6 Paden, ed., *Voice*, p. 11.
7 The *assag* or *assais*, mentioned by several *trobairitz*, was a test imposed by the *domna* on her lover. It has been speculated that it was a sexual test, in which the lover had to remain chaste in a situation of physical intimacy. See Nelli, *Erotique*, pp. 199–209 and Bec, *Chants* [*see under Trobairitz*, p. 308 below], pp. 40–3.
8 The expression 'desire lines' is used in architectural contexts to denote the unplanned pathways marked by walkers who ignore the established, 'official' paths. See Muschamp, 'Student center', p. B4.
9 The term 'anamorphosis' designates a distorted image which is unrecognisable unless viewed from the proper angle. For literary applications, see Lacan, *Ethics*, pp. 139–54 and Žižek, *Looking Awry*, pp. 90–1; see also Chapter 13. I use the term here to indicate that the 'outside' of the female author may be recognised within the 'inside' of a given, seemingly conventional, textual space, when that text is read from the correct 'angle', thus undoing the original cultural distortion.
10 The site of catachresis (the improper use of a word or figure, here extended to the improper use of genre conventions) seems to be, according to Irigaray, the place *par excellence* where the feminine may appear. See also Butler, *Bodies*, pp. 37–8.
11 See note 7.
12 I refer to all poems that are structured as dialogues as *tensos*.
13 See Bogin, *Women Troubadours* [*see under Trobairitz*, p. 308 below], p. 145; Dronke, *Women Writers*, p. 102; Nelli, *Ecrivains*, p. 255; compare Bec, *Burlesque*, p. 202.
14 By the counter-culture of women I mean a culture directed and conducted by women, and centred primarily around the preoccupations, interests, activities and interactions of women.
15 According to Irigaray, women are 'so irremediably cut off from their "self-affection" that from the outset . . . they are exiled from themselves, and lacking any possible continuity/contiguity with their first desires/pleasures, they are imported into another economy, where they are completely unable to find themselves' (*This Sex*, p. 133).

CHAPTER 8

Italian and Catalan troubadours

Miriam Cabré

When court poets in Northern Italy and the Crown of Aragon began to compose in the vernacular, they adopted Occitan as their poetic language and the influence of this seemingly foreign culture would continue even when works start to be composed in Italian and Catalan. In Italy, the troubadour tradition has an obvious impact, from the mid-thirteenth century, in the *scuola siciliana* and later in the *stilnovisti*. In Catalan literature, the troubadours have a direct influence well into the fifteenth century.[1] This complete absorption of troubadour poetry makes Northern Italy and the Crown of Aragon unique among the areas that underwent the influence of Occitan culture. Originally, their geographical proximity to Occitania had made them a convenient extension to the troubadour circuit, ready to welcome such prestigious influence, but in the thirteenth century they became the main focus of late troubadour culture. Both areas had political links with the county of Provence, and were deeply involved in the power struggle that was taking place in Europe. This chapter will examine the factors involved in the adoption of the troubadour tradition in Northern Italy and the Crown of Aragon, and the orientation taken by this tradition in the hands of local troubadours.

The prestige of Occitan poetry is attested to by its role in the shaping of other vernacular traditions, such as the works of French *trouvères*, and German *minnesänger*. Its influence was aided by the mobility of troubadours as well as the wide diffusion of their poetry. Even from an early period troubadours travelled outside the original domains of their poetic tradition. Often the first evidence of contacts with foreign lands is mentions of their rulers as either potential patrons or sympathisers of the same political cause. We have several such early references to the areas that concern this chapter. Marcabru and Peire d'Alvernha both refer

to the rulers in Castile and the Crown of Aragon, and seemingly visited Spain. The first ruler of the Crown of Aragon to appear in troubadour poetry was Ramon Berenguer IV (1131–62). During the Third Crusade, in 1190, Peirol mentioned the Marquis Corrado de Monferrato, whose court would be the first Italian centre to receive Occitan troubadours. Within the Italian and Iberian peninsulas, the presence of visiting troubadours is also documented in other kingdoms, where Occitan was not the sole literary language. King Alfonso X of Castile (1252–84) fostered a wide range of cultural initiatives in several languages.[2] As an important political figure, he aroused the interest of many troubadours, and as a patron of the arts, he protected, among others, Guiraut Riquier. However, the king chose Galician-Portuguese, the prevailing poetic language in his court, to compose his *Cantigas de Santa María*. Even the Italian Bonifacio Calvo added two *cantigas* and a multilingual poem to his Occitan corpus during his stay in Alfonso's court. However, despite the predominant role of Galician-Portuguese poetry in the Castilian court, some of its elements can be traced back to the Occitan tradition.[3] In the kingdom of Sicily, meanwhile, Emperor Frederick II promoted poetic activity. This *scuola siciliana*, although strongly marked by Occitan influence, adopted Italian as its poetic language. While no overtly political poetry was composed in Frederick's entourage, the choice of language was in itself a political statement. At the peak of his confrontation with the pope, the emperor was seeking to manipulate his image through the poetic output of his entourage. It was the prestige of troubadour literature, above other vernacular traditions, which made it an obvious model, with the additional advantage of its proven value as a tool of propaganda.[4]

The impact of the Occitan tradition in Northern Italy and the Crown of Aragon went beyond formal or thematic borrowing. Visits from Occitan troubadours were followed by local production. The identity of the first native troubadour in Italy is disputed. The Guelph harangue 'D'un serventes faire', by Peire de la Caravana, has been dated 1194 or 1195, but his Italian birth is uncertain.[5] Thus Rambertino Buvalelli, who held the position of *podestà* in several Italian cities, as well as diplomatic posts on behalf of the city of Bologna, is usually hailed as the first Italian troubadour.[6] It has been suggested that he came into contact with troubadour poetry

during his years as a law student at the University of Bologna.[7] Beyond this alleged first contact, Rambertino was closely linked to the Marquis of Este, one of the first Italian magnates to sponsor troubadour poetry. All of Rambertino's poems are love songs dedicated to Beatrice d'Este, the marquis's daughter. However, since the Marquis of Este was the Guelph leader and Rambertino a leading politician, the very act of dedicating his poetry to Beatrice could be read as a political gesture. As the foundation of the *scuola siciliana* exemplifies, politics and poetry were often bedfellows. Troubadour poetry had been ideologically charged since its origins and probably more so after the gradual French domination of the Midi.[8] After the Albigensian Crusade, the male line of the dynasties of Toulouse and Provence died out, and were replaced by two French princes in 1246 and 1249, respectively. The rising of French power irreversibly changed the nature of the courts in the area, and caused a large number of exiles (*faidit*), some of them troubadours, to travel to peripheral areas, such as Italy and Spain. The cultural background of these exiles reinforced the exportation of the troubadour tradition by previous Occitan visitors.

In the thirteenth century, Italy was the focus of international conflicts. Northern Italian cities rallied for or against the emperor's sovereignty over them. Originally the anti-imperial focus was the alliance of cities called the Lombard league, but the pope soon lent them support, and the rivalry polarised between the papacy and the emperors. Thus the Guelph and Ghibelline parties were formed, embodying respectively opposition to the Empire or the Church. At the core of this confrontation, which was particularly intense during the thirteenth century, feudal and urban powers intersected. Feudal lords often became the *podestà* of warring cities, as well as being acknowledged as faction leaders. There were endless factions and shifting alliances.[9] The involvement of poetry with these tensions is exemplified by the earliest poem with an Italian topic, Peire de la Caravana's 'D'un serventes faire', encouraging the Italian cities to fight together against the emperor.[10] The power of poetry to convey these messages effectively and to exacerbate the conflicts is explicitly revealed in a 1252 edict by the *podestà* of San Gimignano: 'quod nulla persona castri et curtis St. Gem. canere debeat aliquas cantiones inter Guelfis et Ghibellinis' (Safiotti, *Giullari*, p. 102; nobody in the castle or court of San Gimignano shall sing any song about

Guelphs and Ghibellines). The tensions in Italian politics were not isolated from the interests of other countries, as France, the pope's traditional ally, exemplifies. At the climax of the tensions between the papacy and Manfred of Sicily (who had succeeded Frederick II), Charles d'Anjou, the new Count of Provence and younger brother of King Louis IX, rose as the pope's champion. As a result, in 1266 Charles took possession of the kingdom of Sicily, offered to him by the pope, after defeating Manfred in battle. As a prominent Guelph figure and an increasingly powerful ruler, Charles polarised the opinions of Guelph and Ghibelline partisans. His exploits, in both Provence and Italy, were the object of commentaries by a large number of troubadours.[11] Some of them were based in the Crown of Aragon, which, as we will see, was also deeply involved in these events. This is especially true of one of its kings, Pere *el Gran* (1275–85), who had dynastic claims to Provence and was married to Manfred's daughter and heiress.[12]

In addition to being a political weapon, poetry lent prestige to patrons and poets alike. This has been put forward as one of the reasons why troubadours were so well received in the most influential courts of Northern Italy: Monferrato, Savoia, Este, Malaspina, and Da Romano (Bologna, 'Letteratura', pp. 102–4). Raimbaut de Vaqueiras and Peire Vidal are among the first troubadours known to have visited Italy, where they enjoyed the hospitality of Bonifacio de Monferrato and dedicated love poems to Bonifacio's daughter Beatrice. In a panegyric to her (XVIII), Raimbaut chose as a structuring metaphor the *carrocio* (*carros* in Occitan), the ox-cart which symbolised the Lombard league. The use of a war metaphor as a device for a collective panegyric of noble ladies was taken up by Aimeric de Peguilhan. His poem, now lost, represented a battle between the daughters of Corrado Malaspina, to which Guilhem de la Tor wrote a sequel: the truce (*treva*) agreed through the mediation of Italian ladies.[13] While echoing the politicised environment, these pieces also reflect the pleasurable side of court poetry. The same could be said of the seemingly insult-hurling debates which, despite their apparent crudeness, often are unlikely to be more than a court game. Aimeric de Peguilhan is the most significant troubadour in the court of Azzo VI d'Este, where he enjoyed a prolonged stay. He wrote there his famous complaints against the *joglaret novell* ('upstart little *joglars*', 'Li fol e·il put' (XXXII), among whom he sarcastically mentioned

Sordello. Both poets had an exchange of *coblas* in a similar tone, 'Anc al temps' (XXX). Aimeric accused Sordello of leading a dissolute life and of cowardice, for he never saw a man receiving such a beautiful blow ('tant bel cop') in the head, which almost killed him. He mockingly praises Sordello's sweet character and his reaction to such attacks:

> mas el a·l cor tan umil e tan franc
> q'el prend en patz totz colps, pois no·i a sanc. (XXX, 7–8)

(he is so meek and generous at heart that he takes peacefully all blows, as long as there is no blood.)

Sordello's retaliation turns Aimeric's self-portrait as a venerable figure of authority into that of boastful wimp:

> Anc persona tan avara
> no crei que homs vis
> cum el veils arlots meschis
> n'Aimeric ab trista cara.
> Sel qe·l ve a pez de mort;
> e se tot a son cors tort
> e magr'e sec e vel e clop e ranc,
> mil aitans dis . . . qe·l no fes anc. (XXX, 9–16)

(Nobody has ever seen such a stingy person as that mean old beggar, the sad-faced Aimeric: seeing him is worse than death. Even though he has a crooked body, scrawny, puny, old, limping and wobbly, he boasts a thousand times of what he has never done.)

This type of slander was a frequent feature of Sordello's early years in Italy, and it continued during his long stay in Provence. There is documentary confirmation of his presence in the retinue of Count Raimon Berenguer IV of Provence and he stayed in the entourage of his successor Charles d'Anjou.[14] However, the Mantuan poet owes a great deal of his fame, as reflected in his colourful *vida* and magnified by Dante's *Commedia*, to his early connection with the Da Romano brothers, Alberico and Ezzelino. At their request, he is said to have abducted their sister Cunizza from her husband Riccardo di San Bonifazio. The event obviously caused a stir at the time, and Sordello was teased about it in a *tenso* with Joanet d'Albusson, 'Digatz me' (XIII). Around 1220 Uc de Sant Circ arrived at the Da Romano court where he would remain for forty years. His account of the Cunizza affair in Sordello's *vida* has been interpreted as his patron's official version of the events

(Meneghetti, 'Uc de Saint Circ', pp. 120–3). It is a specific example of Uc de Sant Circ's role as Alberico's spokesman (Peron, 'Trovatori e politica', pp. 23–30). After Sordello left Italy there are some years unaccounted for, during which he seems to have visited several courts. Peire Bremon Ricas Novas mocks his wandering by referring to his acquaintance with 'every baron from Treviso over to Gap' (*Poetry of Sordello*, ed. Wilhelm, p. xvi). Before he settled into the retinue of the counts of Provence, it seems that Sordello stayed in the court of Barral de Baus and was also protected by Blacatz. When the latter died, Sordello dedicated to him one of his better-known pieces, a *planh* (XXVI) where he substitutes the expected pattern of lament with a satire against contemporary rulers, structured around the folk motif of the eaten heart. Sordello proposes, as the only solution to the irreversible moral decline among the ruling classes after Blacatz's death, that his heart be taken out and distributed among them. A list of magnates who would benefit from Blacatz's *cor* follows. Sordello thus inaugurates a genre highly codified both in structure and content, a hybrid of the *planh* and the *sirventes*, which Peire Bremon Ricas Novas and Bertran de Lamanon swiftly imitated.[15] This poem probably prompted Dante's image of Sordello as a concerned patriot in Purgatorio (VI–IX) and he is generally considered the most interesting figure among Italian-born troubadours. However, because of the geographical distribution of his career, other non-Italian troubadours better typify troubadour activity in Italy. This would be the case of Aimeric de Peguilhan, whose occasional pieces and poetic exchanges at the court of Este mirror the environment and fashion in Italian courts. Equally, during his stay at the court of the Da Romano Uc de Sant Circ became a major representative of the non-lyric, more academic, activity that characterises late troubadour culture, thanks to his corpus of *vidas* and *razos* (see also Chapter 15).[16]

The adoption of this originally courtly poetry by urban poets has been judged as an Italian contribution to the development of troubadour poetry: the introduction of 'new social and cultural groups . . . in particular, lawyers and administrators' (Bologna, 'Letteratura', p. 131), a tendency that would recur in the *scuola siciliana* and among the *stilnovisti*. The acceptance of this 'courtly civilisation' by the 'urban civilisation' (Roncaglia, 'Corti', 107–8) occurred within the intricate web of alliances and rivalries which entangled cities and courts. Urban poets, as was indeed the case with Rambertino Buvalelli, could have contacts and common (or antagonistic) interests with the courts from which troubadour poetry emanated. The main urban circle of troubadour activity was Genoa, whose patriciate produced numerous poets, among whom the judge Lanfranc Cigala stands out. From his known political career, it is significant that he was the Genoese ambassador to Provence in 1241. Despite his influential position and political interests, his corpus contains only a few Guelph topical pieces. Like Rambertino Buvalelli, Lanfranc wrote mainly love songs, which have earned him probably the highest artistic valuation of all the Italian troubadours among modern scholars. The intellectualising tendency of his love poetry has been suggested as a forerunner for the approach later taken up by the *stilnovisti* (Ugolini, *Poesia provenzale*, xxxix–xlvi).

The development of troubadour poetry in the Crown of Aragon confirms the importance of both social prestige and politics as factors in the adoption of this poetic tradition.[17] It was certainly present in aristocratic courts, but from the beginning the main nucleus of production was the royal entourage. The factors outlined to account for Italian troubadour activity are applicable here: its use as court entertainment, vehicle of propaganda and ideology, and a prestigious social exercise. However, the weight of the royal patron marks an important difference in the Catalan troubadour milieu. It was by royal initiative that Occitan poetry was first imported into Catalan lands during the reign of King Alfons (1162–96).[18] Among his domains, Provence was at the centre of a dispute with the counts of Toulouse and the French Crown. He decided actively to sponsor troubadour poetry, as befitted his title as a great Occitan lord, and to import it into his lands south of the Pyrenees (M. de Riquer, 'Littérature'). At one stroke, he managed to please his Provençal subjects and also to create a cultural link across his lands. King Alfons further encouraged troubadour production by composing poetry in Occitan himself, thus initiating a tradition of poetic creation and promotion among members of his royal family (Cluzel, 'Princes'). His extant works are a *canso* and a *tenso* with Giraut de Bornelh, 'Be·m plairia' (LVIII, ed. Sharman) about the worth of a rich man's love. The 'maestre dels trobadors' had a relevant role in the development of Catalan

troubadour poetry, as attested by the works of the most influential Catalan troubadour, Cerverí de Girona. Giraut's works (together with those of Cerverí) account for a substantial part of the anthology collected in MS *Sg*, which was intended as a model corpus and attests to a Catalan line of transmission.[19]

King Alfons was among the targets of one of the best-known Catalan troubadours, Guillem de Berguedà (d. 1196).[20] Although the troubadour appears sometimes in the king's entourage, more often he was a keen participant in the fights among the nobility. In this pursuit, he used troubadour poetry and its established channels of diffusion as a political weapon (see also Chapter 3). The relatively mild 'Cantarey' (V) shows his advantageous combination of character assassination (the Viscount of Cardona and the Bishop of Urgell are portrayed as treacherous and beggar-like), with a light popularising tone and a well-known tune. This contrast accentuates Guillem's sarcasm and facilitates the circulation of the song. Since all of the events mentioned in his poetry (except what is obviously plain abuse) are documented, it seems licit in this particular case to interpret his satire biographically, as a very sharp tool, the use of which went beyond mere courtly entertainment. Like his friend Bertran de Born, who referred to him as 'Fraire', Guillem's most famous facet is this vitriolic attack on his many enemies, but he also has a considerable corpus of love lyrics. Among them, 'Qan vei' (XXVI) was widely disseminated (fourteen MSS) and imitated. The poetic fame of another notable Catalan troubadour, Guillem de Cabestany, also owes much to a single particularly well-transmitted *canso*, 'Lo doutz cossire', which is extant in more than twenty MSS (Cots, 'Poesías', pp. 278–90). However the notoriety emanating from Guillem de Cabestany's *vida*, which links him with the legend of the eaten heart, far exceeds his literary fame (Riquer, *Los trovadores*, II, 1065–6; see also Chapter 16).

The success of King Alfons's manoeuvre is patent in the view held by later troubadours of Catalonia and Occitania as a single entity (Aurell, *Vielle*, pp. 55–8). His immediate successors kept the tradition of troubadour patronage alive, but it was his great-grandson, Pere *el Gran*, who fully exploited the latent possibilities of troubadour poetry. King Pere used literary activity to project a public image of himself as the ideal prince, and to justify some controversial policies. Troubadour poetry was also an offensive

weapon against his rival in his two main international targets, Sicily and Provence, namely Charles d'Anjou. Even before Pere *el Gran* became king, his court was a leading centre of anti-Angevin propaganda and he had already began to stand out as a Ghibelline supporter.[21] He systematically sheltered *faidits* from Provence, among them the troubadour Paulet de Marselha. Clear examples of anti-Angevin poetry written in Prince Pere's entourage are Cerverí's 'Sirventes' (XXXVI) and Paulet de Marselha's 'Ab marrimen et ab mala sabensa' (VIII: I. de Riquer, 'Poesías', pp. 187–92). The king himself composed an extant *cobla* against the French in the wake of their papally sanctioned invasion of King Pere's lands (M. de Riquer, 'Trovador valenciano'). However, his interest in troubadour literature was not only political. According to his protégé, Cerverí, he also composed some lighter pieces and was a fine judge of poetry. Cerverí had a clear function as the main pawn of his patron's propaganda policy, but his role goes far beyond that of a partisan poet.[22] It amounts to a new position in the Catalan royal court, characterised by the unusual length and closeness of the relationship between troubadour and patron. The most remarkable effect of the self-awareness resulting from Cerverí's position is his creation of a literary character identified with the first person. Through this character, Cerverí embodies his opinions about the function of poet and poetry in the context of the court. His style is characterised by wit and craft, which manifest themselves in word-play, elaborate and unusual structures, and sophisticated metrical schemes, together with a taste for experimenting with genres and adding new materials to the framework of the troubadour tradition. In addition to political pieces, Cerverí's vast corpus contains formally elaborate love songs, moralising *vers*, popularising dance songs, narrative poems and sophisticated panegyrics. His works came to be greatly influential in later Catalan literature, acting as a bridge between the troubadour tradition and later local developments.

The common traits between Italian and Catalan troubadour culture largely derive from the fact that these regions are the main centres of late troubadour activity. Broad trends such as the spread of lay literacy, the rise of written production in the vernacular, and the growth of courts and their administrative staff resulted, in both Catalan and Italian courts, in a series of

paraliterary troubadour activities. In parallel to the contemporary academic developments, the late troubadour world witnessed the compilation of song-books and *florilegia*, the production of Occitan treatises, and the creation of *vidas* and *razos*.

The works of Sordello and Cerverí exemplify this poetic production. The situation in the courts where they lived, as reflected in their works, has points of contact.[23] Both were in the entourage of a powerful lord, in the midst of the professional intellectual class that supplied the court with its administrative staff, which was rapidly growing and diversifying. There is documentary evidence of the progress of Cerverí and Sordello in this milieu, to judge by their increasing financial rewards.[24] Analysis of chancery documents, together with these troubadours' works, gives us a picture of the development of contemporary courts, where new elements, new functions and new tensions were arising. One of the fields where friction between court professionals is manifest is in the confusion between troubadours and ill-reputed *joglars*.[25] Despite the evidence of his progress in the royal entourage, chancery documents refer to Cerverí as *ioculator* up to the end of his career. Sordello was still being teased by fellow troubadours, at a stage when court documents refer to him as *miles* (knight) or *dominus* (lord). Sordello's *tensos* and *partimens*, his most distinctive pieces, respond to the thirteenth-century taste for *jocs* and love casuistry. Within this context of poetic competition, playful or in earnest, he is accused of being a *joglar*. For instance in the *tenso* 'Digatz me' (XIII), Joanet d'Albusson and Sordello refer to each other in demeaning terms and allude to their *joglaria*. In the dialectic used to deny the charges, Sordello and his rival knowingly confirm them. However, in his *sirventes* against Peire Bremon Ricas Novas, 'Lo reproviers', Sordello refutes energetically his condition of *joglar*:

> Ben a gran tort car m'apella joglar,
> c'ab autre vau et autre ven ab me,
> e don ses penre, et el pren ses donar,
> q'en son cors met tot qant pren per merce.
> Mas eu non pren ren don anta m'eschaia,
> anz met ma renda e non vuoill guizerdon
> mas sol d'amor; per qe·m par q'el dechaia
> et eu poje, qui nos jutga a razon. (XXIV, 17–24)

(He is very wrong to call me a *joglar*, because he follows others while others follow me, and I give without taking while he takes without giving, for he wears what he is mercifully given; instead, I do not take anything that would shame me, but, on the contrary, I spend my income and do not expect other reward than love; for all this, it seems to me that he lowers himself, and I am elevated, when rightly judged.)

Cerverí also alludes to unworthy envious people who accuse him of being a *joglar*, for instance in his 'Maldit bendit' (CXV), and he relentlessly protests that his status is that of a troubadour: 'ne suy juglars ne·n fau captenimen' (I am not a *joglar* nor do I behave like one), he affirms in 'Lo vers del saig' (LXXXIII, 32). However, unlike Sordello, Cerverí does not deny that he derives economic benefits from his poetry, but reacts by sublimating his condition as a dependant into the figure of the wise adviser of his patron:

> Eu soy sirvens e serviray breumens
> d'un sirventes al bo rey d'Arago. (XXXV, 9–10)

(I am a servant and will presently serve the good king of Aragon with a *sirventes*.)

He complements this validation of his role with theoretical arguments about the high value of poetry, as means of moral advice and social improvement.

Both Sordello and Cerverí recycle the subject-matter of moral literature and apply it to the immediate context of the court. Sordello's two moral *sirventes* deal with topics such as *mezura*, the relative value of poverty and wealth, and the responsibility of rulers to set a model of behaviour. In the vernacular, these are new, fashionable themes, which respond to the demands of a new audience (Segre, 'Forme'). Sordello himself wrote a treatise, in verse, the *Ensenhamens d'onor*, which gives instruction on correct behaviour, containing both general moral advice and love etiquette. In Cerverí's works, moral literature topics are pervasive and in using them he reinforces his image as a self-styled adviser to his patron. With a similar effect, Cerverí re-uses new-fashioned and learned materials, in tune with contemporary scholastic practices. He adapted the three basic school texts, proverbs, fables and psalms, as well as allegorical romance. His poems often borrowed structuring or didactic devices from sermons and scholastic treatises. From administrative and judicial practice, he took epistles, declarations of war and libels as poetic models. In fact he transmuted almost anything in his environment into poetic matter or devices. His use

of scholarly methods and subjects fits with the image of *savi*, which underpins Cerverí's defence of his position as a poet. This is the characterisation that Cerverí evokes when portraying himself in an *exemplum* of the wrong values prevalent in the court, where only wealth and not wisdom are heeded:

> [D]itz de paubre no poria
> gran mal far,
> car hom no·l cre per gran vertat que dia,
> que s'eu totz sen de Salamo dezia,
> e·l reys c'a vist un cabirol volar,
> tuit dirion – per que·ls ditz deu temer? –
> qu'eu mentria e·l reys diria ver. (LXXX, 15–21)

(A poor man's words cannot be very harmful, since nobody believes him, however great the truth he tells; since, if I told the whole of Solomon's wisdom, while the king said that he had seen a roe deer flying, everybody would say – why should he be afraid of (my) words? – that I had lied and the king had told the truth.)

Cerverí's vast corpus (119 items) acts as a window onto the cultural trends of the thirteenth century. Both he and Sordello illustrate the involvement of late troubadour poetry with new elements from their evolving cultural environment. This resulted in a renewed troubadour tradition, and coloured its eventual transformation into new schools. Cerverí's perception of his image and of his corpus as a whole is also in tune with the new self-awareness of late medieval poets. Cerverí did for himself what Dante did for Sordello: he created a literary character based on his own lyrics which enhanced his literary reception.

NOTES

1 For instance, on Italy see Sapegno (*Compendio*, pp. 31–2). A much fuller treatment is given in Bologna's contribution to the multi-volume *Letteratura Italiana*. For the history of Catalan literature, see M. de Riquer, 'Trobadors catalans', pp. 12–14. I am grateful to Stefano Asperti for his indications and bibliographical information. I would also like to thank Ann Giletti for her help.
2 For the patronage in Alfonso X's court, see Burns, ed., *Emperor of Culture*, and Ballesteros Beretta, *Alfonso X*.
3 See D'Heur, *Troubadours d'oc*.
4 Antonelli ('Politica', pp. 58–92) discusses fully Frederick II's active promotion of the *scuola siciliana*.
5 For troubadour activity in Italy, see Ugolini, *Poesia provenzale*; Bertoni, 'Poesia provenzale'; De Bartholomaeis, *Poesie provenzali*; Bologna, 'Letteratura'; Roncaglia, 'Corti', pp. 105–22; Folena, 'Tradizione' (see pp. 23–8 for 'D'un serventes faire').
6 The *podestà* was a magistrate who was appointed by the citizens for a set period of time to rule the city, as an alien power above the quarrelling factions.
7 Rambertino Buvalelli has also been linked with the onset of troubadour poetry in Genoa, where he was the *podestà* for three years. See Viscardi, 'Trovatori italiani', pp. 986–7. For a modern edition of his poems, see Rambertino Buvalelli, *Poesie*, ed. Melli.
8 For Guilhem IX and his choice of language, interpreted as a stand against clerical Latin, see Antonelli, 'Politica', pp. 12–27.
9 For an English summary, see Salvatorelli, *Concise History*. For a more detailed discussion, see Tabacco, 'Storia politica e sociale'.
10 Peron, 'Trovatori e politica'. For Peire de la Caravana's pieces, see Folena, 'Tradizione', pp. 24–8.
11 For a full study of the influence of Charles d'Anjou in troubadour poetry and transmission, see Asperti, *Carlo*.
12 The international projection of Italian politics is lengthily laid out in Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*.
13 'Pos N'Aimerics a fait mesclança e batalla' (*Le poesie di Guilhem de la Tor*, ed. Blasi, p. 29). For a commentary, see Folena, 'Tradizione', pp. 39–40 and 78–83.
14 Sordello signed as a witness in some transactions and also appears as the beneficiary of donations. Documentary references can be found in the introduction to *Sordello: le Poesie*, ed. Boni, and in *Poetry of Sordello*, ed. Wilhelm [Appendix 1, item 55], pp. xix–xxii.
15 For Sordello's influence, see *Poetry of Sordello*, ed. Wilhelm, pp. xxv–xxix.
16 See Guida, *Primi approcci* and Meneghetti, *Pubblico*, pp. 237–76.
17 See Milà, *De los trovadores*, Alvar, *Poesía trovadoresca*, and especially M. de Riquer, 'Trobadors catalans'.
18 Bisson, *Medieval Crown* offers a general view of the history of the period. For a more detailed account, see Soldevila, *Pere el Gran*.
19 The influence of Giraut de Bornelh on Cerverí is outlined in I. de Riquer, 'Giraut de Bornelh chez les grammariens'. For a more detailed discussion of the Catalan MSS which transmit Giraut's works, see I. de Riquer, 'Giraut de Bornelh en las obras de Ramon Vidal'. For a study of MS *Sg*, see Asperti, '*Flamenca*' .
20 M. de Riquer has studied in detail the historical background in *Guillem de Berguedà*, ed. Riquer, I.
21 Wieruszowski, 'Corte', discusses King Pere's Ghibelline career. For the anti-Angevin propaganda created in the court of Pere *el Gran*, see Aurell, *Vielle*, pp. 168–75, and Cabré, *Cerverí de Girona*.
22 For a study of Cerverí's works, see Cabré, *Cerverí de Girona*.

23 For a general view of troubadour courts, see Paterson, *World*, pp. 90–119 and for the Da Romano court, Meneghetti, *Pubblico*, pp. 245–50.
24 The relevant documents are mentioned in M. de Riquer, '*Verses proverbials*', *Poetry of Sordello*, ed. Wilhelm and *Sordello: le Poesie*, ed. Boni.
25 See Harvey, '*Joglars*', and Cabré, '"Ne suy joglars"', for a more detailed discussion of this complex issue.

CHAPTER 9

Music and versification

Fetz Marcabrus los motz e·l so

Margaret Switten

The new song of the early twelfth century brought a new way of crafting verses and a new music. It flourished in the cloister as in the court, in Latin as in the vernacular.[1] Its salient features were the control of verse length by number of syllables and the linking of verses by end-line rhyme, to which the music corresponded by a tendency towards balanced phrase structures and regular cadence patterns. New systems of sonorous coordinations thus emerged. The most significant vernacular repertory of 'new songs' to be preserved was created by the troubadours. How did the troubadours exploit these new sound systems, verbal and musical? This chapter will propose some responses to that question.

At the outset, I admit that the question is, in many ways, unanswerable. The reason is not complicated: no medieval sounds have come down to us. What we have are written records, and the written records for troubadour song, like many medieval records, are difficult of interpretation. I shall first point out some of the difficulties, then describe textual and musical elements of the song; examine approaches to coordinated analysis and performance; and conclude with a few illustrative examples. Examples are grouped at the end of the chapter (pp. 156–62 below).

MANUSCRIPTS

Only one manuscript from the time of the early troubadours contains songs in Old Occitan: BNF, fonds latin, 1139, from Saint Martial of Limoges, part of which can be dated c. 1100. In the oldest section of this manuscript, among Latin songs called *versus*, are three religious songs in Occitan, or Occitan and Latin, all with music. In contrast, the first *chansonniers* containing troubadour songs date from the mid thirteenth century – from a time when

THE TROUBADOURS

An Introduction

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