from the Abbey of Saint-Maixent, fifty kilometres south-west of Poitiers. They witnessed the resolution of a dispute between the abbey of Saint-Maixent and Hugh of Lusignan in the company of Robert d'Arbrissel, Bishop Peter II of Poitiers, the abbots of Montierneuf and Saint-Jean-d'Angély, and William, *magister*

¹⁰⁰ B. Geyer, "Radulfus Ardens und das Speculum universale", *Theologische Quartalschrift*, XCIII (1911), pp. 63-89 (p. 89), confirms the encyclopaedist's associations with Poitiers, but dates the work to 1179-1215

¹⁰¹ George Wolf, "La préface perdue des sermons de Raoul Ardent, chapelain de Richard I", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* XLVI (1979), pp. 35-39

¹⁰² Phyllis Abrahams, *Les oeuvres poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil (1046-1130): édition critique publiée d'après le manuscrit du Vatican* (Paris, 1926), nos. XCVI, CXI, LXXIII, pp. 86, 94, 73

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* no. LVII, line 12, p. 63

¹⁰⁴ Abrahams infers that he was the owner, but he may have been the builder of what is called *Johannis opus* ("John's work"), *ibid.* no. LXXI, p. 72

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* no. CXCIV, p. 195 and no. CX, pp. 93-94

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* no. CCXXXIX, lines 82-83, p. 346

scolarum of the cathedral chapter of Poitiers.¹⁰⁷ Baldric was also in contact with the other, foremost Latin poets of his day, including Godfrey of Reims (d. ca. 1095), Marbod of Rennes (ca. 1035-1123), both of whom will be discussed subsequently.¹⁰⁸

Hildebart, Bishop of Le Mans, and ultimately Archbishop of Tours (ca. 1056-1138), is considered by some to have been the greatest Latin poet of his day.¹⁰⁹ He was also a more serious-minded writer, at least on the basis of his surviving works, than Baldric, and he too can be shown to have had poetic contacts with Poitiers. The poem quoted by William of Malmesbury, “Petre, super petram nec inaniter edificast”, a combination of a panegyric of Peter II of Poitiers and satirical polemic against William IX and his supporters, has already been mentioned. Four other poems have also been attributed to Hildebart and said to relate to the state of the Church in Poitiers. In one case, the poem is certainly an epitaph on Peter of Poitiers, the secretary of Peter the Venerable, rather than on Bishop Peter II of Poitiers.¹¹⁰ The three other poems, two further panegyrics of the Church, bishop and ruler of Poitiers, and an allegorical satire on the demise of the church in Poitiers, are at least contemporary with Hildebart, if they are not by Hildebart himself.¹¹¹

Two mortuary rolls furnish additional proof of poetic activity in Latin in a number of specific cathedral chapters and monastic houses in Northern Aquitaine. These are the rolls commemorating Wilfred the Hairy, Count of Cerdanya in Catalonia (d. 1050), and Matilda, Abbess of La-Trinité, Caen (d. 1113).¹¹² Richard Southern has elegantly summarised the different poetic styles in the former roll:¹¹³

“Wherever he went in the South, the messenger acquired an addition to his roll couched in the heavy diction of an archaic style, generally in prose but sometimes in ponderous hexameters, replete with hard and book-learned words...

But no sooner did the messenger come within reach of Poitiers than a different kind of composition prevails, and persists with remarkable consistency throughout the North. The characteristics of this style are its ease and naturalness of language, a light, and sometimes frivolous playing with ideas.”

Four houses in Poitiers contributed hexameter epitaphs to the funeral roll of 1050: the Abbey of Saint-Cyprien, the cathedral chapter of Saint-Pierre, and the collegiate churches of Saint-Hilaire and Sainte-Radegonde.

¹⁰⁷ Richard, *Chartes et documents*, no. 209, pp. 240-241

¹⁰⁸ Abrahams, *Les oeuvres*, nos. CI, CLXI-CLXII, CXLVIII-CXLIX, pp. 88-89, 151-158, 124-127

¹⁰⁹ “Incomparabilis versificator”, according to Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. V, p. 236, *lib. X, ca. 8*, iv.41

¹¹⁰ *Patrologia Latina* 171, no. 39, cols. 1392-1393

¹¹¹ *Patrologia Latina* 171, nos. 116-117 and 115, cols. 1432-1435. Dating and attribution of these poems is discussed in J. Descroix, “Poitiers et les lettres latines dans l’Ouest au début du XIIe siècle”, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l’Ouest*, XIII, 3rd series (1945), pp. 645-663. None of them is included in A.B. Scott’s *Carmina minora* of Hildebart. They are described in more detail in chapter 4 b) below: nos. 14-15, 24-25

¹¹² Léopold Delisle, *Rouleaux des morts du IXe au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1866), roll XIX, pp. 49-124, nos. 31-34 (pp. 72-73), and roll XXXV, pp. 177-279, nos. 123-144 (pp. 229-244)

¹¹³ Richard Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953), p. 23

These same houses made poetic contributions in 1113, with the exception of Saint-Cyprien, which was joined by the new Abbey of Montierneuf in Poitiers and the Abbey of Saint-Maixent in Poitou in providing prose entries. The 1113 roll also contains elaborate verse entries from the cathedral chapter of Saint-Pierre in Saintes, as well as from the pilgrimage church of Saint-Eutrope, the Priory of Saint-Vivien and the Abbey of Sainte-Marie-des-Dames in the same town. Sainte-Radegonde in Poitiers contributed three poems of 4, 10 and 27 hexameters respectively to this roll. The third of these is, unusually, attributed to a certain Tescelin, who is otherwise unknown, but was apparently proud enough of his work to sign it.¹¹⁴ Saintes cathedral provided two complementary pieces, one in 50 hexameter lines, the other in 25 elegiac couplets.¹¹⁵ The Abbey of Sainte-Marie-des-Dames in Saintes contributed three poems of twenty lines each, two in hexameters and one in elegiac couplets.¹¹⁶ The first of these contains a risqué allusion to an Ovidian love poem in line 3, “Singula quid referam”, (c.f. Ovid, *Amores* I.5.23),¹¹⁷ and the second one is signed by the abbess, who at this time may already have been Sibylla, William X’s aunt by marriage.¹¹⁸ Those of these pieces which have satirical elements are discussed below in chapter 4, section b), nos. 4-13.

Further traces of Latin versification in Northern Aquitaine are even more fragmentary. The *explicit* of the chronicle of Abbot Peter of Maillezais contains two leonine hexameter lines.¹¹⁹ The Chronicle of Saint-Maixent has a number of hexameter poems embedded in its text: a report on the battle for Saintes in 1061, when William VIII was defeated by the future Count Fulk IV Rechin of Anjou; a celebration of the completion of the entrance to the abbey in 1080; and a description of the conflagration of the village in 1082.¹²⁰

Finally, a poem of 31 leonine elegiac couplets on the fall of Troy, “Viribus arte minis”, is attributed to a certain Petrus Santonensis, who may be the same person as the “magister P. de Xant.”, who occurs in a charter of the collegiate church of Saint-Hilaire dated to approximately 1150 by Rédet.¹²¹ He may also be the author of a hexameter panegyric on Saintes and a poet from Saintes in Oxford Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson G 109, ff. 92-93.¹²² As with Poitiers, very little is known about the schools of the Saintonge at this time, again probably because of the ravages of the Huguenots in this region.¹²³

¹¹⁴ Delisle, *Rouleaux*, roll XXXV, pp. 230-231, no. 125

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, roll XXXV, pp. 235-237, no. 139

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, roll XXXV, pp. 242-244, no. 144

¹¹⁷ E.J. Kenney, ed., *P. Ovidii Nasonis. Amores. Medicamina faciei feminae. Ars amatoria. Remedia amoris* (Oxford, 1961), p. 12

¹¹⁸ Grasilier, *Cartulaires inédits de la Saintonge*, vol. II, p. ix

¹¹⁹ Peter of Maillezais, *De antiquitate et commutatione in melius Malleacensis insula*, in *Patrologia Latina* 146, cols 1247-1272 (col. 1272)

¹²⁰ Verdon, *La chronique de Saint-Maixent*, pp. 136 and 144

¹²¹ Rédet, *Documents pour l’histoire de l’église de St.-Hilaire*, no. CXXXIII, pp. 152-153 (p. 153)

¹²² André Boutemy, “Un éloge métrique inédit de la ville de Saintes attribué à Pierre de Saintes”, in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, vol. II, pp. 705-710

¹²³ The *fichier* for Saintes at the *Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire de Textes, section codicologique*, was almost empty at the time the research was performed for this study

(ii) Latin learning and the ducal family

James Westfall Thompson devoted two pages of his book, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages*, to the question of the literacy of the ducal family of Aquitaine, and concluded that it was, together with its rival Anjou, one of the most advanced dynasties in Western Christendom in this respect.¹²⁴ He concentrated on two particular dukes: William V the Great (993-1030), and his grandson, William IX the Troubadour. William the Great is described as “the most interesting literate noble in France in his generation”. As evidence for this Thompson cites surviving exchanges of letters between the duke and Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres (*ca.* 960-1028); further letters between Fulbert and Hildegard, Treasurer of Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers; and a fascinating and much-quoted passage in the Chronicle of Adémar of Chabannes (*ca.* 998-1034). Adémar was a Limousin nobleman who became a monk of Saint-Cybard, Angoulême, and studied at and was a frequent visitor to the Abbey of Saint-Martial at Limoges, where his uncles, Adalbert and Roger became deacon and cantor respectively. Adémar’s portrait of William V, whom he must have at least seen on a number of occasions, is worth citing in full:¹²⁵

“Fuit dux iste a puericia doctus litteris, et satis noticiam scripturarum habuit. Librorum copiam in palatio suo servavit, et si forte a tumultu vacaret, lectioni per se ipsum operam dabat, longioribus noctibus elucubrans in libris, donec somno vinceretur. Hoc Hludovicus imperator, hoc pater ejus Magnus Karolus assuescebant. Theodosius quoque victor augustus in aula palatii, non modo legendo, verum et scribendo creberrime exercitabatur. Nam Octavianus Cesar Augustus post lectionem propria manu praelia sua et gesta Romanorum et alia quaeque non segnīs scribebat.”

(This duke was learned in letters from his childhood and knew the Scriptures well. He kept a great number of books in his palace and, if he had any time free from distraction, he would turn to reading for its own sake, poring over books through the long nights until he was overcome with sleep. Emperor Louis and his father Charlemagne used to do this. Theodosius too, the triumphant Emperor, would not only read, but also very frequently write in his palace.¹²⁶ Octavian Caesar Augustus, after reading, would diligently record his own battles, the deeds of the Romans and other things in his own hand.)

Although Adémar might have been exaggerating the duke’s accomplishments in hope of patronage, this passage does nevertheless indicate a habit of individual reading, which the parents of William V would have encouraged from a young age. It is not, however, clear from Adémar’s words whether the duke was, like the Carolingian emperors, only able to read, or, like the Roman and Byzantine emperors, also able to write.

¹²⁴ James Westfall Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages* (2nd edition, New York, 1960), pp. 127-129 (p. 128)

¹²⁵ Jules Chavanon, *Adémar de Chabannes. Chronique* (Paris, 1897), pp. 176-177

¹²⁶ Monk Martin also compares the piety of Duke Guy-Geoffrey (William VIII) with that of Theodosius in his description of the construction of Montierneuf Abbey, *De constructione*, in *Recueil Montierneuf*, ed. Villard, p. 431

The letters of Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, the leading figure in the development of the cathedral schools of Northern France in the early eleventh century,¹²⁷ show William V's wider educational interests. Not only did the duke wish to expand his personal library, but he also invited Fulbert to come to take charge of the schools in Poitiers by naming him Treasurer of Saint-Hilaire in 1023. Fulbert did not take up the post, but sent his favourite pupil, Hildegard, who stayed in Poitiers from 1024 to 1026. Hildegard's correspondence with Fulbert reveals the kind of reforms undertaken there. Fulbert sent Hildegard a number of books. On one occasion, these included material on the symbolism of clerical vestments by the Carolingian liturgist, Amalarius; works by St. Cyprian; Porphyry's introduction to the *Categories* of Aristotle; and the *Vitae patrum*. Fulbert also exhorted his pupil to teach grammar from Donatus without mixing it with "any unseemly levity by way of amusement".¹²⁸ On another occasion, Fulbert sent excerpts from Bacharius, Bede and Rabanus Maurus in order to answer Duke William's questions on the salvation of Solomon.¹²⁹ William himself even seems to quote from a Terence play in a letter inviting Fulbert to Poitiers.¹³⁰

Thompson presumes that "the tradition of culture at the Aquitanian court must have been maintained throughout the eleventh century; otherwise, it would be almost impossible to account for the extraordinary achievements of William IX, the Troubadour, the grandson of William the Great".¹³¹ This was in all probability the case, but it is difficult to prove, except through further circumstantial evidence, as presented below.

A letter from Pope Urban II to William IX from about 1097, where the pontiff threatened William IX with excommunication if he did not force his rebellious vassal, Eble of Châtelailon, to return the church of Saint-Georges d'Oléron to the Abbey of La Trinité, Vendôme, contains some potentially significant wording in this context. Before warning the current duke, Urban praised the well-known piety, generosity and church-building of his father, and then flattered William IX in the following terms:¹³²

"De te vero miramur, qui cum aliis bonis studiis quantum ad militem polleas."

(Indeed, we admire you, who excel as much in other good studies as in the knightly.)

It might be expected that a churchman would mention William's military prowess in order to get on his right side, but it is more surprising that he should also mention his prowess in "other good studies", which implies some sort of Latin learning.

It is possible to argue that William VIII and his son, William IX, knew at least how to hold a pen by reference to those important charters which were publicly signed *manu propria* by the dukes, in contrast to lesser charters where the crosses were added by scribes. A charter dated 9 October 1077, which records the freeing of a certain Aimon by the chapter of Saint-Hilaire and is illustrated in Figures 4 and 5 at the end of this

¹²⁷ Loren Carey Mackinney, *Bishop Fulbert and Education at the School of Chartres* (Notre Dame, 1957)

¹²⁸ Frederick Behrends, ed., *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* (Oxford, 1976), no. 88, pp. 156-161 (p. 159)

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 92, pp. 164-169 (p. 165)

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 116, pp. 208-209

¹³¹ Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity*, p. 129

¹³² Métais, *Cartulaire saintongeais de la Trinité de Vendôme*, no. XXXVII, pp. 65-66

section, contains autograph crosses by William VIII and by Goscelin de Parthenay, Archbishop of Bordeaux and Treasurer of Saint-Hilaire (d. 1086).¹³³ The duke's signature (below) is much firmer and more regular than the archbishop's (above), for the latter was a cleric by appointment rather than by training. Goscelin was seigneur of Parthenay and a leading Poitevin noble and vassal of William VIII, before being raised by the duke to the archiepiscopal throne.¹³⁴

Further evidence is provided by two charters from Montierneuf, dated 1081 and 1083, commemorating gifts of various churches to the abbey by Bishop Isembert of Poitiers.¹³⁵ These documents contain autograph crosses by the bishop, a cleric of acknowledged learning,¹³⁶ by William VIII, and by the 11 and 13 year-old William IX. The illustrations of the charter of 1083 in Figure 6 and the detail of the autographs in Figure 7 show that the cross by Isembert is of a notable firmness and regularity, while those of the Duke and his son are of lesser but not bad quality. The most striking document in this connection is a charter confirming the right of the chapter of the Cathedral of Saint-André in Bordeaux to strike coinage. On this charter, which was probably drawn up in the 1090s, there are four crosses: the one by the adult William IX is by far the firmest and most regular; the one by another, lesser nobleman, Count Forton de Fézenac, is by far the shakiest and most irregular, while those by the clerics are of intermediate quality.¹³⁷

Two additional charters suggest that William IX also concerned himself with the education of his eldest son from an early age. The first of these describes the judicial duel at Nouaillé in 1104, which concerned the mills which had apparently been seized from the abbey by the father of "Tetbaldus... grammaticus et frater eius Willelmus subdecanus sancti Hylarii", (Thibaut the grammarian and his brother, William, Subdeacon of Saint-Hilaire). This duel, which took place on an island in the river, confronted boxers representing the Abbot of Nouaillé, supported by Hugh of Lusignan on one side, and William, Provost of Poitiers, who had reappropriated the mills, notwithstanding the judgment against his father and uncle at the beginning of William IX's reign. The scribe specifically mentions that William the Provost was in the Holy Land with William IX, that he was loved by him, and that he was the son of Thibaut the grammarian. The future William X, aged about five years, appears with a tutor among the spectators as "filius comitis, Willelmus cum pedago suo", (William, son of the count with his tutor).¹³⁸ The abbey's champion won the duel.

The second charter, datable to between 1106 and 1112, is even more specific as to the identity of the future William X's tutor. It refers to "Rainaldo, subcantore Sancti Petri filii comitis didascolo", (Rainald, Subcantor of St. Peter's - i.e. of the cathedral

¹³³ Poitiers, Archives Départementales de la Vienne, carton 4, pièce 68 ; published in Rédet, *Documents pour l'histoire de l'église de St.-Hilaire*, no. XC, pp. 96-97

¹³⁴ Favreau, "Les écoles", p. 476

¹³⁵ Poitiers, Archives Départementales de la Vienne, carton 6, dossier 12, pièce 9; carton 7, pièce 10; published in Villard, *Documents Montierneuf*, nos. 10 and 14, pp. 20-21 and 24-25

¹³⁶ See *Gallia Christiana* II, cols. 1164-1167 for Isembert's biography

¹³⁷ *Archives Historiques de la Gironde* XXX (1895), pp. 2-4. See *planche 1* for an illustration of this charter

¹³⁸ Monsabert, *Chartes de l'Abbaye de Nouaillé de 628 à 1200*, no. 187, pp. 292-294

chapter of Poitiers - and tutor of the aforesaid son of the count).¹³⁹ Rainald was not the *magister scholarum* of the cathedral chapter, but he was nevertheless one of its important officers. The fact that he helped teach the choir implies that he also gave musical tuition to William IX's heir.

The use of the rare Greek term, *didascalus*, may be of particular significance. It appears to have been used first in the West to describe the status of Bernward, Bishop of Hildesheim (ca. 960-1022) at the Ottonian court, suggesting that the Dukes of Aquitaine were placing themselves in this tradition. Bernward had been designated tutor to the future Otto III by the latter's Greek mother, the Empress Theophanou, and is referred to in a charter of 1022 as: "aulicus scriba doctus et beatae memoriae tertii Otonis imperatoris didascalus simul et primiscrinus", (learned court scribe and tutor to Otto III of blessed memory, and at the same time Chancellor).¹⁴⁰ It is noteworthy that Bernward was a cleric, teacher and court official, like Thibaut the grammarian, who had been both master of the school at Saint-Hilaire and chancellor of the court of William VIII.

A family tradition of scholarship potentially spanning at least four generations, a possible throw-away comment by Pope Urban II, and the evidence of a small number of autograph crosses can do little more than complement William IX's verse as a direct source of evidence of learning for the first known troubadour. Unfortunately, the indications here are once again fragmentary. It has been argued, particularly by Hans Spanke and Jacques Chailley, that the metrical verse and music of the first known troubadour is identical to that of liturgical song surviving from Saint-Martial of Limoges and could therefore have been calqued on the latter.¹⁴¹ Some rhyme schemes do indeed coincide between the two traditions, but there are other possible explanations for this similarity. For example, the form and music of Latin hymns and existing vernacular songs may have influenced one another for some time before William IX. The surviving material, especially the musical material, is too scanty to be conclusive on this point.¹⁴²

The other principal impact on William IX by the Latin tradition which critics, such as Dimitri Scheludko and Leslie Topsfield, have discussed has been the influence of Ovid. Many suggested allusions may, however, be viewed as overstated. Topsfield, for instance, finds several Ovidian parallels in the bawdy satires, songs I-III.¹⁴³ He relates the comparison between a guarded cunt and a fishless pond in song III, line 5 (*sic*) to *Ars Amatoria*, I., line 48, where there are said to be many fish (i.e. women) in the sea, and

¹³⁹ Villard, *Recueil Montierneuf*, no. 45, pp. 70-71. Rainald again appears as subcantor in charters dated 1117-1119 (nos. 54-55, pp. 82-84)

¹⁴⁰ Charles Du Fresne, sieur du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Niort, 1883-1887), vol. II, p. 844 "Didascalus"; *Vita Bernwardi episcopi Hildesheimensis auctore Thangmaro*, LIII, pp. 754-782 (pp. 779-990), in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, vol. IV (Hanover, 1886)

¹⁴¹ Hans Spanke, "Zur Formenkunst des ältesten Trobadors", *Studi Medievali* VII (1934), pp. 72-84; J. Chailley, "Les premiers troubadours et les *versus* de l'école d'Aquitaine", *Romania*, LXXVI (1955), pp. 212-239; commented on in Frank M. Chambers, *An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification* (Philadelphia, 1985), p. 19

¹⁴² The relations between early troubadour and contemporary Latin liturgical and secular metrics are examined in detail in chapter 3 b) below, "Rhythmical Latin love lyric in Northern Aquitaine"

¹⁴³ Leslie Topsfield, *Troubadours and Love* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 263, n33

to line 393, where a seduced woman is compared to a fish wounded by a hook.¹⁴⁴ He compares the idea that a woman would drink water rather than die of thirst (i.e. sleep with the man set to guard her rather than go without sex) in song II, line 21 to *Amores* I.19, lines 31-32, where an easily won love is compared to drinking from a great river.¹⁴⁵ The use of horses as a symbol for women in song I is compared to *Ars Amatoria*, III, lines 785-786, a passage on the different positions in love-making. The reader is advised to take a woman with a wrinkled belly from the back, like a horse.¹⁴⁶

Topsfield only agrees with Scheludko on the borrowing of one topos from Ovid in William IX, that of women being guarded by their husbands in songs II-III.¹⁴⁷ In song II, “Compaigno, non puosc mudrar qu’eo no m’effrei”, William argues that there is no point in guarding a lady since she will only sleep with one of her custodians. In song III, “Compaigno, tant ai agutz d’avols conres”, he affirms that guarding a cunt only encourages it to be more active. Ovid does indeed face the problem of such guardians on several occasions in the *Amores*, but Topsfield’s comparison of *Amores* II.2, lines 11-12 to William IX, song III, lines 16-19, where both poets declare that there is no reason to guard something which is not going to be lost, is suggestive of a common line of thought in Ovid rather than any particular passage.

Scheludko, followed directly by Peter Thurlow,¹⁴⁸ more convincingly relates the details of the imagery of William’s song II to *Amores* III.4.¹⁴⁹ This Ovidian poem, like William’s lines 10-12, directly addresses the guardian. Lines 13-16 of Ovid’s piece evoke a horse (i.e. a mount, i.e. a woman), which behaves much more compliantly when its reins are loosened:

“vidi ego nuper equum contra sua vincla tenacem
ore reluctanti fulminis ire modo;
constituit, ut primum concessas sensit habenas
frenaque in effusa laxa iacere iuba.”

(I recently saw a horse moving like a thunderbolt, fiercely resisting its chains with reluctant mouth; it only stood still when it felt the reins had been loosened and its bridle relaxed on its flowing mane.)

In lines 5-6 of William’s song II, the lady, with some irony on William’s part in view of the Ovidian poem, complains that the guardians are holding her on a tight rein:

“Ans la teno esserrada quada trei:
Tant l’us no.ill larga l’estaca que l’altre no la.ill plei.”

(All three rather hold her fast, so that if one gives her some rein, the other only tightens it.)

¹⁴⁴ Kenney, *P. Ovidii Nasonis. Amores*, pp. 114 and 127

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 65

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 199

¹⁴⁷ Dimitri Scheludko, “Ovid und die Trobadores”, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* LIV (1954), pp. 129-174 (pp. 131-133)

¹⁴⁸ Peter A. Thurlow, “Ovid’s *Amores* III iv: its reception in William of Aquitaine, Sebastian Brant and Middle High German Literature”, *Reading Medieval Studies* X (1984), pp. 109-135 (pp. 111-116)

¹⁴⁹ Kenney, *P. Ovidii Nasonis. Amores*, pp. 74-76

In lines 17-18 of Ovid's poem, the sick man's lust for forbidden water represents a woman's sexual lust:

"nitimur in vetitum semper cupimusque negata:
sic interdictis imminent aeger aquis."

(We strive for the forbidden and always desire what is denied: just as the sick man is tempted by forbidden waters.)

In lines 19-22 of William's song II, the sick man who drinks water instead of wine more specifically represents the lady who can only find sexual solace in her guardians:

"Non i a negu de vos ia.m desautrei,
S'om li vedava vi fort per malavei,
Non begues enanz de l'aiga que.s laisses morir de sei."

(None of you disagree with me that if she were refused strong wine because of illness, she would drink water rather than die of thirst.)

This is arguably the one irrefutable case of detailed allusion to an Ovidian poem in the songs of William IX.

A third possible aspect of the Latin tradition in the verse of William IX to be discussed here, after versification and allusion, is the use of *exemplum* in song V, "Farai un vers pos mi sonelh". The moral of this song is introduced in the first two strophes (lines 7-10):

"Donna non fai pechat mortau
Qe ama chevaler leau;
Mas s'ama monge o clergau,
Non a raizo."

(The lady who loves a loyal knight does not commit a mortal sin; but if she loves either a monk or a cleric, she is devoid of reason.)

The remainder of the song consists of an anecdote purporting to illustrate the superiority of knightly over clerical love.¹⁵⁰ The narrator disguises himself as a mute pilgrim, is seduced by two gentlewomen, has his muteness cruelly tested by the ladies, and pleasures them in epic style 188 times. The fashion in which this piece of narrative is introduced suggests that the troubadour is combining with deliberate incongruity the use of *exemplum* by preachers and the boasts of the heroes of contemporary epic poetry.¹⁵¹

Instances of vernacular, Occitan *exempla*, one of which is a sexual tale of a knight and his adulterous wife, occur in a twelfth-century manuscript of Occitan sermons from Saint-Martial, Limoges.¹⁵² A further anecdote of interest here occurs in a collection of

¹⁵⁰ For this common topic of debate in the Latin tradition, see Charles Omont, *Les débats du clerc et du chevalier* (Paris, 1911)

¹⁵¹ He thereby outdoes Olivier's feat in *Le voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople*, ed. Paul Aebischer (Geneva, 1965), lines 484-492, 714-730

¹⁵² Camille Chabaneau, "Sermons et precepts en langue d'Oc du XIIe siècle (suite)", *Revue des Langues Romanes*, XXIII (1883), pp. 157-169 (pp. 158, 161-162)

CHAPTER 1

exempla by the thirteenth-century Dominican preacher, Etienne de Bourbon.¹⁵³ In this tale, a certain Count of Poitiers wishes to find the most gratifying station in life and, after experimenting with various other occupations, decides that the travelling merchant has the best lot. Etienne may be alluding to the subject matter of a lost song of William IX and, if not, is following him by using a similar type of moralised *exemplum* for the purpose of preaching in the vulgar tongue. The use of such a sermon technique to create in his song what Pierre Bec might have called a *contretex-te érotique* would have appealed to the sense of humour of the witty troubadour, whose social station inevitably brought him into intermittent conflict with the Church.¹⁵⁴

In summary, it may be that only isolated members of the ducal family of Aquitaine were either inclined towards reading and writing themselves or were concerned with the education of their children. It is possible that William IX, if he could not himself read or write, was read to in the vernacular and dictated his own works. Yet, he does seem to have had a positive interest in various aspects of the Latin tradition, and to have treated both pagan and Christian aspects with humorous disrespect. Based on the aggregated evidence given here, it seems undeniable that school learning was valued in the family and at the court of the Duke William IX, and that it contributed to the satirical and poetic discourse in which he engaged with his audience. Herbert Grundmann has noted that literacy at this period was largely confined to clerks, sons of kings and noble ladies.¹⁵⁵ Other noble families might reject literacy as “clerkish”, but a lord as powerful as the Duke of Aquitaine would probably have been chary of being stigmatised, like a preceding King of France, as a “crowned ass”.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ Albert Lecoy de la Marche, *Etienne de Bourbon. Anecdotes historiques* (Paris, 1877), no. 478, p. 411

¹⁵⁴ Pierre Bec, *Burlesque et obscénité chez les troubadours: pour une approche du contre-texte médiéval* (Paris, 1984)

¹⁵⁵ Herbert Grundmann, “Literatus-illiteratus: der Wandel einer Bildungsnorm vom Altertum zum Mittelalter”, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XL (1958), pp. 1-65 (page 14)

¹⁵⁶ An insult allegedly made by Fulk II the Good of Anjou (942-960) of Louis IV of France, e.g. per *Historia comitum Andegavensium, auctore Thoma Pactio, Lochensi priore*, in Paul Marchegay/André Salmon, *Chroniques d’Anjou* (Paris 1856), p. 321

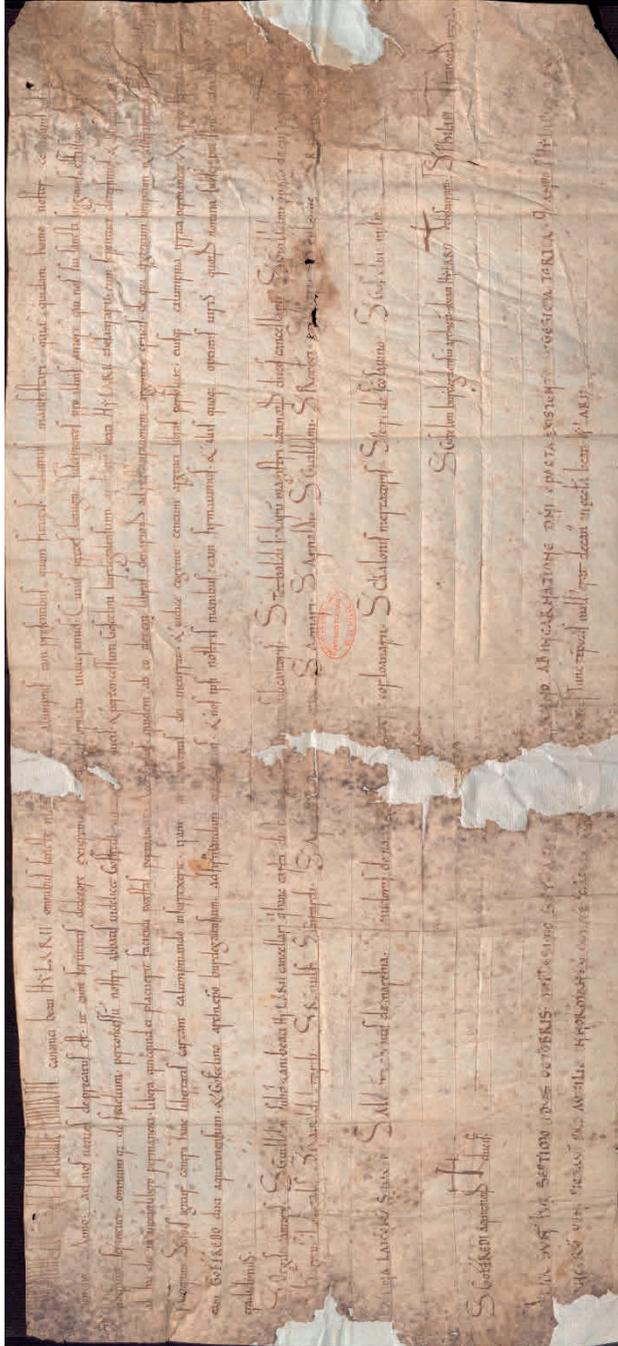


Figure 4 Charter of the collegiate church of Saint-Hilaire, Poitiers, 1077

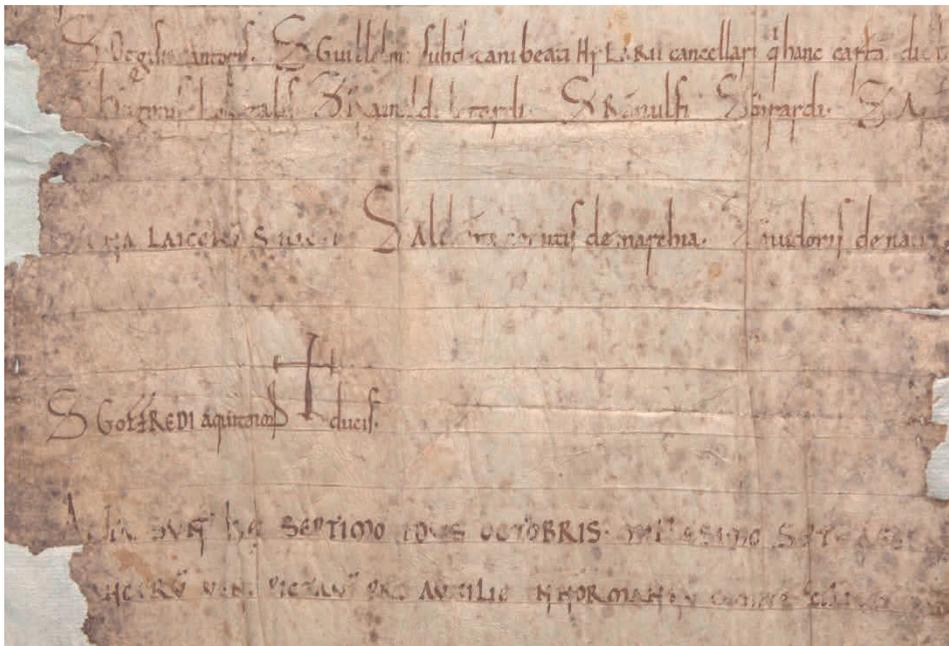
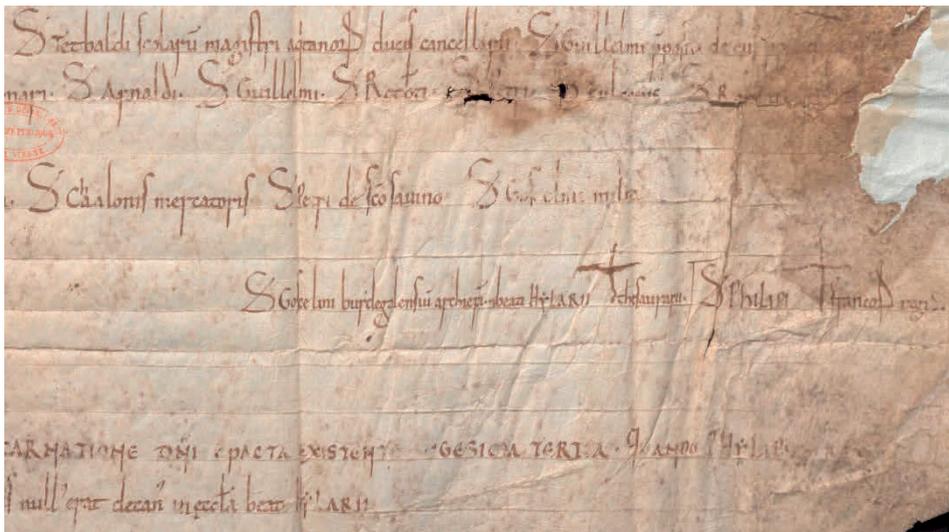


Figure 5 Detail of the charter in Figure 4 showing autograph crosses of Duke Guy-Geoffrey-William (William VIII) of Aquitaine (below), and of Archbishop Goscelin of Bordeaux (above)

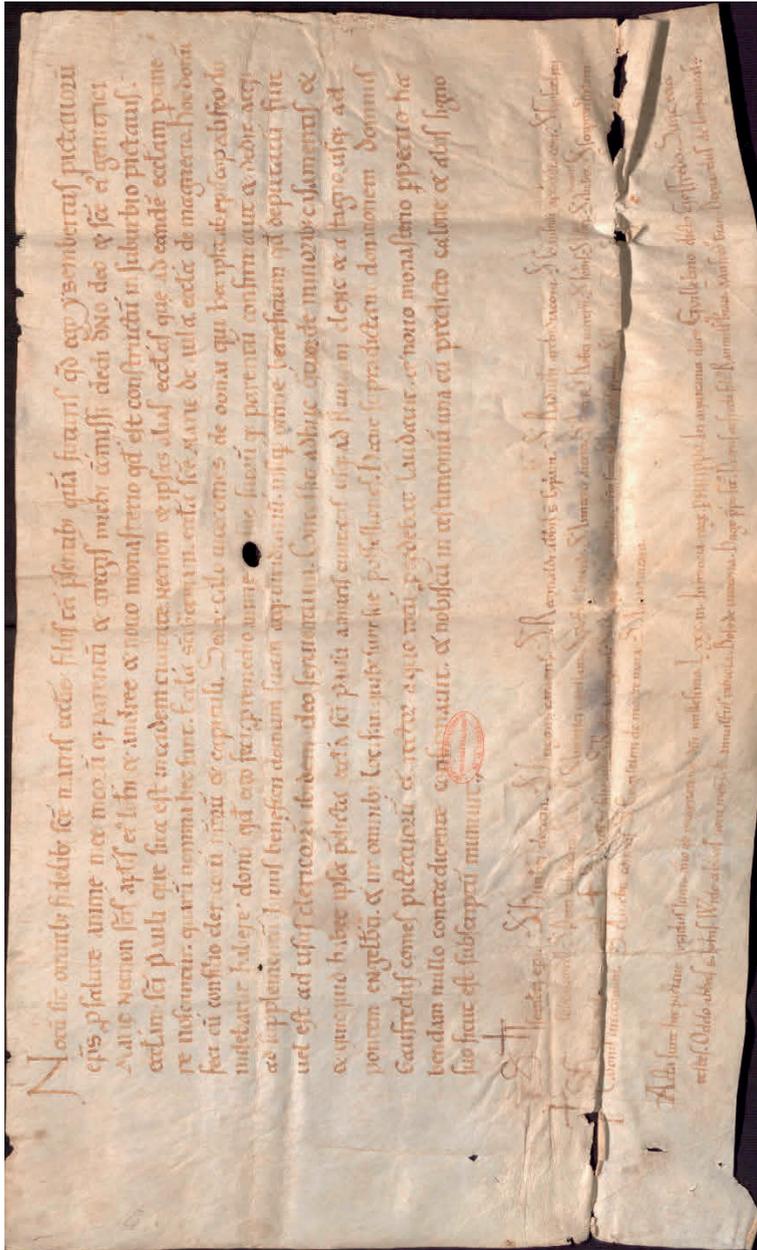


Figure 6 Charter of the Abbey of Saint-Jean-l'Évangéliste de Montierneuf, Poitiers, 8 June 1083

c) William IX, his audience, and their ethos

The present section will again critically combine the testimony of Latin historical documents with elements from William IX's own songs. The issues tackled here will, however, go beyond the person of the troubadour and investigate for whom he wrote and sang. What sort of audience would have enjoyed both his bawdy, but sophisticated "burlesques"¹⁵⁷ (songs I-V), and his passionate and sometimes delicate love songs?

Songs I to III are all addressed to William's *companho*, "companions", who are specifically referred to as "knights" in line 22 of song I, "Companho, faray un vers...covinen":

"Cavalier, datz mi cosseill d'un pensamen."
(Knights, give me some advice on a problem.)

The narrator wishes to know which of his two mounts, Lady Agnes or Lady Arsen, he should retain. The poet seems to be writing for his fellow knights, aiming to provoke their merriment, with the female sex as their victim. This implied audience of the "burlesque" poems may, however, be a poetic fiction, as must often be the case with the implied addressee of the love lyric, the beloved. A wider, mixed court audience would perhaps be expected to imagine itself as the companions of the troubadour posing as a rake. The victims would not then be women in general, but the specific ladies mentioned, their husbands, or their geographical origins.

Contemporary chronicles, like William IX's songs, convey a world of courtiers striving to outdo one another in their practical joking. As already noted, William of Malmesbury said that William IX made "his auditors' mouths gape with laughter". Orderic Vitalis described William's audience on crusade as "the kings, magnates and assembled Christian forces".¹⁵⁸ Although writing two generations later, Geoffroy du Breuil is arguably just as informative as Orderic about the circle of William IX, because of his interest in, knowledge and support of the neighbouring and rival Limousin aristocracy.

After describing the prodigality of the Provençal nobility at the famous festival of Beaucaire in 1174,¹⁵⁹ Geoffroy tells three anecdotes evoking the courtly extravagance of their Limousin counterparts at the beginning of the century, and incidentally also their rivalry with the court of William IX the troubadour. The third tale reports a cunning escape by Guy de Lastours from the Duke, while the first two, quoted here in full, give a vivid impression of the social values of the local lords at the time:¹⁶⁰

"Quia de Provinciliabus ita descripsi, aliquid memorabiliter de Vicecomitibus nostris referam. Ademarus ille: qui postquam Cluniaco monachus exstitit, venientem Lemovicis Guillelmum Tolozani generum Guillelmi pro consuetudine procuravit. Petiit ergo Dapifer piper a Constantino de la Sana, seu Sarcia, qui ducens illum in domum quandam, ubi piper absque aestimatione erat expositum

¹⁵⁷ So-named by Topsfield in "The burlesque poetry of Guilhem IX of Aquitaine", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* LIX (1968), pp. 280-302

¹⁵⁸ Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History*, vol. V, p. 342, ca. 21, iv.132

¹⁵⁹ Linda Paterson, "Great court festivals in the South of France and Catalonia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries", *Medium Aevum* LI (1982), pp. 213-224

¹⁶⁰ Labbé, ed., *Chronica Gaufredi*, II, ch. XLIX, p. 322

solo, veluti glans porcis servitura. En, ait, accipe piper ad Comitissalsas, et abrepta rustica pala non tam praebat, quam proiciebat piper. Divulgata res est favorabiliter in aula. Dux vero rem tacitus considerabat. Contigit aliquando Ademari Vicecomitem Pictavis adesse. Prohibuit igitur Comes ne quis Vicecomiti venderet ligna. Tunc Clientes Ademari comparavere nucum aggeres immensos, ex quibus rogam accendunt copiosum, hoc cognito Dux favore congrue extulit Lemovicenses, qui illos multifarie reprehendere tentaverat rusticitatis causa, seu nota.

Ebolus frater Petri de Petra-bufferia ex Almode matre, erat valde graciosus in cantilenis. Qua de re apud Giullelmum filium Guidonis est assecutus maximum favorem. Verumtamen in alterutrum sese invadebant, si quis alterum obnubilare posset inurbanitatis nota. Contigit praeterea Ebolum Pictavis devenire, aulamque ingredi Comite prandente. Huic fercula quidem praeparata sunt multa, sed non statim; Comite pranso, tunc dixisse fertur, Ebolus idem, comiti non congruit tanto ciborum coctionem repetere pro Vicecomite tantillo. Post dies aliquot repedantem ad patriam Ebolum ex improviso Dux secutus est. Prandente Ebole, Dux cum centum militibus aulam Ventadour concitus intrat. Ebolus se philosophari animadvertens, aquam manibus illorum fundi citissime iubet. Clientes interim circumeuntes castrum, cibos universerorum praereptos haud segnes in coquinam deferunt. Erat quippe quaedam solemnitas gallinarum et anserum ac huiusmodi volatiliium; dapes tam largissime praeparant, ut nuptialis cuiuslibet principis dies a multis exquisita videretur. Advesperescente die adest protinus Rusticus quidam, Ebole ignorante, adducens carrum tractum a bobus, clamavitque voce praeconis, dicens. Accedant iuvenes Comitiss Pictaviensis, prospicientes quomodo cera libretur in curia domini Ventadorensis. Ista vociferans, carrum ascendit, arreptoque dolabro carpentarii, circulos tunc vehiculi illico fregit. Vecte, melius Bute, disrupto diversae et innumerae formae de cera mundissima deciderunt. Rusticus, quasi parvi penderet ista, carrum ascendens, apud Malmon mansum suum revertitur retro. Comes talia cernens, probitatem et industriam Eboli extulit ubique. Ebolus praeterea eumdem Rusticum sic promovit, dans ei praedictum mansum de Malmont ac liberis eius. Ibi postea militiae cingulo decorantur, suntque hodie nepotes Archibaldi Solemniacensis et Alboeni Archidiaconi Lemovicensis.”

(Since I have related these deeds of the Provençals, I shall also recount some remarkable tales of our own viscounts. Adémar, who later became a monk at Cluny, customarily provided for William, the father of William the Toulousain,¹⁶¹ when he came to the Limousin. The count’s Seneschal went to buy pepper from Constantine de la Sana or Sarcia, who took him to a house where a priceless heap of pepper lay on the floor like acorns about to be fed to swine. “There we are”, he said, “take enough pepper to match the count’s wit”,¹⁶² and, having snatched up a common spade, he did not so much as provide to as hurl the pepper at him.

¹⁶¹ *Gener*, “son-in-law”, may be an error for *generator/pater*, “father”, since William IX was the father of William X, known as “the Toulousain”. It is more likely, however, that it refers to the fact that the father of William IX’s first wife, Philippa, was William IV, Count of Toulouse

¹⁶² This is a pun on *Salsas*, which could mean “sauces” or “witticisms”, based on Latin, *sal*, “salt” or “wit”.

This story was favourably received at court, but the count reflected on it in silence. It so happened that one day Viscount Adémar came to Poitiers. The count therefore prohibited the sale of wood to the viscount. Adémar's retainers thereupon bought huge piles of nuts and made a large fire with them. When the duke heard this, he deservedly honoured the Limousins, after having endeavoured in various ways to discredit them with rusticity.

Eble, brother of Pierre de Pierre-Buffière through their mother, Almode, was highly regarded because of his songs. For this reason, he was especially favoured by William, son of Guy, but they had a fierce rivalry and each attempted to tarnish the other's reputation with the stain of inurbanity. Eble happened to arrive at Poitiers one day and enter the hall where the count was dining. Many dishes were prepared for Eble, but not immediately, so when the count finished his meal, Eble is said to have remarked: "Such a great count should not have had so many dishes prepared for such an insignificant viscount". A few days later, the Duke unexpectedly followed Eble as he returned home. The duke entered the court of Ventadour in a flurry with a hundred knights while Eble was dining. Eble, realising that he was being put to the test, ordered water immediately to be brought to be poured on their hands. Meanwhile, his retainers scoured the village and quickly brought the food they seized to the kitchen – there was a feast of hens, geese and other fowl on that day. Eble's retainers prepared such a sumptuous banquet that many thought it was the wedding day of some seigneur. At sunset, a certain peasant arrived drawing an ox-cart, without Eble's knowledge. He cried out like a herald: "Come here, young bloods of the Count of Poitiers, and see how wax is delivered at the lord of Ventadour's court". So saying, he mounted his cart, took up a carpenter's axe, and broke the straps attaching his load. He broke up a barrel and countless different shapes made from the purest wax fell out. The peasant mounted his cart again, as if he considered these matters trifling, and returned to his farm at Malmont. The count, after witnessing this, praised Eble's wisdom and industry wherever he went. Eble promoted the peasant, giving him and his offspring the above-mentioned farm at Malmont. The sons became knights and are now nephews of Archambald of Solignac and of Albuin, Archdeacon of Limoges.)

Once again, women are absent. If they were present at these social events, they seem to have played a passive role. This passage is therefore not very informative about the sex of participants in such gatherings, but it does provide evidence for the geographical and social origins and the values of Duke William IX's male companions.

The principal protagonists, apart from the Duke, in these sketches of competitive court society are: Adémar III, Viscount of Limoges (1050 - 1133), and Eble II, Viscount of Ventadour (after 1086-1155), who together with their kinsmen, the Viscounts of Comborn and Turenne, ruled Limousin as nominal vassals of the Duke of Aquitaine. Since Poitiers and most of Poitou were either French-speaking or were linguistically transitional, they were the nearest Occitan-speaking noble houses to the court of Poitiers. Occitan must have had a special status at this court. It was the language of the Duke of Aquitaine's domains to the south, and this may have lent it a certain exoticism and perhaps even a certain exclusivity, in contrast to the more familiar dialects of William's immediate vassals in Poitou-Saintonge.

Eble II is complimented by Geoffrey as being "*valde graciosus in cantilenis*", which could mean that he was a fine singer or composer or both. He is probably the same Eble who led an eponymous school of troubadours, which the satirist, Marcabru, said he was abandoning in the last strophe of his song XXXI, lines 73-76:

“Ja non farai mai plevina
 leu per la troba n’Eblo,
 Que sentenssa follatina
 Manten encontra razo.”

(I shall no longer support Lord Eble’s *trobar*, which maintains madness against reason.)

Eble also seems to have been the patron sought by Cercamon on the death of William X, according to his *planh* (song VII, line 50), as well as the recipient of a song by Bernart Mart, song VII, lines 57-60:

“N’Eblon man ves Margarida
 Lo vers per un mesatgier,
 Qu’en lui es amor jauzida
 De don’e de cavlier.”

(I send this *vers* by messenger to Lord Eble towards Margerides, because the love between lady and knight rejoices in him.)

Attempts have been made to attribute surviving lyrics to Eble II of Ventadour, but purely on a conjectural basis.¹⁶³ It is nevertheless generally accepted that he was a troubadour and a contemporary of William IX. It is probable that both were developing some sort of vernacular lyric song which already existed, but had transformed it into something completely new, and which was closely tied both to court life and love between man and woman.

It is significant that some of the ladies who appear as the butts of humour in William IX’s burlesque songs seem to be associated with the Limousin, or even come from Limousin families. The narrator of song V says that he met two lady pilgrims in Auvergne, “beyond Limousin”. He names them as Lady Agnes and Lady Ermessen, and their husbands as Lord Guari and Lord Bernard. They salute the narrator in line 19 “Per sant Launart”, suggesting an affiliation with Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat, 17 kilometers east of Limoges, where Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch, famously laid down his chains of captivity in homage to the local saint in 1106.¹⁶⁴ If these two ladies and their husbands were not supposed to be precisably identifiable, their naming after William IX’s grandmother, aunt and sister, the naming of their husbands, and the association with the Limousin could at least be expected to pique the audience.

The narrator’s two mounts in William’s song I may, however, actually be identifiable with two contemporary Limousin gentlewomen. One of the ladies is said to have come from beyond Confolens, 65 kilometers south-east of Poitiers (line 16), the other from the mountains (line 13). The narrator adds that he is himself overlord of Nieuil, which is on a plain, 15 kilometers nearer Limousin and further from Poitiers than Confolens, and

¹⁶³ Maria Dumitrescu, “Èble II de Ventadorn et Guillaume IX d’Aquitaine”, *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, XI (1968), pp. 379-412; Jean Mouzat, “Les poèmes perdus d’Eble de Ventadorn. Recherches et suggestions”, in *Actes et mémoires du IIe Congrès international de langue et littérature du midi de la France (Aix, 2–8 septembre 1958)*, (Aix-en-Provence 1961), p. 89–103; Ulrich Mòlk, *Trobar clus*, pp. 28-36

¹⁶⁴ Rita Lejeune, “L’insolence extraordinaire du troubadour Guillaume IX d’Aquitaine”, in *Mélanges de langue et de littérature offerts à Pierre Le Gentil*, ed. Jean Dufournet/Daniel Poirion (Paris, 1973), pp. 485-503 (pp. 496-499)

of Gimel, a castle in the mountains mid-way between Tulle and Ventadour, 80 kilometers south-east of Limoges. The Lord of Nieuil, on the Poitevin side of the border, was at this time Hildegard, Viscount of Rochechouard on the Limousin side, and his wife was called Arsen.¹⁶⁵ The seigneur of half of Gimel was, according to Geoffroy du Breuil, Gouffier de Lastours, Limousin hero of the First Crusade, who obtained the property through Agnes, daughter of the Viscount of Aubusson.¹⁶⁶ Considering the troubadour's cheek in naming the two ladies who seduced him in song V after his closest female relatives, and recalling the fierce but good-humoured social rivalry between the Poitevin and Limousin courts, it is conceivable that the Duke was lampooning individuals present on the occasion of the performance of these songs. If they were not present, these Limousin nobles and others like them were nevertheless known to William's audience, and the full impact of the jokes depended on such knowledge.

The surviving evidence does not permit more than speculation as to the exact social backgrounds of the *milites*, *clientes* and *iuvenes*, who are said by Geoffroy du Breuil to have followed William IX and Eble II of Ventadour, and to have enjoyed the entertainments at their courts. These terms may, however, disguise a more motley collection of individuals than they might appear at first sight.

A series of articles by Linda Paterson has emphasised that the concept of *miles* or "knight" could embrace individuals from a range of backgrounds:¹⁶⁷

"Socially, then, a *cavallier* seems to be either any *lay* adult member of the upper classes (as opposed to peasant or cleric) or, sometimes, a knight somewhere between the level of *ric ome* and *soudadier*."

Soudadier, used by Paterson here to mean "mercenary soldiers", many of whom were professional horseback fighters and for that reason classified as knights, were not necessarily scions of noble lines. The end of the passage from Geoffroy du Breuil above shows how even a peasant family could be absorbed into the knightly class within one generation.

Clientes, "retainers", "followers" or "companions", is even wider in its possible connotations. The term could embrace any sort of courtier: a friend or companion-at-arms of the lord, a servant, cleric or even an entertainer. Very little is known about the functions filled by men of different social origins and with different skills and training.¹⁶⁸

The word *iuvenes* is perhaps the most loaded of these three terms in Geoffroy du Breuil. Georges Duby, in an article based on material from Normandy, England and Flanders in the twelfth century, defined *iuventus* as the period in a nobleman's life before he married and produced heirs, a period of military adventures and frequently of

¹⁶⁵ Jean-Baptiste Champeval, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye d'Uzerche* (Paris/Tulle, 1901), nos. 59-60, pp. 107-109

¹⁶⁶ Labbé, *Novae Bibliothecae*, II, ch. VI, p.282

¹⁶⁷ Linda Paterson, "The Concept of Knighthood in the Twelfth-Century Occitan Lyric", in *Chrétien de Troyes and the Troubadours: Essays in Memory of the late Leslie Topsfield*, ed. Linda Paterson/Peter Noble (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 112-132 (p. 120); c.f. also her "Knights and the Concept of Knighthood in the Twelfth-Century Occitan Epic", *Forum for Modern Language Studies* XVII (1981), pp. 115-130

¹⁶⁸ The use of the terms *serven*, "servant", and *soudadier*, in Cercamon and Marcabru is discussed in more detail in chapter 2c) below: "Non-noble Troubadours and the Clergy"

“wine, women and song”.¹⁶⁹ Orderic Vitalis describes several such courts, some of which he disapproved of more than others, e.g. that of Peter II, Baron of Maule: “Nam iuvenili levitate usos mimos et aleatores dilexit” (For, because of his youthful levity, he loved actors and dicers).¹⁷⁰ Orderic is less critical of the court of William the Conqueror’s protégé, Hugh of Avranches, Earl of Chester (ca. 1047-1101):¹⁷¹

“Hic nimirum amator fuit seculi seculariumque pomparum, quas maximam beatitudinum putabat esse portionem humanorum. Erat enim in militia promptus in dando nimis prodigus, gaudens ludis, luxibus, mimis, equis et canibus, aliisque huiusmodi vanitatibus.”

(He was an excessive lover of the world and of worldly pomp, which he regarded as the happiest portion of the human lot. He was enthusiastic in battle, a most generous giver, and rejoiced in games, pleasures, actors, horses, dogs and vanities of that sort.)

Orderic goes on to say that Hugh’s entourage consisted of “nobilium ignobiliumque puerorum...copia”, (a multitude of noble and non-noble boys), and of both “clerici et milites” (clerics and knights). The court of William IX was probably not unlike this description.

William IX himself acceded as a very young man to the dukedom and his youth is frequently blamed, excused or simply alluded to in Latin sources. For example, in the charter of 1096-97 from La Trinité, Vendôme, where he apologised for the seizure of property of the Abbey, he referred to himself as being *satis puer*, “just a boy” or “still childish”, on the death of his father.¹⁷² Another charter, dated 1104, from Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers referred to him as being “in flore iuventutis” (in the flower of youth), in this case meant as flattery to the 33-year-old Duke.¹⁷³ He is also the first known troubadour to refer to the courtly quality of *Joven*, “youth” (song I, line 3), a term implying such virtues as spontaneity and liberality.¹⁷⁴ A cult of youth and youthful behaviour therefore seems to have been an important part both of his social persona and of the ethos of his court.

It is likely that William IX’s court embraced not only nobles of various ranks and varying means, but also clerics and other servants, young and old, of noble and proletarian origin. Charters suggest that some of William’s closest personal associates were not nobles and that many had clerical connections, either being in minor orders, related to clerics, or taking orders later in life. William, the Provost of Poitiers, who opposed the Abbey of Nouaillé at the judicial duel in 1104 is a prime example.¹⁷⁵ He was not only the son of Thibaut, *magister scholarum* of Saint-Hilaire, but also a nephew of

¹⁶⁹ Georges Duby, “ Dans la France du Nord-Ouest au XIIe siècle : les ‘jeunes’ dans la société aristocratique”, *Annales : économies, sociétés, civilisation*, XIX (5), Sept.-Oct. 1964, pp. 835-846; reprinted in Georges Duby, *Hommes et structures au moyen âge* (Paris, 1973), pp. 213-215 (p. 214)

¹⁷⁰ Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History*, vol. III, p. 198, *lib. V*, ii.461

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.* vol. III, pp. 216, *lib. VI*, ca. 2, iii.4

¹⁷² Métais, *Cartulaire saintongeais de la Trinité de Vendôme*, no. XXXVIII, p. 67

¹⁷³ Rédet, *Documents pour l’histoire de l’église de St.-Hilaire*, no. CVIII, p. 119; Besly, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou*, p. 425

¹⁷⁴ Glynnis M. Cropp, *Le vocabulaire courtois des troubadours de l’époque classique* (Geneva, 1975), pp. 413-421 (p. 421)

¹⁷⁵ Monsabert, *Chartes de l’Abbaye de Nouaillé*, nos. 160 and 187, pp. 254-256 and 292-294

William, Thibaut's brother and successor as head of this school. Thibaut had also been the chancellor court of William VIII's court, and he and his brother would be prime candidates as Latin tutors of the first known troubadour.¹⁷⁶ Thomas, chamberlain of William IX, seems to have been another of the young duke's favourites. When Thomas took orders at the Abbey of Saint-Jean d'Angély on the eve of William IX's departure to the Holy Land in 1101, the duke presented the abbey with a female serf and publicly kissed his former servant *in signum suae antiquae dilectionis*, (as a mark of their long-standing friendship).¹⁷⁷ Thomas reappears in a charter of 1105 from Saint-Jean d'Angély, where he is active both as a scribe and as a business negotiator on behalf of the abbey.¹⁷⁸ As if to illustrate the fluidity of social interactions, one of his deals is witnessed by a *ioculator* or "jongleur".

The complex, often apparently contradictory nature of William's lyric may be explicable not only in terms of his character and social position, but also his audience. He performed like a jongleur and delighted in ribaldry, but could also be learned, courtly and refined. His audience may have consisted predominantly of aristocratic *iuvenes*, knights of the court who were either young in age or spirit, but probably also included, at least on occasion, women, clerks, mercenaries and performers of varied backgrounds and ages. A comparative study of the overlapping and complementary value terms used in William's songs and by the chroniclers Geoffroy du Breuil, Orderic Vitalis and William of Malmesbury further illustrates this point.

Terms denoting qualities specifically viewed as courtly span all of William IX's songs, whatever their content, and also recur in subsequent troubadour lyric. They include: the "courtly", *cortes*, as opposed to the "rustic", *vilan*, in songs I, line 4, VII, line 36 and IX, lines 29-30; "sense" and "knowledge" and "wise",¹⁷⁹ *sen, saber* and *savis*, as opposed to "folly" and "foolish", *foudatz, folia, folhor* and *fol*, in songs I, line 2, II, line 11, V, line 24, VI, line 8, VII, line 19, and IX, line 27;¹⁸⁰ and the more general, positive qualities implied by *ben, bos, valen* and *gen* and their cognates in songs I, lines 7-8, IV, line 35, VII, line 42, and IX, line 31. The expressions which more specifically apply to amorous devotion, such as *fis, aclis*, "enclin" or "subservient", *obediensa* and *obezir*, or the qualities expected of a courtly lover, such as *pretz, pros* and *proeza*, "gallantry", tend to occur more in the experimental love poems VII (line 30) and IX (lines 20 and 41). As Dorothy R. Sutherland has demonstrated, these and other more typical courtly qualities are overwhelmingly vernacular terms, and are not calqued on Christian or other Latin words or concepts.¹⁸¹

The manner in which the Latin chroniclers assessed the values of William and his court coincides in some respects with the troubadour's own terminology, but not always with the same viewpoint. William of Malmesbury calls the Duke, *fatuus*,

¹⁷⁶ Favreau, "Les écoles", pp. 476-477

¹⁷⁷ Musset, *Le cartulaire de St.-Jean d'Angély*, vol. II, no. CCCXX, pp. 82-83

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.* vol. II, no. CCCCLXXVII, pp. 139-140

¹⁷⁹ See chapter 7 b) (iv) below: "Wisdom and knowledge"

¹⁸⁰ See chapter 7 b) below: "Definitions and distinctions", and Topsfield, *Troubadours and Love*, pp. 14, 18-20, 26-27, 30-31, 40 and 126 for William's *foudatz*

¹⁸¹ Dorothy R. Sutherland, "The Language of the troubadours and the problem of origins", *French Studies* X (1956), pp. 119-215

(foolish),¹⁸² a term used by the Duke himself in his *gap* or “boasting song” (VI, lines 11-14):

“E si.m partetz un juec d’amor¹⁸³
 No suy tan fatz
 No.n sapcha triar lo melhor
 D’entre.ls malvatz.”

(And if you take part in a love game with me, I am not so foolish that I cannot distinguish the good things from the bad.)

The fact that William opines here that he is not “so foolish” may imply that he is nevertheless foolish to some degree, and he does boast of his folly elsewhere, e.g. in song I, lines 1-3:

“Companho, faray un vers ... covinen
 Et aura.i mais de foudatz no.y de sen,
 Et er totz mesclatz d’amor e de joy e de *Joven*.”

(Companions, I shall compose a suitable song: there will be more folly than sense in it, and love, joy and youth will be all mixed in.)

A certain madness, “whackiness” or “zany”, exaggerated behaviour, seems to have been acceptable, even desirable in his court.

This frivolity for its own sake is also expressed in the many terms for pleasure and fun in William’s poems. These include substantives, such as: *plazers*, “pleasure” in song IX, line 40, *deport*, “sport”, in song XI, lines 39 and 41, and *joi* in song I, line 3 and *passim* in songs VII, IX and XI. These also include epithets, such as: *cuendes/conja*, “gracious” or “agreeable”, in songs VIII, line 19 and XI, line 29; *gai* in song XI, line 29; *jauzens*, “joyful”, in song IX, line 1, and *alegres* in song IV, line 8. The term “alegres”, which means “joyful” or “animated”, is also reflected in the Latin terminology of chroniclers who described William and his entourage. Orderic Vitalis uses *alacer*, the Latin equivalent of *alegres*, to describe the joyful mood when William set off to the Holy Land in 1101,¹⁸⁴ while Geoffroy du Breuil says of William’s friendly rival, Eble II of Ventadour, that he “usque ad senectam alacritatis carmina dilexit”, (he loved songs of joy until his old age).¹⁸⁵

Another area in which the chroniclers give added insight into the ethos of William’s court is in the valuing of urbanity, wit and elegance, the charm of a sophisticated élite. William of Malmesbury admits that Duke William’s folly was combined with a certain elegance, *venustas*, and his usual witty charm, *consuetus lepor*.¹⁸⁶ Orderic Vitalis is thinking along similar lines when he calls William *nimumque iocundus*, “excessively amusing”, *lepidus*, “charming”, and admires his *facetiae*, “witticisms”.¹⁸⁷ Geoffroy du

¹⁸² Stubbs, ed. *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque*, vol. II, p. 510

¹⁸³ The “love game” could presumably comprise either a courtly debate or a real sexual encounter

¹⁸⁴ Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History*, vol. V, p. 324

¹⁸⁵ Labbé, ed., *Chronica Gaufredi*, II, ch. XXIV, p. 290

¹⁸⁶ Stubbs, ed., *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque*, vol. II, p. 510

¹⁸⁷ Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History*, vol. V, p. 324 and 342

Breuil, writing with another set of events in mind, recalls the Duke's well-known *salsae*, "witty remarks", and his avoidance of *inurbanitas* and *rusticitas*.¹⁸⁸ Ralph of Diceto implies that *facetus* actually became a nickname of the Duke when writing of William's alleged troubles with his son in about 1112: "Willelmus comes Pictaviae, qui vocatus est facetus", (William, Count of Poitiers who was called "the witty").¹⁸⁹

The contrasting of *cortes* and *vilan* in William IX's verse implies qualities of cleverness and wit associated with the courtier, but not with the peasant. The lack of such courtly qualities is clearly the implication of the terms "inurbanity" and "rusticity" in the stories told by Geoffroy du Breuil about the duke, and of his rivalry with the nobility of the neighbouring Limousin. The closest analogues for these Latin terms are arguably to be found in Ovid and his imitators among that other contemporary élite, the Northern French ecclesiastical lords and metrical poets, Baldric of Bourgeil, Marbod of Rennes and Hildebert of Le Mans, the Loire Valley School of poets. Examples of such terms in these writers are quoted in the course of discussion of possible relations between the early troubadours and Medieval Latin verse in the next chapter.

By the last decades of the twelfth century, this mixture of aristocratic companionship, literary culture and the pursuit of pleasure seems to have become institutionalised as the behaviour expected of a noble *iuvenis*. Perhaps the most famous example of this is the person of Arnold, heir of Baldwin II, Count of Guînes, who spent his youth at the court of Philip I, Count of Flanders, a patron of Chrétien de Troyes. Lambert of Ardres (b. ca. 1160) describes Arnold's behaviour when he returned to the court of his father:¹⁹⁰

"Ubi cum militibus et familiaribus ludicris et iocis, prout iuvenilis exigebat etas indulisit."

(Where, with the knights and courtiers, he indulged in the games and jokes which befitted his youthful age.)

This passage goes on to relate that three older knights in his entourage would tell stories: one would tell of the Roman emperors, Charlemagne, Roland and Oliver, and Arthur of Britain; another of the land of Jerusalem and the siege of Antioch; and the third of Gormand and Isembard, Tristan and Isolde, and Merlin and Morolf. Another passage describes Arnold's time with other *iuvenes* at the court of Flanders, where he is described as both *strenuus in armis*, "vigorous in arms", and in *omni curiali facecia praeclarus*, "famous for every sort of court foolery".¹⁹¹ Such lay courts seem to have provided both the public and the proving ground for much of twelfth-century vernacular composition, including that of William IX and Eble II of Ventadour.

¹⁸⁸ Labbé, ed., *Chronica Gaufredi*, II, ch. XLIX, p. 322

¹⁸⁹ William Stubbs, ed. *Abbreviationes chronicarum* (*Rolls Series* 68, London, 1876), vol. I, p. 240

¹⁹⁰ *Lamberti Ardensis historia comitum Ghisnensium*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, vol. XXIV, pp. 550-642, ch. 96, p. 607

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.* ch. 90. p. 603

Conclusions to chapter 1

This first chapter has analysed the evidence of contemporary Latin writings, including chronicles, poetry, letters and charters, in order to build a picture of the likely level of learning of the first generation of troubadours, as well as the nature of their audiences in the courts of late eleventh and early twelfth century Aquitaine. Well-known passages in chronicles have been examined in a new light, including that shed by other material which has not previously been considered in this context.

A critical reading of Latin sources for the life of the first troubadour whose work has survived, William VII, Count of Poitiers, IX Duke of Aquitaine, does not suggest that he was of an extraordinarily frivolous, immoral or irreligious temperament, as has often been argued. The more credible ecclesiastical writers were rather struck by his exceptional ability to compose and perform witty songs in the vernacular. If he had less warm relations with leading churchmen of the day than his father, William VIII, this was arguably because the Gregorian Reforms had caused the clergy to distance itself from the aristocracy and not *vice versa*.

William IX's father, William VIII, had been a particularly great benefactor of the Church. He had encouraged the Cluniac reforms, and supported the development of Romanesque art and architecture in his domains. There is, however, ample evidence that William IX continued to support favoured institutions with privileges and donations. There is also documentation demonstrating an unbroken series of *magistri scholarum* from the beginning of his reign and throughout the twelfth century, both at the collegiate church of Saint-Hilaire, where the counts were hereditary abbots, and at the cathedral chapter in Poitiers.

Many notable scholars of the period were associated with Poitiers and its hinterland, such as William, chronicler of William the Chronicler, and the grammarian, Peter Helias. The most famous of these was Gilbert de la Porrée, who returned in 1142 from Chartres, where he had been chancellor, to become bishop of his native Poitiers. There is also evidence that metrical Latin poets of the Loire Valley School were associated with both ecclesiastical and lay figures in Poitiers. Funeral rolls provide additional proof that both male and female clerics throughout Northern Aquitaine were able to compose Latin metrical poetry of a high quality.

It seems that the Counts of Poitiers and Dukes of Aquitaine not only created a nurturing environment for Latin school learning in their domains, but also within their own family. Different sources show that William IX's grandfather, William V, was an avid reader and corresponded with Fulbert of Chartres, who appointed his protégé, Hildegard, as Treasurer, or senior cleric, of Saint-Hilaire. It is not known whether the dukes could write, but autograph crosses on charters signed publicly, *manu propria*, suggest that William VIII and IX could at least wield a pen with some confidence. Other charters reveal the personal friendship between William IX and the family of Thibaut, chancellor of his father's court and *magister scholarum* of Saint-Hilaire, as well as the fact that his son, William X, travelled with a personal tutor who was also subcantor of the cathedral chapter in Poitiers.

The most direct evidence for school learning in the case of William IX must come from his verse. This contains not only suggestions of, but also at least one clear allusion

to Ovid, the fashionable model for the Loire Valley School poets and some of the Latin metrical poetry in the Aquitanian funeral rolls. Much of William's verse also uses the same metrical form as rhythmical hymns, both sacred and secular, which survive from Saint-Martial in Limoges, one of the most important foyers of musical composition and notation in Western Europe at the time.

Twelfth-century Latin chroniclers not only give an impression of the character of William IX, but also of that of his court and those of his vassals and friendly rivals, Adémar III, Viscount of Limoges, and Eble II, Viscount of Ventadour. At first sight, the dominant figures of these courts seem to have been young, male noblemen, who were open-handed, sophisticated and good-humoured to the point of bawdy hilarity. This, at least, is the image projected by William IX and the chroniclers which described him and his like. A closer analysis, however, reveals that William IX and Eble II also composed and performed for a wider court audience of noblewomen, socially mobile knights and professional members of the count's entourage, such as clerics, jongleurs and other servants. They were united by the ethos of the *iuvenes* upon whom the social life of the court depended, an ethos which was not only characterised by youth, but also "urbanity", which was also a mark of the contemporary Latin poets who had revived the poetry of Ovid.

Chapter 2

The following generation

a) *The court of William X and the diffusion of trobar*

The new vernacular lyric of William IX and his circle could have passed away with the death of this duke. It did not, however, and continued to flourish and develop at the court of William X, sometimes nicknamed “the Toulousain”, after the origin of his mother, Philippa. The new Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Poitiers reigned for eleven years, from 1126 to 1137, and was the patron of Cercamon and Marcabru, two of the most important composers of the generation after William IX and Eble II of Ventadour. The brevity of William X’s reign means that there is less historical information about him than his father, but once again Latin and vernacular fragments can be collated to create an albeit imperfect picture.¹⁹²

William X inherited his father’s feud with the neighbouring house of Anjou, as well as power struggles with restless vassals such as the counts of Angoulême and lords of Lusignan. The major political event of his reign was, however, the papal schism between Innocent II and Anacletus II, which started in 1130. The new duke, under the influence of his father’s erstwhile enemy, Gerard, Bishop of Angoulême, Archbishop of Bordeaux, and papal legate to Aquitaine, chose the ultimately unsuccessful party of Anacletus. It took two meetings in Poitou with St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) and a dramatic conversion on the second occasion, before William X eventually rallied to Innocent. This conversion ended the interdiction of the Church in Poitiers and the scandalous existence of two claimants each to the episcopal thrones of Poitiers and Limoges.¹⁹³

The pattern of patronage of the Church by William X closely followed that of his father. He was generous to selected religious houses which had enjoyed historically close relations to the ducal family. These included such abbeys as Montierneuf¹⁹⁴ in Poitiers, Sainte-Croix de Talmont in Bas-Poitou and Saint-Jean-d’Angély in Saintonge.¹⁹⁵ Arguably, William X only differed significantly from his father in offering a gift of pasturage rights in 1134 to Fontevraud, the abbey founded by Robert d’Arbrissel, and which his mother had entered following her repudiation.¹⁹⁶

Contemporary character judgments of William and evocations of his court are scarce. The Latin lament for William X by Richard of Poitiers, a monk of Cluny, comprises a panegyric of the most conventional type, for example, in lines 21-22:¹⁹⁷

“Ingenium, sensus, probitas, facundia, robur,
Hunc ornaverunt viribus extremis.”

(Intelligence, good sense, probity, eloquence and strength adorned him to the highest degree.)

¹⁹² The classic account of the reign is again in Richard, *Histoire*, vol. II, ch. XVI, pp. 1-53

¹⁹³ Richard, *Histoire*, II, pp. 18-44. Chapter 4 b) below describes a number of Poitevin Latin propaganda poems in favour of Anacletus (poems nos. 16-23)

¹⁹⁴ Villard, *Recueil Montierneuf*, nos. 76-77, pp. 115-121 (A.D. 1126-1127)

¹⁹⁵ Boutière, *Cartulaire Talmont*, no. CXCVIII, pp. 226-227; Musset, *Cartulaire de St.-Jean d’Angély*, vol. I, no. CCXVII, p. 270

¹⁹⁶ Paul Marchegay, *Notices et pièces historiques sur l’Anjou, l’Aunis et la Saintonge, la Bretagne et le Poitou* (Angers/Niort 1872), pp. 241-242. Marchegay incorrectly refers to William “IX” on page 241

¹⁹⁷ Bouquet, *Recueil*, vol. XII, p. 414, from *Ex chronico Richardi Pictavensis, monachi Cluniacensis*, pp. 411-421. See also, Scott, “Some poems”, pp. 184-185

Line 19 of this poem is a little less conventional, as it mentions William X's eloquence and physical beauty, "Clarus faciei" (line 19), an attribute was also ascribed to the young duke's father by Geoffrey, Abbot of Vendôme.¹⁹⁸ These two qualities may be regarded as sufficiently unusual in a description by a monk of a great seigneur to be true to life. In the case of Cercamon's vernacular lament, "Lo plaing commenz iradamen" (VI), the poet mourns the passing of William X above all as an upholder of the courtly qualities expounded by his father: *Joven, jois, proeza, pretz and donars* (lines 4-5 and 14-15).

In contrast to these sources, two Northern French clerics give negative, politically motivated assessments of William X's character. A *Vita* of St. Bernard of Clairvaux described the influence on William of the hated Gerard, Bishop of Angoulême as follows: "Hominem levem seducit leviter et corrumpit, (He easily seduces and corrupts this man of levity).¹⁹⁹ This wording is echoed in a letter by Hildebert of Le Mans to a certain count, probably Geoffrey Plantagenet (reigned 1129-1151), son of Fulk V of Anjou, in order to warn him to avoid the territory of the Duke of Aquitaine, almost certainly William X, on his way to Compostella. Hildebert feared: "Ex patre perfidiam, levitatem ex annis, ex iniuria ultionem", (The perfidy inherited from his father, the levity of his years, and revenge for an injury).²⁰⁰ The opinion expressed in the *Vita* is in the polemical context of papal schism, while that in Hildebert's letter is arguably distorted by the enmity of two powerful aristocratic houses often at war at this period. It would be useful therefore to look for a more independent source for "levity of character", possibly reflecting a certain social frivolity as a feature of William X and his court, as it had been of his father's milieu.

One such source is the same 1130 charter from Talmont which ended with the encomium of William IX, quoted in the previous chapter. This charter begins with an account of an incident near the Abbey involving the new Count of Poitiers, William X, and his court:²⁰¹

"Apud longum Villam in domo monachorum per aliquos dies diversorium habuit, quum ex sui violentia contubernii monachis hospitibus tum ipsius domus tum eorum devastatione dampna permaxima irrogavit."

(He took lodgings for several days at Longeville,²⁰² in the monks' house, when through the violence of his entourage he caused an enormous amount of damage to the monks, his hosts, by devastating both the monks themselves and their house.)

The way in which the youthful count, accompanied by a large court, "aliique qui ut tanto principi assistebant quam plurimi", (and the many other people who served so great a lord), wreaked havoc on this church, but then immediately repented and presented the abbey with wood in return for the damage done, is redolent of the exuberant and uninhibited behaviour of William IX and his court. So too, perhaps, is the

¹⁹⁸ "Corporis pulchritudine", in Book V, Epistle XIX, *Patrologia Latina* 157, col. 202

¹⁹⁹ Besly, *Histoire*, pp. 455-458 (p. 455); c.f. *Sancta Bernardi abbatis Clarae-Vallensis vita et res gestae (vita prima liber II auctore Ernaldo)*, in *Patrologia Latina*, 185, cols 267-302 (col. 286), where the wording is slightly different: "hominem promptum seducit facile et corrumpit"

²⁰⁰ Besly, *Histoire*, p. 428; *Patrologia Latina* 171, Book I, Epistle XV, cols. 181-183 (col. 182)

²⁰¹ Boutière, *Cartulaire Talmont*, no. CXCVIII, pp. 226-227

²⁰² Mid-way between Talmont-sur-Gironde and Saint-Michel-en-l'Herm, see Figure 2

manner in which this charter compared the heir unfavourably with the father, “Willelmus consul, Willelmi magni consulis filius”, (Count William, son of Count William the Great).

A charter of 1131 from Saint-Jean-d’Angély relates a similar occurrence.²⁰³ It reports the gift by William X of a castle, “pro invasione quam feceram in ipsa ecclesia, in die quo nativitas beati Johannis Baptistae celebratur”, (to atone for an attack on this church on the day on which the feast of blessed John the Baptist is celebrated). The duke had broken into the church with an armed entourage on the very day of the feast of the patron saint of the abbey. He had apparently stolen the church’s offerings and put them to his own use, but then performed a public penance barefoot before the monks and barons.

William X, seems like his father, to have been literate. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, he had at least been provided with clerical tutors as a boy. He seems also to have counted Peter Helias as a particular friend. A charter drawn up at the castle of Niort, which recorded a gift by William to Fontevraud in 1134, lists a number of notables and then ends with the mention of “Peter Helias” who, as if to explain his presence there, is specifically and unusually designated as a friend of the count: “Petrus Helias, amicus comitis”.²⁰⁴

This Peter Helias is likely to be the same as the influential grammarian who studied with Thierry of Chartres in Paris and then succeeded him there in around 1135. He taught John of Salisbury, later Bishop of Chartres, in around 1140,²⁰⁵ and is mentioned with various other masters of Paris and Chartres in the *Metamorphosis Golia*, as quoted in the previous chapter.²⁰⁶ It seems that he returned to Poitiers by 1147, when a “Petrus Helie” was named third judge after the Abbot of Saint-Savin and Durandus, Subdeacon of Poitiers, in an arbitration at the Abbey of Nouaillé, presided over by Arnaud, the archdeacon and *magister scholarum* of Poitiers, who challenged the Trinitarian doctrines of Gilbert de la Porrée in the same year.²⁰⁷ A “Petrius Helias” occurs again in litigation against Notre-Dame de l’Etoile in Poitou in 1152.²⁰⁸ A Poitevin chronicle reported “Fuit etiam in Pictavensi ecclesia decanus magister Petrus Helias in Scientia litterarum secularium magnus philosophus”, (at that time there was in the church at Poitiers a deacon named Peter Helias, a great philosopher in the science of secular letters).²⁰⁹ Finally, a letter of John of Salisbury dated 1166 asked Raymond, Chancellor of Poitiers Cathedral, to return some books lent to Peter Helias by a clerk called Walter from Reims, implying that Peter was now dead.²¹⁰

The two elements of a high-spirited young aristocracy and a duke who valued Latin learning seem to have been common to the courts of both William X and his father. A third element which both courts had in common was the patronage of vernacular

²⁰³ Musset, *Cartulaire de St.-Jean d’Angély*, vol. I, no. CCXVII, p. 270

²⁰⁴ Marchegay, *Notices et pièces historiques*, pp. 241-242

²⁰⁵ Clement C.J. Webb, *Joannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Metalogicon* (Oxford, 1929), lib. II, ca. X, p. 80

²⁰⁶ Chapter 1 section b) (ii)

²⁰⁷ Monsabert, *Chartes de l’abbaye de Nouaillé*, no. 209, pp. 324-326

²⁰⁸ Thurot, “Notices et extraits”, p. 19

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 508

²¹⁰ W.J. Millor/C.N.L. Brooke, *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, vol. II (Oxford, 1979), no. 167, pp. 94-95

Occitan verse composition, as proved by allusions in the songs of Cercamon and Marcabru. Two songs by Cercamon allude to the death of William X on 7 April 1137 as a catastrophe for courtly society and particularly for Cercamon himself as a poet in need of patronage. In his lament, “Lo plaing comenz iradamen” (song VI), he sees the duke’s death as heralding the demise of the courtly qualities of *proeza*, *pretz* and *donars* (lines 14-15); he prays for the duke’s soul (lines 19-24); and he demands that Louis VII, King of France, inheritor of Aquitaine through William’s daughter, Eleanor, take up the cross (lines 37-42). Cercamon’s debate poem, “Car vei fenir a tot dia” (song VII) reveals the more personal reaction of a poet who has lost his patron and protector. In the first strophe, he starts by regretting the passing of courtly qualities, states that the clergy is not coming to his aid, and then pathetically compares himself to a swan bursting into song before dying. His interlocutor, a certain Guilhalmi who calls Cercamon his master, looks forward to the coming at Pentecost of Louis as the new Count of Poitiers, but Cercamon is sceptical that this new arrival will bring patronage.

More frequent glimpses of relations with the Poitevin court are provided by the much more numerous extant songs of Marcabru. His oath, “per saint Ylaire”, the patron saint of Poitiers (song V, line 19), suggests a connection with the town. Prosper Boissonade dates two of Marcabru’s poems to the border conflicts between Anjou and Poitou in 1129-1130.²¹¹ In song VIII, line 55, Marcabru gives out the battle-cry of the Dukes of Aquitaine, “Guiana” (meaning “Guyenne” or “Aquitaine”). Song XXXIII may, however, rather refer to the papal schism of 1130-1135, in which the Angevins took the side of Innocent II against Anacletus. Line 15 attacks the venality of Rome and line 23 claims that only Poitou remains loyal. It was indeed almost the last region of Europe to abandon the cause of Anacletus. Marcabru’s song IX, lines 21-24, may also relate to the schism and the poet’s adherence to William and Anacletus. It denounces an allegedly corrupt emperor, most probably Lothair II of Germany, who switched his allegiance from Anacletus to Innocent and received his crown from the latter in 1133.²¹² Poem IV, “Al prim comens de l’ivernail”, joins Cercamon in commemorating the end of an era for *trobar*. The manuscript A version of the song ends with the poet in despair (lines 55-60):

“Puois lo Peitavis m’es faillitz
Sera mai cum Artur perduz.”

(Since I am bereaved of the Poitevin, I shall be lost forever like Arthur.)

These lines are generally accepted by scholars as alluding to the death of Marcabru’s patron, William X, the last native Count of Poitiers.²¹³

Jaufre Rudel is the only other known troubadour who, like Cercamon and Marcabru, may have been a satellite of the court of William X at Poitiers. Jaufre was a nobleman,

²¹¹ Prosper Boissonade, “Les personnages et les événements de l’histoire d’Allemagne, de France et d’Espagne dans l’oeuvre de Marcabru (1129-1150), *Romania* XLVIII (1922), pp. 207-242 (pp. 211-213)

²¹² *Ibid.*, p. 214

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 231; Ruth Harvey/Simon Gaunt, “Text and context in a poem by Marcabru: ‘Al prim comens de l’ivernail’, *Proceedings of the Third British Conference on Medieval Occitan Language and Literature* (Coventry, 1985), volume I, pp. 56-94 (p. 64, n19)

Prince of Blaye on the Gironde estuary, and a kinsman of the counts of Angoulême.²¹⁴ His castle was at the southernmost tip of Saintonge, and the overlordship of his territory was claimed by both Poitiers and Angoulême. William IX had destroyed Blaye in the last years of his reign, and William X still held it on his accession. However, Count Vulgrin II of Angoulême subsequently occupied the castle, fortified it and held it until at least 1159.²¹⁵ It is possible that Jaufré learned his art at the court of William X against this background of local turmoil. His grandfather, William Freeland, had been a companion of William VIII and both a friend and foe of William IX.²¹⁶

As Cercamon had suspected, hopes of patronage from Louis VII proved chimerical. Louis and Eleanor spent little of their reign in Aquitaine.²¹⁷ The last strophe of song VI, his lament on the death of William X, suggests that Cercamon approached Eble II of Ventadour as a potential new patron. He may finally have travelled to the Holy Land in 1147, the year in which Louis departed on the second Crusade, as implied by song V, strophe viii. Marcabru seems to have sought new patronage throughout Southwestern France and Spain. The two versions of song IV suggest that, on the death of William X, he travelled to Castile, perhaps also to Barcelona and Portugal, and then returned to Aquitaine via the court of the Viscount of Béarn.²¹⁸ In song IX, lines 26-28, he praises Alfonso Jordan of Toulouse. Songs XXII and XXIII comprise pleas for favour addressed to Emperor Alfonso VII of Castile (reigned 1126-1157), and many other pieces indicate that the troubadour was either at some time in or on his way to Spain, perhaps even before the death of William X (song IX, strophes viii-ix),²¹⁹ and certainly afterwards (songs XXVI *passim*, XXXV *passim*).

The only patrons, or at least addressees, mentioned by Jaufré Rudel are the Poitevin Count of la Marche, Hugh VII of Lusignan (1065–1151) (song II, strophe v), and, Count Alfonso Jordan of Toulouse (1103-1148) (song VI), who is also praised in Marcabru's song IX, lines 26-28. Jaufré may have also taken the cross with these seigneurs in 1147.²²⁰

By the time of the third generation, there were troubadours of varying social stations dispersed throughout what is now Southern France and Catalonia and beyond: Raimbaut d'Aurenga held his own court in Provence; Peire Rogier, an Auvergnat cleric, found patronage at the court of Narbonne; Peire Vidal, a bourgeois from Toulouse, travelled as far as Hungary; and Guilhem de Berguedan was a Catalan nobleman. Folquet de Marselha, a bourgeois of Marseille, even became bishop of Toulouse.

²¹⁴ The extant historical material relating to Jaufré is assembled in Paul Cravayat, "Les origines du troubadour Jaufré Rudel," *Romania* LXXI (1950), pp. 166-179

²¹⁵ Bousard, *Historia*, p. 33

²¹⁶ Grasilier, *Cartulaires inédits*, no. 5, p. 16 (A.D. 1095), no. 53, pp. 54-56 (A.D. 1079), no. 78, p. 70 (1079-1099), no. 98, pp. 84-85 (1093) etc. See also, Jan Martindale, *The Origins*, p. 134, on William Freeland's role during William IX's minority

²¹⁷ Rita Lejeune, "Le rôle littéraire d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine," *Cultura Neolatina* XV (1954), pp. 5-57 (pp. 50-51)

²¹⁸ This song and the troubadour's whereabouts are unravelled by Harvey and Gaunt in "Text and context", pp. 80-94

²¹⁹ This poem may date from 1135, when the troubadour could have been en route for the council of Léon, where Alfonso VII was declared Emperor. Among those present were Count Alfonso Jordan of Toulouse and "multi comites et duces Gasconiae et Franciae", ed. Luis Sanchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* (Madrid, 1950), p. 55

²²⁰ Jeanroy, *Les chansons de Jaufré Rudel*, p. iii

Aquitaine in general and Limousin in particular nevertheless remained a vigorous foyer of *trobar* throughout the twelfth century, and many of the most celebrated troubadours of this period are known either to have been born or to have been active there: for example, Arnaut de Tintinhac, Bernard de Ventadour, Bertran de Born, Gaucelm Faidit, Guiraut de Bornelh, Perre de Bussignac, a nobleman and clerk at the castle of Bertran de Born at Hautefort, and the Ussel brothers.²²¹ The prestige of Limousin troubadours was such that at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Catalan troubadour and theorist, Raimon Vidal de Besaudun, chose the term *lemosi* to describe the language of *trobar*.²²²

²²¹ See the map included as Figure 3, and the exhibition catalogue : Jean-Loup et Nicole Lemaître, *Troubadours au bas pays de Limousin* (Ussel, 1976), pp. 15-16

²²² John Marshall, *The 'Razos de Trobar' of Raimon Vidal and associated texts* (London, 1972), pp. 4-7

b) *Troubadours, jongleurs, sirven and soudadier*

The first chapter and the first section of this chapter have focused predominantly on the persons of the aristocratic troubadours and patrons of the first two generations of *trobar*: Dukes William IX and X of Aquitaine, Eble II, Viscount of Ventadour and, to a lesser extent, Jaufre Rudel. “Jongleuresque” aspects of William IX’s social and poetic *personae* have, however, been touched upon, and the presence of two troubadour/jongleurs at the court of William X, Cercamon and Marcabru, has been demonstrated. The present section will begin by filling in more background as to the meaning of *joglar* or “jongleur”, the profession which Orderic Vitalis claimed that William IX imitated. It will then explore clues as to the social position and profession of the two leading non-noble troubadours and presumed jongleurs of the second generation of *trobar*, Cercamon and Marcabru.

The Medieval Latin terms more or less corresponding to “jongleur”, *mimus* and *histrion*, occur continuously from antiquity onwards, and originally denoted different types of artist in ancient theatre. The encyclopaedist, Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636), distinguishes these two terms in his *Etymologiae* as referring respectively to a drag-artist-cum-acrobat-cum-story-teller and a mime-artist. However, it is unclear whether he is speaking as an antiquarian or as a reporter of actuality.²²³ The actual word *joculator* occurs first in Merovingian and Carolingian documents, and may have been coined to correspond to a native German word, such as *scōp*.²²⁴ All three terms seem to have become roughly synonymous in Latin by the time that Orderic compared William IX to *histriones*.

Orderic himself used the three terms indiscriminately. A jongleur who erred on the side of blasphemy in mocking Norman saints’ relics is called both *mimus* and *joculator*.²²⁵ *Joculatores* are said to sing *cantilenae* about St. William’s exploits against the Saracens. *Histriones* told *facetiae*, “jokes” and related “the siege of Troy and the marvellous deeds of heroes”.²²⁶ The songs of St. William, which the chronicler compares unfavourably with official church hagiography, probably represented vernacular works related to the William of Orange cycle of *chansons de geste*. The stories of Troy told at the last stand of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem (reigned 1100–1118) at Belek suggests the existence of Old French *romans d’antiquité* a quarter century before the first extant versions. The *facetiae* are compared by Orderic to the humorous songs in Occitan of William IX. Performing artists, all of whom were regarded as jongleurs by the chronicler, seemed to have composed and performed genres of an extremely divergent character, but presumably always in the spoken tongue.

The richest vernacular source on the possible range of accomplishments of a jongleur corroborates and broadens this picture. The Occitan *ensenhamen*, or didactic poem, “Cabra juglar”, by Guerau III de Cabrera, who may be the same Catalan

²²³ *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), *lib.* XVIII, sections XLVIII–XLIX

²²⁴ Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca y orígenes de las literaturas románicas* (Madrid, 1957), p. 6; E.K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), vol. I, pp. 23–41

²²⁵ Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History*, vol. III, p. 318, *lib.* VI, *ca.* 10, iii.99

²²⁶ *Ibid.* vol. III, p. 218, *lib.* VI, *ca.* 3, iii.6; vol. V, p. 324, *lib.* X, *ca.* 20, iv.118; vol. VI, p. 120, *lib.* XI, *ca.* 26, iv.255

nobleman to whom Marcabru addressed his song XXXIV (line 36), enumerates the skills which the jongleur, Cabra, i.e. “goat”, has not mastered.²²⁷ He cannot dance, juggle, play the fiddle or sing (lines 6-8). He cannot perform the old genres, such as *sirventes*, *balaesc*, *estribotz*, *retroencha* and *contenson* (lines 19-24), or the courtly *vers novel* of Jaufre Rudel, Marcabru and Eble II (lines 25-30). He is ignorant of the whole range of vernacular narrative verse, including epic figures, such as Roland (line 85), William of Orange (line 66) and Ogier the Dane (line 85); fashionable characters from Breton romance, such as Arthur (line 55), Eric (line 73) and Gawain (line 87); the *matière d’antiquité*, Alexander the Great (line 30), Apollonius of Tyre (line 31) and the Romance of Thebes (line 154); and finally, Ovid, Itis and Biblis (lines 163-164), and Pyramus and Thisbe (lines 166-168). Although this list is humorous and doubtless exaggerated, it does show that the art of the jongleur could range from acrobat and musical performer to adaptor of historical legends and even classical literature.

J.D.A. Ogilvy has characterised the period 1000-1200 as one where earlier specialisation had given way to the sort of “mime-of-all-trades” described by Orderic Vitalis.²²⁸ It was this type of artist, potentially capable of both the greatest frivolity and of sophisticated compositions in the vernacular, whom William IX was said to resemble. The duke could be viewed as simultaneously aping his social inferiors, while executing an art form which Orderic did not necessarily despise and which the hapless Cabra could not hope to master.

This “mime-of-all-trades” should also theoretically represent the profession to which Cercamon and Marcabru belonged. Cercamon is termed a *joglar* in his *vida* and Marcabru is said in one of his *vidas* (Manuscript A) to have spent so much time with Cercamon that he too became a troubadour.²²⁹ Both poets use pseudonyms: “Search-the-world” and “Brown-mark”, which is a feature of jongleurs. Yet, neither of these apparently non-noble, professional troubadours seemed willing in his own songs to class himself as a jongleur. Uc Catola, probably a nobleman,²³⁰ dismissed Marcabru in a *tenso* or debate poem as one of “atails joglars esbaluiz”, (one of those senseless jongleurs) (Marcabru song VI, line 44). Sir Audric arrogantly compared his status with Marcabru’s in the conclusion to a song attributed to him and addressed to Marcabru (Marcabru song XX, lines 40-42):

“Quan tornaras,
Segurs seras
De seignor et ieu de joglar.”

(When you come back, you will be sure of a lord and I will be sure of a jongleur.)

Marcabru then picks up the term “jongleur” in his rejection of the niggardly and bullying noble’s proposal (song XXbis, lines 31-33):

²²⁷ François Pirot, *Recherches sur les connaissances littéraires des troubadours occitans et catalans des XIIIe et XIIIe siècles. Les ‘sirventes-ensenhamens’ de Guerau de Cabrera, Guiraut de Calanson et Bertran de Paris*, (*Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona XIV*, Barcelona, 1972), pp. 545-562

²²⁸ J.D.A. Ogilvy, “*Mimi, scurrae, histriones: Entertainers of the Early Middle Ages*”, *Speculum* 38 (1963), pp. 603-619 (p. 614)

²²⁹ Boutière/Schutz, *Biographies des troubadours*, nos. II-III

²³⁰ Discussed further in chapter 7 section a) (i) below

“De lengueiar
 Contra joglar
 Etz plus aflatz que milans.”

(You are more sharp-tongued than a kite when you bad-mouth jongleurs.)

The same pattern recurs in Marcabru’s imitators. Bernart Marti only uses “jongleur” in order to criticise Peire d’Alvernhe: “Quar si feys fols joglares”, (for he became a silly jongleur) (song V, line 35). Peire d’Alvernhe himself only uses the term to ridicule Gromoartz Gausmars: “q’es cavalliers e fai ioglar”, (who is a knight but acts as a jongleur) (song XII, line 38). The *vers novel* mentioned by Guiraut de Cabrera may have been performed by jongleurs, but its composition and performance seem to have been the speciality of troubadours, composer-performers, like Cercamon, Marcabru and their successors.

Since they do not call themselves jongleurs, one might expect Cercamon and Marcabru to underline their role as creators by calling themselves troubadours, but this is not the case. Cercamon is only referred to as *trobador* in the Manuscript A version of Marcabru’s *vida*. Marcabru uses the word twice, but only to criticise “menut trobador begau”, (buzzing little troubadours) (song XXXIII, line 9) and “Trobador, ab sen d’enfansa”, (troubadours with a child’s sense) (song XXXVII, line 7). The former are troubadours who make fun of Marcabru’s style, and the latter comprise those who incite “Falss’Amor encontra fina”, (false Love against fine) (XXXVII, line 14).

Cercamon uses the word “troubadour” once, again negatively, in “Puois nostre temps comens’a brunezir” (song V, lines 19-26):

“Ist trobador, entre ver e mentir,
 Afollon drutz e molhers et espos,
 E van dizen qu’Amors vay en biays,
 Per que.l marit endevenon gilos,
 E dompnas son intradas en pantays,
 Cui mout vol hom escoutar et auzir.

 Cist sirven fals fan a plusors gequir
 Pretz e *Joven* e lonhar ad estros.”

(These troubadours, neither lying nor telling the truth, drive lovers, wives and husbands mad, telling them that Love is going awry, so that husbands become jealous and wives anxious. People are much too keen to listen to and hear them. These false servants make many abandon Worth and Youth and distance themselves far from these qualities.)

Marcabru’s childish troubadours, promoters of promiscuity, referred to in his song XXXIII may be those who compose “la troba n’Eblon” (song XXXI, line 74), perhaps even including Cercamon himself, whose song VI is directed to Eble II of Ventadour. Cercamon’s “Ist trobador” may, on the other hand, include Marcabru, who is criticised

for his slighting of love, women and courtly society, for instance, by Raimon Jordan.²³¹ In Marcabru's mouth *trobador* may have implied aristocratic troubadours and their satellites, such as Eble II and Cercamon, while Cercamon could be using the term ironically of troubadours like Marcabru whom he regards as having no more than a servant's status.

The use of the term *sirven*, "servant", of certain troubadours by Cercamon in the above poem adds another term used by non-noble troubadours of the second generation to describe one another. Its use is especially interesting in the light of the phrase *sirventes joglaresc*, which occurs in three *vidas* of early thirteenth-century troubadours, Peire Guilhem de Tolosa, Guilhem Augier Novela and Folquet de Romans, respectively:²³²

"e fez sirventes jogaresc(s) e de blasmar los baros."

(and he wrote *sirventes joglaresc* in order to blame the barons.)

"e fez sirventes jogarescs, que lausava l(os) uns e blamava los autres."

(and he wrote *sirventes joglaresc* which praised some and blamed others.)

"e fez sirventes jogarescs de lausar los pros e de blasmar los malvatz."

(and he wrote *sirventes joglaresc* in order to praise the good and blame the bad.)

F. Witthoeft borrows the phrase, *sirventes joglaresc*, in order to give a name to a sub-genre of troubadour satire (called *sirventes* from the third generation), which was specifically directed at jongleurs.²³³ The term *joglaresc*, however, arguably appears to reaffirm the etymological sense of *sirventes*, "in the manner of a servant", rather than to add a new dimension to it.²³⁴ In the light of this seeming tautology, where servants and jongleurs are equated, it is small wonder that Cercamon and Marcabru bracket themselves with neither group.

The question remains then, how do Cercamon and Marcabru define themselves socially and professionally, if not as jongleurs and/or troubadours? One possible answer lies in the term *soudadier*, which most commonly means "mercenary soldier", but can also signify any other hireling who is paid a "solde" or wage. After reproaching "Ist trobador" and "Cist sirven fals", Cercamon goes on to complain (song V, lines 31-34):

"Ves manhtas partz vei lo segle faillir,
Per qu'ieu n'estauc marritz e cossiros,
Que soudadiers non truep ab cui s'apays,
Per lauzengiers qu'an bec malahuros."

(I see the world collapsing all about me and it makes me sad and anxious, since *soudadier* cannot find patronage because of the *lauzengier* with their cursed beaks.)

²³¹ Ulrich Mlk, *Trobar clus*, pp. 28-29, is among the latest of a series of critics similarly to interpret these poems as fragments of a literary, polemical war in which Cercamon and Marcabru were the main protagonists

²³² Boutire/Schutz, *Biographies des troubadours*, nos. LXVI, p. 436, LXXIII, p. 488, LXXXI, p. 503

²³³ Friedrich Witthoeft, "'Sirventes joglaresc'. Ein Blick auf das alfranzsische Spielmannleben", *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie* 77 (Marburg, 1891)

²³⁴ Dietmar Rieger, *Gattungen und Gattungsbezeichnungen der Trobadorlyrik. Untersuchungen zum altprovenzalischen Sirventes* (Tbingen, 1976) surveys the many theories for the origin of the term *sirventes*

Cercamon identifies himself here with the cause of *soudadier* who lose their livelihood through flatterers or “lauzengiers”. These *soudadier* may be potential mercenaries for the second crusade which is promoted in strophe viii of this song but, in view of the opposition with *lauzengier*, it seems more likely that some sort of court dependant is meant, possibly Cercamon the troubadour himself.

Marcabru uses the term *soudadier* on three occasions. On two of these, he is exhorting his audience:

“La vostra cuida, soudadier,
fai elusdar los baus Gaifier
q’enaissi balansen engau,
la cuja e.l prometres failliz.” (Song XIX, lines 19-22) ²³⁵

(Your expectation, *soudadier*, reveals the true sense of the jewels of Gaifier, namely that ideals and broken promises weigh equally in the balance.)

“Soudadier, per cui es iovens
mantengutz e iois eisamens,
entendetz los mals argumens
de las falsas putas ardens.” (Song XLIV, lines 1-4) ²³⁶

(*Soudadier*, who uphold both Youth and Joy, listen to some evil arguments of torrid, treacherous whores.)

On the third occasion, Marcabru identifies himself with this group in an attack on the unreliability and meanness of the young generation of nobles (song III, lines 23-24): ²³⁷

“don los claman flacs e bauducs
leu e tug l’autre soudadier.”

(So, with all the other *soudadier*, I call them feeble and full of empty promises.)

The first of these passages may only refer to mercenaries, since the context is military. In the latter two, however, and especially the last, Marcabru may be addressing and including himself in a not specifically military group of hired court retainers, perhaps even in a group of entertainers.

The term *soudadier* does seem to occur in similar circumstances in troubadours of the third generation. Guiraut de Bornelh commences a so-called *sirventes joglaresc* as follows (song LXXV, lines 1-2): ²³⁸

²³⁵ Edited by Rita Lejeune in “Pour le commentaire du troubadour Marcabru: une allusion à Waïfre, roi d’Aquitaine”, *Annales du Midi* 76 (1964), pp. 363-370 (pp. 368-369), with alterations suggested in John Marshall, “The *Doas cuidas* of Marcabru”, in Paterson/Noble, *Chrétien de Troyes and the Troubadours*, pp. 27-33 (p. 29)

²³⁶ Edited by the author in chapter 5 b) below

²³⁷ Ed. Aurelio Roncaglia, in “Marcabruno: Al departir del brau tempier”, *Cultura Neolatina* XIII (1953), pp. 5-33 (pp. 7-8)

²³⁸ Adolf Kolsen, ed., *Sämtliche Lieder des Trobadors Giraut de Bornelh mit Übersetzung, Kommentar und Glossar*, vol. I, (Halle, 1910), p. 474

“Cardalhac, per un sirventes
M’es dich qu’en venretz soldaders.”

(Cardalhac, I am told that with the help of a *sirventes* you hope to become a *soudadier*.)

Guiraut seems to be replying to a *sirventes* which Cardalhac has written for the purpose of being hired as a paid retainer, a court entertainer.

Bertran de Born advised another jongleur, Folheta (i.e. “little leaf”), not to ask employment of him, but rather:²³⁹

“Fuihletas, sias soudadiers
N’Archambaud, qi nasquet derriers.” (song XLI, lines 15-16)

(Folheta, become the *soudadier* of Sir Archambaut, the last born.)

As in the lines from Guiraut de Bornelh, the concept *soudadier* seems here to refer to employment as a jongleur.

In two other songs by Bertran de Born, *soudadier* are again associated with jongleurs and troubadours, if less directly:²⁴⁰

“E que solon donar rics dos
E far las autras mesios
A soudadier et a guglar?” (Song XXX, lines 37-39)

(And (where are) those who normally present rich gifts and give other alms to *soudadier* and jongleurs?)

“Dolen e trist e plen de marrimen
Son remazut li cortes soudadier
E-il trobador e-il joglar avinen.” (Song XIV, lines 9-11)

(Courtly *soudadier*, troubadours and pleasant jongleurs have remained sad, dejected and full of grief (at the death of King Henry the Young of England in 1183).)

In the latter two passages, *soudadier* could still mean mercenaries, but the context groups them with entertainers. In the former two, as possibly also in Marcabru song III, line 24, the term is used directly of jongleurs. It seems that Marcabru, and perhaps also Cercamon, used *soudadier* to mean paid courtier in general, but in their own cases, paid court entertainer in particular. As such, the term may be a precursor of the Northern French term, *menestrel*, which is first attested in this sense in Chrétien de Troyes’s *Erec et Enide* (ca. 1160-1163).²⁴¹

²³⁹ Gérard Gouiran, ed., *L’amour et la guerre. L’œuvre de Bertran de Born* (Aix-en-Provence, 1985), p. 790

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 620, 260

²⁴¹ Mario Roques, ed. *Les romans de Chrétien de Troyes: Erec et Enide* (Paris, 1953), line 1984 and, more generally, Edmond Faral, *Les jongleurs en France au moyen âge* (Paris 1910), ch. iv, “Les menestrels”, pp. 103-118

c) *Non-noble troubadours and the clergy*

This section will confine itself to the biographical evidence for some degree of clerical education in troubadours who apparently did not belong to the nobility. The following chapters 4-7 will then explore knowledge and use of Latin literature and learning in their songs, and particularly the satires of Cercamon, Bernart Marti, Peire d'Alvernhe, and above all Marcabru.

Cercamon's poetic debate with Guilhalm, "Car vei fenir a tot dia" (song VII), a song composed in anticipation of the arrival in Poitiers in 1137 of the new count, King Louis VII of France, contains indications that the poet had some relationship with the clergy, since he begins:

"Car vei fenir a tot dia
[L'amor], lo joy e.l deport,
E no.m socor la clerzia."

(For I see Love, Joy and Pleasure failing every day and the clergy does not help me.)

Guilhalm then replies in lines 10-13:

"-Maïstre, si Dieus me valha,
Ben dizetz so que cove;
Mas ja d'aisso no vos calha
Car li clerc no vos fan be."

(Master, so help me God, you are quite right in what you say; but do not let it worry you that the clerks do not aid you.)

The obvious questions here are why should Cercamon expect to be succoured by the clergy, and why does Guilhalm call him "master"? A later chapter will suggest that this song parodies the master-pupil *quaestio* used in the teaching of rhetoric and theology, and that Cercamon is at least posing as a poet-philosopher and a clerk.²⁴² There could, however, be some basis in the truth for Cercamon's expectations in the clergy, and this would add to the piquancy of the song.

Marcabru is said in the Manuscript A *vida* to have been a foundling brought up by a nobleman, N'Aldrics del Vilar, and to have learned his art from Cercamon. There is no foundation for any of these ideas in Marcabru's extant songs, so there may be some truth in this tale. If so, a clerical training would be a likely destination for a child born in these circumstances and with a gift for words. Like Cercamon, Marcabru at least pretends to be a clerk, especially a preacher, in some of his poems. In lines 31-32 of song V, "Al son desviat, chantaire", the frustrated moralist declares:

"De nien sui chastaire
E de foudat sermonaire."

(I am the chastiser of nothing and the preacher of folly.)

²⁴² See chapter 7 section a) (i) below

He is in a similar frame of mind in “Per savi.l tenc ses doptanssa” (song XXXVII, lines 43-46):

“Sermonars ni predicanssa
No val un ou de gallina
Vas cellui de qu’es frairina
Follia de cor correia.”

(Sermons and preaching are not worth a hen’s egg for those whose folly ties their heart.)

Marcabru’s stance as a moralising preacher was later criticised by the troubadour Raimon Jordan, Viscount of Saint-Antonin in the County of Toulouse (flourished ca. 1160-1185), in his song “No posc mudar no diga non veiaire (I, lines 25-28):²⁴³

“Qu’en Marcabrus, a lei de predicaire,
Quant es en gleiza o[-z] (denant) orador,
Que di gran mal de la gent mescrezen,
Et el ditz mal de domnas eissamen.”

(For Sir Marcabru, like a preacher who in church or an oratory speaks ill of evil men, similarly speaks ill of ladies.)

Considering the imitation of sermon form in several of Marcabru’s songs, his allusions to medieval literature and a range of other elements of the Latin tradition discussed later in this study,²⁴⁴ these remarks take on an extra weight. Marcabru was arguably able to preach so convincingly and bring such learning to his calumny of courtly morals because he did indeed have some clerical training. It is even possible that he and Cercamon at some time fulfilled administrative functions at the court of Poitiers and were not simply employed as entertainers. This could also explain why they preferred to be labelled as and grouped with salaried *soudadier*.

One of Marcabru’s closest imitators, Peire d’Alvernhe, was certainly a clerk. According to his *vida*,²⁴⁵ “savis hom fo e ben letratz”, (he was a learned man and well versed in letters). He is the first known troubadour to have written religious lyrics (songs XVI-XIX), all of which have been commended for their Catholic orthodoxy by Diego Zorzi.²⁴⁶

More specific information concerning the life of Peire d’Alvernhe is provided by Bernart Marti, another imitator of Marcabru, in strophe vi of his song, “D’entiers vers far ieu non pes” (song V):

“E quan canorgues si mes
Pey d’Alvern’h’en canongia,
A Dieu per que.s prometia
Entiers que pueys si fraysses?”

²⁴³ Hilding Kjellman, *Le troubadour Raimon-Jordan, vicomte de Saint-Antonin, édition critique accompagnée d’une étude sur le dialecte parlé dans la vallée de l’Aveyron au XIIe siècle* (Upsalla/Paris, 1922), p. 62

²⁴⁴ See below chapter 4 section a) and chapter 5

²⁴⁵ Boutière/Schutz, *Biographies des troubadours*, no. XXXIX, p. 263

²⁴⁶ Diego Zorzi, *Valori religiosi nella letteratura provenzale. La spiritualità trinitaria* (Milan, 1954), pp. 173-178 (p. 178)

Quar si feys fols joglares,
Per que l'entier pretz cambïa."

(And when Peire d'Alvernhe entered as a canon in a canonry, why did he promise himself "wholly"²⁴⁷ to God, and then break his promise? For he then became a foolish jongleur, and abandoned his "whole" reputation.)

This personal attack furnishes positive proof that a troubadour, even a "foolish jongleur", could not only be trained, but also serve as a cleric.

There may have been a hidden reason for Bernart Marti's violent indignation at Peire's abandoning of his canonry, since he himself may have been a cleric of some sort. Line 3 of his song V seems to say that he only composed "one or two or three songs in a year", which could imply that this was a secondary occupation. His particular indignation at Peire's abandoning of the Church could then be partly explicable through Bernart's decision to write songs on the side without becoming a full-time composer.

Bernart's song IV, line 38 may refer to his primary profession when he names himself "Bernart Marti lo pintor", (Bernart Marti, the painter).²⁴⁸ This title could refer to his imagistic style, as it does in the epitaph of a certain Master Theobald, attributed to Hildebert of Le Mans:²⁴⁹

"...sermonum pictor, alumnus/Pieridum...."

(Painter of words, disciple of the muses.)

The following image from lines 10-11 of Bernart's "Amar dei" (song I) may also have a purely metaphorical sense:

"Dunc dompnei
Color en pintura."

(So I colour wooing in a picture.)²⁵⁰

However, it is equally possible that Bernart is referring to or hinting at his day job.

Pictores, "painters", occasionally appear among the officers of monastic houses. A certain monk called William is entitled *pictor* in two documents from the Abbey of Nouaillé in Poitou from the second half of eleventh century,²⁵¹ as is a Geoffrey in a charter of 1166 from the Abbey of Saint-Gilles in the County of Toulouse.²⁵² Manuscript illuminators might or might not double as scribes.²⁵³ One notable clerical painter of the early twelfth century is better known now as a metrical Latin poet, Petrus Pictor, Canon of Saint-Omer:²⁵⁴

²⁴⁷ See chapter 7 section b) below for Bernart Marti's appropriation of Marcabru's value terms, *entier*, (whole), and *frag*, (broken)

²⁴⁸ Bernart Marti may be identifiable with Bernart of Saissac (in the Toulousain) per Aurelio Roncaglia, "Due postille alla 'galleria letteraria' di Peire d'Alvernhe", *Marche Romane* 19 (1969), pp. 71-78

²⁴⁹ *Patrologia Latina* 171, col. 1395. The epitaph starts, "Pinge, Thalia, virum", (Thalia, paint the man)

²⁵⁰ This phrase could alternatively mean, "So, I woo colour in a picture", i.e. the poet deceives himself by loving a traitorous woman

²⁵¹ Monsabert, *Chartes Nouaillé*, nos. 106 and 129, pp. 190 and 209

²⁵² *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, ed. C. de Vic/J. Vaissète (Toulouse, 1872-1904), vol. V, , no. 589, col. 1145

²⁵³ Otto Pächt, "Hugo Pictoris", *Bodleian Library Record*, 3 (1950), pp. 96-103

²⁵⁴ L. van Acker, *Petri Pictoris Carmina* (Turnholt, 1972), p. 49, poem III, lines 13-14

“Nocte vigil tota non cesso versificari,
Pingo die tota cupioque deos operari.”

(I spend the entire night awake writing poetry and the entire day painting, striving to recreate the gods.)

Painters, even in religious houses, were not necessarily endowed with a clerical education or working as clerics. Indeed, the moral encyclopedia *De bestiis et aliis rebus* of Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor specifically warns against bestowing orders on painters (in this case of frescoes), physicians and jongleurs, “qui per diversas regions discurrere sunt assueti”, (who are accustomed to wander through different regions).²⁵⁵ Yet, the painting of frescoes and particularly the illumination of manuscripts did require some training and some learning, for instance, of religious symbolism and related iconography.

It seems inevitable that any professional painter in Western Europe at this period would at least have been employed at some time in a religious house. Many must also have been trained in there, and some must have been regular monks or canons. One obscure phrase by Bernart may even suggest that he was a monk (song VII, strophe iii):

Mas ieu n’ay una chazida
Que no m’en fai desturbier,
Mas be m’a sa fe plevida
Et yeu jurat al mostier
...don no.m puesc estraire,
Tan li suy fizels amaire
Ses failhir, so.us jur e.us pliu.”

(But I have a choice mistress who causes me no trouble, but she has pledged her faith and I have sworn at the monastery...from which I cannot extract myself, I am such a faithful lover, I swear and pledge and will not fail you.)

The fourth and fifth lines of this strophe are the most interesting and problematic, not least because line 5 is a syllable short in both manuscripts. Is it an oath or his monastery from which Bernart cannot escape? If the latter, is he being ironic? Since there is no hint of erotic love until the fourth strophe, Bernart may be keeping the audience in suspense, letting them believe that he is talking of love for the Blessed Virgin for the first three strophes, before disabusing them in the fourth. On the one hand, his swearing by his monastery and the audience’ knowledge that he was or had been a monk would lead them on. On the other hand, since he projects himself as both lover and satirist in many of his poems, a listener might already anticipate a trick through his mentioning of his monastic background, a striking breach in the fiction of the courtly lover.

It would not be very surprising if any of these early troubadours were or had been clerics, or at least had a partial clerical education. Many of their successors in the second half of the twelfth century seem to have fallen into one of these categories. The *vidas* state, for example, that Peire de Bussignac, who imitated the satirical style of

²⁵⁵ (Pseudo-)Hugh of Saint Victor, *De bestiis et aliis rebus*, in *Patrologia Latina* 177, cols 9-164 (col. 46)

CHAPTER 2

Marcabru, was a *clers*, a gentleman at Bertran de Born's castle in the Limousin; that Peire Roger was a canon at Clermont who became a jongleur;²⁵⁶ that Arnaut Daniel, from Ribérac in the Périgord, learned letters, but abandoned them to become a jongleur; and that Jausbert de Puyscibot, son of a Limousin châtelain and monk of Saint-Léonard des Chaumes near La Rochelle, left his order for love and became a jongleur.²⁵⁷ Finally, the Monk of Montaudon is perhaps the most famous clerk-troubadour. He apparently took orders at the abbey of Aurillac in Auvergne and became prior of Montaudon.²⁵⁸ He is said to have eaten meat, courted women, sung and composed. Yet, although he is often humourously blasphemous and philandering in his songs, he never seems to have left his order, but rather to have enriched his church.

²⁵⁶ Peire d'Alvernhe states that Peire Rogier was a clerk in his "galleria letteraria", song XII, strophe ii

²⁵⁷ Boutière/Schutz, *Biographies des troubadours*, nos. XIII, p. 145, XL, p. 267, IX, p. 59, XXIX, p. 229

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.* no. XLVI, p. 307; Michael J. Routledge, *Les poésies du moine de Montaudon* (Montpellier, 1977), pp. 11-15

Conclusions to chapter 2

The second chapter has focused on the second generation of troubadours and their patrons, and specifically on the court of William X, son and successor of William IX, and the troubadours Jaufre Rudel, Marcabru and Cercamon. As in the first chapter, Latin sources have been combined with information to be gleaned from the songs of the troubadours and their *vidas*, in order to assess their likely level of Latin learning.

In many ways, William X's court was characterised by continuity with that of his father, although he was a patron of *trobar* rather than himself a composer or performer. Troubadours associated with his court continued to write and sing of the courtly qualities of *Joven*, *jois*, *proeza*, *pretz* and *donars* found in William IX's verse. William X was also accused, like his father, by senior churchmen of levity. In his case, however, this was against the more serious background of the bitter and prolonged schism between Innocent II and the Antipope Anacletus II.

Despite his problems with leading Church figures, such as Bernard of Clairvaux, William X retained the loyalty of much of the clergy of Poitou and Limousin throughout the reign, and may even have been a personal friend of the grammarian, Peter Helias. In the end, however, Anacletus's party was unsuccessful, and this cast a shadow over the duke's reign which may have contributed to his death as a relatively young man in 1137.

The death of William X and the end of the autonomous Duchy of Aquitaine led to an outpouring of grief by the troubadours Cercamon and Marcabru, who recognised that this was the end of an era. Patronage was not forthcoming from their new overlord, King Louis VII of France, and this led to the diaspora which spread *trobar* and its proponents throughout Europe and as far as the Holy Land.

Unlike William IX and Jaufre Rudel, Cercamon and Marcabru seem to have been commoners who were dependent on patronage. They do not, however, use the terms *jongleur* or *troubadour* of themselves. They instead seem to see themselves, at least ideally, as paid court retainers. Such self-identification as a type of courtier rather than as a wandering performer, may not just be aspirational. Lay courts included not only nobility, who could themselves be educated, but also educated professionals, often clerics or ex-clerics, who acted in a number of professional, including administrative, capacities.

There is significant circumstantial evidence from their songs that both Cercamon and Marcabru were not only educated, but also had a clerical background. Cercamon is referred to as "master" in a debate song, and asks why the clergy does not help him. Marcabru refers to himself as a preacher on several occasions although, as with the debate song of Cercamon, this may correspond to an artistic pose rather than reality. Bernart Marti describes himself as a "painter" perhaps suggesting that he worked either as a monastic manuscript illuminator or fresco painter. Finally, Peire d'Alvernhe was certainly a canon who left the Church in order to follow his vocation as a troubadour.

More direct evidence of clerical education in the songs of the early troubadours is the subject of the rest of this study. Such evidence may point to anything from a basic knowledge of reading or writing to the possibility that some troubadours took holy orders and even held important administrative posts either in lay courts or in the Church. This was certainly the case from the third generation onwards, when several such career moves are attested through solid historical documentation.

Part II: Vernacular and Latin poetry and song

Introduction

A central task of this work will be the comparison of the lyric traditions in Medieval Occitan and Latin, and this second part therefore concentrates on this topic. Before proceeding with such an analysis, however, it would be useful first to recall the fact that the early troubadours were by no means the first composers of vernacular verse in an Occitan dialect. Several examples of older or contemporary lyric which may or may not be related to *trobar* survive, with a wide range of metres, subject matter and style.

In 1984, Bernhard Bischoff published an Occitan love poem, “Las qui n[on] sun sparvir astur”, (“Oh, to be a sparrow-hawk, a goshawk!”), which he found in the margins of a manuscript in the British Museum and assigned to a German scribe in the late eleventh century.²⁵⁹ Its exact dialect, meaning and metre remain obscure. A Vatican manuscript originating from a sister monastery of Saint-Martial of Limoges, the Abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire, contains a possibly profane *alba*, or “dawn song”, in Latin, “Phebi claro nondum orto iubare”, but with a refrain in mixed Occitan and Latin.²⁶⁰ This poem has been tentatively dated to the eleventh century. Its interpretation as a love song or, based on its military imagery, as an example of *militia amoris* or *militia Christi* remains open.²⁶¹ Finally, there are several religious songs, either macaronic or purely Occitan surviving in a manuscript from Saint-Martial de Limoges from the end of the eleventh century: “Be deu hoi mais finir razos”,²⁶² “In hoc anni circulo/Mei amic e mei fiel”,²⁶³ and “O Maria, Deu maire”.²⁶⁴ The latter two are Mariological pieces, and all three occur in the same section of the same troper in the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript lat. 1139, which will be discussed in more detail in the next section of this chapter.²⁶⁵ All of these lyrics are chance survivals. The love-lyric fragment is scribbled on the final blank folio of a manuscript of Terence, while the Saint-Martial pieces survive owing to the almost miraculous preservation of a significant portion of this important abbey’s manuscripts.²⁶⁶

²⁵⁹ MS London British Library Harley 2750, f. 94v, edited in Bernhard Bischoff, “Altfranzösische Liebestrophen (spätes elftes Jahrhundert?)”, *Anecdota Novissima*, VII (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 266-268 and Tafel V

²⁶⁰ MS Rome Vat. Reg. lat. 1462, f. 50v. Facsimile and edition in Ruggero M. Ruggieri, *Testi antichi romanzi* (Modena, 1949), vol. I, “Facsimili”, p. 19, no. 3

²⁶¹ Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love Lyric*, (2nd edition, Oxford, 1968), vol. I, pp. 170-172 and p. 237 (music)

²⁶² Ruggieri, *Testi*, vol II, “Trascrizioni”, pp. 73-74, no. 28; Friedrich Gennrich, *Der musikalische Nachlass der Trobadours. Kritische Ausgabe der Melodien* (Darmstadt, 1958), no. 3, pp. 2-3 (with music)

²⁶³ H.J. Turrin, “A Reassessment: In hoc anni circulo/mei amic mei fiel, Confliction or Concord in a Seminal Romance Lyric?”, *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 12 (1977), pp. 69-77; Gennrich, *Der musikalische Nachlass*, no. 1, p. 1 (with music)

²⁶⁴ Karl Bartsch/Eduard Koschwitz, *Chrestomathie Provençale*, (6th edition, Marburg, 1904), cols. 19-22; Gennrich, *Der musikalische Nachlass*, no. 2, pp. 2-3 (with music)

²⁶⁵ “Be deu” on folio 44; “In hoc” on folios 48-49; and “O Maria” on folios 49-50

²⁶⁶ Charles de Lasteyrie, *L’abbaye de St.-Martial de Limoges* (Paris, 1901), chapter III, “La bibliothèque de l’Abbaye”, pp. 335-350

These works and the corpus of extant early troubadour song must represent the tip of an iceberg of vernacular lyric during this period. The less learned or more “popular” side of this iceberg must be distantly reflected in the mostly anonymous and undatable dance-songs in Medieval Occitan,²⁶⁷ and the occasional lyrics with narrative content, such as Marcabru’s two *pastourelles* (songs XXIX-XXX) and his so-called *Romanze*,²⁶⁸ a poem which resembles the Old French genres of *chanson de femme/chanson d’ami* and *chanson de toile*.²⁶⁹ Such dance-songs and various types of *chanson d’ami* often with refrain, are much more prevalent in the Northern French tradition. However, it would not be surprising if little of this “popular” branch of Occitan lyric survived. The vast majority of medieval Occitan poems are known from manuscripts created for thirteenth- and fourteenth-century connoisseurs of *trobar*, most of whom were based outside the region.

Such a “popular” lyric background, together with knowledge of the satirical ephemera of jongleurs, would doubtless have been as important, if not more important than contemporary Latin lyric in the emergence of the principal genres of *trobar*. As it is, the surviving Latin lyric comprises the only body of body of material which allows a historically justifiable comparison with contemporary troubadour lyric. An analysis of this should therefore at least bring early *trobar* into some historical relief, and perhaps also suggest some ways in which the Latin and new vernacular traditions interacted.

²⁶⁷ István Frank, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie des troubadours* (Paris, 1953-1957), vol. II, p. 58 for the relatively rare surviving occurrences of songs with refrains, often anonymous dances and *albas*. These are particularly rare in the higher register genres

²⁶⁸ A term used, e.g. in Spanke, *Beziehungen*, chapter IV, “Die Romanzenstrophe”, pp. 53-73

²⁶⁹ See Pierre Bec, *La lyrique française au moyen âge (XIIe-XIIIe siècles). Contribution à une typologie des genres poétiques médiévaux* (Paris, 1977), vol. I, pp. 57-68, 107-119

Chapter 3

Love lyric

a) *Early troubadour love lyric: form and content*

The examination of the relationship between the poetic school of the early troubadours and preceding and contemporary Latin verse has not hitherto proved fruitful. It has been dogged by two major difficulties: which surviving Latin lyrics can or should be compared to troubadour texts, and how should they be compared? Little secular Latin lyric is extant from the period immediately before or contemporary with that of the early troubadours, and there is no direct evidence of how familiar it was to courtly audiences in the region. The following section aims to provide a theoretical basis for the comparison of the two literary traditions.

Dimitri Scheludko's article, "Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altprovenzalischen Lyrik", is the only general work on this subject.²⁷⁰ It unearths some significant parallels which are explored further in chapter 5 below, but is otherwise an inadequate basis to form any general conclusions. It has a tendency to juxtapose excerpts from Occitan lyrics with apparently unrelated Latin ones, with little geographical or chronological justification. It does not comment on similarities and differences, and distorts the issue of any possible interrelationship by thinking in terms of "origins". In contrast, this and the following chapter will begin by describing the form and content of early troubadour love song and satire respectively. This will be followed in each case by a descriptive catalogue of Latin lyric which was composed or known in Northern Aquitaine in the period *ca.* 1050-1150. Finally, there will be a comparison of the essential formal and thematic features of the two sets of texts.

Metrical virtuosity has often been claimed as the principal characteristic, sometimes as the only merit, of troubadour lyric. Few have stated this more forcefully than Alfred Jeanroy:²⁷¹

"Autant la poésie lyrique des Provençaux est variée dans ses formes, autant elle est monotone dans son contenu."

Jeanroy's comments may seem damning, and somewhat difficult to believe of someone who devoted much of his life to the troubadours, but the point he makes has more than a kernel of truth. The verse forms of troubadour lyric are indeed varied. The number of strophes in a song may be fairly static (on average seven), but there is a great variety of numbers of lines within the strophe, of numbers of syllables within the line, of choice of rhymes, masculine and feminine, and of arrangement of rhymes within the strophe and across each song.

These metrical features were, however, only gradually developing and becoming standard in the first half of the twelfth century. The versification of the "first" troubadour is relatively simple, although it already includes many features which would become standard in later *trobar*.²⁷² If one excludes song V, which has fourteen strophes

²⁷⁰ Dimitri Scheludko, "Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altprovenzalischen Lyrik", *Archivum Romanicum* XV (1931), pp. 137-206

²⁷¹ Alfred Jeanroy, *La poésie lyrique*, vol. II, p. 94

²⁷² Philipp August Becker, *Zur romanischen Literaturgeschichte. Ausgewählte Studien und Aufsätze* (Munich, 1967), pp. 101-106

plus *envoi*, the number of strophes in William IX's songs fluctuates from five to eleven strophes with an average of eight. The first three songs, each commencing "Companho", form a set with exceptionally long monorhymed strophes which arguably resemble epic poetry and could have been addressed to "companions in arms". The remaining songs have the more traditional octosyllabic lyric line with variations. Three of his songs have isometric strophes of eight syllables each (IX-XI). Song XI, "Pos de chanter", with its 8aaab structure, particularly resembles the Ambrosian stanza, the most basic metrical form in Latin hymnography.²⁷³ The only other line-length used by William is of four syllables, i.e. an octosyllabic half-line. One song has feminine rhyme-endings and its authenticity has therefore been questioned.²⁷⁴ The first line of this song, "Farai chansoneta nueva", may, however, just as easily indicate a conscious modishness in style. Five of William's songs (IV-V, VI, VIII and IX) are in *coblas singulares*, where each strophe has the same rhyme scheme. Five others use *coblas unissonans*, the more complex pattern where every strophe uses the same set of rhyme endings. This structure was to become the nearest thing to a metrical norm among later troubadours.²⁷⁵

Jaufre Rudel, Cercamon and Marcabru arguably also show signs of formal archaism in line with the songs of William IX. Jaufre uses only octosyllabic lines, including feminine ones - usually expressed by scholars as 7'. The vast majority of Cercamon's lines are octosyllabic. His songs I and III-VII are isometric. He does not use feminine rhymes, and song VI and half of song VII are in *coblas singulares*. Marcabru displays an impressive range of verse forms, and was clearly as much an innovator in metre as in style and content. However, the vast majority of his lines are still octosyllables, particularly if the feminine form, 7' and half-lines of four syllables are included in this category. Twenty of the forty-two songs in the Dejeanne edition of Marcabru are isometric, and nine of them comprise *coblas singulares*. Two songs even consist of Ambrosian stanzas: songs VI and XXIII, both with a pattern of 8aaab. Having said this, Marcabru also has a tendency to use bizarre and difficult rhyme words,²⁷⁶ derivative rhymes and other innovations. These make him a precursor of the technical ingenuity of Peire d'Alvernhe, Bernart de Ventadorn, Raimbaut d'Aurenga, and the astonishing virtuosity of Arnaut Daniel.²⁷⁷

At the same time as a cult of metrical complexity was becoming characteristic of twelfth-century troubadour lyric from the third generation, that same lyric was also evolving an instantly recognisable range of literary themes, often so stereotyped as to seem to amount to little more than an arrangement of clichés. This has at least been the view, when expressed in its extreme form, of the dominant school of criticism of medieval lyric in the period since the Second World War, the "formalist" one, originating in Robert Guette's *D'une poésie formelle en France au moyen âge*.

²⁷³ See Frederick Brittain, *The Medieval Latin and Romance Lyric to A.D. 1300* (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 23-27,

²⁷⁴ A. Monteverdi, "La 'chansoneta nueva' attribuita a Guglielmo d'Aquitania", *Studi in onore di Salvatore Santangelo, Siculorum Gymnasium* 8 (1955), pp. 6-15

²⁷⁵ See *Las leys d'amors*, ed. Joseph Anglade (Toulouse, 1919), vol. II, pp. 123-175, for a mid-fourteenth-century classification of the vast range of *coblas* supposedly in use by that period.

²⁷⁶ Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence*, pp. 213-220. Appendix I, "Rhymes"

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 221-228. Appendix II, "Versification"

Guiette frequently quotes Jeanroy, whose criticisms of courtly love lyric were based on its narrow thematic scope, but he also turns these criticisms against the earlier critic. For Guiette, this very narrowness becomes the key to the aesthetic appreciation of the tradition. Guiette summarises his argument at one point as follows:²⁷⁸

“J’insiste: la poésie, dans les chansons courtoises, se situe entièrement dans la forme, dans l’objet réalisé, existant, dont l’usage est connu. Le style est tout et l’argument n’est qu’un ‘matériau’.”

Guiette may overstate his point, even in the context of Northern French lyric, the implicit object of his theory, but his position has not been invalidated. Even Jörn Gruber, in his polemical anti-formalist, *Die Dialektik des Trobar*, can be viewed as ultimately strengthening the formalist argument.²⁷⁹ Gruber’s influential study has shown some of the detailed mechanics, such as verbal and formal imitation and variation, and of meaning, such as hermetic debate and poetic competition, in what he rightly calls, “mehr als die blosser Variation von Text zu Text”.²⁸⁰ However, these are illustrated by Gruber from and are arguably representative of a restricted number of major troubadours and *stilnovisti*.

Other critics have further explored and nuanced Guiette’s theory by concentrating on diverse poems, poets and national traditions, and the role of individualism against conformism in these. Individualism was particularly valued amongst twelfth-century, and especially early twelfth-century troubadours. Yet, the thematic core of the lyric which Guiette’s pupils and successors have further analysed and described undoubtedly remained intact, as a sort of anchor to the tradition.²⁸¹

Roger Dragonetti, a pupil of Guiette, explored his master’s idea by constructing a formal breakdown of Northern French love song,²⁸² which he described as “le grand chant courtois”, and analysed using rhetorical terminology in a manner similar to that of the great Medieval Latin Scholar, Ernst Curtius, in his *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*.²⁸³ Both authors dissected genre into different rhetorical elements, which they characterised by a certain range of topoi. Dragonetti’s specific rhetorical terminology should, however, be treated as little more than a critical convenience, as he quotes from Cicero, Matthew of Vendôme, Geoffrey of Vinsauf and Dante, when the obvious analogues for the form and content of Medieval French trouvère song lie in troubadour lyric.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁸ Robert Guiette, *D’une poésie formelle en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1972), p. 38

²⁷⁹ Jörn Gruber, *Die Dialektik des Trobar* (Tübingen, 1983), see especially the first chapter

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 98

²⁸¹ It is the individualistic aspect which interests, for example, Dorothy R. Sutherland, in “L’élément théâtral dans la *canço* chez les troubadours de l’époque classique”, *Revue de langue et de littérature d’oc* 12-13 (1962-1963), pp. 95-101; and Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence*, see especially her conclusion, pp. 207-212 (pp. 211-212)

²⁸² Roger Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise. Contribution à l’étude de la rhétorique médiévale* (Bruges, 1960), reviewed by Paul Zumthor in *Romania* LXXII (1961), pp. 418-422

²⁸³ Ernst Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, translated Willard R. Trask (London, 1953)

²⁸⁴ Dragonetti, *La technique poétique*, vaguely declares in the introduction, p. 10, “L’ordre de ce travail suit en grande partie celui qu’adopte la rhétorique médiévale”

Dragonetti's description of the principal topoi and forms of *ornatus* of French lyric does, nevertheless, form a convenient starting point for the fleshing out of Guiette's ideas into a useful critical tool for the purposes of this chapter. He divides the poems into *exorde* (chapter II), *développement* (chapter III) and *envoi* (chapter IV). The topics of the *exordium* are said to be the *captatio benevolentiae* (page 143) and/or the nature opening. Those of the development section include comparison with Arthurian, historical or epic *exempla* (page 197), the use of personification and allegory (page 226), panegyric of the lady (page 248), including her description and the use of hyperbole (page 259), blame of *losengiers*, "flatterers" (page 272), and exclamatory apostrophe, including "la demande de merci" and "la requête amoureuse" (pages 278-281). The *envoi* should then mention patrons. Dragonetti devotes a separate chapter, Chapter I, to style, in which he includes verbal repetition (again), rhetorical questions, *sententiae*, antithesis, and metaphors from feudalism, religion, plants and light.

While praising Dragonetti's work,²⁸⁵ Paul Zumthor determined to modernise his critical terminology. In his *Langue et techniques poétiques à l'époque romane (XIe-XIIIe siècles)*, Zumthor complained: "l'on place toute littérature de langue vulgaire dans la perspective du Latin".²⁸⁶ He then introduced his own innovations in the interpretation of the vernacular Romance lyric, supplementing the concept of genre with that of *registre* at the highest level,²⁸⁷ while replacing topos, together with motif, theme and formula, with *type* at the lowest level.²⁸⁸ "Type" seems an unnecessary addition to the existing welter of terms which Zumthor lists, and which can be defined as thematic subdivisions of genre or *registre* in specific contexts. The now traditional term topos will therefore generally be used in this study, without implying a Latin source. The concept of *registre* will, nevertheless, be adopted here as a useful complement to *genre*.²⁸⁹

Registre will be used more loosely and in a slightly different sense to Zumthor's definition:²⁹⁰

"Le registre est un complexe de motifs et d'expressions formulaires, parfois de types, mais *non de thèmes*."

He gives as examples, "la requête courtoise", "l'amour idyllique", "la bonne vie" and other *registres* which he finds in the trouvère lyric. Zumthor's distinctions between motifs, formulaic expressions, types and themes have been found difficult to follow by other critics, many of whom work with different lyric traditions with differing taxonomic requirements. For instance, Pierre Bec, in synthesising French and Occitan lyric, used *registre* as a supra-generic distinction in his terms "registre aristocratisant" (e.g. the troubadour *canso*) and "popularisant" (e.g. the *chanson de femme*).²⁹¹ Suzanne Thiolier-Méjean, in her study of troubadour satire, actually replaced the concept of genre, as

²⁸⁵ Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris, 1972), p. 189

²⁸⁶ Paul Zumthor, *Langue et techniques poétiques à l'époque romane (XIe-XIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1963), pp. 22-23. See also his *Langue, texte, énigme* (Paris, 1975), pp. 9-10, concerning his earlier structuralist inspiration

²⁸⁷ Zumthor, *Langues et techniques*, pp. 141-161; c.f. his *Essai*, pp. 239-240

²⁸⁸ Zumthor, *Essai*, pp. 82-84; *Langues et techniques*, pp. 130-131

²⁸⁹ The French term, *registre*, is used here, as "register" is used in English literary criticism to mean stylistic level

²⁹⁰ Zumthor, *Langues et techniques*, p. 144

²⁹¹ Bec, *La lyrique française*, vol. I, pp. 33-35

being too rigid, with that of *registre*.²⁹² The following paragraphs will use *registre* as a complementary concept to genre in the specific case of the early troubadours for reasons which will become clear.

The genre-terms *canço* and *sirventes* only came to be used by the third generation of troubadours in order to distinguish different types of *vers*. The early troubadours used the term *vers* not only for love songs, e.g. William IX, song VI, but also for satires, e.g. Marcabru, song III, and mixed-genre works, such as Cercamon's song V. More recently Erich Köhler has employed the term *sirventes-canço* in order to categorise these hybrid songs.²⁹³ However, rather than read back generic definitions from later *trobar* into the earlier period, *registre* will be used here to describe each of the already dominant love and satirical subjects within the one genre of *vers*.

Moshe Lazar has been one of the few critics to categorise the topoi and images of troubadour love lyric in the same way as Dragonetti has done with the French *chanson*. It is significant, however, that he chose to do this within the scope of a single troubadour, Bernart de Ventadorn.²⁹⁴ Bernart has often been viewed as the most "typical" of troubadours because he only composed love songs, and they reveal an enormous range of metrical accomplishment applied to a remarkably limited number of literary topoi. Indeed, Köhler uses Bernart's most famous song, "Can vei la lauzeta mover" (XLIII) to illustrate his own summary of the formalist theory.²⁹⁵ The following pages describe variations to Dragonetti's schema in order to complete a simplified description of the love *registre* among the early troubadours, and this will then be used a theoretical basis for its comparison with contemporary Latin love lyric.

The nature opening is characteristic of early troubadour songs, but is occasionally abandoned, as for example in William IX, song IX. It can be combined with elements of literary criticism, as in William IX, song X, lines 3-4, or replaced by them, as for instance in Jaufre Rudel, song VI. Designation of genre or other artistic comments can be a topos of the *envoi*, as in Jaufre Rudel, song II, strophe v, Cercamon, song V, strophe X, and Bernart Marti, song IV, strophe vii. Any topos of the "développement" can also be used at the opening or close of a song.

Early troubadour love lyric tends to avoid Arthurian, historical or epic *exempla*. They are rather a feature of the satire and later love lyric. The early lyric is normally free of exterior references, including even to the lives of the lover and *domna*. The enumeration of the lady's moral as well as physical qualities is an important element in her panegyric, as found in Jaufre Rudel, song V, line 33, and Cercamon, song II, strophe, iv. These courtly qualities comprised the accepted canons of aristocratic behaviour: *Joven, pretz, valor, mesura* and *cortezia*, together with *joy* and *fin'amor*, which can both refer to required aspects of courtly emotion, as well as behaviour. The *domna* is the

²⁹² Suzanne Thiolier-Méjean, *Les poésies satiriques et morales des troubadours du XIIe siècle à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1978), pp. 12-13, 40-41

²⁹³ Erich Köhler, "Die Sirventes-Kanzone 'genre bâtard' ou legitime Gattung?", *Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune* (Gembloux, 1969), vol. I, pp. 159-183

²⁹⁴ Moshe Lazar, "Classification des thèmes amoureux et des images poétiques dans l'œuvre de Bernart de Ventadorn", *Filologia romanza* VI (1959), pp. 371-400

²⁹⁵ Erich Köhler, "Zur Structur der altprovenzalischen Kanzone", in *Esprit und Arkadische Freiheit: Aufsätze aus der Welt der Romania* (Frankfurt am Main, 1966), pp. 28-45

source of all these qualities for the poet, as in William IX, song IX, lines 1 and 25, Jaufre Rudel, song III, line 12, Cercamon, song I, strophe ix, Marcabru, song XXVIII, lines 32-35, and Peire d'Alvernhe, song VII, line vii. The poet may, however, already possess some of these qualities, as a pre-qualification for her love, as in Peire d'Alvernhe, song V, strophes vi-vii, and Alegret, song I, line 22.

Images from feudalism and religion are often used to evoke the relationship between lover and beloved. He is obedient (William IX, song VII, strophes iv-vi), even a captive (song VIII, line 6). She is a source of fear for him (William IX, song IX, lines 43-45, Jaufre Rudel, song IV, line 18, Cercamon, song I, strophe v, and Alegret, song I, strophe iv), as well as for a range of other strong emotions. He in turn suffers and lives in despair (Jaufre Rudel, song IV, lines 15-16); is driven to madness (Cercamon, song I, lines 18 and 37-38, Bernart Marti, song I, lines 28-29); and even to death (William IX, song VIII, line 17, Jaufre Rudel, song III, line 23, Cercamon, song II, lines 8-9, and Alegret, song I, lines 5 and 9-10). Love is paradoxically a source of both joy and pain (Jaufre Rudel, song II, line 27 and VI, line 13, Cercamon, song VIII, line 29). The lover-composer is wounded by love (Jaufre Rudel, song VI, line 14), grown thin on love (Marcabru, song VII, lines 7-8, Peire d'Alvernhe, song VII, line 16). He is sick (Marcabru, song VII, lines 5-6) and the *domna* is the only doctor (William IX, song IX, line 25, Jaufre Rudel, song III, lines 55-56 and song IV, line 32).

The early troubadours are remarkable for the erotic content of their songs, which adds to the emotional charge. Sexual encounters are imagined (William IX, song X, lines 23-24, Cercamon, song II, lines 47-49, and Bernart Marti, song I, lines 44-45 and 60), and once, in an exceptional instance of a comic narrative idea, recalled (Jaufre Rudel, song IV, strophe iv).²⁹⁶ These characteristic elements will now be compared to Medieval Latin love lyric from the same region as the early troubadours, and from the same or immediately preceding years.

²⁹⁶ Moshe Lazar, *Amour Courtois et 'fin'amors' dans la littérature du XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1964), was one of the first scholars to focus on the strong erotic current in the earliest courtly lyric

b) *Rhythmical Latin love lyric in Northern Aquitaine*

The Medieval Latin poetic tradition can be divided into two parts, at least on formal grounds. On the one hand, there is classicising metrical or quantitative verse, consisting mostly of hexameters and elegiac couplets, forms which had survived or been revived from the classical period. On the other hand, there is rhythmical or qualitative verse in mostly strophic verse-forms, which had developed since antiquity, and which comprised the normal vehicle for liturgical song. Secular pieces in rhythmical form which occur alongside sacred songs in liturgical manuscripts can be considered as secular hymns. Classicising metrical or quantitative verse is more purely scholarly in nature, being particularly associated with Virgilian and Ovidian models, and tends to occur in school anthologies, often as models for composition. Such poems were seldom provided with music, although some mixed anthologies include both metrical and secular rhythmical songs, and the former are occasionally neumed. Notwithstanding this, the two currents are sufficiently independent to warrant their separate analysis. This section begins with the rhythmical lyric which represents a more obvious parallel tradition to troubadour song.

The following pages follow the bibliography in Peter Dronke's *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love Lyric*, which serves to provide "as complete a conspectus as possible of the medieval Latin poetry concerned with love".²⁹⁷ This repertoire includes three manuscripts containing rhythmical Latin love songs which are associated with Saint-Martial de Limoges, an abbey both at the forefront of musical composition at its time and at the core of the region which was home to the first known troubadours. These manuscripts are briefly described below. The relevant songs will then be described in more detail.

Paris BN lat. 1118 (Chailley MS H): dated to 987-996, with eleventh-century additions. A *troparium* or *prosarium* from Saint-Martial, but possibly originating from the Spanish border. It includes, between folios 104 and 114, a famous set of nine brightly coloured illustrations of male and female jongleurs playing various instruments, dancing and juggling.²⁹⁸

Paris BN lat. 1139 (Chailley MS U): dated to 1069-1099 (folios 32-1118), with numerous twelfth- and thirteenth-century additions. Another *troparium* or *prosarium* located at Saint-Martial de Limoges from at least the mid-thirteenth century. Opinions are divided as to the dialects of the vernacular Romance pieces on folios 44 and 48-50 and their ultimate origin.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁷ Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love Lyric* (2nd edition, Oxford, 1968), vol. II, Bibliography section III, "Latin Manuscripts", pp. 545-584 (p. 545)

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 571; Jacques Chailley, *L'École musicale de Saint-Martial de Limoges jusqu'à la fin du XI^e siècle* (Paris, 1960), pp. 92-96; Alejandro Enrique Planchart and Sarah Fuller, "Saint-Martial or Aquitainian School", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), vol. 16, pp. 396-399 (p. 396)

²⁹⁹ Chailley, *L'École musicale*, pp. 109-115 (p. 112 and notes for possible Poitevin, Angoumois and Périgourdin dialectal characteristics)

Paris BN lat. 3719 (Chailley MS SM 3): completed in 1210 by Saint-Martial's librarian, Bernart Itier, but written in various twelfth-century hands. It mostly comprises sequences and *conductus*, and is probably Limousin in origin.³⁰⁰

Manuscript H contains one love song: "Iam dulcis amica, venito". It has been added by a late eleventh-century hand in a space on folios 247v-248, towards the end of this manuscript of 249 folios. It comprises seven strophes with a metre of 9aabb. This famous song occurs in two other versions. The version found in the Vienna Nationalbibliothek MS 116, f. 157 from the tenth century is isolated in a collection of rhetorical text books. It has ten strophes. The other version is contained in Cambridge University Library MS Gg 5.35, folio 438v from the mid-eleventh century, and is commonly known as poem 27 of the so-called *Cambridge Songs* anthology of sacred and secular pieces. This version of the song also has ten strophes, but is in mutilated form. It is neumed in both the Vienna and Paris manuscripts.³⁰¹ The three versions, and especially the one associated with Saint-Martial, arguably consist of different songs,³⁰² but there is no conclusive reason to divide them into "profane" (Vienna and Cambridge) and "sacred" texts. The Saint-Martial version, with its evocation of nature, the nightingale and "love in the cavern of the heart" in its supplementary final strophe, can be considered as resembling the opening of a secular lyric as much as a possible biblical analogue, Song of Songs: 2. 11-12.³⁰³

Manuscript U contains one love song, "Clauo Cronos et serato". It has been added by a later hand in a cramped space at the end of a gathering on folio 47v, and is followed on folios 48-50 by the Occitan and macaronic pieces, "In hoc anno circulo/mei amic e mei fiel" and "O Maria, Deu maire", and the crusading song, "Jerusalem mirabilis". The latter piece has been used to date this section of the manuscript to shortly after the fall of Jerusalem in 1099. "Clauo Cronos et serato" is a sequence consisting in its fullest version of eight double versicles with *envoi* (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 383, pp. 158-162).³⁰⁴ The Saint-Martial version is not musically notated and lacks strophe 8b. A third extant version, number 73 of the *Carmina Burana*, lacks strophes 1b, 2b and 7a (MS Munich clm 4660, f. 29r-v).³⁰⁵ In the first four double versicles of the poem, summer and love are evoked in a mannered, heavily mythologised style. In the next four versicles, the poet is unwillingly overtaken by the power of love, and in the *envoi* he prays to Venus to release him.

³⁰⁰ Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, vol. II, pp. 571-572; Planchart/Fuller, "Saint-Martial", p. 396; Hans Spanke, "Saint-Martial-Studien. Ein Beitrag zur frühromanischen Metrik", *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 54 (1931), pp. 282-317 (pp. 308-315)

³⁰¹ E.P. Vuolo, "Iam dulcis amica, venito...", *Cultura Neolatina* X (1950), pp. 5-25, for all three versions; Karl Streckler, *Die Cambridger Lieder*, (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Berlin, 1926), song no. 27, pp. 69-73, for the Cambridge version alone

³⁰² Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, vol. I, pp. 271-277

³⁰³ Described in chapter 4, section b), no. 2 below

³⁰⁴ Walther Lipphardt, ed., in "Unbekannte Weisen zu den Carmina Burana", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 12 (1950), pp. 122-142 (pp. 125 and 139-141), where he argues for a later dating for the song to ca. 1150, the time of the second Crusade, because of the archaic arrangement of metrical strophes following five rhythmical ones

³⁰⁵ Alfons Hilka/Otto Schumann, ed., in *Carmina Burana* (Heidelberg, 1930), vol. I, pp. 43-46

Manuscript MS SM 3 contains approximately ten love lyrics:

1. “Ex ungue primo teneram” is a musically notated, rhymed sequence with two double versicles and an *envoi* (folio 23). There are two further versions: one in a later manuscript from Auxerre, Bibliothèque Municipale 243, f. 18;³⁰⁶ and a second version in SM 3 (no. 6 below). In both Saint-Martial versions, the song has three double versicles, which probably represents the original full version. Dronke, in his edition of and commentary on the poem,³⁰⁷ notes that it is a “witty variation” on a Horatian theme, that of the precocious sexuality of a young girl (*Carmina* III.6) with the Horatian pseudonym “Lyce” (*Carmina* III.10).³⁰⁸ It is a piece for connoisseurs of refined and worldly lyric.

2. “Quam velim virginum, si detur optio” is found at the bottom of folio 23v in the same hand as the previous piece. It comprises a two-line, musically notated fragment of a poem occurring in two other manuscript versions: a four-strophe version on folios 18-18v in the manuscript from Auxerre mentioned above; and a three-strophe version from the collection of lyrics in the British Library manuscript Arundel 384, folio 237.³⁰⁹ The original metre seems to have been 12aab6b14c. The subject matter resembles that of poem number 1 above in that it is a witty and *risqué* set-piece, full of classical allusion, on the qualities of the ideal mistress.

3. “Sementivam redivivam” comprises the third song on folio 23v, but is in a new hand. It consists of a fragment containing strophes 7b, 11 (with musical notation) and 12a of the poem, “Hyemale tempus”. A fuller fragment of this is included as song number 5 below.

4. “love cum Mercurio” occurs on folio 28v. It consists of four strophes of three lines each with the rhyme scheme: 13aaa. The first strophe is musically notated. An eight-strophe version is found in *Carmina Burana*, no. 88a, although half of these strophes may be spurious (MS Munich Clm 4660).³¹⁰ Like the poems numbered 1 and 3 above, this is a learnedly humorous and frivolous piece. The Saint-Martial versions begin with two strophes of mythologised astronomy, which are meant to prove that the lover and beloved are destined for one another. These are followed by two strophes playing with words and confirming the point.

5. “De terre gremio” comprises a larger fragment of “Hyemale tempus vale”. It is a rhymed sequence consisting of nine strophes, all of which are musically notated (folios 36-37v). The longest version of this poem occurs in a late twelfth-/early thirteenth-

³⁰⁶ André Vernet, ed., in “Poésies latines des XIIe et XIIIe siècles”, in *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat* (Paris, 1949), vol II, pp. 251-275 (pp. 262-263)

³⁰⁷ Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, vol. II, pp. 378-380

³⁰⁸ Edward Charles Wickham/Heathcote William Garrod, ed., *Q. Horatii Flacci opera* (Oxford, 1901)

³⁰⁹ Vernet, “Poésies latines”, pp. 263-264; Wilhelm Meyer, *Die Arundel Sammlung mittellateinische Lieder, Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen Philologisch-Historische Klasse Neue Folge*, II, no. 2 (1908), pp. 3-52 (no. 8, p. 52)

³¹⁰ Hilka/Schumann, *Carmina Burana*, vol. I, pp. 80-82

century poetic anthology in the Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Add. A 44, folio 71.³¹¹ There is also an eight-strophe version in the Southern German collection in MS Zurich Zentralbibliothek C 58 (formerly C 58/275), f. 16v, which contains a number of poems related to Poitou and Limousin.³¹² In the Saint-Martial version, the first eight strophes of pure spring description in the most complete version are not included, leaving an evocation of the poet lying with a maiden beneath a tree, followed by commonplaces concerning *militia amoris* and youth as the time of love. The song only makes metrical sense in the full version.

6. “Ex ungue primo teneram” is found in a second version on folios 37v-38v. It is musically notated throughout. The content is described under no. 1 above.

7. “Ecce letantur omnia” (folios 4r-v) is the song of an unrequited lover, containing a number of commonplaces of troubadour and other unrequited love lyric, together with some specifically Latin conceits. It comprises seven strophes of six lines, each with the rhyme scheme 8aaabab. The first strophe contains musical notation.³¹³

8. “Nisi fallor, nil repertum o” consists of seven strophes of three lines each and is found on folio 41. It is in the form 8aab, where the third line comprises an apparent vernacular refrain of uncertain meaning: “O fila sui mi lo dan io”. Two suggestions have been: “Mädchen, folge Milo von Anjou (?)”, and “O my fair one, while the game lasts, follow me!” (reading *dun* for *dan*).³¹⁴ Another possible meaning could be: “O young girl, follow me the nobleman, io!”. The song seems in any case to be an *invitatio amoris*, and is musically notated.

9. “De ramis cadunt” comprises six strophes of six lines each in the form 8aba4b8a4b (folio 42r-v). The first strophe is musically notated. The initial three strophes provide a winter opening, which contrasts with the burning passion of the lover in the second half of the poem.³¹⁵

[Between numbers 8 and 9, and in the same hand is another secular song, “Nomen a solemnibus trahit Solemniacum”, a satire on a monk of Solignac, a neighbouring house to Saint-Martial, which will be discussed the context of satirical lyric in the following chapter.]

10. “Plures vidi margaritas” consists of seven strophes of six lines in the form 8aa7b8cc7d (folios 87v and 93). There is space for musical notation for the first strophe. The song extravagantly praises a woman called “Margarita” with a string of classical *exempla*, combined with suitable puns on the word, “margarita” (pearl). This may be a satire rather than a love song, if interpreted as ironically flattering the mistress of a

³¹¹ Dom André Wilmart, ed. “Le florilège mixte de Thomas Bekynton”, *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* IV (1958), pp. 35-90, III. “Recueil de textes”

³¹² Werner, *Beiträge*, no. 149, p. 62. On these, see below chapters 3 section b), 3 section c) and 5 section a)

³¹³ Dronke, ed., *Medieval Latin*, vol. II., pp. 380-382; commentary, vol. I, pp. 293-294

³¹⁴ Dronke, ed. *Medieval Latin*, vol. II, pp. 382-384, and Spanke, *Beziehungen*, p. 17n, respectively

³¹⁵ Dronke, ed., *Medieval Latin*, vol. I, pp. 288-291, with commentary *in situ*

bishop of Limoges, as possibly implied by strophes III-VII.³¹⁶ It will also be discussed in more detail in the chapter on satirical verse.

11. “Sic mea fata canendo” comprises two strophes of thirteen lines each in the complex form 10aaaa5b6bb5a10a4aaa10a (folio 88). The first strophe is musically notated. There is a three strophe version in the *Carmina Burana* (MS Munich Clm. 4660, f. 177v),³¹⁷ although Otto Schumann rejects the third strophe, which Dronke restores.³¹⁸ In the first strophe, the unrequited lover identifies himself with the dying swan. In the second one, he longingly anticipates a sexual encounter with his beloved. In the third strophe, which only occurs in *Carmina Burana*, the poet imagines the encounter in detail. Lipphardt dates the song to not before 1150.³¹⁹

Song number 11 follows number 10, but is in a different hand. They are preceded in yet another hand by a *planctus* on a certain Dulcia, which Dronke includes in his inventory of love lyric on the basis that “it contains a perfect summary in Latin of all the qualities that make up *courtoisie*”.³²⁰

The metrical forms of these Latin lyrics are highly diverse. “Clauso Cronos” (MS U), “Ex ungue primo” (MS SM 3, nos. 1 and 6); “Hyemale tempus” (MS SM 3, fragments 3 and 5); and the *planctus* from MS SM 3, “locus et Letitia” are rhymed sequences, a form of liturgical hymn which would shortly achieve its acknowledged apogee in Paris in the first half of the twelfth century. This type of hymn consisted of pairs of versicles each differing totally in metre from the next pair. Although Hans Spanke has attempted to link the form of the sequence to Northern French and German verse forms and even to the Occitan *descort*,³²¹ it has no parallel in early troubadour lyric. The remaining Latin pieces all have a regular strophic pattern, but display a broad range of metres. “Iam dulcis” seems to be the oldest and has the simplest metrical form: 9aaaa. The rhyme schemes and line lengths of the remaining songs in SM 3 can be arranged in the following order of complexity: 13aaa (no. 4) and 8aab (no. 8); 8aaabab (no. 7); 8aba4b8a4b (no. 9); 8aba4b8a4b (no. 10); 12aabb6b14c (no. 2); and 10aaaa5b6bb5a10a4aaa10a (no. 11). The latter forms indicate a high level of sophistication.

Parallels between the forms of these songs and early troubadour verse are at the lower level of complexity. In both traditions, the octosyllable seems to have been the fundamental line length, and is generally associated with simplicity of design.³²² It has already been noted that this remained the most common line length in troubadour lyric, but it is most frequent earlier in the period and is especially associated with more archaic isometric stanzas. Of the Latin songs described above, SM 3, nos. 7 and 8 both

³¹⁶ Dronke’s interpretation is more romantic, per *Medieval Latin*, vol. II, pp. 384-386

³¹⁷ Hilka/Schumann, ed., *Carmina Burana*, vol. I, no. 116, pp. 190-192;

³¹⁸ Peter Dronke, “The Text of Carmina Burana 116”, *Classica et Mediaevalia* 20 (1959), pp. 159-169

³¹⁹ Lipphardt, “Unbekannte Weisen”, pp. 125, 130-131

³²⁰ Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, vol. I, pp. 291-293 (p. 292)

³²¹ Spanke, *Beziehungen*, chapter V, “Sequenzformen”, pp. 74-103; “Untersuchungen über die Ursprünge des romanischen Minnesangs II. Marcabrustudien”, *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Neue Folge*, III, no. 24 (1940), pp. 24-28

³²² Brittain, *The Medieval Latin and Romance Lyric*, p. 23

consist of isometric octosyllables. No. 9 varies them with half lines of four syllables, and no. 10 with two heptasyllables. This reflects the same general pattern in the early troubadours.

It is notable that the more complex form of SM 3 no. 9 (8aba4b8a4b) is almost identical to that of William IX, songs IV, V and VII (8aaa4b8a4b), two “burlesque” songs and a love lyric,³²³ and that the form of SM 3 no. 7 (8aaabab) is identical to that of Marcabru, song XXIX, a *pastourelle* in the satirical *registre*. This point has already been noted by Dronke, together with the similarity between the form of SM 3, no. 7 and a number of other early troubadour texts.³²⁴ These include: William IX, songs IX (8aabbaab) and X (8aabcbc); Jaufré Rudel, song V (8abbaab); and Cercamon, songs I (8ababcd), III (8abbaac), and VI (8aaaab). Since SM 3 7-10 are not exactly datable, except as being at the latest from the twelfth century, it might be argued that local Latin rhythmical versification was falling under the sway of vernacular verse in general and *trobar* in particular. After all, these four pieces are only found in this manuscript, and “Plures vidi margaritas” (no. 10) alludes to a bishop of Limoges. An objection to such a theory of influence by troubadours on Latin verse might be that “De ramis folia” (no. 9) shares its metrical form, including its rhyme scheme, with the liturgical piece, “In laudes innocentium” found in Chailley MS SM 1, f. 40.³²⁵

Two of the Latin songs from manuscript SM 3 with simpler verse forms consist of relatively rare three-line strophes: nos. 4 (13aaa) and 8 (8aab). In the early troubadours, three-line strophes are also exceptional, but occur in the following early lyrics: William IX, burlesque songs I-III (all in 11aa14a); Marcabru, song XXIV (11aa14a); and Marcoat, songs I (7aa8b) and II (8aa7b). At first glance, there seems to be little in common between any of these pieces in terms of content. William IX’s so-called “burlesques” are clever and explicit sexual jokes with satirical overtones. Marcabru XXIV must be a direct formal imitation of these. It consists of a satire on the sexual morals of the aristocracy, and could even be a contrafacture of one of these - if only the music had survived. The pieces by Marcoat are obscure and obscene attacks by one jongleur on an apparently deformed colleague. SM 3, no. 4, “love cum Mercurio” is perhaps comparable in its humorous combination of love and learning (here astronomical and grammatical) to William IX, song II, which uses reminiscences of Ovid to make the point that it is futile or even counterproductive to imprison women.

Among the Saint-Martial lyrics, no. 8, “Nisi fallor, nil reportum o” is exceptional for its adoption of a relatively simple form, which is combined with brevity and a low stylistic level. This lowly style is indicated by the repetition of “o” at the end of each strophe and an apparently vernacular refrain. This song, nevertheless, simultaneously uses topoi, *ornatus* and vocabulary implying a more elevated style, such as a panegyric of the beloved with an apostrophe to *Amor* (line 10); a canonical, rhetorical description of the beloved from the top down, “Frons, labra, pectus, venter” (line 16); and the use of polysyllabic rhyme words, such as “emendandum” and “collaudandum”. A clue to the

³²³ Spanke, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 37-39 also finds parallels between the metres of Latin liturgical hymns and those of William IX’s songs IV, V and VII, Jaufré Rudel’s songs II and IV, Cercamon’s songs I and IV, Bernart Martí’s song II, Peire d’Alvernhe’s song XV and those of 13 songs by Marcabru

³²⁴ Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, pp. 290 and 293n.

³²⁵ Chailley, “Les premiers troubadours”, p. 231

pattern behind this apparent chaos may be found in Marcoat's two songs, where the three-line strophe is part of an unashamedly low style. This unusual and modest verse form may have had the special effect of adding a certain raciness to a sophisticated and witty song, whose learned humour is brought out in relief, or even created by this incongruity. Unfortunately, it is not possible to know for sure if this sort of three-line strophe reflected a particularly popular or jongleuresque form.

A comparison of overall thematic structure and content of these Medieval Latin and early troubadour love lyrics also reveals both similarities and differences. The poet-persona in each of the Latin songs is male, the love object is female, and only in "Iam dulcis" from Manuscript H is the beloved allowed to speak. This does not seem to correspond to the norm in preceding, more classicising Latin love lyric. Of the love songs in the *Cambridge Songs*, including a neumed version of Horace, *Carmina* III.12 (poem no. 12), only two, "Iam dulcis" (no. 27) and "Suavissima nunna" (no. 28), are not entirely in the voice of a woman in love, and both of these are dialogues. This difference may be a coincidence, or it may indicate that contemporary Latin love lyric in Northern Aquitaine, like early *trobar*, but unlike both other Latin and more popular, mostly Northern French songs, preferred songs addressed by a male lover to his beloved.

As many scholars have pointed out, the nature opening had been a common exordial topos in the Latin tradition long before the early troubadours.³²⁶ Full versions of this topos, including motifs of greenery, flowers, bird song and the rebirth of love, occur in a number of the Latin rhythmical songs analysed here: "Iam dulcis" (MS H); *Clauso Cronos* (MS U); the full version of "Hyemale tempus" (fragments of which occur in MS SM 3, nos. 3 and 5); and "De ramis cadunt folia" SM 3, no. 9). There are, however, in common with early *trobar*, significant variations. The variation in "Iam dulcis" is that the nature "opening" is in the concluding strophe vii, a phenomenon which occasionally occurs in early troubadour lyric, e.g. Jaufre Rudel, song IV, strophe viii, and Bernart Marti, song IV, strophe viii. In the first half of "Iam dulcis", the description of the bedroom banquet scene in strophes i-v could be interpreted as a domestic *locus amoenus*, an idealised nature scene, but indoors and with cut flowers and herbs (strophe ii) and with humans singing instead of birds (strophe v). In "Clauso Cronos", the nature opening in strophes i-iv is combined with a litany of mythological figures, including Jupiter, Rhea, Flora, satyrs and dryads. In "De ramis", the variation consists in having an autumn rather than the usual spring scene, so that the leaves fall (strophe i), the nightingale complains on behalf of the other birds (strophe ii), and the landscape is not green, but snow-bound (strophe iii). Such alternative season openings are also common in the early troubadours, e.g. William IX, song VIII (the end of summer), Cercamon, I (autumn) and II (beginning of autumn), Marcabru IV (the beginning of winter) and VII (the end of winter). In "Clauso Cronos", "Hyemale tempus" and "De ramis", the nature opening forms the first half of a diptych, in the second half of which the lover's inner state is compared or contrasted to the season outside. This bipartite structure is more redolent of the famous eleventh-century love song, "Levis exurgit

³²⁶ See e.g., Dimitri Scheludko, "Zur Geschichte des Natureingangs bei den Trobadors", *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 60 (1935-1937), pp. 257-334; and more generally, Curtius, *European Literature*, pp. 92-95, "Invocation of Nature"

Zephyrus" (*Cambridge Songs*, no. 40) than of troubadour lyric. In contrast to these poems, the nature evocation in *trobar* is usually confined to the first strophe, with exceptions mainly occurring in the satirical register.³²⁷

The astronomical introduction to "love cum Mercurio" (MS SM 3, no. 4) represents another commonplace opening topos in the Latin tradition. It is reminiscent both of the identification of mythological characters with the changing seasons at the beginning of "Clauo Cronos", and of the nature opening of "De ramis", which alludes to signs of the zodiac (lines 5-6). Such openings also occur in two early vernacular Romance lyrics. The tenth-century macaronic *alba* from Saint-Martial begins, "Phoebi claro nondum orto iurare,/fert aurora lumen terries tenue", (although Phoebus with his radiant glow has not yet risen, the dawn already suffuses the earth with a dim light).³²⁸ An early twelfth-century Marian lyric in Northern French starts, "Quant li solleiz converset", (When the sun turns towards Leo).³²⁹ This relatively academic-sounding topos is, however, not characteristic of *trobar* and does not occur in the early troubadours.

None of the Medieval Latin lyrics discussed here is completed by an *envoi* in the style of the troubadours, although "Iam dulcis" does neatly close with an inversion of the nature opening, and "Clauo Cronos" ends with a prayer to Venus. The troubadours' concluding description of their song or address to a jongleur or patron seems to represent practical considerations of their art form and its performance. They wished to inform the audience what they were doing, for whom, possibly where and why, and through the agency of which jongleur. Jaufre Rudel, in song II, strophe v, exceptionally employed all of these points together in one *envoi*.

The development sections in the Latin love poems associated with Saint-Martial show significant similarities to the narrow range of topoi in early troubadour love lyric in only three cases. These all occur in manuscript SM 3: "Ecce letantur" (no. 7), "Nisi fallor" (no. 8) and "De ramis cadunt" (no. 9). "Ecce letantur" has no nature opening, but commences with love as a source of joy and pain for the poet (strophe i). The poet then continues to depict his feelings as if wounded by love (strophe ii). The pain and joy of love return in strophe iii, and the paradoxes of love are crowned by anticipation of the erotic encounter in strophe iv, which is ardently longed for in strophe vi. The song ends with the poet conquered by the lady's peerless beauty. Only the topos of the golden lance of *Amor* (strophe ii) and the "tot...quot" hyperboles stand out as being characteristic of the Latin tradition, but not of *trobar*, leading Dronke to remark that it "looks as if the moment of *amour courtois* has given way to a neat clerical exercise".³³⁰ All three of these poems use metrical forms comparable to those characteristic of early *trobar*.

³²⁷ For example, Marcabru song XXXVIII, "Pois la fuoilla revirola", edited and discussed in detail below in chapter 5 section a)

³²⁸ MS Rome Vat. Lat. Reg. 1462, f. 50v. Facsimile and edition in Ruggieri, *Testi antichi romanzi*, vol. I, p. 19, no. 3

³²⁹ Peter Dronke, "The Song of Songs and Medieval Love-Lyric", in W. Lourdaux/Daniel Verhelst, *The Bible and Medieval Culture* (Louvain, 1979), pp. 236-262 (pp. 252-258)

³³⁰ Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, vol. I, p. 294

“De ramis” resembles “Ecce letantur” in its straightforward series of troubadour-like, but ultimately universal topoi of unrequited love:³³¹ an autumnal opening (strophes i-iii) contrasted with the fire of love (strophe iv); an evocation of the kiss and touch of the beloved described in terms of light and religious power (strophe v); followed by a reprise of the fire of love (strophe vi). The mentioning of the signs of the zodiac in lines 6-7, the prolongation of the nature opening in the opening strophes, and the conceit in the last strophe, where the lover’s fire is said to be more unquenchable than Greek fire, seem to be the only elements which would be out of place in a troubadour love song.

The metrical and thematic overlap with *trobar* in the lyrics numbered 7-9 from manuscript SM 3 is particularly striking when contrasted with the other Saint-Martial love lyrics described here. “Clauso Cronos” (MS U) may include the fire of love (strophes v and viia), loss of weight (strophe viib), and suffering caused by the wounds of love (strophe viiia), but these topoi appear in a heavily mythologised context which is less reminiscent of the troubadours than of Ovid’s *Amores*, I.1, lines 26, 2, 9 and 11, I.2, line 7, and I.6, lines 5-6.³³² “Iam dulcis” (MS H) combines language from Ovid with that of the Song of Songs.³³³ “Ex ungue” (MS SM 3, nos. 1 and 6) alludes to Horace, Statius and Ovid in its treatment of the Horatian theme of a sexually precocious young girl.³³⁴ “Quam velim” (SM 3, no. 2) is a set-piece exercise on the ideal woman.³³⁵ The second and larger fragment of “Hyemale tempus” (no. 5) treats the Ovidian topos of *militia amoris* from *Amores*, I.9, as well as the Horatian topos of youth as the proper time for love (*Carmina* IV.1, lines 10 and 13).³³⁶ The *planctus*, “Sic mea fata canendo solor” (SM 3, no. 11), is the most sophisticated of all these Latin lyrics in metre and language, with its poignant, repeated, short-line refrain, “a morior”, and its mythological allusion to Jupiter in line 14. All of these features would be out of place in classical troubadour love lyric.

In summary, the Latin tradition of rhythmical love song in twelfth-century Aquitaine, whether written or simply enjoyed there, was significantly richer than contemporary troubadour love song in its range of verse forms, implied situations, thematic structures, topoi and stylistic devices. It could and did draw on a wealth of antique material. This is not to say that early troubadour love lyric is in any way inferior. It is simply different in its aesthetic appeal. A certain rigidity of structure and narrowness of subject matter were among its core features, yet it was already beginning to rival Medieval Latin rhythmical verse in metrical feats of its own development.

Given these differences, it is all the more striking that two of the love lyrics associated with Saint-Martial could almost pass for troubadour lyrics in both metrical and thematic structure: “Ecce letantur omnia” (MS SM 3, no. 7) and “De ramis cadunt folia” (MS SM 3, no. 9). They are both musically notated. They may have been

³³¹ Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, vol I, chapter I, pp. 1-56, “The Unity of Popular and Courtly Love-Lyric” demonstrates the universality of the vast majority of topoi of courtly love

³³² Kenney, *P. Ovidii Nasonis. Amores*, pp. 6, 13

³³³ Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, vol. I, p. 271

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 380; Vernet, “Poésie latines”, pp. 262-263

³³⁵ As, for example, in a poem by Ausonius, the fourth-century poet from Bordeaux, “Sit mihi talis amica velim”, in *Decimi Magni Ausonii Burdigalensis opuscula* (Leipzig, 1978), ed. Sextus Prete, p. 322

³³⁶ Wickham/Garrold, *Q. Horatii Flacci opera*

composed locally and have been of purely local circulation, as they occur in no further manuscripts. Since, as shown in the last section of the previous chapter, clerics could be troubadours or *vice versa*, and since the skills involved in composing rhythmical verse and setting it to music are closely related, even in two different languages, it is not impossible that the same individuals could have created both Latin and Occitan verse. In these cases, it seems more probable that Limousin clerics were experimenting in the learned language with the characteristic thematic structure of the contemporary vernacular love song than the reverse.

c) *Metrical Latin love poetry*

The early troubadour love *registre* would seem to have even less in common with Latin metrical than rhythmical love lyric, since the rhythmical lyric does at least share similar verse forms and setting to music. The two are nevertheless worth comparing for a number of reasons. The three Northern French ecclesiastics who were the leading Latin metrical poets of this period all had intensive contacts with Aquitaine. For example, Marbod of Rennes and Hildebert of Le Mans were present at the confirmation of William IX's restitution of St.-Georges d'Oléron to the abbey of La Trinité, Vendôme at the Council of Saintes in 1096.³³⁷ Baldric of Bourgueil was frequently in Aquitaine on his abbey's business, and met William IX at least once in 1105,³³⁸ and both Baldric and Hildebert wrote poems on Aquitanian themes.³³⁹ A potential further link between the two poetic schools was suggested at the end of Chapter 1, where it was noted that Latin terms denoting wit, elegance and urbanity, such as *iocundus*, *lepidus* and *urbanitas*, which were used by chroniclers of William IX and his court, resemble terminology used of Ovid and Northern French metrical poets at the turn of the eleventh century.

Baldric compared the young Hildebert of Le Mans to Ovid in one poem:³⁴⁰

"Doctiloquus Naso non nunc urbanior esset."
(Learned Naso, i.e. Ovid, is not now more urbane.)

Marbod wrote to Gautier, a poet and friend:³⁴¹

"Si quid inurbane, si quid non dixero plane,
Judicio vatis fiam rea rusticitatis."

(If I say anything inurbanely, if I say anything plainly, I shall be judged of rusticity by the poet.)

Baldric expressed admiration at the same time as judging the work of another contemporary by also comparing him to Ovid:³⁴²

"O quam jocundo tunc carmine sum recreatus,
Cum mihi de talpa Naso novus recitas."

(Oh, how I was then restored by that amusing song, when the new Naso recited "The Mole" to me.)

Baldric called the poet Godfrey of Reims, "*jocundus magna thesaurus philosophiae*", (cheerful treasure of great philosophy),³⁴³ and admired his "*Virgilio gravitas*" and "*Ovidii levitas*", ("*Virgilian gravity*" and "*Ovidian levity*").³⁴⁴ Another, more rueful poet of the

³³⁷ Métais, *Cartulaire saintongeais de la Trinité de Vendôme*, no. XXXVIII, pp. 66-70 (p. 70)

³³⁸ Richard, *Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de St.-Maixent*, no. 209, p. 241

³³⁹ See above chapter 1 section b), and Baldric's commemorative piece for William VIII, in Abrahams, *Les oeuvres*, no. CXIV, pp. 95-96

³⁴⁰ Abrahams, *Les oeuvres*, p. 126, no. CXLIX, l. 15

³⁴¹ Marbod of Rennes, *Carmina Varia*, in *Patrologia Latina* 171, cols 1724-1725 (col. 1725), no. XXXIII, lines 17-18; c.f. Maurice Delbouille, "Un mystérieux ami de Marbode: le 'redoutable poète Gautier'", *Le Moyen Age* 57 (1951), pp. 205-240

³⁴² Abrahams, *Les oeuvres*, p. 130, no. CLII, ll. 21-22

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 86, no. 97, line 1

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 152, no. 161, line 8

day, Guibert, Abbot of Nogent (1053-1124), later regretted his own *levitas* and his imitation of Ovidian “*lepores amatorios*”, (witty amatory trifles).³⁴⁵

Both William IX and the Latin poets of the Loire Valley School valued cleverness and humour, imitated Ovid and wrote on the subject of love. All were members of powerful élites living in a world of connoisseurs writing for one another in a spirit of friendly competition. Lynn Lawner has even conjectured that the hostility towards the Northern French in William’s song IV, lines 29-30, stems from a “dialectical relationship between the Angevin and Poitevin poets”.³⁴⁶ If this were the case, then William’s rivalry with these poets would add a literary and social aspect to a friction which was also political.

One of the most exciting ideas in Reto Bezzola’s article, “Guillaume IX et les origines de l’amour courtois”, is his theory that William IX’s glorification of man’s love for woman was a lay response to the charismatic preaching of Robert d’Arbrissel, founder of the Abbey of Fontevraud.³⁴⁷ William’s second wife, Philippa, appeared in charters with Robert between 1096 and 1114, often in her native Toulouse.³⁴⁸ William’s first wife, Ermengarde, Philippa, and one of their daughters, also took orders at Fontevraud,³⁴⁹ and it has been hypothesised that William IX wrote a satire on this establishment as an abbey of whores.³⁵⁰ Marbod of Rennes was a cautious supporter of Robert’s reforms, although he was concerned about rumours of sexual promiscuity among his followers,³⁵¹ and Baldric wrote a *vita* of Robert.³⁵² Together, these points could lead to a further conjecture that William’s political and literary rivalry with these churchmen was also compounded by conflict arising from a more personal source, the association of Baldric and Marbod with Robert d’Arbrissel and his religious grip on the noblewomen of Northern Aquitaine.

In his mammoth monograph on the “origins” of the courtly tradition, Bezzola quotes extensively from panegyric poems by Marbod, Baldric and Hildbert addressed to three Northern French and Anglo-Norman noblewomen:³⁵³ Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror and Countess of Blois (d. 1137); Matilda (d. 1118), daughter of King Malcolm of Scotland, and wife of King Henry I of England; and Caecilia, sister of Adela, and Abbess of La-Trinité, Caen (d. 1126). These poems contain much high-flown praise of the lady in question and abject supplication on the part of the poet, but, as Dronke has strongly argued, they cannot be said to use the language of love.³⁵⁴ Dronke does nevertheless characterise a passionate exchange of verse epistles between Baldric and a nun, Constantia, as representing love poems, since they betray “traces of love

³⁴⁵ Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua libri tres*, *Patrologia Latina* 161, cols. 837-1018 (cols. 872-873)

³⁴⁶ Lynn Lawner, “Norman ni Frances”, *Cultura Neolatina* XXX, (1970), pp. 223-232 (p. 231)

³⁴⁷ Bezzola, *Les origines*, II.2, pp. 292-293

³⁴⁸ DeVic/Vaissète, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, vol. V, no. 400, cols. 754-756, no. 451, cols. 845-846

³⁴⁹ Bezzola, *Les origines*, vol. II.2, p. 290

³⁵⁰ Pio Rajna, “La badia di Niort”, pp. 249-253

³⁵¹ Guy Devailly, “Un évêque et un prédicateur errant au XIIe siècle, Marbode de Rennes et Robert d’Arbrissel”, *Mémoires de la Société d’histoire et d’archéologie de Bretagne*, 57 (1980), pp. 163-170 (p. 166)

³⁵² *Vita Beati Roberti de Arbrisselo*, *Patrologia Latina* 162, cols. 1043-1058

³⁵³ Bezzola, *Les origines*, VII. II.2, pp. 371-391, 423-427, 430-434

³⁵⁴ Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, vol. I, pp. 192-220, “Love, Praise and Friendship”, and particularly pp. 209-217 on the Loire Valley School poets

language".³⁵⁵ Although the letters express an intense, but spiritual and chaste love, Baldric fears that some others might interpret them differently and so ends his poem, "Ad dominam Constantia".³⁵⁶

"Si vis ostendas, si vis haec scripta recondas,
Nam pedagoga bonae non timor est dominae."

(If you wish, show these letters to someone; if you do not, hide them. For fear is no tutor to a fine lady.)

William IX may well also have been reacting to such poems as these, with their extravagant flattery of noblewomen and "spiritual" flirtation with nuns. He himself wrote a song, disguised as a sermon, explicitly expounding the superiority of knightly over clerical love (song V). Again, the web of evidence of interaction between these Medieval Latin metrical poets and William IX is suggestive, but any conclusions are inevitably speculative.

Even if it is accepted that there were personal connections, including an overlap in literary ethos and outlook, combined with political, literary and possibly personal rivalry between the Loire Valley School of poets and early troubadours, the question remains of whether any relationship can be established between the two poetic traditions themselves. Bezzola's work is not much help in this respect, as his definition of "courtly love" lyric is too nebulous, intent as he is on a romantic quest for the origins of courtly love:³⁵⁷

"Tel est, autour d'une Adèle de Blois, le climat dans lequel peut naître cet amour courtois, où l'amant doit se contenter d'aimer sans espoir d'être écouté. Cet amour courtois et la chanson d'amour naîtront dans cette atmosphère."

Only one scholar, Henning Brinkmann, in his *Entstehungsgechichte des Minnesangs*, has tried to relate troubadour and Latin metrical love lyric with more regard to the thematic detail of the two traditions. He admits that they have nothing in common as regards form and music:³⁵⁸

"Aber Form und Musik sind schliesslich für den Betrachter des Minnesangphänomens die Fassade; wer das Wesen erfassen will, muss tiefer dringen."

"Penetrating deeper" in Brinkmann's research consists of listing a number of topoi of love and praise from a range of different troubadours and from the panegyric verse of Marbod, Baldric and Hildebert, supplemented by the poems from the anthology of Medieval Latin verse in the Zurich manuscript discussed above and below.

Brinkmann's methodology is similar to that employed by Dimitri Scheludko in his article, "Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altprovenzalischen Lyrik", which has already been discussed. The choice of troubadours is apparently random: the first five

³⁵⁵ Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, vol. II, p. 578

³⁵⁶ Abrahams, *Les oeuvres*, no. CCXXXVIII, p. 342

³⁵⁷ Bezzola, *Les origines*, II.2, p. 373-374

³⁵⁸ Henning Brinkmann, *Entstehungsgeschichte des Minnesangs* (Darmstadt, 1971), p. 18

are Peirol, Gaucelm Faidit, Peire Roger, Bernart de Ventadorn and the Monk of Montaudon. The chosen topoi are all universal in love poetry and panegyric: love as the cause of writing; the loyalty and discretion of the poet-lover; hyperbolic praise of the lady's beauty and worth; the lady as the medicine of love; and the lover's sickness and his anticipated death. Brinkmann concludes from this that "Die Troubadours fanden in lateinischer Dichtung bereits die Anfänge eines Minnedienstes vor".³⁵⁹ Unfortunately, the ahistoricity of Brinkmann's approach, together with his confusion of the thematic range of troubadour love lyric with a quest for the "origins" of *Minnedienst*, make his work of limited value.

It will therefore again be necessary to review the manuscript evidence for metrical Latin love poems which might have been known in Northern Aquitaine at the time of the early troubadours, then analyse and compare the extant pieces from the two traditions in a more systematic manner. As with the review of Latin rhythmical songs in the previous section, the manuscript evidence is slight, if not negligible. Two potentially relevant manuscripts mentioned in the previous chapters do, however, have Northern Aquitanian associations: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson G 109 and the Zurich manuscript C 58.

The Oxford manuscript is thought to have been written in Northern France, but almost immediately brought to Plantagenet England.³⁶⁰ André Boutemy has noted that it contains laments on William Clifton, Count of Flanders (d. 1128) and of King Henry I of England (d. 1135), but it also includes two substantial pieces of local interest in Poitou-Saintonge: a poem in rhymed hexameter couplets in praise of Poitiers, "Urbs pictavis, ave, sedes gratissima de qua" (folios 45-46), and another in leonine hexameters in praise of Saintes and a local metrical poet named Boimundus or Boamundus, "Urbs Xantonice que comoditas sit, amice" (folios 92-93).

In addition to a number of poems by Hildebert of Le Mans, the Oxford manuscript includes four metrical love poems.³⁶¹ One of these, in leonine hexameters, "Idibus his Mai miser exemplo Menelai" (folios 7-8), is the only known love song by the Northern French satirist, Hugh Primas of Orleans (b. ca. 1095).³⁶² It has a nature opening and consists of a complaint that the poet's beloved has left him, as a result of which he suffers (lines 4-7), is sleepless (lines 9-10) and captive (lines 10-11). It might thus far be compared in its thematic structure to a troubadour lyric, but its style is otherwise purely classicizing. The beloved is named "Flora" (line 2), the poet compares himself to Menelaus (line 1), Cyrus and Phraates (a reference to Horace, *Carmina* II.17),³⁶³ and the poem ends with a set-piece simile where the lover is likened to the faithful dove who remains chaste after losing his mate. Primas, who made extensive use of the Northern French vernacular in one of his satires,³⁶⁴ was active in the first half of the twelfth

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-44, "2. Tradition von Angers und Troubadours" (p. 42)

³⁶⁰ Boutemy, "Un éloge métrique", pp. 705-706

³⁶¹ Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, II, p. 570, also includes "Non est crimen amor, quia si scelus esset amare" in this category, although it is a two-line epigram rather than a love lyric

³⁶² Wilhelm Meyer, "Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas", (*Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1907), pp. 75-175 (no. VI, pp. 127-129)

³⁶³ Wickham/Garrod, *Q. Horatii Flacci opera*

³⁶⁴ Meyer, "Die Oxforder Gedichte", no. XVI, "Iniuriis contumeliosque concitatus", pp. 89-100

century and so may have been influenced in this poem by the format of troubadour love lyric.

The remaining three love poems in the Oxford manuscript are even more classical in style and content and therefore resemble the more sophisticated and scholarly rhythmical love lyrics from the Saint-Martial manuscripts. “Tela, Cupido, tene, quoniam non ille nec illa” (folio 44) resembles “Clauo Cronos” in depicting a man resisting Cupid’s shafts. It consists formally of an internal dialogue which constantly breaks the line,³⁶⁵ and has a complex system of refrain words. “Constat et apparet quod amo – nec Amor mihi paret” (folio 66), is in rhyming leonine hexameter couplets and takes up the Horatian theme of the old man in love, which also occurs in the fragment of “Hyemale tempus” in the Saint-Martial MS SM 3, no. 5. The poet is in love with Lycoris, whose chastity is conventionally compared with that of the Sabine women, a figure which also echoes line 6 of “Quam velim virginum” from MS SM 3, no. 2. “Cur infirmaris? cur palles? cur maceraris” (folio 67) is in elegiac couplets with occasional leonine rhymes. The names, Candidus and Corina (sic), are taken from Martial and Ovid respectively, and the Ovidian theme of the emaciated lover recalls strophe viib of “Clauo Cronos”.³⁶⁶ All three pieces are short (8, 10 and 6 lines respectively) and represent brilliant classicising set-pieces. Their closeness in style and content to several of the Saint-Martial rhythmical pieces demonstrates the powerful, unifying force of inherited Latin language and culture, on which the evolving vernacular tradition does not here impinge.

The Zurich manuscript is thought to originate from Schaffhausen on the present-day German-Swiss frontier, and incorporates much German material, including eleven sermons in Middle High German.³⁶⁷ It also contains numerous metrical poems referring to locations in France, for instance, to Lyons (nos. 84 and 131), Paris (nos. 94 and 290) and Orleans (nos. 46 and 133).³⁶⁸ Of the two panegyrics of Poitiers, one is a shorter version of the poem in the Oxford manuscript (no. 18, f. 3v). The other one, “Si cunctas urbes numeremus ab Alpius infra” (no. 19, f. 4), honours the city, its ruler and particularly its bishop, probably Peter II (d. 1115).

Apart from the rhythmical piece, “Hyemale tempus, vale” (no. 149) and an obscure fragment (no. 373), there are eight metrical love poems in the Zurich manuscript. They occur in three series, and are similar to one another in form, style and thematic scope.³⁶⁹ Nos. 49 and 117-120 consist of leonine hexameters, while the other three pieces, nos. 48, 66 and 116 (one from each series), are formally more complex and unusual. In the poem no. 48, a succession of elegiac couplets with internal rhymes is followed by hexameter couplets with double internal rhymes. In no. 66, hexameter

³⁶⁵ This corresponds to a technical development in vernacular poetry from the third quarter of the twelfth century: see e.g. *Eneas. Roman du XIIe siècle*, ed. Jean-Jacques Salverda de Grave, vol. I (Paris, 1925), pp. 21-22, lines 645-652 (ca. A.D. 1160); *The Poems of the Troubadour Peire Rogier*, ed. Derek E.T. Nicholson (Manchester, 1976), songs IV-VII (fl. 1160-1180); and *Les romans de Chrétien de Troyes. Cligès*, ed. Alexandre Micha (Paris, 1957), lines 657-659, 897 (ca. 1176)

³⁶⁶ The anthology of Medieval Latin poems in this manuscript is followed by Ovid’s *Remedia Amoris*

³⁶⁷ Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, vol. I, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften* (Zurich, 1952), pp. 31-33

³⁶⁸ Poem numbers taken from Werner, *Beiträge*, where the lyric material from this manuscript is printed in its entirety

³⁶⁹ They are listed in Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, vol. II, p. 582

verses are followed by elegiac couplets, while in no. 116, leonine hexameters are succeeded by leonine elegiac couplets. These pieces tend to be longer, more abstract and more diffuse than those in the Oxford manuscript, often little more than a suite of topoi of unrequited love, and, except for occasional flourishes, e.g. in no. 48, lines 10-13 and no. 49, lines 7-9, only occasionally use mythological allusion. These affinities suggest that these poems have a similar source, or at least a similar date. This seems likely to have been later rather than earlier in the twelfth century, and so these abstracted lovers' complaints may reflect the fashionable thematic pattern established in twelfth-century vernacular literature. Such influence may even have been indirect, since lines 26-27 of no. 116 imply that these love poems were of immediate South German rather than French provenance:

“Flava prius Rhenum sua flumina rebar in Histrum,
Vertere, quam soli te mihi nolle loqui.”

(I used to think that the Rhine would send back its yellow waters to the Danube before you would refuse to speak to me.)

In summary, neither of these two manuscripts furnishes any positive thematic links between Latin and vernacular traditions in the first half of the twelfth century.

If manuscript evidence is inconclusive in terms of establishing such links, then connections could perhaps be sought in the works of Marbod of Rennes, Baldric of Bourgueil and Hilbert of Le Mans. Both the Oxford and Zurich manuscripts do contain poems attributed to Marbod and Hildebert, but none of these are love poems. Love lyric by Marbod and Baldric does, however, survive. Marbod's love poems were not included by Brinkmann among his possible metrical Latin analogues to troubadour love lyric, because they had not yet been rediscovered. Only two known pieces by Baldric of Bourgueil can properly be called love poems: “Paris Helenae” and “Helena Paridi”, a fictitious exchange of lengthy hexameter epistles between the two mythical lovers, closely based on Ovid, *Heroides*, numbers XVI and XVII.³⁷⁰ Had Brinkmann known them, these poems by Marbod and Baldric would have invalidated further his thesis, since they contain the topoi of “courtly” love which he lists, but in a heavily stylised, classicising and specifically Ovidian context.

Finally, five amatory epistles attributed to Marbod occur in the *editio princeps* of 1524,³⁷¹ although they were discarded in the 1708 edition by the Benedictine, Dom Antoine Beaugendre.³⁷² These seem to have been modelled on Ovid's *Amores*,³⁷³ which similarly explore a love affair through its various phases from a man's point of view. Only one of the letters is attributed to the mistress, and this may be by Marbod's friend,

³⁷⁰ Abrahams, *Les œuvres*, nos. XLII-XLIII, pp. 29-51

³⁷¹ The only known copy of this is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris

³⁷² Dom Antoine Beaugendre, *Venerabilis Hildeberti primo Cenomanensis episcopi, deinde Turonensis archiepiscopi Opera, tam edita quam inedita. Accesserunt Marbodi Redonensis episcopi, ipsius Hildeberti supparis opuscula* (Paris, 1708). In the last paragraph of the appendix, “Syllabus Manuscriptorum Codicum”, Beaugendre tantalisingly claims to have used for this volume two, now unknown manuscripts from the collegiate church of Sainte-Radegonde, Poitiers

³⁷³ They are edited in Walter Bulst, “Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods”, in *Liber Floridus. Mittellateinische Studien Paul Lehmann zum 65. Geburtstag am 13. Juli 1949 gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff/Suso Brechter (St. Ottilien, 1950), pp. 287-301

CHAPTER 3

Gualterus, to whom it is attributed in one manuscript. Delbouille considers that all five of these poems may have been by other poets and simply collected by Marbod.³⁷⁴ They differ from the *Amores* not only by being epistular in form, like the *Heroides*, but by being more abstract in their portrayal of situation, particularly Ovid's humorous, embarrassing and erotic social situations.³⁷⁵ Their diction is dominated by constant allusion to familiar, universal, but also specifically Ovidian topoi, expressive of the lover's feelings, such as the fire and madness of love, the arrows and wounds of love, and the suppliant lover. We cannot know if Baldric and Marbod wrote less stylised Latin love poems. The survival of those mentioned here is entirely fortuitous, and the "leporos amatorios" regretted by Guibert of Nogent,³⁷⁶ and the "carmina...amatoria" looked back on by Peter Abelard (d. 1142),³⁷⁷ appear to have been lost forever. The vast majority of Medieval Latin poems are undatable and unattributable. This is particularly so for love poems, since they tend to lack contemporary allusions, were often rejected by their authors,³⁷⁸ or were censored by scribes, as in the case of the *Cambridge Songs*.

³⁷⁴ Delbouille, "un mystérieux ami de Marbode", p. 237

³⁷⁵ They are discussed briefly by Dronke in *Medieval Latin*, vol. I, pp. 213-216

³⁷⁶ Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua*, lib. I, 17, *Patrologia Latina*, 156, col. 873

³⁷⁷ Peter Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, ed. Jacques Monfrin (4th edition, Paris, 1978), p. 73

³⁷⁸ As in the first lines of Marbod's *Liber de decem capitulorum*, ed. Walter Bulst (Heidelberg, 1947), p. 5

Conclusions to chapter 3

The main aim of chapter 3 has been to compare early troubadour love lyric in a systematic manner with Medieval Latin love poems which were known at the time and in the same region. In order to do this, the principal characteristics of early troubadour love songs have first been described, separating out their metrical form, their thematic structure, main topoi and stylistic devices.

An inventory of rhythmical Latin love poems, mostly in strophic form, has then been established, based on the pioneering work of Jacques Chailley and Peter Dronke. The inventory consists of a dozen or so poems, depending on their interpretation, from three manuscripts, all of which derive from the collection of the Abbey of Saint-Martial in Limoges.

A comparison of early troubadour love songs with these Latin rhythmical pieces leads to the following conclusions. In terms of formal similarities, the *vers novel* of the troubadours and the Latin *versus* both favour the simple octosyllabic verses in strophic form which were characteristic of Latin sacred and secular hymns. Both types of work can also show significant metrical complexity. In some cases, sophisticated metrical forms are even shared between the Latin poems and songs by William IX, Jaufre Rudel, Cercamon and Marcabru.

In terms of content, both sets of love lyrics show a preference for a male lover and a generally silent female beloved, although there are rare exceptions, for example, in dialogue pieces. The nature opening, which occurs in a number of variants, and a number of universal topoi of love poetry are common to both the vernacular and the Latin traditions. The main difference between troubadour and Latin rhythmical love lyric lies in the latter's much more significant use of mythology and allusion to classical *auctores*, often combined with elaborate rhetorical devices which sometimes suggest school exercises.

Based on the above, it would be nonsensical to say that troubadour love lyric in any sense originated in rhythmical Latin love poetry. It is nevertheless clear that the two traditions overlapped and that in some cases could even have had the same exponents. Many of the Latin poems are musically notated and so were clearly meant to be performed. One of the Saint-Martial manuscripts even contains coloured illustrations of male and female performers playing various instruments, dancing and juggling, while another one includes verses written in a Romance vernacular dialect. In the case of two neumed Latin poems, "Ecce letantur omnia" and "De ramis cadunt folia", it can be argued that the clerical composers consciously imitated classical troubadour love lyrics rather than *vice versa*.

Formal similarities between metrical Latin love poems and *trobar* are significantly less likely than in the case of Latin rhythmical, strophic verse, although some Medieval Latin metrical verse is rhymed and occasionally even includes musical notation. Similarities in content and style are confined to universal clichés of love and allusions to Ovid, as Latin metrical verse tends to be even more classicising than rhythmical verse. In the rare cases where Latin metrical verse does resemble troubadour love lyric, any influence seems likely to have been from the vernacular on the Latin.

CHAPTER 3

If there was influence on early troubadour love lyric from the Latin metrical poetic tradition, it was probably more personal and political rather than purely literary. The Loire Valley School poets, such as Baldric of Bourgueil, Hildebert of Le Mans and Marbod of Rennes, wrote and circulated love poetry inspired by Ovid, even if they rejected it in their later careers. These poets knew William IX personally, and were members of a rival ecclesiastical élite, which was more closely identified with the rival Angevin dynasty. If anything, early *trobar* could therefore be interpreted as inspired by the rivalry of the lay aristocracy with these poets rather than any imitation of them.

Chapter 4

Topical and satirical verse

a) *The early troubadour satirical registre*

From the third quarter of the twelfth century, two genres came to dominate the troubadour lyric tradition, the *canço* or love lyric and the *serventes* or satire. In the first half of the century, however, there was already a dualism in content between love lyric and satire within a single genre, that of the *vers*. Zumthor's term, *registre*, was therefore borrowed in the preceding chapter to describe the two opposing sets of topoi, terminology and *ornatus* within the *vers*. This section sets out to summarise these characteristics within the early troubadour satirical *registre*.

Suzanne Thiolier-Méjean, the only critic who has previously analysed troubadour satire in detail, also borrowed the term *registre* from Zumthor in her monumental work, *Les Poésies satiriques et morales des troubadours du XIIe siècle à la fin du XIIIe siècle*. However, despite the constant and near consistent use of *serventes* as a genre term employed in opposition to *canço* by the troubadours of the third generation onwards, she rather uses the term *registre* to replace the concept of genre, which she considered too rigid to use of troubadour satire, since it is much more diverse than the love lyric.³⁷⁹ The rejection of the concept of genre in this context is arguably explicable through Thiolier-Méjean's extreme inclusiveness in her definition of satire. Not only does her book embrace the "vocabulaire", "thèmes et motifs" and "*ornatus*" of two centuries of satirical verse, but also elements of the varying historical contexts of the songs among her "thèmes et motifs". In contrast, the following pages only deal with a half century of satire and only describe those topoi most frequently used by the early troubadour satirists, in order to create a theoretical basis for comparison with contemporary Medieval Latin satire from the region.

Metre. There is no difference in metrical style between the two *registres* of early troubadour lyric. If Marcabru, in his satires, was the first to experiment with complex rhyme words and schemes, Bernart de Ventadorn, the most purely "courtly" writer of the next generation, was no less ingenious. In the early period, both *registres* also occasionally occur in the same songs, and therefore by definition share the same metres.

Thematic structure. The satirical *registre* in early troubadour lyric can be viewed as a metrical and thematic calque on the love lyric. Not only does the satire use the same metres as the love lyric, but it also borrows the same structure of nature opening, development section and *envoi* or *tornada*, but with the topoi of the central section belonging to its own *registre*.

The troubadour satire can also be calqued onto the minor genres of *trobar*. Marcabru's *tenso* or literary debate with Uc Catola (song VI) could be interpreted from Uc's perspective as a love lyric in dialogue form, but directed towards a third person. From Marcabru's perspective, however, it is a satire on love.³⁸⁰ Marcabru's *pastourelles* (songs XXIX-XXX)³⁸¹ and his *chanson d'ami* (song I) could, at least on the man's side, be viewed as narrative forms of the wooing in a courtly love lyric. However, the

³⁷⁹ Thiolier-Méjean, *Les poésies satiriques*, pp. 12-13, 40-41

³⁸⁰ See chapter 6 a) (i) below

³⁸¹ See chapter 7 b) below

pastourelles both turn out to be satires against upper-class men preying on lower-class women. Marcabru's song I is on the surface a crusading song of the type which comments on the grief caused at home by the departure of the crusader, but can also be seen, like "Pax in nomine domini" (song XXXV), as a satire against crusading in the Middle East rather than against the Moors of Spain.

The satirical *registre* not only calques itself onto vernacular poetic genres, but also onto one particular learned and non-poetic form, the sermon. Marcabru pictures himself and is depicted by others as a preacher, and he even refers specifically to his own sermons and preachings. It is indeed natural that there should be some overlap between the moralising ideas and images in satirical songs and those occurring in sermons. In some cases, satires go so far as to imitate aspects of sermon form.³⁸² Marcabru's song XXXV, "Pax in nomine domini", begins with a Latin text, as do all surviving twelfth-century sermons in Occitan: thirty in two manuscripts from Saint-Martial, Limoges,³⁸³ and twenty two in a manuscript from the cathedral library at Tortosa in Catalonia.³⁸⁴ "Pax in nomine domini" is not itself a biblical quotation, but neither are many of the Latin phrases which introduce these sermons.³⁸⁵ Sermons also tend to end with a prayer, as do three songs by Marcabru: in song XXXV, strophe VIII, he prays for the soul of William X and the future of his dukedom; in song XI, strophe ix, he prays for his three patrons; and in song III, strophe vii, he denounces the *seculum*, the current age. The *tornada* of song IX, "Aujatz de chan com enans'e meillura", also includes in line 35 a Latin tag, *rex regum*, in its evocation of the Godhead: "Sel qu'es e fo regom rex e salvaire".³⁸⁶ The final prayer is also always in Latin in all the extant vernacular sermons mentioned above.

The development sections in five of Marcabru's satires are constructed around a major set-piece allegory. In songs XXXVIII and XLIV, this imagery probably derives from specific Medieval Latin poems and manuscript iconography, as argued in chapter 5, sections a)-b) below. In song IX, it recalls the imagery in the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius and its literary legacy, a point discussed in more detail in chapter 6 c). In two other songs, "Al departir del brau tempier (no. III) and "Pois l'iverns d'ogan es anatz" (no. XXXIX), extended nature allegories with moral exegesis are more reminiscent of a common technique of constructing sermons, as employed, for example, in the surviving examples from Saint-Martial and Tortosa.

³⁸² See chapter 1 b) (ii) above on William IX, song V, and the *exemplum*-type sermon

³⁸³ MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 3548b, ff. 16-26 and 27-34, comprising two of six theological manuscripts bound together and edited by Camille Chabaneau, "Sermons et préceptes religieux en langue d'oc du XIIe siècle", *Revue des langues romanes*, XVIII (1880), pp. 105-146, XXII (1882), pp. 157-179, and XXIII (1883), pp. 157-169, and by Frederick Armitage, *Sermons du XIIe siècle en vieux provençal* (Heilbronn, 1884)

³⁸⁴ Tortosa, Archivio de la Catedral, MS 106, folios 106v-135, together with homilies of Gregory the Great, described by Enríque Bayerri Bertomeu in *Los códices medievales de la Catedral de Tortosa; novísimo inventario descriptivo* (Barcelona, 1962), pp. 259-261; edited by Antoine Thomas in "Homélies provençales tirées d'un manuscrit de Tortosa", *Annales du Midi* 9 (1897), pp. 369-418

³⁸⁵ Michel Zink, *La prédication en langue romane avant 1300* (Paris, 1976), p. 98

³⁸⁶ For a Latin tag in another imitator of Marcabru, see Raimbaut d'Aurenga, song XXIV, lines 28-29, "Dieus, ajuda! In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti! Aiso, que sera, domna", ed. Walter T. Pattison, *The Life and Works of the Troubadour Raimbaut d'Orange* (Minneapolis, 1952), p. 153

The allegories in Marcabru songs III and XXXIX consist respectively of a garden and a tree. The garden is said to be full of trees which should fruit and flower like apple trees, but they turn out to be fruitless willows (*sautz*) and elders (*saucs*) (song III, lines 13-14). These represent the new generation of noblemen who are full of promises, but fail to fulfil them (strophe iii). The huge imaginary tree in song XXXIX is said to have its root in *Malvestatz*, “Evil”, in line 24, and to have noblemen hanging from its branches bound by the rope of *Escarsetatz*, “Avarice” (strophe v).

The thirtieth sermon in the collection from Saint-Martial of Limoges uses similar imagery of good and bad trees in its description of paradise, as in the following three examples:³⁸⁷

“qua[r] paradis es us ortz en que plantet Nostre Seiner toz los bos arbres que fruh porto.”

(For paradise is a garden, in which our Lord planted all the good trees which bear fruit.)

“Mal arbre no i plantet anc Nostre Seiner.”

(Our Lord never planted a bad tree there.)

“Atretals orz es Sancta Gleija e ssemblant de paradis, on a Deus plantaz, cum bos ortolas,³⁸⁸ toz los arbres que bo fruh porto : las patriarchas..., las prophetas....”

(The Holy Church is such a garden and resembles paradise, where God planted, like a good gardener, all the trees which bear good fruits: the patriarchs..., the prophets....)

The eighth Tortosa sermon begins with a non-biblical text on God planting a “*paradisum voluptatis*”, and continues with imagery of a tree with an evil root, which quotes directly from I Timothy 6: 10:³⁸⁹

“Vegats, senor, can laig pecat a en cobezeza e per glotonia, *quia cupiditas es[t] radics omnium malorum*, car cobezeza es rasis de tots mals.”

(See, my lords, what ugly sin there is in love of money and gluttony, for the love of money is the root of all evils.)

Two other sermons in the Tortosa collection dismember plants and allegorise their parts. Sermon XIX, on the Nativity, creates a typological synthesis between Mary as, on the one hand, the “flower of the field and lily of the valley” from the Song of Songs 2: 1, and, on the other hand, as the rod of Aaron with Christ as her fruit, of which we must eat in order to obtain eternal life.³⁹⁰ Sermon X, for Palm Sunday, describes good men as trees and their fruits as virtues and good works.³⁹¹

³⁸⁷ Chabaneau, “Sermons”, in *Revue de langues romanes*, XVIII, p. 141 and Armitage, *Sermons*, no. XXX, p. 68, corrected against the manuscript

³⁸⁸ The most obvious interpretation of “L’ortolas ab lo clavier”, (the gardener with the key-bearer), in Marcabru song III, line 41, must surely be Christ and the pontiff, *pace* Roncaglia, “Marcabruno: ‘Al departir del brau tempier’”, p. 31

³⁸⁹ Thomas, “Homélie”, pp. 391-392

³⁹⁰ Thomas, “Homélie”, p. 410-411

³⁹¹ *Ibid.* pp. 394-396

The same technique and comparable imagery from similar biblical sources occurs in other contemporary Latin sermons associated with the region, for example, a sermon on Genesis 22: 27-28, “Ecce odor filii mei sicut agri pleni”, (Lo, the smell of my son is as the smell of a field full of crops). This sermon is attributed to Geoffrey of Loroux, who was sent by Bernard of Clairvaux to preach against William X and other schismatics who supported the Antipope Anacletus II, and was rewarded by being appointed Archbishop of Bordeaux from 1135. Geoffrey’s sermons are well represented in surviving manuscripts from Saint-Martial and, according to Peter Tibber, could also have been used by the monks of Saint-Martial for preaching to the laity.³⁹²

The principal difference between the nature imagery in these sermons and troubadour satire is that the sermons normally use ideas directly culled from the Bible, while the troubadours mix biblical, proverbial and other sources. The willow and elder in Marcabru’s song III are treated unfavourably in proverbs, for example: “Non sapor in salice nec est amor in meretrice”, (There is no flavour in willow and no love in a whore),³⁹³ a phrase which is also echoed in Bertran de Born’s “Dedintz etz plus chaus d’un säuc”, (You are more hollow than an elder inside).³⁹⁴ The elder is not mentioned in the Bible, and the willow is interpreted positively and negatively by individual exegetes. D.W. Robertson obscures this fact by quoting Rabanus Maurus (A.D. 736-856) on willows figuring “homines infructuosi”,³⁹⁵ while ignoring the previous sentence in the *De universo* where the willow represents the faithful of the Church.³⁹⁶ Robertson also quotes Alexander Neckham (1157-1217) on how elders flower attractively, but ignores a passage from the same author’s *De laudibus divinae Sapientiae*, where elderberry wine and elder flower are both recommended for the tables of princes.³⁹⁷

Based on the above, it is not only simplistic, but arguably even misleading when Robertson says that Marcabru is referring to a “‘folklore’ built up by centuries of preaching”,³⁹⁸ where certain plants or other objects have a fixed spiritual significance.³⁹⁹ It rather suits Marcabru the satirist’s moralising and poetic purpose that in his song III the willows and elders stand for fruitlessness, although both plants could be interpreted favourably by churchmen, and the elder does not appear in the Bible. The words for willow and elder also happen to alliterate in Occitan and their combination therefore also creates an additional musical effect. Finally, in Marcabru’s song XXXIX the tree’s root is evil, which is a cliché in the medieval Latin tradition, but preachers and moralists also invented trees with roots of charity. One example of this can be found in a reference to a homily by Gregory the Great in the patristic florilegium

³⁹² Peter Tibber, *The Origins of the scholastic Sermon c. 1130-1210*, (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1983), pp. 252-253. This thesis contains a chapter on sermons from Saint-Martial, and analyses, among others, the sermons of the Peter of Poitiers who was born in ca. 1130 and later became professor of theology in Paris

³⁹³ London, British Library, MS Additional 12195, folio 110v

³⁹⁴ Albert Stimming, ed., *Bertran de Born* (Halle, 1892), no. XXXVII, line 22 (p. 131)

³⁹⁵ Robertson, “Five Poems”, p. 540

³⁹⁶ Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, in *Patrologia Latina* 111, cols. 10-614 (col. 519)

³⁹⁷ Thomas Wright, ed., *Alexander Neckham. De naturis rerum libri duo. With the poem of the same author, De laudibus divinae sapientiae*, (*Rolls Series* 34, London, 1863), pp. 173 and 483

³⁹⁸ Pace Robertson, “Five Poems”, p. 540, and Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence*, pp. 28-41

³⁹⁹ For contradictory meanings of *arbor*, *poma*, *radix* and *ramus*, see Rabanus Maurus, *Allegoriae in universam sacram scripturam*, in *Patrologia Latina* 112, cols. 849-1088 (cols. 865-866, 1030-1031, and 1036-1037)

of the eighth-century Poitevin monk, Defensor of Ligugé, a work which was also translated into Medieval Occitan.⁴⁰⁰ In summary, Marcabru borrowed the sermon technique of using a central set-piece allegory, especially a nature allegory, but did not necessarily intend the listener to identify specific symbolic equivalents from theological exegesis.

Early troubadour satires can also resemble sermons in their use of quotation as a structural device. For example, several of the sermons from the Saint-Martial and Tortosa manuscripts consist of little more than a series of biblical quotations with Occitan paraphrase and some commentary. Marcabru's song XVII, strophes iii-iv, and Bernart Marti V, strophes ix-xi, are similarly constructed around a series of *sententiae* and their exegesis. The troubadour satirists do not, however, use only biblical quotation, but also classical and especially proverbial references,⁴⁰¹ in isolated as well as in cumulative contexts.

Since the subject of *sententiae* with their authorities is discussed in detail later in chapter 6 a), the current section will confine itself to two further examples of clear biblical references in early troubadours satirists, although neither is provided with a specific authority. The author of "Ges per lo freit temps no m'irais", attributed to Cercamon in the troubadour MSS DIK,⁴⁰² inserts an instantly recognisable reference to Matthew 7: 3-5 and Luke 6: 41-42 into his rebuke of courtly blasmador (lines 24-35):⁴⁰³

"et es razos dechazida
Qu'om veia.l pel en l'autrui olh
Et el sieu no conois lo traub
per la foudat que.l sobransa."

(It is unreasonable to see the hair in another's eye and not know the plank in one's own.)

Marcabru integrates an allusion to the equally well-known parable of the sower, as found in Matthew 13: 1-23, Mark 4: 1-20 and Luke 8: 1-15, into his satirical diction in song XLI, lines 28-30:

"Semenan vau mos castiers
De sobre.ls naturals rochiers
Que no vey granar ni florir."

(I go along sowing my warnings on bare rocks, so that I see them neither bud nor flower.)

This troubadour thus cheekily identifies himself with the first great preacher of Christianity, his distant predecessor in using moralised nature allegories to underline his arguments.

⁴⁰⁰ Dom Henri-Marie Rochais, ed., *Defensoris locogiacensis monachi Liber scintillarum (Corpus Christianorum, series Latina, Turnholt, 1957), lib. I, "De caritate", paragraph 24, p. 4; Angelika Wahl, Die altprovenzalische Übersetzung des Liber scintillarum. Mit Einleitung und Glossar (Munich, 1980), p. 19*

⁴⁰¹ *Pace Errante in Marcabru e le fonti sacre*

⁴⁰² This song is attributed to Cercamon in manuscripts DIK, Peire d'Alvernhe in E, Bernart de Ventadorn in L, Gaucelm Faidit in N and Peire Vidal S. Style and content indicate a satirist of the school of Marcabru, such as Cercamon or Peire d'Alvernhe

⁴⁰³ It is cited here from Rudolf Zenker, *Die Lieder Peires von Auvergne, kritisch ausgegeben mit Einleitung, Uebersetzung, Kommentar und Glossar (Erlangen, 1900), pp. 149-152 (pp. 150-151)*

The objects of satire. Early troubadour satire not only borrows the metre and often the tripartite form of the love lyric, but also its two main objects of criticism and mockery. The first of these comprises the court flatterers and trouble-makers, the *lauzengier*, as mentioned in Cercamon, song V, strophe vi, Marcabru, songs XXXII, vi and XXXVI, iii, and Bernart Marti, song II, where they are called “*lengua forcatz*” or forked tongues. The other common victim is the jealous husband or *gilos*, as in Cercamon, song IV, line 49, and Marcabru, song II, strophes iv and viii. The lady’s lover or lovers may also be promiscuous and disloyal (Marcabru, song VI, strophe vi, song XIII, ii, and XXIV, v, and Bernart Marti, song IV). The husband will also himself often be adulterous as well as cuckolded (Cercamon, song IV, strophe iii and VI, iv; Marcabru, songs IV, vii, V, iv, VIII, ii and XII, vii-viii; and Alegret, song II, strophe vii). His jealousy will be such that he has his wife guarded by churlish servants who inevitably fornicate with her (William IX, songs II-III, and Marcabru, VI, strophe v, XXIX, iv and song XXXVIII, strophes iv-v), and such unions result in a generation of bastard “nobles” (Marcabru, songs VIII, XI, strophe viii, and XVII, iv-v). When Marcabru attacks the whore, it is not clear whether he is referring to professionals or to promiscuous court ladies (songs XII, strophe vi, XXVI, v and XLIV). In fact, some apparent love lyrics focus to such an extent on the seamy side of court life that they can be read as parodies of it.⁴⁰⁴

The early troubadour satirists also cast their net beyond the imagined world of the courtly love triangle and aim their barbs at their own professional milieu. They criticise individual colleagues by name, for example Alegret in Marcabru song XI, strophe ix, various jongleurs in Marcoat, songs I-II, and a whole “gallery” of twelve troubadours in Peire d’Alvernhe’s famous song XII. In his XXXI, strophe ix, Marcabru also seems to pick on a school of troubadours by name when he mentions “*troba n’Eblo*”, while Cercamon and Marcabru both find fault with groups of troubadours on moral and aesthetic grounds, without it being possible to identify their antagonists (Cercamon, song V, strophe iv and Marcabru, songs XXIII, ii and XXXVII, ii). Niggardly patrons are also predictably criticised, either in general terms, as in Marcabru, song XXXVI, strophe vi and Alegret (song I, strophe v), or more specifically, as in the case of “*n’Audric*” in Marcabru’s song XXbis, “*duc e rei*” in his song XI, line 41, the “*baro*” and “*li ric*” in song XXXII, strophe vi, and “*comtes e reis et amiratz/e princes*” in song XXXIV, lines 71-72.

In the wider world, rival Christian powers in Western Europe are frequently stigmatised, such as Normandy and France in William IX, song IV, line 29, and Anjou in his song IX, 16; and Anjou again in Marcabru, songs VIII, lines 54 and 59 and XXXIII, strophe vi. Unwilling and cowardly crusaders are villified in Peire d’Alvernhe, song XIII, strophe ii, and Marcabru, songs XXI, strophe vi, XXII, ii-vi and x (King Louis VII, France, Poitou and Berry) and XXXV, viii (the French). The Muslim enemy occurs under a variety of geographical, historical or purely pejorative names: as Saracens and Almoravids in Marcabru, song XXI, lines 16, 19 and 50; “*offspring of Cain*” and “*black lackeys*” in Marcabru, song XXXV, lines 36 and 45; Turks in Bernard Marti, Appendix I, line 41

⁴⁰⁴ For example, Marcabru songs XXV and XXVIII, and Bernart Marti I, III and V

CHAPTER 4

(possibly attributable to Peire d'Alvernhe); and "gen tafura", (wicked people), in Peire d'Alvernhe, song XIII, strophes ii-iii (line 17)⁴⁰⁵

Priests are declared unsuitable lovers in William IX, song V, strophes i-ii. Marcabru's alleged rival in love in song XXV, strophe vii, is supposedly the Abbot of Saint-Privat in the diocese of Mende in Languedoc.⁴⁰⁶ The venality of the Roman Curia is the subject of Marcabru, song XXXIII, strophe iii, and a litany of malefactors, ecclesiastical and lay, are denounced in his fire and brimstone song, "Pus mos coratges s'es eclairtitz" (XL, strophes iii-v). This is worth quoting *in extenso* because of its detailed and shocking juxtaposition of the sacred and profane:⁴⁰⁷

- III "Cill son fals jutg'e raubador,
Fals molherat e jurador,
Fals home tenh e lauzengier,
Lengua-loguat, creba-mostier,
Et aissella putas ardens
Qui son d'autrui maritz cossens ;
Cyst auran guazanh ifernau.
- IV Homicidi e traïdor,
Simoniaic, encantador,
Luxorios e renovier,
Que vivon d'enujos mestier,
E cill que fan faitilhamens,
E las faitileiras pudens
Seran el fuec arden engau.
- V Ebriaic et escogossat,
Fals preveire e fals abat,
Falsas reclusas, fals reclus,
Lai penaran, ditz Marcabrus,
Que tuit li fals y an luec pres,
Car fin'Amors o a promes,
Lai er dols des dezesperatz.

(They are false judges and thieves, disloyal husbands and perjurers, liars and toadies, hired tongues, despoilers of monasteries and torrid whores, who comply with the husbands of others; these will have an infernal reward.

⁴⁰⁵ A similarly wide range of terms is used in the epic *Poem of Almería* of ca. 1147-1157, which was appended to the *Chronica Adefonsi*, ed. Sanchez Belda, pp. 165-186: Mauri (l. 8), "barbara gens" (l. 15), "Sarraceni" (l. 38), and "Moabiti" (l. 45)

⁴⁰⁶ Nothing is known of the medieval abbots of this monastery: *Gallia Christiana*, vol. I, col. 111

⁴⁰⁷ Such lists of malefactors are common in Christian moralising literature, e.g. II Timothy, 3: 2 on the end of the world, "erunt homines se ipsos amantes, cupidi, elati, superbi, blasphemi..."; and St. Bernard *Epistle* 363 on the Second Crusade as a means of salvation for "homicidas, raptores, adultores, peiuros caeteris obligatos criminibus" (*Patrologia Latina* 182, col. 566)

Murderers and traiters, simoniacs and enchanters, lechers and usurers, living off their wicked trade, and the men who weave spells and stinking witches; these will all be levelled in the burning fire.

Drunkards and cuckolds, false priests and false abbots, false nuns and false monks, these will pay the penalty there, says Marcabru, since all the false have reserved a place, for *fin'Amors* has promised this, that there the hopeless will come to grief.)

Although it is rare, the satirical *registre* occasionally bestows praise as well as blame. Good patrons are praised in Marcabru's songs IX, strophes vii-viii, XXII and XXIII, Alegret, song II, strophe v, and Peire d'Alvernhe's song XIV, strophes iii-iv. Respected troubadours are also mentioned: Marcabru, for example, in Marcoat, song, strophe vii, and in Peire d'Alvernhe, song XIII, strophe vi. Friendly peoples occur in William IX, line 4 (Poitou and Limousin), and in Marcabru, songs XXXV, strophe vii (Poitou), and XXII, strophes viii-ix (Portugal, Navarre, Barcelona, Toledo and Castile).

Topoi. There are a number of regularly occurring topoi in early troubadour satire, which go beyond the core topoi of blame and praise of targeted individuals and groups. Many of these also represent commonplaces of Christian moralising literature.

Prayer formulae are not only used in the conclusions to songs. They can sometimes occur in the exordium, e.g. in Marcabru's song XVI, lines 1-2: "D'aisso laus Dieu/E saint Andrieu", (For this I praise God and Saint Andrew). They can also be found in the body of pieces, e.g. in William IX, song, III, strophe iii, Marcabru, song I, strophe iii, and in Bernart Marti, Appendix I, strophe vii, a prayer to the Blessed Virgin for guidance for the King and Emperor on the Second Crusade.

The call to the Cross is another recurring topos, for example, in Cercamon, song V, strophe viii, in Marcabru, songs XIIbis, strophe x, XXII, strophe ii, and XXXV, and in Peire d'Alvernhe, song XIV, strophes, v-vii. Jaufrè Rudel and Cercamon seem to have favoured the eastern Crusade, in which at least Jaufrè is known to have participated (Jaufrè Rudel, song II, strophe, vi and Marcabru, song XV, strophe vii). Marcabru and Peire d'Alvernhe both preach the western alternative, the Spanish *Reconquista*, in which Marcabru took part, and which he promotes in preference to the Holy Land. Both Cercamon and Marcabru see the crusades as a means of cleansing the soul for salvation. Cercamon calls on the West to retake Edessa: "Ara.s pot hom lavar et esclarzir", (Now we are able to wash and be enlightened) (song V, line 43). Marcabru depicts the Spanish crusade as a *lavador* (song XXXV, line 6), possibly taking the image from a monastic *lavatorium*, either the place where monks washed before meals or where they were cleaned before burial.⁴⁰⁸ A Latin crusading song uses the term *piscina* for the same concept.⁴⁰⁹

Most of the early troubadour satirists see themselves as chastisers of contemporary morality, and use various forms and cognates of the verb *castiar*, "chastise": "mos casteis" (William IX, song III, line 13); "chastiaire" and "castian/castiers" (Marcabru V, l. 31 and XLI, strophe v); "castiamenz" (Alegret II, l. 12); and "castiar" (Peire d'Alvernhe

⁴⁰⁸ François Pirot, "'Lavador' dans la 'Pax in nomine Domini' du troubadour Marcabru (P.C. 293, 35). Une nouvelle interprétation du mot", *Mélanges de philologie romane offerts à Charles Camproux* (Montpellier, 1978), vol. I, pp. 159-167

⁴⁰⁹ Goswin Spreckelmeyer, *Das Kreuzugslied des lateinischen Mittelalters* (Munich, 1974), p. 157

VIII, l. 21 and XV, l. 19). The Latin equivalent, *castigare*, was also commonly used among Latin patristic and scholastic authors.⁴¹⁰

The *segle* (Medieval Latin: *seculum*), a concept encompassing the temporal world and the present age, is frequently evoked by early troubadour satirists, as it is by Christian moralists. In his song V, strophe viii, Cercamon asks his audience to go on crusade in order to escape “lo segle perilhos”. This expression echoes II Timothy 3: 1, “tempora periculosa”, which refers to the last days of this world. Marcabru, in his song XVII, line 3, depicts the transience and the imminent end of the *segle*, i.e. temporal world. In his song XXXIII, line 25, Marcabru’s phrase, “aquest segle carnau”, highlights the fleshly nature of this world compared to the spiritual one above. The same poet rejects the *segle* in favour of God and repentance in song XLI, line 38. Bernart Marti declares that the *segle* is topsy-turvy in his song II, strophe i. Peire d’Alverne is less extreme in his song VIII, where he pleads for moderation rather than total rejection of the *segle* (strophe ii), and advises every Christian to avoid encumbering himself with too many sins here below (strophe iii). It could be argued that the customary exaggeration of satire gives way in this song to the real plight of the unfrocked canon. The same composer does, nevertheless, reject the *segle* in his purely religious songs, such as no. XIII, line 22 and no. XV, line 19.

Despair at and rejection of the *segle* is linked to several other topoi or groups of topoi in early troubadour satire. One of these comprises the “topsy-turvy” world or *adynaton* topos, as in Marcabru’s songs XXXII, strophe iii and XXXIII, strophe iii, and in Bernart Marti’s song II, strophe i.⁴¹¹ Another theme comprises the demise of courtly qualities, as for instance in Alegret’s song II, strophe iii. In most cases, this topos is combined with personifications of the virtues and vices characteristic of courtly society.

The topoi of the world upside down and the collapse of courtly qualities are both related to another one, that of The Last Things, the final breakdown of civilisation and the end of the transient world, leading either to repentance and the cleansing of sin, or consignment to eternal hell fire. Cercamon anticipates punishment by hell fire in his threat of judgment in song IV, strophe v:

“El fuec major seretz creman
En la pena qe non trasvai,
Enganador fals e truan,
Al juzizi del derrer plai,
On sera totz lo mals e.l bes
Jutjatz ; e no clam ja merces
Domna c’aja drut desleiau.”

(You will burn in the great fire, in the punishment that does not end, false and wicked deceivers, at the judgment of the final trial, where everyone, good and bad, will be judged, and let not the lady who has an unfaithful lover cry for mercy.)

⁴¹⁰ Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Paris, 1954), p. 136

⁴¹¹ On which see, in general, Curtius, *European Literature*, “The World Upsidedown”, pp. 94-98

Marcabru also focuses on judgment, penitence and forgiveness, as well as merely punishment, on at least two occasions. In his song XXXII, lines 16-18, he remarks ironically of the nobles:

“al ver afic
Segon la penedenssa
N’auran perdo.”

(At the true reckoning, they will have pardon according to their repentance.)⁴¹²

In “Pax in nomine Domini”, Marcabru uses *lavador* for the Spanish crusade, but “Josaphat” for the eastern equivalent (song XXXV, lines 6-9). Jehosaphat is a valley described in the book of Joel 3: 3 and 12 as the place where God will gather together the enemies of Israel and sit in judgment on them. According to Hugh of Saint Victor (1096-1141), “Josaphat iudicium Domini interpretatur, per quod damnatio reproborum designator”, (Jehosaphat means “the Lord’s Judgment”, and refers to the damnation of the wicked).⁴¹³ The mention of this distant valley of apocalyptic destruction seems intended by Marcabru to render martyrdom in nearby Spain a more attractive option than this forbidding place in the Orient.

In his other songs, Marcabru is less subtle in his threats, in keeping with the frequently exaggerated, emphatic nature of his satirical style. He menaces those who fail to heed his call to Spain with the “alberc bas”, (the nether resting place), a euphemism for hell (song XXXV, line 18). He says of the eastern alternative that its reward is infernal: “lo gazaings es enfernaus” (song XXXV, line 23). This echoes the lines quoted above from “Pus mos coratges”, where all evildoers will also be consigned to “guazanh ifernau” and “el fuec arden” (song XL, lines 21 and 28). Images of fire and burning are also frequently used by Marcabru of those in thrall to sexual lust, and who may thus anticipate their hellish punishment.⁴¹⁴ In contrast to these threats and the language of Cercamon’s satires, Peire d’Alvernhe takes a more balanced approach to these eschatological themes in his religious songs. He carefully distinguishes between the “deriers sanglotz”, (the last sob or death) and the “derier escout”, (last judgment), as well as between the alternative destinations of “enfernal potz”, (the infernal hole, i.e. hell) or “paradis” (song XVI, lines 33, 44 and 52-53).

Rhetorical ornatus. A few remarks on the characteristic features of the *ornatus* in early troubadour satire will now be added, although most of these will be discussed in more detail in the last three chapters of this study.

⁴¹² Peter Ricketts incorrectly translates “ver afic” as “à parler franchement” in “Lo vers comenssa de Marcabru (P.C. 293, 32): édition critique, traduction et commentaire”, *Chrétien de Troyes and the Troubadours*, ed. Paterson/Noble, pp. 7-26. The eschatological context is even clearer in Cercamon song VI, lines 29-30: “Pero sai ben q’al ver afic/Seran li mal dels bos devis”, (but I know that the bad will be divided from the good at the last judgment).

⁴¹³ *Adnotatiunculae elucidatoriae in Joelem prophetam*, *Patrologia Latina* 175, cols. 322-372 (col. 359), quoted in Alexander Hermann Schutz, “Marcabru and Jehosaphat”, *Romance Notes* 1 (1959), pp. 59-62

⁴¹⁴ Ruth Harvey, “The satirical use of the courtly expression ‘sidons’ in the works of the troubadour Marcabru”, *Modern Language Review* 78 (1983), pp. 24-33 (pp. 27-28)

Learned allusion can be slight, so as just to include single words or phrases with a learned ring, such as *via* and *semdier* (Latin: *semita*, “narrow path”), and the concept of the right and wrong way. These concepts are common both in the New Testament (for example in Matthew 7: 13-14 and John 14.6) and in Marcabru, e.g. songs XIX, line 64, “lo tort semdier” and XXI, line 15, “via plana”. *Semdier* is similarly used in a religious song and moralising love song by Peire d’Alvernhe (nos. XVII, line 64 and VI, line 22). Examples of more learned terminology, with not only theological, but also dialectical or more speculative philosophical associations, will be analysed in Chapter 7.

Sententiae. Examples have already been given above, and further instances will be discussed in Chapter 6 a) of sentences with or without authority, as well as other allusions to biblical, proverbial and classical sources.

Nature imagery. As already noted in this chapter, images from the plant world can be proverbial or biblical in origin. Those from the animal world can also be proverbial and commonplace, but may also derive from literary and iconographical sources, as will be shown in Chapters 5 a)-b) and 6 b).

Personification. The virtues and vices of the troubadours’ world, including courtly qualities, will be explored in relation to Christian Latin verse and prose in Chapter 6 c).

Humour. This is a key ingredient of troubadour satire, although it is difficult, if not impossible for a present-day reader to discern when an apparent incongruity or exaggeration would have been amusing to a specific contemporary audience. The following strophe from Marcabru’s song V, strophe iv, may serve as an example of a variety of comic techniques available to early troubadour satirists:

“Moillerat, per saint Ylaire,
Son d’una foldat confraire,
Qu’entr’els es guerra moguda
Tals que cornutz fa cornuda
E cogotz copatz *copada*
Puois eis la coa de braire.”

(Husbands, by St. Hilary, are confederates in one folly: for war has been declared among them, such that the horned man has the horned woman, and the injured cuckold the crested lark, and then the ‘tail’ stops complaining.)⁴¹⁵

The comedy here is centred on the imagined farcical merry-go-round of adulterous couples and is enhanced by word play and punning,⁴¹⁶ by the mock-heroic military imagery applied to the bedroom activities of the nobility, by the incongruous appeal to the patron saint of Poitiers,⁴¹⁷ and the implied obscenity of coa, “tail”, “end” or “penis”.

Obscenity is also a feature of the satirical *registre*. It is often disguised with more or less transparent euphemisms, for example, “pic e massola”, (pick and club), used for the sexual organs of the lady’s plebeian guardian-lover in Marcabru, song XXXVIII, line 24.

⁴¹⁵ Translation by Linda Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence*, p. 51

⁴¹⁶ See Paterson, *ibid.* pp. 50-51

⁴¹⁷ The same comico-rhetorical technique is used in William IX’s song VIII, lines 17-18

Con and *conin* are the commonest obscenities. They occur in William IX, song III, line 5, and Marcabru, songs XI, line 49, XVII, lines 33, 42 and 44, XXXI, line 21, and XLI, line 35 (MS C version). In the latter text, the word *conz* incongruously precedes and apparently undermines Marcabru's repentance and submission to the Godhead.

b) *Contemporary Latin satire*

Little has been written on the subject of Medieval Latin satire, and most of what has been written concentrates on the best-known Northern French and German satirists of the middle and second half of twelfth century, such as Hugh Primas of Orleans (*ca.* 1095 - *ca.* 1160), the Archpoet of Cologne (*ca.* 1135-*ca.* 1165) and Walter of Châtillon (1135-1201). Its origins in the previous century have nevertheless been investigated, among others, by Rodney Thomson in an article entitled, "The origins of Latin satire in twelfth-century Europe". He begins the article with the following general observation: ⁴¹⁸

"The twelfth century saw a remarkable upsurge of literary production in western Europe. Insofar as much of this literature was related to the teachings of the Christian Church, its growth is, *prima facie* explicable in terms of the movement for ecclesiastical reform (in the widest sense of the term) from c. 1050 on, and in terms of educational developments of the century after c. 1100."

Despite this assessment of the contemporary background, he rejects John Yunck's views on the putative origins of Medieval Latin satire in the pamphlet wars which occurred in the context of the Gregorian Reforms beginning in the last quarter of the eleventh century.⁴¹⁹ This is because he interprets satire as a sophisticated literature of higher education, which in its mid- to late twelfth-century manifestation was the product of frustrated academics faced with new impersonal and often corrupt bureaucratic structures.⁴²⁰ A much broader definition of satire, such as "a poem...in which prevailing vices or follies are held up to ridicule",⁴²¹ will be preferred in this chapter and will be used to apply both to early troubadour and to contemporary Latin satire.

Thiolier-Méjean concludes her study of troubadour satire with a brief chapter entitled, "Le vers, le sirventes et la poésie latine médiévale", but the only Latin writer she quotes is the twelfth-century poet Walter of Châtillon, who flourished after the end of the period analysed here. Her method is similar to that employed by Scheludko with regard to troubadour poetry as a whole and of Brinkmann with regard to the love lyric. She does not say whether or how any other Latin satirist's work might have been known to the troubadours, and confines herself to listing quotations of universal satirical and Christian moralising themes from Walter of Châtillon. She does not comment on any possible relationship between Latin analogues with specific passages from Occitan satire.⁴²² This ahistorical approach is arguably even less appropriate to satire than it is to love lyric, because the topical nature of satirical verse frequently provides clues as to its dating and provenance.

Chapter 1 b) of the present volume recorded the existence of Latin topical poems associated with the personal domains of the dukes of Aquitaine in the period of dukes William IX and X. These included epitaphs and laments, commemorations of battles and

⁴¹⁸ Rodney Malcolm Thomson, "The Origins of Latin Satire in Twelfth-Century Europe", *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 13 (1978), pp. 73-83 (p. 73)

⁴¹⁹ John A. Yunck, *The Lineage of Lady Meed: The Development of Medieval Venality Satire* (Notre Dame, 1963)

⁴²⁰ Thomson, "The Origins", p. 76

⁴²¹ The *Oxford English Dictionary*, "Satire"

⁴²² Thiolier-Méjean, *Les poésies satiriques*, pp. 545-554, III. "Les goliards, satire et morale", B. "Thèmes et motifs"

of local events, such as fires and the completion of buildings, poems in praise of cities, and a number of pieces which could be classed as satire or at least have some satirical content. These poems will be described below in approximate chronological order and in more detail, together with some comparable pieces from the Limousin. They are the merest fragments of what the clerics of Northern Aquitaine must have produced, but they should at least give an impression of the range of Latin satire in Aquitaine at the time of the early troubadours.

ca. 1096:

1. “Ne metra contempnas tibi scripta videre, Ravennas”. This poem in 19 leonine hexameters from a lost manuscript is entitled “Wilhelmus canonicorum beati Hilarii Wiberto”.⁴²³ It comprises an attack by a canon of Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers on the imperial antipope, Guibert of Ravenna, who reigned as Clement III from 1089 to 1100. It includes praise of Pope Urban II (reigned 1088-1099), and was perhaps composed to coincide with Urban’s visit to Poitiers in early 1096.

ca. 1100:

2. “Jerusalem mirabilis”. This hymn occurs with musical notation on folio 50 of the Saint-Martial troper, MS Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1139 (Chailley MS SM I).⁴²⁴ It consists of nine strophes of four rhythmical lines each in the form 8aaaa. It begins with an apostrophe to the city of Jerusalem after its capture in 1099. This is followed by details of the role of Jerusalem in the life of Christ (strophes ii-vi), a call to come to Jerusalem (strophe vii), and a description of the alternatives of hell (strophe viii) or death in the Orient as routes to salvation (strophe ix). Spreckelmeyer admired it for its simplicity.⁴²⁵

3. “Nomen a Solemnibus trahit Solemniacum”. This piece occurs in two Saint-Martial tropers: Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 3549, folio 164r-v (Chailley MS SM 2)⁴²⁶ and Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 3719, folios 41-42 (Chailley MS SM 3), as well as in the *Carmina Burana* (no. 52).⁴²⁷ Lipphardt dates it to ca. 1100, because of the context of celebrations of the capture of Jerusalem in the First Crusade.⁴²⁸ Strophes i-ii and the refrain are neumed in the two Paris manuscripts. Each stanza contains between 3 and 5 lines of 14 to 16 syllables in length, while the refrain consists of 8 lines of 5 to 8 syllables. The first strophe comprises wordplay on an etymology for the name of Solignac, an Abbey 13 kilometers south of Limoges, which was a sister house of Saint-Martial. This strophe condemns a monk called Serracus to hell for castrating himself, while the remaining five strophes and the refrain comprise a festal paean of praise for

⁴²³ H. Boehmer, ed. “Carmina in Simoniam et Romanorum avaritiam”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI et XII conscripti*, vol. III (Hanover, 1897), pp. 703-704; *Patrologia Latina* 150, cols. 1573-1574

⁴²⁴ *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. Guido Maria Dreves, vol. 45b (Leipzig, 1904), no. 96, p. 78

⁴²⁵ Spreckelmeyer, *Das Kreuzzuglied*, pp. 85-91

⁴²⁶ The liturgical pieces occur on folios 149-169v, the fourteenth and last of a series of bound manuscripts dating from the thirteenth century

⁴²⁷ Dreves, ed., *Analecta hymnica*, vo. 21 (1895), no. 233, pp. 163-164

⁴²⁸ Lipphardt, “Unbekannte Weisen”, p. 125

Jerusalem on the anniversary of its capture. The refrain alludes by name to a number of obscure Old Testament characters. Spreckelmeyer comments on its mannered style.⁴²⁹

1113:

This is the date attributable to a group of metrical poems from Aquitanian monastic houses composed for the funeral roll of Matilda, Abbess of La-Trinité, Caen. These contain surprising moral-satirical elements beyond the usual topoi of commemorative pieces, such as praise of the deceased, her qualities, observations on transience and the flesh, and prayer for her salvation. The original manuscript is lost, but a seventeenth-century copy by Dom Jean Mabillon survives in the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript lat. 12652. The Aquitanian verse contributions appear on folios 111-118.⁴³⁰

First of all, there are two related poems from the cathedral chapter of Saint-Pierre, Poitiers (Delisle no. 123).

4. “Saepe dedi verum de natura mulierum”. This poem consists of 12 leonine hexameters. It starts with the assertion that the nature of women is to deceive the credulous and love the foolish. It then requests the roll-bearer to keep quiet on this topic (lines 5-10), and ends with a prayer for salvation (lines 11-12).

5. “Rima superposita dat scire monastic vita” comprises a two-line quip in leonine hexameters stating that the above poem demonstrates the present decadence of monastic life.

The next two poems were contributed by the collegiate church of Sainte-Radegonde, Poitiers (Delisle no. 125).

6. “Proh dolor! Eva, parens humanae conditionis”. The five hexameter couplets start with Eve as the founder of damnation through her deceit (lines 1-5). They go on to state that women are fatally evil and not to be trusted (lines 6-8). The last two lines record the roll-bearer’s attempts to snatch the roll to prevent the poet from adding more detail.

7. “Regula splendida castaque, sobria, sanctificata”. These 27 lines of rhyming hexameters are entitled “Versus Tescelini” and cover the following topics: monastic rule then and its decadence now (lines 1-4); parents used to let children take holy orders if they wished, now they are compelled with disastrous results (lines 5-10); old and young men, beware, married noblewomen, beware of monks (the absence of at least two lines here renders the chain of thought obscure) (lines 13-19); despise the old hag who is jealous of young lovers, their beauty and rich clothing (lines 20-25); royal Matilda was above all this and is destined for heaven. The identity of the apparent author, Tescelin, is unknown.

8. “Forsitan est verum quod fertur de muliere” is from the convent of Notre-Dame, Luçon, in the Vendée to the west of Poitiers (Delisle no. 138). It consists of ten largely conventional hexameter couplets on Matilda, followed by a prayer. It does, however,

⁴²⁹ Spreckelmeyer, *Das Kreuzzugslied*, pp. 184-192

⁴³⁰ Delisle, *Rouleaux des morts*, no. 123-149, pp. 229-246

contain some satirical humour: mock-hesitation by fellow nuns as to the veracity of the roll-bearer's claims, and Eve and womankind as the source of deceit and damnation.

9. "Cujus sit cartae titulus prima lego parte" is a poem from the cathedral chapter of St. Peter, Saintes (Delisle no. 139). It consists of 10 leonine hexameters followed by another 36, of which 26 have been erased, and by 21 elegiac couplets. It includes extravagant praise of Matilda, lightened by a moment of incredulity vis-à-vis the roll-bearer in the second elegiac couplet, and is varied with a rhetorical tirade against woman and particularly Eve.

10. "Perstat culpa gravis dictis augere favorem" is a poem in six hexameter couplets from the Abbey of Saint-Michel-en-l'Herm in the Vendée (Delisle no. 140). It criticises learned and verbose poets who distort a bad life into a good one, then concludes with a meditation on transience and a prayer for Matilda's soul.

11. "Sorte beatorum fruitur coetus monachorum" consists of 12 leonine hexameters from the Abbey of St. Eutrope in Saintes (Delisle, no. 142). It begins with the present contempt for monks who pray for others' sins and are only valued by God. It ends with a warning of Judgment Day.

12. "Si praesens rotulus monachi de morte fuisset" is a longer poem from the Augustinian priory of Saint-Vivien in Saintes (Delisle no. 143). There are approximately 65 lines of hexameter couplets with at least 3 missing and several partially or wholly erased, followed by 4 leonine hexameters in praise of Matilda. The poem begins with an attack on an unnamed monk, whom the poet consigns to hell. He then reverts to a former time when monks were true saints, living as remote, poorly clothed and sober hermits. Now, however, monastic life is different. Monks are rich traders and the leaders of the Church are even richer. The author is particularly critical of Cluny's attempts to take over the bishopric of Saintes, to which Peter III of Confolens had been elected, but which he did not take up until 1117.⁴³¹ The author insists that the election was fair and unanimous and that the monks have no right to stir up the people. The background to this song is the progressive expansion of Cluny's power in Aquitaine at this time. It had taken over Saint-Martial in Limoges in 1062, and had been presented with Montierneuf in Poitiers and St. Eutrope in Saintes by William V in 1076 and 1081 respectively.

13. "Si moriatur anus, non est plangenda puellis" is a poem from the convent of Saint-Ausone, Angoulême entitled "Versus" (Delisle no. 147). It consists of four elegiac couplets on the pleasure of the young nuns at the death of the old lady. She was only jealous of the young ones and their lovers, like a snake among frogs. Praise God that the girls can now live as they wish. An additional line serves to turn the poem on its head: "Iterum versus facti post pocula vini", (more verses composed after a few glasses of wine).

⁴³¹ *Gallia Christiana*, vol. II, cos. 1067

CHAPTER 4

ca. 1114-1117:

The following two poems concern William IX, Peter II, Bishop of Poitiers, and their rupture.

14. "Petre, super petram nec inaniter aedificasti". These 14 hexameter couplets attributed to Hildebert of Le Mans and entitled "Versus cuius supra de Petro Pictaviensi episcopo" survive in one version on folio 55 of London British Library MS Additional 24199. Lines 1-8 praise the embattled, but rightful and virtuous bishop. This is followed by his vain attempts to prevent the duke's actions (lines 9-10). Despite his warnings, William has expelled his wife and burns with a forbidden passion (lines 11-16). Peter is as Elias to Jezabel and John to Herod (lines 17-20). The palace dogs have contaminated the holy rites, customs and justice, and the clergy is broken (lines 21-24). Peter alone stood firm and has gone into exile (lines 25-28). Pray for us!⁴³² Scott explains the relatively poor quality of the piece as follows: "an epitaph or a piece for a 'rotulus' would be turned out as required, perhaps at short notice, without the attention to style usual in Hildebert".⁴³³

15. "Si cunctas urbes numeremus ab Alpibus infra" is entitled "De civitate Pictavi" and attributed to Hildebert de Le Mans by Bourrassé, following Beaugendre's 1708 edition.⁴³⁴ There are four different versions with lengths varying from seven to nineteen elegiac couplets. The two longer versions may have been written by partisans of William IX, since they praise Poitiers, its people and lord, as well as the bishop. The two shorter versions only contain praise of the deceased bishop.

1130-1135:

There are a number of pieces in a Vienna manuscript relating to the role of Aquitaine in the papal schism during these years.⁴³⁵

16. "Monstra repentina, gens emersit paterina" comprises 10 leonine elegiac couplets. It is a diatribe against monks, exaggeratedly called Patarines and hermits, who are protected by the Pope. They reportedly have no business interfering with the new bishops of Poitiers and Limoges, supporters of the Antipope Anacletus, who were appointed by William X. The poem is mannered in style and uses a number of neologisms.

17. "Dic heremita bone, quid queris in obsidione" is a poem in 10 hexameters addressed to a particular hermit, who is "besieging" the count, who retains his allegiance to Anacletus.

18. "Est ratio quare bafio dici merearis" consists of two hexameter couplets playing on the name of the preacher, Geoffrey Babio, or Geoffrey of Loroux, a supporter of

⁴³² Scott, ed. *Hildeberti carmina*, no. 49, p. 39; *Patrologia Latina* 171, col. 1392

⁴³³ A.B. Scott, "The poems of Hildebert of Le Mans: a new examination of the canon", *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 6 (1968), pp. 42-83 (pp. 65-66)

⁴³⁴ *Patrologia Latina* 171, cols. 1434-1435

⁴³⁵ Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 840, f. 63; ed. W Wattenbach, "Mitteilungen aus Handschriften", *Neues Archiv* 8 (1883), pp. 191-193

Innocent II and successor of Marbod of Rennes as *scholasticus* of Angers. *Baffio* appears to mean “flitch of bacon”.⁴³⁶

19 “Sicut Pictavis nomen trahit ex ave picta” again consists of two hexameter couplets playing on names. The name of Poitiers is said to derive from a colourful bird and that of Angers from a dung bird. These verses also occur in a manuscript from the Abbey of Saint-Michel-en-l'Herm (Vatican Library MS Reg. lat. 150, f. 33).⁴³⁷ Another version, more favourable to Angers, can be found in Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 15133, folio 33.⁴³⁸

20. “Papa tenes lapa, paparum pessime papa” attacks the wily and niggardly Pope in three leonine hexameters with abundant word play.

21 “Stercus et andec idem significare” represents another hexameter couplet associating Angers and dung.

ca. 1130-1135:

22. “Abbatissarum reginarum subactor” consists of two leonine elegiac couplets concerning a simoniac bishop and seducer of queens and abbesses. It occurs in the same Vienna manuscript as the pieces above, but in a different hand. It is also included in several other manuscripts, including the Saint-Martial troper, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 3719, folio 92 (Chailley MS SM 3), where it appears with a number of metrical pieces and fragments, including some by Marbod of Rennes and Hildebert of Le Mans. The poem is also found in the Zurich manuscript C 58, which contains two poems on Poitiers.⁴³⁹

23. “Plures vidi margaritas” is a rhythmical pieces from the Saint-Martial troper mentioned above, where it begins on folio 87v and ends in the same hand on folio 91. It totals seven strophes in the form 8aa7b8cc7d, and has been classified by Dronke as a love lyric.⁴⁴⁰ Notwithstanding this, the poet’s request to the Bishop of Limoges to look after the beautiful Margarita is likely to be ironic. She is recommended as a remedy for the Bishop’s boiling blood (lines 13-15); he is advised to lock her up safely (lines 40-42); and she is compared, among other classical figures, to the courtesan, Thaïs. The context for this piece may be provided by poem 22 above, “Abbatissarum reginarumque subactor”, which occurs on the following folio of this manuscript. Saint-Martial harboured the “rightful” Bishop of Limoges during the schism of Anacletus and Innocent II. The schismatic Bishop, Ramnulf, was said by Arnulf of Lisieux in his invective against

⁴³⁶ See *baffo/baffa/bafo* in Jan Frederik Niermeyer, *Lexicon mediae latinitatis* (Leiden, 1976) p. 76, and Du Cange, *Glossarium*, vol. I, p. 533

⁴³⁷ Dom André Wilmart, *Bibliothecae apostolicae Vaticanae manu scripti recensiti. Codices reginenses latini*, vol. I (Rome, 1937), pp. 359-365 (p. 363)

⁴³⁸ Barthélemy Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la bibliothèque nationale*, vol. IV, (Paris, 1892), p. 284

⁴³⁹ Werner, *Beiträge*, no. 89, p. 37 (f. 8r). For further references, see Hans Walther/Alfons Hilka, *Initia carminum ac versuum Medii Aevi posterioris Latinorum. Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittellateinischer Dichtungen* (Göttingen, 1959), no. 164

⁴⁴⁰ Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, vol. II, pp. 384-386

the papal legate of Aquitaine, Gerard, Bishop of Angoulême,⁴⁴¹ to be “nec scientia litterarum famosus, apud omnes adulter, singulis fere noctibus a demoni rapitur”, (not celebrated in the science of letters,⁴⁴² adulterous with everyone, and transported by the devil almost every night). The third schismatic bishop supported by William X, Peter III of Châtellerault, Bishop of Poitiers, is only criticised by Arnulf for his lack of learning and inability to speak, even in the vernacular, “in vulgari etiam sermone”.⁴⁴³

After 1137:

The two final pieces described here concern Poitiers and were erroneously attributed to Hildebert of Le Mans by Beaugendre, who was followed by Bourrassé.⁴⁴⁴

24. “Servili depresso jugo longumque sepulta” consists of 10 elegiac couplets. It addresses the City of Poitiers as being freed with the arrival of its king, gentle with his subjects, but fierce with his enemies. This appears to be a piece of royal propaganda from soon after 1137, when King Louis VII gained Aquitaine through marriage to Eleanor, daughter of William X.

25. “Nocte quadam via fessus”, entitled “Somnium de lamentatione Pictaviensis Ecclesiae”, is a rhythmical piece totalling 70 octosyllabic couplets.⁴⁴⁵ It comprises an extended allegory. Its beginning is modelled on the *De consolatione philosophiae* of Boethius, and its central nautical imagery resembles the neater allegory found in Walter of Châtillon’s “Propter Sion non tacebo”.⁴⁴⁶ The disheveled and distressed figure of the Church in Poitiers appears to the poet in a dream. Her ship has been buffeted by squalls and attacked by pirates for three years. She prays not to be entrusted to the King and pleads for a bishop untainted by simony. Despite the seemingly topical references, this poem is difficult to date. Poitiers had no bishop in the period 1114-1117 and a schismatic bishop from 1130 to 1135, but was not dependent on the Kings of France or England until 1137.⁴⁴⁷

The Latin poems enumerated above are significantly more diverse in dimensions and form, metrical and thematic, than their counterparts from the early troubadours. The Latin poems are both metrical and rhythmical. Only some of them appear to have been set to music. They range from 2 (no. 5) to 140 (no. 25) lines in length. This contrasts with the early troubadour satirical *vers* which is a form of rhythmical song with relatively regular dimensions of 5 to 7 strophes of 5 to 8 lines each.

The satirical *registres* of early *trobar* and contemporary Latin satire do, nevertheless, share a number of features, and can be said to overlap to some extent. Pieces from both traditions can be calqued onto other literary forms. The first two Latin poems

⁴⁴¹ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI et XII conscripti*, vol. III (Hanover, 1897), pp. 81-108 (p. 105)

⁴⁴² This is despite the fact that Gerard seems to have been master of the school at Angoulême and to have amassed a collection of 100 books per Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique*, vol. V, p. 62

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 104

⁴⁴⁴ *Patrologia Latina* 171, col. 1435

⁴⁴⁵ *Patrologia Latina* 171, cols. 1432-4

⁴⁴⁶ Karl Strecker, ed. *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte Walters von Châtillon* (Heidelberg, 1929), no. 2, pp. 17-33

⁴⁴⁷ *Gallia Christiana*, vol. II, cols. 1167-1185; Jean Besly, *Les evesques de Poitiers avec les preuves* (Paris, 1647), pp. 58-156

described occur in liturgical manuscripts, and are in a hymnic, strophic form with refrains and musical notation. "Jerusalem mirabilis" (no. 2) is a hymn to the holy city with scenes from the life of Christ, a common hymnic topos found, for example, in Peire d'Alvernhe's later song XIX, "Lauzatz si'Emanuel". It also commemorates the crusaders' victory and appeals for more to take the cross and choose salvation in martyrdom rather than hell. "Nomen a solemnibus" (no. 3) is also a hymn to Jerusalem with illustrative biblical *exempla* but begins with the narration and condemnation of the behavior of an individual monk.

The Latin poems numbered 4-13 derive from the funeral roll of Matilda of Caen and are supposed to be commemorative pieces for her. Yet, some are diverted into more general and especially misogynistic moralising (e.g. nos. 8 and 9). Numbers 7 and 12 use commemoration of Matilda as a pretext and framework for the exposition of their own grievances. Numbers 4, 5 and 13 turn the whole genre of funeral roll commemorations on its head. "Plures vidi margaritas" (no. 23) uses many of the topoi of love lyric, a poetic metre which would be possible either in a troubadour or a Saint-Martial love song, and the topos of the guarding of the beloved, which occurs not only in Ovid, but also in William IX and Marcabru. This type of formal exploitation, sometimes pushed to the realm of parody, is a universal of satire, an art form which was clearly thriving not only among Goliardic wandering scholars, but also in the monasteries, convents and cathedral chapters of the time.

As would be expected, the principal objects and spheres of satirical attack are generally different in the two traditions, as they speak to the concerns of their respective audiences. The troubadours were writing for and against the lay courts, while the Latin poets wrote about clerical abuses for clerical circulation. The troubadours denounced the adultery, avarice and cowardice of the nobility. The clerical satirists concentrated on the power struggles between the Pope, Emperor and Antipope, Rome and the provinces, secular and regular clergy, the monastic orders themselves, and the great ecclesiastical social and moral issues of the day, such as simony and celibacy.

There are, however, several areas of overlap in the subject matter of early troubadour and contemporary Latin verse satire. Marcabru, like William X, his patron, may have taken the side of Anacletus in the papal schism of 1130-1135, depending on the interpretation of song IX, lines 21-24.⁴⁴⁸ Writers in both traditions supported the crusades, although only one Latin crusading song in respect of the *Reconquista* seems to have survived from this period.⁴⁴⁹ William IX, Marcabru and the authors of the Latin poems numbered 19 and 20 above attack the Angevins, the historic enemies of the Poitevins. Poets in both languages deprecate their fellow writers, criticise sexual abuses and chastise the fickleness of women, although Marcabru is notably less condemnatory of the female sex than his deeply misogynistic clerical counterparts.

There is also a community of Christian moralising, as well as universal satirical topoi, between the two traditions.⁴⁵⁰ Both regret the decadence of this world and contrast it

⁴⁴⁸ See chapter 2 a) above

⁴⁴⁹ "In profectione exercitus", in *Analecta Hymnica* 27 (1897), no. 195, pp. 269-271; Spreckelmeyer, *Das Kreuzzugslied*, p. 19

⁴⁵⁰ In general on the Latin satirical tradition, see Helga Schüppert, *Kirchenkritik in der lateinischen Lyrik des 12. Und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1972), ch. II, "Thematik der Kritik", ch. III, "Stilmittel der Kritik"

CHAPTER 4

with a golden past, as in the Latin pieces nos. 7, lines 1-4, and 12, lines 10-46. Both picture the triumph of virtues over vices, and evoke the Last Judgment, heaven and hell, as in the Latin poem no. 2, lines 28-36. Both recommend repentance and prayer (e.g. nos. 14 and 28). Both use scriptural quotation and imagery (e.g. no. 14 *passim*), images of beasts to describe their adversaries (snake and frog in no. 13, dog in no. 14 and wolf in no. 25), humorous exaggeration (no. 16-17), incongruity (nos 5 and 6, lines 9-10), and obscenity (e.g. no. 21). Both traditions thus use humour and shock tactics to invite the reader or listener to take notice and reappraise his or her preconceptions. Beyond this, a more specific relationship between the two satirical traditions cannot be demonstrated and would not, indeed, have been expected.

Conclusions to chapter 4

Chapter 4 mirrors chapter 3 in its approach, but takes early troubadour satire rather than love lyric, and compares this with potential Latin analogues which can be identified as being associated with Northern Aquitaine in the same period. It starts with a formal analysis of early troubadour satire in order to enable comparisons, and then continues with an inventory and detailed description of 25 Latin poems.

Although early troubadour satire had an entirely different purpose from the love lyric, it nevertheless used the same metres, presupposed the same value system of courtly qualities, and often referred to the same villains: jealous husbands and *lauzengiers* or flatterers. In many cases, it also used the same thematic structure, for example, a nature opening, followed by a development section, and ending with a *tornada*.

The development section of the satires represents a major difference with the love lyric, since it often takes the form of a set-piece image which provides the basis of extended moral exegesis. This resembles contemporary Latin and vernacular sermons which could, like the vernacular songs, also begin and end with prayers and Latin tags, whether truly biblical or not. Early troubadour satire also makes much greater use of classical and proverbial *sententiae* than the love songs.

Although in many ways presupposing and formally calqued on the love lyric, early troubadour satire nevertheless not only attacks members of the courtly love triangle and those immediately associated with it, but widens its net. It criticises other troubadours, avaricious patrons, unworthy clerics and political and military rivals, either in neighbouring provinces, in the Holy Land or Muslim Spain. Unlike the love songs, there is frequent use of humour and obscene language.

Turning to the Medieval Latin satirical pieces described, these are significantly more heterogeneous in metrical form and length than early troubadour satire, and tend to be metrical rather than rhythmical and not musically notated. Having said this, rhythmical Latin ephemera which were intended to be performed to a clerical audience probably had less chance of survival than more highly wrought metrical verses which served to show off the Latin learning of a particular religious house.

As would be expected, most of the extant local Medieval Latin satirical verses tackle issues which were largely internal to the Church, such as opposition to the Cluniac reforms, or at least to Cluny's takeover of abbeys and priories, monastic renewal, simony, the Crusades, and the two major papal schisms which took place during the period: the "reigns" of the antipope Clement III from 1080 to 1100, and of Anacletus II from 1130 to his death in 1138. Except for the case of the Crusades, allusion to ecclesiastical matters is not generally obvious in early troubadour satire, although it may have formed the background to now obscure passages in certain songs.

The principal similarities between early troubadour and Latin satire of the period comprise style and language. Both traditions use allegory and learned, including biblical allusion, sometimes in an incongruous context. They both frequently employ humour and are full of the vulgar and violent language which are universals of satire. Given the survival of so many contemporary examples of this type of verse both in Occitan and in Latin, it must have been exceedingly popular both in the ecclesiastical and lay courts at the time.

Chapter 5

Literary Allusion: two examples from Marcabru

a) Marcabru's "Pois la fuoilla revirola" (song XXXVIII)

The early Occitan satire, and especially that of Marcabru, is highly allusive in style. Two satires by Marcabru even seem, exceptionally, to borrow imagery from specific Medieval Latin poems which could have been known at least to some elements of his audiences. This chapter will assess the potential relationship between these two satires and their Medieval Latin counterparts, as well as to other elements of Latin school learning and culture. The first example consists of Marcabru's song XXXVIII, "Pois la fuoilla revirola", which may allude to poems by Eugenius, a seventh-century Bishop of Toledo, and by Marcabru's near contemporary, Marbod, Bishop of Rennes.

Up to this point, this study has only quoted passages from the early troubadours from standard editions. Because the text of this difficult song has not been edited from the manuscripts since Dejeanne's *Poésies complètes* of 1909, and textual variants are relevant to its interpretation, the analysis here is prefaced by a re-edition based, like Dejeanne's, on Manuscript A.

Manuscripts AEIKa all contain a version of the song consisting of six strophes of *coblas doblas*, where the last one comprises a half-strophe *tornada*. Common readings would divide these manuscripts into two further groups: AIK and Ea. Manuscripts C and R have longer versions. Manuscript C's version consists of seven strophes, while that contained in R has nine strophes plus a two-line *envoi*. The additional material in the latter two versions is printed below among the variants. They may represent the reuse of the song by Marcabru or another jongleur for different patrons, in this case a "Guiscart" and a "Richart". These additions are relegated to the status of variants here for two reasons: firstly, they form a sub-group which distorts the order of stanzas and adds little to the other manuscripts in terms of readings; and secondly, the following discussion will concentrate on the bold images of the first three strophes and will not explore the more general moralising in the final strophes found in manuscripts CR.⁴⁵¹

Manuscripts: A, folio 32v; C, folio 174-174v; E, page 152; I, folios 119v-120; K, folios 105v-106; R, folio 5; a, page 306.

Base manuscript: A.

Metre: 7'a7b7'a7b7c7d7'e in *coblas doblas*.

I	Pois la fuoilla revirola que vei entre.ls cims cazer, qe.l vens deromp e degola, que no.is pot mais sostener,
5	mais pretz lo freich temporau que l'estiu plen de gandilh don nais puti'et enveia.

⁴⁵¹ Spanke, *Untersuchungen*, p. 104, believed, but without adducing concrete arguments that strophes vi and vii of C were genuine, and that strophes viii and ix were spurious

LITERARY ALLUSION: TWO EXAMPLES FROM MARCABRU

- II
 10 Lo pics e la rossignola
 tornon lor chant en tazer,
 si.s fa.l gais e l'auriola,
 don l'iverns fai son plazer;
 e l'orgoills torn'en canau
 per garssos plens de grondill,
 qu'en estiu contradenteia.
- III
 15 Graissans ni serps que s'amola
 no.m fant espaven ni mau;
 mosca ni tavans que vola,
 escaravait ni bertau,
 aquist malvatz volatill
 20 non sent bruir ni oler,
 don francs inverns nos neteia.
- IV
 25 Ges n'Afilatz-bec d'aissola
 non pert so nom al fogau,
 anz porta pic e massola,
 dond son gran li doniau;
 cest tol sidonz al iazer
 la dolor del penchenill,
 pel feminiu don se breia.
- V
 30 Cest tira del mieills la bruoilla,
 plen al maitin et al ser,
 e sobre.l faire faisola,
 car pot la coa mover;
 cest fai la nuoich son iornau,
 don engenrra un bel fill
 35 per que sobreseignoreia.
- VI
 Chaen levan trobaiola
 Va.l segles en no m'en chau,
 Aissi cum la segunhola
 Poi'amon e chai avau.

(I. Now that I see the leaf fluttering down, falling between the tree tops, broken and torn off by the wind so that it no longer clings to the tree, now I value the cold season more highly than the summer, full of fickleness, in which harlotry and lust are born.

II. The woodpecker and the nightingale silence their song, as do the jay and the oriole; this is what makes winter pleasurable; and pride tumbles down with the grumbling lackeys who bare their teeth in summer.

III. The toad and the coiled snake neither frighten nor harm me; nor do I hear or smell the fly, the scarab-beetle or the cockchafer, those unpleasant insects of which honest winter purges us.

CHAPTER 5

IV. Sir Beak, sharp as an adze, does not lose his name by the fireplace; rather he carries the pick and the club, which makes the lordly ones great. By sleeping with him her ladyship alleviates the pain in her crotch, when he rubs himself against the feminine part.

V. This one has an abundance of all that is best, is full morning and evening, and is the best at doing the deed (?), for he knows how to move his tail. He makes the night his day's work, whereby he will father a fine son through whom he will be overlord.

VI. Rising, falling, constantly wavering, the world resorts to "don't give a damn", going up and down like a well handle.)

Variants:

Strophes I-VI in MSS AEIKa; extra strophes in CR included at the foot of the variants.

- I. 1. C – Quan la fuelha ques degolla. E – Mas. 2. C – Vey dels entrecims cazer. IK – dentrels.
R – vei de sobrels. 3. C – missing. R – la romp el degola. C – missing. Ea – nos. R – enó la pot remaner. A – mai. 5. R – Mot pres livern tēporau. a - mai. 6. R – pus q̄stieu plen de gandilh. Aca – grondilh. IK – grondill. 7. ACIKa putia. C – creys. R – ò creys puteries enueia. A – mais.
- II. CR : strophe III. 8. C – Lauzelh. E – Lauzels. I – lauzel. K – lauzeill. a – lauzels. R – Neys ab sa par lauriola. 9. A – iazer. E – cazer. R – tayzer. a – chazer. 10. R – lo iays e lo rossinhola. 11. C – yverns. R – q̄uerus ē fay sō plazer. 12 – A – torna en canau. C – orguelhs. E – torn. I – Eorgoils tornen. R – e torna orguelh. A – orgueils. 13 CR – de guarsos.
- III. 15. IK – Serp ni graissans. E – q̄. 16. CEIKa – fai. R – fay. R – manh. 17. Ea – trops. A – taos.
18. Ea – escaravat. R – escaravatz ni b̄tanh. 19-20. C conflates – non sent dest mal volatilh. 19. R – a q̄l. a – aquest. 20. a – sab. 21. C – ne deya. E – donx. E – deneia. IK – doncs. R – ql francs yvern no teneia. a – dons. a – nereia.
- IV. 22. C – afillatz. E – lafillatz. R – nacropit. 23. C – nom pert son luec. ER – loc. a – don. IK – domniau. C – gros ab dui malh. E – li dui li malh. R – et éaoza donaia. a – doi nian. 27. C – don tolh. R – e tol. R - pentenilh. 28. C – perquel sobresenhoreya. E – don sombreia. a – sobreia. R – p ql sobre senhoreya.
- V. 29. A – miella la. C – del mielhs la maiola. E – tai del meils. IK – trai dels meills. R – sest nadel mels la brassola. a – trai del miels. 31. C – sobrel baizar. Ea – esobre faire. IK – sobrefaire. R – sobre fotre. 32. R – sap. 33. C – de nueyts. R – nueg. 34. C – per quel frug tornem becylh. Ea – don issira. R. p̄ q̄l frug tornēverzilh. 35. C – e iovens girbaudoneya. E – prequel. R – eiovens girbaudoneia. a – sobersegnoria.
- VI. See below for CR.
36. A – trobaillona. I – tombaignola. K – tombaigolla. a – travaillona. 37. A – enomenchau. E – a nomenchau. IK – nomenchau. a – e no men chau. 38 A – sigaiglona. E – siguiola. I – te gagnolla. K – te gaignola. A – figá guola. 39 A – poia amon.

MS C strophes VI-VII and MS R strophes VI-IX :

MS C

MS R

Aisi com la segunhola
baysa leva torna vau
cazē levan trebaiola
lo seguirs et nō pueis au
belhs e no sap vezer
ni nō conois lo rouilh

	p ã dōneyhs ar puteia
Ges per tan non badalhola marcabrus per pron saber quar ylh es de bonescola que ten ioy a son plazer e si iauzimens nabal a quadavetz sestendilh um petit mays que non deya	ies del tot nō badaiola marcebrus de so saber car sel es de bonescola q̄ ioy q̄r assomoneire pus iauzimens lavau a cadavetz sestendilh un petit pus q no deia
Dieu prec quan guiscart non tola lo regne celestial q̄r elh fa tot so que dola mielhz de nulh home carnal 7 a say layssat unher e iamais non creyrai filh sa quest non contrapaireya	Dieus pre cã richart nō tola lo regne celestiau q̄l fes so p̄ q̄s adola lo mielhs dest segle carnau 7 an say laisat p̄ il e iamay no creyrai filh sa q̄st non contrapareia Na covidar neniola la malvat ab desesp q̄ sō de natura fola q̄b̄ bayzō mays pot valer no sai si so ditz p̄ mal q̄l cor sotz lembozilh bar q̄ p̄ àu sordeya
	Quel cor a sotz lembozilh bar q̄ p̄ àu sordeya

Notes:

Lines 6/9. *Gandilh/tazer*. Dejeanne prefers the MS R and CR readings here, since it seems unlikely that identical rhyme words should occur in such close proximity if at all in the same song, especially when the infinitive rhyme in “-er” presents no particular problems to the poet. *Gandilh* literally means “turning away”, as in the verb *gandir*, which can be both positive and negative in sense. It can mean “protect” or “escape”, but the context demands that its cognate is pejorative here. The form *guardia*, “tromperie”, “detour”, is attested in Raynaud’s, *Lexique roman* (Paris, 1838-1844), vol. III, p. 422.

15. *S’amola*. Kurt Lewent, “Beitäge zum Verständnis der Lieder Marcabrus”, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* XXXVII (1913), pp. 427-451 (p. 443), gives a number of words deriving from *mola*, “millstone”, possibly related to the *hapax legomenon*, “s’amolar”, all having the idea of rotundity.

18. See Frédéric Mistral, *Lou tresor dou Felibrige* (Paris, 1932), vol. I, p. 272, for *bertau* as “cockchafer” or “maybug”, and not “hornet”, at least in modern Occitan dialects.

22. *Afilatz* and *bec* are used by Marcabru as insults against the niggardly patron, n’Audric, in song XXbis, strophe vi.

22. *Aisola*, “herminette, petite hache courbe” according to the *Petit dictionnaire provençal-français*, ed. Emil Levy (Heidelberg, 1973), p. 13. This carpenter’s tool was possibly meant to indicate the real rank of the supposed gentleman, as well as the alleged shape of his nose.

24. *Masa*, “masse d’armes, massue; batte, battoir; bâton de cérémonie”, per Levy, *Petit dictionnaire*, p. 238.

25. *Doniau* (variant: *domniau*), regular Occitan forms from the Late Latin, *dominicalis*, “lordly”, as in Niermeyer, *Lexicon mediae latinitatis*, pp. 349-350.
26. *Penchenilh*, “pénil”, per Raynaud, *Lexique roman*, IV., p. 492.
27. *Breia*. According to Raynaud, *Lexique roman*, vol. III, page 393, *bregar* is a variant of *fregar*, meaning to rub birds with oil or fat. An example of this can be found in Daude de Pradas, *Dels Auzels Cassadors*, ed. Alexander Herman Schutz (Columbus, 1945), p. 125, line 1625.
28. *Bruoilla* or *brolha*, literally “feuillage” or figuratively “multitude” per Levy, *Petit dictionnaire*, page 55.
31. *Faisola*, “bande, ceinture tenant lieu de corset”, per Levy, *Petit dictionnaire*, p. 182. In his *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch* (Leipzig 1894-1924), vol. III, p. 391, Levy quotes *Le roman de Flamenca*, ed. Paul Meyer (Paris, 1895), lines 6594-6597, “Mai cil autre que baizar podon/A lur guizas e puissas rodon/Ades entorn per las faissolas,/Non s’asauton d’aitals esgolas”. It is not clear whether the noun here refers to a part of female costume or anatomy.
36. *Trobaiola* in MS E preserves the rhyme and is the closest reading to MS A. Levy’s *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*, vol. VIII, p. 480, compares *trebalhar*, “sich abmühen, sich ansetzen”, and *torbelh*, “tourbillon”. Dejeanne’s translation is in line with the second possible parallel.
38. *Segunhola*, “Eimerstange am Ziehbrunnen”, according to Levy, *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*, vol. VII, p. 525. *Ceguignolo* is translated as “manivelle, essieu d’un rouet, axe d’une meule de remouleur” in Mistral, *Lou tresor*, vol. I, p. 511.

The expansion of the nature opening here is one of Marcabru’s standard means of drawing the listener through a longstanding poetic convention to the core of his satirical message. This technique mirrors, for example, his images of the garden of fruitless willows and elders in his song III, and the tree of *Malvetatz* in song XXXVIII. In the case of “Pois la fuoilla”, the initial strophe is notable for its melancholic attention to the visual details of autumn leaves being wrenched from their trees, perversely, but typically followed by reflections on the pleasant relative tranquility, chastity and peace of the winter months. Marcabru habitually begins a strophe with a striking image and then explains it. In the case of this song, he expands on his images after the fourth line of each strophe. The conventional bird song of nature openings and the nightingale of spring are delayed to the second strophe and are also treated contrarily. Marcabru is relieved that the nightingale and other birds are silent. The fact that he names specific birds is a sure sign that there is some hidden significance in his choice.

Paterson writes in her *Troubadours and Eloquence* that Scheludko believed that Marcabru was alluding in strophe ii to two lines in the hexameter season poem, “Descriptio vernae pulchritudinis”, by Marbod of Rennes. In fact, Scheludko just gives the poem as an example of a Medieval Latin nature opening in the context of his history of this phenomenon in troubadour lyric.⁴⁵² The question of the relationship between this particular poem and “Pois la fuoilla revirola” is, however, arguably of particular

⁴⁵² Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence*, p. 36; Scheludko, “Zur Geschichte des Natureingangs”, p. 269-270. Delbouille, “Un mystérieux ami”, p. 233, discusses the possible influence of this poem on another Medieval Latin season poem by Marbod’s “mysterious friend”, Gualterus

interest in the understanding of this song. The Latin poem is therefore quoted in full below:⁴⁵³

“Moribus esse feris prohibet me gratia veris,
 Et formam mentis mihi mutuor ex elementis;
 Ipsi nature congratulor, ut puto, iure:
 Gramineum vellus superinduxit sibi tellus,
 5 Distingunt flores diversi mille colores.
 Fronde virere nemus et fructificare videmus,
 Aurioli, merule, graculi, pici, philomene
 Certunt laude pari varios cantus modulari;
 Nidus non nullis stat in arbore non sine pullis,
 10 Et latet in dumis nova progenies sine plumis.
 Egrediente rosa viridaria sunt speciosa;
 Adiungas istis campum, qui canet aristas,
 Et ludos iuvenum, festumque diemque serenum.
 15 Qui tot pulcra videt, nisi flectitur et nisi ridet,
 Intractabilis est, et in eius pectore lis est.
 Qui speciem terre non vult cum laude referre,
 Invidet auctori, cuius subservit honori
 Bruma rigens, estas, autumnus, veris honestas.”

(The delights of spring prevent me from being fierce of mien, and my spirit changes with the elements; I congratulate nature herself, and I think deservedly so. The earth has cloaked itself in a grassy fleece. A thousand different colours distinguish the flowers. We see the woods growing green with leaves and bearing fruit. The orioles, blackbirds, jackdaws, woodpeckers and nightingales compete with equal honours in singing their various songs. Many a nest stands full of nestlings on the tree and the new offspring hide featherless in the bushes. The gardens are beautiful with budding roses, not to mention the field which grows ripe with corn and the vines, to which may be added the grapes soon to be sweet, and the games of youths, festivities night and day. If anyone can see so many lovely things and not be moved and laugh, he is intractable and his breast torn with strife. Anyone who does not resound with praise for the beauty of the earth must hate the Maker, to whom the rainy winter, summer, autumn and the delights of spring all do honour.)

There is some manuscript evidence that “Moribus esse” may have been known in Northern Aquitaine in the twelfth century. It occurs in the Medieval Latin anthology in the Zurich manuscript C 58 which includes several pieces with Aquitanian associations: two poems in praise of Poitiers and “Abbatissarum reginarum subactor”.⁴⁵⁴ The latter poem also occurs in a Saint-Martial of Limoges manuscript in Paris, and among a collection of poems from Poitiers in a Vienna manuscript. More positive indications that Marcabru and perhaps certain members of his audience could and did know this poem

⁴⁵³ Printed here from Werner, *Beiträge*, no. 197, p. 87, using the version in the anthology in Zurich Zentralbibliothek MS C 58, folio 40r. Other versions occur in MS London British Library Cotton Vitellius A. xii, folio 131 and the now destroyed manuscript from Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 890, folio 105

⁴⁵⁴ On this manuscript and for descriptions of these poems, see chapter 3 a) and 3 b) above

must, however, be sought by creating a literary context for the Latin poem, and by demonstrating the uniqueness of the imagery in this and the Occitan song.

“Moribus esse” belongs to a scholarly genre of medieval Latin poetry on the subject of the seasons. It is also reminiscent in line 7 of another poem type, that of the bird catalogue, which is often combined with season poems in the Latin tradition. Georg Götz lists a number of glossaries containing catalogues of birds and beasts and their respective cries as aids to the study of Latin vocabulary in classical, late antique and medieval schools.⁴⁵⁵ These catalogues inspired poems on the same topic, perhaps to sweeten the pill of learning this sort of vocabulary. Two such poems, “De cantibus avium” and “De volucris et iumentis. De filomela”, occur in a large number of manuscripts from the ninth to the eleventh centuries,⁴⁵⁶ and seem to have been particularly influential.⁴⁵⁷ Two further well-known examples of this poem type are combined, as in Marbod’s piece, with season poems: the “Carmen philomaicum” of Eugenius of Toledo and the “Carmen aestivum” from the *Cambridge Songs*.⁴⁵⁸ In the “Carmen philomaicum”, the singing of the swan, swallow and parrot is unfavourably compared with that of the nightingale. In the “Carmen aestivum”, the dove, thrush, sparrow, nightingale, kite, eagle, lark, swallow, crow and jackdaw fail to compare with the bee, a symbol of chastity which was allegorically interpreted as Christ, as both were considered to have been born without sexual intercourse.

Significantly, none of these poems has a selection of birds which is anything like that in Marbod and Marcabru. Only the nightgale, that most poetic of birds,⁴⁵⁹ occurs in the poems by Eugenius of Toledo and the *Cambridge Songs*, as well as in both Marbod and Marcabru. “De cantibus avium” and “De volucris et iumentis. De filomela” contain as many as 12 and 35 birds respectively. However, only the latter piece has one bird, again the nightingale, in common with Marbod and Marcabru.

In contrast, Marbod’s poem and Marcabru’s song share the woodpecker, nightingale and oriole. The jay, which occurs elsewhere in Marcabru with negative connotations (song XLII, line 2), replaces the Jackdaw, a fellow member of the crow family, which is mentioned by Marbod. Further evidence that Marcabru may allude to Marbod himself and not to the tradition to which the Latin poem belongs, is provided by the rarity of the oriole in literary sources. There is one Latin poem in honour of the oriole in a ninth-century Zurich manuscript.⁴⁶⁰ However, the bird seems to have been so unfamiliar to scribes that the manuscripts of both the Marcabru and Marbod pieces almost disguised

⁴⁵⁵ Georg Götz, *Corpus glossariorum latinorum*, vol. I, (Leipzig/Berlin, 1823), *De glossariorum latinorum origine et fatis*, pp. 91-93

⁴⁵⁶ Franz Buecheler/Alexander Riese, ed., *Anthologia Latina*, vol I, part 2, (Leipzig, 1906), no. 733, pp. 218-219, no. 762, pp. 246-250

⁴⁵⁷ Manuel C. Diaz y Diaz, “Sobre las series de voces de animales”, in *Latin Script and Letters. Festschrift L. Bieler*, ed. J.J. O’Meara/B. Naumann (Leiden, 1976), pp. 148-155 (pp. 150-151), believes they originate respectively from Ireland or an Irish milieu and Germany

⁴⁵⁸ Frederic James Edward Raby, ed., *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse* (Oxford, 1959), no. 62, pp. 82-83, no. 124, pp. 174-175

⁴⁵⁹ Frederic James Edward Raby, “Philomena praevia temporis amoeni”, in *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck* (Gembloux, 1951), vol. II, pp. 435-448, analyses the related genre of nightingale verse

⁴⁶⁰ Norbert Fickermann, “Zwei lateinische Gedichte. I. Ein frühmal. Liedchen auf den Piro. II. Das Admonter Fragment eines Planctus Henrici VII”, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 50 (1935), pp. 582-599

the probable original readings. In the Zurich manuscript of “Moribus esse”, Jakob Werner read *auriobi*, “durch ras. corr.”, while Bourrassé, implied a reading of *aviculi*, “little birds”. Only troubadour manuscript A contains *auriola*, while all the other manuscripts simplify and weaken the text to *auzelh*, “bird”.

It is notable that both Marbod and Marcabru evoke a mixture of male and female birds, which in Marcabru at least seems to signify more than simple imitation of his predecessor and/or accommodation of the rhyme scheme. He could be suggesting here an extreme, sexual form of the *adynaton* topos, in this case evoking the mating of incompatible species.⁴⁶¹ There are innumerable cases of this in Latin, where this was a common rhetorical device, as in: “Iungentur iam grypes equis”, (the gryphon now mates with horses), from Virgil, *Eclogue* VIII, line 27;⁴⁶² “Gallinae fundent haedos atque ova capellae”, (hens give birth to kids, and goats lay eggs), from the poem “Similitudo impossibilium” of Walafrid Strabo (died 849);⁴⁶³ and the following example, also concerning birds, which is contained in a number of manuscripts from the late ninth and tenth centuries:⁴⁶⁴

“Absit ut albiplumen valeat calcare columbam
Inter tot niveas rustica milvus avis...
Nec miser eximiae cervae iungatur asellus.”

(Let not the kite, that rustic bird, think itself worthy to dirty the white feathers of the dove when there are so many other snow-white birds..., nor let the little ass mate with the peerless hind.)

This poem, “Responsum puellae”, consists of the scornful reply to a high-flown *persuasio amoris* of a young man.

Later troubadours also used this variant of the *adynaton* topos. According to Guiraut de Bornelh (ca. 1138-1215), the joining of the stag and the bear is indicative of the decline of love (song XLVI, strophe v). In Guilhem de Saint-Leidier (or –Didier) (fl. ca. 1150-1200), a goshawk nests with a kestrel, and a falcon with a female jackdaw (song X, strophe iii).⁴⁶⁵ In the case of the manuscript A version of Marcabru’s song, the scribe who was originally responsible for the reading *jazer* in line 9, similarly seems to have understood this passage to have had sexual connotations.

Marcabru arguably achieves two satirical goals by alluding to the imagery of Marbod’s stereotyped, but nevertheless exuberant season poem, and then subverting it through the new anti-summer context and a sexual variation on the *adynaton* topos. Firstly, he develops and then confounds an erotic element of the troubadour opening, where the pairing-off of birds is an additional sign of the coming of spring. This is also treated negatively in his song XI, lines 5-6: “E.ls rossinhols crid’e brama/Sa par qu’a per joi conquista”, (and the nightgale cries and brays at his mate, whom he has conquered for his pleasure). Secondly, he uses the unnatural mating of birds as a metaphor for one

⁴⁶¹ In general, see Curtius, *European Literature*, pp. 94-98, “The World Upsidedown”

⁴⁶² P. Vergili Maronis opera, ed. Roger Aubrey Baskerville Mynors (Oxford, 1969), p. 20

⁴⁶³ Paolo Cherchi, “Gli ‘adynata’ dei trovatori”, *Modern Philology* 68 (1971), pp. 223-241 (p. 226)

⁴⁶⁴ Buecheler/Riese, ed., *Anthologia Latina*, vol. I, part 2, no. 729, p. 215, lines 3-4, 7

⁴⁶⁵ See Dafydd Evans, “L’oiseau noble dans le nid d’un oiseau vilain: sur un passage de Guillem de St.-Didier”, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 78 (1962), pp. 419-436, for an explanation of the imagery in this song

of his recurring themes, that of illicit sexual relations between noblewomen and their lower-class servants, and the subsequent mongrelising of aristocratic lines. The tuneful female nightgale is thus perverted by the noisy male woodpecker, and the beautiful female golden oriole (Ecclesiastical Latin, *aureola*, “halo”), by the ugly, speckled and garrulous jay. This avian imagery is picked up again in strophe iv of the song, where the churlish adulterer is seemingly characterised by a sharp beak, a feature applied to various undesirables in early *trobar*, for example, in Marcabru, song XXbis, line 34, concerning an avaricious nobleman, and in Bernart Marti, song II, line 43, where liars are referred to as “becx agutz”, (sharp beaks).

In strophe iii of “Pois la fuoilla reviola”, Marcabru further emphasises his radical and contrary notion that winter is preferable to summer by balancing the birds in strophe ii with another list in strophe iii of the song. This time, he describes unambiguously noxious creatures: the reptiles and insects which abound in the hot, noisy and malodorous summer months. Once again, the troubadour uses a scholarly topos, and probably one specific literary representative of this.

The two bird and beast catalogue poems, which were collected in the *Anthologia Latina* and are mentioned above, conclude their lists at what they evidently held to be the lower end of the animal kingdom. “De cantibus avium” finishes (line 20):⁴⁶⁶

“Nec non mustelae dindrant ranaeque coaxent.”
(And weasels squeal and frogs croak.)

“De volucibus” ends its catalogue (lines 61-64):⁴⁶⁷

“Mus avidus mintrit, velox mustelaque dindrat,
Et grillus grillat, desticat inde sores,
Ecce venenosus serpendo sibilat anguis,
Garrula limosis rana coaxat aquis.”

(The greedy mouse squeaks, the speedy weasel squeals, and the cricket chirps, the shrew twitters, see the venomous snake hissing as it slithers, the garrulous frog croaks in its muddy pools.)

Thus, just as the birds can form part of the evocation of a *locus amoenus*, so these creatures can people a sort of *locus horribilis*, as implied in this Latin version of the famous letter from the mysterious Prester John in his distant oriental kingdom, a legend which began spreading at the beginning of the twelfth century:⁴⁶⁸

“Terra nostra melle fluit lacte habundat. In aliqua terra nostra nulla venena nocent nec garrula rana coaxat, scorpio nullus ibi, nec serpens serpit in herba. Venenata animalia non possung habitare in eo loco nec aliquos laedere.”

(Our land flows with milk and honey. In one of our lands, poison does no harm, the garrulous frog does not croak, there is no scorpion and the snake does not slither through the grass. Poisonous animals can neither live nor harm anyone in this place.)

⁴⁶⁶ Buecheler/Riese, ed., *Anthologia Latina*, vol I, part 2, no. 733, p. 219

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.* no. 762, p. 249

⁴⁶⁸ Friedrich Zarncke, “Der Priester Johannes”, *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 7 (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 825–1030 (ch. 21, p. 912)

Such lists of unpleasant creatures occur in the Bible, notably in the seven plagues of Egypt from Exodus 7-11, which include frogs, lice, flies and locusts. They occur again in later biblical plagues, for example, fiery serpents in Numbers 21: 6. Serpents and scorpions are mentioned again in the terrible desert of Deuteronomy 21: 6. The book of Revelation conjurs up locusts like scorpions (9: 3-11), and describes the *drago* and *bestia* spewing out “unclean spirits like frogs” (16: 2).⁴⁶⁹ Such creatures even infiltrate St. Augustine’s account of Noah’s Ark in the *Civitas Dei*, book IV, 27, where he wonders why so many “mures et stelliones, verum etiam quales locustae, scarabei, muscae denique et pulices”, (mice and newts, but also such locusts, scarab beetles, flies and even fleas), were allowed to survive the Flood.⁴⁷⁰ Such lists also commonly occur in Medieval Latin verse, including a well-circulated example by Marbod’s contemporary, Hildebert of Le Mans.⁴⁷¹

One Medieval Latin example of this topos, however, comes significantly closer to Marcabru’s song than any other instance, suggesting direct borrowing and reuse of specific details. Scheludko has already compared strophe iii of “Pois la fuoilla” with a Latin poem which consists of a developed version of this *locus horribilis*, but did not commit himself to making a direct link between the two pieces.⁴⁷² This poem is called “Versus de estate” or “De incommodis estivi temporis”, (i.e. the inconveniences of the summer season), and was written by Eugenius II, Bishop of Toledo (died 657):⁴⁷³

- | | | |
|-----|----|---|
| I | | “Dura quae gignit et amara cunctis
tempus aestivum, resonare cogor
Sapphico tristis modulante versu,
omnia passus. |
| II | 5 | nunc polus Phoebi nimio calore
aestifer flagrat fluviosque siccata,
intonat tristis iaculansque vibrat
fulmina dira. |
| III | 10 | ingruit imber inimicus uvis,
flore nam suevit spoliare vites,
spem quoque frugum populat nivosis
grando lapillis. |

⁴⁶⁹ See chapter 5 b) below on the well-known manuscripts of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* by Beatus of Liébana which illustrate these animals

⁴⁷⁰ St. Augustine, *Civitas Dei*, ed. Bernhard Dombart, (3rd ed., Leipzig, 1905/1909), vol. II, p., 118. See Paterson, *Troubadours*, pp. 38-40 for negative appreciations of Marcabru’s reptiles and insects in the wider exegetical tradition

⁴⁷¹ Scott, ed., *Hildeberti carmina*, no. 34, p. 21

⁴⁷² Scheludko, “Zur Geschichte des Natureingangs”, p. 282; c.f. Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence*, p. 38

⁴⁷³ Friedrich Vollmer, ed., in *Monumenta Germaniae Historicae, Auctorum Antiquissimorum tomus XIV* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 269-270, *carmen XI*, except that line 10 reads *suevit* instead of *saevit* for the following reasons: in order to avoid repetition at line 21; it makes better sense in explaining why the *imber* is *inimicus*; and it introduces the infinitive *spoliare* more naturally. The three manuscripts read *sevit* (L), *suebit* (F) and *suevit* (P)

CHAPTER 5

IV		nunc sitis ora lacerat anhela; febre tabescunt moribunda membra, 15 corpora sudor madidans acora Fetidat unda.
V		bufo nunc turgens et amica silvis vipera laedit gelidusque serpens, 20 scorpius ictu cruciat paratque stellio pestem.
VI		musca nunc saevit piceaque blatta et culax mordax olidusque cimex, suetus et nocte vigilare pulex Corpora pungit.
VII	25	tolle tot monstra, deus, imprecanti, pelle languorem, tribue quietem, ut queam gratas placido sopore Carpere noctes.”

(I. I must tell of those things, harsh and bitter to all, which summer gives rise to, as I sadly sing these sapphic strophes, suffering from them all.

II. The sultry season now blazes with unbearable heat and dries up the rivers; it gloomily thunders and flings forth dreadful bolts of lightning.

III. The rain pours down, hateful to grapes, since it is wont to despoil the vines of their flowers; the hail with its icy stones destroys the hope of harvest.

IV. Thirst now tortures the gasping throat; exhausted limbs languish with fever, sour sweat soaks bodies and makes them stink.

V. The puffed-up toad, the wood-loving viper and the frigid snake ply their venom, the scorpion is ready to sting and the newt prepares a plague.

VI. The fly and the pitch-black cockchafer rage, and the savage gnat, the rank mosquito and the wakeful flea prick our bodies.

VII. Take these monsters from thy imploring servant, Lord. Dispel my listlessness and let me sleep, so that I may enjoy pleasant nights of peaceful slumber.)

The quality and importance of the poetic corpus of Eugenius has only been recognized in relatively recent times. Franz Brunhölzl devotes five pages of his history of medieval Latin literature to him, mentions “*De Incommodis*”, and particularly praises the “*Carmen philomaicum*”, which is also mentioned above.⁴⁷⁴ Carmen Codoñer Merino has gone further in an article introducing the verse of Eugenius, in which she declares that Eugenius was “one of the few poets of the seventh century” who was “extensively and intensively imitated by later authors”. She goes on to emphasize that while “there is a high proportion of scholastic poems or school exercises in his work”, he nevertheless

⁴⁷⁴ Franz Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1975), vol. I, pp. 95-99

shows a “relative independence with respect to conventions”.⁴⁷⁵ One of Codoñer’s four examples of this independence and originality comprises “De incommodis”, which she sets in the context of the traditional season poem.⁴⁷⁶

It might be argued that “De incommodis” just represents one example of a general topos to which Marcabru is alluding in strophe iii of “Pois la fuoilla”. For example, the hail in lines 10-12 of the Eugenius poem is redolent of the seventh biblical plague, and the scorpion also occurs in other comparable Latin texts, but neither occurs in Marcabru. However, when the poems by Eugenius and Marcabru are compared in detail with the other examples of this topos cited above, their imagery is strikingly similar. Marcabru’s toad, snake and fly also occur in that order at the beginning of the list in Eugenius (lines 17-21), although the vernacular song does leave out the second variety of snake and the newt. The idea for the “rounded”, coiled or perhaps even “swollen” snake in Marcabru could have been borrowed from the Latin poem in order to comply with the difficult *-ola* rhyme. There then follow three assorted insects in Marcabru and four in Eugenius. The exact creatures to which these Latin terms refer are uncertain today, while Marcabru chooses insects which have negative connotations elsewhere in his work. The *tavan*, “horsefly”, is negatively contrasted with the sparrow hawk in his song XIX, line 65, while the *bertau*, “cockchafer” or “maybug”, is used in a punning contrast with an epic hero in line 72 of the same song. In song VIII, lines 57 and 60, Marcabru uses *escaravait*, “scarab beetle”, of the Angevins, the historical enemies of the Poitevins.

Vollmer edited “De incommodis” from one tenth-century and two ninth-century manuscripts. The earliest manuscript, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8093, comprises a collection of grammatical texts and elementary *auctores* in Visigothic script. The other ninth century manuscript, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 2832, is a verse *florilegium* originating from St. Oyan in the Jura. The tenth-century manuscript, Léon Cathedral MS 22, consists of a mixture of grammatical texts and documents relating to local ecclesiastical affairs. Assuming that there were other copies in now lost manuscripts, Marcabru could therefore have come across this poem either in Aquitaine or in Spain, which he is known to have visited on several occasions.

⁴⁷⁵ Carmen Codoñer Merino, “The Poetry of Eugenius of Toledo”, *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 3 (1981), pp. 323-342 (pp. 324, 325, 326)

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 338-340 for a discussion of this poem

b) Marcabru's "Soudadier, per cui es iovens" (song XLIV)

Marcabru's satire, "Soudadier, per cui es iovens" seems to be even more eclectic in its allusion to and integration of diverse sources of imagery than "Pois la fuoilla reviola". In the case of "Soudadier, per cui es iovens", it can be argued that his images derive not only from a specific Medieval Latin poem, again by Marbod of Rennes, but also from biblical texts and an iconographical tradition stemming from illustrations to a well-known eighth-century Iberian commentary on the Apocalypse. As this song has also remained unedited from manuscripts since Dejeanne's 1909 edition, detailed examination of this song will again be prefaced by a critical edition of the text.

"Soudadier, per cui es iovens" survives in five manuscript versions which divide into two distinct groups: a shorter and two longer versions. The shorter variant consists of four strophes and is clearly truncated, since the exegesis of the various constituents of the central image of a Chimaera is left incomplete. This scribal truncation may be explained by the relative obscurity of the subsequent stanzas, five of which occur in troubadour MS E and two in MS N. As in Dejeanne's edition, the fullest version, from MS E, will be taken as the basis of this edition, despite its distortion of the original pattern of *coblas doblas*. Kurt Lewent thinks that there were originally twelve strophes, because Marcabru does not explain the ox, as he does the lion and snake elements of the Chimaera.⁴⁷⁷ Ruth Harvey settles for ten strophes, and corrects their order by placing MS E, strophe vi, which rhymes "—en", in penultimate position and positing a missing strophe before the final pairing ending in "—en". This would then rhyme with MS E's isolated strophe vii.⁴⁷⁸ The solution proffered below is more cautious, stays closer to MS E and, like the interpretation of the last four stanzas themselves, remains tentative.

Manuscripts: A, folio 34v; E, pages 155b-156b; I, folio 121 r-v; K, folio 107; N, folio 272 (269).

Base manuscript: E.

Metre: 8a8a8a8a6'b5c6'b5c in *coblas doblas*.

I	Soudadier, per cui es iovens mantengutz e iois eisamens, entendetz los mals argumens de las falsas putas ardens;
5	en puta qui si fia es hom traitz; Lo fols quan cuida ria es escarnitz.

⁴⁷⁷ Lewent, "Beiträge", pp. 448-449

⁴⁷⁸ Ruth Harvey, "The harlot and the chimaera in the songs of the troubadour Marcabru", *Reading Medieval Studies* 10 (1984), pp. 39-78, with additional textual notes

- II
 10 Salamos ditz et es guirens,
 c'al prim es doussa com pimens,
 mas al partir es plus cozens,
 amara, cruels cum serpens;
 tan sap de tricharia
 la pecairitz,
 15 que cel qu'ab leis se lia
 s'en part marritz.
- III
 De [G]uimerra porta semblan,
 qu'es serps detras, leos denan,
 20 bos el mei loc, que.l fai trian
 de caval bai e d'aurifan;
 qui depenh la bestia
 non es faillitz
 d'aquo qu'entendia
 de la trairitz.
- IV
 25 Puta sembla leo d'aitan:
 fers es d'ergueill al comensan,
 mas pueis quan n'a fag son talan
 tro que.s humil, no.s prez'un gan;
 quar soven per putia
 30 put la metritz
 com fai per bocaria
 carnils poiritz.
- V
 En talant ai que vos decli
 L'us de putana serpenti,
 35 qui pan'a l'auzel son pouzi;
 sap l'auzelo s'ab lui s'afi
 can l'a feita bazia
 de sos noiritz,
 aten com per leis sia
 40 mortz e delitz.
- VI
 Eisamen, qui sec son traï
 Fai putana del ric frairi;
 quan n'a trag la besca e.l saï
 li fai de la lengua bossi;
 45 ben es de gran folia
 sals e gueritz
 qui.s destol de sa via
 ans q'ela.l fitz.

CHAPTER 5

- VII
50 Puta per uzatges defen
al ric, si gran loguier non pren
lai on l'arbalesta desten,
on sap lo pa e vi aten;
molt fai gran glotonia,
la trichairitz,
55 quan los pros lais'e tria
los achaitz.
- VIII
60 Savis senatz lai no s'enzen;
si lo ten car ni l'onra ben
quan l'aura faitz de blanc morren
no.l torn de Roal en Bazen;
totz es de garsonia
.....
qui met gran manentia
pel cap puditz.
- IX
65 Puta es de tan mal engen,
C'ab dous parlar cueill e assenh
totz cels qu pot metr'en congrenh;
quan l'avens fail de si l'empenh;
donx, qui de sa paria
70 es encobitz
soven mud'e cambia,
l'enfoletitz.

(I. *Soudadier*, who uphold both Youth and Joy, listen to the evil arguments of torrid, treacherous whores. He who trusts a whore is deceived. The fool, when he thinks he is laughing, is mocked.

II. Solomon says and guarantees that she is as sweet as spiced wine at the beginning, but at the end is more scorching, sour and savage than a serpent.

III. She resembles the Chimaera, which is a serpent at the back and a lion in front, an ox in the middle, which distinguishes it from the bay horse and elephant. He who depicts the *bestia* is not mistaken in what he meant about the traitorous woman.

IV. She resembles the lion in that she is fierce with pride at the beginning, but when she has done her will, until she is calmed, then she no longer cares a jot. For the *meretrix* often stinks with whoring, like rotten flesh from butchering.

V. I would like to describe to you the habits of the serpentine slut who steals the bird's chicks. The little bird who trusts her knows that when she has tricked it out of its nestlings, it must wait until it is itself slain and destroyed.

VI. Just so, the whore impoverishes any rich man who follows in her wake; when she has drawn the honey and oil from him, she sticks her tongue out at him. Anyone who avoids her before he binds himself to her, will certainly be safe from and cured of great folly.

VII. The whore refuses herself to the nobleman if she does not take a fat fee from him, from the place where the cross-bow fires, where she knows she can expect bread and wine. The

treacherous woman displays great greed when she abandons the good and chooses the degenerate.

VIII. The sensible, wise man does not find himself feathered there. If she holds him dear and honours him well, then having turned him from white to black, she does not turn him back from Raoul to Basan. It is all knavery...he who lays down great wealth for a stinking head.

IX. The whore possesses such evil cunning that she gathers and indoctrinates all those she can put to work. When the money runs out, she repels them. So, the madmen who desire her company often chop and change.)

Variants:

The initials of the strophes are not completed in MS N.

Strophes I-IV occur only in MSS AIK; strophes I-VI only in N.

- I. 2. K – issamens. 3. N – entedet. 4. A – putans. 5. A – se. N – sia. K – oputa. 7. N – los fols. A – cuiaill ria. IK – cuiaill ria. N – cuialria.
- II. 9. AIK – garens. N – garentz. 12. E – amara cruels e cozens. 15. E – que ab.
- III. 17. A – gornilla. IK – gouella. N – gunella. 18. I – que. E – serp. E – leo. 19. E – bosso el mei. AIN – quil. K – qil. N – triam. 21. IK – cel qui. A – depeis. IKN – de peis. 23. A deso. IK – daisso. N – daizo.
- IV. 25. A – putans. N – putan. N – datan. 26. E – fer. A – dorguoill. IK. – dorgoill. N – dorgoill. I – cómsamen. N – comensam. 27. IK – afaich. N – sonta bain. 28. A – tro que son mil nois preza un gan. IK – tro queis. IK – nó. N – non. E – preza un. 29. A – car sovens putaria. IK – cár soven putaria. N – car soen putaria. 30. A – meltritz. E – mendritz. N – medruz. 31. N – pebocharia. 32. E – box. N – carnis politz.
- V. Only in EN.
34. E – puta. 35. N – qui pana alazel son pozi. 36. N – sab lait/zelos alnui sasfir. E – ablui safri. 37. N – quen. 38. N – de sotz noiratz. 39. N – con. 40. N – odelitz.
- VI. Only in EN. Strophe vii in E.
41. N – issamen siset. 42. N – fai del ric putana. 43. E – e failli. 44. N – folbai. 45. E – al fol ten. 46. N – eguarnitz.
- VII-IX. Only in E, strophes vi, ix and viii.
55. E – laisa erria. 58. E – e luil. 66. E – aserih. 67. E – merren. 71. E muda ecambia.

Notes:

1. *Soudadier*. See chapter 2 b) for a discussion of this term, which is not translated here, as it could either refer to Marcabru's companions in general, perhaps court retainers, or more specifically to companions in a military context, for example, during an episode in the *Reconquista*

7. Dejeanne prefers the *lectio difficilior* of the other five manuscripts and prints *cuid'ria*.

16. *Marritz*. The less common sense "maudit" per Levy's *Petit dictionnaire*, p. 238, is chosen here, since this seems to conform to the apocalyptic imagery of much of the rest of the poem, and to the *damnatio* which is the fate of the whore's lover in the related Marbod poem discussed in more detail below.

17. The following description is of an adapted classical Chimaera. MS E *uimerra* is the closest form in the manuscripts to this Latinised Greek word, but seems to demand something like Dejeanne's *G-* to bring it closer to this learned term, which was evidently unfamiliar to the other scribes. This would also make sense of the *ui-* by reference to the *G-* in the other manuscripts.

19. MS E *Bosso* (Raynaud, *Lexique roman*, vol. II, p. 242, "bélier, machine de guerre"; Levy, *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*, vol. I, p. 158, "Geschoss, Bolzen") seems to be an attempt by the scribe to explain away *bos/bous*, "ox" by identifying it with the bolt, *bosso*, of

the cross-bow in line 51. In line 32, he also introduces the *box*, “goat”, apparently to replace the ox, which he correctly recognises as not being a normal constituent of the Chimaera. In both cases, however, he distorts the metre. In line 19, he attempts to restore it by dropping *loc//luec*. The graphy *bos* from MS N is preferred here, as being closer to the form in manuscript E.

21. *Depenh*. *Depeis*, a *lectio facilior* based on manuscripts IKN, which is translated by “beschrieb”, is preferred in Lewent, *Beiträge*, p. 448, and Alfred Pillet, “Um Texte von Marcabrus Gedichten”, in *Sonderabdruck aus dem 89. Jahresbericht der schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur* (Breslau, 1911), p. 17.

32. See on line 19 above.

35. *Panar*. Levy, *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*, vol. VI, pp. 42-43, corrects Raynaud, *Lexique roman*, vol. IV, p. 406 (“repaître”) to “1. Hinterziehen, unterschlagen; 2. Bestehlen; 3. Sich entziehen, sich verbergen”; whereas Mistral, *Lou tresor*, vol. II, p. 468, restores the possible translation of this verb, at least in modern Provençal, to “nourrir”.

36. A composite text made up of the two manuscript versions seems to be necessary to make sense of this line. The base is MS E, but with the -s flexion of MS N, *auzelos*, taken as a proclitic *s'*, “if”; and MS E, *safri*, and MS N, *sasfir*, emended to *s'afi*, as in Dejeanne (p. 210).

44. The *li* beginning this line makes up the metre. It is derived from the redundant, hypermetric last syllable of the previous line in MS E. For the “sticking out of the tongue”, see Raynaud, *Lexique roman*, vol. II, p. 231.

48. Lewent, “Beiträge”, p. 449, takes *fitz* as a third person present subjunctive from *ficar*, “ficher, attacher, fixer” (c.f. Levy, *Petit dictionnaire*, p. 189).

51. Ruth Harvey, in “The Harlot”, page 54, notes that Ecclesiasticus 26: 25 says of the evil woman, “Contra omnem sagittam aperiet faretram donec deficiat”, (She will open her quiver to every arrow until there are no more); and that an Old French poem refers to the game of love as, “li gieus d'arbalestiaus” (Frédéric Godefroi, ed., *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* (Paris, 1881-1902), vol. I, p. 377a). “Cross-bow” here probably alludes to the male genitalia and by extension to the sexual act through which the whore will fleece her prey.

57. *S'enpen*, “emplumer, empenner”, per Levy, *Petit dictionnaire*, p. 139. This may be a double word-play, associating involvement with the whore with the plight of the bird in strophe v, and seeing the victim as a feathered bolt shot from her cross-bow. The knightly quality, *Larguetatz*, “largesse”, is pictured as skinned and plucked in Alegret, song II, strophe iv (MS M), as satirised in Marcabru, song XI, strophe iv. Raynaud, *Lexique roman*, vol. IV, p. 491, gives an example of *empenatz* used of a cross-bow bolt.

60. *Raol en Bazen*. A contrasting of epic figures, as in Marcabru, song XIX, line 72 and Peire d'Alvernhe, song XI, line 15. “Basan” is a character from the *Song of Roland*, also mentioned in Marcabru, songs VII, line 53, and XIX, line 72. The alteration of the form seems to be in order to accommodate the rhyme. Frank Chambers, *Proper names in the lyrics of the troubadours* (Chapel Hill, 1971), p. 227, lists references to Raoul de Cambrai from the work of Guilhem de Berguedan (fl. 1138-1192), Bertran de Born (fl. 1140s to before 1215), and Guilhem de Tudela (fl. 1199-1214). François Pirot, *Recherches sur les connaissances littéraires des troubadours occitans et catalans des XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Barcelona, 1972) (p. 397) attests to the knowledge of Raoul in the Occitan region at the time of Marcabru: “Les allusions contenues dans la littérature en langue d'oc permettent donc d'affirmer qu'une première version de *Raoul de Cambrai*, présentant des divergences certaines avec le texte conservé, avait vu le jour dès avant 1160”.

67. *Congrenh*. “Travail, instrument de maréchal, avec lequel on tient les chevaux suspendus”, per Raynaud, *Lexique roman*, vol. II, p. 458, a translation confirmed by Camille Chabaneau, “Le Parnasse provençal du P. Bougere”, *Revue de langues romanes*, XXXII (1888), p. 208.

This song, like several of Marcabru's more learned pieces, including songs III, XXXVIII and XXXIX, is in diptych form. The first part introduces a set of striking images. These then lead to a second part consisting of more generalised moral discussion of the poet's familiar satirical themes. It is the dominant, set-piece image of the poem which will be the focus of discussion here.

After a flattering and exhortatory stanza addressed by Marcabru to his fellow *soudadier*, in which he reveals his central subject, the whore, the troubadour plunges immediately into the world of learning. The *sententia cum auctoritate* at the head of the second strophe is genuine and traceable to two proverbs of Solomon, one warning the young man against the whore, the *meretrix*, the other against drunkenness:⁴⁷⁹

Favus enim distillans labia meretricis,
Et nitidus oleo guttur eius;
Novissima autem illius amara quasi absinthium,
Et acuta quasi gladius biceps. (Proverbs 5: 3-4)

(For the lips of the whore drip honey, and her throat is more lustrous than oil; but in the end she is as bitter as wormwood, sharp as a two-edged sword.)

Ne intuearis vinum quando flavescit,
Cum splenderit in vitro color eius.
Ingreditur blande;
Sed in novissimo mordebit ut coluber. (Proverbs 23: 31-32)

(Do not look at wine when it is red, when it sparkles in the cup and goes down smoothly. At the last, it bites like a serpent, and stings like an adder.)

Both proverbs contrast the beginning and end of an experience which the sage advises against. The first one concerns the beginning of a relationship with a whore, which he compares with the sweetness of honey, an ingredient in spiced wine. The second one mentions wine, uses the term *amara*, "bitter", and compares the end of the experience with a snake bite. Knowledge of both texts would arguably have been necessary in order fully to understand Marcabru's allusion, imagery and message here.

The third strophe of the song introduces the central and unexpected image of a Chimaera, which caused the text's scribes so much trouble. Carl Appel interpreted this passage as an allusion to the following variant manuscript reading of Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, book IX, lines 647-648:⁴⁸⁰

quoque Chimaera iugo mediis in partibus *hircum*,
pectus et ora leae, caudam serpentis habebat.

(the Chimaera, having a *goat* as its middle parts, a lion's head and neck and a serpent's tail.)

⁴⁷⁹ Harvey, "The harlot", p. 45, only points to the second proverb as a parallel here

⁴⁸⁰ Carl Appel, "Zu Marcabru", *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 43 (1923), pp. 403-469 (p. 422)

Appel's emendation of *bous/bos/bosso* to *bocs*, "goat", in line 7 of Marcabru's song would be logical in case of a direct allusion to this version of the traditional, classical description of the Chimaera. This might also seem to be confirmed by the term *bocaria* in line 28 of the troubadour piece, as this word is cognate with "butchery", but originally referred to goat meat. This also seems to have been the interpretation of the scribe behind MS E's unmetrical replacement of *carnils* by *bocx* in line 32.

Guido Errante has suggested another alternative reading for *bous/bos/bosso* i.e. *fuocs*, "fire".⁴⁸¹ This might be supported by the fact that *ignem*, "fire", is a frequent, and now the preferred reading, in manuscripts of this passage from the *Metamorphoses*. This argument could be further bolstered by the fact that Ovid was followed by medieval Latin poets, such as Marbod of Rennes, for example, in his description of the Chimaera in *De meretrice*, the third chapter of his *Liber decem capitulorum*. As noted by Dimitri Scheludko, the latter poem also used the Chimaera as an *exemplum* for the whore.⁴⁸²

The following paragraphs will argue that Marcabru's imagery alludes directly to Marbod's poem, and therefore only indirectly to Ovid, but will also argue for the superior troubadour manuscript readings of *bous/bos*, against the possible alternatives of *bocx* and *fuocs*. The relevant passage from Marbod's *Liber de decem capitulorum* is as follows (lines 45-57).⁴⁸³

Huius in exemplum monstri gravis atque cavendi
 Finxit terribilem sapientia prisca Chimeram,
 Cui non immerito fertur data forma triformis
 Nam pars prima leo, pars ultima cauda drachonis,
 At medie partes nil sunt nisi fervidus ignis.
 Hec ad naturam meretricis imago,
 Ut predam rapiat que prefert ora leonis,
 Egregio simulans quiddam quasi nobile vultu.
 Hac specie captos flammis exurit amoris,
 In quo nil solidi, nil ponderis esse videtur,
 Sed levis et ratione carens fervensque libido,
 Ultima sunt cuius letali farcta veneno.
 Quippe voluptates mors et dampnatio finit.

(Ancient wisdom invented the dreadful Chimaera as an exemple of awful and fearsome monstrosity, and suitably endowed it with a threefold form: the first section is a lion, the last section the tail of a dragon, and the middle nothing but raging fire. This image alludes to the nature of the whore, since the lion's mouth snatches the prey before it, and pretends

⁴⁸¹ Errante, *Le fonti sacre*, pp. 224-225

⁴⁸² Dimitri Scheludko, "Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altprovenzalischen Lyrik", *Archivum Romanicum*, 15 (1931), pp. 137-206 (p. 186)

⁴⁸³ Bulst, ed., *Liber decem capitulorum*, p. 14, ll. 45-57; c.f. *Patrologia Latina* 171, col. 1699. Both editions are based on earlier printed editions. This chapter also survives in London British Library MSS Additional 24199, f. 74r-v and Cotton Vitellius A. xii, f. 127, and occurred in the now destroyed florigelium from Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 890. Both the latter manuscripts also contain(ed) Marbod's "Moribus esse feris", quoted in chapter 5 a) above

some noble deed with its peerless countenance. It burns those captivated by its appearance in the flames of love, in which there is nothing solid or weighty, but flimsy, fiery lust, devoid of reason. The last section is full of lethal venom, since death and damnation are the end of passion.)

This is arguably the most likely source of Marcabru's idea for a number of reasons.

First of all, Marbod seems to have been the first Latin writer, in only the generation before Marcabru, to attempt a full-scale exegesis of the Chimaera, comparing its three sections with the whore and her characteristics. Marbod's description of the Chimaera is almost certainly based on lines 647-648 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, chapter IX, quoted above, but there is no specific, moral interpretation to be found in the classical poet. Horace, on the other hand, does conclude one of his Odes by advising a friend to avoid a loose woman, as follows (*Carmina*, book I, line 27):⁴⁸⁴

Vix inligatum tre triformi.
Pegasus expedit Chimaera.

(Pegasus might scarcely be able to free you from the fetters of the threefold Chimaera.)

Commentators on this Ode have noted that, "The myth is particularly pointed here as the name [i.e. Chimaera] was applied to "heterae" (i.e. prostitutes)".⁴⁸⁵ The much-read, moralising mythographer, Fulgentius (fl. ca. 500 A.D.),⁴⁸⁶ went several steps further than Ovid and Horace, and interpreted the Chimaera as representing three kinds of love: the beginning, consummation and end of love, where the central goat section of the beast in his version of the *Metamorphoses* represented the "perfectio libidinis".⁴⁸⁷ Since one of the many surviving manuscripts of the *Mythologies* of Fulgentius was compiled at Fleury-sur-Loire around 800 A.D., and this volume contains the Latin dawn song with mixed Latin and Occitan refrains described in chapter 3 a) above, this text would almost certainly have been known in Poitou-Limousin, as well as in the Loire Valley at the time of the early troubadours. Another early twelfth-century writer, the so-called Third Vatican Mythographer, whose work survives in over 40 manuscripts, quotes the relevant passages from Ovid, Horace and Fulgentius, but does not combine Horace's identification of the whore as the Chimaera with the breaking-down of the creature into its constituent parts in Fulgentius. This combination is only found in Marbod's poem and Marcabru's song.⁴⁸⁸

A second argument for Marbod as Marcabru's direct inspiration in "Soudadier, per cui es iovens" is the generally influential nature of the bishop's *De meretrice*. The Chimaera frequently appears as a symbol for loose women in later twelfth-century works, often in words unmistakably echoing those of the Marbod. Examples include two

⁴⁸⁴ Wickham/Garrod, *Q. Horatii Flacci opera*

⁴⁸⁵ R.G.M. Nisbet/Margaret Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes book I* (Oxford, 1979), p. 315

⁴⁸⁶ The indices to Manitius, *Geschichte*, vols. I-III, testify to the lasting influence of the *Mythologies*

⁴⁸⁷ Rudolphus Helm, ed. *Fulgentius. Opera* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 60-61, "Fabula bellerofontis"

⁴⁸⁸ Georg Heinrich Bode, ed. *Scriptores mythicarum latini tres Romae nuper reperti* (Celle, 1834), pp. 252-3 (III. 14. 5); c.f. Charles S.F. Burnett, "A note on the Origins of the Third Vatican Mythographer", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 44 (1981), pp. 160-166

comedies associated with the Loire Valley schools of the second half of the twelfth century: *Lidia* and *Baucis et Traso*,⁴⁸⁹ as well as the *Dissuasio Valerii ad Ruffinum philosophum ne uxorem ducat*, attributed to the French-educated Walter Map, who was associated with the Anglo-Norman court of King Henry II.⁴⁹⁰ The latter text follows Marbod in placing the evocation of the Chimaera at the head of a list of mythical characters as moral *exempla*, including also the enchantress Circe and the sirens. The description of the whore in Marbod is preceded by a tirade against women, where successive lines begin with the word, *femina*, as the lapidary answer to a series of rhetorical questions (lines 29-32). This is a technique which also occurs *Baucis et Traso* (lines 89-94), in the poem, *De tribus vitiis: muliebri amore, avaritia, ambitione*, by Marbod's contemporary, Hildebert of Le Mans,⁴⁹¹ and in the famous work of Bernard de Cluny (fl. early to mid-twelfth century), *De contemptu mundi*.⁴⁹² The Hildebert poem, together with another by Marbod's "mysterious friend", Gualterus, and Marcabru's debate with Ugo Catola (song VI), all also share with *De meretrice* a rhetorical list of *exempla* of Old Testament heroes betrayed in love. Both Marcabru and Marbod (lines 28-36) refer to Adam and Eve, Samson and Delilah, and David and Solomon.

The third and most important reason for seeing a direct borrowing by Marcabru from Marbod's *De meretrice* can be found in lines 26-27 of the Latin poem, immediately after the allusion to Adam and Eve:

Femina dulce malum, pariter favus atque venenum,
Melle linens gladium cor confodit et sapientum.

(Woman, a sweet evil, equally honeycomb and venom, smearing her sword with honey,
she transfixes the hearts of the wise.)

The phrase, "Femina dulce malum", which was later used as the first line of a well-circulated Medieval Latin poem,⁴⁹³ introduces a variation in isolated leonine hexameters of one of the same proverbs of Solomon used by Marcabru: Proverbs 5: 3-4. This further coincidence between the two texts suggests that Marcabru not only recognised the source of this unattributed allusion in Marbod, but that he combined it with another related Solomonic proverb in order to make it even more pertinent to his own nexus of imagery. The idea for this combination might have been inspired by the mention of the "dulcia pocula", (sweet cups), proffered by Circe while tempting Ulysses in line 66 of Marbod's poem, since this is reminiscent both of the wine in Proverbs 23: 31 and of Marcabru's *pimen*, referring to spiced wine in line 10 of his song.

⁴⁸⁹ Gustave Cohen, *La comédie latine en France au XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1931), vol. I, p. 238, lines 333-338, and vol. II, p. 73, lines 89-94

⁴⁹⁰ Montague Rhodes James/Christopher Nugent Lawrence Brooke/ Roger Aubrey Baskerville Mynors, ed. *Walter Map. De nugis curialium. Courtiers' Trifles* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 288-311, (p. 291)

⁴⁹¹ Scott, *Hildeberti carmina*, no. 50, pp. 40-41, lines 7-16

⁴⁹² H.C. Hoskier, ed. *Bernard of Cluny. De contemptu mundi* (London, 1929), lib. II, lines 445, 457, 491, 504, 509, 513, 517, pp. 52-55; c.f. James W. Thomson, "On the identity of Bernard of Cluny", *Journal of Theological Studies* 8 (1906-1907), pp. 394-400, where he is linked to the house of Montpellier-Orange, the family of Raimbaut d'Aurenga

⁴⁹³ Walther/Hilka, *Initia carminum*, no. 6365

Finally, there is some circumstantial manuscript evidence that not only Marbod's source, the *Mythologies* of Fulgentius, but also *De Metrica* itself, was known in twelfth-century Poitou. There are two twelfth-century anthologies of Marbod and Hildebert in London manuscripts which include this poem. One of these also contains Marbod's "Descriptio vernae pulchritudinis", discussed at length in the previous section as a source for Marcabru's, "Pois la fuoilla revirola". The other manuscript contains the only extant example of Hildebert's *versus* on Peter of Poitiers and William IX.⁴⁹⁴ These poems must have appeared together in related anthologies in Poitou, where the last poem would have been of special interest. It would hardly be surprising if collections of poems from the then Plantagenet province of Aquitaine found their way to England following the marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine to King Henry II in 1152.

Even assuming that Marcabru is deliberately alluding to one well-known Medieval Latin poetic version of a moral *exemplum*, much of the imagery in the Occitan poem remains obscure. Why do the manuscripts seem to tell us that it was an ox in the middle of the Chimaera, contrary to all learned sources, at least one scribe's better judgment, and all critics of the poem since Dejeanne? Why does the poet apparently gratuitously say that this monster neither resembles a bay horse nor an elephant? Who "depicts" the *bestia*, and why the Latinism? And what are the sources for the exegesis of the lion and serpent sections in Marcabru's Chimaera?

Some of the elements of the third to fifth strophes of "Soudadier, per cui es iovens" may be explicable in terms of further literary allusion. The initial ferocity of the lion in lines 25-28 has parallels in the interpretations of the Chimaera in both Fulgentius and Isidore of Seville. In a passage also cited by the Third Vatican Mythographer, Fulgentius stated that "amor noviter venit, ut leo feraliter invadit", (love comes anew like a lion fiercely attacking). In a variant of this idea, Isidore's *Etymologiae* compared the threefold form of the Chimaera to the three ages of man (as opposed to the three stages of love): "quarum ferox et horrens prima adulescentia, ut leo", (the first age, is adolescence, fierce and shaggy like a lion).⁴⁹⁵ The stench of the whore, especially if goat meat is implied by *bocaria*, is echoed in the commentary on the first six books of Virgil's *Aeneid*, usually attributed to Bernardus Silvestris (fl. ca. 1150 in Tours). In this text, the Chimaera is said to stand for *libido* according to the *philosophi*: "in medio caprinum et fetentem coitus usum habentem", (having as its central section the goatish and fetid act of intercourse).⁴⁹⁶ It is possible that Marcabru was acquainted with the Fulgentius text and that the olfactory elaboration is either a simultaneous invention by the troubadour and Marbod, or another borrowing by the former from the latter or a common source of Bernardus Silvestris.

The other obscure images in Marcabru's song seem only to become fully comprehensible in the light of allusion to a specific iconographical programme found in the richly illustrated manuscripts of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, which was completed in 776 A.D. by the Asturian monk, Beatus of Liébana.⁴⁹⁷ In order to underline

⁴⁹⁴ On which, see above chapters 1 a) and 4 b)

⁴⁹⁵ Lindsay, *Isidori etymologiarum libri XX*, lib. I, section XL, l. 4

⁴⁹⁶ Julian Ward Jones/Elizabeth Frances Jones, ed., *The Commentary on the First Six Books of the "Aeneid" of Virgil Commonly Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris*, (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1977), lib. VI, ll. 286, 287, p. 72, ll. 6-7

⁴⁹⁷ Henry A. Sanders, ed. *Beati in Apocalypsin libri duodecim* (Rome, 1930)

its importance, John Williams has described the *Commentary* both as “the illustrated text of medieval Spain” and as “the book of the *Reconquista*”.⁴⁹⁸ The surviving manuscripts are indeed spectacular, and were widely circulated and known both in Iberia and in Aquitaine. There are 31 extant manuscripts of the *Commentary*, of which the majority are illuminated, and many are exceptionally dated and placed by colophons in tenth to twelfth century Catalonia, León and Castile.⁴⁹⁹ The salient details of these manuscripts and the particular illustrations discussed here are presented for reference purposes in the two tables contained in Figures 14 and 15 at the end of this section.

The illustrations to the *Commentary* of Beatus of Liébana reveal both a remarkably rich and uniform iconographical tradition. Although the peninsular, so-called Mozarabic style of illumination was gradually replaced by the mature Romanesque style of the rest of Europe, the specific passages illustrated remained relatively constant. One of the most striking of these was that of the Whore of Babylon riding on the Beast of the Apocalypse and brandishing a chalice, as in Revelation 17: 3b:

Et vidi mulierem sedentem super bestiam coccineam.
(And I saw a woman sitting on a scarlet beast.)

In chapter 17 of the book of the Revelation, verses 1 and 15, the Whore is described as a *meretrix*, and in 17: 4, she is said to have “poculum aureum in manu sua plenum abominatione, et immunditia fornicationis suae”, (in her hand a golden cup full of abomination and the foulness of her fornication). In verse 6 of the same book, she is said to be “ebriam de sanguine sanctorum et de sanguine martyrum”, (drunk with the blood of the saints and the blood of the martyrs of Jesus). Self-conscious allusion to the illustration of this dramatic passage in the Bible would help to clarify Marcabru’s use of the Latinisms, *bestia* and *metritz*, in lines 21 and 30 of “Soudadier, per cui es iovens”. It would also give literal significance to the phrase, “he who depicts the beast”, in line 21 of the song. The chalice of red wine in the illuminations, which resembles a chalice of blood, would then create another link between the *meretrix* of Marcabru’s Solomonic proverbs and that of the Apocalypse.

It could be objected that the *bestia* described in this part of the Revelation has seven heads, ten horns, and bears no resemblance to a Chimaera. However, this is not the only illustration of this scene in the Beatus *Commentary*. In fourteen manuscripts, it is anticipated by another, similar representation of the “mulier super bestiam”, which in almost all cases has only one head and no horns, an exception being the Lisbon manuscript (L), folio 43.⁵⁰⁰ In many manuscripts, for instance those at Gerona (G),⁵⁰¹ folio 63 (Figure 8 at the end of this section), Manchester (R), folio 51, Valladolid (V),

⁴⁹⁸ John Williams, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination* (London, 1977), pp. 24 and 27

⁴⁹⁹ Anscario M. Mundo /Manuel Sánchez Mariana, *El comentario de Beato al Apocalipsis. catálogo de los códices* (Madrid, 1976)

⁵⁰⁰ Illustrations in Anne de Egly, *O apocalipse do Lorvão e a sua relação com as ilustrações medievais do Apocalipse* (Lisbon, 1972), Lam. VII, c.f. p. 109, fig. 54, where the additional heads look like an afterthought

⁵⁰¹ A facsimile of this manuscript can be found in Jaime Marqués Casanovas/Cesar E. Dubler/Wilhelm Neuss, *Sancti Beati a Liebana in Apocalypsin codex Gerundensis* (Oltun/Lausanne, 1962)

folio 43v and La Seu d'Urgell in Catalonia (V), folio 47,⁵⁰² the beast has claws and a serpent for a tail, as does the Chimaera, but is otherwise distinctly horse-like. In the Lisbon manuscript, it is even wolfish and, exceptionally, does not have a serpent's tail. Yet, in some manuscripts it could easily be mistaken for a type of Chimaera.

The beast of the Burgo de Osma manuscript (O), folio 40v, although it has been described by Timoteo Rojo Orcajo as having a horse's body and a dog's head,⁵⁰³ is also fat enough to resemble an ox, and its snarling mouth could be interpreted as that of a lion. The representation in the manuscript prepared for the Spanish Abbot of Saint-Sever in Gascony, Gregory Muntaner (1028-1072) (MS S), folio 52v, also has a stout, ox-like body and a snarling mouth with a maned head, much fatter than that of a horse, which could even more easily be taken for that of a lion (Figure 9).⁵⁰⁴ Given its date and location, this manuscript would perhaps have been the one which Marcabru was most likely to have seen in person, although he could have seen several of the others during his travels through the Iberian Peninsula.

In the light of these illustrations, Marcabru's mysterious phrase, "which distinguishes it [i.e. the Chimaera] from the bay horse or elephant" (lines 19-20), would take on a new meaning. Normally speaking, the difference between a tripartite, mythical monster and two animals, one of which at least was much closer to the everyday experience of the listeners, should be obvious. However, it is possible that Marcabru was referring his audience to the very uncertainty of interpretation of some manuscript representations of the *bestia*. These can indeed look like a Chimaera, a horse, and perhaps with some imagination, even an elephant. Anyone who had had a chance to see the illuminations from Beatus's *Commentary* might also have recalled the striking image of Noah's Ark interpreted allegorically as the Seven Churches of Asia in Revelation 2-3.⁵⁰⁵ This picture occurs in nine manuscripts, as tabulated in Figure 15. Horses occur in all nine; elephants occur in three of these: in MS U, folio 82v, the Facundus Beatus prepared for King Ferdinand I of León and his wife Sancha (MS J), folio 109 (Figure 10), and in the New York manuscript, probably from San Miguel de Escalada, near León (MS M), folio 79. Lions occur in manuscripts D, folio 70v, G 102v-103, M, f. 79, R, f. 15, Tu, f. 77v (formerly folio 70), and V, folios 73v-74.⁵⁰⁶

Another image in Marcabru's song, may also have deliberately recalled the Beatus scheme of illustration. Strophe v of "Soudadier, per cui es iovens" describes a conflict between the serpentine whore and a bird over the latter's nestlings. This sounds like the sort of juxtaposition to be found in fable or a bestiary, but there are no convincing

⁵⁰² Illustration in José Joaquín Yarza Luaces, "Las bestias apocalípticas en la miniaturas de los Beatos", *Traza y Baza* 4 (1974), pp. 51-75 (p. 71)

⁵⁰³ Timoteo Rojo Orcajo, "El 'Beato' de la cathedral de Osma", in *Art Studies* 8 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931), pp. 103-156 (p. 132)

⁵⁰⁴ Facsimile in Emile-A. van Moé, *L'Apocalypse de Saint-Sever* (Paris, 1942), Plate 6

⁵⁰⁵ Described in Wilhelm Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des heiligen Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration* (Münster, 1931), vol. I, pp. 71-73

⁵⁰⁶ See Neuss, *Die Apokalypse*, vol. II, pp. LX-LXIII, plates 90-94 for illustrations of the ark from MSS GVUJR; Williams, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination*, p. 66, plate 14, for MS M; van Moé, *L'Apocalypse de Saint-Sever*, for MS S; and Costanza Segre Montel, *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino* (Turin, 1980), vol. I (tavole), p. 84, fig. 208 for MS Tu

analogues in these genres. The idea of a mother bird protecting her nestlings against a snake is used as a simile for courage in Horace's *Epodes*, book I, lines 19-22:⁵⁰⁷

Ut adsidens implumibus pullis avis
Serpentium allapsus timet
Magis relictis, non, ut adsit, auxili
Latura plus praesentibus.

(Just as a bird stays with her unfeathered chicks, more afraid of the stealthily gliding serpent when they are left alone, although she would not be able to help them any more, even if she were present.)

However, comparison with this text is far less compelling than possible visual allusion to a full-page illustration, found in four of the *Beatus* manuscripts, of a battle between a bird and a snake, representing Christ and the Devil respectively: MSS G, folio 18v, R, folio 14 (directly after Noah's Ark), S, folio 13 (Figure 11), and U, f. Vv. According to Carlos Cid Priego and Isabel Vigil, this image also occurred at one time in MS M, the two Madrid manuscripts, Pc and T, as well as in MS Tu, which they considered to be a Romanesque copy of the Gerona manuscript (G), which is also close to the other Romanesque manuscript, R, from Manchester.⁵⁰⁸ All of these manuscripts occur in the same family in Neuss's *stemma*.⁵⁰⁹ The Gerona manuscript is especially suggestive of Marcabru's image, since it has a decorative tree in the background with small birds perched on it, which could be interpreted as the offspring of the bird grappling with a snake in the foreground. This is illustrated in Figure 12 at the end of this section.⁵¹⁰

It is impossible to say which manuscript or manuscripts of the *Beatus Commentary* Marcabru or his audience may have seen. None of the surviving ones discussed here has all the attributes mentioned: MS M has no bird and snake illustration; R has no tree or elephant, and is dated later than Marcabru; S has no tree and no elephant; Tu has no snake or bird; and U has no tree and a horsey beast. There were, however, multiple manuscripts in monasteries in Gascony, Catalonia, Castile and Léon at the time of Marcabru, and references in his songs indicate that he lived in or travelled to all these regions. The *envoi* of song IV implies that Marcabru planned to leave Poitiers for Barcelona, Castile and even Portugal; the *envoi* of song IX suggests that he was or intended to be at the coronation of King Alfonso VII of Castile-Léon in Saragossa in 1135; and he elsewhere positions himself as a preacher of the *Reconquista*. Emile Mâle has additionally shown that the *Beatus* illuminations were highly influential on the origins of figural sculpture in twelfth-century Aquitaine as far north as the Loire. He has even argued that there was a manuscript similar to the Saint-Sever one at the Abbey of

⁵⁰⁷ Wickham/Garrood, *Q. Horatii Flacci opera*

⁵⁰⁸ Carlos Cid Priego/Isabel Vigil, "El Beato de la Biblioteca Nacional de Turín, copia románica catalana del Beato mozárabe leonés de la Catedral de Gerona", *Anales del Instituto de estudios Gerundenses* 17 (1964-1965), pp. 163-329 (p. 205, 33n); *c.f.* Neuss, *Die Apokalypse*, vol. I, pp. 41-45 (p. 43) for a description of the Turin manuscript and its close relation to the Catalan tradition

⁵⁰⁹ Neuss, *Die Apokalypse*, vol. I, p. 111, for the *stemma* including putative dates

⁵¹⁰ Facsimile in Marqués Casanovas/Dubler/Neuss, *Sancti Beati a Liebana in Apocalypsin*; *c.f.* the treeless representation in MS S in van Moë's facsimile of the Saint-Sever manuscript, Plate 1

Saint-Hilaire at Poitiers, a theory based on the similarities between a capital at Saint-Hilaire and a Beatus miniature.⁵¹¹

Marcabru's apparent combination of imagery from two proverbs of Solomon, the *De metrice* of Marbod of Rennes, and selected iconography from the Beatus Apocalypse is arguably a peculiarly felicitous one. Certain elements are common to all three texts, such as the *meretrix* and the wine of the temptress. The second representation of the *mulier super bestiam* in the *Commentary* of Beatus is invariably preceded by a representation of the whore offering a cup to the kings from the book of Revelation 17: 2:⁵¹²

"...cum qui fornicati sunt reges terrae, et inebriati sunt qui inhabitant terram de vino prostitutionis."

(...with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and with the wine of whose fornication the dwellers on earth have become drunk.)

This association of the whore, wine and leadership overlaps with both Solomon's instruction to his son on the conduct of a king and with Marcabru's principal satirical targets, the nobility, and their propensity to over-indulgence in wine and the wrong type of women.

Finally, it is perhaps significant that in some of the Beatus manuscripts, e.g. J, folio 332v (Figure 13) and M, folio 194v, the whore in this scene wears a crown decorated with a crescent, which suggests that she represented either a Muslim or Islam as a whole.⁵¹³ This symbolism recalls not only the role of these manuscripts as Christian propaganda for the *Reconquista*, but also Marcabru's own role as a propagandist for this Crusade on his own doorstep. In this light, the striking first lines of "Soudadier, per cui es iovens/mantengutz, e iois eisamens" could take on a new layer of meaning. Marcabru could not only be addressing his peer group of court hirelings, but also potential or actual mercenary soldiers for or involved in the *Reconquista*. His crusading song, "Pax in nomine Domini" similarly equates the upholding of courtly qualities such as of *joï*, *Joven* and *deport* as among the characteristics expected of Christian crusaders in Spain (song XXXV, lines 20, 59 and 63).

If Marcabru expected his audience to identify the whore with Islam, this could suggest a specific occasion or set of occasions for the performance of this song either before, after or in the course of a crusading campaign in Spain. In that case, this song can be interpreted as a highly-wrought piece of moral propaganda directed at the higher echelons of a crusading army. They had been hired to fight in Spain and for that reason might recall the depiction of the *bestia* in the show-case manuscripts of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* by Beatus of Liébana. Whether the larger part of the

⁵¹¹ Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France* (Paris, 1922), p. 15

⁵¹² Illustrations in Williams, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination*, p. 21, fig. IX (MS A f. 134v), p. 77, pl. 19a (MS M, f. 194v); Marqués Casanovas/Dubler/Neuss, *Sancti Beati a Liebana in Apocalypsin* (MS G, f. 208); Neuss, *Die Apokalypse*, vol. II, fig. CXXIb (MS J, f. 224v); and Segre Montel, *I manoscritti*, vol. I (tavole), p. 87, fig. 211 (MS Tu, f. 159)

⁵¹³ Williams, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 20-21, 76-77

CHAPTER 5

audience would be expected to pick up the allusions to the Book of Proverbs and Marbod's *Liber de decem capitulorum* is less sure. Yet, whether they did or not, Marcabru's synthesis of well-circulated literary and iconographical sources transcends the fierce but traditionally bookish misogyny found in writers purely embedded in the Latin tradition, such as Marbod of Rennes, and gives it a visual power designed to impress any audience.

Conclusions to chapter 5

This chapter has examined extreme examples of allusion to potential external sources of Latin learning in two songs by Marcabru, the most allusive of all the early troubadours: “Pois la fuoilla revirola” (song XXXVIII) and “Soudadier, per cui es iovens” (song XLIV). Both songs have been first re-edited from the surviving manuscripts as a precondition to their analysis, as there is a relationship between the different textual variants, the intended allusions and the consequent interpretation of the songs.

In the case of strophe ii of “Pois la fuoilla revirola”, the similarities in the list of birds to the metrical poem, “Descriptio vernae pulchritudinis”, by the influential Loire Valley School poet, Marbod of Rennes, suggest that Marcabru was deliberately referring to this Latin poem, which was likely to have been known in Northern Aquitaine at that time. The third strophe of this song then contrasts the birds with a list of noxious creatures, which strongly resembles a poem by Eugenius of Toledo called “Versus de estate” or “De incommodis estivi temporis”. The more or less conventionally used images of creatures characteristic of spring and high summer in the two Latin poems are subverted by Marcabru in order to obtain his audience’s attention and lead into the satirical message in the second half of the song, where he focuses on his familiar theme of adultery among the upper classes and its nefarious social consequences.

Marcabru’s song XLIV, “Soudadier, per cui es iovens” is even more ambitious in its references to learned Latin sources than “Pois la fuoilla revirola”. After introducing his central theme of the whore, Marcabru begins his series of illustrative images with genuine allusions to two Solomonic proverbs *cum auctoritate*. This is followed by the song’s central image of the Chimaera as whore, which is then subject to moral exegesis of its constituent parts. The detail of this exegesis is sufficiently close to warrant the identification of another poem by Marbod of Rennes, *De meretrice*, as a direct source. This is not, however, the only source. The psychological impact of the description of the Chimaera is enhanced by apparent allusion to the iconographical representations of the whore and the battle between Good and Evil in the famous manuscripts of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* of Beatus of Liébana, which were known throughout the northern half of the Iberian Peninsula and Aquitaine at this time.

It is impossible to know exactly what level of identification of such Latin texts and manuscript images Marcabru may have expected from different audiences. In some cases, the allusions are relatively specific and recognisable, as in the case of the Solomonic proverbs, references to Biblical figures and the use of Latinisms in “Soudadier, per cui es iovens”. Otherwise, the troubadour may have expected only clerks and educated noblemen to be able to pick up on the exact allusions. In any case, all members of his audience would have been free to enjoy the standalone power of the imagery such as that of the Chimaera, its bestial constituent parts, the whore and her blandishments, all of which served to enhance the emotional power of the troubadour’s moral-satirical message.



Figure 8 The Woman on the Beast from the Gerona Beatus completed in A.D. 975, f. 63 (MS G)



Figure 9 The Woman on the Beast from the mid-twelfth century Saint-Sever Beatus, MS Paris BN lat. 8878, f. 52v (MS S)



Figure 10 Noah's Ark from the Beatus copied by Facundus for King Ferdinand I of León and his wife Sancha, completed in A.D. 1047, from Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional Ms. Vit. 14-2, f. 109 (MS J)



Figure 11 The Bird and the Snake from the mid-twelfth century Saint-Sever Beatus, MS Paris BN lat. 8878, f. 13 (MS S)



Figure 12 The Bird and the Snake from the Gerona Beatus completed in A.D. 975, f. 18v (MS G)



Figure 13 The Whore and the King (detail) from the Beatus copied by Facundus for King Ferdinand I of León and his wife Sancha, completed in A.D. 1047, from Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional Ms. Vit. 14-2, f. 224v (MS J)

CHAPTER 5

A	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional Ms. Vit. 14-1, s.x. From San Millán de Cogolla.
A2	Madrid, Real Academia de Historia, Cod. Aemil. 33, s. ix ex.
Ar	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. Lat. 2290, ca. 1220-1235. From San Andrés de Arroyo (Palencia).
B	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Ms. Theol. lat. fol. 561, s. xii1. From central Italy.
C	Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Sign. Cors. 369 (40 E. 6), s. Xii2. From the monastery of Sahagún, León
D	London, British Museum Additional MS. 11695, ca. 1091-1109. s. xii in. From the abbey of San Domingo de Silos.
E	Escorial, Biblioteca Monasterio, Cod. & Il. 5, s. x ex. Probably from San Millán de Cogolla.
Ex	Escorial, l. f. 7, s. xvi. Not illustrated.
F	San Domingo de Silos, fragment, s. ix ex. Not illustrated
Fc	San Domingo de Silos, fragment, s. x. One folio
G	Gerona Cathedral, completed A.D. 975. Probably from the monastery of San Salvador de Tábara.
H	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 429, A.D. 1220. From Las Huelgas (Burgos)
J	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional Ms. Vit. 14-2, A.D. 1047. From San Isidoro de León.
L	Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, A.D. 1189. From the monastery of Lorvão (Coimbra).
M	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 644, ca. 945, created the monastery of San Salvador de Tábara, probably for the monastery of San Miguel de Moreruela
N	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. Lat. 1366, s. xii/xiii. From Navarre.
O	Burgo de Osma, Cath. Cat. Cod. 1, A.D. 1086. From Burgo de Osma (Valladolid).
Pc	Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 1962/73/2 (MS. 2), ca. 1180. From San Pedro de Cardeña (Burgos).
Pp	Madrid, Biblioteca Privada de Rey, B. 3. Not illustrated. From Poblet (Catalonia)
R	Manchester, John Rylands Library MS lat. 8, ca. 1175. Possibly from San Pedro de Cardeña (Burgos).
S	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8878, s. xi mid. From Saint-Sever (Gascony)
T	Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, L. 1097B, s. x2. From San Salvador de Tábara.
Tu	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Sgn I. Il. 1, s. xi/xii. From Catalonia, possibly Ripoll or Gerona.
U	Urgell, Musei Diocesá de La Seu d'Urgell, s. x ex. Possibly from La Rioja.
V	Valladolid, Biblioteca Histórica de Santa Cruz, A.D. 970. From the former monastery of our Lady of Valcavado (Palencia).
Vf	Rome, Vat. Lat. 76261, A.D. 1532.
1.	Barcelona, Arch. Cor. Aragón Cod. Frag. 209, s. xii in. Two folios.
8.	Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional F. Alcobaça 247, s. xiii. Not illustrated.
17.	Montserrat, monasterio, Bibl. De la abadia, 793 – VIII, s. xi. One folio.
31.	Zaragoza, Coleccion particular, s. x. Five folios.

Figure 14 The Beatus of Liébana manuscripts, their present situations, their dates and provenances (lettering of Wilhelm Neuss, where applicable)

LITERARY ALLUSION: TWO EXAMPLES FROM MARCABRU

	I	II	III	IV
A2	197v			
Ar	142	20v		
D	183v		79v	
E	134	24v		
G	209	63	102v-103	18v
H	125	36v		
J	225v	72v	109	
L	185v	43		
M		42	79	
N	129	30v		?
O	142v	40v		
Pc				?
R	175	51	15	14
S		52v		13
T				?
Tu	152	44	77v	16
U	180v	47v	82v	Vv
V	161v	43v	73v-74	

Note: Questions marks in column IV refer to manuscripts where Carlos Cid Priego and Isabel Vigil, believe there to have been representations of the Bird and the Snake (“El Beato de la Biblioteca Nacional de Turín”, pp. 205-206). Information on additional manuscripts and their numbering is derived from *El Comentario de Beato al Apocalipsis* by Anscario M. Mundó and Manuel Sánchez Mariana.

Figure 15 Beatus manuscripts containing illustrations of the Woman on the seven-headed Beast (I), the Woman on the Beast (II), Noah’s Ark (III), and the Bird and the Snake (IV)

Part III: Reflections of basic schooling

Introduction

The previous chapters have sought to show how allusions to the Bible, other learned authorities, Medieval Latin poems, the imitation of preaching techniques and even manuscript iconography were used by the early troubadours, and particularly Marcabru and his imitators, to communicate their understanding of romantic love and its abuse in the context of contemporary court life. Part III will extend this analysis of the relation between early *trobar* and the Latin tradition by investigating the potential influence of a number of specific aspects of basic school education. This analysis provides additional support to the understanding of the vernacular lyric and especially the often obscure language of the satirical *registre*.⁵¹⁴

Chapter 6 will examine the impact of three groups of texts: proverbs, fables and the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius. All three of these are known to have been used in learning to read and write Latin in the preliminary stages of the tuition of grammar, the first subject in the *trivium*, the three basic subjects which comprised the liberal arts, the required first level of Latin school learning which had survived since classical antiquity. Chapter 7 then discusses the possible influence of elements of the technique and vocabulary of dialectic or logic, the second subject of the *trivium*, as well as more advanced philosophical studies, on the way the early troubadours express their ideas. Neither chapter specifically covers rhetoric, the third subject of *trivium*. This is for a number of reasons.

Firstly, rhetoric overlaps through its literary and philosophical implications with both grammar and dialectic. The reading of the classical and late antique *auctores* and the study and composition of Medieval Latin verse were essential both for learning the Latin language and for mastering the art of persuasion.⁵¹⁵ Secondly, systematic categorisation and debate are characteristic both of rhetorical and dialectical techniques, and the latter topic will be specifically covered in chapter 7.⁵¹⁶ Finally, the forensic function of rhetoric, an important aspect of classical rhetoric, but of more limited interest in the study of the vernacular poets, has already been explored in depth by Linda Paterson in her book, *Troubadours and Eloquence*.⁵¹⁷

Broader poetic rhetoric is in many respects too all-pervading a subject to be covered neatly in one section of this study. Instead of this, general aspects of genre and

⁵¹⁴ For a recent general book on the underworked field of education in this period, see Pierre Riché, *Ecoles et enseignement dans le Haut Moyen Age* (Paris, 1979). See also, Günter Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter: Entstehung und Wandlungen des Lektürekansons bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Munich, 1970), for the development of the canon of school *auctores*

⁵¹⁵ See James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: a History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1974), pp. 22-26 on Quintilian and the general education of the orator, and P. Riché, *Ecoles*, p. 254, on Alcuin and Gerbert of Aurillac on the role of the *auctores* in rhetorical studies

⁵¹⁶ See Murphy, *Rhetoric*, pp. 5-7, on the philosophical aspect of classical rhetorical, and Isidore, *Etymologiae*, lib. II, xxii-xxiii, on the difficulty in distinguishing rhetoric and dialectic

⁵¹⁷ Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence*, particularly pp. 11-28

CHAPTER 5

thematic structure, including rhetorical topoi, have been discussed in the first sections of chapters 3 and 4 above. The use of plant imagery and particularly allegory have been discussed in chapter 4. In chapters 6 and 7, sentence, authority,⁵¹⁸ animal similes and metaphors, personification and other elements of the stylistic *ornatus* of particular importance in early troubadour lyric will be analysed in further depth. This seems the most manageable way of dealing with a subject with so many ramifications, and where concrete incidences of learned as opposed to “natural” rhetoric are often difficult to demonstrate.

⁵¹⁸ In general, see Curtius, *European Literature*, pp. 57-61, “*Sententiae* and *Exempla*”

Chapter 6

Reading and writing

a) Sentence, authority and proverb

There have been two general works published to date on proverbs and *sententiae* in the troubadours: E. Cnyrim's, *Sprichwörter, sprichwörtliche Redensarten und Sentenzen bei den provenzalischen Lyrikern* and Suzanne Thiolier-Méjean's article, "Les proverbes et les dictions dans la poésie morale des troubadours".⁵¹⁹ Unfortunately for the purposes of the present chapter, both studies largely represent lists which range freely over two hundred years of *trobar*, and neither of them attempt the admittedly problematic task of defining the concepts of proverb and *sententia*. The terms *reprovier*, "proverb", *sentenssa* and *autoritatz* are, however, used by the early troubadours, e.g. in Marcabru songs XVII, line 18, XXXI, line 75,⁵²⁰ so it would seem useful to examine some possible definitions, prior to a detailed discussion of the potential role of these figures. The obvious place to begin is in the work of some of the more authoritative grammarians and rhetoricians used in the schools of the High Middle Ages.

The fullest definition of *sententia* during the period under review is perhaps that in the *De ornamentis verborum* of Marbod of Rennes,⁵²¹ who borrowed it almost verbatim from the following passage in book XXIV of the widely-used Pseudo-Ciceronian, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (first century B.C.):

"Sententia est oratio sumpta quae, aut quid sit, aut quid esse oporteat in vita breviter ostendit, hoc pacto, 'Difficile est primum quidque'."

(A *sententia* is an expression which briefly indicates what is or ought to be in life, such as "Beginning is always difficult".)

Quintilian (first century A.D.) added the notion of universality to this definition: "Sententia universalis est vox", (a *sententia* is a universal expression),⁵²² and later theorists repeated the same ideas. Priscian (fl. ca. 500 A.D.) coincided with Pseudo-Cicero and Marbod in stressing moral import and in giving examples beginning with an impersonal construction, such as "Oportet...", (It is necessary that).⁵²³ A treatise attributed to Maximus Victorinus (fl. fourth century A.D.) agreed that this is a "dictio generalis",⁵²⁴ and Isidore of Seville emphasised that it is a "dictum impersonale".⁵²⁵ It is noteworthy that all five of the Latin authors mentioned here were known in the Aquitanian schools of the period. They all occur, at least in excerpts, in manuscripts copied by Adémar of Chabannes at the beginning of the eleventh century, probably

⁵¹⁹ Eugen Cnyrim, *Sprichwörter, sprichwörtliche Redensarten und Sentenzen bei den provenzalischen Lyrikern, (Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie LXXI, Marburg, 1888)*; Suzanne Thiolier-Méjean, "Les proverbes et les dictions dans la poésie morale des troubadours", in *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire, de linguistique et de philologie romane offerts à Charles Rostaing* (Liège, 1974), vol. II, pp. 1117-1128

⁵²⁰ Note, however, that *sentenssa* in this context could also be read as *s'entenssa*

⁵²¹ Marbod of Rennes, *De ornamentis verborum, Patrologia Latina* 171, cols. 1687-1692 (col. 1689)

⁵²² M. Fabii Quintiliani *Institutionis Oratoriae libri duodecim, lib. I, 9.3.*, ed. Michael Winterbottom (Oxford, 1970), vol. I, p. 58

⁵²³ Priscian, *Praeextertamina rhetorica*, ed. Heinrich Keil, *Grammatici latini*, vol. III (Leipzig, 1858), p. 432

⁵²⁴ Marius Victorinus, *Ars grammatica*, ed. Heinrich Keil, *Grammatici*, vol. VI (Leipzig, 1874), p. 191

⁵²⁵ Isidore, *Etymologiae libri XX*, ed. Lindsay, *lib. II, section xi*

when he was completing his education at or making an extended visit to his uncles at the Abbey of Saint-Martial in Limoges.⁵²⁶

If therefore a *sententia* is a brief, impersonal phrase expressing general, moral truths, how should it be distinguished from a proverb? The difference between these was not always obvious, even to medieval theorists working in the generations after the early troubadours. Geoffrey of Vinsauf (fl. ca. 1200), in a treatise on prose and poetic composition, defined proverbs as follows:⁵²⁷

“Proverbia enim est generalis sententia, et illud quod datur per generalem sententiam, ‘docetur’, ‘probatur’....”

(For a proverb is a general *sententia* and something that is agreed by common consent, “it is taught”, “it is proven”....).

This definition does not seem to differ much from that of a *sententia*. Matthew of Vendôme is on the other hand more distinct in this definition contained in his *Ars versificatoria*, written around 1175:⁵²⁸

“...generale proverbium, id est communis sententia cui consuetudo fidem attribuit, opinio communis assensum accommodat, incorruptae veritatis integritas adquiescit.”

(...and a general proverb, that is a common adage to which custom lends credence, to which common opinion gives its assent, and which is in keeping with pure and uncorrupted truth.)

A proverb therefore seems to differ from a *sententia* in that it is commonly known and has been for some time, but even this definition should be treated with some caution. John of Garland’s thirteenth-century rhetorical manual, *De arte prosayca, metrica, et rithmica*, has a section entitled, “Ars inveniendi proverbialia”, (the art of inventing proverbs), a reminder that even apparent commonplaces may have creative, literary origins.⁵²⁹

Since there are such difficulties in differentiating a common proverb from a proverbial expression, a *sententia* from a proverb, and genuine *sententiae* from merely sententious and opinionated remarks, it is not worthwhile to attempt a rigorous statistical or theoretical analysis of these figures of speech in early *trobar*.⁵³⁰ Instead, examples of different types of *sententia* in the early troubadours will be examined according to the following criteria: unattributed and untraceable dicta, followed by those from known

⁵²⁶ The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and excerpts of Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoriae* can be found together in Adémar’s MS Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7231, ff. 35v-45v and 54v-6v, and excerpts from Priscian, Marius Victorinus and Isidore’s *Etymologiae* can be found in his MS Leiden University, VLO 15, ff. 107 -114v, ff. 119-120 and 128-130 respectively

⁵²⁷ Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi*, ll. l. 5, ed. Edmond Faral, *les arts poétiques du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle. Recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire au moyen âge* (Paris, 1924), p. 269. This definition is not unlike that of Zumthor, *Essai*, p. 78

⁵²⁸ Matthew of Vendôme, *Ars versificatoria*, l., l. 16, ed. Faral, *Les arts*, p. 113; c.f. *The Oxford Dictionary*, “a short pithy saying in common and recognised use”

⁵²⁹ Traugott Lawler, ed. *The Parisiana poetria of John of Garland* (New Haven, 1974), pp. 10-13

⁵³⁰ See Elisabeth Schulze-Busacker, “Eléments de culture populaire dans la littérature courtoise”, in *La culture populaire au Moyen Âge*, ed. Pierre Boglioni (Montreal, 1979), pp. 81-102 for such an approach to the proverb in Old French contes and romances

sources, classical, biblical and “popular”. An attempt will then be made to explain their place and purpose in the the relevant lyrics.

The early troubadours arguably employ three types of *sententia* which occur in love lyric and satire alike. The first of these consists of those sayings which are not introduced by a specific authority. They are most easily recognisable if they contain an impersonal “he” or “the” or “that man who...”, or if they begin with an impersonal construction, such as “Greu (er)...”, the Occitan equivalent of “Difficile est...”. An example of this occurs in William IX’s burlesque, song I, line 6:

“Greu partir si fai d’amor qui la trob’a son talen.”
(He who finds love to his liking finds it hard to leave it.)

The second type of common *sententia* has the composer as his own authority. Sometimes this is in the first person singular, as in Jaufre Rudel’s song IV, lines 12-14:

“Qu’eras say ben az escien
Que selh es savis qui aten
E selh es fols qui trop s’irays.”

(For which reason, I know in my own mind that the one who waits is wise and it is the fool who gets too angry.)

This is one of two examples of such a phrase in Jaufre Rudel, but the only one which resembles a known proverb.⁵³¹

Elsewhere, poets use their own names as authorities, as in a love song by Cercamon (I, lines 57-58):

“Cercamons ditz: ‘greu er cortes
hom qui d’amor se desper’.”

(Cercamon says: the man who despairs of love will scarcely be courtly.)

A third type of *sententia* which occurs in love and satirical songs is that introduced as a proverb. An example of this, which reflects the sentiment in the quotation above from Jaufre Rudel’s song IV, lines 12-14, can be found in William IX’s love song, VII, “Pos vezem de novel florir”, lines 21-24:

“E si.l reprovers me ditz ver:
‘Certanamens
a bon coratge bon poder,
qui’s ben suffrens’.”

(And if the proverb tells me the truth, “he who can wait patiently will certainly have his good heart rewarded with an opportunity”.)

⁵³¹ See Yves Lefèvre “Jaufre Rudel, professeur de morale”, *Annales du Midi* 78 (1966), pp. 415-422. The other example of this type of expression is in lines 34-35 of the same song

Not only do both principal *registres* of early *trobar* contain different types of *sententia* with or without authority, but they also mostly employ this simple rhetorical figure in the same way, i.e. at the end of a strophe or song in order to sum up the preceding lines. This is the case in all of the above-cited passages.

In William IX's songs I-III, the impact of *sententia* is strengthened by its exclusive use in the lengthened third lines of the three-line strophe pattern 11a11a14a, e.g. in song II, lines 12 and 22:

“greu verretz neguna garda qu ad oras non sonei.”
(It is difficult to find a guard who does not sleep sometimes.)

“[C]hascus beuri'ans de l'aiga que.s laisses morir de sei.”
(Anyone would rather drink water rather than die of thirst.)

The last adage is given further emphasis by consisting of a one-line *tornada*, its sense repeated from the final line of the previous strophe.

Marcabru imitates William's unusual three-line strophe, but outdoes his predecessor by using not only general maxims, but also widely-diffused proverbs to round off his strophes. The final lines of the third stanza of his song XXIV alludes to the Occitan equivalent of the Old French “rustic proverb”, “De bon fait col frait” (a good deed earns you a broken neck). This proverb occurs in eight of the collections of Medieval French proverbs assembled by Joseph Morawski,⁵³² and in two of the bilingual Latin and French anthologies which are associated with Serlo of Wilton (ca. 1108-1181).⁵³³ This song by Marcabru then ends with another proverb in its one-line *tornada* (line 25):

“A dur auzel tol lo pel cel qui escorja voutor.”
(Anyone who skins a vulture is flaying a thick-skinned bird.)

This proverb also survives in numerous Medieval French and Latin sources.⁵³⁴

Sententiae and proverbs are employed with more varied authorities in satire, and especially in that of Marcabru, than in love lyric. Such dicta also derive there from more diverse sources and their rhetorical function is more varied. Only Cercamon uses his own name as authority in love lyric, while he also uses it in the first *tornada* of a song in a mixed *registre* (V, lines 49-50):

“Cercamon dis: ‘Qi vas Amors s’irais
Meravill’es com pot l’ira suffrir’.”
(Cercamon says: it is marvellous how he who suffers from love can bear the suffering.)

⁵³² Joseph Morawski, *Proverbes français antérieurs au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1925)

⁵³³ Albert C. Friend, “The proverbs of Serlo of Wilton”, *Mediaeval Studies* 16 (1954), pp. 179-218

⁵³⁴ See Samuel Singer, *Sprichwörter des Mittelalters*, vol. II (Bern 1946), p. 41, no. 78 for two French examples, and Hans Walther, *Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (Göttingen, 1963-1969), no. 6819 and 6821, for two Latin examples

CHAPTER 6

Bernart Marti uses the same device in a satirical poem to express his cynicism about love (song IV, lines 38-42):

“Bernart Marti lo Pintor
Que ditz e trai guirentia:
‘Greu er amor ses putia
Camjairitz,
Tro que.l mon[s] sia fenitz’.”

(Bernart Marti the painter, who says and guarantees: “Love will scarcely be free of treacherous harlotry until the end of the world”.)

Peire d’Alvernhe, who declares his intention to abandon courtly love in favour of repentance and a higher love in his song X, confirms the act by using his own name as authority, although this is attached to a personal rather than a universal statement in the final strophe (lines 64-68):

“Qu’ieu sai, tan rics governaire
no’m denhes en guit aver-
-Peire d’Alvernhe so ditz-
no de.us for enquer partitz
ni per autr’amor camiaire.”

(For I know that if such a noble lord would not guide me – so says Peire d’Alvernhe – I would not have left you already and switched to another love.)

Marcabru employs the same device on numerous occasions, but also uses himself as an authority for truly general *sententiae*, such as a canine proverb alluded to in song XXXI, strophe vi, which is discussed in more detail in chapter 6 b) below.

Those same composers who use their own names as authorities in the satirical *registre*, also frequently mention external authorities. These range from the proverbial, including avowedly rustic and supposedly “popular” and oral sayings, to classical and biblical references. This implies that these troubadours’ use of their own names as authority was not only a symptom of the troubadours’ professional bravado and therefore a means of advertising themselves, but also represented an example of their wider exploitation of a learned technique of persuasion. The next paragraphs will begin by analysing some of the satirists’ classical and biblical *sententiae*, before exploring their less easily definable “rustic proverbs”.

There is only one correctly attributed classical *sententia* in early troubadour lyric, but even that is remarkable when one considers that the sayings attributed to Ovid in later troubadours, such as Rigaut de Barbezilh and Guiraut de Calanson, are invariably

spurious.⁵³⁵ This unique traceable classical quotation occurs in Marcabru's debate poem on love with the nobleman, Uc Catola (song VI, strophe x).⁵³⁶

“- Catola, Ovides mostra chai,
e l'ambladura o retrai,
Que non soana brun ni bai,
Anz se trai plus aus achaiz.”

(Catola, Ovid shows here, and the facts confirm the point that it (i.e. *Amors*) despises neither brown nor chestnut, but only prefers the degenerate.)

This bears no resemblance to the passage beginning at line 767 of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, book I, the analogue quoted by Roncaglia in his edition of the poem. This is rather an allusion to *Amores*, book II, poem 4, lines 39-44,⁵³⁷ as recognised by James J. Wilhelm.⁵³⁸

“Candida me capiet, capiet me flava puella
est etiam in fusco grata colore venus.
seu pendent nivea pulli cervice capilli,
Leda fuit nigra conspicienda coma;
seu flavent, placuit croceis Aurora capillis:
omnibus historiis se meus aptat amor”

(A white wench thralls me, so doth golden yellow;/and nut-brown girls in doing have no fellow./If her white neck be shadowed with black hair,/Why, so was Leda's, yet was Leda fair./Amber-tressed is she? Then on the morn think I;/My love alludes to every history.)⁵³⁹

Marcabru here takes a cynical passage from Ovid but, as a moralist, turns it against its source and his adversary, Uc Catola, who is defending *Amor*, through the twist in the tail of the strophe. The fact that the allusion to Ovid is authentic in this particular context can be directly related to the learned nature of the genre of the debate poem and to the resultant scholarly exposition of its theme.⁵⁴⁰

There are two further references to proverbs in the surviving songs of the early troubadours which may also have been intended to give a particular impression of being grounded in classical learning. In another debate poem, Marcabru puts a tirade of courtly commonplaces in the mouth of a shrewd shepherdess, then rounds off the

⁵³⁵ See Cnyrim, “Sprichwörter”, nos. 48 and 457, pp. 26 and 37

⁵³⁶ Aurelio Roncaglia, “La tenzone tra Ugo Catola e Marcabruno”, *Linguistica e filologia. Omaggio a Benvenuto Terracini*, ed. Cesare Segre (Milan, 1968), pp. 203-254 (p. 215, *c.f.* notes on pp. 240-241)

⁵³⁷ Kenney, *P. Ovidii Nasonis. Amores*, p. 40

⁵³⁸ James J. Wilhelm, *Seven Troubadours: the Creators of Modern Verse* (Pennsylvania State University, 1970), pp. 77-78

⁵³⁹ Translated by Christopher Marlowe, *The complete Poems and Translations*, ed. Stephen Orgel (Harmondsworth, 1979), pp. 141-142

⁵⁴⁰ The learned aspects of debate poems are analysed further in chapter 7 a) (i) below

strophe, “So ditz la gens anciana” (song XXX, line 84).⁵⁴¹ Peire d’Alvernhe ascribes comparable common-sense sentiments to a similar source in his song VIII, strophe vi:

“Que.I reprochiers
es vertadiers
Que dels antics auzi comtar:
lo ric al ric,
e l’om mendic...:
quecx d’eis semblan troba son par.”

(This proverb that I have heard recounted from the ancients is true: the rich stick with the rich, and the poor likewise, each finding his like.)

The “each to his own” theme in both these passages is universal and proverbial, as Peire d’Alvernhe observes, but the phrase, “the ancients”, implies a more learned, if unspecified source. In Medieval Latin, *antiqui* was a term used for classical, school *auctores*.⁵⁴² In Marcabru, the authority adds to the comic portrayal of the wisdom of the peasant girl confronted by a stupid and lecherous nobleman. In Peire, this is probably an instance of his borrowing of ideas and techniques from Marcabru.

Biblical *sententiae* are more frequent than Latin classical ones in the early troubadours, which is unsurprising given that reference to the Bible was a means of communication with any stratum of society at this time. Marcabru mentions Solomon three times as an authority, David once, and the Bible in general on two occasions, as “la letra” and “escriptura”. The Solomonic allusion in song XLIV, lines 9-12, where Proverbs: 5, 3-4 and 23, 31-32 are combined into one proverb, is genuine and has been discussed in the analysis of “Soudadier, per cui es iovens” in chapter 5 b) above. The example in song XXIX, strophe v, is at first glance more suspicious:

“E segon que ditz Salamos,
Non podon cill pejors lairos
Acollir d’aquels compaignos
Qui fant la noirim cogular,
Et aplanon los guirbaudos
E cujon lor fills piadar.”

(And, according to Solomon’s words, they cannot welcome worse thieves than those companions who bastardise their stock, and they caress the baby churls and imagine they can make their sons pious (?).)⁵⁴³

It would seem unlikely that the Bible should treat of one of Marcabru’s favourite hobby horses, the stupidity of nobles who allow their lower-class friends and servants to fornicate with their wives, and thus permit the blood of the aristocracy to degenerate

⁵⁴¹ This song is examined further in chapter 7 a) (ii) below

⁵⁴² Curtius, *European Literature*, pp. 251-255, “The ‘Ancients’ and the ‘Moderns’”

⁵⁴³ Levy, *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*, vol. VI, p. 306, *piadar*: “Die Deutung is nicht annehmbar”

further, with disastrous results for court morality and courtly patronage. There is, however, a potentially comparable passage in the first chapter of Isaiah: I, 23:

Principes tui infidels,
Socii furum....

(Your princes are rebels and companions of thieves.)

The theme of nobility perverted by the company of thieves, as well as the position of this passage in the Bible, immediately after the five Solomonic books of the Old Testament: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, may suggest that Marcabru was inspired by this attack on the Kings of Judah. The mistaken authority could also be deliberate, since Solomon is commonly associated with any gnomic saying, whether biblical or not, in a range of medieval literature.

The other supposed quotation by Marcabru of Solomon, in this case in combination with his father, David, also appears to be erroneous (song VI, strophe viii):⁵⁴⁴

“Catola, l’Amors dont parlaz
Camja cubertamen los daz,
Aprop lo bon lanz vos gardaz,
Ço diz Salomons e Daviz.”

(Catola, the love of which you speak secretly changes the dice. You should be careful after a good throw, as Solomon and David say.)

The fact that this saying is attributed to two biblical authors is already unlikely, and a reading of the Psalms and the Solomonic books of the Bible confirms the attribution as false. Although Marcabru formulates the above strophe as a classic *sententia cum auctoritate*, he is in reality using Solomon and David ironically as *exempla* of men ruined in love. Together with Adam, mentioned in strophe ii, and Samson, who appears in strophes iv-v, they make up a canonical quartet of such *exempla* from medieval misogynistic literature.⁵⁴⁵

Another supposed biblical quotation in Marcabru has also eluded precise identification (song XVIII, lines 61-64):

“Qui per sen de femna reigna
Dreitz es que mals li.n aveigna,
Si cum la letra.ns enseigna ;
-Escoutatz-.”

(It is quite right that evil should befall anyone who reigns under a woman’s influence, just as Scripture teaches us. Listen!)

⁵⁴⁴ Roncaglia, “La tenzone”, p. 241

⁵⁴⁵ On this topic, see further in chapter 7 a) (i)

Solomon does warn kings against evil women in Proverbs 29: 3 and 31: 3. However, this passage may also be a reference to the common *exempla* of David and Bathsheba (II Samuel: 11) and of Solomon taking foreign wives (I Kings: 11). In the context of this song, with its insistent refrain in the manner of a dance song, “Escoutaz”, following directly on from this passage, the “authority” is probably not expected to be taken at face value.

The following *sententia* from Marcabru is more easily recognisable as biblical (song XVII, lines 3-6):

“Non cuich que.l segles dur gaire
Segon qu’escriptura di,
Qu’eras faillo fills al paire
E.l pair'al fill atressi.”

(I do not believe that the world will last very long, since, as the Scripture says, sons now fail their fathers, and likewise fathers their sons.)

The problem here is that it could allude to one of several passages. Marcabru may be turning Jesus’s warning to the Apostles of their fate in the world into a general apocalyptic premonition (Matthew 10, 21; Mark 13, 12):

“Tradet autem frater fratrem in mortem, et pater filium: et insurgent filii in parentes, et morte eos afficient.”

(And the brother shall deliver up the brother to death, and the father the child: and the children shall rise up against their parents, and cause them to be put to death.)

Marcabru and his audience may also have had in mind two similar passages with more overtly apocalyptic overtones from Matthew 10: 35 and Luke 12: 53, where the division of father, son, mother and daughter is seen as inevitable when man is faced with his ultimate choice to follow or reject Christ. Alternatively, the poet may be recalling the idea from a purely apocalyptic context, where the family relations are not so clearly stated, as in Isaiah 3: 5: “Tumulabitur puer contra senem”, (the child shall behave himself proudly against the ancient).⁵⁴⁶ Whatever the exact source, if any, audience members would doubtless have associated the mention of the Bible and the sentiment with the idea of the Last Judgment.

Bernart Marti, like Marcabru, also feels free to quote Scripture in secular lyric, but, unlike Marcabru, he does it in a satire on a subject which is more clerical than courtly and combines the values of both worlds. Bernart’s most overtly intellectual song V, “D’entiers vers far ieu non pes”, his satire on the allegedly arrogant, defrocked cleric, Peire d’Alvernhe, unites Marcabru’s pseudo-scholastic *entier/frag* (whole/broken) terminology with a string of *sententiae cum auctoritate* in strophes ix-xi:⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁶ Errante, *Marcabru*, p. 218; Maria Picchio Simonelli, *Lirica moralistica nell’occitania del XII secolo: Bernart de Venzac* (Modena, 1974), p. 94

⁵⁴⁷ On this terminology, see further in chapter 7 b) (iii)

- IX “Fols vanars es pagezes
E grans laus es pagezia
E fols mentirs es bauzia,
Et hom de dir ufanés
Es plus vilas que pages
Segon romans e clerchia.
- X E selh no par ges cortes
Qui.s lauzá ni.s glorifia,
Quar eys Dieus nos anuncia:
‘Qui trop s’yssaussa, menr’es
Bayssan, e selh levatz es
Qui segon so s’umilia’.
- XI So dis qu’om si conogues,
E qui aisso gardaria,
Ja no.s sobrelauzaria,
Que sobrelaus follesc es,
E pareys be, si pros es,
Ja el mezeis non o dia.”

(IX. Foolish boasting is the hallmark of the churl, and great praise is pure churlishness, and foolish lying is falsehood, and men who use boastful language are viler than churls, as the laity and clergy say.

X. And he who praises or glorifies himself does not appear courtly, for God himself declared: “He who exalts himself too much is humbled all the more, and a man is exalted in as much as he humbles himself”.

XI. He has said that a man should know himself, and anyone who respects this principle will not glorify himself, because self-glorification is folly and, if a man is worthy, this will be apparent without him having to say so himself.)

The ninth strophe here consists of four parallel and repetitive axioms ending with a broad double authority: those who speak the vernacular and Latin, i.e. the laity and the clergy. The following stanza, after setting the scene by using the Latinism, “glorifia”, summarises the point with a genuine allusion, a familiar injunction of God in the form of Christ in the New Testament. This notion occurs in the Bible in several closely related versions, including Matthew 23: 12 (*c.f.* Luke 14: 11 and 18: 14):

“Qui autem se exalteraverit, humiliabitur: et qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur.”

(And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted.)

The next strophe confirms this same idea with another scriptural *sententia*. At first, Bernart might seem mistakenly to be ascribing the famous words of the Delphic oracle to the Christian God, but a mystical theologian of the period shows that this was not the

only or even most obvious source of the idea. The prologue to the *De natura corporis et animae* of St. Bernard's friend and exact contemporary of Marcabru and Bernart Marti, William of Saint-Thierry, begins:⁵⁴⁸

“Fertur celebre apud Graecos Delphici Apollonis responsum: ‘Homo scito te ipsum’. Hoc et Salomon, immo Christus in Canticis: ‘Si non, inquit, cognoveris te, egredere’ (*Cant.* I).”

(The famous reply of the Delphic Apollo to the Greeks is often related: “Man, know yourself”. Solomon, or rather Christ, also says this in the Song of Songs: “If you do not know yourself, go forth”.)

This tradition of ascribing the words of the Delphic oracle to the Song of Solomon 1: 7 goes back to the Church fathers. William of Saint-Thierry and Bernart Marti could therefore put it directly into the mouth of God as the “author” of the Bible. This idea rounds off a block of three strophes in Bernart's song, where each one contains a *sententia cum auctoritate*. It also provides a first example here of the widening of the function of this rhetorical figure from providing a resumé to forming the basis of a discussion.

The time has now arrived to analyse that most elusive of authorities, the peasant. Cercamon ends a strophe castigating promiscuous husbands as follows in his satirical song, IV, lines 19-21:

“Ditz el reprovier lo pajes:
QI a glazi fer a glazi es
Feritz d'eis lo seu colp mortau.”

(The peasant says in the proverb: he who strikes with the sword is himself mortally struck down by it.)

This is Jeanroy's emended text. Rita Lejeune reads, “QI glazi fai” in line with the manuscript and translates *glazi* as “carnage”.⁵⁴⁹ In either case, despite its rustic authority, this quotation reflects a commonplace best known from Christ's warning to Peter in the Garden of Gethsamene (Matthew 26: 52):

“Tunc ait illi Jesus: converte gladium tuum in locum suum: omnes enim, qui acceperint gladium, gladio peribunt.”

(Then said Jesus unto him: “put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword”.)

⁵⁴⁸ William of Saint-Thierry, *De natura corporis et animae*, *Patrologia Latina* 180, col. 695. For the “Know yourself” motif in general, see Pierre Courcelle, *Connais-toi toi-même de Socrate à St. Bernard* (Paris, 1975). Pages 237-271 specifically cover the twelfth century

⁵⁴⁹ Rita Lejeune, “L'allusion à Tristan chez le troubadour Cercamon”, *Romania* LXXXIII (1962), pp. 183-209 (p. 187)

It is already formalised as a moral dictum in the book of Revelation 13: 10:

“Qui in gladio occiderit, oportet eum gladio occidi.”
(He that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword.)

A similar contamination of biblical and peasant wisdom occurs in another dictum, this time in Marcabru, song XVII, lines 13-24, another satire on the sexual mores of the upper classes. This passage resembles Bernart Martí's song V, strophes ix-xi, in its extended use of sentence and authority:

III “Soven de pan e de vi
 Noiris rics hom mal vezi,
 E si.l tengues de mal aire
 Segurs es de mal maiti,
 Si no.i ment lo gazaignaire
 Don lo reproviers issi.

IV Lo mouniers jutg'al moli:
 Qui ben lia ben desli;
 E.l vilans ditz tras l'araire:
 Bon fruitz eis de bon jardi,
 E avols fills d'avol maire
 E d'avol caval rossi.”

(III. A noble often feeds his wicked neighbour with bread and wine, and if the latter is of bad stock, the noble is sure of an unpleasant morning, if the labourer from whom the proverb comes is not lying.

IV. The miller judges at his mill: he who can tie can also untie, and the peasant says across his plough: good fruit comes from a good garden, a bad son from a bad mother, and a nag from a bad horse.)

The best-known source for the good and bad fruit imagery here is biblical: “Sic omnis arbor bona fructus bonos facit”, (Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit) (Matthew 7: 17; *c.f.* Luke 6: 43). Yet, this imagery is also proverbial, occurring, for instance, as numbers 289, 520 and 799 in Morawski's collection of Old French proverbs. The labourer's proverb mentioned at the end of the third strophe is similar to a number of rustic proverbs, for example, those collected in *Li proverbe au vilain*,⁵⁵⁰ and the comparison between the nag and steed is also used in a succession of proverbs in a twelfth-century French version of the Romance of Alexander quoted in detail in section 6 b) below.

This range of allusion in the early troubadour satirists begs the question as to how and why they came to combine classical and biblical *sententiae* in one poem, classical and proverbial in another, and even peasant wisdom in others. The answer to this question may be found in basic school education. The first book of Quintilian's *Institutio*

⁵⁵⁰ Adolf Tobler, *Li proverbe au vilain* (Leipzig, 1895), discussed in more detail in the next pages

Oratoria had already prescribed the use of *sententiae* as first reading and writing texts for schoolchildren in the first century A.D. (book I, chapter 1):

“Ii quoque versus, qui ad imitationem scribendi proponuntur, non otiosas velim sententias habeant, sed honestum aliquid monentes.... Etiam dicta clarorum virorum et electos ex poetis maxime (namque eorum parvis cognitio gratior est) locos ediscere inter lusum licet.”

(As for those verses which are given to them to imitate, I do not want them to be trifling, but to have an honourable message.... It is acceptable for them to learn from the sayings of famous men and from specially selected excerpts from the poets, since these are more pleasant for the little ones.)

This concern with providing a variety of *sententiae*, combining verse and prose, the edifying with the entertaining, and the wisdom of great men and poets, was also in the forefront of the pedagogical efforts of medieval schoolmasters.

In the conservative world of medieval school text books, one work became the standard volume of schoolboy *sententiae*, the so-called *Distichs of Cato*, dating from the third or fourth century A.D. It survives in an enormous number of manuscripts in full or in excerpts, including in manuscripts associated with a number of Aquitanian cathedrals and abbeys.⁵⁵¹ It was translated into virtually every major European vernacular, and is even mentioned in troubadour lyric.⁵⁵² Translations survive in Medieval Occitan, and there are three in Old French from the twelfth century alone.⁵⁵³ However, although it continued to be used, commented upon, quoted from and translated throughout the Middle Ages, the *Distichs* dissatisfied many teachers. It was regarded by some as too pagan and by others as lacking in colour.

The eleventh century was a period of reformation in the school curriculum and one of its most outspoken reformers was Otloh of St. Emmeram (ca. 1010-1070). This well-travelled monk, perhaps the first auto-biographer of medieval Europe,⁵⁵⁴ composed his own replacement for the *Distichs* based on his reading of the proverbs of Pseudo-Seneca. This was another much-favoured collection of maxims, comprising the letters A-N of the *Sententiae* of Publilius Syrus from the first century B.C.,⁵⁵⁵ and excerpts from *De moribus*, a compilation of sayings popularly, but falsely attributed to Seneca.⁵⁵⁶ Otloh's publicity for his own solution from the prologue to his *Libellus proverbiorum* is worth quoting at length:⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵¹ These include the cathedral chapter of Le Puy and the grammatical florilegium of Adémar of Chabannes

⁵⁵² Cnyrim, Sprichwörter, no. 446, p. 36 (Bernart de la Fon)

⁵⁵³ August Pauly/George Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 5, pp. 358-370, “Dicta Catonis” (pp. 369-370)

⁵⁵⁴ Morris, *The Discovery*, pp. 79-83

⁵⁵⁵ J. Wight Duff/Arnold M. Duff, *Minor Latin Poets* (London/Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934), pp. 3-111. The same volume includes the *Distichs* of Pseudo-Cato (pp. 585-639) and the *Fabulae* of Avianus (pp. 669-749)

⁵⁵⁶ These were translated into Old French as *Les proverbes Seneke le philosophe*, ed. Ernstpeter Ruhe (Munich, 1969)

⁵⁵⁷ Wilhelm Charles Korfmacher, ed., *Othloni libellus proverbiorum* (Chicago, 1936), p. 2, ll. 14-17; *Patrologia Latina* 146, cols. 299-338 (cols. 300-301)

“Proverbiorum autem hic collectorum dictis parvuli quilibet scholastici, si ita cuiquam placeat, possunt apte instrui post lectionem psalterii. Sunt enim multo brevioris et planioris sententiae, quam illa fabulosa Aviani dicta, sed et utiliora quam quaedam Catonis verba; quae utraque omnes paene magistri legere solent ad prima puerorum documenta, non attendentes quia tam parvis quam senioribus Christi fidelibus sacra potius quam gentilia rudimenta primitus sunt exhibenda, ut in his aliquatenus instructi, postea saeculares litteras arti grammaticae congruas securius discant.”

(If I may say so, any schoolchildren can be suitably instructed by the proverbs collected here, after they have learned to read their psalter. For they are much pithier and plainer than the fabulous sayings of Avianus, and more useful than certain dicta of Cato, which almost all school masters read with their school boys as their first book. They do not realise that sacred rather than pagan ideas should first be placed in front of junior as well as more advanced Christians, so that having been instructed in these, the boys might then safely learn their normal secular literary texts.)

Most of Otloh’s *sententiae* or proverbs, as he calls them, are indeed sacred in their sources, either biblical or patristic. He does, nevertheless, also use dicta from Horace, Juvenal, Pseudo-Cato, and especially from the Pseudo-Senecan *De moribus*.

At least three other tenth- and eleventh-century teachers composed alternatives to the *Distichs* of Pseudo-Cato. Wipo of Burgundy, Salian court poet and probably tutor to Emperor Henry III (b. 1016), only employed biblical and patristic sayings in his *Proverbia Henrici*.⁵⁵⁸ Arnulf, in his *Delicie Cleri*, which was dedicated to Anselm of Besate, Henri III, and his wife, Agnes of Poitou,⁵⁵⁹ followed Otloh’s methodology and used mainly biblical *sententiae*, and especially Solomonic proverbs, but also quoted from Sallust, Horace, Juvenal, Pubilius Cato and Pseudo-Seneca.⁵⁶⁰ Similar mixtures of *sententiae* can be found in Old French, for example, in the thirty or so versions of *Les diz et proverbes des sages*.⁵⁶¹

The most innovative teacher and theoretician in the generations immediately preceding the early troubadours was arguably Egbert of Liège, who was active in the first half of the eleventh century. He attempted to improve on existing basic reading and writing texts, “novis et vulgaribus fabellis aliquot divinisque paucis inserens”, (by inserting new and popular fables and a small number of divine ones). His purpose in doing so is set down in the preface to his *Fecunda ratis*:⁵⁶²

“Nam non his, qui sunt assidua lectione ad virile robur exculiti, sed formidolosis adhuc sub disciplina pueris opera dedi.”

(I have not taken these pains for those who have already reached manly vigour through assiduous reading, but for those tremulous little ones who are still under school discipline.)

⁵⁵⁸ *Proverbia Wipponis*, in *Patrologia Latina* 142, cols. 1259-1264

⁵⁵⁹ Agnes of Poitou was the sister of William IX’s father

⁵⁶⁰ Johann Huemer, ed. “Arnulfs Delicie cleri”, *Romanische Forschungen* 2 (1886), pp. 211-246; c.f. Ernst Voigt, “Beiträge zur Textkritik und Quellenkunde von Arnulfs *Delicie clerie*”, 2 (1886), pp. 383-389

⁵⁶¹ Joseph Morawski, *Les diz et proverbes des sages* (Paris, 1924)

⁵⁶² Ernst Voigt, ed. *Egberts von Lüttich Fecunda ratis* (Halle, 1889)

His approach was essentially the opposite of Otloh's, as he focused on the lowest common denominator in reading material in order to appeal to the youngest group of schoolchildren. He combined biblical and patristic with pagan material, especially animal fables and proverbs, described as "popular" (*vulgaris*), which therefore potentially derived from or were even expressed in the vernacular language.

The use of everyday proverbs, as opposed to learned *sententiae*, is frequently mentioned in Latin authors contemporary with the earliest troubadours. Guibert de Nogent, in his autobiography written in 1115, refers to his youthful imitation of Ovid and of "Bucolicorum dicta".⁵⁶³ The latter phrase has always been understood by scholars to refer to Virgil's *Eclogues*, but seems much more likely to be a Latin translation of "peasant", i.e. "rustic" proverbs. Conrad of Hirsau (ca. 1070-ca. 1150), in his introductory school text book, *Dialogus super auctores*, compares the exegesis of the more obscure phrases in Virgil's *Eclogues* with that of "vulgar proverbs": "sicut in proverbii vulgaribus plerumque fit", (as is mostly done with vulgar proverbs).⁵⁶⁴ Arnulf of Lisieux may also be referring to such practices, but in a less favourable light, in the introduction to his *Delicie cleri*, where he puffs his own, mostly invented, "Solomonic" proverbs: "Quia sicut sunt remote rusticorum a mensis delicie, ita et libellus iste ab ethnicorum infructuosa loquacitate", (For just as such delicacies are not found on the tables of rustics, so is this little volume (of proverbs) remote from the the fruitless loquacity of the people).⁵⁶⁵ The following can act as an example of such "rustic" proverbs from the work of Egbert (book I, 7):

"Ad cuius veniat sciat cattus lingere barbam."
(The cat knows whose beard to lick.)

This proverb occurs in many vernacular collections, in particular, *Li proverbe au vilain* (no. 4), as well as the collections known as "Serlonic", after Serlo of Wilton.

Such "rustic" proverbs or vernacular proverbs often attributed to a peasant or *vilain* are known from a variety of sources. The earliest approximately datable collection is found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Digby 53 from the first half of the thirteenth century, where the rubric on folio 8 reads "Proverbia magistri Serlonis". Serlo was an English teacher of grammar and rhetoric and a writer of Medieval Latin verse, who studied and taught in Paris, became a Cluniac at La Charité-sur-Loire in Northern Burgundy, and ended his days at the Cistercian house of L'Aumône near Blois. His proverbs are in Anglo-Norman French and are followed by Latin translations. Their editor, Albert Friend, is in all probability right in thinking that their purpose was pedagogical:⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶³ Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua*, lib. I, 17, *Patrologia Latina* 156, col. 873

⁵⁶⁴ R.B.C. Huygens, ed. *Accessus ad auctores. Bernard d'Utrecht. Conrad d'Hirsau. Dialogus super auctores* (Brussels, 1970), pp. 71-131 (p. 120, ll. 1517-1519)

⁵⁶⁵ Huemer, "Arnulfs *Delicie cleri*", p. 215

⁵⁶⁶ Friend, "The Proverbs", p. 180

“It is also possible that Serlo used some of the vernacular proverbs to teach his students Latin verse. This is probable, since manuscripts record more than one Latin translation of the same proverb. Moreover, while some of these Latin verses are clear and clever, representing the work of a master of rhetoric, others are distorted and complex, suggesting the work of a student.”

Friend cites over a hundred proverbs from eighteen collections, yet Serlo is only one of many literary sources for these vernacular proverbs.

Several of the proverbs so far quoted from Cercamon and Marcabru have had peasant authorities. Dejeanne notes in his edition of Marcabru that several further proverbial ideas in the poet have parallels in one specific literary source, *Li proverbe au vilain*.⁵⁶⁷ To date, however, no scholar has investigated further, perhaps as there would seem to be little possible connection. *Li proverbe* consist of up to 280 six-line strophes followed by a proverb, each ending with the refrain, “Ce dit li vilains”, (the peasant says so). The proverbs are in Old French, occur in six manuscripts from the late thirteenth century, and are usually said to have been composed in about 1185.⁵⁶⁸ It is, nonetheless, striking that ten of these proverbs occur in Marcabru, and that four of these occur close together and three consecutively in the three fullest manuscripts of *Li proverbe*: MSS Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 17177 (Fa), Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal 3142 (A), and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Hamilton 257 (H).

The relevant proverbs in the French text and their potential analogues in Marcabru are listed below. The numbering is taken from Adolf Tobler’s edition of *Li proverbe*, which follows the order in manuscript Fa:⁵⁶⁹

4: “Li chaz set bien cui barbe il leche.”
 (The cat knows well whose beard to lick.)

Marcabru, song XLI, lines 41-42:

“Que chatz o mostre.l reprobiers
.....”
(Because the proverb shows that the cat....)

The analogy here is admittedly a guess, since line 42 of the Marcabru song has been damaged by the removal of a miniature in troubadour manuscript C, but this is the commonest medieval proverb concerning a cat, and the only one in Morawski’s collection of 2,500 proverbs which alludes to the beast’s cunning, in keeping with the context in the poem.

12: “Au vespre loe on le jour, au matin son oste.”
 (Praise the day in the evening and your host in the morning.)

⁵⁶⁷ Dejeanne, *Poésies complètes*, pp. 222, 224, 226

⁵⁶⁸ Dating from Raphael Levy, *Chronologie approximative de la littérature française au moyen âge* (Tübingen, 1957); c.f. Zumthor, *Essai*, p. 79

⁵⁶⁹ Adolf Tobler, *Li proverbe au vilain* (Leipzig, 1895)

CHAPTER 6

Marcabru, song XIIbis, lines 6-8:

“Que scienza jauzionda
M’apres c’al soleilh declin
Laus lo jorn, e l’ost’al matin.”

(Because the joyous science has taught me to praise the day at sunset, and my host in the morning.)

Learning here comes full circle and the troubadour tradition of courtly love becomes its own authority, but with humorous effect. In context, “Scienza jauzionda” could also imply the sexual aspect of love, firstly by implying the inn-keeper’s discretion, and secondly by lending the word “host” a double meaning, not just as inn-keeper, but also as mistress.

41:

“Ja de buisot ne ferez esprevier.”
(You will never make a sparrow hawk out of a buzzard.)

Marcabru, song XIX, lines 64-65:

“Cuidan s’en van lo tort sentier
Siulan tavan per esparvier.”

(They go down the wrong path in their thoughts, whistling for a hornet instead of a sparrow hawk.)

In Marcabru, song XXXIII, line 41, he calls the Angevins, “buzat”, (buzzards), the normal creature used to contrast with the aristocratic sparrow hawk.

77:

“Le pain au fol manjue on avant.”
(The fool’s bread is eaten first.)

Compare Marcabru, song XVI, lines 16-18:

“Lo pan del fol
Caudet e mol
Manduc e lais lo mieu frezir.”

(I ate the fool’s bread, warm and soft, and let my own go cold.)

A variation on this rustic proverb, “Al fol osta le pa del ma”, (Take the bread from the fool’s hand), also occurs in an Occitan collection of *sententiae*, the *Libre de Seneca*. The eclecticism of the author of this collection is comparable to that of Marcabru himself, as demonstrated by lines 1095-1098 of this work:⁵⁷⁰

“Pel prat Seneca e Cato
E p[el] vergier de Salamon
Passe e culhi de las flors
Non ges totas, mas las melhors.”

(In the meadow of Seneca and Cato and the garden of Solomon, I pass and pluck flowers, not all, but the best.)

104: “Qui a mal voisin, si a mal matin.”
(He who has a bad neighbour has a bad morning.)

Compare Marcabru, song XVII, strophe iii, quoted in full above.

105: “Encontre mort nul resort.”
(There is no cure for death.)

Compare Marcabru, song IX, line 14:

“Ni contra mort ressort ni cobertura.”
(Nor any cure or cover for death.)

106 : “Ce que sire done et sers ploure, ce sont larmes perdues.”
(When a Lord gives and a serf weeps, those tears are in vain.)

⁵⁷⁰ G.-B. Festa, ed. “Le savi ou libre de Seneca”, *Annales du Midi* 18 (1906), pp. 297-325 (p. 324). It survives in three fourteenth-century manuscripts

CHAPTER 6

Compare Marcabru, song XXIII, lines 18-20:

“Lo reprovers es fis e mers:
Ço que dons dona e plora sers
Las lacrimas devon perir.”

(The proverb is fine and true: when a nobleman gives and a serf weeps, those tears are doomed.)

110: “De fol et d’enfant se doit on garder.”
(Beware of fools and children.)

Compare Marcabru, song VIII, lines 41-43:

“Mon volpillatge teing tant car
Q’el m’enseigna de cui me gar
De gran fol e d’enfan petit.”

(I hold my cowardice so dear that I let it advise me to beware of big fools and little children.)

Here Marcabru has invented a humorous variant on self-authority.

143: “De bien fait col fait.”
(A good deed earns a broken neck.)

Compare Marcabru, song XXIV, line 9:

“Vers es, per ben fait, cap fait....”
(It is true that a good deed earns a broken head.)

Marcabru also uses vernacular proverbs which are not included in *Li proverbe au vilain*, but occur in other collections, for instance in relation to the hard-skinned vulture quoted earlier. The sayings common to *Li proverbe* and Marcabru also occur in other collections, but never more than five in any single one. Those which include five such proverbs include the bilingual French and Latin *Proverbia rusticorum* in Leiden University MS VLF 31, folio 114 (thirteenth century),⁵⁷¹ and the Old French *Proverbes ruraux* in Paris, MS Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 25545, folio 10.⁵⁷² As Morawski remarks, the versified *Li Proverbe au vilain* are of central importance to all these collections of Medieval French proverbs.⁵⁷³ Yet, nowhere in the 29 collections in Morawski nor in the 18 related, bilingual collections in Friend, are there any more than five in common with

⁵⁷¹ Julius Zacher, ed. “Altfranzösische Sprichwörter“, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 11 (1859), pp. 114-144

⁵⁷² Jacob Ulrich, ed. “Die altfranzösische Sprichwörtersammlung. *Proverbes ruraux et vulgaires* (BN 25 545)”,

⁵⁷³ Morawski, *Proverbes*, p. xii

Marcabru, and nowhere are they in any other than in a random order compared with their sequence in *Li proverbe*.

The likely inference to be drawn from these special similarities between Marcabru's rustic proverbs and *Li proverbe* is that Marcabru knew a version of this work 150 years before the dates of the first surviving manuscripts, and some years also before they are known to have been first versified in Old French. This conclusion inevitably leads to further speculation that the troubadour may have known such a collection from his school days, shortly before the first evidence for the use of similar collections by Serlo of Wilton, but one hundred years after the liberal teaching ideas of Egbert of Liège and his introduction of "rustic" proverbs into his own school sentence collection.

Since there are no surviving collections of purely "rustic" proverbs in Occitan, and they may therefore represent a more Northern French phenomenon, it is possible that Marcabru may have known them in Old French, especially if he were educated in the linguistic border area in and around Poitiers. If such proverbs were used in learning to read and write in the mid-twelfth century in Western Europe, this may also explain their influence on other vernacular literature of the period. They occur, for example, in early Northern French romances, such as Wace's *Brut* (1155) and in the first lines of Chrétien de Troyes's *Erec* (1165), as well as in epics of the William cycle, such as *Li moniages Guillaume* (1160) and *Aliscans* (ca. 1180-1190).⁵⁷⁴

Sententiae and proverbs of various types, from diverse sources, and used in a multiplicity of functions thus occur throughout early troubadour lyric. Within that context, the satire, and especially that of Marcabru, demonstrates by far the greatest range. Marcabru refers to classical *sententiae*, biblical and particularly Solomonic sayings, and "rustic" proverbs, either singly or in groups. This range of *sententiae* seems to reflect both techniques and specific texts used in learning to read and write in medieval schools. Elementary teaching was far more flexible than might be suggested by the apparent domination of Cato's *Distichs* and the fables of Avianus. Teachers could mix different sources of *sententia* into their own collections, and even combine the vernacular with Latin. Examples of this abound in manuscripts, such as the Oxford Bodleian Library MS Digby 65, folios 74-77 (thirteenth century), where a classical Latin *florilegium* is followed without a break or new rubric by 72 Serlonic proverbs. In Marcabru's satire, the eclecticism of this technique allowed him to attack his bugbears from every angle, bolstering his satirical message with learned authority, while simultaneously affecting to appeal to the common sense of the common man.

⁵⁷⁴ Alfred Kadler, "Sprichwörter und Sentenzen der altfranzösischen Artus- und Abenteuerromane", *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen* 49 (1886), e.g. no. 408; Emil Ebert, "Die Sprichwörter der altfranzösischen Karlsepen", *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen* 23 (1884), pp. 14-16

b) Animal imagery, proverb and fable

The animal world is one of the favourite sources of imagery in the work of Marcabru and his imitators.⁵⁷⁵ Certain set-piece images of birds, insects, reptiles and other beasts in Marcabru's songs XXXVIII and XLVIV appear, as argued in chapter 5 above, to derive from or refer to specific Medieval Latin poems and to well-known manuscript illuminations. Other individual animal images seem to have other specific sources and associations, among the most frequent of which are proverbs and fables.

Fables, like proverbs, were used in the teaching of grammar in schools throughout the Middle Ages. Quintilian had already recommended them in the first century A.D. as being helpful for pupils to learn to compose in Latin:⁵⁷⁶

“Igitur Aesopi fabellas, quae fabulis nutricularum proxime succedunt, narrare sermone puro et nihil se supra modum extollente, deinde eandem gracilitatem stilo exigere condiscant; versus primo solvere, mox mutatis verbis interpretari, tum paraphrasi audacius vertere, qua et breviare quaedam et exornare salvo modo poetae sensu permittur.”

(They should therefore learn to relate Aesopian fables, the ones which follow on from nursery tales, in pure and unpretentious language, and then cultivate the simplicity of their style. They should first be allowed to turn the verse into prose, then to interpret it more boldly, and finally to abbreviate and ornament it without violating the poet's sense.)

Priscian, who worked around 500 A.D., and was the author of the standard Latin grammar of the Middle Ages, also prescribed fables for the education of children:⁵⁷⁷

“Ideo autem hanc primam tradere pueris solere oratores, quia animas eorum adhuc molles ad meliores facile vias instituunt vitae.”

(This is the first work that rhetors normally give to boys, because it easily forms their as yet tender minds according to the better ways of living.)

Priscian gives examples of fables from the first-century adaptations of Aesop by Phaedrus, from Horace and from others.

There is indirect evidence that Quintilian's and Priscian's ideas, as expressed above, were implemented in Aquitaine by the beginning of the eleventh century. The personal grammatical *florilegium* in the hand of Adémar of Chabannes, which has already been mentioned as containing excerpts from both these grammarians, also includes the most common collections of fables found in medieval Latin manuscripts.⁵⁷⁸ These comprise fables attributed to Avianus (fl. ca. 400 A.D.) on folios 5v-6, works derived from the first century A.D. fabulist, Phaedrus, generally known in the Middle Ages as “Aesop's fables”,

⁵⁷⁵ Guiraut de Bornelh, Guilhelm de Montanhagol and Peire Cardenal seem to be the only later troubadours to quote fables per Thioliier-Méjean, *Les poésies satiriques*, “Les animaux venus des fables”, pp. 464-470

⁵⁷⁶ Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, lib. I. 9.2, ed. Winterbottom, vol. I, p. 59

⁵⁷⁷ Priscian, *Praeexercamina rhetorica*, ed. Keil, Grammatici, vol. III p. 430, “De fabula”

⁵⁷⁸ MS Leiden University VLO 15, folios 4v, 5v-6 and 195-203v

and the *Romulus*, the pseudonym of a late antique adaptor of such stories (folios 4v and 195-203v).⁵⁷⁹

The previous section of this chapter showed that the leading eleventh-century pedagogues, Otloh of St. Emmeram and Egbert of Liège, occupied themselves with the renewal and replacement of inherited collections of proverbs. In the same context, they also considered the use of fables, which they replaced or adapted for deployment in schools according to their own ideas. Otloh recommended his own *Liber proverbiorum* as being “pithier and plainer than the fabulous tales of Avianus”, while the first book of Egbert’s *Fecunda ratis* consisted mainly of versified, especially rustic and animal proverbs, which were followed by fables. The fables of Avianus also occur in a continuous canonical combination in manuscripts from the ninth to thirteenth century with *sententiae* from *Cato’s Distichs*, including in Adémar de Chabannes personal anthology (folio 62v).⁵⁸⁰ Classical and biblical *sententiae*, proverbs and fables thus seem to have provided the basic, secular diet for the youngest pupils in medieval schools, including in the region and at the time of the early troubadours.⁵⁸¹

Returning to the satire of Marcabru, the choice of fauna in his surviving work is strikingly domestic and rural, if the birds, insects, reptiles and other creatures in the set-pieces in songs XXXVIII and XLIV analysed in the previous chapter are excluded. The other animals mentioned are as follows: the dog (up to twelve times), the horse (four times), the frog (four times), the cat (twice), the ass (twice), the mouse (twice), and the badger, fox, goat, hedgehog, monkey and sheep all once. These are also among the animals which most commonly occur in medieval proverbs and fables. For example, the dog is the most common animal in Morawski’s collection of Old French proverbs, Walther’s collection of Medieval Latin ones,⁵⁸² in the so-called *Romulus* fables and in the *Fecunda ratis*. Marcabru also frequently refers to two human figures, who comprise stock characters in the fables: the peasant, who occurs five times in his songs in various guises, including in the form of a shepherdess, and the thief, who is mentioned six times.

The dog is invariably used negatively in both metaphor and simile in Marcabru. Its loyalty is perverted, it is greedy, libidinous and is often mongrelised, as shown in song II, strophe vi:⁵⁸³

“Greu cug mais que ja lur don
 aquist soldat; vey qu’estrreiz pla
 seguon la natura del ca:
 pus lo guos ro e.l lebriers gron,
 de sus ves del plat bufa.l foc.”

⁵⁷⁹ Léopold Delisle, “Notices sur les manuscrits originaux d’Adémar de Chabannes”, *Notices et extraits de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 35 (1896), 241-358 (pp. 301-319)

⁵⁸⁰ See M. Boas, “De librorum Catonianorum historia et compositione”, *Mnemosyne* 42 (1914), pp. 17-46

⁵⁸¹ For collections of fables in the Old French vernacular, see Julia Bastin, ed. *Recueil général des Isopets*, four volumes (Paris, 1929-1930) and Karl Warnke, ed. *Die Fabeln der Marie de France* (Halle, 1898)

⁵⁸² *Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, ed. Hans Walther, (Göttingen, 1963-1969)

⁵⁸³ Edited and translated in Peter Ricketts, “‘A l’alena del vent doussa’ de Marcabrun: edition critique, traduction et commentaire”, *Revue des Langues Romanes* LXXVIII (1968), pp. 109-115 (p. 111)

CHAPTER 6

(From now on, it is difficult for me to believe that I give them such hirelings: I see that these stupid bastards follow the nature of the dog: just as a lap-dog gnaws and the greyhound growls, so they blow the fire over the plate.)

The obscurity of this passage is somewhat alleviated by its context, an attack on the *guardador*, who make love to the wives of their masters. Fire and food are associated elsewhere in Marcabru with fornication, e.g. songs VIII, strophe iii and XVIII, strophe iii. The crossing of dogs also represents sexual relations between noblewomen and churls, as more explicitly in song XXXI, strophe vi:

“Dompna non sap d’amor fina
C’ama girbaut de maiso,
Sa voluntatz la mastina
Cum fai lebrieir’ab gosso;
Ai!
D’aqui naisso.ill ric savi
Que no fant conduit ni pai;
Hoc!
Si cum Marcabrus declina.”

(The lady who loves a domestic churl knows nothing about courtly love. His lust mongrelises her, like a greyhound bitch mating with a lap-dog. Ai! It is thus that the evil nobles who give neither feasts nor wages are born. Yes! Just as Marcabru relates.)

Dogs referred to elsewhere in Marcabru in apparently less specific contexts may or may not retain these associations. In song XI, lines 19-20, he says of the nobleman who ignores courtly qualities:⁵⁸⁴

“segon faisson es del semblan confraire
A l’erisson e al gos et al laire.”

(He seems to be a confrère of the hedgehog, lap-dog and thief.)

The promiscuous nobility are called “...un avol gen canina/Cui malvatz astres ombreia”, (a wicked canine race, whom an evil star shadows) in song XXXVII, lines 57-58. The merry-go-round of adulterous husbands, wives, lovers and their bastards is likened to a “joc azenin/E de loc en loc ris canin”, (an asinine game and from time to time a canine grin), in song XIIbis, lines 42-43.

The sphere of reference in most of these images is proverbial lore. The contrasting of the aristocratic greyhound, the court and hunting dog *par excellence*, with an inferior animal occurs as a proverb, for instance, in Old French literature. The antepenultimate *laisse* of Alexander of Paris’s late twelfth-century *Li romans d’Alexandre* contains a

⁵⁸⁴ Aurelio Roncaglia, ed. “Marcabruno : Aujatz de chan” *Cultura Neolatina XVII* (1957), pp. 20-48 (p. 24)

similar comparison in a welter of animal proverbs and other rhetorical devices which is strangely reminiscent of Marcabru's sententious, moralising style:⁵⁸⁵

“Fous est qui d’esprevier cuide faire buisson,
 Ne de ronci destrier, ne de levrier gaignon.
 Nature et norreture demainent grant tençon,
 Mais au loing vaint nature, ce dist en la leçon;
 Si en trai a garant le sage Salemon.
 Alixandres le dist e mostre par raison:
 Fous est qui conseil croit de serf ne de felon
 Ne qui fait de nul d’aus prince de sa maison.”

(He is a fool who tries to turn a sparrow hawk into a buzzard, a nag into a steed, or a greyhound into a mongrel. Nature and nurture are engaged in a great strife, but nature wins in the end, as the lesson says; the sage Solomon guarantees this.⁵⁸⁶ Alexander says and logically proves: he is a fool who believes the advice of a serf or traitor, or turns one of them into a prince of his house.)

Similar proverbial comparisons of lowly and noble beasts and their human counterparts also occur in later French texts, such as the *Les miracles de la Sainte Vierge* of Gautier de Coincy (1177-1236):⁵⁸⁷

“Car ne plus que miaule un bussot,
 Faucon ressemble à esprevier,
 Ne que mastins semble levrier.”

(...a buzzard no more mews than a falcon resembles a sparrow hawk, or a big guard dog a greyhound.)

Robert le Clerc d’Arras’s *Li Vers de la mort* (ca. 1266-1271) affords further examples:⁵⁸⁸

“Faire levrier d’un vieil mastin
 Et d’un larron boin pelerin,
 Ce seroit merveilles a faire.”

(It would be a miracle if you could turn a big guard dog into a greyhound and a thief into a good pilgrim.)

⁵⁸⁵ *Medieval French Roman d’Alexandre*, vol. II, *Version of Alexandre de Paris. Text*, ed. E.C. Armstrong, D.L. Buffum et al. (Princeton, 1937), Branch IV, lines 1659-1666, p. 357, IV,

⁵⁸⁶ This is not a true Solomonian proverb or biblical saying, but a vernacular proverb per Morawski, *Proverbes*, nos. 1273, 1328, 1399

⁵⁸⁷ Gautier de Coincy, *Les miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, ed. L’Abbé Poquet (Paris, 1857), “Comment Nostre Dame deffendi la cité de Constantinnoble”, p. 418, lines 34-36

⁵⁸⁸ Robert le Clerc d’Arras, *Li vers de le mort*, ed. C.A. Windahl (Lund, 1887), no. CXCV, lines 4-6

These series of proverbial images resemble Marcabru's in their theme, in their use of a number of parallel examples to reinforce the message (song XVII, strophes ii-iv), and in their choice not only of the greyhound as a point of comparison (song XIX, line 65), but also the sparrow hawk and buzzard (songs XIX, line 65 and XXXIII, line 41), and the nag and steed (song XVII, line 24). It is tempting to see Marcabru at the beginning of this style of writing, although it is more likely to have originated in fire-and-brimstone preaching in the vernacular, based on a common stock of proverbial lore.

Marcabru's image of a "canine grin" in song XIIIbis, line 43, only makes sense at all on the basis of another proverb:⁵⁸⁹

"Amour de femmes et ris (saut) de chien
Ne vallent (Tout n'en vault) rien qui ne dit: 'tien'."

(Neither a woman's love nor a dog's smile are worth anything unless they say: "take it".)

In the proverb, as in Marcabru's song, the message is misogynistic and the mode consists of the humorous use of a rhetorical comparison based on a known allusion.

Another canine image in Marcabru appears to make sense only if it refers to a fable rather than a proverb (song IV, strophe v):⁵⁹⁰

"Cill ant l'usatge del gosso
Que ditz qand sera a la lutz
Fara maio,
Puois qand es lai qui l'en somo,
Non er escoutatz ni auzitz,
Ni per lui non fo dolatz fustz."

(They (the disappointing young nobles) are like the lap dog who says that it will build a house when it is light, but when someone comes to ask him, he neither listens nor hears them: nor was wood ever planed by him.)

This story appears as an Aesopian fable in a Greek source, Plutarch's *Septem sapientum convivium*, where a dog promises but fails to build a house for the winter while it is still summer.⁵⁹¹

The only example of animal imagery in Peire d'Alverne also concerns a dog and is more easily identifiable as an Aesopian fable which occurs in a number of medieval collections (song VI, lines 33-36):

⁵⁸⁹ See Morawski, *Proverbes*, no. 83. Seven other variants of this proverb are quoted in Morawski, *Les diz et proverbes*, p. 141 c.f. p. 77, "Amour de femmes et [ris] du chien/N'est pas perdu(e) pour dire: 'tien'."

⁵⁹⁰ Example from Deborah Nelson, "Animal Imagery in Marcabru's poetry", *Studies in Medieval Culture* XI (1977), pp. 51-55 (pp. 53-54); text edited here by Ruth Harvey/Simon Gaunt, "Text and context", p. 57 (c.f. p. 59)

⁵⁹¹ Ben Edwin Perry, *Aesopica*, (Urbana, 1952), vol. I, p. 500, no. 449; Jean Defradas, *Plutarque. Le Banquet des Sept Sages* (Paris, 1954), ch. 14, p. 67

“qu’aital es de gaug ufanier
 -qui’lh sec e defug l’autre’entier-
 cum del can cuy cazec del cays
 la carns, quan l’ombr’ el’aigua.l trays.”

(It is the same with the man who follows illusory joy and flees the other, perfect one, and the dog from whose mouth the meat falls when the shadow in the water distracts him.)

The following brief version occurs in the prose paraphrase of the *Romulus* in Adémar de Chabannes’s grammatical anthology, where it is illustrated in the monk’s own hand (see Figure 16 at the end of this section):⁵⁹²

“Cum canis super fluvium carnem ferret, nympharum speculo vidit simulacrum suum, alteramque predam ab altero ferret (*sic pro ferri*) putans, eripere voluit. At decepta avididitas; quam ferebat, dimisit offam, et quae valebat sua non potuit vel extrema (*sic*) tangere dente.

Qui dum aliena quaerunt, propria amittunt.”

(When a dog was carrying some meat over a river, it saw its reflection in the mirror of the water, and thinking that it was another dog carrying some more booty, it tried to snatch it. But its greed was disappointed: it dropped the meat it was carrying and could not touch the other piece even with the tip of its tongue. He who seeks another’s property, loses his own.)

This song by the former cleric, Peire d’Alvernhe, is sententious and theoretical throughout. Two strophes, the third and the fourth, end with formal four-line similes, and the third makes a mock scholastic distinction between courtly *joy* and worldly *gaug*.⁵⁹³ The use of imagery of a dog, the allusion to an Aesopian fable, and its position at the end of the third stanza as a sort of rhetorical résumé, seem to show the influence of the satirical style of Marcabru. The term *entier*, “whole”, used of perfect as opposed to illusory joy, and which is represented by the substance of the meat, may also be a direct borrowing from Marcabru’s learned *entier/frag* terminology, as employed in the latter’s song XIX, “Doas cuidas ai, compaignier”.⁵⁹⁴ It seems that this use of animal imagery from proverb and fable represents one more aspect of the influence of Marcabru on his immediate successors.

Marcabru’s next most frequently mentioned animal is the horse which, like the dog, can be either aristocratic or proletarian in origin, or noble or debased in character. In his song VIII, line 38, “Plus fort d’un caval arabit”, (stronger than an Arab stallion), it is a noble animal. In song XVII, line 24, where a nag, “rossi”, is said to be unable to issue from a stallion, “caval”, the extremes of the species are contrasted in an already familiar manner.

⁵⁹² MS Leiden University VLO 15, f. 195v. *Fabulae antiquae ex Phaedro*, no. VII, ed. L. Hervieux, in *Les fabulistes latins*, vol. II (Paris, 1893), pp. 131-156 (p. 133)

⁵⁹³ On this distinction, see further in chapter 7 b) (iv) below

⁵⁹⁴ This terminology is discussed further in chapter 7 b) (ii) below

The horse appears to have explicit sexual connotations only in Marcabru's song XVIII, strophe ix:

“Amors a uzatge d’ega
 Que tot jorn vol c’om la sega
 E ditz que no.l dara trega
 -Escoutatz !-
 Mas que puej de leg’en lega,
 Sia dejus o disnatz.”

(Love is like a mare which wants you to follow her every day and says that she will give you no truce – Listen! – but mounts league after league, whether you have eaten or not.)

Sexual moralising is generally rare in most medieval proverb and fable collections, but there are some misogynistic works which do associate female libidinousness with that of horses. These include the mid-twelfth-century, possibly Venetian, *Proverbia super natura feminarum*,⁵⁹⁵ and an Old French debate poem, *De Marco et de Salemons*.⁵⁹⁶ Women are also compared to horses as love-objects in William IX's songs I, III and V, where sexual activity is also associated with gluttony. Otherwise, the lasciviousness of mares is above all known from either scientific or pseudo-scientific texts, such as Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia*,⁵⁹⁷ the *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* of Solinus,⁵⁹⁸ and the moralised bestiary, *De bestiis et aliis rebus* of Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor, where it is in a misogynistic context⁵⁹⁹. It can nevertheless not be excluded that poets such as Marcabru - and also Ovid,⁶⁰⁰ whose bawd uses a potion from a mare on heat – are actually using “commonplace” knowledge, rather than specific proverbial or scientific wisdom in the case of some of these harsh but effective literary images.

The contrast of nag and stallion in Marcabru's song XVII leads directly to one between well-bred foals and ugly asses (lines 25-26):

“Eras naisson dui poilli
 Beill, burden, ab saura cri
 Que.is van volven de blanc vaire
 E fan semblan aseni.”

(Now foals are born; fine, prancing, blonde-haired, which start changing from white to piebald and look like asses.)

⁵⁹⁵ Gianfranco Contini, ed. *Poeti del Duecento* (Milan, 1960), vol. I, pp. 521-555

⁵⁹⁶ J. Méon, *Nouveau recueil de fabliaux et de contes inédits* (London/Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1947), pp. 416-434, strs. 15-16, 33-34, 55-56

⁵⁹⁷ Pliny. *Natural History*, lib. VIII, ca. LXVI, vol. III, p. 115, ed. H. Rackham (London/Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1947)

⁵⁹⁸ C. Julii Solini *collectanea rerum memorabilium*, ed. Theodor Mommsen (Berlin, 1895), p. 104, “equae lasciviunt mira fecunditate”, (mares frolic with a wonderful fertility)

⁵⁹⁹ (Pseudo-)Hugh of Saint Victor, *De bestiis et aliis rebus*, *Patrologia Latina* 177, col. 93

⁶⁰⁰ Kenney, P. *Ovidii Nasonis. Amores*, I. 8, p. 18, “virus amantis equae”

In the context of the bastard offspring of the aristocracy, these two foals must represent young nobles who do not fulfil their potential, but become like asses, suggesting that their blood may not be totally pure. The colours transmute from the literal *saura*, “blonde”, and the literal and metaphorical *blanc*, also meaning “pure”, into *vaire*, meaning “uncertain” or “unreliable”, as well as “variegated”. It is probably not a coincidence that *burden* can also mean “mule”, the sterile result of the mating of the horse and ass.

The horse and the ass are also often contrasted in proverbs. The following Old French example warns against keeping the two creatures together: “On ne doit pas lier les asnes avec les chevaux.”⁶⁰¹ The ass’s allegedly exaggerated sexuality is hinted at in Ezechiel 23: 20, which also refers to horses:

et insanivit libidine super concubitu eorum quorum carnes sunt ut carnes asinorum
et sicut fluxus equorum fluxus eorum.

(For she doted upon their paramours, whose flesh is as the flesh of asses, and whose issue is like the issue of horses.)

This passage, together with a story in Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia*,⁶⁰² seems to have inspired a number of medieval pseudo-scientific and exegetical texts of different types, such as the *De universo* of Rabanus Maurus,⁶⁰³ Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor’s *De bestiis et aliis rebus*,⁶⁰⁴ and William of Saint-Thierry’s *De dignitate et natura amoris*, where this text from Ezechiel is specifically mentioned.⁶⁰⁵

The ass is contrasted with another aristocratic beast, the greyhound, in two early troubadour songs: one by Marcabru, the other attributed in eight manuscripts to Peire d’Alvernhe (ABDEIKNN2), in one manuscript to Marcabru (C), and in one to Bernart Marti (R, plus the table of C). In lines 54-56 of Marcabru’s song XXXIX, the promiscuous noble husbands, are compared to the topsy-turvy behavior of an ass in an Aesopian fable:⁶⁰⁶

“Semblant fant de l’ase cortes,
C’ab son seignor cuidet bordir,
Cant lo vic trepar ab sos ches.”

(They are like the courtly ass who thought he could play with his lord, after he saw him toying with his dog.)

⁶⁰¹ Morawski, *Proverbes*, no. 1494

⁶⁰² Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, lib. VIII. 46, in *Pliny. Natural History*, ed. Rackham, vol. III, pp.78-79, “gaudentque copia libidinis”, (they are fond of a great deal of sexual indulgence)

⁶⁰³ Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, in *Patrologia Latina* 146, cols. 212-213

⁶⁰⁴ (Pseudo-)Hugh of Saint Victor, *De bestiis et aliis rebus*, in *Patrologia Latina* 177, col. 62

⁶⁰⁵ William of Thierry’s *De natura et dignitate amoris*, caput II, *Patrologia Latina* 184, cols. 379-408 (col. 383)

⁶⁰⁶ Quoted in Nelson, “Animal Imagery”, p. 52

CHAPTER 6

The other song, variously attributed to Peire d'Alvernhe, Marcabru and Bernart Marti, is edited by Ernest Hoepfner in his appendix to Bernart Marti's works (Appendix I, stophe iii):

“Vilas cortes hieis de son sen
E moillerat dompneiator
E l'ases quan bram'eyssamen
Cum fai lebriers ab son senhor.
Mas ieu no cre, pros dompna denh
Far drut molherat gelos brau.”

(The courtly churl is out of his senses, as is the philandering husband and the ass who brays, imitating the greyhound with its master. But I do not think that a lady should deign to make an uncouth jealous husband into her lover.)

The fable in question occurs in various branches of the *Romulus* tradition, although not in this case in Phaedrus's original Latin version. The version in Adémar of Chabannes, which is illustrated in his hand per Figure 17 below, begins as follows:⁶⁰⁷

“Asinus videbat cotidie Catellum blandiri Dominum, et de mensa saturari, et a familia illa largiri plura.”

(Every day the ass saw his master spoiling the little dog, stuffing him with food from the table, while the household showered gifts upon him.)

The more relevant part here is:

“Cui occurens velocius et clamans prosiluit, et ambos pedes super humeros Domini sui imposuit, eumque lingua lingens, et unguis vestem discernens, Dominum suo fatigat pondere.”

(It [the ass] ran up more quickly and jumped up while braying, and placed both legs on the shoulders of his master, licking him with his tongue and tearing his clothes with his hooves, he wore his master out with his weight.)

This use of animal imagery from Aesopian fable, and especially the images of noble hound and stupid vulgar ass, illustrating the morally tropy-turvy life of contemporary courts, is heavily redolent of Marcabru's style. This song could therefore be by either of his imitators, Bernart Marti or Peire d'Alvernhe. The other Aesopian fable referred to in Peire d'Alvernhe's song VI, lines 33-36, and the apparently superior manuscript claim of this troubadour may mean that this fabular allusion is actually derived from the work of Peire, but this argument is hardly conclusive.

The image of the frog is used in their nature openings by both Marcabru and Bernart Marti as a humorous companion or replacement of the nightingale and other birds.

⁶⁰⁷ Hervieux, *Les fabulistes*, vol. II, p. 137

Linda Paterson has suggested that the frog “represents false loquacity in Christian moralising literature”, and gives several related examples.⁶⁰⁸ Indeed, the frog, like the toad, are both normally used as negative images in all types of medieval writing. The mention of the *rana*, frog, in line 5 of the nature opening of Marcabru’s song III could therefore be interpreted in that context as “an image of sterile verbosity”, which prefigures the troubadour’s ultimate disappointment in the elder trees mentioned at the end of the first strophe and then again in the *tornada*.

This is, however, not the only possible interpretation of the frog in this and other early troubadour satirical songs. The frog in the nature opening of Marcabru’s song III could be interpreted with a straight face as a natural, unpretentious component of a nature scene depicting the hopeful spring, the rebirth of the broom and heather, the flowering of the peach, and the budding of the willow and elder. Marcabru’s song XI, “Bel m’és quan la rana chanta”, includes the frog in a nature opening which is more complete and typical than that in his song III. The frog is said in line 9 of song XXI to be one of those creatures whose “joys” follows the “La via plana”, (the level path). This compares to the winter opening of song XXXIII, line 3, where Marcabru regrets not hearing birds and frogs until the “temps soau”, (gentle season). Bernart Marti also includes the frog in his evocation of verdant spring and the song of the nightingale in his songs II, line 2, and VII, line 6. The introduction of the frog in these seemingly incongruous contexts could also be interpreted as a simple joke, or there could also be a more serious side to this image, perhaps accessible through a shared literary association.

There are two commonly found Old French proverbs concerning not the frog, but the toad. The theme of one of these is that beauty is in the eye of the beholder. The other one is more serious and more readily politicised:⁶⁰⁹

“Dahez eient tanz meistes”, dist le crapod a l’herce.”
 (“To hell with so many masters”, said the toad to the harrow.)

This proverb occurs in Friend’s manuscripts of Serlonic proverbs with contradictory Latin translations: “Sic buffo crati fatur, ‘Ue cui tot dominati’”, and “Bufo crati fatur, ‘Ue turba quibus dominatur’”; meaning respectively, “woe to the oppressors”, and, “woe to the oppressed multitude”.⁶¹⁰ A narrative version of this proverb also occurs in the fable collection of the later ecclesiastical satirist, Odo of Cheriton (1180/1190 – 1246/47), but substituting a frog for the toad. The frog is crushed by the harrow and ends the fable with a Latin version of the proverb:⁶¹¹

“Deus confundat tot dominos.”
 (“May God confound so many masters”.)

⁶⁰⁸ Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence*, p. 39

⁶⁰⁹ Morawski, *Proverbes*, no. 446

⁶¹⁰ Friend, “The Proverbs”, p. 188

⁶¹¹ Léopold Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins*, vol. IV (Paris, 1896), pp. 224-225

In another fable on the toad, Odo finishes with two versions of the “eye of the beholder” proverb in Old French and Latin: “Ki crapout eime, Lune li semble”, followed by “Si quis amat ranam, ranam putat esse Dianam”, (if someone loves a toad/he considers it as beautiful as the moon).⁶¹² Since the French reads “toad” and the Latin “frog”, it can be assumed from this example that the two animals were often considered interchangeable.

This identification of the frog and toad with the oppressed and their anger towards their oppressors is not only found in such medieval proverbs and fables, but also occurs in ancient fables. In one Aesopian fable, “Ranae metuentes taurorum praelia”, (frogs fearing a battle between bulls), the opening moral is “Humiles laborant ubi potentes dissident”, (The humble suffer when the mighty dissent).⁶¹³ In another, the frogs demand a king from Jupiter, then complain when he only sends them a log, so he sends a hydra which eats the frogs.⁶¹⁴ Since Marcabru, and perhaps also Bernart Marti, seem to have been acquainted with both the Aesopian tradition and that of vernacular proverbs, their introduction of the frog into their nature openings can actually be interpreted as a positive element. Instead of mirroring the more usual negative exegetical and proverbial symbolism of the frog, these troubadours could be seen as identifying themselves with this animal as a member of and spokesman for the humble oppressed in opposition to the wicked rich.

The other animals which occasionally occur in Marcabru’s songs are the mouse, sheep, monkey, hedgehog, goat and fox, each only occurring in one extant work. The mouse in song XIX, line 25, would have been instantly recognisable to classically educated listeners as an allusion to Horace’s *Ars Poetica*.⁶¹⁵

“Lo mon[s] don issic la soritz.”

(The mountain from which the mouse issued.)

“Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.”

(The mounts go into labour and give birth to the ridiculous mouse.)

However, as noted by a Carolingian commentator on Horace, Heiric of Auxerre, this phrase was also proverbial:⁶¹⁶

“...hoc commune proverbium, quod dicitur de omnibus magna promittentibus et vilia persolventibus...”

(...this common proverb which is said of all who promise great things and achieve little.)

⁶¹² *Ibid.* pp. 187-188

⁶¹³ *Phaedrus*, ed. Alice Brenot (Paris, 1961), I, 30

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.* I, 2

⁶¹⁵ Wickham/Garrod, *Q. Horati Flacci opera, Ars Poetica*, line 139. Guibert de Nogent explicitly quotes this phrase from Horace in his contemporary autobiography, *De vita, lib. II*, ch. 2, *Patrologia Latina* 161, col. 899

⁶¹⁶ Hendrik Johan Botschuyter, ed. *Scholia in Horatium: in codicibus parisinis latinis 17897 et 8223 obvia, quae ab Heirico autissiodorensi profecta esse videntur*, vol. IV (Amsterdam, 1942), p. 466

The same author goes on to say that one can read of this in an Aesopian fable, and although this tale does not occur in Phaedrus's original version, it does occur in several of the medieval *Romulus* collections:⁶¹⁷

Marcabru's topsy-turvy image of a barking sheep may refer to another apocryphal Aesopian fable (song XX, lines 31-33):

“De gran folles
T'es entremes,
Cum fes lo moutos de lairar.”

(You have embarked on a great folly, like the sheep who began to bark.)

The perfect tense, *fes*, may indicate that the poet was thinking of a specific story, for example, a variation of the fable, “De ariete canem simulante”, (The ram who imitated a dog). This is the story of a ram who dresses up as a dog when the latter, the flock's guardian, dies. The wolf is deceived for a while, but eventually unmasks the ram. The ram then pretends that this was only a prank, leading to the moral: “Sic simulators variant cum tempore mores”, (It is thus that those who pretend change their ways with time).⁶¹⁸ In the context of Marcabru's song, these words come from the mouth of the nobleman, N'Audric, who identifies the troubadour with the topsy-turvy behavior of the sheep and simultaneously (and unwittingly) implies that he himself is to be identified with the evil wolf.

The reference in Marcabru to the hedgehog in line 24 of song IX has already been quoted above. It is ranked there alongside the lap dog and thief, all three representing aristocrats who have spurned courtly qualities. This association may seem surprising in the modern age when the hedgehog is on the whole considered a loveable creature, but this was not the case at the time of the early troubadours. In the bestiary of Philippe de Thaun, which was adapted between 1121 and 1139 from the highly influential Latin *Physiologus*, it is considered a symbol of the devil.⁶¹⁹ In his last two lines of the section on the hedgehog, the Anglo-Norman poet remarks, “E ço dit dit Bestaire,/Un livre de grammaire”, incidentally revealing the use of bestiaries alongside fables as basic school books.

In the fable-based beast epic, *Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi ad tropologiam*, (The escape of a certain prisoner treated allegorically), which probably dates from the middle of the eleventh century, the hedgehog has a more rounded satirical character as a cowardly, boastful and sycophantic nobleman. He is introduced as follows in lines 206-208:⁶²⁰

⁶¹⁷ Hervieux, *Les fabulistes*, vol. IV, pp. 234-236

⁶¹⁸ *Der novus Aesopus des Baldo*, XXIII. “De ariete canem simulante”, ed. Alfons Hilka, “Beiträge zur lateinischen Erzählliteratur des Mittelalters”, *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse Neue Folge*, 21, no. 3 (Göttingen, 1923), pp. 1-58 (pp. 44-45)

⁶¹⁹ *Le bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün*, ed. Emmanuel Walberg (Lund, 1900), ll. 1739-1774 (ll. 1765-1766)

⁶²⁰ Edwin H. Zeydel, ed. *Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi ad tropologiam. An Eleventh-Century Latin Beast Epic* (Chapel Hill, 1964), pp. 32-35

“Armiger ericius, clavata sindone tectus,
Nec studio cithare nec Muse deditus ulle,
Fit capitale lupi, citharizans fortia belli.”

(Squire hedgehog, protected by his nailed tunic, is no enthusiast for the harp or any muse, but forms the wolf’s pillow and only sings of great wars.)

This is how the vainglorious hedgehog sings of himself in lines 661–664:⁶²¹

“Quis tibi vel quasi? Magni sum gente Catonis,
Ex atavis longo si ducis stemmata filo,
Disces me natum magnorum sanguine regem,
In me priscorum virtus defluxit avorum.”

(Who or what am I to you? I am from the line of the great Cato. If you draw up my family tree and go through the long line of my ancestors, you will find that I stem from the blood of great kings. The virtue of my ancient ancestors flows in my veins.)

References to the hedgehog in the fable tradition are otherwise rare.⁶²²

The *Ecbasis* also alludes to the “*simia deformis*”, (deformed ape), in line 656. The ape or monkey was generally regarded both in antiquity and the Middle Ages as a debased form of humanity and was proverbial for its ugliness. The best-known classical quotation on the subject is a remark by Ennius reported in Cicero’s *De natura deorum*:⁶²³ “*Simia quam similis turpissima bestia nobis*”, (The ape is at once the most similar beast to us and the ugliest). Avianus describes it in one of his fables as *informis*, “deformed”, and *turpissima*, “hideous”.⁶²⁴ Similar terms are applied to the monkey in medieval, moralised bestiaries, where it is considered as devilish as it is ugly.⁶²⁵ The animal’s ugliness was also proverbial in Old French literature.⁶²⁶ It is possible that Marcabru was thinking of this unfortunate literary reputation when writing of the whore’s lover in song XIIbis, line 28, although this passage is admittedly very obscure and the suggested correction by Dejeanne is little more than a guess: “*Mas nafrot baldit [corr. nabot maldit] baboïn*”, (a cursed, dwarfish baboon).

In the case of the references to the goat and fox in Marcabru, direct allusions to proverbs or fables are more difficult to identify than with respect to the animals already mentioned. The goat clearly stands for sexual lust in line 31 of song XVII, where the poet alludes to “*moillerat, ab sen cabri*”, (husbands with goatish instincts). As with the sexual reputation of the horse and ass, this association occurs frequently in scientific and moral-exegetical texts, such as in the mythographer, Fulgentius,⁶²⁷ the moralised bestiary, *De bestiis et aliis rebus*,⁶²⁸ and the commentary on the first six books of the

⁶²¹ *Ibid.* p. 60

⁶²² See Hans Robert Jauss, *Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Tierdichtung* (Tübingen, 1959), pp. 77–93, for the position of the *Ecbasis* in this literary tradition

⁶²³ See Florence McCullough, *Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries* (Chapel Hill, 1960), pp. 86–88 (p. 87)

⁶²⁴ Françoise Gaide, *Avianus. Fables* (Paris, 1980), p. 92, no. XIV, “*De simia*”, lines 9 and 11

⁶²⁵ For example in Philippe de Thaur’s *Bestiaire*, lines 1901–1904, ed. Walberg, p. 71

⁶²⁶ See, for example, in Méon, *Recueil nouveau*, str. 73, p. 426: “*Li singes e lais/Et moult contrefais/S’a le cul pelé/Ce dist Salamos.*”

⁶²⁷ Helm, *Fulgentius, lib. III, I*, lines 6–11, p. 61

⁶²⁸ (Pseudo-)Hugh of Saint Victor, *De bestiis et aliis rebus*, lib. III, ca. 16, in *Patrologia Latina* 177, col. 89,

Aeneid commonly attributed to the mid-twelfth-century poet and philosopher, Bernardus Silvestris.⁶²⁹ Nevertheless, this mention of the goat and its reputation in this context probably comprises a moral commonplace rather than suggesting any specific literary or scholarly allusion.

The cunning vixen in Marcabru's song XXV, lines 34-35, is equally difficult to tie down to any specific literary analogues:

“Per semblant es veziada,
Plus que veilla volps cassada.”

(She (Marcabru's mistress) is seemingly more cunning than the old vixen when she is being hunted.)

The fox's slyness is a universal of proverb and fable literature. Of note here, however, is the manner in which Marcabru uses a vixen, rather than a dog fox, and one that is being hunted. These represent realistic touches which steer his proverb- and fable-based animal imagery back into the real world which is the butt of his satire.

Although the thief and peasant are not animals, they belong in Marcabru's satire to a universe of beings associated with a combination of proverbial and fabular lore of a more or less oral or literary nature. The behaviour of the thief and peasant typically does not correspond to courtly norms. The thief is, as might be expected, always treated negatively in proverbs and fables. The peasant, however, is sometimes treated sympathetically. Peasants represent mouthpieces of rustic wisdom both in fables and in proverbs of the “ce dit li vilains” type. For example, one of the fables of Avianus ends with a two-line moral in the mouth of a *rusticus*.⁶³⁰ In Marcabru, the common sense of peasants can be used to contrast with the perverted values of contemporary nobility who in striving for *urbanitas* have ended up being more rustic than the peasantry.

It is not only of note which beings are included in Marcabru's satirical world, but also those which might have been expected but do not appear in the extant songs. The dog fox, the wolf and the lion are the most conspicuous creatures in fable and fable-based literature. The lion does occur in strophe iv of song XLIV, “Soudadier, per cui es iovens”, but this is in the special context of the body of the Chimaera and its learned exegesis. Based on this observation, it is arguable that Marcabru wished his satirical world in general to remain distinct from unambiguously learned, clerical satire in Latin where these beasts are prominent, as in *Metrum leonis* by Leo of Vercelli (ca.965–1026),⁶³¹ the *Ecbasis captive ad tropologiam*, and its twelfth-century successor, *Ysengrimus*.⁶³² The troubadour would thus have been free to create his own satirical *registre* which is at once eclectic, down-to-earth and entirely new.

⁶²⁹ Jones, *The Commentary*, p. 72

⁶³⁰ Gaide, *Avianus*, p. 108, no. 28, “De rustico et iuvenco”, ll. 15-16

⁶³¹ Leo of Vercelli, *Metrum Leonis*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi*, vol. V (Leipzig, 1937), pp. 483-489

⁶³² Ernst Voigt, ed. *Ysengrimus* (Halle, 1884)



Figure 16 The Fable of the Dog and the Meat from Adémar of Chabannes's grammatical anthology, MS Leiden University VLO 15, f. 195v



Figure 17 The Fable of the Ass and his Master from Adémar of Chabannes's grammatical anthology, MS Leiden University VLO 15, f. 197

c) *Personification and psychomachy*

The personification of qualities expressive of the ethos of contemporary court life is the third and final characteristic of the vernacular rhetoric of the early troubadours to be examined in this chapter. An article by Dimitri Scheludko has already compared this phenomenon with the use of the same trope in Medieval Latin literature,⁶³³ where it can be considered as originating from the *Psychomachia*, or “Battle of the Soul”, of Prudentius (born 348 A.D.). The following pages will take up this subject again, but concentrate more closely on early *trobar*, of which Scheludko quotes little. This section will also ask and seek to answer the question whether these troubadours and potentially their audience really had Prudentius’s work itself in mind, and if so, how and why.⁶³⁴

As with many of the other rhetorical figures mentioned in earlier chapters, personification, especially of the extended type which is a form of allegory, is predominantly a feature of early troubadour satire, and particularly of the work of Marcabru and his imitators. In the love lyric, it is mostly love itself which is personified. It is often apostrophised, as in Alegret’s song I, line 9: “Tot so m’és bo, Amors, pus a vos platz”, (That is all welcome to me, Love, since it pleases you); and Peire d’Alvernhe’s song IV, line 29: “Amors, saber volgra quon er/de nos dos”, (Love, I would like to know how it is going to be between us). Love also frequently occurs as an active moral force, as in the final lines of Cercamon’s mixed *registre* love lyric/satire (song V, lines 55-56):

“Q’anc bon’Amors non galiet ni trais,
Anz dona joi als arditz amors.”

(For good Love does not deceive or betray, but rather grants Joy to bold lovers.)

This manner of speaking is as typical of troubadour as it is of classical and medieval Latin love poetry, and can equally be seen as giving an effect of passing Ovidian preciousness.

Marcabru and his fellow satirists also deploy simple forms of personification, for example of “Love” in Marcabru’s song VII, line 25: “C’Amors es plena d’engan”, (For love is full of treachery).⁶³⁵ This can be extended to other courtly qualities, as in his song IV, lines 41-42:

E Jois es entr’els esbauditz
E Donars alques mantengutz.“

(And Joy rejoices in their company (i.e. that of the husbands) and Largesse is to some extent maintained.)

⁶³³ Dimitri Scheludko, “Klagen über den Verfall der Welt bei den Trobadors. Allegorische Darstellungen des Kampfes der Tugenden und der Laster”, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 44 (1943), pp. 22-45

⁶³⁴ Despite its title, this is not the subject of Susan Marion Olson, *Marcabru’s Psychomachy: the Concept of Vice and Virtue in the Twelfth-Century Troubadour* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale, 1969)

⁶³⁵ See also songs VII, line 31 and V, line 7

These isolated references can evolve into more extended personification or personified allegories, where each forms a distinct dramatic scene. For example, in a neat set-piece in his song V, strophe viii, Marcabru pictures courtly qualities in a court of law. The poet is witness, defendant and prosecutor. He sees that *Joven* is silent, that *Amor* is defeated and disinherited by *Joi*, and that it is becoming pensive.⁶³⁶ In song, XXXIV, lines 17-18, the same troubadour depicts *Proeza* and *Malvestat* as weighed in the balance, and the vice being raised on high by the weight of the virtue. In song XXXIX, Marcabru imagines a tree whose root is *Malvestatz*, which confounds *Joven*, and in whose branches the nobility is hung by the cord of *Escarsetat*, (Avarice). In the MS C version of Alegret's "Ara pareisson ll'arbre sec" (song II, strophe viii), *Larguetat* is depicted as a bird, skinned and plucked by *Escassedatz*.

All of these examples comprise occasional allegories or ones related to other sets of imagery, such as in the nature theme.⁶³⁷ The central thread of personification in Marcabru and the other satirists, however, involves struggle, battle, siege, imprisonment, defeat and flight. For this reason, such images recall less the occasional personification of a Virgil, Horace or Juvenal, and more the tradition of Prudentius and his followers. A relatively simple form of this type of imagery can be seen in lines 11-13 of Cercamon's song IV, lines 11-13:⁶³⁸

Jovenz, e faigz, fraing e dechai.
E malvestatz a son luec pres
En amistatz...."

(Youth and Deeds break up and fall, and Evil has taken their place in Friendship.)

This is Rita Lejeune's text, which is closest to the manuscript, where *Faigz* may represent the correct reading. However, as "Deeds" suggest more an epic rather a courtly quality, and since the verbs and pronoun, *son*, are in the singular, several emendations have been suggested. These include Alfred Jeanroy's "s'en fuig", (flees), and Valeria Tortoretto's proposal, "Jovenz e[n] fail".⁶³⁹ The latter reading might be supported by potential analogues, such as line 7 of Marcabru's song XVIII: "*Joven* fail e fraing e brisa", (Youth fails, breaks up and disintegrates); or that in line 17 of his song XXIX: "Pretz e Jovens e Jois dechai", (Worth and Youth and Joy collapse). In any case the military nature of the allegory is clear.

In other passages in the early troubadours, extended personification may appear to be confined to that of a vice being raised up and a virtue descending, as if on a wheel of fortune, e.g. in Cercamon's *planh* (song VI, lines 4-6):

"Ai, car vei abaissar Joven:
Malvestatz puej'e Jois dissent
Despois muric lo Peitavis."

⁶³⁶ Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence*, p. 14, puts this into the context of forensic rhetoric

⁶³⁷ On this, see chapter 6 a) above

⁶³⁸ Lejeune, "L'allusion à Tristan", p. 187

⁶³⁹ Valeria Tortoretto, *Il trovatore Cercamon* (Modena, 1981), p. 139

(As I see Youth cast down, Evil is rising and Joy descending since the Poitevin died.) This is an image which is reflected in line 13 of Marcabru's song XXXIII: "Pretz es vengutz d'amont aval", (Pretz has tumbled down from on high). These more general topsy-turvy images may, however, additionally imply military ascendancy and defeat, given the frequent explicit statements in troubadour satire of a background of warfare between the virtues and vices.

In Marcabru's song IV, *Jovens* is said to be defeated by promiscuous married men (lines 43-44):

"A tort o a dreig vant dessus
E Jovens se clama vencutz."

(Whether it be right or wrong, they still win, and *Jovens* declares itself defeated.)

"Cobeeza", (Cupidity), kills Pretz in "Abans que.l blanc pueg sion vert", a song attributed in the majority of the manuscripts to Peire d'Alvernhe (line 50): "Cobeeza a mort pretz vert", (Cupidity has killed green Worth).⁶⁴⁰ This compares to strophe ii of Marcabru's song XLII, where the cause of death is made more explicit:

"Jovens triatz non a vida
Que ferit l'an dui cairel
Malvestatz e Cobeïda,
Laiñz entre.l cor e.l fel ;
Et es ne greus ad issir,
Que no s'en laissa garir
D'avolez'e de nuaila."

(Peerless Youth has lost its life because two cross-bow bolts, Evil and Cupidity, have struck him there between the heart and gall bladder; and he will be hard put to escape, because he will not be able to cure himself of wickedness and trifling.)

In this passage, the psychomachy, or battle of virtue and vice, is not only made explicit, but it is also extended to a strophe-long set-piece.

Another song by Marcabru, follows a three-strophe description of the tree of *Malvestatz* with another complete strophe of psychomachy, as follows (song XXXIX, strophe vi):

"Jovens fo ja bautz apellatz,
Mas aras es si recrezutz
Que jamais non er tant honratz
Per que Jois li sia rendutz,
C'Avoleza l'a si conques

⁶⁴⁰ Carl Appel, ed. *Das Leben und die Lieder des Trobadors Peire Rogier* (Berlin, 1882), pp. 97-100 (p. 100)

C'anc de pois no.n poc erebir
 Que.is parti de lui Dretz ni Fes.”

(Youth used to be called the bold, but he is now so cowardly that he will never again be so honoured that Joy will be given back to him; for Wickedness has so defeated Youth that he has not been able to save himself from the time when Justice and Faith deserted him.)

Although the allegory here only lasts eight lines, it reaches some complexity. The quintessential courtly quality of Youth is portrayed as a knight who has been deserted by his allies, Justice and Faith, defeated by Wickedness and so has lost his companion, Joy.

The most complex set-piece psychomachy in any early troubadour occurs as the central image in Marcabru's song XI:

II “Non aus dir so que m’atalanta
 Dir d’una gen qu.s fa cusca,
 Cui Malvestatz franh e frusca;
 Qu’entre mil no.n trueb quaranta
 De cells cui Proeza ama.
 Qu’en un castell l’an assiza
 E trazon i ben ab cen
 Peiriers cill qui l’an revisa.

III Pres es lo castells e.l sala,
 Mas qu’en la tor es l’artilla
 On Jois e Jovens e silla
 Son jutjat a pena mala;
 Qu’usquecs crida ‘fuec e flama!
 Via dinz e sia prisa!
 Degolem Joi e Joven
 E Proeza si’aucisa’.

IV Senher, ben hi a gran tala
 Si mor ses fill o ses filha!
 Retengam per maravilha
 Lo bec o l’ongl’o l’ala,
 Quar de pauc albr’eis grantz rama
 Quan bona pugn’i es misa,
 Per qu’ieu n’esper e n’aten
 Lo frut aprop la semisa.”

(II. I do not dare to say what I want about a people who have had themselves cuckolded, whom Evil breaks and beats, because I cannot find forty out of a thousand whom Prowess loves. For they have besieged her in a castle, and those who have hated (?) her are firing with a hundred catapults.

CHAPTER 6

III. The castle and the hall have been taken, but they are still defending themselves in the tower, where Joy, Youth and Prowess are condemned to death; for everyone cries, "To fire and flame! Go in and take her! Let us overthrow Joy and Youth and kill Prowess."

IV. My lords, it will be a shame if she dies without sons or daughters! Let us retain through some miracle her beak, or claw, or wing, for a great branch can grow from a small tree when good care is taken, for I hope for and expect fruit after the sowing.)

The first two strophes here present a cohesive and dramatic picture of Prowess deserted, except for Joy and Youth, through the enmity of Evil. These strophes represent the climax of the siege of the virtues, when only their last stronghold remains and defeat and horrific death are inevitable. The numbers help give an impression of epic combat, and the addition of direct speech and the present tense reinforce the atmosphere of dramatic tension.

The third strophe in this song, however, seems more complicated. It opens in the same dramatic spirit, with an apostrophe to the poet's audience, but then seems to dissolve into diffuseness: Prowess is seen as a mother, as a bird, and as a tree. The clues to the understanding of these multiple metaphors are potentially to be found in the *tornada*, addressed to the troubadour, Alegret, and in the latter's song, "Ara pareisson ll'arbre sec". In MS M of "Ara pareisson", *Proesa* is described as a bird which, thanks to the good Emperor Alfonso VII of Léon and Castile (1105-1157), finds her skin and feathers again, after *Escassedatz*, (Avarice), has skinned and plucked her (or *Larguetatz*).⁶⁴¹ Marcabru may here be making fun of his rival for the Emperor's partonage by imagining Alegret's bird as dead, but its remains planted like a miraculous relic, and thus growing again into a "great branch". This additional complication to Marcabru's all-pervading nature imagery would then be picked up again in the following strophe, where it is recommended that Prowess become a nun, since the vices wish to break off her branches and smash her teeth. This hectic mixing of metaphors might additionally represent a parody of Alegret's style, as he too uses nature imagery in "Ara pareisson" flowing from the "dry tree" in its first line.

In his song IX, lines 17-18, Marcabru imagines one last stage of the battle of courtly qualities with their enemies. Following the siege, defeat, flight and death of the virtues, the vices are now safe in their stronghold.⁶⁴²

"Proeza.is franh et avoleza.is mura
e no vol gaug cuillir dinz sa clauzura."

(Prowess is breaking up and Wickedness is building a wall around herself, and will not welcome Joy within her enclosure.)

⁶⁴¹ Jeanroy, *Jongleurs et troubadours gascons*, pp. 6-11. MS M is the more complete manuscript. The MS C reading, *Larguetatz*, probably represents a scribal normalisation of opposites. MS M has "Li gentz", (the people), which is a syllable too short

⁶⁴² Roncaglia, ed. "Marcabru: 'Aujatz de chan'", p. 24

This is paralleled in Cercamon's song V, strophe v, where the virtues are exiled and unable to help the nobility, who join the allegory and are imprisoned by their own vices.⁶⁴³

“Cist sirven fals fan a pluzors gequir
 Pretz e Joven e lonhar ad estros,
 Per que Proeza non cug que sia mais,
 Qu'Escarsetatz ten las claus dels baros
 Maint n'a serrat dinz la ciutat d'Abais,
 Don Malvestatz no.n layssa un yssir.”

(These false servants make many abandon and hurriedly distance themselves from Worth and Youth, so that Prowess thinks she is finished, since Avarice holds the keys to the barons. He has shut them up in the city of Abasement, from which Evil lets none escape.)

The imagery here is echoed in Marcabru's song XXXIII, lines 19-20, where it is *Avoleza*, (Villainy), which is in control, and *Proeza* is once again cast out:

“Avoleza porta la clau
 E geta Proez'en issill.”

(Villainy holds the key and casts Prowess into exile.)

In the latter poem, probably written at the time of the papal schism of 1130-1135,⁶⁴⁴ *clau* could have a double meaning as the key of St. Peter, and *Avoleza* and *Proeza* as Antipope and Pope.

All these successive stages of combat occur, but with the opposite outcome, in the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius.⁶⁴⁵ Each of the leading vices is in turn defeated and killed, and the remaining vices flee (lines 629 *seq.*). *Malus*, (Evil), follows the virtues to their camp and attempts to ambush them on entry, but the fortress of the virtues is finally established and fortified (lines 726 *seq.*). Subsequent Late and Medieval Latin works which were influenced by Prudentius and are quoted from by Scheludko mostly show a similar pattern.⁶⁴⁶ These include the *Moralia in Job* and *Homiliae in Ezechielem* of Gregory the Great (ca. 540-604); the *Sententiae* of Isidore of Seville; the poems, *De octo principalibus vitiis* and *De septem vitiis capitalibus*, respectively by Aldhelm of Malmesbury (ca. 639-709) and Theodulf of Orléans (750/760-821); and two *Parabolae* attributed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

All these Latin works also share with the early troubadours an added refinement to the allegory, that of relating the virtues and vices among themselves as family members and thus rendering the battle more emotive. Marcabru speaks of *Jovens* as the father of

⁶⁴³ Tortoretto, *Il trovatore*, p. 166

⁶⁴⁴ Boissonnade, Prosper, “Les personnages et les événements de l'histoire d'Allemagne, de France et d'Espagne dans l'oeuvre de Marcabru (1129-1150), *Romania* XLVIII (1922), pp. 207-242 (p. 214)

⁶⁴⁵ Prudentius, ed. H.J. Thomson (London/Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1949), vol. I, pp. 274-373

⁶⁴⁶ Scheludko, “Klagen über den Verfall”, pp. 26-31

the earthly world, and of *Fin'Amors* as its mother (song V, strophe, vii); *Donars* as the brother of *Jovens* (song XVII, strophe ii); and of *Senes-Razo* as the mother of *Malvestatz* (song XXXII, lines 34-36).⁶⁴⁷ Prudentius imagines that *Fides* and *Concordia* are sisters (e.g. in lines 734-735). *Superbia* is described as the mother of the seven principal vices in both the *Moralia in Job* of Gregory the Great,⁶⁴⁸ and in Isidore's *Sententiae*.⁶⁴⁹ This leaves the question: do these parallels represent more than a loose connection between Marcabru, his contemporaries and followers, and this learned tradition of imagery?

Scheludko remains vague on this subject in the conclusion to his article, but does seem to link the troubadours more with Medieval Latin poetry than prose works, and with the tradition inspired by Prudentius rather than this poet's work, positing "die engste ideologische Verbundenheit der Schöpfer der Troubadourkunst mit der Mittellateinischen Literatur", and concluding that "die Wurzeln dieser Kunst lagen in der mittellateinischen dichterischen Tradition."⁶⁵⁰ It is indeed true that the manner in which the early troubadours use the personified combat of virtues and vices as a symbol of the constant earthly struggle between good and evil reflects that of many Latin poets, such as Aldhelm and Theodulf. But it also mirrored that of theologians and moralists, such as Gregory, Isidore and Bernard, who followed more directly in the footsteps of Prudentius. It is also true that many later writers, unlike Prudentius, concentrated on the vices, although none is as pessimistic as Marcabru as to the outcome of the battle. The early troubadours also resemble the tradition inspired by Prudentius rather than the master himself in their flexibility and dramatic inventiveness. The later Latin writers add new virtues and vices at will, invent new relationships between them, and even new battle scenes, which are often more lively than the static dueling of the contrasting pairs in Prudentius. For example, *Parabola I, De pugna spirituali* or *De fuga et reductio filii prodigi*,⁶⁵¹ a group of unusually vivid sermons attributed to St. Bernard, has a siege scene, including even siege engines, which is especially reminiscent of Marcabru's song XI. The assault on the camp of the virtues in Prudentius is, by comparison, a very limited affair.

While not disagreeing with Scheludko's conclusion that the early troubadours were more influenced by the tradition of psychomachy and especially the poetic tradition inspired by Prudentius rather than Prudentius himself, the following pages will nevertheless argue that Marcabru, Cercamon and their contemporaries could still have been more directly dependent on the author of the *Psychomachia* than the German scholar implies. As a result of this, these troubadours could be viewed not only as writing in parallel to the medieval Latin tradition deriving from Prudentius, but also as being influenced directly by Prudentius.

⁶⁴⁷ Peter Ricketts, ed. "Lo vers comenssa de Marcabru (P.C. 293, 32): édition critique, traduction et commentaire", in Paterson, Linda/Noble, Peter, ed. *Chrétien de Troyes and the Troubadours: Essays in Memory of the late Leslie Topsfield* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 7-26 (p. 12)

⁶⁴⁸ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, lib. XXXI, caput XLV, in *Patrologia Latina* 76, cols. 9-782 (col. 76)

⁶⁴⁹ Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae*, lib. II, caput XXXVII, "De pugna virtutum adversus vitia", in *Patrologia Latina* 83, cols. 537-738 (col. 639)

⁶⁵⁰ Scheludko, "Klagen über den Verfall", p. X

⁶⁵¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Parabola I-III, De pugna spirituali*, in *Patrologia Latina* 183 cols. 757-767

The *Psychomachia* was a commonly used text book in the schools of Aquitaine in the period of the early troubadours. The poem appears bound together with other grammatical texts in various manuscripts from the region. The eleventh-century library catalogue from the cathedral chapter of Notre-Dame du Puy found in MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7581, folio 59 hardly mentions any theological texts. Instead, it demonstrates a focus on secular authors used in the teaching of the classical *trivium*, as well as of the *quadrivium*, the upper division of the liberal arts syllabus, comprising arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. This catalogue mentions one copy of the *Psychomachia* bound in with Sedulius and a certain *Tractatum corporis Domini*; another copy bound in with "Homerus" and the four books of the commentary on the *Aeneid* by Servius;⁶⁵² and a third with even more rudimentary school books, including proverbs and fables:

"Est et liber Catonis cum Prisciani de formatione et grammatici Focce et Persii Prudentiique de sichomachia atque Aviani libro. vi."

(And this is a book containing Cato with Priscian's *De formatione*, the grammarians Phocas and Persius, the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, and the six books of Avianus.)

These collections from Le Puy thus resemble the personal anthology of Adémar of Chabannes. This included not only excerpts of astronomical and mathematical works which can be related to the teaching of the *quadrivium*; theoretical grammatical texts, including passages from Donatus, Marius Victorinus, Priscian, Quintilian and Isidore of Seville; but also basic grammatical models, such as Cato's *Distichs*, the fables of Avianus, an illustrated *Romulus*, and an illustrated *Psychomachia* on folios 37-43v and 45-60v (see Figure 18).⁶⁵³

That Prudentius and his famous allegory was still a vital force in the imagination of the population of mid-twelfth-century Northern Aquitaine is further suggested by a parallel to the early troubadours in the world of art. An almost identical sculptural programme ornaments a number of churches in Poitou and Saintonge, one of the most dynamic and influential regions in the evolution of Romanesque sculpture. Eight examples of this programme survive in the present-day département of Charente-Maritime, four in Deux-Sèvres, and one in Vienne. The only other two known examples of this iconographic programme border on this region: two to the south in the Bordelais, and one to the north in Anjou.⁶⁵⁴ An idea of their distribution is given in Figure 19 at the end of this section.

These sculptural representations of the battle of the virtues and the vices bear a striking resemblance both to one another and to the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius (see Figure 20 and Figure 21). In contrast to the literary imitators listed by Scheludko, these sculptures limit themselves to six of the seven principal pairs of virtues and vices in the

⁶⁵² Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. II (Paris, 1874), pp. 443-445

⁶⁵³ Léopold Delisle, "Notices sur les manuscrits originaux d'Adémar de Chabannes", pp. 304-308

⁶⁵⁴ Paul Deschamps, "Le combat des vertus et des vices sur les portails romans de la Saintonge et du Poitou", *Congrès Archéologique de France LXXIXe session tenue à Angoulême en 1912, (Paris/Caen, 1913)*, vol II, pp. 309-324 (pp. 311-313)

Latin poet, with only slight changes of order and nomenclature. Some names are adapted to single-word titles to fit the design. For example, *Mens Humilis* and *Veterorum Cultura Deorum* become *Humilitas* and *Idolatria*. Other names are modernised and laicised, so that *Sodomita* and *Ratio* become *Libido* and *Largitas*. Otherwise, the pairs of virtues and vices are identical.⁶⁵⁵ The most significant change of name in the context of this chapter is perhaps that of *Ratio* to *Largitas* as the opponent of *Avaritia*. *Largitas*, or *Larguetatz* in Occitan, was a cardinal virtue of contemporary court society. From this perspective, it is perhaps also significant that the carved virtues are depicted as contemporary knights trampling on devils, whereas in the tradition of manuscript illustrations of the *Psychomachia* they are generally represented as unarmed females in classical garments (Figure 18).⁶⁵⁶

Based on the above, it is tempting to see the satire of Marcabru, his contemporaries and followers, as referring both directly to a shared knowledge of the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius and to the tradition of his later imitators. The *Psychomachia* was demonstrably read as a basic school text in the schools of eleventh-century Aquitaine in conjunction with other works which were also clearly known to the early troubadours, and Prudentius's work was an important inspiration to sculptors in the region during the early to mid-twelfth century. The transformation of *Ratio* into *Largitas* and the depiction of the virtues as knights in some Romanesque sculptures from the region could even suggest cross-fertilisation between the Latin tradition and the ethos of the new vernacular art of the troubadours, a phenomenon which has already been suggested at the end of chapter 3, section b) with respect to contemporary Medieval Latin love poetry.

⁶⁵⁵ A Medieval Latin poem occurring in two eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts includes the virtues and vices in a slightly different order and with names similarly modernised, but made more monkish with the addition of the pair, "torpor" and "vigilis", per *Monumenta Germaniae Historicae. Poetae latini Medii Aevi*, V.iii (Munich, 1979), pp. 649-670

⁶⁵⁶ Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1939), p. 4

Conclusions to chapter 6

This chapter has investigated the potential impact on early *trobar* of the most basic level of school learning, the teaching of grammar or the art of reading and writing in Latin, the first element of the first level of the school curriculum, the *trivium*. It has shown that leading schoolmasters recommended the use of proverbs and fables in this context, and confirmed this by reference to the eleventh-century library catalogue from the Cathedral of Le Puy, and manuscripts in the hand of Adémar of Chabannes. Adémar was a monk of Saint-Cybard of Angoulême, a frequent visitor to Saint-Martial of Limoges, and famously praised the exceptional learning of William IX's grandfather, William V. Adémar's manuscripts, and particularly his personal notebook, not only quote grammatical theoreticians such as Quintilian, Priscian and Maximus Victorinus, but also include proverbs and other *sententiae* from the *Distichs* of Cato, fables attributed to Avianus and collected in the so-called *Romulus*, as well as a *Psychomachia* of Prudentius illustrated in the monk's own hand.

Proverbs and other types of *sententia* occur in all the early troubadours in both love lyric and satire, often as a rhetorical device to introduce or summarise an argument. In the satirical *registre*, additional weight is often lent to these axioms by providing an authority. This is sometimes the troubadour himself, but can also be an external source. Such sources include Ovid, Solomon, David, "Scripture", "the ancients" or the proverbial "rustic" or peasant. Sometimes these sources were invented, but on other occasions, they can be traced back to actual passages in Ovid, the Bible, or contemporary collections of "rustic proverbs" which can occur in grammatical manuscripts in Latin, in the vernacular or in both languages combined.

Animal imagery is relatively uncommon in early troubadour love lyric. It is, however, found in William IX's burlesque poems and the satire of Marcabru and his imitators, where it usually refers to the behaviour of their targets. In these contexts, the wording can suggest passages from the Bible, exegetical works, including bestiaries, fables, proverbs, and other commonplace lore. However, some references to animals only make sense if they are related back to specific fables. These include that of the lap dog who built a house, and the ass who tries to act like a pet dog in songs by Marcabru, and the dog who mistook his reflection in the river in a song by Peire d'Alvernhe. The latter two fables are contained in Adémar's grammatical collection, and were illustrated by him, perhaps to appeal to young pupils.

The principal courtly qualities of *Amors*, including *fin'Amors* and *bon'Amors*, *Joi*, *Joven*, *Pretz* and *Sen* were already well-established and used in personified form in the love songs of William IX and Jaufre Rudel. In the work of Marcabru, and his successors, personification developed into complex allegories of good and evil, sometimes in a specific framework of warfare. These allegories inevitably recall the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius and the many works by his imitators which, like the early troubadours, developed his original idea. The *Psychomachia* itself is not only illustrated in Adémar's notebook, but also occurs in visual form in a widespread iconographical programme found on churches in Northern Aquitaine at this time.

Allusions to or reminiscences of proverbs, other *sententiae*, fables, and the virtues and vices from the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius play different roles in the early

CHAPTER 6

troubadours. *Sententiae*, especially those *cum auctoritate*, are used to impress and persuade, and often feature in satirical songs which deploy Latinisms, such as formal debate poems. Rustic proverbs and animal imagery, especially from commonly known fables, had the additional benefit of being accessible to audience members who would not have had the benefit of a basic school education. This dual impact also holds for the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius. Some of the audience of early *trobar* may have recalled reading this text, possibly illustrated, as part of their basic school education. Others would have been able to identify with personified vices and virtues which they had seen in church ornamentation, but which were adapted by the early troubadours to the new ethos of the courtly laity.

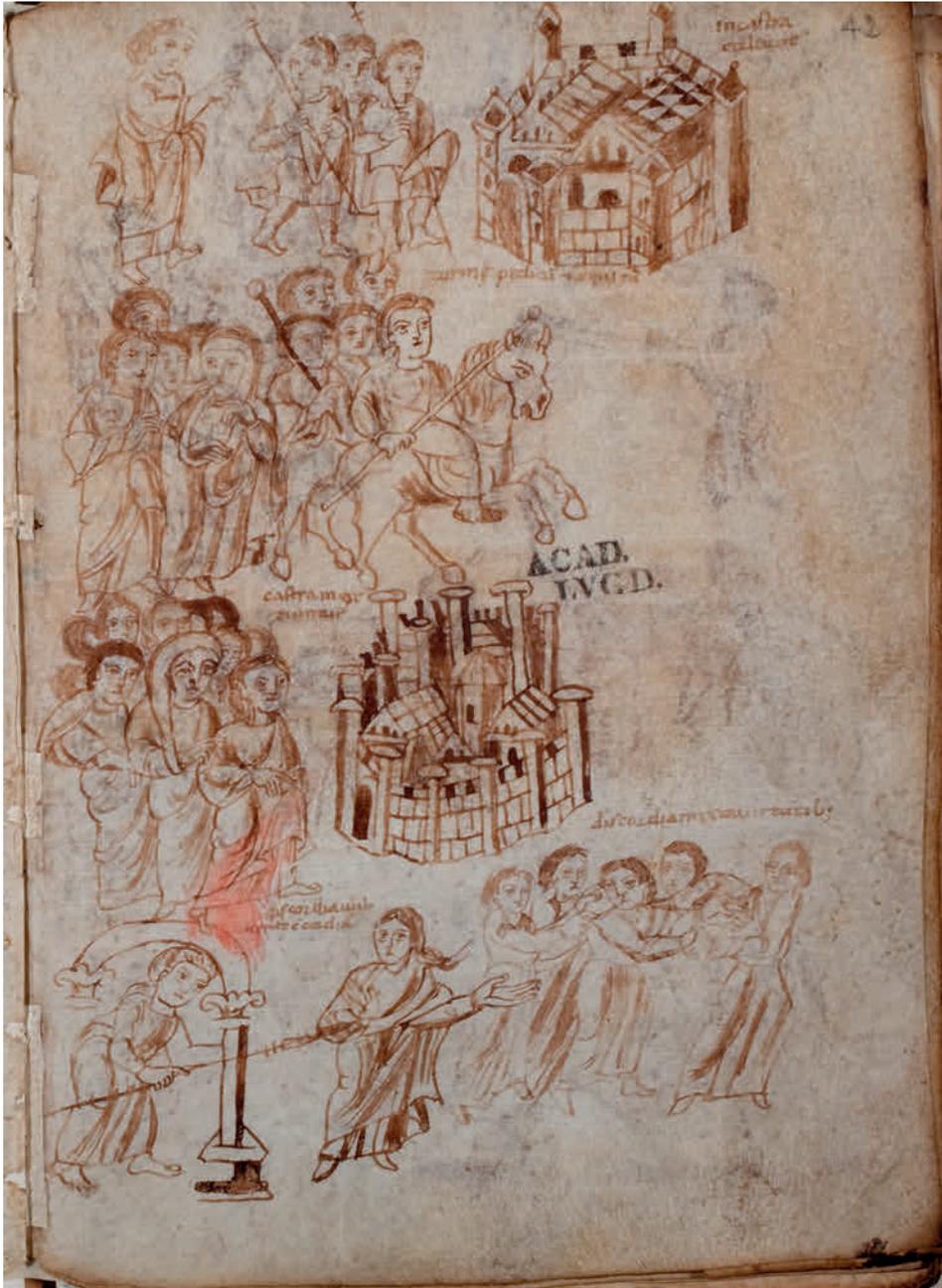


Figure 18 Illustrated *Psychomachia* of Prudentius in Adémar of Chabannes's grammatical anthology, MS Leiden University VLO 15, f. 42

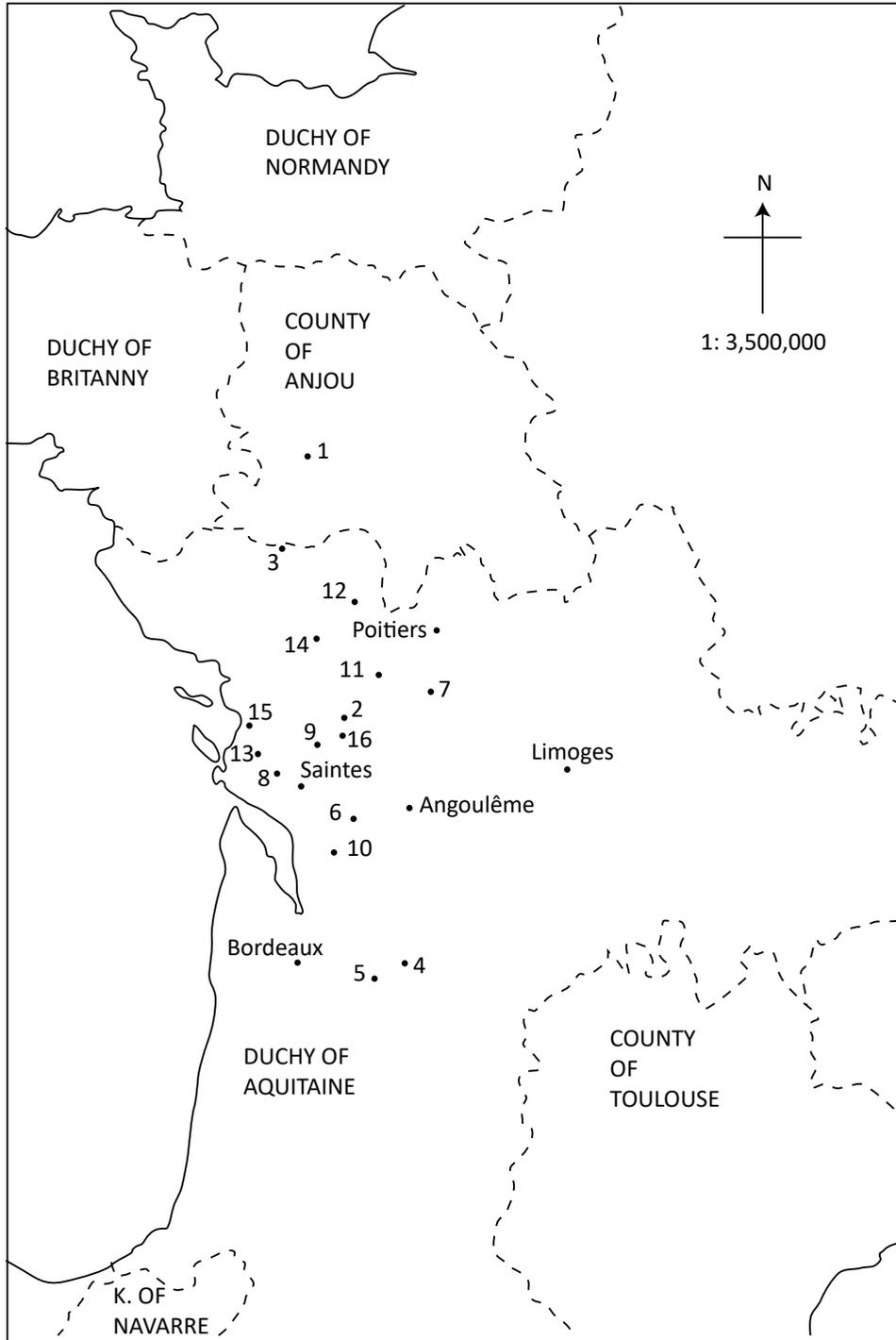


Figure 19a Map of the distribution of Romanesque sculptural representations of Prudentius's *Psychomachia* in western France (key on following page)

1.	Ancienne abbaye Saint-Aubin, Angers, Maine-et-Loire
2.	Eglise Saint-Pierre-de-la-Tour, Aulnay-de-Saintonge, Charente-Maritime
3.	Eglise Saint-Gilles, Argenton-les-Vallées, Deux-Sèvres
4.	Eglise St.-Nicolas, Abbaye Saint-Maurice de Blasimon, Gironde
5.	Eglise Notre-Dame de Castelviel, Gironde
6.	Eglise Saint-Martin, Chadenac, Charente-Maritime
7.	Priorale Saint-Nicolas de Civray, Vienne
8.	Eglise Saint-Nazaire de Corme Royal, Charente-Maritime
9.	Eglise du Saint-Esprit, Fenioux, Charente-Maritime
10.	Eglise de Fontaines d'Ozillac, Charente-Maritime
11.	Eglise Saint-Hilaire, Melle, Deux-Sèvres
12.	Eglise Notre-Dame-de-la-Couldre, Parthenay, Deux-Sèvres
13.	Eglise de Pont-l'abbaye d'Arnoult, Charente-Maritime
14.	Eglise Saint-Pompain, Deux-Sèvres
15.	Eglise Saint-Symphorien de Broue, Charente-Maritime
16.	Eglise Saint-Germain, Varaize, Charente-Maritime

Figure 19b Key to the map on the previous page



Figure 20 Sculptural psychomachy on the west portal of the church of Saint-Pierre-de-la-Tour, Aulnay-de-Saintonge, Charente-Maritime (detail)



Figure 21 Sculptural psychomachy on the portal of the church of Saint-Gilles, Argenton-les-Vallées, Deux-Sèvres

Chapter 7

Argument and thought

Introduction

Chapter 6 examined the potential influence of three groups of basic Latin reading texts used in grammatical instruction in eleventh- and early twelfth-century Aquitaine on three of the dominant rhetorical figures of early *trobar*: *sententiae*, with or without authority, animal imagery and personification. This chapter concentrates more on the potential impact of the teaching of the second subject of the *trivium* after grammar, that of dialectic. It examines whether various means of arguing and expressing ideas practised in dialectical, and even subsequent theological training, may have influenced the ways in which early troubadours expounded and shared their views on love and morality in the lay courts.

The early troubadours were contemporaries of a flourishing of dialectical studies which was revolutionising every intellectual discipline at this period, both in their region and beyond. Masters of dialectic, such as Peter Abelard, attracted crowds of students to their schools in Paris and across Northern France, and aggressively challenged existing ideas. Poitiers found itself within this orbit, as evidenced by the career of Gilbert de La Porrée. After initial studies in Poitiers, Gilbert completed his education with Anselm of Laon and Bernard of Chartres, before returning to Poitiers as Bishop in 1142. Dialectic not only had a profound influence on Gilbert's Trinitarian theology, but was also used, ultimately unsuccessfully, against him at the Councils of Paris and Reims in 1147 and 1148.

It was also during this period that Peter of Lombard, who was present at the Council of Reims in 1148, was composing his hugely influential *Liber Sententiarum*. This was inspired by the *Sic et Non*, "Yes and No", which Abelard had composed sometime after the Council of Soissons in 1121, and where he juxtaposed apparently contradictory quotations from the Church fathers. This was also the period of composition of the *Decretum Gratiani* or *Concordia discordantium canonum* (ca. 1150), where the same methodology was used systematically to reconcile inherited legal canons. Tony Hunt has published a resumé of contemporary dialectic and its possible impact on the twelfth-century romances of Chrétien de Troyes and Thomas of Britain.⁶⁵⁷ This chapter will similarly attempt to analyse the potential impact of dialectical studies and techniques on early *trobar*, with a particular focus on two elements: firstly, the technique of dialogue form, and secondly, the defining and distinguishing of technical terms, some of which were almost certainly inspired by Latin school learning, while others were invented within the context of the new courtly lyric.

⁶⁵⁷ Tony Hunt, "Aristotle, Dialectic and Courtly literature, *Viator* 10 (1979), pp. 95-130

a) *Dialogue form*(i) *The debate poem*

Four early troubadour songs are in dialogue form. Two of these consist of debates: one by Cercamon/Guilhalmi, “Car vei fenir a tot dia (song VII); the other by Marcabru/Ugo Catola, “Amics Marchabrun, car digam” (song VI). The other two comprise *pastourelles* by Marcabru: “L’autrier, a l’issida d’abriu” (song XXIX), and “L’autrier jost’una sebissa” (song XXX).

These works have never been discussed together as a group, and seldom individually in relation to the Latin tradition without arguments being distorted by hypotheses as to the supposed “popular”, “classical” or “medieval Latin” origins of the minor troubadour genres of *tenso*, *partimen*, and *pastourelle*. The potential influence of classical and medieval Latin works such as the *Eclogues* of Virgil, the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, and Carolingian debate poems or *conflictus* on such genres is of interest, but has been covered in detail elsewhere and is not conclusive.⁶⁵⁸ This chapter will therefore take a different approach, starting with an analysis of the songs themselves.

The critics who have defined the two closely related debate genres of *tenso* and *partimen* see the work of Cercamon and Marcabru as representing a formative stage in their development:

“Chez Bernard de Ventadour et Giraut de Borneil le genre de tenson est nettement constitué.”⁶⁵⁹

“Die ersten reinen Vertreter des Partimens stammen aus den beiden letzten Jahrzehnten des 12. Jahrhunderts.”⁶⁶⁰

The debate poems of Cercamon and Marcabru are indeed different from their successors. However, this is arguably not so much because new genres were being formulated at this time, but rather because the early troubadours are generally freer with genre and more open to allusion to other literary and intellectual traditions than later *trobar*.

The first datable troubadour debate poem, which was composed by Cercamon shortly before the arrival of King Louis VII at Poitiers in 1137, does not give the impression of being an early attempt at a genre struggling to be formed. The song divides structurally into two clear halves of three strophes, but ingeniously combines this with a constant decline in stylistic register throughout.

The first strophe of this piece begins not as a debate but as a lament. There is no initial apostrophe indicating the addressee as would be normal in troubadour dialogue pieces. It opens instead with the topos of the decline of courtly qualities, a particular

⁶⁵⁸ See Betty Nye Hedberg, “The Bucolics and the Medieval Poetical Debate”, *Transactions of the American Philological Society*, 75 (1944), pp. 47-67, including the bibliographical sources mentioned on pp. 47n-48n

⁶⁵⁹ David J. Jones, *La tenson provençale, étude d'un genre poétique suivie d'une édition critique de quatre tensons et d'une liste complète des tensons provençales* (Paris, 1934), p. 52

⁶⁶⁰ Sebastian Neumeister, *Das Spiel mit der höfischen Liebe. Das altprovenzalische Partimen* (Munich, 1969), p. 36

favourite of early troubadour satire, where it is often linked to both the *adynaton* and *de contemptu mundi* topoi. The second topos is expressed by Cercamon here through the inconsolability of the poet performing his swan song, a figure which indicates an unmistakably lofty stylistic level.

The dominating set-piece image of a swan about to die is not only the subject of a widely distributed Medieval Latin *planctus* found in several manuscripts from Saint-Martial,⁶⁶¹ but is also an idea found in Latin proverbs,⁶⁶² and has a long history among Latin scientists, such as Pliny, in his *Naturalis Historia*,⁶⁶³ poets such as Martial,⁶⁶⁴ and exegetes, as in the *De bestiis* of Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor (I, 53).⁶⁶⁵ It appears to derive ultimately in Latin from Cicero's recommendation that, "ut cygni...cum cantu et voluptate moriantur, sic omnibus bonis et doctis faciendum", (all good and learned men should, like swans, die in song and with pleasure).⁶⁶⁶ Cicero himself was probably referring to the description of the death of Socrates in Plato's dialogue, *Phaedo*, and the notion that the philosopher's life is but a preparation for death.⁶⁶⁷ These echoes through time, together with Cercamon's complaint in line 3 that even the clergy do not help him, "E no.m socor la clerzia", add to the emotive rhetorical impact of the supposed demise of the troubadour, casting himself as a philosopher, in the sense of learned individual with a clerical training, who deserves support.

The unexpected address of Cercamon as *maïstre* by his interlocutor, Guilhalmi, at the beginning of the second stanza of this dialogue enhances the impression that the audience is listening to a school debate in the vernacular (lines 10-11).⁶⁶⁸

"Maïstre, si Dieus me valha,
Ben dizetz so qe cove."

(Master, so help me God, you are certainly right in what you say.)

Not only does Guilhalmi agree wholeheartedly and in God's name with what the troubadour says, but he places himself *in statu pupillari*. Such a debate between "master" and pupil particularly resembles the format of the *quaestio*.

The *quaestio* was the basic form for the teaching of dialectic in schools at this time, as evidenced, for example, in the often heated arguments of Peter Abelard (1079-1142) and his master, William of Champeaux (ca. 1070-1121).⁶⁶⁹ This format had, however, also long infiltrated other school disciplines, as for instance in the *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus* of "Magister Albinus", i.e. Alcuin, in dialogue with his pupil,

⁶⁶¹ Bruno Stäblein, "Die Schwanenklage. Zum Problem Lai - Planctus - Sequenz", *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 7. Juli 1962*, edited by Heinrich Hüschen (Regensburg, 1962), pp. 491-502

⁶⁶² Walther, *Proverbia*, nos. 2312, 2372, 6354

⁶⁶³ *Naturalis Historia*, lib. X. ca. XXXII, in *Pliny. Natural History*, ed. Rackham, vol. III, p. 332

⁶⁶⁴ *Epigrams*, lib. 13. 77. 2, in *M. Val. Martialis, Epigrammata*, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1929)

⁶⁶⁵ *De bestiis*, lib. I, cap. LIII, *Patrologia Latina* 177, col. 51

⁶⁶⁶ Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes*, book I, section 73, ed. Georges Fohlen (Paris, 1931), pp. 45-46

⁶⁶⁷ Plato, *Phaedo*, sections 84e-85e, in *Plato Latinus*, vol. II, ed. Lorenzo Minio-Paluello (London, 1950), p. 43

⁶⁶⁸ Tortoretto, ed. *Il trovatore*, p. 100

⁶⁶⁹ Peter Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, pp. 63-65 and *passim*

Charlemagne.⁶⁷⁰ In the second half of the eleventh century, the *quaestio* came to be applied to theological thought by St. Anselm (ca. 1033-1109), Abbot of Bec and Archbishop of Canterbury. In the latter case, the series of questions and answers between *magister* and *discipulus* showed a measure of real debate, rather than consisting of one-line questions followed by protracted answers, as was often the case in earlier texts. Anselm's dialogues also ranged from *De grammatico*, a purely didactic work on universals, the central theme of contemporary logical debate, to his revolutionary theological treatise on the meaning of the incarnation, *Cur deus homo*.⁶⁷¹ Such dialogues must have been used in schools in Poitiers at the time of Cercamon, and were thus an obvious point of reference to audiences containing members with some level of clerical education or knowledge.

In the second strophe of Cercamon's song VII, his "pupil" immediately contradicts his master, saying in line 13 that the new Count of Poitiers will give the poet a horse or palfrey or an income when he arrives, "Car li clerc no vos fan be", (as the clerks do not provide for you). Guilhalmi thus lowers the tone of the song by introducing lucre, as opposed to moral spleen, as the cause of Cercamon's troubles, at which point his "master" lowers it further by snapping back:⁶⁷²

"Guilhalmi, non pretz mealha
So qe.m dizes, per ma fe;
Mais volria una calla
Estreg tener en mon se
No faria un polhe
Q'estes en autrui sarralha,
C'atendes a lor merce:
Car soven, so cug, badalha
Qi s'aten a l'autrui be."

(Guilhalmi, I do not value what you say a farthing, by my faith. I would rather have a quail clasped close to my bosom than a chicken in another's cage, so that I should rely on their grace: for he who awaits another's charity does, I think, often wait in vain.)

The troubadour delays the slide in poetic register to a certain extent through the set-piece proverb which dominates this stanza, especially in the manner in which the last two lines act as a coda with a further explanation of the preceding image. Nevertheless, the image of a "bird in hand is worth two in the bush" is a lowly one compared with the swan metaphor which opens the song. Modern French and Italian equivalents to this proverb, "Moineau à la main vaut mieux que grue qui vole", and "È meglio un uccello in gabbia che cento fuori", suggest that the birds in this proverb can be variable. It was therefore doubtless Cercamon who chose the tiny game bird, the quail, and the chicken for maximum contrast with the dignified and majestic swan.

⁶⁷⁰ Karl Halm, ed. *Rhetores latini minores* (Leipzig, 1863), pp. 523-550

⁶⁷¹ Franciscus Salesius Schmitt, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia* (Edinburgh, 1946-1961), vol. I, pp. 141-168, and vol. II, pp. 37-133; *Patrologia Latina* 158, cols. 325-582 contains several Anselmian dialogues

⁶⁷² Tortoretto, ed., *Il trovatore*, p. 201

The final three strophes of this debate devolve into a quick-fire slanging match. The rate of exchange between the two parties evolves from a strophe to two or three lines each, and the arguments on each side cease to develop. They remain at the level: “Wait!”, “No, I won’t”. Cercamon charges Guilhalmi with *vanansa*, (vanity), in line 30 and refuses to trust him in lines 30-31, while Guilhalmi accuses his master of being childish and fickle in his behavior in lines 37-38. The climax of the row comes at the end of the fifth strophe, where Guilhalmi finally stoops to outright obscenity (lines 41-43):⁶⁷³

“Maïstre, man bon destrier
An li home de paratge
Per sufertar al derrier.”

Jeanroy does not translate these lines, suggesting that he found them either incomprehensible, or more likely immodest. Later editors have come up with weak interpretations of the type, “Master, men of nobility/Have many a good horse for being patient to the end”.⁶⁷⁴ A more obvious translation seems, however, to be “the nobles have many fine steeds with long-suffering backsides”. The sense would be ambiguous. On the one side, the nobles have many sturdy horses to ride. On the other side, Cercamon should be glad of any superfluous war horse with whom he could perform sexual acts. The latter meaning would have a parallel in the accusations of bestiality against the jongleur, Cabra, in the last three lines of Guiraut de Cabrera’s *ensenhamen*:⁶⁷⁵

“Va, Cabra, boc,
Que be.t conoc,
Qu’ieu te vi urtar al mouton!”

(Go on, Cabra, you goat, I know you well, for I have seen you banging the sheep.)

This interpretation may also explain why Cercamon’s probably equally offensive reply in lines 43-44 has been carefully erased in the unique manuscript R.

The final strophe of Cercamon’s debate reveals that Guilhalmi has refused the troubadour lodging at his castle, making it clear that he is to be identified, at least for the purposes of the song, as a stingy patron. This situation is similar to that behind the exchange of songs between the nobleman, “Senher N’Audric”, and Marcabru in the latter’s songs XII and XXbis. Both Cercamon’s and Marcabru’s pieces seem to be artful forms of running down an adversary by putting words into his mouth. In Cercamon, the humour goes both ways. On the one hand, he lampoons the avarice of the nobleman “paying from another man’s purse”. On the other hand, he mocks himself as the troubadour whose pretensions, both literary and intellectual, are undermined by the sorry reality of having to sing for his supper. The use of the dialogue form, with its

⁶⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 202

⁶⁷⁴ George Wolf/Roy Rosenstein, ed., *The Poetry of Cercamon and Jaufre Rudel* (New York/London, 1983), p. 39; c.f. Tortoretto, *Il trovatore*, pp. 208-209

⁶⁷⁵ Pirot, *Les connaissances*, p. 554, c.f. p. 562n

learned associations, and its degeneration from the spacious, richly rhetorical, allusive first paragraph to impatience and ill temper in the remainder of the song, is an essential element of the humour.

The other extant early troubadour debate song, Marcabru's "Amics Marchabrun (song VI), is only roughly datable according to the approximate span of Marcabru's career between 1130 and 1150 and a letter addressed to his possible interlocutor, Hugo Catula, by Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny (ca. 1092-1156).⁶⁷⁶ In this letter, Peter, a native of the Auvergne, persuades the knight Hugo to fulfil his vow to enter Cluny as a monk and not now to change his mind and take the road to Jerusalem.⁶⁷⁷ Janet Martin believes that the letter dates from the eve of the Second Crusade (1147-1149).⁶⁷⁸ Aurelio Roncaglia, on the other hand, has argued that a crusade is not specifically mentioned here, that Marcabru's Ugo Catola does not speak like a man about to retire to a monastery and, most importantly, that Peter's letters survive in approximate chronological order. This would date this letter to ca. 1133-1137.⁶⁷⁹ If, as Roncaglia argues, Hugo were still a knight when Marcabru's song was composed and he is also Peter the Venerable's correspondent, then such an early dating would isolate Marcabru's and Cercamon's debate poems even further from later troubadours pieces in the same genre.

In some ways, Marcabru's song VI does resemble later *tenso* and *partimen*. For example, it uses the term *tenso*, though possibly not yet as a technical term.⁶⁸⁰ It also deals with an erotic theme and, unlike Cercamon's song VII, its form remains constant throughout. In other ways, however, Marcabru's work stands in isolation with the Cercamon song in contrast to later troubadour debates. Both these songs are time-bound and personal in their themes, whereas later *tenso* and *partimen* tend to discuss impersonal topics in an abstract manner with no historical background. These pieces also both exploit the learned character of the dialogue form, whether more for intellectual pleasure, as in the case of Marcabru, or with intellectual humour descending into farce, as in the case of Cercamon.

In Marcabru's song, it is Ugo Catola who introduces the subject of *Amor* in line two, only to encounter the immediate opposition of Marcabru, who complains of *faus'amistat*.⁶⁸¹ Marcabru then gives his reasons for making a stand against the love which he sees as false, introducing the most common *exemplum* of all medieval misogynistic literature in lines 7-8:

"Q'anc pos la serps baisset lo ram
No foron tant enganairiz."

⁶⁷⁶ Giles Constable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable* (Harvard University Press, 1967), letter 51, vol. I, pp. 152-153; vol. II, pp. 131-132 for commentary on the letter; or *Patrologia Latina* 189, col. 206-207, *Epistula XV*

⁶⁷⁷ Roncaglia, "La tenzone", pp. 206-213 (p. 209)

⁶⁷⁸ Janet Martin, *Peter the Venerable. Selected Letters* (Toronto, 1974), p. 28

⁶⁷⁹ Roncaglia, "La tenzone", pp. 212-213

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 228-229

⁶⁸¹ See chapter 7 b) (i) below for a discussion of this and similar oppositions

(For there have never been so many treacherous women since the time the serpent lowered the branch.)

A glance at the actual text of Genesis 3: 1-6 reveals that the action allusively accredited to the snake here is not actually biblical. Marcabru describes the serpent putting the apple within Eve's reach, as often suggested in medieval iconography,⁶⁸² in contrast to the purely verbal temptation by the snake in Genesis.

Catola responds by defending *Amor* in line 11: "Per zo.us en mou e[u] la tenson", (For this reason I embark on a tenso [or dispute] with you". This is the first attestation of the word *tenso* in Medieval Occitan, a cognate of Medieval Latin *contentio*, an equivalent to *disputatio* in legal,⁶⁸³ rhetorical,⁶⁸⁴ and literary contexts⁶⁸⁵

Marcabru then replies by putting the dispute on a firmly intellectual footing (lines 13-14):

"Catola, non entenz razon,
Non saps d'amor cum trais Samson?"

(Catola, do you not understand reason? Do you not know how love betrayed Samson?)

Razo, without an article, and meaning "abstract reason" rather than a "line of argument"⁶⁸⁶ is the vernacular equivalent of *ratio*, a key term in the great debate of twelfth-century scholasticism between the respective roles in both dialectic and rhetoric of *aucltoritas* and *ratio* on the one hand, and *usus*, "habit", and *ingenium*, "native intelligence", on the other. Peter Abelard says, for example, in his *Dialectica* of the supporters of William of Champeaux and Garmandus of Tournai that, "Illi qui[dem] auctoritate, hi vero fulti sunt ratione", (the former in fact rely on authority, the latter on reason).⁶⁸⁷ Elsewhere, Marcabru, like Peire d'Alverne (song V, line 12), boasts of possessing *gignos sens*, "ingenious sense" (song XV, line 13). In these cases, both troubadours seem to be referring to the counterpart of *ratio*, the *ingenium* on which Abelard himself relied in his conflicts with William of Champeaux.⁶⁸⁸ This is the intellectual arena which Marcabru is choosing for his dispute with Ugo Catola, when he introduces his second and principal *exemplum*, that of Samson and Delilah from the Book of Judges 16: 4-21.

The use of the *exempla* of Adam and Eve (line 7), Samson and Delilah (strophes iv-v), and of Solomon and David (line 32) inserts Marcabru's side of the argument into the long tradition of clerical, moral-misogynistic literature from St. Jerome's influential polemic, *Adversus Jovinianum*, onwards. Roncaglia, Friend and Dronke list a number of

⁶⁸² Josef Kirchner, *Die Darstellung des ersten Menschenpaares* (Stuttgart, 1903), p. 72, figure 11; Hugo Schmerber, *Die Schlange des Paradieses* (Strasbourg, 1905), plate 1

⁶⁸³ Niermeyer, *Lexicon*, p. 263

⁶⁸⁴ Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Summa de coloribus rhetoricis*, in Faral, *les arts poétiques*, p. 322

⁶⁸⁵ Hans Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1920), p. 3

⁶⁸⁶ Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence*, p. 12

⁶⁸⁷ *Petrus Abaelardus. Dialectica*, ed. L.M. de Rijk (Assen, 1956), p. 112, l. 28

⁶⁸⁸ *Historia calamitatum*, ed. Monfrin, e.g. p. 64, l. 45; p. 68, l. 165 etc. The terms for sense, wisdom and knowledge in the early troubadours are discussed further in chapter 7 b) (iv) below

church fathers, including Pseudo-Clement, Ambrose and Bede; Carolingian Latin writers, such as Milo of St. Amand; proverbs,⁶⁸⁹ and several Latin poets of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, who employ a similar list of *exempla*.⁶⁹⁰ The latter writers include Roger of Caen and his *De vita monachorum*, Abelard's *Planctus Israel super Samsonem*, Hildebert of Le Mans's poem, "De tribus vitiis",⁶⁹¹ and Marbod's *Liber decem capitulorum*, chapter III, "De meretrice", which is close to Hildebert's poem.⁶⁹² A fifth work could justifiably be added to these, the poem "Femina cunctorum caput est inventa malorum" by a certain Gualterus, a colleague of both Hildebert and Marbod. It is thought by Mauice Delbouille to be a reply to Marbod's chapter on the whore.⁶⁹³

The verses of these three Latin poets of the generation before Marcabru are of particular interest here because the troubadour's direct source for his quartet of men deceived by women may be the third chapter of Marbod's *Liber*:

"Femina dulce malum, pariter favus atque venenum
 Melle linens gladium cor confodit et sapientium.
 Quis suaviter primo vetitum gustare parenti?
 Femina. quis patrem natos viciare coegit ?
 Femina. quis fortem spoliatum crine perimit? (lines 26-30)

 Quis David sanctum, sapientem quis Salomonem
 Dulcibus illecebris seduxit, ut alter adulter,
 Alter sacrilegus fieret, nisi femina blanda?" (lines 34-36)

(Woman, that sweet evil, equally honeycomb and poison, smearing her sword with honey she pierces even the heart of the wise. Who persuaded the first parent to taste the forbidden fruit? A woman. Who urged a father to injure his children? A woman. Who slew the strong man shorn of his locks?...Who seduced holy David and wise Solomon with sweet enticements, so that one became an adulterer and the other sacriligious, if it was not an alluring woman?)

Like Marbod, Marcabru treats Adam and Samson first and then mentions Solomon and David together. Like Marbod, the story of the Fall is alluded to indirectly. Lines 45-57 of this chapter from Marbod are also the probable direct source for the imagery in Marcabru's song XLIV, lines 9-12, and especially the Chimaera image in lines 16-20, as argued in chapter 5 b) above.

Catola's answer to the Samson *exemplum* introduces the most sophisticated argument in this song (VI, lines 17-20):⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁸⁹ For example, Walther, *Proverbia*, nos. 519-521 4889a, 5026a etc.

⁶⁹⁰ Roncaglia, "La tenzone", p. 238; A.C. Friend, "Sampson, David and Solomon in the Parson's Tale", *Modern Philology* 46 (1948-1949), pp. 117-121; and Peter Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 123-132, on Abelard's *planctus*

⁶⁹¹ Scott, *Hildeberti carmina*, no. 50, p. 41, lines 23-26

⁶⁹² Bulst, *Marbod*, pp. 12-15

⁶⁹³ Delbouille, "Un mystérieux ami", p. 238

⁶⁹⁴ Roncaglia, "La tenzone", p. 241

“Marcabrun, nos trobam auctor
 De Sanso.l fort e de s(a)uxor
 Q’ela n’avia ostat s’amor
 A l’or[a] que ce fo deliz.”

(Marcabru, we have witnesses (or authorities) concerning the mighty Samson and his wife, according to which she had withdrawn her love from him at the time he was destroyed.)

He argues that Samson’s “wife”, probably meaning Delilah, since his real wife (Judges 14-15) would be intrusive at this point, no longer loved him at the moment she betrayed him, thus acquitting Love of the act. He even joins in Marcabru’s learned game by bringing forward witnesses, including Latin *auctores*, as the Occitan term *auctor* likely has the sense of its Latin root in this context. If this is so, then Catola may be replying to Marcabru’s *ratio* with a more old-fashioned appeal to unspecified theological authorities. The Latinising sense of *auctores* here is arguably also supported by the fact that it is rhymed with the lexical Latinism, *uxor*, (wife).⁶⁹⁵ Marcabru defly counter-argues in line 24 that Love is in any case to blame, since Delilah had abandoned Samson in favour of inferior foreigners, the Philistines.

At this point, the debate between Marcabru and Catola becomes more diffuse and imagistic, but maintains its learned veneer. In strophe vii, Catola declares that deceitful love is a contradiction in terms, using a double *adynaton* to express the topsy-turvy nature of his opponent’s argument. In strophe viii, Marcabru attacks *Amor* with a bogus *sententia* attributed with some irony to Solomon and David. In strophe ix, Catola employs the Marcabrunian device of personification of embattled virtues against the troubadour. In strophe x, Marcabru uses a genuine *sententia cum auctoritate*, but from Ovid rather than a theological source.⁶⁹⁶ Finally, the song changes tack in the last four strophes, with each poet reflecting on his own love life before Marcabru ends with a rustic proverb.

In summary, the two pure debate poems of Cercamon and Marcabru are rife with the paraphernalia of dialectical and rhetorical disputation in consonance with their dialogue form. They include the presence of a master, even if meant ironically; a dialectical distinction between *Amor* and *Amistatz*; appeals to reason based on learned *sententiae* and *auctoritates*; and the use of classic, satirical *exempla* and *topoi*, often in studied set-pieces, including possible allusion to specific Medieval Latin verse from the period. It may be questioned whether these two confrontations are each the work of the imagination of one poet rather than two poets, and whether they would have been performed by one or two singers, but the answers to these questions should make little difference to the audience’s appreciation. The intellectual humour and the challenge

⁶⁹⁵ The name *Ugo* in line 5 of this song is also a Latinism, as the Occitan form is *Uc*

⁶⁹⁶ See William of Thierry’s *De natura et dignitate amoris, caput I, Patrologia Latina* 184, col. 381, for a contemporary scholastic attack on Ovidian love as “foedus amor carnalis”, (foul carnal love)

characteristic of both clashes should work in any circumstances.⁶⁹⁷ It can be concluded that these two pieces comprise live experiments which add a number of learned facets to an already extant and diverse tradition of song, a hypothesis which will be further tested in the next section in relation to another distinct poetic genre based on dialogue form.

(ii) *The pastourelle*

The questions of the “origin” of the medieval *pastourelle* has always been the dominant issue in scholarship relating to this genre. One reason for this focus is, as noted by Zumthor, a far greater regularity of form and theme than in most genres of medieval verse.⁶⁹⁸ The principal structural and thematic constituents of the *pastourelle* can be summarised as consisting of a third person narrator, a narrative spring opening, generally alluding to a vague “other day”, and the sexually-charged confrontation of a nobleman and shepherdess in dialogue form.

Another reason for the critical fascination with the “origins” of the *pastourelle* is the wide range of possible “sources” posited by scholars, especially the “popular”, Medieval Latin and Virgilian bucolic. “The “popular” theory has a long history, embracing more or less romantic folklore and comparative literature. It includes among its milestones works such as Joseph Bédier’s extended review of a review, “Les fêtes de mai”;⁶⁹⁹ a refinement of the theory of rustic spring festivities developed by Gaston Paris in his reviews of Jeanroy’s classic, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge*;⁷⁰⁰ Michel Zink’s, *La pastourelle*;⁷⁰¹ and Jean-Pierre Diény’s *Pastourelles et magnarellles*.⁷⁰² Despite the lack of evidence for the immediate prehistory of the *pastourelle* in twelfth-century Europe, this theory as background to the genre has become increasingly plausible, largely through the effective demolishing of the principal arguments of the two rival theories and the discovery of an analogous genre in a tradition as remote as classical Chinese literature.

The Medieval Latin theory for the *pastourelle*’s “origins” is much less convincing than the “popular” one, despite its virtual standardisation between Maurice Delbouille’s remarkably dogmatic and preclusive theorising in *Les origines de la pastourelle*,⁷⁰³ and Ada Biella’s article, “Considerazioni sull’origine e sulla diffusione della ‘pastorella’”.⁷⁰⁴

⁶⁹⁷ Having said this, the fact that each of these songs only survive in one manuscript may indicate that such time-bound debates were less flexible in terms of their performance and were of less appeal to future generations of connoisseurs than more generic works

⁶⁹⁸ Zumthor, *Essai*, p. 303

⁶⁹⁹ Joseph Bédier, “Les fêtes de mai”, *Revue des deux mondes* (1 May, 1896), pp. 146-172

⁷⁰⁰ Alfred Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1889) ; c.f. Gaston Paris, in *Journal des savants* (1891), pp. 674-688 (November), pp. 729-742 (December); (1892), pp. 155-167 (March), pp. 407-429 (July)

⁷⁰¹ Michel Zink, *La pastourelle. Poésie et folklore au moyen âge* (Paris, 1972)

⁷⁰² Jean-Pierre Diény, *Pastourelles et magnarellles. Essai sur un thème littéraire chinois* (Geneva, 1977); review by Emmanuèle Baumgartner, *Romania* 99 (1978), pp. 566-568

⁷⁰³ Maurice Delbouille, *Les origines de la pastourelle* (Brussels, 1926)

⁷⁰⁴ Ada Biella, “Considerazioni sull’origine e sulla diffusione della ‘pastorella’”, *Cultura Neolatina* XXV (1965), pp. 236-267 (pp. 256-266)

Biella sees an organic development of the genre in Latin through a selection of the surviving pre-twelfth-century Medieval Latin love lyrics, stretching from the “Invitatio amice” and “Clericus and nonna” from the *Cambridge Songs*, the *Versus Eporedienses*, and the “De somnio” in the *Ripoll Songs*, to the late twelfth- and thirteenth-century *pastourelles* of Walter of Châtillon and the *Carmina Burana*, which are contemporary with the first northern French examples. To name just one drawback of this theory, none of the pre-twelfth century lyrics cited involve any rustics, let alone a shepherdess. The female participants consist respectively of an unspecified girl addressed in the diction of the Song of Songs, a nun, a regal nymph, and a royal princess who is a figment of the poet’s slumber.

The hypothesis whereby Virgilian bucolic would be the progenitor of the *pastourelle* has not proved more convincing than the Medieval Latin one. Edmond Faral gives four principal reasons for thinking that the medieval *pastourelle* derives from Virgil: the use of dialogue form; narration by a participant; the use of refrains in some Old French versions, as occurs in *Eclogue* VIII; and an anti-urban ethos against the background of a rural landscape.⁷⁰⁵ Dialogue is, however, a universal literary technique; the narrative in the *Eclogues* is normally in the third and not the first person; refrain is by no means frequent in the bucolic verse of Virgil and his imitators; and the landscape and its rustic populace are poetic and cultural commonplaces. These and Faral’s other arguments are refuted by, among others, Delbouille and Zink.⁷⁰⁶

Although there is little evidence to suggest that the basis of the *pastourelle* is anything other than a native, vernacular genre, Marcabru’s two examples are laced with learned allusions which hint at the dialectical associations of its dialogue form. Line 7 of song XXIX, “L’autrier, a l’issida d’abriu”, already appears to be a discreet allusion to Virgil: “Trobei la sotz un fau ombriu”, (I found her, i.e. the shepherdess⁷⁰⁷, beneath a shady beech). It is likely that any contemporary with even basic schooling would have recognised the opening lines of Virgil’s first *Eclogue*, one of the first classical reading texts tackled by children after they had mastered proverbs and fables. The shepherd Tityrus is introduced playing his pipe beneath a shady beech:⁷⁰⁸

“Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi
silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena.”

(Tityrus, reclining in shade of a spreading beech, you contemplate your woodland muse on the slender pipe.)

As Ernst Curtius has remarked:⁷⁰⁹

⁷⁰⁵ Edmond Faral, “La pastourelle”, *Romania* 49 (1923), pp. 204-259 (pp. 250-256)

⁷⁰⁶ Delbouille, *Les origines*, pp. 10-13; Zink, *La pastourelle*, pp. 49-51. Pillet, *Studien zur Pastourelle* (Breslau, 1902), p. 56, agrees with Gaston Paris’s theory of a common origin for the *pastourelle* in Poitou-Limousin

⁷⁰⁷ Jean Audiau, *La pastourelle dans la poésie occitane du moyen âge* (Paris, 1923), does not include this poem in his essay, despite the fact that the protagonist is called *pastorela* in l. 8 of the MSS IK versions, and the fact that she sings in a pasturage (*pasturaus*) in line 2, with a shepherd (*pastoriu*) in line 5

⁷⁰⁸ Mynors, *P. Vergilii Maronis opera*, p. 1

⁷⁰⁹ Curtius, *European Literature*, pp. 190-191

“From the first century of the empire to the time of Goethe, all study of Latin literature began with the first eclogue. It is not too much to say that anyone unfamiliar with that short poem lacks one key to the literary tradition of Europe... Here the very first line introduces the “motif of bucolic repose”, which engendered innumerable progeny.”

Allusion to such a text would accord with the findings of the previous chapter, where Marcabru was shown to have known basic school *auctores*, and would probably have expected any member of his audience with even a basic Latin education to recognise the allusion.

The dialogue form of “L’autrier, a l’issida” is either imperfect or distorted through at least one missing strophe in the surviving, related Venetian manuscripts AIK. It also lacks line 9, part of the would-be seducer’s *invitatio*, which was possibly considered too risqué by the relevant scribe. The skill in argument of the pseudo-Virgilian shepherdess is nevertheless clearly transmitted. After the narrative nature opening of the first strophe, she breaks off the nobleman’s invitation before the end of the second one, and turns his words against him (lines 8-12):

- Bella fich, m’ieu,⁷¹⁰ pois Jois reviu

 - Ben nos devem apareiller
 - Non devem, don, que d’als pensiu
 Ai mon coratg’e mon affar.

(“My beauty”, I said, “since Joy is reviving...we should really become a couple”. “No, we should not, my Lord, for another thought preoccupies my thought and my doings”.)

The nobleman asks what thought preoccupies her and she counters his mention of *Jois* with the satirical topos of the decline of courtly qualities: “Pretz e Jovens e Jois dechai”, (Worth and Youth and Joy are in decline) (line 17). Thus, with more than a hint of irony, the shepherdess undermines the nobleman’s attempt to persuade her to sleep with him by using his own courtly terminology and subverting it with Marcabru’s pessimism. The remaining two stanzas continue with the troubadour’s familiar theme of the bastardising of noble families by ignoble guardians. The second one contains a pseudo-Solomonic *sententia cum auctoritate*, which has already been discussed in the previous chapter.

In the better known and more complete *pastourelle*, “L’autrier jost’una sebissa” (song XXX), Marcabru develops further the humour inherent in this encounter of opposites. The *sen* of the shepherdess is praised in line 3, only to be followed incongruously by a list of seven items of clothing befitting her lowly station. She nevertheless responds to each of the narrator’s wiles with unflappable self-assurance. She is not cold because she is healthy (strophe ii); it is not fitting that her social superior should accompany her (iv); she is not a noble, but he should learn to act like one (vi); his

⁷¹⁰ MSS IK here read *pastorela*

flattery begins to annoy her (viii); she accuses him of folly (x); and lectures him on the social *convenientiae* of courtly love (xii). She contrasts his folly in line 23 with her *sen*, a term referred to again in line 82. The term *sen* is used by both Marcabru (e.g. in song XVI, line 13) and Peire d'Alvernhe (e.g. in song V, line 7) when boasting of their own intelligence and knowledge.

The shepherdess elaborates on the nobleman's folly by using legal and feudal terminology to expose the absurdity of his proposition in lines 64-67:

“Don, hom coitatz de follatge
Jur'e pliu e promet gatge:
Si.m fariatz homenatge,
Seigneur, so.m dis la vilana.”

(Sir, a man heated with folly swears and pledges and promises security. Just such a homage you would make me, lord, so the peasant girl said to me.)

This refrain, occurring in the even-numbered strophes, “So.m dis la vilana”, gives the shepherdess the added status of an authority, which is humorously reminiscent of the “Ce dit li vilains” type in collections such as *Li proverbe au vilain*.

In the last full strophe of the song, the shepherdess again uses authority to inflict a final climactic blow on her adversary:

“Don, oc; mas segon dreitura
Cerca fols sa follatura,
Cortes cortez'aventura,
E.l vilans ab la vilana;
En tal loc fai sens fraitura
On hom non garda mezura,
So ditz la gens anciana.”

(“Sir, yes, but it is according to right that the fool seeks his folly, the courtly a courtly affair, and the peasant a peasant girl; sense causes a fracture where men do not preserve measure, so say the ancients.”)

The shepherdess appeals to *dreitura*, suggesting some some sort of natural law, and then sums up the major dialectical oppositions in the poem between folly and sense, and the courtly and the rustic.⁷¹¹ She uses *fraitura* in Marcabru's technical sense of the term,⁷¹² and perhaps suggests via the final authority of “the ancients” that *mezura* is comparable to the Aristotelian Golden Mean. This was a concept known to the Middle Ages through the poetry of Horace, the philosophical works of Cicero, and above all the writings of Boethius, and especially his *Consolation of Philosophy*.⁷¹³

⁷¹¹ Faral, “La pastourelle”, p. 236, “Vilain et Courtois, c'est l'antithèse dont se nourrit la pastourelle”

⁷¹² See chapter 7 b) (ii) “Whole and fractured thought” below on this terminology

⁷¹³ R.G.M. Nisbet and Margaret Hubbard quote a number of examples from Horace and Cicero in their *Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book II* (Oxford, 1978), on Horace, *Carmina* II. 10. 5. Boethius picks up Cicero's

The final three-line *tornada* of the song is a variation on the “fool’s bread” proverb with the authority, “lo cavecs vos ahura”, (the owl augurs for you), an allusion to the owl as omen, possibly reflecting Roman beliefs as reported in surviving classical texts.⁷¹⁴ Both Marcabru’s shepherdesses are thus incarnations of peasant wisdom but, as in Marcabru’s other satires, and especially in his use of sentence and proverb, it is peasant wisdom augmented by Latin learning.

term *medietas* and not Horace’s *mediocritas* in *Contra Eutychem*, preface, line 58 and VII, ll. 78-79, and in the *De consolatione*, IV, *prosa* VI, line 67, in *Theological Tractates*, ed./trans. H.F. Stewart/E.K. Rand/S.J. Tester (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973), pp. 76, 120 and 360 respectively

⁷¹⁴ Examples are given in Franz Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso, Metamorphoses IV-V* (Heidelberg, 1976), p. 367

b) Definitions and distinctions

After covering grammar in the first book of his *Etymologiae*, Isidore of Seville combines rhetoric and dialectic in the second book, where he defines dialectic succinctly as follows:⁷¹⁵

“Dialectica est disciplina ad disserendas rerum causas inventa. Ipsa est philosophiae species, quae logica dicitur, id rationalis definiendi, quaerendi et disserendi potens. Docet enim in pluribus generibus quaestionum quemadmodum disputando vera et falsa diiudicentur.”

(Dialectic is a discipline invented in order to examine the causes of things. It is a form of philosophy called logic, the ability to define, investigate and discuss rationally. It teaches by various means of questions so that true and false propositions may be distinguished through disputation.)

The influence of *quaestiones*, disputation and their associations in Cercamon and Marcabru have been discussed in the first half of this chapter. Having reversed Isidore’s order, the second half of the chapter will concentrate on that prerequisite of philosophical investigation, the defining of terms and the rigorous distinction of one term from another.

(i) Love divided

When Gaston Paris put the term *amour courtois* into common critical currency, he was following a tradition of theoretical discussion on the complex subject of love, human and divine, of which the early troubadours merely represent one, albeit epoch-making stage.⁷¹⁶ Paris perhaps meant merely to describe “les subtilités et les raffinements” of the love of Lancelot and Guinevere as *amour courtois*, but his expression was soon taken up by literary critics and historians as a definition of the love propounded by troubadours and trouvères, and has since engendered a profusion of different interpretations of the concept supposedly behind it.⁷¹⁷ Gaston Paris’s use of a single term with multiple possible meanings, however, contrasts with the abundance of terms actually used to interpret widely varying concepts of love, both in the works of courtly writers and in their predecessors, such as the Church Fathers, exegetes, mystics, theorists and other writers. The current section reexamines the taxonomy of love found specifically in early *trobar*, including the terms employed, their context, purpose, meaning and possible scholarly resonances.

⁷¹⁵ Lindsay, *Isidori etymologiarum libri XX, lib. II. 22. 1*

⁷¹⁶ Gaston Paris, “Etudes sur les romans de la Table Ronde. Lancelot du Lac II. *Le conte de la charrette*” *Romania* 12 (1883), pp. 459-534 (p. 519)

⁷¹⁷ Roger Boase, *The Origin and Meaning of Courtly Love: a critical study of European scholarship* (Manchester, 1977) is the best guide to this bewildering field

If William IX's "Farai chansoneta nueva" is correctly attributed,⁷¹⁸ then the Count of Poitou may be the first known troubadour to qualify the love of which he sang as something perceived as new and special, as *bon'amor* (song VIII, lines 31-32):

"Per aquesta fri e tremble,
Quar de tam bon'amor l'am."

(On her account I freeze and tremble, for I love her with such good love.)

Cercamon, who is often verbally close to both William IX and Marcabru, uses the same adjective of love as the count in his song V, but juxtaposes it with the courtly concept of *joi* and thus provides it with greater terminological force (lines 55-56):

"Qu'anc bon'Amors non galiet ni trais,
Anz dona joi als arditz amors."

(For good Love never tricked or betrayed, but rather gave Joy to bold lovers.)

These lines imply a definition of *bon'Amors* as joyful, bold and loyal, in contrast to a bad, cowardly, treacherous Love. The status of *bon'Amors* as a technical term here may or may not be weakened by the occurrence of an alternative expression, *fin'Amors*, in line 18 of the same song. In this context, *fin'Amors* represents an ethos from which "false lovers, rich misers and haughty paupers" are excluded, thus again implying a loaded meaning which includes loyalty, but with the addition of wealth and high birth. It is not obvious whether the two sorts of love are meant to be identical or are being subtly distinguished. In either case, these first-known references to *bon'Amors* and *fin'Amors* in William IX and Cercamon could be said to correspond to or comprise forerunners of the *amour courtois* of Paris, but are perhaps more properly and historically interpreted as part of a process of definition in early *trobar* of a love which represents one of a number of qualities characteristic of an ideal lay court.

It is predictably in Marcabru's verse that love is most frequently qualified, divided and reinterpreted. This process is nowhere more complex than in his debate with Ugo Catola, the love-struck nobleman. Catola refers to *amor* six times in the seven strophes attributed to him in song VI, and in the two where he does not mention *amor*, he speaks of *amistatz* and his *bon'amia*. When he invites Marcabru to sing a "vers d'Amor" in line 2, Marcabru only half agrees: "Mas de faus'amistat me clam", (but I complain of false friendship) (line 6). The troubadour thus counters the nobleman's proposal to sing of love not with a reference to love, but to "friendship". *Amistatz* seems here to refer to the practical, tangible relationship between two individuals, including that between the lover and his *dona*, in contrast to a more abstracted ideal of *Amor*. Ugo proceeds to insist on his more lofty term, and uses it twice in the third strophe while challenging Marcabru to a *tenso*.

⁷¹⁸ Monteverdi, "La 'chansoneta nueva'", pp. 6-15

In line 12 of this song, Ugo Catola claims that he can only bear to hear good of love, “*Qe d’Amor fui naz e noiriz*”, (for I was born and brought up on love), implying that “courtly love” was already considered to be part of a nobleman’s birthright and upbringing. Marcabru then takes up the challenge and this sets off the debate. In line 14, Marcabru abuses Catola’s reasoning powers and sarcastically adopts his opponent’s term: “*Non saps d’amor cum trais Samson?*”, (do you not know how love betrayed Samson?). It is then that Catola protests that Delilah no longer actually “loved” Samson at the moment when she betrayed him, so that love cannot be blamed. He goes on to say in strophe vii that Marcabru’s treacherous *Amor* is no more love than a root is a tree top or alms a sin. Marcabru, however, continues to use Catola’s *Amor* against him, accusing it in strophe viii of cheating at dice. This forces Catola in turn to take up Marcabru’s dual interpretation of love together with his more down to earth term, *Amistatz* (lines 33-34):

“Marcabrun, amistaz dechai,
Car a trobat Joven savai.”

(Marcabru, Friendship is in decline because it has found Youth wicked.)

Catola thus partially submits to Marcabru’s satirical view point by admitting that a type of love might be degenerating, but not love in its pure, abstracted form as *Amor*, a force which has never touched Marcabru (strophe ix). In the final strophes, the competitors seem to agree to differ.⁷¹⁹ Catola takes refuge in an erotic fantasy with his *bon’amia*, while Marcabru reverts to his satirical objects of foolish avarice and cupidity.⁷²⁰

The theoretical analysis of love in Marcabru is not unique to this formal debate poem. The satire, “*Per savi.l tenc ses doptanssa*” (song XXXVII), begins with two strophes which set the scene with Latinising, exegetical vocabulary such as *devina*, *razos* and *paraula escura*, before contrasting *amor fina* not only with *falssa*, but with another counterpart, *Amar* or *fals amar*:

“E meton en un’eganssa
Falss’Amor encontra fina,
Qu’ieu dic que d’Amar s’aizina
Ab si mezesme guerreia.” (lines 13-16)

(They (the childish troubadours) put false and fine *Amor* on one footing, while I say that he who consorts with *Amar* is at war with himself.)

“Qu’ieu sai s’Amars es amanssa,
Qu’a mains es fals’e tafura.” (lines 47-48)

(For I know whether *Amar* is loving, since it is false and deceitful to many.)

⁷¹⁹ Spanke, *Untersuchungen*, p. 61: “Das Lied klingt ohne Entscheidung aus”

⁷²⁰ See Roncaglia, “La tenzone”, pp. 247-254, for a detailed discussion of the meaning of the difficult last stanza

The use of the substantivised verb *Amars* may here suggest the active, physical side of human love. Roncaglia mentions its similarity in sound to *amar*, “bitter”, which may have added to the negative associations of Marcabru’s term.⁷²¹ *Amor*, in contrast, is spiritualised in strophe vi through its mystical connection with emerald and sardonx,⁷²² two of the precious stones which form the foundation of the heavenly Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation 21:19-20:

“19. fundamenta muri civitatis omni lapide pretioso ornata fundamentum primum iaspis secundus sapphyrus tertius carcedonius quartus zmaragdus 20. quintus sardonix.”

(19. And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald;
20. The fifth, sardonix.)

In the *Lapidarium* of Marbod of Rennes, these gems also appear together and in the same order, and are said respectively to curb lust, and grace the chaste and humble.⁷²³

“De smaragdo.... Fertur lascivos etiam compescere motus.
De sardonice.... Hic humilem castumque decet, vultuque pudentem.”

Marcabru even equates *Amor* with the Godhead at the end of strophe vi, where he describes it as reigning in truth with power over all creatures.

The opposition of two types of love by Marcabru in “Per savi.l tenc ses doptanssa” demonstrates a shift in position by the troubadour, when compared with his debate with Ugo Catola. In song XXXVII, he does not pose as the cynic in love, but instead contrasts the two types of love in his own name. In strophe viii of his debate song, he had accused *Amor* of cheating, but in “Per savi”, he expresses a courtly ideal of *fin’Amors*, a pure, loyal quasi-mystical love, which will not be impatient for physical consummation. He also moves on from the dialectical opposition of *fals’* and *fin’Amor* used, for example, by Cercamon, in order to invent a further opposition between *Amor* and *Amar*.⁷²⁴

Marcabru repeatedly stresses his powers of argument and his intellectual rigour in both these songs. The opening lines of “Per savi.l tenc ses doptanssa” are explicitly addressed to the learned listener, *savi*, who can divine meaning behind every word and follow the unfolding of the argument, the *razo*. Linda Paterson has shown how Marcabru’s line of argument here “closely follows the basic pattern of *dispositio* in

⁷²¹ Aurelio Roncaglia, “Trobar clus: discussione aperta”, *Cultura Neolatina* XXIX (1969), pp. 5-55 (p. 20)

⁷²² See Topsfield, *Troubadours and Love*, p. 85, on song XL, lines 34 and 36, for the only other example of *fin’amors* with Christian overtones in the surviving work of Marcabru

⁷²³ Marbod of Rennes, *Liber de gemmis, Patrologia Latina* 171, cols. 1737-1770, VII-VIII (cols. 1745-1746)

⁷²⁴ Topsfield, *Troubadours and Love*, p. 83: “Marcabru....proceeds to use *Amors* in the sense of *Fin’Amors* and *Amars* in the sense of *Fals’Amors*”

Classical Rhetoric: introduction, exposition, definition or division, defence of one's own case, refutation of the opponent's case, and conclusion".⁷²⁵ This technique is echoed in Marcabru's boasting elsewhere of his subtle intellectual skills, for example, in song XVI, strophe ii, where he chides those who ignorantly enter into a dispute, *plait*, and who cannot define, *defenir*, their argument or *razo*. The debate poem, XI and his rhetorical polemic, song XXXVII, are the most concentrated and focused in their dialectical treatment of love, but the definitions he develops here are reflected, albeit in a more spontaneous and impressionistic manner, in the remainder of his surviving works.

This can be illustrated, for example, through Marcabru's song XXXI, "L'inverns vai", an attack on "La troba n'Eblo" (line 74), the work or school of *trobar* of the noble troubadour, Eble II, Viscount of Ventadour. This seems to be a sister poem to number XXXVII in that both pieces use the same terminology of love, and both share with Marcabru's debate with Ugo Catola the use of the Latinising grammatical term, *declinar*, with the meaning of "expound". Song XXXI is, however, more violent and less closely argued than song XXXVII. *Amars* is a burning destructive lust in strophe iii; *bon'Amors* cures its companion, but *Amars* consigns its own to perdition in strophe iv; the lady who mates with a domestic churl knows nothing of *amor fina* in strophe vi; and *bon'amor* lives from the generosity of its neighbour in strophe vii, a phrase which closely resembles song XXXVII, line 27, "Pois bon'Amors n'es vezina". The mingling of terms for different types of love here arises from a poetic context where bludgeoning rhetoric is more appropriate than the careful dialectic of song XXXVII.

Marcabru's other extant songs mirror the usage of other early troubadours by referring to different types of love and friendship either singly or in contrasting pairs. Examples of these include: *fals'* and *blanch'amistatz* and *fin'amors* in Marcabru's song V, lines 3, 14 and 38 respectively; *Amistat...falsa* in song XIII, lines 41-42; *amars* in XIV, line 4; *fin'amor* in XXIV, 3 and XXV, 67; *fin'amistatz* in XXVI, line 46; *amors veraia* versus *amors savaia* in XXXII, lines 39 and 44; *bon'amors* in XXXII, line 72; *amars* in XXXIII, line 43; *amistat fina* in XXXVI, line 18, and *fin'amors* in XL, lines 8, 34 and 36. In most cases, the terms can be seen either as defining one another through pairing with their opposite number, as in song XXXII, lines 39 and 44, or as relying on the coining of a term in another song, just as line 4 of song XIV and line 43 of song XXXIII seem to rely on the discussion of *amar* in song XXXVII. In other contexts, the terminology may be used more vaguely, as in other troubadours. Positive terms can be contrasted with a background of vice, especially lust, treachery or avarice, or be completely without context, as in Marcabru's song XXIV, line 3. In these cases, it is ultimately impossible to say what each instance of *fin'* or *bon'amor* or *amistatz* exactly means, whether it would have been understood at the time to be a concrete allusion to a source beyond any particular song, or just a general reference to a wider tradition of expression within the genre.

Returning to the relatively recent coining of the term *amour courtois*, modern scholarship has tended to confuse the wider question of the supposed origins of this concept with the detailed dissection of love in all its forms, as practised in the songs of the earliest troubadours. Dimitri Scheludko entitled a section of an article on this theme, "Quellen der Theorie von Marcabru über die Liebe", and argued that Marcabru

⁷²⁵ Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence*, p. 17

was an important theoretician of courtly love, a love which Scheludko regarded as combining Neoplatonic, Ovidian and Christian strands, the latter being the most important.⁷²⁶ As examples of this patristic division of love, which he argues that Marcabru imitates, he cited St. Augustine's dichotomy between *amor carnalis* and *amor spiritualis*, and the perversion of God-given love by human lust in William of Saint-Thierry's *De natura et dignitate amoris*,⁷²⁷ remarking that this duality "ist unbedingt platonischen Ursprungs". This position has been more or less accepted by more recent scholars, such as Aurelio Roncaglia⁷²⁸ and Leslie Topsfield.⁷²⁹ Scheludko's theory has, however, been challenged by Matthew Adackapara in an unpublished doctoral thesis entitled, "The Concept of Love in the Poems of Marcabru". Adackapara lists diverse divisions of love from the works of Arnobius, Zeno, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, Leo the Great, St. Anselm, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, William of Saint-Thierry, Richard of Saint Victor, Adam Scot and Alan of Lille, and concludes that "there is no relation between them, that while Marcabru sets the rules of social behaviour and courtly etiquette, the Fathers aim at attaining supreme bliss in heaven".⁷³⁰

Adackapara was certainly right in separating courtly and Christian love in this manner, but Scheludko was also justified on two points which have been obscured by his and subsequent discussion of "origins". Firstly, Marcabru attitude towards love is complex and includes Christian overtones when it suits him. Secondly, he uses dialectical techniques to explain this complexity, a process which also resembles that of a number of ecclesiastical writers. On the first point, the troubadour explored diverse aspects of love in different contexts, including the carnal, the courtly, the intellectual and even the mystical. A few lines of his song XXXVIII, "Per savi.l tenc ses doptansa" can neatly illustrate this point. Line 24 mentions the fundamental courtly quality of *Jois* in the same breathe as the intellectual concept, *Mezura*, and the Christian value of *Sofrirs*. Then in strophe vi, *Amors* is equated simultaneously with both *Jois* and the heavenly Jerusalem in a clear reference to the Book of Revelation. On the second point, Adackapara's examples show that Church writers also struggled with their terminology in attempting to describe different aspects of love, and contrasted various words in order to arrive at their own solution.

This is a tradition with a long history. St. Paul had already contrasted *caritas* and *concupiscentia* in 1 John 2: 15-16, and identified one with love of the Father and the other with love of the world. Elsewhere in the Vulgate and later Christian writers, *caritas* can mean human sexual, as well as divine love, and words such as *amor* and *dilectio* can refer to divine as well as human, carnal love. St. Augustine imagined a "caritas alia est divina, alia humana, alia licita, alia illicita", (a divine and human love, one licit and the other illicit).⁷³¹ In another context, he set *cupiditas* and *libido* against

⁷²⁶ Dimitri Scheludko, "Über die Theorien der Liebe bei den Trobadors", *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 60 (1940), pp. 191-234 (pp. 204-213, c.f. p. 192)

⁷²⁷ William of Saint-Thierry, *De natura et dignitate amoris, caput I*, in *Patrologia Latina* 184, cols 379-382

⁷²⁸ Roncaglia, "Trobar clus", pp. 44-55

⁷²⁹ Topsfield, *Troubadours and Love*, pp. 83-86, pp. 101-104

⁷³⁰ Matthew Adackapara, *The Concept of Love in the Poems of Marcabru* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, City University of New York, 1975)

⁷³¹ This is the title of chapter one of Augustine's sermons, *Sermo 349, De caritate*. Adackapara, *The Concept of Love in the Poems of Marcabru*, p. 63, seems to confuse this quotation with a later one from Zeno

dilectio and *caritas*, and *bonus amor* against *malus amor*.⁷³² Peter Abelard discussed *amor*, *concupiscentia*, *cupiditas*, *delectio*, *dilectio* and *caritas* in his *Ethica*.⁷³³ William of Saint-Thierry used the term *amor naturalis*, which he described as “magis spiritualis esse videtur quam animalis”, (it seems to be more spiritual than animal love) in his *De natura et dignitate amoris*.⁷³⁴ Richard of Saint Victor (1110-1173) confronted *amor verus* and *amor vanus*.⁷³⁵ Finally, Bernard of Clairvaux invented complex schemas in his mystical theology, such as the celebrated four *gradus amoris* in *De diligendo Deo*,⁷³⁶ and his four modes of loving, loving the flesh carnally, the spirit carnally, the flesh spiritually and the spirit spiritually.⁷³⁷

The terminology to describe love can thus be seen as constantly evolving in earlier Latin Church writers, in scholars who were Marcabru’s contemporaries, in Marcabru himself, as well as in the other early troubadours. As Adackapara concluded, Marcabru’s shifting views of love cannot be said to originate in the spiritual debates of Christian scholars, even though courtly love is sometimes identified with a mystical form of love in a number of early troubadours. The principal similarity between their work and that of the ecclesiastical writers listed above rather consists of the technique of dialectical opposition of different types of good and bad loves, which are in all cases dependent on contextual interpretation.

(ii) Whole and fractured thought

One of the most discussed technical terms used in early troubadour lyric is the word *entier*, “whole” or “entire” from Latin, *integer*. Its use in *trobar* seems to have originated in Marcabru’s theorising song XIX, “Doas cuidas ai, campaigner”, and then to have been imitated by Peire d’Alvernhe’s “Sobre.l vieill trobar e.l novel” (song XI), and taken up again by Bernart Marti in “D’entier vers far ieu non pes” (song V).

Peire d’Alvernhe’s literary *gap* or boasting song begins as follows:⁷³⁸

“Sobre.l vieill trobar e.l novel
 vueill mostrar mon sen als sabens,
 qu’entendon be aquels c’a venir son
 q’anc tro per me no fo faitz vers entiers;
 e qui non cre qu’ieu.n sia verdadiers,
 auja dese con estau a razo.”

⁷³² Adackapara, *The Concept of Love*, pp. 65-66; St. Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, psalms IX and LXXIX, in *Patrologia Latina* 36, cols. 124 and 1027

⁷³³ Peter Abelard’s *Ethics*, ed. David E. Luscombe (Oxford, 1971): see the index for these terms; and *c.f.* Tony Hunt, “Abelardian Ethics and Beroul’s Tristan”, *Romania* 98 (1977), pp. 501-540, on the possible influence of Abelardian ethical concepts on a twelfth-century romance

⁷³⁴ William of Saint-Thierry, *De natura et dignitate amoris*, in *Patrologia Latina* 184, *caput* VII, col. 391

⁷³⁵ Adackapara, *The Concept of Love*, p. 72; Richard of Saint Victor, *De praeparatione animi ad contemplationem, liber dictus Benjamin Minor*, in *Patrologia Latina* 196, cols. 1-64 (*caput* XLII, cols. 38-39)

⁷³⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in diversis*, in *Patrologia Latina* 183, cols. 537-748, *sermo* CI, col. 727

⁷³⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De diligendo Deo*, in *Patrologia Latina* 182, *capita* VIII-X, cols. 973-1000 (cols. 989-990)

⁷³⁸ Edited by Linda Paterson in *Troubadours and Eloquence*, pp. 60-61

(I would like to demonstrate my *sen* to the *conoscenti* concerning old and new *trobar*, so that my successors fully understand that no *vers entiers* was ever made before me; and let anyone who does not think me truthful now hear how I am in the right.)

Erich Köhler attempts in his article, “Scholastische Ästhetik und höfische Dichtung“, to relate the concept of *integritas* in the troubadours to a passage from the *Summa theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas, which was composed in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.⁷³⁹ In this passage, beauty is compared to the person of the Son in the Holy Trinity and said to require three properties; “*integritas sive perfectio*”, “*proportio sive consonantia*” and “*claritas*”. Köhler argues with some vagueness that Marcabru, Peire d’Alvernhe and Bernart Marti are recommending a similar combination of aesthetic and moral perfection to that imagined a century later by St. Thomas in an excursion into speculative aesthetics within his Trinitarian theology.⁷⁴⁰

In contrast, Linda Paterson reminds us that this is a literary *gap*, that Peire is emphasising the aesthetic rather than moral in this passage, and remarks that “his use of the term *entier* may be quite vague and mean simply ‘perfect’”.⁷⁴¹ Paterson does, however, in accordance with her own approach, quote instances of the term, *integer*, from classical rhetorical works, such as Quintilian’s “*brevitas integra*”, a conciseness of style which nevertheless conveys the entire meaning,⁷⁴² and Cicero’s “*Latini sermonis integritas*”, i.e. correctness in the use of the Latin language.⁷⁴³

Leslie Topsfield takes up another passage quoted in Paterson, from the *De clericorum institutione* (and ultimately from St. Augustine’s *De doctrina christiana*), where Rabanus Maurus speaks of “*integritas lectionis*”, the inclusion of all possible figurative senses in the interpretation of a sacred text.⁷⁴⁴ Topsfield compares the use of *entier* in Peire d’Alvernhe’s “*Sobre.l vieill trobar*” with the expression “*digz complitz*” in line 23 of the same song, and with the use of *complitz* in two religious songs, where Peire relates the term to the unity of the Trinity (song XIX, line 5) and the necessary completeness of the light of faith for salvation (song X, line 48). Peire’s “new”, “entire” and “complete” style is explained by Topsfield as combining earthly joy and courtly virtue as “part of his hope in a higher ultimate happiness in God”.⁷⁴⁵

The quotation of comparable terms from classical rhetoricians, Christian exegetes, theologians and other troubadour songs has thus led to a gamut of more or less credible interpretations of *vers entiers* in Peire d’Alvernhe, and by extension in other troubadours, from the “quite vague” to the rich, complex and even transcendental, depending on the the specific context and how wide the reader throws the net of possible literary and cultural resonances. The actual likelihood of the existence or

⁷³⁹ Erich Köhler, “Scholastische Ästhetik und höfische Dichtung”, *Neophilologus* 37 (1953) 202-207 (p. 203)

⁷⁴⁰ Alberto Del Monte follows Köhler’s use of Thomas Aquinas in his edition, *Peire d’Alvernha*, p. 113

⁷⁴¹ Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence*, pp. 65, 79 and 74 respectively

⁷⁴² Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, lib. VIII. 3.82, ed. Winterbottom, vol. II, p. 447

⁷⁴³ Cicero, *Brutus. Orator*, XXXV.132, ed. G.L. Hendrickson/H.M. Hubbell (London/Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1939), p. 116

⁷⁴⁴ Topsfield, *Troubadours and Love*, p. 184; c.f. Rabanus Maurus, *De clericorum institutione*, in *Patrologia Latina*, 107, cols. 293-420, lib. III, caput VIII, col. 385

⁷⁴⁵ Topsfield, *Troubadours and Love*, p. 186

possible reception of these resonances can perhaps be tested by stepping back via the work of Bernart Marti to Marcabru, and so assess the original associations of *entier* when the term seems to have entered troubadour song.

Bernart Marti's "D'entier vers far ieu non pes" (song V) comprises a direct attack on Peire d'Alvernhe and his *gap*, "Sobre.l vieill trobar e.l novel" (song XI). The first five strophes of Bernart's song take up Peire's theme of *vers entiers*, without explicitly mentioning his target. In the first strophe, he seems to distance himself from this terminology, but then proceeds to associate verses which are not *entier* with anti-courtly concepts, such as *leujairia*, (frivolity), in line 8, *peccatz e follia*, (sin and folly), in line 9, *vanetat* in line 17, and *truandia*, (knavery), in line 20. The climax is then arrived at in strophe vi, where lines 31-32 reveal that the object of the satire is the former canon, Peire d'Alvernhe, and lines 33-34 ask a rhetorical question which many contemporaries must have asked themselves:

"A Dieu per que.s prometia
Entiers que pueys si fraysses ?"

(Why did he promise himself entirely to God and then break his promise?)

This question is followed by a tirade in strophes vii-xii, where Peire's vain boasting and lying are associated with *vilania* (line 48) and *pagezia*, another term for "peasantry" (line 50), and the former canon is specifically charged with not behaving in a courtly manner (*cortes*, line 55). In the final strophe and two-line *tornada* (strophes xiii-xiv), Bernart seems to step back somewhat and imply that Peire is in fact a fine composer, but it is his behavior that is the problem. Bernart thus takes up Peire's apparently, predominantly aesthetic use of *entier*, but goes back to their predecessor, Marcabru, by opposing it to *frag*, and giving it strong and explicit moral, courtly and even religious associations.

The source of the terminology of *entier* and *frag* in the early troubadours seems to be Marcabru's song XIX, "Doas cuidas ai, compaigner", a set-piece of vernacular dialectic on courtly themes. This song starts by opposing two *cuidars* or *cuidas*, "thoughts" or "modes of thought", from Latin *cogitare*, and then expands on their interpretation by contrasting their respective qualities: *joi* and *destorbier*, "(joy" and "upheaval"), in line 2; *la bona* and *l'aval*, ("good" and "evil"), in lines 3-4; *douz e amar*, ("sweet and bitter") in line 6; *ben e mau*, ("good and evil"), in line 9; *fraich* and *entier*, ("whole" and "broken"), in line 11; and *amon* and *avau*, in line 18.⁷⁴⁶ After thus establishing his concept of "whole and fractured modes of thought", Marcabru sets about his usual bugbears: the avarice of the rich in strophe iii; the cowardice of those who think about being brave, but are not, in strophe iv; fickle love in strophe v; and lustful husbands and wives in strophes vi-vii.

⁷⁴⁶ See Peter Ricketts, "'Doas cuidas ai, compaigner' de Marcabru: édition critique, traduction et commentaire", *Mélanges de philologie romane offerts à Charles Camproux* (Montpellier, 1978), vol. I, pp. 179-194 (p. 183)

The background to this song seems to be a call to crusade in Spain. Marcabru twice despairs of the temporal world, the *saeculum*, in lines 7 and 49.⁷⁴⁷ In an obscure passage addressed to *soudadier*, perhaps literally “mercenary soldiers” rather than “court retainers” here, he remembers the famous “baüs Gaifier”, the bracelets of Waiofar, the last independent Duke of the Aquitanians, which were captured by King Pepin of the Franks (strophe iii).⁷⁴⁸ He talks of his enemies as both “fraitz” and “faillitz” (*passim*, but particularly lines 22 and 71), as in his famous crusading “Lavador” song, XXXV, line 62. He uses the biblical imagery of right and wrong paths in lines 64 and 66, and ends the song with an unfavourable comparison in line 72 of the epic character Basan⁷⁴⁹ with a certain Bertaut,⁷⁵⁰ apparently meaning something like “ordinary bloke”.⁷⁵¹

Marcabru’s use of *entier* and *frag* in this song differs notably from both his imitators. His original terms have moral-satirical, religious and purely intellectual connotations, but not aesthetic or literary ones. They are, like *Amor* and *Amistat* or *Amars*, dialectically opposed with a host of contrasting characteristics. Their application is not principally to courtly virtue or *vers* or *digz*, but to *cuidars* and *cuida*, the notion of “thought”, which occurs in different forms in almost every other line of the song and forms part of Marcabru’s technical and rhetorical display.⁷⁵² His song is richer than those of his imitators in its possible thematic allusions, which are different in their range. He is also ostentatiously intellectual in their presentation.

The phrase “*integritas sive perfectio*” in Aquinas, although anachronistically related to Marcabru by Köhler, may nevertheless be seen as one link in a long chain of thought which led to a philosophical combination of “entirety” and “thought”, which may have influenced Marcabru’s vernacular coinings. The concept of *integritas* is not Aquinas’s own invention, or even a particularly pregnant expression, but is a cliché of patristic and scholastic writing. *Integer* occurs in the Vulgate, in the greeting at the head of the letter of James I: 4:

“*Patientia autem opus perfectum habeat ut sitis perfecti et integri in nullo deficientes.*”
 (But let patience have her perfect work, that ye may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing.)

It crops up elsewhere in the New Testament, e.g. in I Thessalonians 5: 23, “*et integer spiritus vester*”, (and your whole spirit), and occurs again with *perfectus* and applied to *intellectus*, a possible Latin equivalent of *cuidars*, in Boethius’s theological treatise,

⁷⁴⁷ For further references to the *saeculum* in the early troubadours, see: Marcabru, songs I, l. 38; XXXVI, l. 22, and XXXIX, l. 8; and Cercamon, song V, l. 46

⁷⁴⁸ Lejeune, “Pour le commentaire”, pp. 364-370; *c.f.* the alternative emendations proposed by Ricketts in “*Doas cuidas*”, pp. 183 and 188, and by John Marshall, in “The *Doas Cuidas* of Marcabru”, in Paterson/Noble, *Chrétien de Troyes and the Troubadours*, pp. 27-33 (p. 29)

⁷⁴⁹ *Basan* is, for example, the name of Charlemagne’s envoy to the Saracens in the *Chanson de Roland*, ed. Frederick Whitehead (2nd ed., Oxford, 1946), lines 208, 330 and 490

⁷⁵⁰ For example, as in the proverb, “Por un point perdi, Bertaut s’arnesse”, (as soon as he loses a point, Bertaut harnesses his horse), in Morawski, *Les proverbes*, no. 1702 variants

⁷⁵¹ Compare Peire d’Alverne’s imitation of this passage in his song XI, line 15, where Mauri, the hero of the Occitan epic, *Aigar et Maurin*, is contrasted with Miro, a common name in medieval Catalonia

⁷⁵² Song XIX, ll. 1, 3, 5, 10, 13, 16, 19, 22-23, 29, 31-35, 37-38, 40-41, 44, 46, 48, 50, 56-57, 59, 62, 64 and 68

Contra Eutychen. The latter context consists of a systematic discussion of the definition of *natura*, a key concept in Neoplatonic thought:⁷⁵³

“Natura est earum rerum quae, cum sint, quoque modo intellectu capi possunt.’ In hac igitur definitione et accidentia et substantiae definiuntur; haec enim omnia intellectu capi possunt. Additum vero est ‘quoque modo’, quoniam deus et materia integro perfectoque intellectu intelligi non possunt.”

(“Nature belongs to those things which, since they exist, can in some way be apprehended by the intellect.” This definition, then, includes the definition of both accidents and substances, for they all can be apprehended by the intellect. But I add “in some way” because God and matter cannot be apprehended by the intellect, be it ever so whole and perfect.)

This passage was discussed at the time of Marcabru, for instance, in the commentary on *Contra Eutychen* by Gilbert de la Porrée, Bishop of Poitiers from 1142.⁷⁵⁴

An example of an even more overtly Neoplatonic use of *perfectio* and *integritas* occurs in another contemporary commentary on a Boethian treatise, the *De Trinitate*, by Thierry of Chartres, who became Chancellor of Chartres on Gilbert’s departure and return to Poitiers.⁷⁵⁵

“Forma namque divina rerum omnia forma est, i.e. perfectio earum et integritas.”
(For the divine form is the form of all things, that is, perfection and entirety of them.)

Integer is also found in Boethius in contexts of pure logic, devoid of speculative theology and cosmogony, for instance, in his commentary on the basic school dialectical text, the third century *Isagoge* or “introduction” to Aristotle’s *Categories* by Porphyry. In a section on the proper definition of genus, Boethius asks:⁷⁵⁶

“quae enim erit in his generis specieique cognitio in quibus substantiae definitio atque integerrima ratio disgregatur?”

(For how shall we recognise genus and species when the definition of substance and the most complete reason is sundered?)

In another section, Boethius remarks on the subject of definition:⁷⁵⁷

“Ita his rebus cognitis integra stabilisque divisio et definitio permanebit.”
(Thus, once these factors have been taken into consideration, a whole and stable division will subsist.)

⁷⁵³ Boethius, *Contra Eutychen*, in *Boethius. Theological Tractates*, ed./trans. Stewart/Rand/Tester, pp. 78-79

⁷⁵⁴ *The Commentaries on Boethius by Gilbert of Poitiers*, ed. N.M. Häring (Toronto, 1966), p. 249

⁷⁵⁵ *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and his School*, ed. Nikolaus M. Häring (Toronto, 1971), *Commentum super Boethii librum de Trinitate, lib. II*, 46, p. 82

⁷⁵⁶ Boethius, *In Isagogen Porphyrii commenta*, ed. Samuel Brandt (Vienna/Leipzig, 1906), *lib. I*, 12, p. 33

⁷⁵⁷ *Ibid. lib. I*, 9, p. 23

Boethius uses similar language when mooted the definition of a noun in his commentary on Aristotle's *De interpretatione*: "unde fit ut his diligentissime distributis integerrima nominis definitio concludatur", (wherefore, once these things have been very carefully arranged, a most thorough definition of the noun is obtained).⁷⁵⁸ The term *integer* also occurs in Boethius's teachings on the superior level of Latin school-learning, the *quadrivium*, for example, in the preface to the *De institutione arithmetica*: "Est enim sapientia earum rerum, quae vere sunt, cognitio et integra comprehensio", (For knowing these subjects truly constitutes an integrated knowledge and understanding).⁷⁵⁹

These examples of *integer* in Neoplatonic theological and dialectical texts resemble Marcabru's *entier* through being combined with nouns suggestive of intellectual rigour: *cuidars* and *cuida* in the troubadour; and *intellectus*, *ratio*, *definitio*, *divisio*, *cognitio* and *comprehensio* in the Latin authors quoted. The continuation of the passage from Boethius in the *Isagoge*, I, 9, even provides a close equivalent to *frag*: "incognitis debilis lababit et trunca probatio", (if these factors are not taken into consideration, the proof will be weak, broken and will not stand up).

It is probably a stretch to suggest that Marcabru is alluding directly to one or more passages in Boethius or any of his commentators, especially as this would likely not be picked up by an audience listening to a song. It is more likely that Marcabru was self-consciously using a type of terminology employed in Latin scholarly circles of the period, a terminology which was particularly used to describe a manner of thinking where all possible considerations are embraced. It is debatable whether Bernart Marti and Peire d'Alvernhe were aware of such a traditional scholarly combination of "entirety" with thought and intellect. In practice, it is not important, as they seem rather to have been borrowing the terms *entier* and *frag* and the technique of dialectical opposition from Marcabru in order to transform them for their particular satirical and polemic, aesthetic and/or moral ends.

(iii) *Nature and the natural*

As with different types of love and the opposing concepts of *entier* and *frag*, critics of troubadour song have had much to say about *natura* and *natural* as technical terms, potentially loaded with aesthetic, moral, mystical, Christian or Neoplatonic significance. Such theories definitely have some foundation and are of use in literary interpretation, but their momentum has tended to outstrip their factual grounding. For this reason, the following pages will first analyse the use of these two words in the early troubadours, and then examine critically different scholars' interpretations.

Natura is most commonly employed in the early troubadours simply to mean "the inherent or innate disposition or character of a person (or animal)".⁷⁶⁰ The custodians of noble *donas* are said in line 28 of Marcabru's song II to follow "la natura del ca", (the

⁷⁵⁸ *Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii commentarii in librum Aristotelis περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, ed. Karl Meiser (Leipzig, 1877), I, 2, I, p. 51

⁷⁵⁹ *Anicii Manlii Torquati Severini Boetii De institutione arithmetica libri duo; De institutione musica libri quinque; accedit Geometria quae fertur Boetii*, ed. Gottfried Friedlein (Leipzig, 1867), lib. I, 1, p. 9

⁷⁶⁰ *The Oxford Dictionary*, "nature"

nature of the dog). The seducing noble of song XXX woos the shepherdess by telling her in lines 72-73 that “...tota creatura/revertis a sa natura”, (every creature reverts to its own nature), meaning on the surface that it is unnatural for a *vilana* to want to preserve her virginity. Peire d’Alvernhe uses *natura* similarly when he defends Marcabru with an echo of the “know yourself” motif in the conclusion to his song, “Bel m’es quan la roza floris”. He declares that, although Marcabru composed in a similar manner to Peire (song XIII, lines 40-42):⁷⁶¹

“e tengon lo tug per fol
qui no conoissa natura
E no.ill membre per que.s nais.”

(they all regard him as a fool who does not know his own nature, and does not remember why he was born.)

The following example from a Marcabrunian spring opening does sound slightly more like a philosophical pose, with the poet meditating “de rerum natura”, a commonplace of Latin speculative philosophical writing (song XLI, lines 3-6):

“Qui que paus, ieu pes e cossir
De moutas cauzas a sobriers,
Segon natura et estiers,
De qu’auzem lo poble brugir.”

(Others may rest, but I think and meditate on many things, according to nature and beyond it, on the things we hear people murmuring.)

Yet, even in this reflective context, the word *natura* can still be interpreted as referring to little more than the inner character of an object.

The adjective *natural* also has a non-technical meaning in line 29 of song XLI, where Marcabru equates the parable of the sower with his own fruitless exhortations: “De sobre.ls naturals rochiers”, (on the natural, i.e. bare rocks). A more intellectual interpretation of this adjective might be expected in the context of the song, “Doas cuidas”, where Marcabru says of the man who can distinguish the *frait* from the *entier* (XIX, lines 12-13):⁷⁶²

“Be.l teing per devin naturau
Qui de cuit conoisser es guiz.”

(I regard the man who knows how to guide us in “thought” as a natural prophet.)

⁷⁶¹ Zenker, ed., *Die Lieder Peires von Auvergne*, song X, ll. 40-42, p. 108, is cited here, as Del Monte’s text is hypermetric and does not correspond to the unique manuscript reading

⁷⁶² Ricketts, “*Doas cuidas*”, p. 183

However, it is not immediately obvious why the power of intellectual divining referred to here should be specifically “natural”, and it could here again simply refer to innate talent.

It is only in the following example from Marcabru’s “Lo vers comens” that the term *natural* is arguably more loaded (song XXXIII, lines 7-11):⁷⁶³

“E segon trobar naturau
port la peir’e l’esc’e.l fozill,
mas menut trobador bergau,
entrebesquill,
mi tornon mon chant en badau.”

(And according to the natural art of composing I bear the flint and tinder and steel, but buzzing, petty troubadours with confused thoughts turn my song into nothing and make a mockery of it for me.)

Here, *naturau* seems, through its conjunction with the technical, aesthetic term, *trobar*, to become a literary critical term in its own right. It is, nonetheless, as ever with Marcabru, also tinged with moral significance, being associated with the serious purpose of his composition.

Elsewhere in the work of the troubadours of the second and third generations, *natural* is used occasionally to qualify pejorative nouns, and frequently as a positive courtly term of limited definable meaning. The song, “Belha m’és la flors d’aguilen”, which is printed by Ernest Hoepffner as appendix I to his edition of Bernart Marti, but which may be by Peire d’Alvernhe, is a Marcabru-style tirade. In line 14, it attacks “Moillerat domneiador”, (married lovers), whose wives and custodians produce a generation of churlish bastards referred to in line 36 as “li folh e.l garsson naturau”, (the fools and natural lackeys). The juxtaposition here of *fol* and *natural* is reminiscent of a passage in Bernart de Ventadorn which criticises those who do not recognise that true love requires mutual desire, “amors communaus” (song XV, lines 33-35):⁷⁶⁴

“e cel es be fols naturaus
que de so que vol, la repren
e.lh lauza so que no.lh es gen.”

(And he is a natural fool who rebukes women because what he wants and urges them to do does not please them.)

Here again, *natural* could simply mean “instinctive” or “innate”, or much wider resonances could be inferred.

In contrast, the phrase “Lo vers es fis e naturaus”, (the song is fine and natural), which begins the first tornada of the same song by Bernart de Ventadorn, does seem to

⁷⁶³ Aurelio Roncaglia, ed. “Marcabruno: ‘Lo vers comens quan vei del fau’”, *Cultura Neolatina* XI (1951), pp. 25-48 (p. 30); translation by Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence*, p. 29

⁷⁶⁴ Carl Appel, ed. *Bernart de Ventadorn, seine Lieder, mit Einleitung und Glossar* (Halle, 1915), pp. 85-90 (p. 86)

be a loaded expression, a witty combination of the common expression “natural fool” and the contemporary use of *natural* as a positive epithet applied to courtly manners. Bernart himself refers in other songs to “mo fi joi natural” (XXVIII, line 35) and his “amor tan fin’e natural” (XLI, line 15). Raimbaut d’Aurenga speaks of his “fi joi natural” in the literary debate with Guiraut de Bornelh (song XXXI, line 48).⁷⁶⁵ Folquet de Marselha describes his *dona’s* “amor natural”, which has taken up residence in his heart (song XX, lines 39-40).⁷⁶⁶ Peire Rogier says that he holds his heart “en fin joy natural” in his song II, line 6, and that patience represents “natural sen” in song IV, line 4.⁷⁶⁷ Several troubadour *vidas*, including that of Peire Rogier, complement their subjects as “savis de letras e de sen natural”, (learned in letters and natural sense).⁷⁶⁸ *Natural* is also used with *sen* in a context of literary boasting by Guiraut de Bornelh in his song XXVII, line 53, where he says that he uses words full of “estranhs sens naturals”, (strange natural meaning).⁷⁶⁹

The above examples lead to the following conclusions. The words *natura* and *natural* appear to be used relatively infrequently by the troubadours of the first two generations and with little observable figurative meaning. They most often and most clearly refer to the inner essence of a person, animal or thing. They represent a positive quality as long as the personal, animal or thing is itself positive, and not a dog, a fool or a lackey. The courtly qualities of *amor*, *joi* and *sen* are all consistent with such a naturally positive innate character. The only apparent exception to this rule seem to be Marcabru’s *trobar naturau*. By contrast, *natura* and *natural* seem to have taken on more meaning in the third generation of troubadours, and critics have read this back to the earlier period.

Leslie Topsfield, for example, has taken Bernart de Ventadorn’s “natural fool” as the pivot of an article published in 1974, where he links this passage in Bernart to Peire d’Alvernhe’s defense of Marcabru, regarded as a fool ignorant of his own nature, and to Marcabru’s own use of *trobar naturau* and his condemnation of *foudatz*.⁷⁷⁰ He concludes from this that Marcabru is Bernart’s *fols naturaus*, which is possible. This could, however, also be a verbal coincidence, especially as the use of “nature” and “natural” in these three contexts seems to have nothing obvious in common, except that all three poems involve courtly polemic. M. Shapiro is perhaps right to translate Bernart’s phrase simply as “born fool”.⁷⁷¹

In *Troubadours and Love*, Topsfield undercuts this elegant if somewhat vague synthesis with a misinterpretation of Peire’s reply to fools who say that Marcabru did not know “sa natura”. He interprets this phrase not as alluding to Marcabru’s nature, but to Nature itself. He then links this to “per deum naturau”, Dejeanne’s incorrect

⁷⁶⁵ Pattison, *The Life and Works of the Troubadour Raimbaut d’Orange*, p. 174

⁷⁶⁶ Stanisław Stroński, ed. *Le troubadour Folquet de Marseille* (Kraków, 1910), p. 91

⁷⁶⁷ Nicholson, *The Poems of the Troubadour Peire Rogier*, pp. 52, 70

⁷⁶⁸ Boutière/Schutz, *Biographies des troubadours*, p. 267

⁷⁶⁹ Kolsen, ed., *Sämtliche Lieder des Trobadors Giraut de Bornelh*, I, pp.152-153

⁷⁷⁰ Leslie Topsfield, “The ‘natural fool’ in Peire d’Alvernhe, Marcabru and Bernart de Ventadorn”, in *Mélanges Charles Rostaing*, vol. II, pp. 1149-1158

⁷⁷¹ Marianne Shapiro, “‘Fols naturaus’: the Born Fool as Literary Type”, *Romance Notes* 19 (1978-1979), pp. 243-247

manuscript reading, and to *trobar naturau* in the same troubadour. This leads to speculation on Marcabru's debt to exegetical and mystic traditions.⁷⁷²

"Marcabru sees the world as God's creation and finds a moral truth in the order of things which God has established in nature."

Paterson interprets these same passages in the same way and implies a unity of approach towards nature in Marcabru by heading her section on nature in his work "trobar naturau".⁷⁷³ She is correct in noting that Marcabru derives the greater part of his imagery from plant and animal nature, but the nature he generally depicts is one of barrenness, as in song III, of triffid-like overgrowth, as in song XXXIX, or uncontrolled lust which breeds bad from bad and mongrelises the good. Both Topsfield and Paterson explicitly state that they are following Roncaglia's influential article, "*Trobar clus*: discussion aperta".

Roncaglia compared Marcabru's *trobar naturau* with a multiplicity of uses of the word *naturalis* in diverse branches of Latin learning:⁷⁷⁴ the variable and contradictory terminology of *ordo naturalis* and *ordo artificialis* in grammatical and rhetorical texts, where "natural" can, for example, refer to word order or the ordering of a plot; the debate between *natura* and *doctrina* in Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*; the "rediscovery" of nature at Chartres in the first half of the twelfth century, particularly through the Neoplatonism inspired by Chalcidius's translation of Plato's dialogue, *Timaeus*; the Roman concept of *ius naturale*, "natural law", described in the fifth book of Isidore's *Etymologiae*; and finally, the mystical theology of William of Saint-Thierry and his doctrine of *amor naturalis*.⁷⁷⁵ Roncaglia concludes his article emphatically:⁷⁷⁶

"Il *trobar naturau* di Marcabruno si presenta a noi come una concreta e vigorosa applicazione, sul terreno scottante della poesia volgare (cioè proprio sul terreno degli avversari), di quelle stesse dottrine rivendicative della dignità d'amore e della morale naturale, che in quegli stessi anni Guglielmo di Saint-Thierry svolgeva nel suo trattello latino."

He does not, however, say through which medium Marcabru may have been familiar with the Cistercian mystic's ideas, and the very length of Roncaglia's list of broadly positive uses of the term *naturalis* in the scholarly Latin tradition can be seen as undermining any potential direct link between Marcabru and William of Saint-Thierry.

A more rational approach to the issue of the meaning of *natura* and *natural* in early *trobar* would arguably be to divide it into three different questions: the meaning of *trobar naturau* in Marcabru; this satirist's attitude to nature; and the general usage of these terms in early troubadours taken as a whole. This approach leads to the following conclusions. *Natura* usually means simply an "inner state". *Natural* is mostly used as a

⁷⁷² Topsfield, *Troubadours and Love*, pp. 74-75 (p. 74)

⁷⁷³ Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence*, pp. 28-41

⁷⁷⁴ Roncaglia, "'Trobar clus': discussione aperta", pp. 45-55

⁷⁷⁵ On the latter, compare Topsfield, *Troubadours and Love*, pp. 102-104

⁷⁷⁶ Roncaglia, "'Trobar clus': discussione aperta", p. 55

vaguely positive courtly quality. The depiction of nature in Marcabru's songs is ambivalent rather than consistent. And finally, *trobar naturau* is a rare example in Marcabru's extant work where the epithet, *natural*, can be seen as evoking an implicit moral force. It certainly sounds like a technical term, but it may also comprise an incidental invention which alludes in context to a concept of nature as a paradigm of harmony or little more than "trueness to self".

An alternative and less specific learned background to the early troubadours' general interest in nature and the natural can perhaps be identified in the "Discovery of Nature", which many cultural historians of the Middle Ages have considered to be an integral part of the intellectual renaissance of the twelfth century.⁷⁷⁷ This would be less strained than a direct link to William of Saint-Thierry, the christianising Neoplatonism of William of Conches (fl. ca. 1120-1154), the latter's controversy over the roles of God and Nature with William of Saint-Thierry, or such major contemporary works of paganising Neoplatonism as the *Cosmographia* of Bernardus Silvestris, written by 1147.

(iv) *Wisdom and knowledge*

In one of a series of articles discussing the interpretation of courtly terms in the troubadours, Alexander H. Schutz begins by remarking that such terms "lexically complement each other to a high degree, especially considering that the troubadours were not philosophers". He then concludes his study of Occitan words specifically relating to knowledge as follows:⁷⁷⁸

"In short, *sen* is good sense, judgment, *saber*, wisdom of a higher kind, in which learning could be a component, *sciensa* is scientific knowledge of a demonstrable character, *conoissensa*, the ability to discriminate."

This conclusion begs the question as to whether the early troubadours in particular really understood and defined these four terms as Schutz contends, especially as their songs not only include these, but also other related concepts, such as *ensenhamen* and *sapienssa*, as well as adjectives, such as *senatz*, *savi*, *sapiens*, *conoissens*, *ben apres* and *ben ensenhatz*.

Significantly William IX already included wisdom and knowledge among the range of courtly qualities in his songs. It could be argued that the phrase, "savis ni pros", in line 17 of his song XI sounds more epic than courtly in its political and military context, where it is reminiscent of one of the most famous lines in Old French literature: "Rollant est proz e Oliver est sage", (Roland is brave and Oliver is wise).⁷⁷⁹ It could also be

⁷⁷⁷ On which, see, for example, Marie-Dominique Chenu, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century*, edited and translated by Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago, 1968), including the title on p. 4, "The Discovery of Nature"; Barbara Helbling-Gloor, *Natur und Aberglaube im Policraticus des Johannes von Salisbury* (Zurich, 1957), pp. 18-19; and Curtius, *European Literature*, ch. 6, "Dame Nature"

⁷⁷⁸ Alexander H. Schutz, "Some Provençal words indicative of Knowledge", *Speculum* 33 (1958), pp. 508-514 (pp. 508 and 514); c.f. the same author's "The Provençal Expression Pretz e Valor", *Speculum* 19 (1944), pp. 488-493

⁷⁷⁹ *Chanson de Roland*, ed. Whitehead, line 1093

contended that William may just refer to himself as *ensenhatz* in the art of sexual intercourse in the bawdy context of line 40 of his song VI, and as lacking *bon saber* only in desiring a lady he cannot have in lines 19-20 of song VII. However, the juxtaposition of *savis* with *enfolezir* and of *cortes* and *vilan* in lines 27-20 of his song VII, a study in the courtly virtue of *joi*, potentially shed a different light on these texts. In this light, the pairing of the complementary virtues of *savis* and *pros*, his qualification of *saber* as *bon*, and his subversion of courtly love terms through blatant eroticism all lead to one conclusion. Wisdom and education were already at the time of the “first” troubadour considered to be among the essential courtly qualities subsequently praised by Cercamon and Jaufre Rudel. Jaufre considered it to *savi* to be patient and wait for the *dona*’s love (song IV, lines 12-14), while Cercamon commended the *ensegnamen*, (learning), of his *dona* (song II, line 24) and praised her as a source of *sen* and *saber* (song I, line 18).

Once again, it was Marcabru’s more consistently earnest, moralising verse which used the widest range of terms related to wisdom and knowledge in the widest variety of perceptible meanings. Previous sections have already given some isolated examples of this phenomenon. They have shown how he recommended *razo*, (reason), to Uc Catola in song VI, line 13; how he admired the *sen* of the shepherdess in lines 3 and 23 of song XXX; his boasting of his own *gignos sen* in song XVI, line 13; his praise of the *savi* who can disentangle the meaning of his words and arguments in song XXXVII, strophe i; and his recommendation of the use of *cuidars entier* throughout song XIX. It is, however, in his song XV, “Cortesamen vuoiil comensar”, that Marcabru is at his most systematic in this regard.

The first line of “Cortesamen” introduces *cortesia* as the subject of this piece. The troubadour then remarks in strophe ii that even the *plus savis* and *miells apres* need tuition in courtliness. In other words, being learned and having the best education is necessary, but not sufficient to be courtly. The song goes on to argue in strophe iv that the man who is *savis* knows how to observe *mesura*, (moderation), and that this is also an element of *cortesia*, which is contrasted with its antithesis, *vilania*, and its characteristics of *escarnir*, (mockery), and *foleiar*, (foolish behaviour). The *tornada* reveals that this lesson in courtliness was intended for that master of courtly love, Jaufre Rudel, as well as for the pleasure and edification of his fellow crusaders on the Second Crusade of 1147.

Elsewhere, Marcabru seems to make the connection between specifically Latin learning and courtly love more explicit. In lines 6-8 of his song XIIbis, he refers to love as a *Scientia*:

“Qe scienza jauzionda
M’apres c’al soleilh declin
Laus lo jorn, e l’ost al matin.”

(For the joyous science has taught me to praise the day at sunset and my hostess in the morning.)

CHAPTER 6

In lines 8-9 of song XL, he uses another Latinism, this time *sapiens*, as a variant to *savis*, the commonest adjective to describe this aspect of courtly love:⁷⁸⁰

“Aicel cui fin’Amors causitz
Viu letz, cortes e sapiens.”

(He whom fine Love chooses, lives happy, courtly and wise.)

In another song, he employs the substantivised form of *sapiens*, *sapienssa*, a term which would inevitably have evoked the *sapientia* of Solomon in the minds of contemporaries (song XXXII, lines 1-6):⁷⁸¹

Lo vers comenssa
a son sen veill antic;
segon l’entenssa
de so qu’eu vei e vic,
n’ai sapienssa
Don ieu anc no.m jauzic.”

(I begin this song with its old and ancient theme; according to the understanding gained from what I have seen, I have a wisdom in which I have never been able to rejoice.)

In this context, *sapienssa* and *entenssa* seem to have a deeper meaning than “knowledge of courtly love”. They appear rather to describe Marcabru’s particularly profound inner knowledge and understanding of the world around him, a quality alluded to in two further songs:

“Per savi.l tenc ses doptanssa
Del qui de mon chant devina
So que chascus motz declina,
Si cum la razos despleia.” (XXXVII, lines 1-4)

(I hold him wise, who divines what every word of my song means, as its argument unfolds.)

“E Marcabrus, segon s’entensa pura
Sap la razon e.l vers lassar e faire.” (IX, lines 2-3)

(And Marcabru knows how to bind and compose the argument and poem according to his pure understanding.)

⁷⁸⁰ For example, in Marcabru songs VIII, line 11; XV, strophes ii, iv and v; XVI, line 27; XVIII, line 47; XXXVII, line 1; XXXIX, line 58; XL, line 42; XLIV, line 41

⁷⁸¹ Ricketts, ed. “*Lo vers comenssa*”, pp. 7-26 (p. 12)

Marcabru's qualities of *sapienssa*, *savi* and *entenssa*, like his *cuidars entiers* and his *devin naturau*, thus suggest the existence of an idealised courtly élite, which is not only ethical, but also literary and intellectual. Together these terms also implicitly identify the composer as a high priest or prophet of courtly love, an identification which Marcabru himself makes more explicit in other contexts. He refers to his *sermonars* and *predicanssa* ("sermonising" and "preaching") in song XXXVII, line 43; his prophesying, *prophetizet*, in song XXXIII, line 37; and to his role in castigating, *castiar*, contemporary *mores* in songs XVII, line 37, XXV, line 43, XL, line 49 and XLI, line 25.

It arguably fell to Marcabru's successor and imitator, Peire d'Alvernhe, to attempt a clearer distinction between these knowledge-related terms. This seems, at least to be an important element in Peire's song, "Lo fuelhs e.l flors e.l frugz madurs" (V), one of the most overtly intellectualising songs in the former canon's strikingly miscellaneous extant works. Not only does this song distinguish different sorts of wisdom and knowledge, but also varying types of love and joy. In the opening strophe, nature is said to inspire Peire with the near synonyms, *joi* and *gaugz*, together with more intellectual urges (lines 7-10):

"qu'entendemens
mi ven e voluntatz
d'esser sabens
de mais en mielhs assatz."

(For understanding comes to me and the desire to be wiser concerning better things.)

The following strophe begins in a similar vein (lines 11-13):

"quar ses gaugz grans sabers ni purs
ni gienhs ginhos
non er aut elegutz."

(For without joy, great and pure wisdom and ingenious intelligence will not be raised on high.)

The *sabers purs* is reminiscent of Marcabru's *entensa pura* (IX, 2), *gienhs ginhos* of Marcabru's *gignos sens* (XVI, 13), and the relation of intellectual and courtly qualities recalls strophes ii-iv of Marcabru's "Cortesamen vuoill comensar" (song XV). However, Peire's distinction between intellectual understanding, *entendemens* or *gienhs*, on the one hand, and knowledge, *sabers*, on the other, is new.

The remainder of Peire's song V embroiders on the relationship between joy and knowledge, but without making explicit any potential difference between *gaugz* (lines 3 and 11) and *ioy* (line 21), and *iauzens* and *joyos* (line 15), all terms deriving from the same Latin word, *gaudium*. He also fails to elaborate on the difference between wisdom and knowledge. Instead, he varies his terminology with further echoes of that of Marcabru. He asserts in line 18 that the uncourtly lack *sciens'e patz*, (knowledge and peace); he praises his own *senatz sens*, (educated sense), in line 27; and refers to himself as *sapiens* in line 57. He incidentally mentions *bon'amor* in line 30, and then

both follows and expands on Marcabru by juxtaposing *amar* and *amor* in lines 51-53, and *fin'* and *fals'amistatz* in lines 48-50.

Peire d'Alvernhe's song VI, "L'airs clars e.l chans dels auzelhs", resembles song V both in its style and its theme. It distinguishes two different types of love, *amor* and *amar* (lines 41 and 44), and two different types of joy (lines 25-26):

"Mas dels dos joys es ops sens
E reconoyssensa."

(Good sense and the ability to discriminate are necessary in order to separate the two joys.)

The evil type of joy is associated with the world in line 29, and is called *gaug* in line 33 or *ioy mundas* in line 37. The good type is just called *ioy*, and is a supreme mixture of what have in the meantime become three types of joy (lines 59-60):

"Sobra sobre totz ioyos sos iays
Del maior gaug qu'anc nasc ni nays."

(Her *iays* (i.e. the *dona's*) surmounts every *ioy* with the greatest *gaug* that ever is or was born.)

The juxtaposition of all these terms, including *reconoissensa* and *sen*, other words related to knowledge and beginning with "s", and words for "joy" and "joyful", seems to spring as much from delight in word play as from a pretence of intellectual rigour in the separation of the courtly qualities of love, joy, knowledge and understanding.

Elsewhere in his work, Peire d'Alvernhe uses the terminology of knowledge and learning in contexts other than those relating to love and joy. He describes the court of the Count of Barcelona as being a haven of *bon sen* and *saber* in song XIV (line 10). In a religious song, "De Dieus non puesc pauc ben parlar", God is referred to as giving "vezer, entendre et auzir/e sen e saber e sentir", (sight, understanding and hearing/and sense and knowledge and feeling) (XVII, lines 50-51). In another religious song, "Gent es mentr'om n'a vezer", which tackles the subject of repentance and the abandonment of *cortez'amor* (line 58) for another, spiritual love, *autr'amor* (line 68), Peire again distinguishes wisdom and knowledge (X, strophe ii):

"Contra'aso deu aparer
en cuy sens es alberguaire,
que scienssa no pretz guaire
s'als ops non la vey valer;
doncs ar er di mi sentitz
lo sabers don suy tequitz,
s'er fis o mesclatz de vaire."

(In contrast to this, anyone who is shrewd in his good sense must realise that I prize knowledge little if I do not see it being practically worthwhile. I shall therefore now demonstrate whether the wisdom with which I have been endowed should be regarded as loyal or mixed with treachery.)

He then uses *saber* as a complement to *sen* in lines 25-26:

“Hon om plus a de saber,
hon maier sens l’es quesitz.”

(The more knowledge a man has, the greater good sense is expected of him.)

These terms can all be said to correspond approximately to Schutz’s definitions and translated accordingly, but their exact sense depends as ever on context. Such contexts could be general, for instance, courtly, moral, aesthetic or spiritual, or specific, such as comparison with or opposition to related terms.

The religious nature of the latter two songs by the former cleric, Peire d’Alvernhe, could suggest that he was specifically aware of the current theological debate on the difference between comparable Latin terms indicative of wisdom and knowledge, such as *ratio*, *intellectus*, *sapientia*, *scientia* and *intelligentia*. Book IV of John of Salisbury’s *Metalogicon*, which was written in 1159, comprises a defense of the *trivium*, grammar, rhetoric and particularly dialectic or logic, and includes chapters headed: “De differentia rationis et intellectus; et quid intellectus”, (the distinction between reason and [intuitive] understanding, and the nature of the latter), and “Quid sapientia, et quod de ipsa de sensu per gratiam”, (The nature of wisdom, and the fact that, with the help of grace, wisdom derives [originally] from sense perception).⁷⁸² Peter Lombard’s widely diffused *Sentences*, composed in about 1146, rigorously explores the same subject matter under similar headings, such as: “Quomodo differant sapientia et scientia”, (On the difference between wisdom and knowledge); “Definitio sapientiae secundum philosophos”, (The definition of wisdom according to the philosophers); and, “Distinctio sapientiae et scientiae secundum theologos”, (The distinction between wisdom and knowledge according to the theologians). Lombard quotes a paraphrase of 1 Corinthians 12: 8, “Alii datur sermo sapientiae, alii sermo scientiae”, (To one is given the utterance of wisdom and to another the utterance of knowledge), and quotes extensively from the *De Trinitate* and other works of St. Augustine.⁷⁸³

As in the case of Marcabru, it would be imprudent to assume that Peire was at any one time alluding to a particular learned interpretation of terms relating to knowledge or wisdom, but he too could or maybe even should have been aware of the lively intellectual debating of these issues at the Paris and Chartres schools, among others, as well as the contemporary philosophical discussion of different types of love and the positive role of nature in the creation and cosmos. Since demonstrably learned troubadours, such as Marcabru and Peire d’Alvernhe, aimed to persuade as well as entertain in their songs, it seems inevitable that they should have used the language and techniques of dialectics and speculative thought for their own ends.

⁷⁸² *Ioannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Metalogicon*, ed. Webb, lib. IV, headings of chapters XVIII and XIX, pp. 184-185; translation by Daniel D. McGarry in *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury: a Twelfth-century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955), pp. xii, 230-231

⁷⁸³ *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae Parisiensis Episcopi in IV libris distinctae*, vol. II (3rd edition, Rome, 1971), lib. III, dist. XXXV, ca. 1-3, pp. 198-201

Conclusions to chapter 7

The final chapter in this study has analysed the potential impact on early *trobar* of contemporary teaching and knowledge of dialectic, the second subject of the *trivium*. It has done this through the examination of two specific elements: songs structured as formal debates; and the development by the early troubadours of complementary technical terms based on their new secular, as opposed to existing Christian values.

The first part of the chapter analyses in detail the four songs in dialogue form which have survived from the period under study. All four songs are relatively rich in learned elements typically associated with this format. Cercamon begins his lament on the death of William X with the classical metaphor of the swan song, and is addressed from the beginning of the second strophe as “master”, thus implying a mock school debate. In Marcabru’s dialogue with the nobleman, Uc Catola, the two protagonists subtly redefine love, using Samson and Delilah as an *exemplum*, Solomon, David and Ovid as authorities, as well as Latinisms, such as *auctor* and *uxor* as rhymes.

Marcabru’s two extant *pastourelles* also consist of dialogues, and their composer exploits the conflicting associations of the shepherdess and rustic background on the one hand, and the scholastic nature of the debate form on the other. The lesser known and incomplete, “A l’issida d’abriu”, begins the second strophe with a clear nod to the opening of Virgil’s first *Eclogue*, the first classical literary text seen by most schoolchildren, and ends with an absurdly bogus quotation from “Solomon”. In the better known “L’autrier jost’una sebissa”, the shepherdess poses as a female version of the peasant in rustic proverbs, but uses her last complete verse to reveal a higher wisdom. She dialectically opposes folly and sense, the rustic and the courtly, and finally recommends a sort “golden mean”, as recommended by the “ancients.”

The second part of chapter 7 investigates the exploration by the early troubadours of a new set of courtly, moral and aesthetic values through their definition by opposition. The four sets of terms chosen for analysis are: different forms of love; “whole” and “fractured” thought; nature and the natural; and wisdom and knowledge.

Several of these terms have been investigated at length by critics who have tended to use such terms to explain the origins of “courtly love” against a background of scholastic theology and particularly Neoplatonic thought. This chapter differs from previous work in analysing these terms together in relation to techniques of basic school learning, and specifically in the context of the works of the early troubadours.

It is true that the end of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth century were characterised by a flowering of dialectical and more speculative philosophical studies in Paris, Chartres and elsewhere, including Poitiers. It is also more than probable that many of the early troubadours would have been exposed at least indirectly to these exciting developments and to related learned techniques and terminology. It is, however, arguably unlikely that songs directed at a predominantly lay audience would allude directly to specific scholastic debates.

In the case of the exploration of terms such as *Amor*, *bon’Amor*, *fin’Amor*, *Amars* and *Amsistatz*, it is clearly perceptible through the extant songs of William IX, Jaufre Rudel, Cercamon and Marcabru that love is being defined and distinguished within a new value framework, one where love is associated with courtly qualities such as *Joi*,

Joven, Pretz and *Valor*. If “courtly love” is nevertheless associated at times with mystical Christian and Neoplatonic elements in some specific songs, this does not mean that it should necessarily be viewed as originating in the debates of contemporary theologians and philosophers.

The same can be concluded in the case of the terms, “whole” and “fractured” thought; nature and the natural; and wisdom and knowledge. Latin terms such as “*integritas*”, “*natura*”, “*sapientia*” and “*scientia*”, their antonyms and near-synonyms, were endlessly debated from the time of Boethius and with particular passion at this period. However, it is clear even in the fragmentary surviving work of the early troubadours that their vernacular equivalents were being reinvented in order to make sense of the new morality of the lay courts and of its perceived perversion.

If Marcabru was, as seems to be the case, the main driver behind the redefining and distinguishing of courtly values and their opposites among the early troubadours, he was clearly building on the groundwork of William IX, Jaufre Rudel and Cercamon. In Marcabru’s case, such terms were part of a display of knowledge meant to impress his audience and convey his moral-satirical message. His imitators, Bernart Marti and especially Peire d’Alvernhe, continued this mission, but came to concentrate less on the moral aspects and more on the aesthetic values of *trobar*, the focus of the third and most famous generation of troubadours.

Conclusions

Something special happened in Western European culture around the turn of the eleventh century, at about the time that the First Crusade boosted the confidence and widened the horizons of both Church and laity. The schools of Paris, Chartres and elsewhere in Northern France were abuzz with fresh ideas and often passionate philosophical debate in Latin, while a new vernacular lyric, that of the troubadours, started to spread through the courts of the aristocracy from its cradle in the linguistic border lands of Poitou and Limousin.

The foundations for many of these developments had already been laid in the second half of the eleventh century with a revival in school learning, serial monastic renewal, starting with that of Cluny, the Gregorian Reforms, and the increasing political independence of the Church from the aristocracy. Against this background, it was not surprising that the nobility should also begin to develop its own artistic culture and philosophy of life and love.

Twelfth-century Latin chroniclers and the earliest troubadours may not have described this phenomenon from the same political standpoint, but they both bear witness to a new type of song and its performance, first associated with William IX, Count of Poitiers, VII Duke of Aquitaine, and his vassal and friendly rival, Eble II, Viscount of Ventadour. The talents of both individuals were perceived to be exceptional, and their rivalry doubtless helped establish an art form and an ethos which passed the test of time.

According to the evidence of both the chroniclers and the troubadours themselves, the culture of the courts of William, Eble and their neighbours was characterised by youthful exuberance, joy and urbanity. The secular lords and their courtiers strove to avoid “rusticity” by all means. The songs of William also make clear that this culture was already characterised by what came to be perceived as a new vision of romantic love, explored by the earliest troubadours alongside other courtly qualities, such as “Youth”, “Joy” and “Largesse”.

Since William IX was one of the great lords of Christendom, his family and his life are much better documented than those of other troubadours. The evidence of chronicles, letters and charters reveal that his grandfather, William V, was an exceptionally lettered individual who was in correspondence with Fulbert of Chartres, and that his father, William VIII, was a great supporter of the Cluniac reforms and of the Church in general. If William IX appears to have been less close to the clergy than his father, this was

because the reforming Church was distancing itself from the aristocracy rather than *vice versa*.

Charters show that William IX's son, William X, travelled as a child with a personal tutor from the cathedral chapter of Poitiers, and it is probable that the troubadour himself was a pupil of Thibaut, who was not only master of the school at the collegiate church of Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers, but also chancellor of his father's court. The counts themselves were hereditary abbots of Saint-Hilaire which, together with the cathedral in Poitiers, comprised the main, but not the only foyers of learning in the region.

The funeral roll of Matilda of Caen, abbess of La Trinité in Caen, and the evidence of scattered poems associated with Poitou, Saintonge and Limousin, show that Latin poetry of a relatively high standard, including classicising metrical verse, was composed throughout Northern Aquitaine at this period. The exceptional survival of a large corpus of manuscripts from the Abbey of Saint-Martial of Limoges gives further evidence of the flourishing status of rhythmical Latin verse composition there, as well as the important role of this institution in the development of musical notation.

Evidence for Latin school learning in the work of William IX is limited, which is unsurprising given that he was writing love lyric and often obscene erotic burlesques. It is however, nevertheless clearly visible. There are many reminiscences of Ovid and at least one concrete allusion. Ovidian "levity" and a general urbanity were also central to the metrical Latin verse of the Church leaders, such as Marbod of Rennes, who formed the Medieval Latin Loire Valley School. These poets personally knew William IX, and can be viewed as his rivals not only as writers, but also as an ecclesiastical élite which was close to the rival Angevin dynasty to the north of Poitou.

Latin school learning is much more visible in the satirical songs, which sprang up alongside and were dependent on the love lyric. This is not only apparent in the satire's metrical forms, its basic tripartite structure, but also in its implied courtly ethos. The burlesque songs of William IX prefigure the work of the satirists, but without the moral seriousness of the latter, who were reacting to what they perceived as the perversion in real life of the courtly qualities propounded by the first generation of troubadours and their fellow noblemen, such as Jaufre Rudel, in the second generation.

Little is known of the biographies of the troubadours of the second generation who composed in the satirical register. Cercamon is called "master" in a dialogue with a real or supposed pupil. Marcabru identifies himself as a preacher, but this may again be a pose. Bernart Marti calls himself a "painter" and so may have been a monastic illuminator or fresco painter. The only imitator of Marcabru who is certainly known to have been a cleric was the former canon, Peire d'Alvernhe. Evidence for school learning in these troubadours must therefore be sought in their extant songs.

Some of the burlesque songs of William IX and many of the later satires, particularly those by Marcabru, use techniques reminiscent of sermons which survive not only in Latin but also in Occitan from the period. One such technique is the *exemplum* or set-piece image which forms the central part of both types of composition. For example, Marcabru's allegory of the tree, "whose root is Evil", recalls imagery in vernacular sermons which survive from Saint-Martial. Another technique comprises the use of biblical quotes or Latin tags which may or may not be biblical, in order to introduce or summarise arguments. Such overlaps are not surprising considering that the purpose of

both sermons and troubadour satires was to communicate a moral message, albeit founded on different value systems.

Such recollections of Latin and vernacular preaching would not have required any level of Latin learning in the troubadours' audience for their message to be understood. The same is arguably true of the commonplace proverbs used as *sententiae*, well-known fables employed as *exempla*, and the mentioning of biblical figures, such as David or Solomon, as *auctoritates*. This hypothesis is underlined by the fact that such "authorities" are often false, and therefore are just used for effect.

Having said this, it is remarkable to what extent the early troubadour satirists, and especially Marcabru, use these rhetorical devices to impress and persuade their audience. Indeed, in some cases knowledge by audience members of specific texts may have been necessary in order fully to understand the satirical message. One key to this intellectual bridge between performer and listener is arguably to be found in the first level of school learning, that of grammar, or the teaching of reading and writing in the Latin language.

The surviving manuscripts from Saint-Martial of Limoges, and particularly one grammatical *florilegium* in the hand of Adémar de Chabannes, show that proverbs, fables and the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius were used together to help the youngest school pupils to learn to read and write before they progressed to the Latin *auctores*. This phenomenon is also evidenced by a series of Latin schoolteachers and theorists writing in the second half of the eleventh century, and by a surviving library catalogue from the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Le Puy. References to basic school texts would therefore have helped create a common language between Marcabru and those audience members, such as aristocrats, court officials and other retainers, who had benefited from at least some formal education.

A full understanding of certain aspects of early troubadour satire would have been further enhanced by knowledge of dialectic, the second subject of the *trivium*, the traditional first three subjects learned in Latin schools. The four surviving songs in dialogue form composed by Cercamon and Marcabru are all heavily laden with scholarly allusions. Cercamon's debate with Guilhalmi self-consciously recalls the format of the *quaestio* which was not only used in basic school learning, but also in the great intellectual debates of the day involving Abelard and his successors, including Gilbert de la Porrée, who became Bishop of Poitiers in 1142.

Dialectical techniques are also apparent in the development and discussion by Marcabru and his imitators of courtly values. Different types of love are compared and analysed. "Whole" and "fractured" thought are contrasted in a particularly intellectually intense exchange of songs between Marcabru, Bernart Marti and Peire d'Alverne, where courtly qualities evolve to include religious and aesthetic overtones. "Nature" and the "natural", "sense", "knowledge" and "learning" are analysed in other songs. Certain critics have even suggested that these debates directly reflected some of the complex philosophical and theological debates of the day.

Such allusions to higher levels of intellectual awareness and accomplishment are impossible to prove based on surviving evidence. It is, however, possible to demonstrate that Marcabru, at least, may have expected some of his listeners to be able to identify certain well-known Medieval Latin poems and famous manuscript

illuminations referred to in two of his songs, “Pois la fuoilla reviola” and “Soudadier, per cui es iovens”. This would imply a mixed audience for early *trobar*, where the more educated listeners could enjoy concrete learned allusions, less educated listeners could appreciate references to material from basic school learning, and anyone could appreciate the intrinsic power of the early troubadours’ language and imagery.

Appendices

Bibliography

1. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

(Contains only manuscripts cited or quoted from the text or notes to the text. It does not include charters.)

a) Latin and mixed manuscripts

(The manuscripts containing the Commentary on the Apocalypse of Beatus of Liébana are listed separately in Figure 14 above).

Auxerre, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 243

Cambridge, University Library Gg.V.35

Leiden University:

MS VLO 15

Ms VLF 31

Léon Cathedral, MS 22

London, British Library:

MS Additional 12195

MS Additional 24199

MS Arundel 384

MS Cotton Vitellius A. ii

MS Harley 2750

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm. 4660

Oxford, Bodleian Library:

MS Add. A 44

MS Digby 53

MS Digby 65

MS Rawlinson G 109

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale:

MS lat. 1139

MS lat. 3548b

MS lat. 3549

MS lat. 3719

MS lat. 7581

MS lat. 12652

MS lat. 15133

Poitiers, Médiathèque François-Mitterrand (formerly Bibliothèque Municipale), MSS Dom Fonteneau

Rome, Vatican Library:

Reg. lat. 150

Reg. lat. 1351

APPENDICES

Reg. lat. 1462

Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 383

Tortosa, Archivo de la Catedral, MS 106

Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 890 (destroyed)

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 840

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS C 58

b) Troubadour manuscripts (with customary lettering)

Modena :

Biblioteca Estense, MS alfa.r.4.4 (MS D)

Biblioteca Estense, Càmponi, Appendice 426, 427, 494 (formerly Gamma.N.8.4; 11-13) (MS a or a¹)

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 819 (MS N)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 269 (MS S)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale:

MS fr. 854 (MS I)

MS fr. 856 (MS C)

MS fr. 1749 (MS E)

MS fr. 12473 (MS K)

MS fr. 12474 (MS M)

MS fr. 22543 (MS R)

Rome, Vatican Library:

MS Vat. lat. 3206 (MS L)

MS Vat. lat. 5232 (MS A)

c) French manuscripts

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Hamilton 257

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3142

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale :

MS fr. 17177

MS fr. 25545

2. PRINTED SOURCES

(Contains only books, articles or unpublished theses cited or quoted from the text or notes to the text.)

a) Primary Sources

(Classical and medieval works are arranged when possible by author. Anonymous works, poetic or other anthologies, and cartularies are arranged according to title).

(i) Latin

Adémar of Chabannes: *Fabulae antiquae ex Phaedro*, ed. Léopold Hervieux, in *Les fabulistes latins*, vol. II (Paris, 1893), pp. 131-156

Adémar de Chabannes. *Chronique*, ed. Jules Chavanon (Paris, 1897)

Aesopica, ed. Ben Edwin Perry (Urbana, 1952)

Aesopus of Baldo: ed. Alfons Hilka, in "Beiträge zur lateinischen Erzählliteratur des Mittelalters", *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Neue Folge*, 21, no. 3 (Göttingen, 1923), pp. 1-58

Alcuin: *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus*, in *Rhetores latini minores*, ed. Karl Halm (Leipzig, 1863), pp. 523-550

Alexander Neckham. *De naturis rerum libri duo. With the poem of the same author, De laudibus divinae sapientiae*, ed. Thomas Wright, (*Rolls Series* 34, London, 1863)

Analecta hymnica mediaevi, ed. Guido Maria Dreves, (Leipzig, 1854-1909)

Anselm of Canterbury: *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. Franciscus Salesius Schmitt (Edinburgh, 1946-1961)

Anthologia latina sive Poesis latinae supplementus, ed. Franz Buecheler/Alexander Riese, vols. 1-3 (Leipzig, 1869-1926)

Arundel songs: *Die Arundel Sammlung mittellateinische Lieder*, ed. Wilhelm Meyer, *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Neue Folge*, 11, no. 2 (Göttingen, 1908), pp. 3-52

(St.) Augustine: *Enarrationes in psalmos*, in *Patrologia Latina* 36

(St.) Augustine, *Civitas Dei*, ed. Bernhard Dombart (3rd edition, Leipzig, 1905/1909)

Ausonius: *Decimi Magni Ausonii Burdigalensis opuscula*, ed. Sextus Prete (Leipzig, 1978)

Avianus: *Fabulae*, ed. J. Wight Duff/Arnold M. Duff, *Minor Latin Poets* (London/Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934), pp. 669-749

Avianus. *Fables*, ed. Françoise Gaide (Paris, 1980)

Baldric of Bourgueil: *Les oeuvres poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil (1046-1130): édition critique publiée d'après le manuscrit du Vatican*, ed. Phyllis Abrahams (Paris, 1926)

Baldric of Bourgueil: *Vita Beati Roberti de Arbrisselo*, *Patrologia Latina* 162, cols. 1043-1058

Beatus of Liébana: *Beati in Apocalypsin libri duodecim*, ed. Henry A. Sanders, (Rome, 1930)

Berengar of Poitiers: "The Satirical Works of Berengar of Poitiers. An edition with Introduction", ed. R.M. Thomson, *Mediaeval Studies*, XLII (1980), pp. 84-138

(St.) Bernard of Clairvaux, *De diligendo Deo*, in *Patrologia Latina* 182, cols. 973-1000

(St.) Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in diversis*, in *Patrologia Latina* 183, cols. 537-748

(St.) Bernard of Clairvaux: *Parabola*, in *Patrologia Latina* 183, cols. 757-772

Bernard of Cluny. De contemptu mundi, ed. H.C. Hoskier (London, 1929)

Bernardus Silvestris: *The Commentary on the First Six Books of the "Aeneid" of Virgil Commonly Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris*, ed. Julian Ward Jones/Elizabeth Frances Jones, (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1977)

Boethius: *Anicii Manlii Torquati Severini Boetii De institutione arithmetica libri duo; De institutione musica libri quinque; accedit Geometria quae fertur Boetii*, ed. Gottfried Friedlein (Leipzig, 1867)

Boethius: *Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii commentarii in librum Aristotelis περί ἐρμηνείας*, ed. Karl Meiser (Leipzig, 1877)

Boethius: *In Isagogen Porphyrii commenta*, ed. Samuel Brandt, in *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* vol. XLVIII, (Vienna/Leipzig, 1906)

Boethius. *Theological Tractates*, ed./trans. H.F. Stewart/E.K. Rand/S.J. Tester (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973)

Die Cambriger Lieder, ed. Karl Strecker, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Berlin, 1926)

APPENDICES

- Carmina Burana*, ed. Alfons Hilka/Otto Schumann (Heidelberg, 1930)
- Cartularies of Lower Poitou: *Cartulaires du Bas-Poitou (Département de la Vendée)*, ed. Paul Marchegay (Les Roches-Baritaud (Vendée), 1877)
- Cartulary of the Abbey of Sainte-Marie-des-Dames de Saintes: *Cartulaires inédits de la Saintonge*, II. *Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-dame de Saintes*, ed. Théodore Grasilier (Niort, 1871)
- Cartulary of the Abbey of Nouaillé: *Chartes de l'Abbaye de Nouaillé de 628 à 1200*, ed. Dom Pierre de Monsabert (*Archives Historiques du Poitou*, XLIX, Poitiers 1936)
- Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint-Jean d'Orbestier: *Cartulaire de l'abbaye d'Orbestier (Vendée)*, ed. L. de la Boutière (*Archives Historique du Poitou*, VI, Poitiers, 1877)
- Cartulary of Saint-Jean-d'Angély: *Le cartulaire de St.-Jean d'Angély*, ed. Georges Musset (*Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, Paris, 1903)
- Cartulary of the Abbey of Talmond: *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Talmond*, ed. L. de la Boutière (*Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, Poitiers, 1872)
- Cartulary of La Trinité, Vendôme: *Cartulaire saintongeais de la Trinité de Vendôme*, ed. Charles Métais (*Archives Historique de la Saintonge de de l'Aunis*, XXXVII, Paris 1893)
- Cartulary of the Abbey of Uzerche: *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye d'Uzerche*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Champeval (Paris/Tulle, 1901)
- (Pseudo-)Cato: *Distichs*, ed. J. Wight Duff/Arnold M. Duff, *Minor Latin Poets* (London/Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934), pp. 585-639
- Cicero: *Brutus. Orator*, ed. G.L. Hendrickson/H.M. Hubbell (London/Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1939)
- Cicero: *Tusculanes*, ed. Georges Fohlen (Paris, 1931)
- Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale*, ed. Robert Favreau and Jean Michaud (Poitiers, 1974-)
- Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, ed. Luis Sanchez Belda (Madrid, 1950)
- Chronicle of Saint-Maixent: La chronique de Saint-Maixent (751-1140)*, ed. Jean Verdon (Paris, 1979)
- Chronicon Hugonis monachi Virudensis et Divionensis Abbatis Flaviniacensis*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, vol. VIII, pp. 280-503
- Crónica de San Juan de la Peña (Biblioteca de escritores Aragonenses*, Zaragoza, 1876)
- Conrad of Hirsau: *Accessus ad auctores. Bernard d'Utrecht. Conrad d'Hirsau. Dialogus super auctores*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Brussels, 1970), pp. 71-131
- Defensor of Ligugé: *Defensoris locogiacensis monachi Liber scintillarum*, ed. Dom Henri-Marie Rochais (*Corpus Christianorum, series Latina*, Turnholt, 1957)
- Defensor of Ligugé: *Die altprovenzalische Übersetzung des Liber scintillarum. Mit Einleitung und Glossar*, ed. Angelika Wahl (Munich, 1980)
- Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi ad tropologiam. An Eleventh-Century Latin Beast Epic*, ed. Edwin H. Zeydel (Chapel Hill, 1964)
- Egberts von Lüttich Fecunda ratis*, ed. Ernst Voigt (Halle, 1889)
- Ernard of Bonneval: *Sancta Bernardi abbatis Clarae-Vallensis vita et res gestae*, in *Patrologia Latina* 185, cols. 267-302
- Etienne de Bourbon. Anecdotes historiques*, ed. Albert Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1877)
- Fulbert of Chartres: *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. Frederick Behrends (Oxford, 1976)
- Fulgentius: *Fulgentius. Opera*, ed. Rudolphus Helm, (Leipzig, 1898)
- Geoffroy du Breuil: *Chronica Gaufredi coenobitae monasterii D. Martialis Lemovicensis, ac prioris Vosiensis coenobii, Novae bibliothecae manuscritorum librorum tomus secundus: rerum aquitanicarum*, ed. Philippe Labbé (Paris, 1657)
- Geoffrey the Fat: *Vita B. Bernardi abbatis de Tironia. Auctore Gaufrido Grosso, ejus discipulo*, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Dom Martin Bouquet et al. (Paris, 1738-1904), vol. XIV, p. 65-74
- Geoffrey of Vendôme: *Goffridi abbatis Vindocinensis opera omnia*, *Patrologia Latina* 157
- Geoffrey of Vinsauf: *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi*, ed. Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1923), pp. 263-320
- Geoffrey of Vinsauf: *Summa de coloribus rhetoricis*, ed. Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1923), pp. 321-327
- Gesta in concilio Pictaviensi circa excommunicationem Philippi I Francorum Regis*, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Dom Martin Bouquet et al. (Paris, 1738-1904), vol. XIV, pp. 108-109
- Gilbert de la Porrée: *The Commentaries on Boethius by Gilbert of Poitiers*, ed. Nikolaus M. Häring (Toronto, 1966)
- Gregory the Great: *Moralia sive expositio in Job*, in *Patrologia Latina* 76, cols. 9-782

- Guibert of Nogent: *De vita sua libri tres*, *Patrologia Latina* 161, cols. 837-1018
- Heirc of Auxerre: *Scholia in Horatium: in codicibus parisinis latinis 17897 et 8223 obvia, quae ab Heirico autissiodorensi profecta esse videntur*, ed. Hendrik Johan Botschuyter, vol. IV (Amsterdam, 1942)
- Hildebert of Le Mans: *Venerabilis Hildeberti primo Cenomanensis episcopi, deinde Turonensis archiepiscopi Opera, tam edita quam inedita. Accesserunt Marbodi Redonensis episcopi, ipsius Hildeberti supparis opuscula*, ed. Dom Antoine Beaugendre (Paris, 1708)
- Hildebert of Le Mans: *Hildeberti Cenommansis episcopi Carmina minora*, ed. A.B. Scott (Leipzig, 1969)
- Historia comitum Andegavensium, auctore Thoma Pactio, Lochensi priore*, in Paul Marchegay/André Salmon, *Chroniques d'Anjou* (Paris, 1856)
- Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium*, ed. Jacques Boussard (Paris, 1957)
- Horace: *Q. Horatii Flacci opera*, ed. Edward Charles Wickham/Heathcote William Garrod (Oxford, 1901)
- Hugh of Saint Victor: *Adnotatiunculae elucidatoriae in Joelem prophetam*, *Patrologia Latina* 175, cols. 322-372
- (Pseudo-)Hugh of Saint Victor: *De bestiis et aliis rebus*, *Patrologia Latina* 177, cols. 9-164
- Hugh Primas: Wilhelm Meyer, "Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas", (*Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1907), pp. 75-175
- Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae*, in *Patrologia Latina* 83, cols. 537-738
- Isidori Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911)
- John of Garland, *The Parisiana poetria of John of Garland*, ed. Traugott Lawler (New Haven, 1974)
- John of Salisbury: *Ioannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Metalogicon, Libri IIII*, ed. Clement C.J. Webb (Oxford, 1929)
- John of Salisbury: *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury: a Twelfth-century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium*, translated by Daniel D. McGarry (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1955)
- John of Salisbury: *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. W.J. Millor/C.N.L. Brooke, in two volumes (Oxford, 1955 and 1979)
- Lamberti Ardensis historia comitum Ghisnensium*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, vol. XXIV, pp. 550-642
- Leo of Vercelli, *Metrum Leonis*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi*, vol. V.i (Leipzig, 1937), pp. 483-489
- Plutarque. Le Banquet des Sept Sages*, ed. Jean Defradas, (Paris, 1954)
- Marbod of Rennes: *Venerabilis Hildeberti primo Cenomanensis episcopi, deinde Turonensis archiepiscopi Opera, tam edita quam inedita. Accesserunt Marbodi Redonensis episcopi, ipsius Hildeberti supparis opuscula*, ed. Dom Antoine Beaugendre, (Paris, 1708)
- Marbod of Rennes: *Carmina varia*, *Patrologia Latina* 171, cols. 1717-1736
- Marbod of Rennes: *Liber de gemmis*, *Patrologia Latina* 171, cols. 1737-1770
- Marbod of Rennes: *Marbod von Rennes. Liber de decem capitulorum*, ed. Walter Bulst (Heidelberg, 1947)
- Marbod of Rennes: "Liebesbriefgedichte Marbods", ed. by Walter Bulst in *Liber Floridus. Mittellateinische Studien Paul Lehmann zum 65. Geburtstag am 13. Juli 1949 gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, ed. by Bernhard Bischoff/Suso Brechter (St. Ottilien, 1950), pp. 287-301
- Marius Victorinus, *Ars grammatica*, ed. Heinrich Keil, *Grammatici*, vol. VI (Leipzig, 1874)
- Martial: *M. Val. Martialis, Epigrammata*, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1929)
- Matthew of Vendôme, *Ars versificatoria*, ed. Edmond Faral, *les arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1923)
- Monk Martin: *De constructione monasterii novi Pictavi a Martino monacho*, ed. François Villard in *Recueil de documents relatifs à l'abbaye de Montierneuf de Poitiers (1076-1319)* (*Archives Historiques du Poitou* XIX, Poitiers, 1973)
- Montierneuf Abbey, Poitiers: *Recueil de documents relatifs à l'abbaye de Montierneuf de Poitiers (1076-1319)*, ed. François Villard (*Archives Historiques du Poitou* XIX, Poitiers, 1973)
- Mortuary rolls: *Rouleaux des morts du IXe au XVe siècle*, ed. Léopold Delisle, (Paris, 1866)
- Odo of Cheriton: *Odonis de Ceritona fabulae*, in *Les fabulistes latins*, ed. Léopold Hervieux, vol. IV (Paris, 1896), pp. 173-248
- Orderic Vitalis: *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1969-1980)
- Otloh of St. Emmeram: *Othloni libellus proverbiorum*, ed. Wilhelm Charles Korfmacher (Chicago, 1936); or in *Patrologia Latina* 146, cols. 299-338
- Ovid: *P. Ovidii Nasonis. Amores. Medicamina faciei femineae. Ars amatoria. Remedia amoris*, ed. E.J. Kenney (Oxford, 1961)
- Ovid. Metamorphoses IX-XV*, ed. George Patrick Goold/Frank Justus Miller (2nd edition, Harvard, 1921-1984)

APPENDICES

- P. Ovidius Naso, Metamorphoses IV-V*, ed. Franz Bömer (Heidelberg, 1976)
- Petrus Abaelardus. Dialectica*, ed. L.M. de Rijk (Assen, 1956)
- Peter Abelard's Ethics*, ed. David E. Luscombe (Oxford, 1971)
- Peter Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, ed. Jacques Monfrin (4th edition, Paris, 1978)
- Peter Lombard: *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae Parisiensis Episcopi in IV libris distinctae* (3rd edition, Rome, 1971) in two volumes
- Peter of Maillezais, *De antiquitate et commutatione in melius Malleacensis insula*, in *Patrologia Latina* 146, cols. 1247-1272
- Petri Pictoris Carmina*, ed. L. van Acker (Turnholt, 1972)
- Peter the Venerable: *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable in two volumes (Harvard, 1967)
- Peter the Venerable. Selected Letters*, ed. Janet Martin (Toronto, 1974),
- Phaedrus*, ed. Alice Brenot (Paris, 1961)
- Plato, *Phaedo*, in *Plato Latinus*, vol. II, ed. Lorenzo Minio-Paluello (London, 1950)
- Pliny. Natural History*, ed. by H. Rackham in ten volumes (London/Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1947)
- Prester John: "Der Priester Johannes"*, ed. Friedrich Zarncke, *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 7 (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 825–1030
- Priscian, *Praeextertamina rhetorica*, ed. Heinrich Keil, *Grammatici latini*, vol. III (Leipzig, 1858)
- Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, ed. Hans Walther (Göttingen, 1963-1969)
- Prudentius*: ed. by H.J. Thomson in two volumes (London/Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1949-1953)
- Publilius Syrus: *Sententiae*, ed. J. Wight Duff/Arnold M. Duff, *Minor Latin Poets* (London/Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934), pp. 3-111
- Quintilian: *M. Fabii Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae libri duodecim* ed. by Michael Winterbottom in two volumes (Oxford, 1970)
- Rabanus Maurus, *De clericorum institutione*, in *Patrologia Latina*, 107, cols. 293-420,
- Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, in *Patrologia Latina* 111, cols. 10-614
- Rabanus Maurus, *Allegoriae in universam sacram scripturam*, in *Patrologia Latina* 112, cols. 849-1088
- Ralph of Diceto: *Abbreviationes chronicarum*, ed. William Stubbs (*Rolls Series* 68, London, 1876), vol. I
- Ralph of Diceto: *Ymagines historiarum 1148-1202*, ed. William Stubbs (*Rolls Series* 68, London 1876), vol. I
- Ramnluf of Lisieux, *Invectiva in Girardum Engolismensum episcopum*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI et XII conscripti*, vol. III (Hanover, 1897), pp. 81-108
- Richard of Poitiers, Monk of Cluny: *Ex chronico Richardi Pictavensis, monachi Cluniacensis*, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Dom Martin Bouquet et al. (Paris, 1738-1904), vol. XII, pp. 411-421
- Richard of Saint Victor, *De praeparatione animi ad contemplationem, liber dictus Benjamin Minor*, in *Patrologia Latina* 196, cols. 1-64
- Saint-Hilaire, Poitiers : *Documents pour l'histoire de l'église de St.-Hilaire de Poitiers*, ed. Louis-François-Xavier Rédet (*Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* XIV, 1847, Poitiers, 1848)
- Saint-Maixent Abbey: *Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de St.-Maixent*, ed. Alfred Richard (*Archives Historiques du Poitou* XVI, Poitiers, 1886-1887)
- Solinus, Gaius Iulius: *C. Iulii Solini collectanea rerum memorabilium*, ed. Theodor Mommsen (Berlin, 1895)
- Thierry of Chartres: *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and his School*, ed. Nikolaus M. Häring (Toronto, 1971)
- Virgil: *P. Vergili Maronis opera*, ed. Roger Aubrey Baskerville Mynors (Oxford, 1969)
- Vita Bernardi episcopi Hildesheimensis auctore Thangmaro*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, vol. LIII, pp. 754-782
- Walter Map. De nugis curialium. Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. Montague Rhodes James/Christopher Nugent Lawrence Brooke/Roger Aubrey Baskerville Mynors, (Oxford, 1983)
- William of Malmesbury: *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque; Historiae novellae libri tres*, ed. William Stubbs (*Rolls Series* 97, London 1887-1889)
- William of Saint-Thierry: *De Natura corporis et animae*, *Patrologia Latina* 180, cols. 695-726
- William of Thierry: *De natura et dignitate amoris*, *Patrologia Latina* 184, cols. 379-408
- Walter of Châtillon: *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte Walters von Châtillon*, ed. Karl Strecker (Heidelberg, 1929)
- Walter Mapes: *Latin poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. Thomas Wright (London, 1841)
- William of Poitiers: *Guillaume de Poitiers. Histoire de Guillaume le conquérant*, ed. Raymonde Foreville (Paris, 1952)
- Wipo of Burgundy: *Proverbia Wipponis*, *Patrologia Latina* 142, cols. 1259-1264

(ii) Vernacular

- Alegret: *Jongleurs et troubadours gascons des XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, ed. Alfred Jeanroy (Paris, 1923)
- Bertran de Born, ed. Albert Stimming (Halle, 1892)
- Bertran de Born: *L'amour et la guerre. L'œuvre de Bertran de Born*, ed. Gérard Gouiran (Aix-en-Provence, 1985)
- Bernart de Ventadorn, *seine Lieder, mit Einleitung und Glossar*, ed. Carl Appel (Halle, 1915)
- Bernart Marti: *Les poésies de Bernart Marti*, ed. Ernst Hoepffner (Paris, 1929)
- Cercamon: *Les poésies de Cercamon*, ed. Alfred Jeanroy (Paris, 1922)
- Cercamon: *Il trovatore Cercamon*, ed. Valeria Tortoretto, (Modena, 1981)
- Cercamon: *The Poetry of Cercamon and Jaufré Rudel*, ed. George Wolf/Roy Rosenstein (New York/London, 1983)
- Chanson de Roland*, ed. Frederick Whitehead (2nd edition, Oxford, 1946)
- Chrétien de Troyes: Les romans de Chrétien de Troyes: Erec et Enide*, ed. Mario Roques (Paris, 1953)
- Les romans de Chrétien de Troyes. Cligès*, ed. Alexandre Micha (Paris, 1957)
- De Marco et de Salemons*, ed. J. Méon, *Nouveau recueil de fabliaux et de contes inédits* (London/Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1947), pp. 416-434
- Daude de Pradas: *Dels Auzels Cassadors*, ed. Alexander Herman Schutz (Columbus, 1945)
- Eneas. Roman du XIIe siècle*, ed. Jean-Jacques Salverda de Grave, vols. I-II (Paris, 1925 & 1929)
- Folquet de Marselha, *Le troubadour Folquet de Marseille*, ed. Stanisław Stroński (Kraków, 1910)
- Gautier de Coinci, *Les miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, ed. L'Abbé Poquet (Paris, 1854)
- Guiraut de Bornelh: *Sämtliche Lieder des Trobadors Giraut de Bornelh mit Übersetzung, Kommentar und Glossar*, ed. Adolf Kolsen (Halle, 1910)
- "Homélie provençales tirées d'un manuscrit de Tortosa", ed. Antoine Thomas, *Annales du Midi* 9 (1897), pp. 369-418
- Isopets: Recueil general des Isopets*, ed. by Julia Bastin in four volumes (Paris, 1929-1930)
- Jaufré Rudel: *Les chansons de Jaufré Rudel*, ed. Alfred Jeanroy (2nd edition, Paris, 1924)
- Jaufré Rudel: *The Poetry of Cercamon and Jaufré Rudel*, ed. George Wolf/Roy Rosenstein, (New York, 1983)
- Las leys d'amors*, ed. Joseph Anglade (Toulouse, 1919)
- Marcabru: *Poésies complètes du troubadour Marcabru*, ed. J.-M.-L. Dejeanne (Toulouse, 1909)
- Marcabru: "Marcabruno: 'Al departir del brau tempier'", ed. Aurelio Roncaglia, *Cultura Neolatina* XIII (1953), pp. 5-33
- Marcabru: "Marcabruno: 'Aujatz de chan'", ed. Aurelio Roncaglia, *Cultura Neolatina* XVII (1957), pp. 20-48
- Marcabru: "Marcabruno: *Lo vers comens quan vei del fau*", ed. Aurelio Roncaglia, *Cultura Neolatina* XI (1951), pp. 25-48
- Marcabru: "Cortesamen vuoil comensar", ed. Aurelio Roncaglia, *Rivista di cultura classica e medievale* 7 (1965), pp. 948-961
- Marcabru: "La tenzone tra Ugo Catola e Marcabruno", ed. Aurelio Roncaglia, in *Linguistica e filologia. Omaggio a Benvenuto Terracini*, pp. 203-254, ed. by Cesare Segre (Milan, 1968)
- Marcabru: "'A l'alena del vent doussa' de Marcabru: edition critique, traduction et commentaire", ed. Peter Ricketts, *Revue des Langues Romanes* LXXVIII (1968), pp. 109-115
- Marcabru: "'Doas cuidas ai, campaigner' de Marcabru: édition critique, traduction et commentaire", ed. Peter Ricketts, in *Mélanges de philologie romane offerts à Charles Camproux* (Montpellier, 1978), vol. I, pp. 179-194
- Marcabru: "*Lo vers comenssa* de Marcabru (P.C. 293, 32): édition critique, traduction et commentaire", ed. Peter Ricketts, in *Chrétien de Troyes and the Troubadours: Essays in Memory of the late Leslie Topsfield*, ed. by Linda Paterson and Peter Noble (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 7-26
- Marcoat: *Jongleurs et troubadours gascons des XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, ed. Alfred Jeanroy (Paris, 1923)
- Marie de France: *Die Fabeln der Marie de France*, ed. Karl Warnke (Halle, 1898)
- Monk of Montaudon: *Les poésies du moine de Montaudon*, ed. Michael J. Routledge (Montpellier, 1977)
- Peire d'Alvernhe: *Die Lieder Peires von Auvergne, kritisch ausgegeben mit Einleitung, Uebersetzung, Kommentar und Glossar*, ed. Rudolf Zenker (Erlangen, 1900)
- Peire d'Alvernhe: *Peire d'Alvernha: Liriche: testo, traduzione, e note*, ed. Alberto Del Monte (Turin, 1955)
- Peire Roger: *Das Leben und die Lieder des Trobadors Peire Rogier*, ed. Carl Appel (Berlin, 1882)
- Peire Rogier: *The Poems of the Troubadour Peire Rogier*, ed. Derek E.T. Nicholson (Manchester, 1976)
- Philippe de Thaun: *Le bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün*, ed. Emmanuel Walberg (Lund, 1900)

APPENDICES

- Proverbia super natura feminarum*, ed. Gianfranco Contini, Poeti del Duecento, vol. I (Milan, 1960), pp. 521-555
- Proverbs: *Li proverbe au vilain*, ed. Adolf Tobler (Leipzig, 1895)
- Proverbs: *Les diz et proverbes des sages*, ed. Joseph Morawski (Paris, 1924)
- Proverbs: *Proverbes français antérieurs au XVe siècle*, ed. Joseph Morawski (Paris, 1925)
- Proverbs: *Les proverbes Seneke le philosophe*, ed. Ernstpeter Ruhe (Munich, 1969)
- Raimbaut d'Orange: *The Life and Works of the Troubadour Raimbaut d'Orange*, ed. Walter T. Pattison (Minneapolis, 1952)
- Raimon Jordan: *Le troubadour Raimon-Jordan, vicomte de Saint-Antonin, édition critique accompagnée d'une étude sur le dialecte parlé dans la vallée de l'Aveyron au XIIe siècle*, ed. Hilding Kjellman (Upsalla/Paris, 1922)
- Raimon Vidal de Bezaudun: *The 'Razos de Trobar' of Raimon Vidal and associated texts*, ed. John Marshall (London, 1972)
- Robert le Clerc d'Arras: *Li vers de le mort*, ed. C.A. Windahl (Lund, 1887)
- Le roman d'Alexandre: Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre, vol. II, Version of Alexandre de Paris. Text*, ed. E.C. Armstrong, D.L. Buffum et al. (Princeton, 1937)
- Le roman de Flamenca*, ed. Paul Meyer (Paris, 1895)
- "Sermons et preceptes en langue d'oc du XIIe siècle", ed. Camille Chabaneau, *Revue des Langues Romanes*, XVIII (1880), pp. 105-146, XXII (1882), pp. 157-179, and XXIII (1883), pp. 157-169
- Le voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople*, ed. Paul Aebischer (Geneva, 1965)
- William IX: *Les Chansons de Guillaume IX, duc d'Aquitaine (1071-1127)*, ed. Alfred Jeanroy (2nd ed. Paris, 1927)
- William IX: *Guglielmo IX. Poesie*, ed. Nicolò Pasero, (Modena, 1973)

b) Secondary Sources

- Adackapara, Matthew, *The Concept of Love in the Poems of Marcabru* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, City University of New York, 1975)
- Appel, Carl, "Zu Marcabru", *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 43 (1923), pp. 403-469
- Armitage, Frederick, *Sermons du XIIe siècle en vieux provençal* (Heilbronn, 1884)
- Audiau, Jean, *La pastourelle dans la poésie occitane du moyen âge* (Paris, 1923)
- Bartsch, Karl/ Koschwitz, Eduard, *Chrestomathie Provençale*, 4th ed. (Elberfeld, 1880)
- Bayerrri Bertomeu, Enrique, *Los códices medievales de la Catedral de Tortosa; novísimo inventario descriptivo* (Barcelona, 1962)
- Bec, Pierre, *La lyrique française au moyen âge (XIIe-XIIIe siècles). Contribution à une typologie des genres poétiques médiévaux* (Paris, 1977), volume I, "Etudes"
- Bec, Pierre, *Burlesque et obscénité chez les troubadours: pour une approche du contre-texte médiéval* (Paris, 1984)
- Becker, Philipp August, *Zur romanischen Literaturgeschichte. Ausgewählte Studien und Aufsätze* (Munich, 1967)
- Bédier, Joseph, "Les fêtes de mai et les commencements de la poésie lyrique au Moyen Age", *Revue des deux mondes* (1 May, 1896), pp. 146-172
- Beech, George T., "Biography and the Study of 11th Century Society. Peter II of Poitiers 1087-1115", *Francia* VII (1980), pp. 101-121
- Besly, Jean, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou et ducs de Guyenne* (Paris, 1647)
- Bezzola, Reto, "Guillaume IX et les origines de l'amour Courtois", *Romania* LXVI (1940), pp. 145-237
- Bezzola, Reto, *Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en occident 500-1200*, two volumes (Paris 1944-1963)
- Biella, Ada, "Considerazioni sull'origine e sulla diffusione della 'pastorella'", *Cultura Neolatina* XXV (1965), pp. 236-267
- Bischoff, Bernhard, "Altfranzösische Liebestrophen (spätes elftes Jahrhundert?)", *Anecdota Novissima* VII (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 266-268
- Blaise, Albert, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Paris, 1954)
- Boas, M., "De librorum Catonianorum historia et compositione", *Mnemosyne* 42 (1914), pp. 17-46
- Boase, Roger, *The Origin and Meaning of Courtly Love: a critical study of European scholarship* (Manchester, 1977)

- Bonnes, Jean-Paul, "Un des plus grands prédicateurs. Geoffroy de Loroux dit Geoffroy Babion" *Revue Bénédictine* 56 (1945-1946), pp. 174-215
- Boutière, Jean/Schutz Alexander H., *Biographies des troubadours, textes provençaux des XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Paris, 1963)
- Boissonnade, Prosper, "Les personnages et les événements de l'histoire d'Allemagne, de France et d'Espagne dans l'oeuvre de Marcabru (1129-1150)", *Romania* XLVIII (1922), pp. 207-242
- Boissonnade, Prosper, "L'Ascension, le déclin et la chute d'un grand état féodal du Centre-Ouest. Les Taillefer et les Lusignan, comtes de la Marche et d'Angoulême, et leurs relations avec les Capétiens et les Plantagenêts (1137-1314)", *Bulletins et Mémoires de la société archéologique et historique de la Charente* (1935)
- Boutemy, André, "Notes additionnelles à la notice de Ch. Fierville sur le ms 115 de St. Omer", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XXII (1943), pp. 5-33
- Boutemy, André, "Un éloge métrique inédit de la ville de Saintes attribué à Pierre de Saintes", in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet à l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire par ses amis, ses collègues, ses élèves et les membres du C.E.S.C.M.*, ed. Pierre Gallais and Yves-François Riou (Poitiers, 1966), vol. II, pp. 705-710
- Brinkmann, Henning, *Entstehungsgeschichte des Minnesangs* (Darmstadt, 1971)
- Brittain, Frederick, *The Medieval Latin and Romance Lyric to A.D. 1300* (Cambridge, 1937)
- Brunhölzl, Franz, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1975)
- Burnett, Charles S.F., "A note on the Origins of the Third Vatican Mythographer", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 44 (1981), pp. 160-166
- Chabaneau, Camille "Le Parnasse provençal du P. Bougere" (suite), *Revue de langues romanes*, XXXII (1888), pp. 182-209
- Chailley, Jacques, "Les premiers troubadours et les versus de l'école d'Aquitaine", *Romania*, LXXVI (1955), pp. 212-239
- Chailley, Jacques, *L'École musicale de Saint-Martial de Limoges jusqu'à la fin du XIe siècle* (Paris, 1960)
- Chambers, E. K., *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford, 1903)
- Chambers, Frank M., *Proper names in the lyrics of the troubadours* (Chapel Hill, 1971)
- Chambers, Frank M., *An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification* (Philadelphia, 1985)
- Chenu, Marie-Dominique, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century*, ed. and translated by Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago, 1968)
- Cherchi, Paolo, "Gli 'adynata' dei trovatori", *Modern Philology* 68 (1971), pp. 223-241
- Cid Priego, Carlos/Vigil, Isabel, "El Beato de la Biblioteca Nacional de Turin, copia románica catalana del Beato mozárabe leonés de la Catedral de Gerona", *Anales del Instituto de estudios Gerundenses* 17 (1964-1965), pp. 163-329
- Clémencet, Dom Charles and Clément, Dom François, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 11, "La suite du XIIe siècle de l'Église jusqu'à l'an 1141", (reprint, Paris, 1841)
- Cnyrim, Eugen, *Sprichwörter, sprichwörtliche Redensarten und Sentenzen bei den provenzalischen Lyrikern*, in *(Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie* LXXI, Marburg, 1888)
- Codoñer Merino, Carmen, "The Poetry of Eugenius of Toledo", *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 3 (1981), pp. 323-342
- Cohen, Gustave, *La comédie latine en France au XIIe siècle*, two volumes (Paris, 1931)
- Courcelle, Pierre, *Connais-toi toi-même de Socrate à St. Bernard* (Paris, 1975)
- Cravay, Paul, "Les origines du troubadour Jaufre Rudel", *Romania* LXXI (1950), pp. 166-179
- Cropp, Glynnis M., *Le vocabulaire Courtois des troubadours de l'époque classique* (Geneva, 1975)
- Crozet, René, Chagnolleau, Jean, Dez, Gaston, and Jacques Lavaud, *Visages de Poitou* (Paris, 1942)
- Curtius, Ernst, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, translated Willard R. Trask (London, 1953)
- Dadin de Hauterrie, Antoine, *Res Aquitanicae. In quibus vetus Aquitania illustratur*, volume I (Toulouse, 1648)
- Defourneaux, Marcelin, *Les Français en Espagne aux XIe et XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1949)
- Delbouille, Maurice, *Les origines de la pastourelle* (Brussels, 1926)
- Delbouille, Maurice, "Un mystérieux ami de Marbode: le 'redoutable poète' Gautier", *Le Moyen Age* 57 (1951), pp. 205-240
- Delisle, Léopold, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, volume II (Paris, 1874)
- Delisle, Léopold, "Notices sur les manuscrits originaux d'Adémar de Chabannes", *Notices et extraits de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 35 (1896), pp. 241-358

APPENDICES

- Deschamps, Paul, "Le combat des vertus et des vices sur les portails romans de la Saintonge et du Poitou", *Congrès Archéologique de France LXXIXe session tenue à Angoulême en 1912, (Paris/Caen, 1913)*, volume II, pp. 309-324
- Descroix, J., "Poitiers et les lettres latines dans l'Ouest au début du XIIe siècle", *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* XIII (3rd series, 1945)
- Devailly, Guy, "Un évêque et un prédicateur errant au XIIe siècle, Marbode de Rennes et Robert d'Arbrissel", *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne* 57 (1980), pp. 163-170
- DeVic, Dom Claude/ Vaissète, Dom Joseph, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* (Paris, 1872-1904)
- Dez, Gaston, *Histoire de Poitiers (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, IV, s. 10, Poitiers, 1966)* (Poitiers, 1969)
- Diaz y Diaz, Manuel C. "Sobre las series de voces de animales", in *Latin Script and Letters. Festschrift L. Bieler*, ed. by J.J. O'Meara and B. Naumann (Leiden, 1976)
- Diény, Jean-Pierre, *Pastourelles et magnarelles. Essai sur un thème littéraire chinois* (Geneva, 1977)
- Dragonetti, Roger, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise. Contribution à l'étude de la rhétorique médiévale* (Bruges, 1960)
- Dronke, Peter, "The Text of Carmina Burana 116", *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 20 (1959), pp. 159-169
- Dronke, Peter *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love Lyric*, two volumes (2nd edition, Oxford, 1968)
- Dronke, Peter, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1970)
- Dronke, Peter, "The Song of Songs and Medieval Love-Lyric", in *The Bible and Medieval Culture*, ed. by W. Lourdaux and Daniel Verhelst, (Louvain, 1979), pp. 236-262
- Duby, Georges, " Dans la France du Nord-Ouest au XIIe siècle : les 'jeunes' dans la société aristocratique", *Annales : économies, sociétés, civilisation*, XIX (5), September-October 1964, pp. 835-846
- Duby, Georges, *Hommes et structures au moyen âge* (Paris, 1973)
- Duby, Georges, *Medieval Marriage. Two Models from Twelfth-century France*, translated by Elborg Forster (Baltimore/London, 1978)
- Dumitrescu, Maria, "Èble II de Ventadorn et Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine", *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* XI (1968), pp. 379-412
- Dunbabin, Jean, *France in the Making 843-1180* (Oxford, 1985)
- Ebert, Emil, "Die Sprichwörter der altfranzösischen Karlsepen", *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen* XXIII (Marburg, 1884)
- Egry, Anne de, *O apocalipse do Lorvão e a sua relação com as ilustrações medievais do Apocalipse* (Lisbon, 1972)
- Errante, Guido, *Marcabru e le fonti sacre dell'antica lirica romanza* (Florence, 1948)
- Evans, Dafydd, "L'oiseau noble dans le nid d'un oiseau vilain: sur un passage de Guillem de St.-Didier", *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 78 (1962), pp. 419-436
- Faral, Edmond, *Les jongleurs en France au moyen âge* (Paris 1910)
- Faral, Edmond, *Les arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle. Recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire au moyen âge* (Paris, 1924)
- Faral, Edmond, "La pastourelle", *Romania* XLIX (1923), pp. 204-259
- Farmer, H., "William of Malmesbury", article in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (1967)
- Favreau, Robert, "Les écoles et la culture à St.-Hilaire-le-Grand de Poitiers, des origines au début du XIIe siècle", *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* III (1960), pp. 473-478
- Festa, G.-B., "Le savi ou libre de Seneca", *Annales du Midi* 18 (1906), pp. 297-325
- Fickermann, Norbert, "Zwei lateinische Gedichte. I. Ein frühmal. Liedchen auf den Pirol. II. Das Admonter Fragment eines Planctus Henrici VII", *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 50 (1935), pp. 582-599
- Frank, István, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie des troubadours* (Paris, 1953-1957), two volumes
- Friend, Albert C., "Sampson, David and Solomon in the Parson's Tale", *Modern Philology* 46 (1948-1949), pp. 117-121
- Friend, Albert C., "The proverbs of Serlo of Wilton", *Mediaeval Studies* 16 (1954), pp. 179-218
- Garaud, Marcel, "Les écoles et l'enseignement à Poitiers, du IVe à la fin du XIIe siècle", *Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* (3rd series, vol. XIV, Poitiers, 1946-1948)
- Genrich, Friedrich, *Der musikalische Nachlass der Trobadours. Kritische Ausgabe der Melodien* (Darmstadt, 1958)
- Geyer, B., "Radulfus Ardens und das Speculum universale", *Theologische Quartalschrift*, XCIII (1911) pp. 63-89

- Glauche, Günter, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter: Entstehung und Wandlungen des Lektürekansons bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Munich, 1970)
- Godefroi, Frédéric, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* (Paris, 1881-1902)
- Georg Götz, *Corpus glossariorum latinorum*, vol. I, (Leipzig/Berlin, 1823), *De glossariorum latinorum origine et fati*
- Gruber, Jörn, *Die Dialektik des Trobar* (Tübingen, 1983)
- Grundmann, Herbert, "Literatus-illiteratus: der Wandel einer Bildungsnorm vom Altertum zum Mittelalter", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XL (1958), pp. 1-65
- Guiette, Robert, *D'une poésie formelle en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1972)
- Häring, Nikolaus M., "Zur Geschichte der Schulen von Poitiers im 12. Jahrhundert", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 47 (1965), pp. 23-47
- Harvey, Ruth, "The satirical use of the courtly expression 'sidons' in the works of the troubadour Marcabru", *Modern Language Review* 78 (1983), pp. 24-33
- Harvey, Ruth, "The harlot and the chimaera in the songs of the troubadour Marcabru", *Reading Medieval Studies* 10 (1984), pp. 39-78
- Harvey, Ruth/Gaunt, Simon, "Text and context in a poem by Marcabru: 'Al prim comens de l'invernaill'", *Proceedings of the Third British Conference on Medieval Occitan Language and Literature* (Coventry, 1985), volume I, pp. 56-94
- Hedberg, Betty Nye, "The Bucolics and the Medieval Poetical Debate", *Transactions of the American Philological Society*, 75 (1944), pp. 47-67
- Helbling-Gloor, Barbara, *Natur und Aberglaube im Policraticus des Johannes von Salisbury* (Zurich, 1956)
- Huemer, Johann, "Arnulfs Delicie cleri", *Romanische Forschungen* 2 (1886), pp. 211-246
- Hunt, Richard William, *The History of Grammar in the Middle Ages* (Amsterdam, 1980)
- Hunt, Tony, "Abelardian Ethics and Beroul's Tristan", *Romania* LXXXVIII (1977), pp. 501-540
- Hunt, Tony, "Aristotle, Dialectic and Courtly literature", *Viator* 10 (1979), pp. 95-130
- Jauss, Hans Robert, *Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Tierdichtung* (Tübingen, 1959)
- Jeanroy, Alfred, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge; études de littérature française et comparée* (Paris, 1889)
- Jeanroy, Alfred, *La poésie lyrique des troubadours* (Paris, 1934)
- Jones, David J., *La tenson provençale, étude d'un genre poétique suivie d'une édition critique de quatre tensons et d'une liste complète des tensons provençales* (Paris, 1934)
- Kadler, Alfred, "Sprichwörter und Sentenzen der altfranzösischen Artus- und Abenteuerromane", *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen* XLIX (Marburg, 1886)
- Katzenellenbogen, Adolf, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1939)
- Kirchner, Josef, *Die Darstellung des ersten Menschenpaares* (Stuttgart, 1903)
- Köhler, Erich, "Scholastische Ästhetik und höfische Dichtung", *Neophilologus* 37 (1953) 202-207
- Köhler, Erich, "Zur Structur der altprovenzalischen Kanzone", in *Esprit und Arkadische Freiheit: Aufsätze aus der Welt der Romania* (Frankfurt am Main, 1966), pp. 28-45
- Köhler, Erich, "Die Sirventes-Kanzone 'genre bâtard' ou legitime Gattung?", *Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune* (Gembloux, 1969), vol. I, pp. 159-183
- Lacurie, Abbé, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Maillezais* (Fontenay-le-Comte, 1852)
- Lasteyrie, Charles de, *L'abbaye de St.-Martial de Limoges* (Paris, 1901)
- Lawner, Lynn, "Norman ni Frances", *Cultura Neolatina* XXX (1970), pp. 223-232
- Lazar, Moshe, "Classification des thèmes amoureux et des images poétiques dans l'œuvre de Bernard de Ventadorn", *Filologia romanza* VI (1959), pp. 371-400
- Lazar, Moshe, *Amour Courtois et 'fin'amors' dans la littérature du XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1964)
- Le Bras, Gabriel, "L'activité canonique à Poitiers pendant la réforme grégorienne (1049-99)", in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet à l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire par ses amis, ses collègues, ses élèves et les membres du C.E.S.C.M.*, ed. by Pierre Gallais and Yves- François Riou (Poitiers, 1966), vol. I, pp. 237-239
- Lejeune, Rita, "Le rôle littéraire d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine", *Cultura Neolatina* XV (1954), pp. 5-57
- Lejeune, Rita, "Thèmes communs de troubadours et vie de société", *Actes et mémoires du IIe congrès international de langue et littérature du Midi de la France, Aix, 2-8 septembre 1958* (Aix-en-Provence, 1961), pp. 75-88
- Lejeune, Rita, "L'allusion à Tristan chez le troubadour Cercamon", *Romania* LXXXIII (1962), pp. 183-209

APPENDICES

- Lejeune, Rita, "Pour le commentaire du troubadour Marcabru: une allusion à Waifre, roi d'Aquitaine", *Annales du Midi* 76 (1964), pp. 363-370
- Lejeune, Rita, "L'insolence extraordinaire du troubadour Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine", in *Mélanges de langue et de littérature offerts à Pierre Le Gentil*, ed. Jean Dufournet and Daniel Poirion (Paris, 1973), pp. 485-503
- Lemaître, Jean-Loup et Nicole, *Troubadours au bas pays de Limousin* (Ussel, 1976)
- Lesne, Emile, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, volume V, *Les écoles de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIe* (*Mémoires et travaux des Facultés catholiques de Lille*, 1940)
- Le Roux, Hubert, *Dictionnaire de Poitiers* (Poitiers, 1976)
- Levy, Emil, *Petit dictionnaire provençal-français*, (Heidelberg, 1973)
- Levy, Emil, *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1894-1924)
- Levy, Raphael, *Chronologie approximative de la littérature française au moyen âge* (Tübingen, 1957)
- Lewent, Kurt, "Beitäge zum Verständnis der Lieder Marcabrus", *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* XXXVII (1913), pp. 427-451
- Lipphardt, Walther, "Unbekannte Weisen zu den Carmina Burana", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 12 (1950), pp. 122-142
- Mackinney, Loren Carey, *Bishop Fulbert and Education at the School of Chartres* (Notre Dame, 1957)
- Manitius, Max, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, three volumes (Munich, 1911-1931)
- Marchegay, Paul, *Notices et pièces historiques sur l'Anjou, l'Aunis et la Saintonge, la Bretagne et le Poitou* (Angers/Niort 1872)
- Marqués Casanovas, Jaime/Dubler Cesar E./Neuss, Wilhelm, *Sancti Beati a Liebana in Apocalypsin codex Gerundensis* (Oltun/Lausanne, 1962)
- Marshall, John, "The *Doas cuidas* of Marcabru", in *Chrétien de Troyes and the Troubadours: Essays in Memory of the late Leslie Topsfield*, ed. by Linda M. Paterson and Peter Noble (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 27-33
- Martindale, Jane, *The Origins of the Duchy of Aquitaine and the Government of the Counts of Poitou (902-1137)* (unpublished DPhil thesis, Oxford, 1965)
- McCullough, Florence, *Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries* (Chapel Hill, 1960)
- Menéndez Pidal, Ramón, *Poesía juglaresca y orígenes de las literaturas románicas* (Madrid, 1957)
- Mistral, Frédéric, *Lou tresor dou Felibrige* (Paris, 1932)
- Mohlberg, Leo Cunibert, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, vol. I, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften* (Zurich, 1952)
- Mölk, Ulrich, *Trobar clus, trobar leu; Studien zur Dichtungstheorie der Trobadors* (Munich, 1968)
- Monteverdi, A. "La 'chansoneta nueva' attribuita a Guglielmo d'Aquitania", *Studi in onore di Salvatore Santangelo, Siculorum Gymnasium* 8 (1955), pp. 6-15
- Morris, Colin, *The Discovery of the Individual 1050-1200* (London, 1972)
- Mouzat, Jean, "Les poèmes perdus d'Eble de Ventadorn. Recherches et suggestions", in *Actes et mémoires du IIe Congrès International de langue et littérature du midi de la France, Aix, 2-8 septembre 1958*, (Aix-en-Provence 1961), p. 89-103
- Moé, Emile-A. van, *L'Apocalypse de Saint-Sever* (Paris, 1942)
- Mundó, Anscario M./Mariana, Manuel Sánchez, *El comentario de Beato al Apocalipsis. catálogo de los códices* (Madrid, 1976)
- Murphy, James J., *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: a History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1974)
- Nelson, Deborah, "Animal Imagery in Marcabru's poetry", *Studies in Medieval Culture* XI (1977), pp. 51-55
- Neumeister, Sebastian, *Das Spiel mit der höfischen Liebe. Das altprovenzalische Partimen* (Munich, 1969)
- Neuss, Wilhelm, *Die Apokalypse des heiligen Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration* (Münster, 1931), in two volumes (volume I "Text"; volume II. "Tafeln")
- New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 16 volumes (New York, 1967-1974)
- Niermeyer, Jan Frederik, *Lexicon mediae latinitatis* (Leiden, 1976)
- Nisbet R.G.M./Hubbard, Margaret, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book II* (Oxford, 1978)
- Nisbet R.G.M./Hubbard, Margaret, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes book I* (Oxford, 1979)
- Ogilvy, J.D.A., "Mimi, scurrae, histriones: Entertainers of the Early Middle Ages", *Speculum* 38 (1963), pp. 603-619
- Olson, Susan Marion, *Marcabru's Psychomachy: the Concept of Vice and Virtue in the Twelfth-Century Troubadour* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale, 1969)
- Omont, Charles, *Les débats du clerc et du chevalier* (Paris, 1911)
- Pächt, Otto, "Hugo Pictoris", *Bodleian Library Record*, 3 (1950), pp. 96-103

- Paris, Gaston, "Études sur les romans de la Table Ronde. Lancelot du Lac II. *Le conte de la charrette*" *Romania* XII (1883), pp. 459-534
- Paris, Gaston, review of Alfred Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1889) in *Journal des savants* (1891), pp. 674-688 (November), pp. 729-742 (December) and (1892), pp. 155-167 (March) and pp. 407-429 (July)
- Paterson, Linda M., *Troubadours and Eloquence* (Oxford, 1975)
- Paterson, Linda M., "Knights and the Concept of Knighthood in the Twelfth-Century Occitan Epic", *Forum for Modern Language Studies* XVII (1981), pp. 115-130
- Paterson, Linda M., "Great court festivals in the South of France and Catalonia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries", *Medium Aevum* LI (1982), pp. 213-224
- Paterson, Linda M., "The Concept of Knighthood in the Twelfth-Century Occitan Lyric", in *Chrétien de Troyes and the Troubadours: Essays in Memory of the late Leslie Topsfield*, ed. by Linda Paterson and Peter Noble (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 112-132
- Pauly August/Wissowa, Georg, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft: neue Bearbeitung* (Stuttgart, 1894-1980)
- Payen, Jean-Charles, *Le Prince d'Aquitaine. Essai sur Guillaume IX, son œuvre et son érotique* (Paris, 1959)
- Simonelli, Maria Picchio, *Lirica moralistica nell'occitania del XII secolo: Bernart de Venzac* (Modena, 1974)
- Pillet, Alfred, *Studien zur Pastourelle* (Breslau, 1902)
- Pillet, Alfred, "Um Texte von Marcabrus Gedichten", in *Sonderabdruck aus dem 89. Jahresbericht der schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur* (Breslau, 1911)
- Pirot, François, *Recherches sur les connaissances littéraires des troubadours occitans et catalans des XIIe et XIIIe siècles. Les 'sirventes-ensenhamens' de Guerau de Cabrera, Guiraut de Calanson et Bertran de Paris, Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona XIV* (Barcelona, 1972)
- Pirot, François, "'Lavador' dans la 'Pax in nomine Domini' du troubadour Marcabru (P.C. 293, 35). Une nouvelle interprétation du mot", *Mélanges de philologie romane offerts à Charles Camproux* (Montpellier, 1978), vol. I, pp. 159-167
- Planchart, Alejandro Enrique/Fuller, Sarah, "Saint-Martial or Aquitainian School", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), vol. 16, pp. 396-399
- Pollmann, Leo, *"Trobar clus". Bibelexegese und hispanoarabische Literatur* (Münster, 1965)
- Raby, Frederic James Edward "Philomena praevia temporis amoeni", in *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck* (Gembloux, 1951), vol. II, pp. 435-448
- Rajna, Pio, "La badia di Niort", *Romania* VI (1877), pp. 249-253
- Raynaud, François-Just-Marie, *Lexique roman* (Paris, 1838-1844)
- Richard, Alfred, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou, 778-1204* (Paris 1903)
- Riché, Pierre, *Ecoles et enseignement dans le Haut Moyen Age* (Paris, 1979)
- Rieger, Dietmar, *Gattungen und Gattungsbezeichnungen der Trobadorlyrik. Untersuchungen zum altprovenzalischen Sirventes* (Tübingen, 1976)
- Roberts, Michael, *Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity* (Liverpool, 1984)
- Robertson, Durante Waite, "Five poems by Marcabru", *Studies in Philology* 51 (1954), pp. 539-560
- Rojo Orcajo, Timoteo, "El 'Beato' de la cathedral de Osma" in *Art Studies* 8 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931), pp. 103-156
- Roncaglia, Aurelio, "Due postille alla 'galleria letteraria' di Peire d'Alvernhe", *Marche Romane* 19 (1969), pp. 71-78
- Roncaglia, Aurelio, "'Trobar clus': discussione aperta", *Cultura Neolatina* XXIX (1969), pp. 5-55
- Ruggieri, Ruggero M., *Testi antichi romanzi* (Modena, 1949)
- Scheludko, Dimitri, "Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altprovenzalischen Lyrik", *Archivum Romanicum* XI (1927), pp. 273-312; XII (1928), pp. 30-127; XV (1931), pp. 137-206
- Scheludko, Dimitri, "Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altprovenzalischen Lyrik", *Archivum Romanicum*, 15 (1931), pp. 137-206
- Scheludko, Dimitri, "Zur Geschichte des Natureingangs bei den Trobadors", *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 60 (1935-1937), pp. 257-334
- Scheludko, Dimitri, "Über die Theorien der Liebe bei den Trobadors", *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* LX (1940), pp. 191-234
- Scheludko, Dimitri, "Klagen über den Verfall der Welt bei den Trobadors. Allegorische Darstellungen des Kampfes der Tugenden und der Laster", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 44 (1943), pp. 22-45
- Scheludko, Dimitri, "Ovid und die Trobadors", *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* LIV (1954), pp. 129-174

APPENDICES

- Schmerber, Hugo, *Die Schlange des Paradieses* (Strasbourg, 1905)
- Schüppert, Helga, *Kirchenkritik in der lateinischen Lyrik des 12. Und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1972)
- Schulze-Busacker, Elisabeth, "Éléments de culture populaire dans la littérature courtoise", in *La culture populaire au Moyen Âge*, ed. by Pierre Boglioni (Montreal, 1979)
- Schutz, Alexander Hermann, "Marcabru and Jehosaphat", *Romance Notes* 1 (1959), pp. 59-62
- Scott, A.B., "Some poems attributed to Richard of Cluny", in *Medieval Learning and Literature. Essays presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. by J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), pp. 181-199
- Scott, A.B., "The poems of Hildebert of Le Mans: a new examination of the canon", *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 6 (1968), pp. 42-83
- Segre Montel, Costanza, *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca nazionale di Torino*, vol. 1, *I manoscritti latini dal VII alla metà del XIII secolo* (Turin, 1980)
- Shapiro, Marianne, "'Fols naturaus': the Born Fool as Literary Type", *Romance Notes* 19.2 (1978-1979), pp. 243-247
- Singer, Samuel, *Sprichwörter des Mittelalters*, vol. II (Bern 1946)
- Smith, Nathaniel B. *Figures of Repetition in the Old Provençal Lyric: a Study in the Style of the Troubadours* (Chapel Hill, 1976), Chapter I D, "The Troubadours, Rhetoric and Literary Tradition"
- Southern, Richard, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953)
- Spanke, Hans, "Saint-Martial-Studien. Ein Beitrag zur frühromanischen Metrik", *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 54 (1931), pp. 282-317
- Spanke, Hans, "Zur Formenkunst des ältesten Trobadors", *Studi Medievali* VII (1934), pp. 282-317
- Spanke, Hans, *Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Metrik, der Musik, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologische-historische Klasse*, III, no. 18 (Berlin, 1936)
- Spanke, Hans, *Untersuchungen über die Ursprünge des romanischen Minnesangs II. Marcabrustudien, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Neue Folge*, III, no. 24 (Göttingen, 1940)
- Spreckelmeyer, Goswin, *Das Kreuzzugslied des lateinischen Mittelalters* (Munich, 1974)
- Stäblein, Bruno, "Die Schwanenklage. Zum Problem Lai - Planctus - Sequenz", *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 7. Juli 1962*, ed. by Heinrich Hüschen (Regensburg, 1962), pp. 491-502
- Strónski, Stanislaw, *La poésie et la réalité aux temps des troubadours* (Taylorian lecture, Oxford, 1943)
- Sutherland, Dorothy R., "The Language of the troubadours and the problem of origins" *French Studies*, X (1956), pp. 119-215
- Sutherland, Dorothy R., "L'élément théâtral dans la canso chez les troubadours de l'époque classique", *Revue de langue et de littérature d'oc* 12-13 (1962-1963), pp. 95-101
- Thibaudet, Antoine René Hyacinthe, *Histoire de Poitou*, volume I (Niort, 1839)
- Thiolier-Méjean, Suzanne, "Les proverbes et les dictons dans la poésie morale des troubadours", in *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire, de linguistique et de philologie romane offerts à Charles Rostaing* (Liège, 1974), vol. II, pp. 1117-1128
- Thiolier-Méjean, Suzanne, *Les poésies satiriques et morales des troubadours du XIIe siècle à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1978)
- Thomson, James Westfall, "On the identity of Bernard of Cluny", *Journal of Theological Studies* 8 (1906-1907), pp. 394-400
- Thompson, James Westfall, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages* (2nd edition, New York, 1960)
- Thomson, Rodney Malcolm, "The Origins of Latin Satire in Twelfth-Century Europe", *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 13 (1978), pp. 73-83
- Thurlow, Peter A., "Ovid's Amores III iv: its reception in William of Aquitaine, Sebastian Brant and Middle High German Literature", *Reading Medieval Studies* X (1984), pp. 109-135
- Thurot, Charles, "Notices et extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire de doctrines grammaticales au moyen âge", *Notices et Extraits de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, vol. XXII.2 (Paris, 1874)
- Tibber, Peter, *The Origins of the scholastic Sermon c. 1130-1210* (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1983)
- Topsfield, Leslie, "The burlesque poetry of Guilhem IX of Aquitaine", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* LIX (1968), pp. 280-302
- Topsfield, Leslie, "The 'natural fool' in Peire d'Alvernhe, Marcabru and Bernat de Ventadorn", in *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire, de linguistique et de philologie romane offerts à Charles Rostaing* (Liège, 1974), vol. II, pp. 1149-1158

- Topsfield, Leslie, *Troubadours and Love* (Cambridge, 1975)
- Turrin, H.J., "A Reassessment: In hoc anni circulo/mei amic mei fiel, Confliction or Concord in a Seminal Romance Lyric", *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 12 (1977), pp. 69-77
- Vernet, André, "Poésies latines des XII et XIII siècles", in *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat*, volume II (Paris, 1949), pp. 251-275
- Villard, François, "Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine et le concile de Rheims de 1119", *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* XVI (1973), pp. 295-302
- Voigt, Ernst, "Beiträge zur Textkritik und Quellenkunde von Arnulfs *Delicie clerie*", *Romanische Forschungen* 2 (1886), pp. 383-389
- Vuolo, E.P., "Iam dulcis amica, venito...", *Cultura Neolatina* X (1950), pp. 5-25
- Walther, Hans, *Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1920)
- Walther, Hans/Hilka, Alfons, *Initia carminum ac versuum Medii Aevi posterioris Latinorum. Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittellateinischer Dichtungen* (Göttingen, 1959)
- Werner, Jakob, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Aarau 1905)
- Wilhelm, James J., *Seven Troubadours: the Creators of Modern Verse* (Pennsylvania State University, 1970)
- Williams, John, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination* (London, 1977)
- Wilmart, Dom André, "Le florilège de Saint-Gatien. Contribution à l'étude des poèmes d'Hildebert et de Marbode", *Revue Bénédicte*, XLVIII (1936), pp. 3-40, 147-181, 235-258
- Wilmart, Dom André, *Bibliothecae apostolicae Vaticanae manu scripti recensiti. Codices reginenses latini*, vol. I (Rome, 1937)
- Wilmart, Dom André, "Le florilège mixte de Thomas Bekynton", *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* IV (1958), pp. 35-90
- Witthoeft, Friedrich, "'Sirventes joglares'. Ein Blick auf das alfranzösische Spielmannleben", *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie* 77 (Marburg, 1891)
- Wolf, George, "La préface perdue des sermons de Raoul Ardent, chapelain de Richard I", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* XLVI (1979), pp. 35-39
- Yarza Luaces, José Joaquín, "Las bestias apocalípticas en la miniaturas de los Beatos", *Traza y Baza* 4 (1974), pp. 51-75
- Yunck, John A., *The Lineage of Lady Meed: The Development of Medieval Venality Satire* (Notre Dame, 1963)
- Zacher, J., ed. "Altfranzösische Sprichwörter", *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 11 (1859), pp. 114-144
- Zink, Michel, *La pastourelle. Poésie et folkore au moyen âge* (Paris, 1972)
- Zink, Michel, *La prédication en langue romane avant 1300* (Paris, 1976)
- Zorzi, Diego, *Valori religiosi nella letteratura provenzale. La spiritualità trinitaria* (Milan, 1954)
- Zumthor, Paul, *Compte Rendu* of Roger Dragonetti, *La technique poétique*, *Romania* LXXXII (1961), pp. 418-422
- Zumthor, Paul, *Langue et techniques poétiques à l'époque romane (xie-xiii siècles)* (Paris, 1963)
- Zumthor, Paul, *Essai de poésie médiévale* (Paris, 1972)
- Zumthor, Paul, *Langue, texte, énigme* (Paris, 1975)

Index

APPENDICES

INDEX

- Adela, Countess of Blois, 105
Adémar III, Viscount of Limoges, 55, 63
Adémar of Chabannes, 42, 178, 198,
206, 212, 213, 221, 223, 225
Aeneid, 159, 211, 221
Aenor of Châtellerault, Duchess
Consort of Aquitaine, 29
Aesop, 198
Alcuin, 232
Alegret, 9, 13, 93, 119, 121, 122, 154,
214, 215, 218
Alfonso I, King of Aragon, 22
Alfonso Jordan, Count of Toulouse, 70
Amalarius, 43
Ambrose, Saint, 147, 236, 249, 251
Ambrosian stanza, 89
Amores, 41, 46, 102, 109, 183
Amour courtois, 101, 105, 106, 244,
245, 248
Anacletus, Anti-Pope, 66, 69, 83, 117,
130, 131, 135
Angoulême, 24, 42, 66, 67, 70, 129,
132, 223
Anjou, 24, 27, 29, 31, 41, 42, 66, 67,
69, 97, 119, 221
Anselm, Saint, 38, 191, 230, 233, 249
Anthologia Latina, 146
Apocalypse, 150, 159, 160, 163, 165
Aquitaine, 13, 14, 18, 22, 24, 25, 28,
31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45,
48, 50, 52, 55, 62, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71,
72, 83, 88, 94, 100, 102, 104, 105,
107, 126, 129, 130, 132, 135, 143,
149, 159, 160, 162, 165, 198, 221,
222, 223, 230, 269, 270
Aragon, 22
Archpoet of Cologne, 126
Aristotle, 43, 254, 255
Arnaud, Archdeacon of Poitiers, 68
Arnaut Daniel, 82, 89
Arnaut de Tintinhac, 71
Arnold II, Count of Guînes, 61
Arnulf of Lisieux, 131, 192
Ars Amatoria, 45, 183
Arthur, 61, 69, 73
Auctoritas, 236
Audebert of Montmorillon, Archbishop
of Bourges, 37
Augustine, Saint, 147, 249, 251, 265
Authority, 6, 118, 124, 176, 178, 180,
181, 182, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188,
189, 194, 196, 197, 223, 230, 236,
242, 243
Bacharius, 43
Baldric, Abbot of Baudreuil, Bishop of
Dol, 37, 39, 40, 61, 104, 105, 106,
109, 110
Baldwin II, Count of Guînes, 61
Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem, 72
Barcelona, 70, 121, 154, 162, 172, 264
Béarn, 70
Beatus of Liébana, 159, 160, 163, 165,
172
Beaucaire, 53
Bede, 43, 236
Berengar of Poitiers, 37
Bernard of Chartres, 38, 230
Bernard of Clairvaux, Abbot and Saint,
37, 38, 39, 66, 67, 83, 117, 219, 249,
250
Bernard, Abbot of Tiron, 27, 30, 36
Bernardus Silvestris, 159, 211, 260
Bernart de Ventadorn, 89, 92, 107,
114, 257, 258
Bernart Marti, 9, 13, 74, 78, 79, 80, 83,
92, 93, 100, 118, 119, 121, 122, 146,
182, 186, 188, 189, 205, 206, 207,
208, 250, 251, 252, 255, 257, 267,
270, 271
Bernward, Bishop of Hildesheim, 45
Bertrade de Monfort, Queen Consort
of France, 29
Bertran de Born, 71, 77, 82, 117, 154

- Bible, 14, 117, 147, 160, 175, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 223
- Blaye, 70
- Boethius, 132, 242, 253, 254, 255, 267
- Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch, 56
- Bourges, 31, 37
- Burgo de Osma, Cathedral of, 161, 172
- Caecilia, Abbess of La-Trinité, Caen, 105
- Cambridge Songs*, 95, 100, 101, 110, 144, 240
- Canso*, 90, 91, 92, 114
- Cardalhac, 77
- Carmina Burana*, 95, 96, 98, 127, 240
- Castile, 70, 121, 160, 162, 218
- Catalonia, 40, 70, 115, 160, 161, 162, 172
- Cato, (Pseudo), 190, 191, 195, 197, 199, 210, 221, 223
- Cercamon, 9, 13, 56, 66, 67, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 83, 89, 92, 93, 99, 100, 111, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 180, 181, 188, 193, 214, 215, 219, 220, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 238, 244, 245, 247, 261, 266, 267, 270, 271
- Charlemagne, 42, 61, 233
- Chartres, 38, 42, 43, 62, 68, 254, 259, 265, 266, 269
- Chrétien de Troyes, 61, 77, 197, 230
- Cicero, 90, 178, 210, 232, 242, 251
- Clement III, Pope, 127, 135
- Cluny, 34, 37, 54, 66, 129, 135, 158, 235, 269
- Coblas*, 89, 138, 150
- Compostella, 28, 67
- Confolens, 56, 129
- Conrad of Hirsau, 192
- Cortes*, 59, 61, 77, 180, 187, 205, 206, 242, 252, 261, 262
- Crusade, 24, 57, 70, 121, 127, 163, 235, 261, 269
- Cutanda, Battle of, 22, 24
- Cyprian, Saint, 43
- David, King of Israel, 158, 184, 185, 186, 223, 236, 238, 266, 271
- Defensor of Ligugé, 118
- Dialectic, 30, 175, 230, 232, 236, 244, 248, 252, 265, 266, 271
- Didascalus*, 45
- Donatus, 43, 221
- Eble II, Viscount of Ventadour, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 63, 66, 70, 72, 73, 74, 248, 269
- Eble of Châtelailon, 43
- Eclogue, 145, 240, 266
- Edessa, 121
- Egbert of Liège, 191, 197, 199
- Eleanor, Duchess of Aquitaine, 28, 69, 70, 132, 159
- Ermengarde of Anjou, Duchess Consort of Aquitaine, 29, 105
- Eugenius, Bishop of Toledo, 138, 144, 147, 148, 165
- Exemplum*, 47, 48, 115, 156, 159, 235, 236, 237, 266, 270
- Fable, 212, 213
- Flamenca*, romance of, 142
- Flanders, 57, 61, 107
- Folquet de Marselha, 70, 258
- Folquet de Romans, 75
- Fontevraud, Abbey of, 27, 31, 32, 66, 105
- Fontgombaud, Abbey of, 31
- Forton, Count of Frezenac, 44
- Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, 42, 43, 62, 269
- Fulgentius, 157, 159, 210
- Fulk IV Rechin, Count of Anjou, 29, 41
- Fulk V, Count of Anjou, King of Jerusalem, 67
- Gascony, 25, 161, 162, 172
- Gaucelm Faidit, 71, 107
- Genesis, Book of, 117, 236
- Geoffrey of Loroux, 117, 130
- Geoffrey of Vinsauf, 90, 179
- Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, 67
- Geoffrey the Fat, 30, 31, 37

APPENDICES

- Geoffrey, Abbot of La Trinité, Vendôme, 24, 67
- Geoffroy du Breuil, Prior of Vigeois, 22, 26, 53, 57, 59, 60, 61
- Gerard, Abbot of Montierneuf, 39
- Gerard, Bishop of Angoulême, 66, 67, 132
- Gerona, 160, 162, 166, 170, 172
- Gervais, Abbot of Saint-Savin, 34, 37
- Gilbert, Bishop of Poitiers, 22, 38, 62, 68, 230, 254, 271
- Gimel, 57
- Godfrey of Reims, 40, 104
- Goscelin de Parthenay, Archbishop of Bordeaux, 44
- Gouffier de Lastours, 57
- Grammar, 38, 43, 175, 192, 198, 223, 230, 244, 265, 271
- Grammaticus*, 35, 44
- Grandmont, Abbey of, 31
- Gregorian Reforms, 62, 126, 269
- Gregory Muntaner, 161
- Gregory the Great, Pope, 117, 219, 220
- Guibert of Ravenna, Antipope, 127
- Guibert, Abbot of Nogent, 105, 110, 192
- Guilhem Augier Novela, 75
- Guilhem de Berguedan, 70, 154
- Guilhem de Saint-Leidier, 145
- Guilhem de Tudela, 154
- Guiraut de Bornelh, 71, 76, 77, 145, 258
- Guiraut de Cabrera, 74, 234
- Guy de Lastours, 53
- Hautefort, 71
- Henry I, King of England, 105, 107
- Henry II, King of England, 28, 158, 159
- Henry III, Emperor, 191
- Heroides*, 109, 110
- Hexameters, 40, 41, 94, 107, 108, 109, 128, 129, 130, 131, 142
- Hildebert, Bishop of Le Mans and Archbishop of Tours, 27, 29, 39, 40, 61, 67, 80, 104, 106, 107, 109, 112, 130, 131, 132, 147, 158, 159, 237
- Hildegard, Treasurer of Saint-Hilaire, Poitiers, 42, 43, 62
- Hildegard of Beaugency, 29
- Hildegard, Viscount of Rochechouard, 57
- Hildegarde of Burgundy, Duchess Consort of Aquitaine, 22
- Holy Land, 22, 44, 59, 60, 70, 83, 121, 135
- Horace, 100, 102, 107, 157, 162, 191, 198, 208, 215, 242
- Hugh of Avranches, Earl of Chester, 58
- Hugh of Flavigny, 31
- Hugh of Saint Victor, 81, 123, 204, 205, 232
- Hugh Primas, 107, 126
- Hugh VI, Lord of Lusignan and Count of La Marche, 35, 36, 70
- Innocent II, Pope, 66, 69, 83, 131
- Isembert, Bishop of Poitiers, 22, 34, 44, 52
- Isidore, Bishop of Seville, 72, 159, 178, 219, 221, 244
- Jaufre Rudel, 9, 13, 24, 69, 70, 72, 73, 83, 89, 92, 93, 99, 100, 101, 111, 121, 180, 223, 261, 266, 267, 270
- Jausbert de Puyscibot, 82
- Jerome, Saint, 236, 249
- Jerusalem, 23, 25, 61, 72, 95, 127, 133, 235, 247, 249
- John of Garland, 179
- John of Salisbury, 38, 68, 265
- Joi*, 60, 67, 83, 145, 163, 214, 215, 216, 217, 223, 241, 245, 249, 252, 258, 261, 263, 266
- Joven*, 58, 60, 67, 74, 83, 92, 163, 215, 217, 219, 223, 246, 267
- Juvenal, 191, 215
- L'Etoile, Abbey of, 68
- La Chaise-Dieu, Abbey of, 33, 37
- La Trinité, Abbey of, Vendôme, 24, 30, 43, 58, 104
- Lambert of Ardres, 61
- Languedoc, 37, 120
- Lauzengier*, 75, 76, 119, 120

- Léon, 149, 160, 161, 162, 168, 171, 172, 218
- Leonine hexameters, 107, 108, 109, 127, 128, 129, 131, 158
- Limoges, 23, 31, 34, 42, 45, 47, 55, 56, 57, 63, 66, 85, 94, 98, 99, 111, 115, 116, 127, 129, 130, 131, 143, 179, 223, 270, 271
- Limousin, 13, 20, 23, 30, 42, 53, 54, 55, 56, 61, 71, 82, 83, 95, 97, 103, 121, 127, 157, 269, 270
- Louis VII, King of France, 69, 70, 78, 83, 119, 132, 231
- Luçon, 39, 128
- Lusignan, 24, 35, 36, 39, 44, 66, 70
- Magister*, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 45, 58, 62, 68, 232, 233
- Maillezais, Abbey of, 37
- Maison-Dieu, Montmorillon, 32
- Malcolm, King of Scotland, 105
- Marbod, Bishop of Rennes, 40, 61, 104, 105, 109, 112, 131, 142, 150, 156, 163, 164, 165, 178, 247, 270
- Marcabru, 5, 9, 13, 55, 66, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 83, 86, 89, 92, 93, 99, 100, 111, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 133, 137, 138, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 149, 150, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 165, 175, 178, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 222, 223, 231, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 240, 241, 242, 243, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 261, 262, 263, 265, 266, 267, 270, 271
- Marcoat, 9, 13, 99, 100, 119, 121
- Martial, 232
- Matilda, Abbess of La Trinité, Caen, 22, 40, 105, 128, 129, 133, 270
- Matthew of Vendôme, 90, 179
- Maximus Victorinus, 178, 223
- Metamorphoses*, 155, 156, 157
- Metamorphosis Goliae*, 38
- Monk of Montaudon, 82, 107
- Narbonne, 70
- Natura*, 254, 255, 259
- Nieuil, 56
- Niort, 26, 68
- Normandy, 36, 57, 119
- Notre-Dame de Bois-Grolland, Abbey of, 29
- Notre-Dame du Puy, Cathedral, 221, 223, 271
- Nouaillé, Abbey of, 35, 44, 58, 68, 80
- Odo of Cheriton, 207
- Oléron, 30, 43, 104
- Oliver, 61, 260
- Orderic Vitalis, 25, 28, 36, 53, 58, 59, 60, 72, 73
- Otloh of St. Emmeram, 190, 199
- Otto III, Emperor, 45
- Ovid, 41, 45, 46, 47, 61, 63, 73, 99, 102, 104, 105, 108, 109, 111, 112, 133, 155, 156, 157, 182, 183, 192, 204, 223, 238, 266, 270
- Paris, 9, 11, 38, 39, 68, 94, 95, 98, 108, 109, 127, 141, 142, 143, 149, 154, 167, 169, 172, 192, 196, 200, 221, 230, 239, 244, 245, 265, 266, 269
- Pastourelle*, 86, 99, 114, 115, 231, 239, 240, 241, 266
- Peire d'Alvernhe, 13, 74, 78, 79, 80, 83, 89, 93, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124, 133, 154, 182, 184, 186, 202, 203, 205, 206, 214, 216, 223, 236, 242, 250, 251, 252, 255, 256, 257, 258, 263, 264, 265, 267, 270, 271
- Peire de Bussignac, 81
- Peire Guilhem de Tolosa, 75
- Peire Rogier, 70, 258
- Peire Vidal, 70
- Peter Abelard, 38, 110, 230, 232, 236, 250
- Peter Helias, 38, 62, 68, 83

APPENDICES

- Peter II, Baron of Maule, 58
 Peter II, Bishop of Poitiers, 22, 27, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 39, 40, 130, 159
 Peter III of Confolens, Bishop of Saintes, 129, 132
 Peter Lombard, 38, 265
 Peter of Poitiers, 37, 40
 Peter the Venerable, 37, 40, 235
 Peter, Abbot of Maillezais, 37
 Petrus Pictor, Canon of Saint-Omer, 80
 Phaedrus, 198, 206, 209
 Philip I, Count of Flanders, 61
 Philip I, King of France, 29, 30
 Philippa of Toulouse, Duchess Consort of Aquitaine, 22, 28, 29, 30, 66, 105
 Pierre de Pierre-Buffière, 55
Planctus, 237
 Plato, 232, 259
 Pliny, 204, 205, 232
 Plutarch, 202
 Poitiers, 5, 7, 11, 13, 22, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 51, 52, 55, 56, 58, 61, 62, 66, 67, 68, 69, 78, 79, 107, 108, 124, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 143, 162, 197, 230, 231, 233, 254, 266, 269, 270, 271
 Poitou, 5, 11, 13, 19, 22, 24, 27, 29, 32, 33, 34, 36, 39, 41, 55, 66, 68, 69, 80, 83, 97, 107, 119, 121, 157, 159, 191, 221, 245, 269, 270
 Porphyry, 43, 254
 Portugal, 70, 121, 162
Pretz, 59, 67, 69, 74, 80, 83, 92, 138, 215, 216, 219, 223, 233, 241, 260, 264, 267
 Priscian, 38, 178, 198, 221, 223
Proeza, 215, 217, 218, 219
 Proverb, 6, 155, 158, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 184, 188, 189, 192, 193, 195, 196, 198, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 207, 208, 211, 233, 238, 243, 253
 Prudentius, 12, 115, 175, 214, 215, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 225, 226, 231, 271
Psychomachia, 12, 115, 175, 214, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 225, 226, 231, 271
Quadrivium, 221, 255
Quaestio, 78, 232, 233, 271
 Quintilian, 178, 189, 198, 221, 223, 259
 Rabanus Maurus, 43, 117, 205, 251
 Radulfus Ardens, 39
 Raimbaut d'Aurenga, 70, 89, 258
 Raimon Vidal de Besaudun, 71
 Rainald, Abbot of Saint-Cyprien, 34, 36, 37, 39
 Ralph of Diceto, 27, 29, 61
 Raymond of Poitiers, Prince of Antioch, 28
 Raymond, Chancellor of Poitiers, 68
Reconquista, 121, 133, 153, 160, 162, 163
 Reims, 22, 28, 68
 Reims, Council of, 39, 230
 Revelation, Book of, 147, 160, 161, 163, 189, 247, 249
 Rhetoric, 248
Rhetorica ad Herennium, 178
 Richard I, King of England, 39
 Richard of Poitiers, 37
 Richard of Saint Victor, 249, 250
 Rigaut de Barbezilh, 182
 Robert d'Arbrissel, 27, 31, 32, 39, 66, 105
 Robert le Clerc, 201
 Roland, 61, 73, 154, 260
 Romance of Alexander, 189
 Romanesque, 12, 34, 35, 62, 160, 162, 221, 222, 226
Romulus, 199, 203, 206, 209, 221, 223
Saber, 59, 141, 214, 260, 261, 264, 265
 Saint-André, Cathedral, Bordeaux, 44
 Saint-Ausone d'Angoulême, Abbey of, 129
 Saint-Cybard d'Angoulême, Abbey of, 42, 223

- Saint-Cyprien, Abbey of, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41
- Sainte-Croix de Talmont, Abbey of, 32, 33, 66
- Sainte-Marie-des-Dames de Saintes, Abbey of, 32, 41
- Sainte-Radegonde de Poitiers, collegiate church of, 33, 34, 40, 41, 128
- Saintes, 28, 32, 36, 39, 41, 104, 107, 129
- Saint-Georges-d'Oléron, Church of, 43
- Saint-Gilles d'Argenton-les-Vallées, Church of, 12, 227, 228
- Saint-Gilles, Abbey of, 80
- Saint-Hilaire de Poitiers, collegiate church of, 11, 24, 32, 35, 36, 40, 41, 42, 45, 49, 58, 62, 127, 163, 227, 270
- Saint-Jean d'Angély, Abbey of, 59
- Saint-Jean-l'Évangéliste de Montierneuf de Poitiers, Abbey of, 11, 28, 32, 51
- Saint-Léonard des Chaumes, Abbey of, 82
- Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat, 56
- Saint-Maixent, Abbey of, 24, 36, 39, 41
- Saint-Martial, Abbey of, Limoges, 34, 42, 45, 47, 63, 85, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 101, 102, 108, 111, 115, 116, 117, 118, 127, 129, 131, 133, 143, 179, 223, 270, 271
- Saintonge, 5, 11, 12, 13, 19, 22, 24, 30, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 41, 55, 66, 70, 107, 221, 227, 228, 270
- Saint-Pierre, Cathedral, Poitiers, 40, 128
- Saint-Pierre, Cathedral, Saintes, 41
- Saint-Pierre-de-la-Tour d'Aulnay-de-Saintonge, Church of, 12, 227, 228
- Saint-Sever, Abbey of, 11, 161, 162, 167, 169, 172
- Saint-Vivien de Saintes, Priory of, 41, 129
- Sallust, 36, 191
- Samson, 158, 185, 236, 237, 238, 246, 266
- San Juan de la Peña, 24
- Sapientia*, 37, 156, 255, 262, 265, 267
- Sauve-Majeure, Abbey of, 32
- Seneca, 190, 191, 195
- Sens*, 236, 242, 258, 260, 263, 264, 265
- Sententia*, 91, 118, 124, 135, 155, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 195, 197, 199, 219, 220, 223, 224, 230, 238, 241, 265, 271
- Serlo of Wilton, 181, 192, 197
- Sermon, 39, 47, 48, 79, 106, 108, 115, 116, 117, 118, 135, 220, 249, 263, 270, 271
- Sirventes*, 73, 75, 76, 77, 92, 114, 126
- Solignac, Abbey of, 55, 97, 127
- Solomon, 43, 152, 155, 158, 163, 184, 185, 186, 188, 195, 201, 223, 236, 237, 238, 262, 266, 271
- Soudadier*, 5, 57, 76, 150, 152, 153, 157, 159, 160, 161, 163, 165, 184, 211, 272
- Spain, 70, 115, 123, 135, 149, 160, 163, 253
- Talmont, 32, 33, 39, 66, 67
- Theodulf of Orléans, 219, 220
- Theophanou, Empress, 45
- Thibaut, *magister*, 35, 36, 44, 45, 58, 62, 270
- Thierry of Chartres, 68, 254
- Thomas, camerarius, 59
- Tornada*, 114, 115, 135, 138, 181, 207, 218, 243, 252, 257, 261
- Tortosa, 115, 116, 118
- Toulouse, 9, 22, 24, 28, 70, 79, 80, 105
- Tours, 39, 40, 159
- Tristan, 61
- Uc Catola, 73, 114, 183, 261, 266
- Urban II, Pope, 22, 30, 32, 43, 45, 127
- Ussel, 71
- Vendôme, 24, 30, 43, 58, 67, 90, 104, 179
- Vienne, 7, 26, 221, 227

APPENDICES

Virgil, 145, 159, 192, 215, 231, 240, 266

Vulgrin II, Count of Angoulême, 70
Wace, 197

Waoifar, Duke of Aquitaine, 253

Walter Map, 158

Walter of Châtillon, 126, 132, 240

Wilfred the Hairy, Count of Cerdanya, 40

William Freeland, 32, 35, 70

William of Champeaux, 232, 236

William of Conches, 260

William of Malmesbury, 25, 27, 31, 40

William of Orange, 73

William of Poitiers, 23, 25

William of Saint-Thierry, 188, 205, 249, 250, 259, 260

William the Conqueror, King of England, 105

William V, Duke of Aquitaine, III Count of Poitiers, 23, 36, 42, 43, 129

William VIII, Duke of Aquitaine, VI Count of Poitiers (Guy-Geoffrey), 11, 22, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 43, 44, 45, 50, 52

William X, Duke of Aquitaine, VIII Count of Poitiers, 5, 22, 37, 38, 41, 44, 56, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 83, 115, 117, 130, 132, 133, 266

William IX, Duke of Aquitaine, VII Count of Poitiers, 5, 13, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 39, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 72, 73, 89, 92, 93, 99, 100, 104, 105, 106, 111, 112, 119, 120, 121, 125, 126, 130, 133, 159, 180, 181, 204, 223, 245, 260, 266, 267, 269, 270

