

## Le *poetriae* del medioevo latino

Modelli, fortuna, commenti

a cura di Gian Carlo Alessio e Domenico Losappio

### *Translatio Poetriae*

## Occitan Apprenticeship from the Latin Classroom to the Vernacular Court

Douglas Kelly

(University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA)

**Abstract** The Occitan treatises on the art of poetry are among the earliest vernacular arts of poetry. However, they adapt the pedagogy of the classroom implicit in Latin treatises like the *Poetria nova* to the court milieu beginning in the thirteenth century. This paper illustrates this development by comparing the new vernacular art with the Latin art found in Geoffrey's treatise and commentaries on it as well as in other treatises written and commented on in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries and beyond. The Occitan treatises were written for laymen; although ignorant of Latin, they wished to write in the style of the early troubadours but with adaptations to the new subject matters of *fin'amors*. Key documents include the different versions of Guilhem Molinier's *Leys d'Amors* written for the Toulouse consistory as well as some Catalan courts. An important feature of this emerging vernacular art is the imitation and emulation of recognised masterpieces of the art, including the 'ancient troubadours' and some Latin pieces, as the vernacular art evolved under supervision of the Inquisition. These changes are evident in the works of model poets such as N'At de Mons and Ramon de Cornet on whom I focus in this paper. Latin pedagogy is evident in the Occitan treatises these authors exemplify, but with adaptations to the new vernacular. The troubadour influence went north to some French courts and beyond. The role of intermediaries that link different vernaculars will be briefly noted in conclusion, a *rayonnement* not unlike that identified in Woods' study on the diffusion in Europe of the *Poetria nova* and commentary on it.

**Summary** 1 Introduction. – 2 Latin and Occitan Treatises on the Art of Poetry. – 3 The Latin and the Occitan Art of Poetry. – 4 Occitan Apprenticeship. – 5 *Dictat* and Its Varieties. – 6 Poetic Masterpieces by N'At de Mons and Ramon de Cornet. – 7 Allegorical Glossing. – 8 Literal Glossing. – 9 *Libri versuum* and *Chansonniers*. – 10 Transliteration.

**Keywords** Occitan art of poetry. Latin art of poetry. N'Ar de Mons. Ramon de Cornet. Joglar.

Notre théoricien partage l'opinion commune à son époque que la poésie est un métier qui suppose un réel apprentissage.

(Laugesen, "Las Razos de trobar")<sup>1</sup>


1 Laugesen, A.T. "Las Razos de trobar". *Études romanes dédiées à Andreas Blinkenberg*. Copenhagen, 1963, 84-96 (93). I read an earlier version of this article at the Exploratory Workshop *Reassessing the Role of Late Troubadour Culture in European Heritage*, which took place at the University of Girona (13-15 November 2014). I wish to thank the organiser, Miriam Cabré, and the participants for their observations and suggestions during the ensuing discussion.

---

**Filologie medievale e moderna** 15 ISSN [online] 2610-9441 | ISSN [print] 2610-945X

DOI 10.14277/6969-137-9/FMM-15-4 | Submission 2017-09-15

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-137-9 | ISBN [print] 978-88-6969-205-5

© 2018 |  Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International Public License

## 1 Introduction

Latin treatises on the art of poetry began to appear in the late twelfth century with Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars versificatoria* and, shortly thereafter, Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova*. Their influence, especially that of Geoffrey's treatise, was wide and long-lasting, as M.C. Woods's *magnum opus* made obvious.<sup>2</sup> Its influence extended into the vernaculars, notably in Brunetto Latini's *Tresor* that incorporated French translations of selected passages from the *Poetria nova* into its section on rhetoric.<sup>3</sup> The influence of the *Poetria nova* reached Geoffrey Chaucer in the fourteenth century, he who would gladly have possessed Geoffrey of Vinsauf's "sentence and... lore".<sup>4</sup> Chaucer's references to the *Poetria nova* reveal a vernacular poet familiar with this Latin treatise and prepared to reference it for his vernacular audiences, many of whom presumably recognised Geoffrey's name and even the treatise itself. Moreover, the English poet adapted the *Poetria nova* on invention to describe how Pandarus plotted luring Troilus into an affair with his niece Criseyde.

For everi wight that hath an hous to founde  
Ne renneth naught the werk for to bygynne  
With rakel hond, but he wol bide a stounde,  
And sende his hertes line out fro withinne  
Aldirfirst his purpos for to wynne.<sup>5</sup>

How may we understand the relationship between the medieval Latin art of poetry and its vernacular counterpart? Latin grammar and rhetoric as well as the art of poetry that emerged in Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries continued to define a vernacular art of poetry that some

---

2 Woods, M.C. *Classroom Commentaries. Teaching the "Poetria nova" across Medieval and Renaissance Europe*. Columbus, 2010.

3 Kelly, D. "Theory of Composition in Medieval Narrative Poetry and Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria Nova*". *Mediaeval Studies*, 31, 1969, 117-48 (126-27, 132 fn. 36, 133-34); and Crespo, R. "Brunetto Latini e la *Poetria nova* di Geoffroi de Vinsauf". *Lettere italiane*, 24, 1972, 97-9.

4 Benson, L.D. "The Canterbury Tales". Benson, L.D. (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, vol. 7, v. 3349. Edited by F.N. Robinson. Boston, 3rd ed., 1987. Chaucer is referring to *Poetria nova*, vv. 324-430, on the death of King Richard I (Faral, E. *Les arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle. Recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du Moyen Âge*. Paris, 1924). The editors of the *Riverside Chaucer* believe that Chaucer did not know Geoffrey's treatise in its entirety (940, 973, 1030), but this view is no longer tenable (Woods, *Classroom*, 21-6, 40-1, 267).

5 Barney, S.A. "Troilus". *The Riverside Chaucer*, vol. 1. vv. 1065-9; adapted from the *Poetria nova*, vv. 43-47 (fn. 4).

authors adopted and taught in their own vernacular treatises.<sup>6</sup> But there was also interest in acquiring knowledge and new learning among lay readers such as Chaucer who wrote vernacular poetry. M. Bolduc noted that Matfre Ermengaud's *Breviari d'Amor* was written for lovers who seek to understand 'true love' and the style appropriate to love poetry.<sup>7</sup> As a later 'ancient troubadour' himself, Matfre inserts his own poems along with those by his predecessors into the *Breviari*. But he reads his predecessors differently: his treatise serves to communicate new knowledge to his readers along with a new understanding of the art of troubadour poetry.<sup>8</sup> This includes an art of love that revises the earlier troubadour poetry in which love conformed more closely to Pandarus' 'purpos' than to Matfre's. Similarly, in their recent monograph Armstrong and Kay treat the movement of medieval vernacular verse towards didactic poetry in which love poetry becomes the letter for new readings.

The rise of didactic poetry in the vernacular began in Europe in the thirteenth century and continued unabated into the sixteenth century, a time frame that I adopt here for the period from the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229) until the Renaissance art of poetry exemplified in Du Bellay's *Deffense et illustration de la langue françoise* (1549).<sup>9</sup> Armstrong and Kay focus on French poetry although they include some discussion of Occitan verse in their overview.<sup>10</sup> Others have noted the growth of didactic poetry not only within the confines of the modern Hexagon, but elsewhere too.<sup>11</sup>

6 Kelly, D. *The Arts of Poetry and Prose*. Turnhout, 1991, Appendix II; see also Mehtonen, P. "Poetics, Narration, and Imitation. Rhetoric as *ars applicabilis*". Cox, V.; Ward, J.O. (eds.), *The Rhetoric of Cicero in Its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*. Leiden-Boston, 2006, 289-312, especially 310-12.

7 Bolduc, M. *The Medieval Poetics of Contraries*. Gainesville, 2006, 117-18; cf. Kelly, D. *Machaut and the Medieval Apprenticeship Tradition*. Cambridge, 2014, 9-10, and Bolduc, M. "Naming Names. Matfre Ermengaud's Use of Troubadour Quotations". *Tenso*, 22, 2007, 41-74.

8 Armstrong, A; Kay, S. *Knowing Poetry. Verse in Medieval France from the "Rose" to the "Rhétoriqueurs"*. Ithaca-London, 2011, 8.

9 Armstrong, Kay, *Knowing Poetry*, 14-16; cf. Kelly, *The Arts*, 147. For a wider and longer treatment of this movement, see van Dixhoorn, A.; Sutch, S.S. (eds.). *The Reach of the Republic of Letters. Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Leiden-Boston, 2008; Cigni, F. "Il Lessico filosofico di N'At de Mons di Tolosa". Castano, R.; Guida, S.; Latella, F. (éds.), *Scène, évolution, sort de la langue et de la littérature d'oc = Actes du Septième Congrès International de l'Association Internationale d'Études Occitanes* (Reggio Calabria-Messina, 7-13 juillet 2002). Roma, 2003, 1: 233-42.

10 Armstrong, Kay, *Knowing Poetry*, 3, 6-8, 140-1, 198-9; see also Cabré, M. "Wisdom for the Court. The *Verses proverbiales* of Cerverí de Girona". Billy, D; Buckley, A. (éds.), *Études de langue et de littérature médiévales offertes à Peter T. Ricketts à l'occasion de son 70ème anniversaire*. Turnhout, 2005, 393-404.

11 Segre, C. "Le forme e le tradizioni didattiche". *Grundriß der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, Bd. 6(1-2), *La Littérature didactique, allégorique et satirique*. Heidelberg,

One explanation for this growing emphasis and the reception of the art practiced by the 'ancient troubadours' after the Albigensian Crusade has been the Inquisition's censure of poetic subject matter deemed immoral.<sup>12</sup> But tight moral constraints on troubadour love are not confined to Occitan literature, as is apparent from similar emphases elsewhere, notably in Italy's *dolce stil nuovo* and northern France's *seconde rhétorique*.

In this paper I collect what is known about the Occitan art of poetry that emerged in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and its relation to the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Latin art of poetry. But first, some clarification is necessary regarding the scope and subject matter of Latin treatises like the *Poetria nova* and their influence on the Occitan art in the late medieval period in works that apply that art to their own subject matter and composition. This will entail consideration of the influence of the medieval Latin art of poetry contemporary with the Occitan treatises on the art<sup>13</sup> as well as some examination of the poems by two authors who

1968-1970, VI/1, 58-145, and VI/2, 97-201 (58-145); Monson, A. *Les "Ensenhamens" occitans. Essai de définition et de délimitation du genre*. Paris, 1981; Allen, J.B. *The Ethical Poetic of the Later Middle Ages. A Decorum of Convenient Distinction*. Toronto-Buffalo-London, 1982.

12 Gonfroy, G. "L'écriture poétique et ses modèles dans les *Leys d'Amors*". Baumgartner, E.; Marchello-Nizia, C. (éds.), *Théories et pratiques de l'écriture au Moyen Âge = Actes du colloque* (Palais du Luxembourg-Sénat, 5 et 6 mars 1987). Paris, 1988, 213-26 (214-15, 222-3); Zufferey, F. "La Partie non-lyrique du chansonnier d'Urfé". *Revue des langues romanes*, 98, 1994, 1-25 (22-5); Tyerman, C. *God's War. A New History of the Crusades*. Cambridge (MA), 2006, 567, 602-5. The Grand Inquisitor Guilhem Bernad was among those who examined Guilhem Molinier's *Leys d'amour* (*Leys C*, 1: 36: *Leys C = Las Leys d'Amors. Manuscrit de l'Académie des Jeux Floraux*. Publié par J. Anglade, Toulouse-Paris, 1919-1920), 4: 39-51, 168 (s.n. Bernad).

13 There are three extant versions of Molinier's treatise. Following Taylor, R.A. *Bibliographical Guide to the Study of the Troubadours and Old Occitan Literature*. Kalamazoo, 2015, 246, and Taylor, R.A. *La littérature occitane du moyen âge. Bibliographie sélective et critique*. Toronto-Buffalo, 1977, 131, these versions are referenced as follows: *Leys A = Las Flors del gay saber estier dichas Las Leys d'amors*. Publié par M. Gatién-Arnoult. Toulouse, 1841-1843; *Leys B = Las Flors del Gay Saber*. Publiées par J. Anglade. Barcelona, 1926; for *Leys C*, see fn. 12. On its titles and the different versions of the *Leys d'amors* and the stages in its composition and revision, see Fedi, B. "Per un'edizione critica della prima redazione in prosa delle *Leys d'Amors*". *Studi medievali*, s. III, 40, 1999, 43-118 (43-50, 112-18); Cigni, F. "Il trovatore N'At de Mons di Tolosa". *Studi mediolatini e volgari*, 47, 2001, 251-73 (251-2 fn. 3). On a lost earliest version, see *Leys C*, 4: 25-6, 121-2; Taylor, *Bibliographical Guide*, 246. It was probably being composed while John of Garland was teaching 'grammatica' at the University of Toulouse (1229-1232); some of his compositions from that time evince the inquisitional spirit of the late troubadour poetry (*The "Parisiana Poetria" of John of Garland*, Edited with introduction, translation, and notes by T. Lawler. New Haven-London, 1974), XI-XII; Paterson, L.M. *The World of the Troubadour. Medieval Occitan Society, c. 1100-c. 1300*. Cambridge, 1975, 331; Lawler, T. s.v. "Garland, John of". *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford, 2004, 21: 476-8. *Leys C*, 4: 33-7, notes the links between the University and the Toulouse Consistory to which Molinier submitted his treatise for approval. The teaching of John of Garland at the University of Toulouse is perhaps an illustration of the

were model Occitan poets in their time, Ramon de Cornet<sup>14</sup> and N'At de Mons. Like their Latin predecessors, the treatises on the Occitan art of poetry<sup>15</sup> teach apprentice poets how to write Occitan poetry generally classified as lyric and non-lyric: lyric poetry is strophic, non-lyric poetry is non-strophic. By and large this distinction prevails not only in current Occitan scholarship; it obtains as well in the late medieval tradition.<sup>16</sup>

## 2 Latin and Occitan Treatises on the Art of Poetry

Recent work on the Latin treatises is useful in explaining content, layout and graded level of the Occitan treatises and verse compositions that exemplify the art.<sup>17</sup> In the early thirteenth century one medieval Latin treatise in particular enjoyed wide, ongoing use and commentation in various milieus: the *Poetria nova*.<sup>18</sup> A distinctive feature of this treatise is that it teaches both 'de arte' and 'ex arte'.<sup>19</sup> That is, it not only provides

relation of the university and the consistory, given the date of composition of a first version of the *Leys*, which is lost today (c. 1220).

14 On the spelling of Cornet's first name see Navàs, M. "Le Registre Cornet. Structure, strates et première diffusion". *Revue des langues romanes*, 117, 2013, 161-91 (186 fn. 1).

15 A number of studies offer an overview: Landoni, E. *La Teoria letteraria dei Provenzali*. Firenze, 1989, pt. 2; Smith, N.B. "Rhetoric". Akehurst, F.R.P.; Davis, J.M. (eds.), *A Handbook of the Troubadours*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1995, chap. 18; Gaunt, S; Marshall, J., "Occitan Grammars and the Art of Troubadour Poetry". Minnis, A.; Johnson, I. (eds.), *The Middle Ages*. Vol. 2 of *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*. Cambridge, 2005, 472-95 (especially 482-95); Gally, M. *Oc, oil, si. Les langues de la poésie entre grammaire et musique*. Paris, 2010. Prose is less prominent in the Occitan treatises than in their Latin predecessors; but see Poe, E.W. *From Poetry to Prose in Old Provençal. The Emergence of the 'Vidas', the 'Razos', and the 'Razos de Trobar'*. Birmingham, 1984. Cf. *Leys C*, Bk. 2: 13 on prose composition.

16 Monson, *Les "Ensenhamens"*, 32-3; Cigni, *Il trovatore N'At de Mons di Tolosa*, 258-60.

17 Cf. Meneghetti, M.L. *Il Pubblico dei trovatori. La ricezione della poesia cortese fino al XIV secolo*. Torino, 1992, chap. 6.

18 Woods, *Classroom*. The Barcelona manuscript of the *Poetria nova* in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ripoll 103, belongs among the same manuscripts from the Ripoll monastery as ms. Ripoll 129 that contains a number of brief Occitan treatises (Marshall, J.H. *The 'Razos de trobar' of Raimon Vidal and Associated Texts*. London-New York-Toronto, 1972, XIII, 59-91). For references to the *Poetria nova* in Catalan library catalogues, see Faulhaber, C.B. "Rhetoric in Medieval Catalonia. The Evidence of the Library Catalogs". Faulhaber, C.B.; Kinkade, R.P.; Perry, T.A. (eds.), *Studies in Honor of Gustavo Correa*. Potomac, 1986, 92-126 (107-9); cf. Woods, M.C. "La Retórica latina en la España medieval. Los comentarios sobre la *Poetria nova* en las bibliotecas españolas". Beristáin, H.; Ramírez Vidal, G. (eds.), *Ensayos sobre la tradición retórica*. México, 2009, 271-92 (283-5). A report on medieval catalogues to Occitan libraries is a desideratum.

19 Woods, M.C. *An Early Commentary on the 'Poetria nova' of Geoffrey of Vinsauf*. New York-London, 1985, 6.

formal instruction on the art of poetry from invention and disposition to ornamentation, memory, and delivery; it also illustrates the art by inserted poems and other quotes, and even by its very composition in verse. This located Geoffrey's verse treatise among the masterpieces – that is, the model literary works that pupils and poets alike studied and imitated in their own compositions.<sup>20</sup> This requires some clarification for treatises on both the Latin and the Occitan arts of poetry.

The Latin treatises on the art of poetry reveal a graded progression in mastery of the art. The pupil's apprenticeship adheres by and large to his or her progress in the trivium and quadrivium. Beginning with elementary treatises on Latin grammar, versification and the tropes and figures, the pupil moved on to the rudiments of topical amplification along with further practice in versification and ornamentation to which rhetorical treatises like the *Poetria nova* add invention and disposition. After completing this final stage the pupil should be able to appreciate and imitate recognised masterpieces of the art.<sup>21</sup>

The issues are both complex and diverse in the Latin tradition.<sup>22</sup> In *Classroom Commentaries* Woods has shown how readings of the *Poetria nova* adapted the treatise to different communities and schools; note as well the diverse classifications of rhetoric like those noted at the outset of Guizzardo da Bologna's *Recolleste* on the *Poetria nova*.<sup>23</sup> The impact of these issues on the vernacular arts has not been studied. Therefore, in what follows, I focus on what relation the Occitan arts of poetry have to the arts, especially grammar and rhetoric, and to religious and moral subject matter.

Early in the thirteenth century, about the same time in which Geoffrey of Vinsauf was writing the *Poetria nova*, the Catalan author and poet Raimon Vidal was composing the *Razos de trobar*, the earliest known Occitan art

---

20 Kelly, *The Arts*, 57-64, 159-66; Kelly, D. "The Medieval Art of Poetry and Prose. The Scope of Instruction and the Uses of Models". Troyan, S.D. *Medieval Rhetoric. A Casebook*. New York-London, 2004, 1-24 (7-8); Woods, *Classroom*, 47-9; cf. Fedi, "Per un'edizione", 44-5.

21 Kelly, *The Arts*, 63. I treat this progression more extensively in a forthcoming article entitled "Poesis. The Medieval Art of Poetry and Prose in Treatises, Literary Masterpieces, Commentaries, and Classrooms". Murphy, J.J. (ed.). *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages. A Bibliographic Supplement*. To be published by the Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies. Matfre's *Breviari* served as an Occitan masterpiece that Molinier may have known and imitated in his *Leys* (Gonfroy, "L'écriture", 218, 222; Ricketts, P.T. "Knowledge as Therapy. A Comparison between the *Confessio Amantis* of Gower and the *Breviari d'Amor* of Matfre Ermengaud". Altmann, B.K.; Carroll, C.W. (eds.), *The Court Reconvenes: Courtly Literature across the Disciplines. Selected Papers from the Ninth Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, University of British Columbia 25-31 July 1998*. Cambridge, 2003, 57-69; cf. Bolduc, *The Medieval Poetics*, 90, 117-18; Armstrong, Kay, *Knowing Poetry*, 8.

22 See Mehtonen, "Poetics", 289-93.

23 Losappio, D. (a cura di). *Guizzardo da Bologna: Recolleste super Poetria magistri Gualfredi*. Verona, 2013, 95-7; see also the Introduction, 41-4, and notes, 215-19.

of poetry. The graded stages of progress in the Latin tradition are evident in the Occitan treatises, but with adaptations to the Occitan language for lay poets as well as to the troubadour tradition like that found in Matfre's *Breviari* that followed the *Razos de trober*. Occitan grammar is a major emphasis because the typical lay apprentice would not have studied Latin and therefore needed both a terminology and an illustration of grammar, not for a new language, but for his own native language, in order to learn and understand how to use it correctly. In addition, such apprentices had to study some rhetoric so that they could write not only correctly but also 'poetically', "car Rhetorica no essenha bo romans parlar" – that is the office of grammar – "ma bel parlar", as Joan de Castellnou states in his *Glosari*.<sup>24</sup>

The composition and compilation<sup>25</sup> of illustrative material for the *Leys d'amors* led to Guilhem Molinier's redaction of *Leys A*, the first extant version of the *Leys d'amors*. There followed the composition of the verse version, the *Flors del gay saber* or *Leys B*,<sup>26</sup> a model typical of treatises 'd'apprentissage direct de l'écriture poétique',<sup>27</sup> written for young apprentices ('jovencels') in the art (*Leys A*, 1: 4; *Leys B*, v. 25).<sup>28</sup> In the Latin tradition too, Geoffrey of Vinsauf compiled exemplary poems or excerpts from them in what he calls a *liber versuum* that he drew on for classroom illustrations. He subsequently arranged and linked these selections in his own treatises with glossing and commentary. This occurred as well for the treatises by Matthew of Vendôme, Gervase of Melkley, Geoffrey in his *Documentum*,<sup>29</sup> John of Garland<sup>30</sup> and, ultimately, in the commentaries on the *Poetria nova*. The consecutive versions of the *Leys d'amors* reveal the

24 Joan de Castellnou. "Glosari al *Doctrinal* de Ramon de Cornet". Joan de Castellnou *Obres en prosa*, vol. 2. Introducció, edició crítica i índexs per J.M. Casas Homs. Barcelona, 1969, 162. Castellnou is correcting Cornet's *Doctrinal*, v. 7: 'bo romans' (199), in *Deux manuscrits provençaux du XIVe siècle contenant des poésies de Raimon de Cornet de Peire de Ladils et d'autres poètes de l'école toulousaine*. Publiés avec introduction, notes, glossaire et appendice par J.-B. Noulet, C. Chabaneau. Montpellier-Paris, 1888 (reprint Geneva-Marseille, 1973), 216. See Landoni, *La Teoria*, 116-17.

25 Gonfroy, "L'écriture", 215-16.

26 On *Leys B* that still awaits a modern edition, see Anglade, J. "La Rédaction rimée des *Leys d'Amors* ou les *Flors del Gay Saber*". *Romania*, 45, 1919, 161-78.

27 Gonfroy, "L'écriture", 221.

28 Ramon de Cornet also refers to apprentice poets as 'jovensel' in ms. A IV, v. 38; as here, references to his poetry below will indicate ms. A or B in *Deux manuscrits*.

29 Wollin, C. "Beiträge zur Werkchronologie und Rezeption des Matthäus von Vendôme". *Sacris erudiri*, 45, 2006, 327-52 (330-7); Camargo, M. "From *Liber versuum* to *Poetria nova*". The Evolution of Geoffrey of Vinsauf's Masterpiece". *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 21, 2011, 1-16. Cf. Camargo, M. "Geoffrey of Vinsauf's Memorial Verses". *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 56, 2012, 81-119.

30 *The Parisiana Poetria*, XVII-XIX.

same implicit stages in this treatise written “per so que ayssi hom puesca trobar plenieramen compilat e ajustat tot so que denan era escampat e dispers” (*Leys* A, 1: 2).<sup>31</sup> *Leys* B might also serve both to teach and to illustrate the late Occitan art *de arte* and *ex arte*: it too is a didactic poem entirely in verse with numerous examples (I discuss these features of *Leys* B below). Thus, the authors of the late troubadour period did not by and large ignore the Latin tradition but sought, rather, to adapt and apply it to the Occitan language and culture. In this way the lengthy treatises called *Leys d’amors* apprised apprentice poets of the wide-ranging possibilities available to them while they were still learning the Occitan art of poetry and practicing and progressing in their own compositions.<sup>32</sup>

### 3 The Latin and the Occitan Art of Poetry

M.C. Woods has conclusively demonstrated that the *Poetria nova* remained an authoritative model for instruction on the art of poetry across Europe from the time of its appearance early in the thirteenth century well on into the sixteenth century. Its influence is apparent in subsequent treatises on the art and, more extensively, in commentaries and glossing to the *Poetria nova* that adapted this treatise to new developments in the art, notably those deriving from Hermann the German’s adaptation into Latin of Averroes’s commentary on Aristotle’s *Poetics*. The vernacular tradition from the late thirteenth to the early sixteenth century mirrors the Latin arts of poetry and prose in compositions that illustrate that art. Of course, the vernacular art also adopted features that do not derive from the Latin art of poetry. Still, the Occitan authors did not divorce themselves from or neglect that art.<sup>33</sup>

To be sure, there was some disagreement regarding the use of the Latin art and the treatises that teach it when applied to the vernacular. To Ramon de Cornet’s emphatic “No regarde lati” in his *Doctrinal de trobar*<sup>34</sup> because of grammatical differences between Latin and Occitan, Joan de Castellnou responded more cautiously: one may on occasion – “en algunas causas” – ignore Latin, but that “aytant quant hom pot se deu conformar

---

31 Cf. Zufferey, “La Partie”, 11-14, on manuscript anthologies of Occitan poems in *libri versuum*. The *Perilhos Tractatz* in the *Breviari d’amor* suggests a similar *liber versuum* collected by Matfre and then strung together in an orderly manner and commented on.

32 Cf. Kelly, *The Arts*, 169.

33 Cabré, M. *Cerverí de Girona and His Poetic Traditions*. London, 1999, especially 25-8 and 81-6.

34 *Deux manuscrits*, 200, v. 18.



ab art de lati".<sup>35</sup> This conformity occurs in most introductory treatises on the troubadour art that began to appear after the *Poetria nova*, especially in Molinier's *Leys*.<sup>36</sup> The Latin treatises could assume that their students had learned Latin grammar while beginning to acquire the new language. But most vernacular apprentices had not received a clerical education. They therefore had to learn Occitan grammar before they began writing poetry deemed grammatically and stylistically acceptable. Jofre de Foixà begins his *Regles de Trobar* by observing that lay readers cannot understand his treatise

ses saber la art de gramatica, e trobars sia causa que pertanga a l'emperador e a reys, a comtes, a duchs, a marques, a princeps, a barons, a cavallers, a burzses, encara a altres homens laichs, li plusor dels quals no sabon gramatica.<sup>37</sup>

*Gramatica* usually refers, as here, to the Latin language, that is, the language of the schools these would-be Occitan poets did not attend. Jofre therefore begins his treatise by adapting Latin grammar to the Occitan language. This is the foundation for the Occitan literary language, or *koiné*. Like Dante in the *De vulgari eloquentia* who sought the Italian dialect most suitable for poets imitating Occitan and French poets, so did Molinier take the same approach in the *Leys d'amors*.<sup>38</sup>

35 Joan de Castellnou, *Glosari*, 162; cf. Kelly, D. "The Late Medieval Occitan Art of Poetry. The Evidence from At de Mons and Raimon de Cornet". *Études de langue*, 681-92 (681). Of course, as an ecclesiastic who had received a clerical education, Cornet knew Latin well enough to write Latin poems, two of which have survived: a *proza* in praise of Saint Bernard (ms. A XXXIII) and a *canço en lati* addressed to the Virgin Mary (ms. A XVII), both in rhymed rhythmic verse. See Zufferey, F. *Bibliographie des poètes provençaux des XIVe et XVe siècles*. Geneva, 1981, 60 a and b. On Cornet's rewriting in Occitan of parts of the *Disticha Catonis* in *Vec te libret de bos ensemhamens* (ms. B III), see Schulze-Busacker, E. "Une réécriture chrétienne des *Disticha Catonis*: *Lo Libret de bos ensemhamens* de Raimon de Cornet". *Literatur: Geschichte und Verstehen. Festschrift für Ulrich Molk*. Herausgegeben von H. Hudde - U. Schöning in Verbindung mit F. Wolfzettel, Heidelberg, 1997, 61-80, and Keller, H.-E. "La *Cort d'Amors* de Raimon Vidal et ses citations". *Literatur: Geschichte*, 185-92. Neither Cornet nor Castellnou appear in any version of Molinier's *Leys d'amors*, although Castellnou knew at least one version of the treatise (Joan de Castellnou, *Glosari*, 163 et *passim*).

36 Cf. Ferrante, J.M. "Was Vernacular Poetic Practice a Response to Latin Language Theory?". *Romance Philology*, 35, 1982, 586-600.

37 *The Razos de trobar*, 56, ll. 6-10; Marshall dates this treatise between 1286 and 1291 (LXXII). According to Molinier, the 'doctor' of the new art should be "be fondatz et ententutz en la primitiva sciensa de gramatica" (*Leys A*, 1: 23). *Leys A*, Part One, is an example of Occitan grammar that includes comparisons with Latin grammar; see, for example, vol. I, 6, 18-92, and vol. 2, Part Three; *Leys B*, vv. 145-58; *Leys C*, 1: 31-62.

38 *Leys C*, Bk. 2, 178-9, and Bk. 3, 114-15; vol. IV, 87-91.

According to Ramon de Cornet, grammatical instruction on the *langue d'oc* will help young apprentice poets avoid multiple errors and infelicities when they “De trobar s’entrameto | Dictatz” (Ms. A IV, vv. 39-40).<sup>39</sup> Molinier seems to have taken this advice to heart when he wrote the diverse versions of the *Leys d’amors*, especially when treating Occitan grammar and the use of tropes and figures. For example, in teaching accent, he compares Latin and Occitan usage.

Mostrat avem l’accen segon lati per miels nos enformar et entendre l’accen ques havem en romans. Et acordam nos am lo lati en aysso que en una dictio havem j. accen principal ses plus. Tres accens havem en romans en outra maniera que en lo lati, sos assaber lonc, greu et agut. (*Leys C*, Bk. 2, 60)<sup>40</sup>

Therefore, despite the ignorance of Latin grammar among lay apprentice poets, the older language remains the model for Molinier as it does for Joan de Castellnou: “Al lati deu hom atrayre et aquel segre e resemlar et amb aquel conformar aytant cum pot, quar es lengatges mays perfieytz e mays aproatz que degus dels autres a nos conogutz” (*Leys C*, 3: 114).<sup>41</sup> There was no other language whose grammar, from the practical point of view, could be adapted to Occitan, although Molinier knew that Greek and Hebrew were also learned languages with their own grammar (*Leys C*, 2: 60).

## 4 Occitan Apprenticeship

A graded progression built on *Leys A* is evident in *Leys B*, a treatise in some ways more technically advanced than *Leys A*, much as Geoffrey’s *Poetria nova* entirely in verse is more advanced than his *Documentum* in prose or even than any of the other formal treatises in the Latin tradition.

En las LEYS D’AMORS vueyl intrar  
Collir las flors que pus valran  
E que mays de mestiers faran  
Ad obra far plazen e bella.  
(*Leys B*, vv. 30-3)

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Landoni, *La Teoria*, 124.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *Leys C*, Bk. 2, 55-7; Bk. 3, 44-5, 141; cf. Fedi, B. “Il canone assente. L’esempio metrico nelle *Leys d’Amors* fra citazione e innovazione”. *Quaderni di filologia romanza della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell’Università di Bologna*, 14, 1999-2000, (= *Interpretazioni dei trovatori. Atti del Convegno, Bologna, 18-19 ottobre 1999. Con altri contributi di Filologia romanza*. A cura di A. Fassò, L. Formisano. Bologna, 2001), 159-86 (162).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *Leys A*, 2: 112, and *Leys B*, vv. 209-27 and page 87 of the index, s.v. “lati”; *Leys C*, 3: 114, and 4: 176 of the index, s.v. “lati”.

*Leys* B draws its subject matter from *Leys* A; however, the former treatise teaches by and large *ex arte*, whereas the latter does so *de arte*. On verb tense, for example, cross-reference to *Leys* A (*Leys* B, vv. 3914-16) is justified not only because abbreviation is generally preferable to amplification but also for greater clarity (*Leys* B, vv. 6678-82). *Leys* B does not explain even distinctions like that between *gradacio* and *climax* (vv. 6938-42): Molinier is content to clarify the illustrations by cross-references to *Leys* A for those who needed to be reminded of the definition. Importantly, it also shows how the two versions of the *Leys* are integrated into a graded pedagogy: they work together, with *Leys* B following *Leys* A. The progression continues in *Leys* C, in Book One of which Molinier provides religious instruction written under the watchful eyes of the Grand Inquisitor that can serve as a context for poetic composition by lay poets.

The Occitan treatises adopted a virtual curriculum that had existed for centuries in Latin grammar and rhetoric in order to prepare apprentice troubadours to write in the literary *koiné* exemplified by earlier troubadours. The medieval Latin arts of poetry conform to this curriculum, mirroring the pupil's progress towards mastery of the language and its arts.<sup>42</sup> Since the *Poetria nova* teaches both *de arte* and *ex arte*, from time to time it relies on the pupil's knowledge of the art *de arte* that it illustrates *ex arte*; no terminology or explanation is provided for the figures of speech in the *Poetria nova* (vv. 1280-1527), although some manuscripts add glosses that identify them.<sup>43</sup> In *Leys* B too, Molinier provides terminology in rubrics along with some explanations of the terminology; but he also leaves out a significant number of explanations with cross-references to *Leys* A. Illustrating poor grammar, he continues:

So q'aysi falch podets vesser  
 En las LEYS D'AMORS [i.e. *Leys* A] don trazem  
 Per abreujar so que dizem;  
 Car huey vol hom breus escripturas.<sup>44</sup>  
 (*Leys* B, vv. 3914-17)

For example, Molinier concludes *Leys* B by illustrating how one translates from Latin into good Occitan verse so that

<sup>42</sup> Kelly, *The Arts*, 40-4, 61-4. I discuss in greater detail the progression in the Latin treatises in my forthcoming article *Poesis: The Medieval Art of Poetry*.

<sup>43</sup> *An Early Commentary*, 124-72; cf. Guizzardo da Bologna, *Recollete*, §§ 448-76 and page 267 fn. 448.

<sup>44</sup> For other cross-references to *Leys* A, see *Leys* B, vv. 6676-82, 6938-42, 7074-8, 7088-95, 7136-41, 7228-31, 7248-9, 7260-5, 7272-5, 7300-5, 7318-21, 7336-7, 7352-5.

puscatz far dictat leal;  
E sobre ayso vos remetem  
A las *Leys d'Amors* e volem  
Mostrar aysi de qal amor  
Devon amar li aymador,  
Per so que sian a tot for  
En ben amar leyal de cor.  
(*Leys B*, vv. 7600-6)

Cross-references imply progress from the treatise *de arte* in *Leys A* to the treatise *ex arte* in *Leys B*.

Like Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Molinier looks to Latin authors such as 'Tullis', that is Cicero or the pseudo-Cicero of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.

Tullis es guerens d'esta cauza.  
Vicus e figuras e flors<sup>45</sup>  
Havetz segon las *Leys d'Amors*  
En esta part, la quals termena.  
(*Leys B*, vv. 7409-12)

Elsewhere he cites Cicero as authority on the allegorical mode (vv. 6461-5; cf. vv. 4344-5) and on description (vv. 7402-8). Reference to Latin authorities multiply in *Leys C*.<sup>46</sup>

As far as the *Leys'* relation to medieval Latin rhetoric is concerned, one must look at *Leys B*, the first part of which treats the flowers of rhetoric (as its title, *Flors del gay saber*, suggests), that is, ornamentation. Molinier builds there on the distinction between *vices* and *figures de rhétorique* (*Leys B*, Part 5, rubric, page 48), but he also includes, scattered throughout this treatise, model or illustrative poetic examples like those found in the Latin treatises on imitation. This is in conformity with the emphasis on pronunciation and spelling in the *Leys* and the not infrequent comparison of Latin and Occitan usage.

Versification too is a prominent topic in the three *Leys*. The length of lines of verse is duly illustrated along with different kinds of rhymes. As an example, a stanza from a poem implicitly addressed to the Virgin Mary illustrates "rims retrogradats per acordanssa", that is, when the rhyme scheme of one stanza is reversed in the next stanza.

45 Faral, *Les arts poétiques*, 48-54, notes the same source for the *Poetria nova*.

46 See Anglade's index in *Leys C*; for the earlier versions, the indexes to *Leys B*, and, for *Leys A*, Anglade, J. "Onomastique des Leys d'amors (édition Gatien-Arnould). Index nomieum et rerum". *Revue des langues romanes*, s. VII, 63, 1925, 69-82; Fedi, "Il canone", 162-7.

Si col solells si mateix abandona  
 Ez en temps clar espan son beneffici,  
 Tot atressi, Dona, vostre pretz dona  
 Valor a cells qu'estan ses mortal vici,  
 Car de tots bes etz escrins ez armaris,  
 Miralls e lums, per qu'ieu, Dona, m'acori  
 En vos servir, car laus havets notori  
 E de bos aps etz verays exemplaris.  
 Vergiers d'amors e virtuos sacraris,  
 Als fis aymants donats tals ajudori  
 Que no lor nots tempesta ni contraris;  
 Per qu'ieu de vos amar no m desacori,  
 Car de virtuts conquistets la corona;  
 Depueys bastis. I. real artificci,  
 Cant en vos [venc] Cel que fi l sacrificci,  
 Si que'ls peccats dels penedens perdona.  
 (Leys B, vv. 2023-38;<sup>47</sup> emphasis added)

Rhyme, rhyme schemes and stanzas are abundantly illustrated, but, as noted above (fn. 13), without the definitions found in some treatises in Latin and Occitan. This too suggests that a treatise in verse like *Leys B* is more advanced. Among the Latin treatises, only John of Garland's *Parisiana poëtria* illustrates specific features of Latin versification at length (158-223); Matthew of Vendôme refuses to treat rhythmic verse,<sup>48</sup> an opinion that John of Garland does not share.<sup>49</sup> It may be significant that, as noted above, John taught for a few years at the University of Toulouse. An illustration of the *cobla capdenal* that begins each line of verse with the same word shows Molinier treating the same phenomenon under separate rubrics.

*Amors fay home gay e pros,*  
*Amors l'aman ret coratjos,*  
*Amors viu ab alegretat,*  
*Amors fay del estranch privat,*  
*Amors noyris e dona forsa*  
*Amors en abteza s'esforça...*  
 (Leys B, vv. 2523-8, emphasis added; complete text vv. 2523-36)

<sup>47</sup> This poem appears as well in *Leys A*, 2: 176-8, and *Leys C*, Bk. 2, 106-7; 'aps' (v. 2030) is followed by '(sic)' in Anglade's edition.

<sup>48</sup> In Matthew's *Ars versificatoria* in *Mathei Vindocinensis Opera*. Edidit F. Munari. Roma, 1988, 3: 111-112; see Klopsch, P. *Einführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre*. Darmstadt, 1972, 47-9. Cf. Kelly, *The Arts*, 83.

<sup>49</sup> The *Parisiana Poëtria* treats rhythmic verse; see *The Parisiana Poëtria*, 264-7 fn. 467.

The same poetic example is repeated further on (with some variants) to illustrate anaphora, which

vol totas vets  
Comensar clausulas e versets  
Per una sola diccio  
E may o per oracio.  
(Leys B, vv. 4103-6)

as below:

*Amors* agensa tota res,  
*Amors* dits qu'om sia cortes,  
*Amors* vol home franc e larc,  
*Amors* [leugier] troba tot carc,  
*Amors* conserva joventut<sup>50</sup>  
*Amors* a tots dona vertut,  
*Amors* fay patz de manta guerra,  
*Amors* enclina:ls cels<sup>51</sup> en terra,  
*Amors* los coratges ret fis,  
*Amors* duts hom a<sup>52</sup> Paradis.  
(Leys B, vv. 5488-97, emphasis added; complete text vv. 5482-97)

These passages in *Leys B* may well have served Occitan apprentices as a masterpiece worthy of imitation: Molinier mirrors Matfre's *Perilhos Tractatz* as a collection of poems illustrating points made by commentary in the *Breviari d'Amor* (*Leys A*, 1: 138; *Leys B*, 3: 104). Like *Leys C*, Book I, Matfre's encyclopedic work paints in broad strokes the world God created and the place his art of poetry and good love occupied in the grand scheme of things. In the *Perilhos Tractatz* he treats love between men and women, distinguishing carefully between good and bad loves. To do so he compiles passages in orderly succession from troubadours extending from Guillaume d'Aquitaine to N'At de Mons, with explanatory commentation on each passage and adaptation to the new conception of good love that emerged in the thirteenth century.<sup>53</sup>

As the example above of anaphora shows, ornamentation is also a major topic in both Latin and Occitan treatises. In both cases the goal is to ac-

50 This couplet is absent in the earlier illustration of *cobla capdenal*.

51 "Amors declinet Dieu en terra" in the earlier illustration of *cobla capdenal*.

52 "Amors fay gasanyar Paradis" in the earlier illustration of *cobla capdenal*.

53 See Ricketts, P.T. (éd.). *Le Breviari d'amor de Matfre Ermengaud*. Leiden, 1976, 5: 7-32; Bolduc, *The Medieval Poetics*, 91-8.

quaint the apprentice poet with the stylistic possibilities available in each language. The instruction is outlined in *Leys A*, 3: 6-53, on the distinction between 'flowers' and 'vices'. However, in *Leys B* Molinier 'dramatises' more briefly and with far less commentation the opposition much as the *Poetria nova* presents the rhetorical figures and other stylistic devices with illustrations rather than definitions, again suggesting that those studying *Leys B* are on a more advanced level of achievement than those studying *Leys A* (in what follows, the sections of *Leys A* that are revised will be indicated). Accordingly, Part Five in *Leys B* integrates separate, but taxonomically related topics by a thin narrative. Anaphora has become a personification who "vol home franc e larc" as husband (v. 5490): she represents one branch in a genealogical tree. The narrator relates 'family' and even 'conjugal' strife among the 'vices,' or faults in syntax, and their opposing 'flowers', or rhetorical figures like Anaphora (vv. 3921-4356). Molinier conjoins this material by amplifying the genealogical scheme that depicts a 'grammatical psychomachia' pitting the linguistic vices against the rhetorical flowers to which they are related.<sup>54</sup> "La guerra fo grans e diversa" (v. 3934): three kings, Barbarism, Solipsism, and Allebolus, or "estranya Sentensa"<sup>55</sup> (*Leys B*, vv. 4457-8), attack with arrows and bolts three queens named Diccios, Oracio and Sententia, or Word, Phrase and Sentence. "Madona Rhetorica" (v. 4030) comes to the queens' defence by giving three of their sisters, Metaplasm, Scheme and Trope, in marriage to the three kings. The ensuing conjugal strife of these mismatched couples does not abate until children arrive. Each child's name illustrates his or her mother's constituent attributes. For example, the progeny of Metaplasm and Barbarism are fourteen girls named Prothesis, Affaesis, Epentthesis, Sincopa, Paragoges, Apocopa, Extasis, Sistoles, Dyeresis, Sineresis, Sinalimpha, Olypsis, Antithesis, and Metathesis (*Leys B*, vv. 4055-87; cf. *Leys A*, 3: 140-8); similarly abundant offspring are born to Solepsism and Scheme (vv. 4088-4179; cf. *Leys A*, 3: 148-94) and to Allebolus and Trope (vv. 4180-288; cf. *Leys A*, 3: 195-286). In this way Molinier invents a narrative based on the interplay of personifications and metaphors in Latin masterpieces like those by Bernardus Silvestris and Alain de Lille. The Occitan theoretician too introduces them into vernacular verse much as Matfre Ermengaud did in the *Breviari d'amor*. The grammatical psychomachia plays out in the artist's mind as he composes his poem.

In perhaps the most intriguing, albeit briefest, section in the verse *Leys B*, Part 5b, Molinier treats the relation between Latin and Occitan poetics "en la qual es mostrat primieramen quo deu hom far acordar un mot amb

54 Hence the emphasis on *Flors del gay saber* as title for the versified *Leys B* as opposed to *Leys d'amors* for *Leys A* and *C*; cf. Fedi, "Per un'edizione", 443-50.

55 Identified as 'Improprietats', *Leys B*, vv. 4020, 4464.

autre e tornar lati en romans” (rubric, page 82). What follows mirrors the *Poetria nova*’s instruction on determination and conversion in ‘small units of discourse’.<sup>56</sup> Molinier anticipates stylistic adaptations that translation from Latin to Occitan can illustrate as the transition from plain or ordinary speech to subtle versification. He uses Vergil’s opening words in the *Aeneid* to illustrate such transitions. There are two kinds of construction involving hendiadys: the Latin kind that uses two nouns and the Occitan kind that prefers the noun and its attribute. The example from Latin is the *Aeneid*’s opening line “Arma virumque cano” in preference to “armatum virum”<sup>57</sup> and Occitan “la carn del moto” in preference to “la carn e-l moto” (*Leys* B, vv. 6873-88; cf. *Leys* A, 3: 308). Each language has its preferred usage that must be followed.

The technique by which the subtle poet may make his composition *prim e subtil* is suggested by a final example in *Leys* B in which Molinier turns Latin prose into Occitan verse in ways that apply as well to rewriting Occitan prose in verse. The Latin proverb, “Filius sapiens Gloria Patris stultus vero tristicia matris” (*Leys* B, rubric, 83) becomes Occitan verse as “Filhs savis es gloria de payre | E fols tristicia de sa mayre” (vv. 7583-4; cf. *Leys* A, 3: 376). The apprentice will indeed be “de cor flac e rude” (v. 7587)<sup>58</sup> who cannot rhyme “Per far chansos, verses e dansas” (vv. 7595-6). The proficient apprentice, however, can, with “bona sentensa”, learn to compose a “dictat leal” (vv. 7599-600). For that task he must turn to the *Leys* to learn what kind of love he may treat in a “milhor obra | Amb ornat e sentensa bone” (vv. 7612-13)<sup>59</sup> – worthy, perhaps, of the first-place violet in the Toulouse competition.<sup>60</sup> Here too Latin usage is adapted to vernacular usage (*Leys* A, 3: 362-76). At the same time Molinier illustrates a rather vigorous search for the *mot juste*.

The instruction on translating Latin into Occitan follows in an exemplary illustration of how versifying prose matter can be made to conform to “lo *Gay Saber*” (v. 7428; cf. *Leys* A, 3: 362-76), once more “Si! cor non ha trop flac e lot” (v. 7439). Molinier begins with what he calls the “Primeira

---

56 *Poetria nova*, vv. 1588-847. On “die Tendenz zur kleinen Einheit” see Quadlbauer, F. *Die antike Theorie der genera dicendi im lateinischen Mittelalter*. Graz-Vienna-Cologne, 1962, 71; Kelly, *The Arts*, 39, 81-2, 85-8; for illustrations of this tendency, see 103, 104-5, 108.

57 *Leys* A, 3: 374, contains a different Latin example: “Syncopa de medio tollit quod Epenthesis auget”.

58 On the student who is *rudis* in the Latin tradition as uneducated and untrained, see Kelly, *Machaut*, 107-12.

59 Cf. *Leys* A, Bk. 1, p. 6, and Bk. 3, p. 310; *Leys* C, Bk. 1, 69-73.

60 For a useful overview of the Toulouse Consistory and its activities, based largely on the evidence in the three versions of the *Leys d’amors*, see Kendrik, L. “The *Consistori del Gay Saber* of Toulouse (1323-Circa 1484)”. *The Reach of the Republic*, 1: 17-32.



substansa" (v. 7441), a *materia remota* that he will transform into *materia propinqua*.<sup>61</sup> Molinier applies this concept to verse and rhyme composition. The first step is to turn the proverbial statement "Mays dura anta que sofracha" (v. 7460) into verse. He therefore fashions a rhyming couplet from this octosyllabic line: "Anta veg longamen durar | E sofracha leumen passar" (vv. 7466-7). However, this will not do, he explains, because "sofrācha" has its long accent in the wrong place for this line of verse. To correct this, he proposes changing "sofracha" to "paubretat": "Anta veg longamen durar | E paubretat leumen passar" (vv. 7476-7). But this also produces a fault called *Rim fayshuc* (v. 7480), or faulty reduplication; here two parallel lines rhyme *-men* and *-ar* (*longamen: leumen:: durar: passar*).<sup>62</sup> He corrects this fault by returning to "sofracha" but changing the word order to fit the accent. "Anta veg longamen durar | E leumen sofracha passar" (vv. 7488-9). But there remains another fault: the common *-ar* rhyme is unworthy of the "subtil dictador" (v. 7491). Molinier again rearranges each line. "Anta veg durar longamen | E passar sofracha leumen" (vv. 7496-7). This too is faulty, not because of a common rhyme, but because the juxtaposition of the syllables *sar* and *so* in the second line is an unacceptable repetition of the consonant *s*. Two possible inversions are suggested: "Sofracha veg passar leumen | Ez anta durar longamen" (vv. 7502-3), or, returning to "paubretat": "Anta veg durar longamen | E paubretat passar leumen" (vv. 7504-5). But the rhyme, albeit rich in both examples, is still too common: a subtle poet can do better (vv. 7506-7). "Certanamen trop dura may | Anta que soffracha no fay" (vv. 7512-13). But this will not do either because, as he continues, 'Certanamen' is padding (*pedas*, v. 7515); Molinier eliminates this fault by rewording: "Leumen vezem que dura may | Onta que soffracha no fay" (vv. 7518-19). But the new rhyme is still too common for the "subtil dictayre" (v. 7520), so he substitutes a new rhyme: "Soffracha pot hom passar leu, | Anta ve leu e va s'en greu" (vv. 7526-7). This time the single syllable rhymes are too short. They are therefore replaced: "Anta vezem que leumen dura | Mays que paubriera ni frachura" (vv. 7532-7533). But the synonyms in the second line reintroduce padding (*pedas*, v. 7535); this requires major rewriting: "Anta duramen se deslassa | Pero soffracha de leu passa" (vv. 7542-3). Still subtler versions follow: "Anta mays dura que soffracha, | Perque fols es qui s'en enpacha" (7556-7), or "Anta mays dura que soffracha, | Qar es per gran colpa retracha" (vv. 7558-9), or in three lines:

61 On this distinction, see Kelly, D. *The Subtle Shapes of Invention. Poetic Imagination in Medieval French Literature*. Leuven-Paris-Walpole, 2011, 204, and Kelly, D. *The Art of Medieval French Romance*. Madison-London, 1992, 36-7. Cf. *Leys A*, 3: 362-74.

62 Molinier notes that this was permissible for the 'antics troubadours', but not in the new poetics he is teaching (*Leys B*, vv. 4736-44); cf. *Leys A*, 1: 68-71.

Anta mays dura que soffracha,  
Qar tostemps d'avol fama tracha  
Per que fols es qui s'en enpacha.  
(vv. 7562-4)

These adaptations are virtual synonyms; yet they show appreciation for the subtle poetic mind as Molinier understands it when composing verse in any of the lyric genres the late troubadours favoured and that Molinier introduces in all three versions of the *Leys d'amour*.

Encaras mays gardar cove  
Que sabia dictar abreujan  
Ez alcunas vetz allongan  
E giran so denan detras  
Mas que noy acuelha pedas  
Ni's mude ges del primier sen  
E pauze bon cas ez accen  
E tal ornat qu'om nol reprene.  
(vv. 7449-56)

This illustration reflects the emphasis in both Latin and Occitan arts of poetry on pedagogy while showing the skilled apprentice poet how to perfect his style using what his language offers. By showing how one works through stylistic possibilities to achieve the best expression of thought, progressive rewriting becomes ever more *prim e subtil*. The apprentice poet will follow an analogous thought process in composing his own verse.

Features of the late troubadour art of poetry that are original would presumably have interested Ramon de Cornet because they differ from the earlier Latin heritage Joan de Castellnou links it to. The Occitan art was indeed evolving during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As noted above, translation was an important means to transmit of knowledge and poetry, especially in and through the francophone realm,<sup>63</sup> but also from

63 Galderisi, C. (éd.). *Traductions médiévales. Cinq siècles de traductions en français au Moyen Age (XIe-XVe siècles). Etude et répertoire*. Avec la collaboration de V. Agrigoroaei. Turnhout, 2011. Despite its subtitle "traductions en français" this important multi-volume publication includes the *langue d'oc*; see Kay, S. *La Seconde main et les secondes langues dans la France médiévale*, 1: 461-85; Saviotti, F. *L'oc et l'oïl*, 2, t. 2: 1129-51; Babbi, A.M. *Langues romanes*, 2, t. 2: 1153-92 (especially 1175-87 on Catalan). Gratien du Pont is the first northern French author to refer to Molinier's treatise or treatises in his *Art et science de rhetoricque metriffiee* (Toulouse, 1539; reprint Geneva, 1972), cc. LIVv-LVr, LXVIIr, LXXIVr. Cf. Langlois, F. *De artibus rhetoricae rhythmicae sive de artibus poeticis in Francia ante litterarum renovationem editis, quibus versificationis nostrae leges explicantur*. Parisiis, 1890, 91-2. But Gratien du Pont's reference appeared well into the sixteenth century when the French language had invaded the poetic contests in Toulouse; see Courouau, J.-F. *Moun lengatge bèl. Les choix linguistiques minoritaires en France (1490-1660)*. Geneva, 2008, 382-7.

one vernacular to the other, no doubt the best-known instance being the translations in Brunetto Latini's *Rettorica* and *Tresor* (see fn. 3).<sup>64</sup> For lay poets like those Jofre de Foixà refers to who had not received a clerical education, consultation of the treatises was possible only with those composed in a vernacular they understood. This would have been the audience Cornet addresses since they would learn Latin grammatical structures when they were communicated in examples of 'romans fi' (Ms. A IV, v. 3). This included the poems written by the 'ancient troubadours' referenced as models of good writing; they were, therefore, presumably available for consultation in anthology manuscripts.<sup>65</sup>

E si laycz del tot apparia  
 E ponch de letras no sabia,  
 Als bos dictatz antix atenda  
 Per so quel saber miels aprenda.  
 E pueys haura lo bon lengatge  
 Dels trobadors per lonc uzatge  
 Si que poyra far en romans  
 Mans dictatz bels et agradans.  
 (Leys C, Bk. 2, 165)<sup>66</sup>

This is composition on the most advanced level, that is, by imitation and even emulation of antecedent masterpieces.<sup>67</sup> It is a feature of Latin pedagogy in the art of poetry and prose. On this level the tropes and figures of the Latin art are carried over to the Occitan art, but with important adaptations where usage differs in the two languages, as noted above regarding hendiadys.

## 5 *Dictat* and Its Varieties

The most obvious Occitan innovations are in versification and subject matter in poems called *dictatz*: "Trobars es far noel dictat en romans fi be

64 Segre, *Le forme*, 6, t. 1: 121-3; see also 6, t. 2: 190-1; *Translations médiévales*, 2, t. 2: 1140-1.

65 *Leys C*, 4: 90-1.

66 Cf. *Leys A*, 1: 322; *Leys B*, vv. 2944-2950.

67 On the distinction between imitation and emulation in the adaptation of sources see Cizek, A.N. *Imitatio et tractatio. Die literarisch-rhetorischen Grundlagen der Nachahmung in Antike und Mittelalter*. Tübingen, 1994. For their application to vernacular rewriting see Kelly, *The Subtle Shapes*, 65-79, and Kelly, *Machaut*, 112-16. The provisional dating of *Leys A* and *B* as contemporary would vouch for their place in the 'curriculum' proposed here; see Fedi, "Per un'edizione", 118.

compassat" (*Leys A*, 1: 8).<sup>68</sup> A new terminology became necessary in order to identify different kinds of *dictatz* in Occitan by their form and/or content, and to distinguish them from traditional, especially Latin terminology and genres like those John of Garland teaches in his *Parisiana Poetria* and, presumably, in the *gramatica* he taught at the University of Toulouse. Beginning in the thirteenth century Occitan poets appear to use the word *dictat* much as contemporary French poets were beginning to use *Dit*.<sup>69</sup> according to *Leys A*, "de diversas cauzas pot hom tractar en dictatz: per so foron trobat divers dictat", followed by a list of diverse Occitan *dictatz* that Molinier knew or thought possible in his time,

ayssi cum son vers, chansos, sirventes, dansas, descort, tensos, pars timen, pastorelas, vaquieras, vergieras e motas autras lors semblans, retronchas e planch et [...] redondels e mandelas. Encoras pot hom far granre d'autres dictatz, los quals pot cascus nomnar segon que volra cel que fara lo dictat, mas quel done nom be apropiat comma somis, vezios, cocirs, reversaris, envegiz, desplazers, desconortz, plazers, conortz e motz autres dictatz. (*Leys A*, 1: 10)<sup>70</sup>

The diverse varieties embrace general terms that occur in the troubadour tradition. They correspond to different intentions and functions in the first seven kinds in the quotation; differences and varieties in subject matters appear for shepherdesses or for those tending cattle or gardens; still others identify dreams, visions, and emotional states and moral and social issues. Finally, *dictat* occurs along with *novas* and *roman* to refer to Occitan narrative works termed romances today.<sup>71</sup>

68 Variants of this definition are inserted as well in *Leys B*, vv. 228-9, and *Leys C*, Bk. 1, 23 and 29.

69 Cf. Cabré, *Cerverí*, 153. On early French *dits*, see Léonard, M. *Le "Dit" et sa technique littéraire des origines à 1340*. Paris, 1996. Gómez-Bravo, A.M. "Retórica y poética en la evolución de los géneros poéticos cuatrocentistas". *Rhetorica*, 17, 1999, 137-75, identifies similar usage in Spanish. *Ditz* was used by earlier troubadours to refer to passages in a poem as well as to an entire poem (Paterson, L.M. *Troubadours and Eloquence*. Oxford, 1975, 72, 82 et *passim*); Paterson cites a *vida* of Giraut de Bornelh that refers to his "maystrals digs" (107-8). In his gloss on a *vers* by Bernart de Panassac, Cornet uses "digz" to refer to what Bernart 'says' in his poem, making it analogous to *dictatz* (Ms. A XXVIII, vv. 35 and 38). The term deserves a study of its use in all late medieval languages.

70 Punctuation modified here and below in some quotations from this edition. See also *Leys B*, vv. 3085-3277, and *Leys C*, Bk. 2, 175-86.

71 On these terms see Zufferey, "La Partie", especially 8-10. Huchet, J.-C. *Le Roman occitan médiéval*, Paris, 1991; see especially 23-4. For example, Van der Horst, C.H.M. (éd.). *Blandin de Cornouaille. Introduction, édition diplomatique, glossaire*. The Hague-Paris, 1974, vv. 1-2: "commenzeray | Un bel dictat". Some French *dits* are also called *romans* (Léonard, *Le "Dit"*, 211-16); in Occitan, see Arnaut Vidal de Castelnau. *Le Livre des aventures de Monseigneur Guilhem de la Barra*. Édité et traduit en français moderne par G. Gouiran. Paris, 1997,

The medieval French *Dit* is, generally speaking, a non-strophic poem of variable length in couplets à rimes plates, that is, without alternating masculine and feminine rhymes; it expresses a truth – *voir dit* – often by discussing or debating a controversial issue of significance at the time. Occitan *dictatz* include both strophic and non-strophic poems.<sup>72</sup> As in French *dits*, the subject matter of Occitan *dictatz* is quite diverse in context, content, and versification; however, careful distinctions are also evident in its varieties. For example, the *Leys* distinguish according to their rhetorical stance between *descort*, *tenso*, and *partimen*.<sup>73</sup> The *descort* is a monologue, such as in, for example, a complaint about the negative response a would-be lover receives from his lady. By contrast, both *tenso* and *partimen* are debates; in the *tenso* each speaker makes his or her case separately, much as lawyers sum up their arguments, whereas in the *partimen* there is an exchange between two speakers, often from stanza to stanza. A judge may evaluate the debate, although the judgment is often implied rather than rendered or reported. But adaptation is possible: N'At de Mons's *Al bon rey de Castela* (I) is a "dictatz that includes a 'partimen' and a 'jutjamen'".<sup>74</sup>

Earlier treatises such as the *Doctrina de compoundre dictats* treat lyric and non-lyric poems, some of which are identified by their subject matter rather than by their form: *pastora*, *alba*, *gayta*, *sompni*, and *gelonzasca*. These names recall the Latin arts' notion of Material Style,<sup>75</sup> that is, the diverse non-lyric poems that Monson distinguishes from the *ensenhamens*. These can, as a group, be identified as *dictatz* of which *ensenhamens*, like *pastores* and *sompni*, are varieties.

vv. 5288, 5304, 5315, 5327, 5338. Cf. Poe, E.W. "Segon quem par. Auctorial Interventions in Arnaut Vidal's *Guillem de la Barra* and Their Relation to His Sources". Busby, K.; Lacy, N.J. (eds.), *Conjectures. Medieval Studies in Honor of Douglas Kelly*. Amsterdam-Atlanta, 1994, 455-80 (470-80). The *Castia-Gilos* is 'unas novas' like *Flamenca* (Raimon Vidal. *Il Castia-Gilos e i testi lirici*. A cura di G. Tavani. Milano-Trento, 1999, v. 3).

72 Dagenais, J. "Genre and Demonstrative Rhetoric. Praise and Blame in the *Razos de trobar* and the *Doctrina de compoundre dictats*", and Pickens, R.T. "The Old Occitan Arts of Poetry and the Early Troubadour Lyric", each in Paden, W.D. *Medieval Lyric. Genres in Historical Context*. Urbana-Chicago, 2000, 242-54 and 209-41 respectively. Cf. the *Doctrina de compoundre dictats* in *The Razos de trobar*, 95-8; and, *Leys A*, 1: 10, 338-64.

73 *Leys A*, 1: 342-6; *Leys B*, vv. 3163-241; and *Leys C*, Bk. 2, 177-8, 182-3.

74 In this order, 1, vv. 1261, 1263, and 1246. Alfonso the Wise is the 'rey de Castela' who delivers the judgment. On Alfonso's role in the composition of N'At's poem, see Alvar, C. "N'At de Mons de Tolosa et Alphonse X de Castille". *Perspectives médiévales*, 22, 1996, (supplément), 31-32 (23-24). The king is, as it were, N'At's patron and *patron* who, as model, directed the composition of the poem and exemplified its authority; on *patron* in this sense, see Kelly, *The Subtle Shapes*, 49-64.

75 See Quadlbauer, *Die antike Theorie*, 38-9; Kelly, *The Arts*, 71-8. An important part of John of Garland's *Parisiana Poëtria* treats Material Style, a subject that John may well have included in his grammar instruction at the Toulouse University. Cf. also *Leys A*, 1: 339-64; *Leys B*, Part Three; *Leys C*, Bk. 2, 184-6.

## 6 Poetic Masterpieces by N'At de Mons and Ramon de Cornet

Authors like N'At de Mons use *dictat* to refer to didactic verse. His *dictatz* were recognised as models of the Occitan art. This is the level of the most advanced models in the Latin tradition: the poetic masterpieces. As the examples discussed below show, the apprentice progresses beyond the treatises and the classroom in order to imitate or emulate at court the models the treatises and the Toulouse Consistory itself use to illustrate their instruction. The Latin arts of poetry too led their apprentices towards masterpieces of the art that they would imitate and, eventually, emulate. The poets who wrote the masterpieces range chronologically from Vergil, Horace, and Ovid to Bernardus Silvestris and Alain de Lille as well as to less well-known poems today (but not in the Middle Ages) like Matthew of Vendôme's *Tobias* and Peter of Riga's *Aurora*. The medieval authors wrote for the schools and universities. Their Occitan counterparts – the so-called 'ancient troubadours' and more 'modern' authors like N'At de Mons and Ramon de Cornet – wrote for the courts. Their apprentices, a *cavalier* for Ramon de Cornet in *Al noble cavalier* (Ms. A III) and a *joglar* for N'At in *Si tot non est enquist* (II), looked to pedagogical courts like Toulouse's Consistory and aristocratic courts like that of Alfonso X of Castille. N'At sent his *joglar* to Alfonso's court because it was a centre for learning and poetry.

The *Leys d'amors* recommends N'At de Mons's *dictatz* as imitable models of the Occitan art of poetry. For Molinier they represent poetic masterpieces of the late troubadour art analogous to their counterparts in the Latin tradition. *Dictat* as N'At de Mons uses the term in *Al bon rey de Castela* (I) is a "termine giuridico... che qui non esclude ovviamente il senso tecnico-letterario di 'componimento'",<sup>76</sup> that is, a literary composition that serves a didactic purpose. The poem, N'At tells us, is written for knowledgeable audiences in quest of certainty about fate and free will: "Als savis daus totz latz, | per cuy nostre dictatz | er vist et entendutz" (N'At de Mons, I, vv. 1260-2). Since for apprentice poets N'At's *dictatz* exemplified the art of non-lyric poetry, Molinier and Matfre excerpted exemplary passages from them for insertion in the *Leys d'amors* and in the *Breviari d'amor*.<sup>77</sup> Molinier's treatise in its various versions cites N'At more often

<sup>76</sup> Cigni, F. (a cura di). *Il Trovatore N'At de Mons*. Pisa, 2012, 85 fn. 1261; cf. Alvar, *N'At de Mons*, 25-8.

<sup>77</sup> For references to and quotes from N'At in the first extant *Leys*, see Fedi, "Il canone", 162-7; *Leys C*, 4: 178; Anglade, "Onomastique", s.v. "N'Ath de Mons"; *Leys B*, 118, s.v. "N'At de Mons"; *Il Trovatore N'At de Mons*, 172-85; Fedi, "Il canone", 162-7. Some citations are from poems no longer extant: see *Leys C*, 2: 129 fn. 3, and 3: 44 fn. 2, and 128 fn. 2. Matfre's *Breviari d'amor* contains one quote from N'At (5: 22 fn. 55).

than any other poet to illustrate the art that its different versions teach.<sup>78</sup>

Why does N'At enjoy such prominence in Molinier's treatise? Since five of his six extant poems are non-lyric *dictatz* (I to V) and only one lyric poem survives, a *sirventes* (VI), the former may have been more influential. But, despite N'At's prominence in the different versions of the *Leys d'amors*, it is also noteworthy that he is identified there only by selected passages, not by entire poems. What do these excerpted passages exemplify? N'At's most frequently cited *dictat* in the *Leys d'amors* is *Si tot non es enquist* (II). It was written, N'At tells us, for a young, highly skilled and knowledgeable *joglar*,<sup>79</sup> quite unlike those *joglars* Ramon de Cornet castigates in *Quar mot ome fan vers* (Ms. A II, vv. 235-47). Cornet composed a *dictat* for 'troubayres' to whom he gives 'reglas' for writing polished Occitan (*Als troubayres vuelh far*, Ms. A IV, vv. 1-2). But his implied troubadours begin on a lower level than N'At's *joglar* who has already mastered N'At's art of poetry. For his part, Cornet advises all those who wish to write "bos dictatz" (Ms. A IV, v. 68) to study the "saber antic" (v. 70) of the "bos antix troubayres" (v. 31) among whom he includes, like Matfre, N'At de Mons (cf. Ms. A III, v. 75). For Cornet teaching an apprentice 'cavalier' still writing on the grammatical level of instruction, Occitan grammar is difficult enough (Ms. A III, vv. 15-19); therefore, he could not teach all that the beginner needs to know about 'trobar' (Ms. A III, vv. 72-5). Moreover, Cornet admits that he is himself often at the Toulouse consistory in order to acquire more knowledge of the poetic art that "ma Roza" (as he names his lady) wants him to learn (Ms. A IV, vv. 78-84). By contrast, N'At advises his *joglar* to go to the esteemed court of Alfonso the Wise in order to improve his conduct and, at the same time, polish his poetry (II, vv. 178-223). Alfonso's court is an aristocratic community of learning.<sup>80</sup> In this case the *joglar* is advancing beyond the streets and the consistory to the court of Aragon.

78 *Leys* C, 4: 90-1, 100; Anglade, J. "Le troubadour N'At de Mons et les *Leys d'Amors*". *Romania*, 51, 1925, 414-22; Fedi, "Il canone", 177-80 and *Leys*, 180-2 for other troubadours cited in the.

79 On the evolution of the Occitan *joglar* in the later medieval period and, more particularly, on this performer's place in the court milieu, see Faral, E. *Les Jongleurs en France au moyen âge*. Paris, 1987, 223-6; Landoni, *La Teoria*, Part Three; Paterson, *The World*, 113-14; Cabré, *Cerverí*, 55-9, 163-5; cf. Cabré, *Wisdom*.

80 On medieval communities of learning see Mews, C.J.; Crossley, J.N. (eds.). *Communities of Learning. Networks and the Shaping of Intellectual Identity in Europe, 1100-1500*. Turnhout, 2011; for pedagogical communities in which the *Poëtria nova* was an important textbook in different parts of Europe, see Woods, *Classroom*. On the court of Alfonso the Wise as a centre not only of poetic, but also of historic, scientific, moral and religious culture and writing, see Cigni, "Il Lessico"; Alvar, C. "De *epistolas y quaestiones* en la corte poética de Alfonso X". Beltran, V.; M. Simó; E. Roig (eds.), *Trobadors a la península ibérica. Homenatge al Dr. Martí de Riquer*. Barcelona, 2006, 13-27; Cabré, *Cerverí*, 36-7, 89-90. This establishes Alfonso X, N'At, and the *joglar* in the vernacular didactic culture discussed by Armstrong and Kay.

This establishes Alfonso, N'At, and the *joglar* in the vernacular didactic culture of their time.

N'At's *joglar* sought counsel on how he should conduct himself in court so as to win esteem and approval of his compositions. N'At bases his counsel not only on his own opinions; like Cornet he gleans much of his knowledge from earlier authorities:

non jes per sol mon sen,  
ans vuelh l'entendemen  
e la maneir'e'l cors  
dels pus ondratz doctors,  
tan can ne puesc aver  
a creisser mon saber,  
e enaisi m cove,  
que non enten ni cre  
c'om pogues leu trobar  
bon mot ni benestar  
que ja retrag non sia.  
(II, vv. 81-91)<sup>81</sup>

The commonplace complaint that *tout est dit* several centuries before La Bruyère also suggests that N'At's *joglar* is not only a skilled performer but also an accomplished poet.<sup>82</sup> The last four lines of the quote stress how difficult it is not only to acquire knowledge by way of *translatio studii* but also to rewrite it with originality suitable in a contemporary court, itself a major locus of poetic dissemination for medieval authors.<sup>83</sup>

Ramon de Cornet's *dictat Al noble cavalier* (Ms. A III, vv. 72-81) is modelled on N'At's *Al bon rei de Castela* (II). Cornet's knight, although a less accomplished poet than N'At's *joglar*, is a "subtils oms" (Ms. A III, v. 24; cf. vv. 15-16, and A XXI, vv. 1-2). Therefore, Cornet wants him to understand free will and fate in order to eschew folly: "ab subtilitat | Fay so que vol quascus" (Ms. A III, vv. 39-40). But in this *dictat*<sup>84</sup> Cornet can

<sup>81</sup> Cf. *Leys* C, Bk. 1, 70, and Bk. 2, 19-20.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Paterson, *Troubadours*, 27.

<sup>83</sup> "Cause et effet: le pouvoir, surprenant pour nous, de résonnance du cliché, le dynamisme du déjà-dit" is how P. Zumthor describes *trobar* in *Langue et techniques poétiques à l'époque romane (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)*. Paris, 1963, 202. Cf. Landoni, *La Teoria*, 118-19.

<sup>84</sup> On *dictatz* III and IV as parts of an original whole, see Navàs Farré, M. "Saber, sen i trobar. Ramon de Cornet i el Consistori de la Gaia Ciència". *SUMMA*, 3, primavera 2014, 54-72 (62 fn. 16). Navàs Farré has informed me in an e-mail of the recent discovery in manuscript AT646 of the Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca of poem IV standing alone. However, their juxtaposition in ms. A permits 'reading associatively' that J.H.M. Taylor recommends



only describe the issue of free will versus fate, unlike N'At de Mons who seeks to resolve the problems it raises.

D'aventura parlar  
 No vuelh ni d'astre plus,  
 Car mot ne parlet clus<sup>85</sup>  
 N'Atz de Mons que sabia.  
 Per que s'ieu ren dizia,  
 Cug trop quey defalhis,  
 Sino que repetis  
 Tot so qu'el ne parlet,  
 En la tenso que det  
 Al bon rey de Castela.  
 (Ms. A III, vv. 72-81)

N'At has already progressed beyond Cornet's knowledge. In Cornet's version of the *tout est dit* commonplace, therefore, we also hear an echo of the Latin tradition in which poets lacking profound learning and the authority that goes with it are cautioned to avoid learned or obscure subjects or, worse still, simply repeating received knowledge in virtual verse commentary like that Cornet refers to.<sup>86</sup> He still appears to be, as it were, a 'post-graduate' student at the Toulouse consistory in *Als trobayres vuelh far* (Ms. A IV, vv. 79-83). Cornet is neither a learned authority nor a knowledgeable master like N'At de Mons. Of course, he did accomplish enough to win the golden violet in 1333:<sup>87</sup> he won a prize, so to speak, for his master's thesis.

The *Leys d'amors* features N'At de Mons's *dictatz* on a variety of topics that fall by and large under four heads: religious and moral subjects, elo-

for anthology manuscripts in *The Making of Poetry: Late-Medieval French Poetic Anthologies*, Turnhout, 2007, 6.

**85** 'Avec profondeur' is no doubt the meaning intended here rather than *trobar clus*; see Levy, E. *Petit Dictionnaire provençal-français*. Heidelberg, 1961, s.v. "cluire". Cf. Paterson, *Troubadours*, 84: "Once *clus* has become a controversial term, it may be a general one to cover any poetry, whether esoteric or not, that some people find hard to follow". Cf. Navàs Farré, "Saber", 62 fn. 18: "de manera hermètica (tècnica)" and Mòlk, U. *Trobar clus trobar leu. Studien zur Dichtungstheorie der Trobadors*. Munich, 1968, 102 fn. 10. This corrects the interpretation by the editors Cornet of Ms. A I, vv. 10-11, 141, note to v. 11: "allusion au *trobar clus*".

**86** Matthew of Vendôme is especially critical of repetition by virtual glossing as a fault: *Ars versificatoria*, 193; see Kelly, *The Medieval Art*, 4-5.

**87** Huchet, J.-C. "Le Style: symptôme de l'histoire (l'exemple du troubadour Raimon de Cornet)". Poirion, D. (éd.), *Styles et valeurs. Pour une histoire de l'art littéraire au moyen âge*. Paris, 1990, 101-20 (103), gives the date as 1330; but see *Deux manuscrits*, 147-8. The successful poem is Ms A, XIX in *Deux manuscrits*, 39.

quence, versification and grammar.<sup>88</sup> The first topic obliged the apprentice poet to study lengthier authoritative works referred to in the *Leys*.<sup>89</sup> N'At's non-lyric poems reflect the intellectual culture and climate in Toulouse as well as the broader literary didacticism and learned propensities of European court poetry that he recognised in Alfonso's court.<sup>90</sup> Indeed, N'At seems to have enjoyed esteem on a par with the 'ancient troubadours' because of his learning.<sup>91</sup>

*Si tot non es enquist* (II) is therefore a didactic *dictat* and, indeed, an 'ensenhamen' according to Monson's definition of the term.<sup>92</sup> But, as an exemplary masterpiece, this *dictat* does not treat grammar or versification as, for example, Ramon de Cornet does in his *Doctrinal* and partially in the extant *Als trobayres vuelh far*. N'At's *joglar*, already a poet "de bona joglaria | e de gran maestria" (II, vv. 25-6),<sup>93</sup> has progressed beyond the elementary and even grammatical levels of his art exemplified by Cornet's *cavalier*. What he needs to know now has to do with original invention of received subject matter like that found in N'At de Mon's *dictat* and in Alfonso's court culture. *Si tot non es enquist* (II) becomes on this level a didactic poem on the art of court poetry for a *joglar* poet who, being "de gran maestria", can henceforth progress beyond the *Leys d'amors*. He could perform at Alfonso the Wise's court poems that he himself would write. To do so successfully, N'At provides this *joglar* with guidance on invention while sending him to the court for living examples of the content he should treat.

Anatz premieiramen  
al noble rey, senhor  
senhoril de valor  
d'Arago, que tan val,  
car conoys tan cabal  
obs de tota valor

88 Kelly, "The Late", 685.

89 Fedi, "Il canone", 163-5.

90 *Il Trovatore N'At de Mons*, 10-22.

91 Zamuner, I. "Una sottoscrizione dedicatoria di Carlo I d'Angiò ad Alfonso X di Castiglia". *Critica del testo*, 1(3), 1998, 919-66, especially 919 and 935 (reference to a passage in N'At's *Si tot non es enquist*; see also 922-3, 961); Fedi, "Il canone", 165-6; Cigni, *Il trovatore N'At de Mons di Tolosa*, 251-2.

92 Monson, *Les "Ensenhamens"*, 115-16; cf. 80-1: "Didactisme courtois: voilà donc le cari actère essentiel des *ensenhamens*, à condition de comprendre par "courtois" un phénomène surtout poétique".

93 Uc de Saint-Circ illustrates the difference between court and common *joglaria* (Landoni, *La Teoria*, 142-3, 159). Cf. Uc as depicted in his *vida* (Faral, *Les Jongleurs*, 319; Poe, E.W. "The *Vidas* and *Razos*". *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, 185-97: 188-9).

el mon negun senhor.  
 E cant a luy venretz,  
 membre vos que lo vetz  
 e li semblan de vos  
 semblon d'ome joios  
 e cortes et apert,  
 que l semblan fassan sert  
 cuiar tot vostre sen.  
 (II, vv. 186-99)

Conformity of appearance and mind that the King of Aragon exemplifies will inspire the poetry the *joglar* will write: his verse will be *joios*, *cortes*, and *apert* as the *joglar* himself must appear to be (II, vv. 193-9). In other words, the *joglar* will observe and assiduously study Alfonso's court in order to become estimable for his own analogous appearance, conduct and verse. This is N'At's lesson for all aspiring poets who wish to complete successfully their learning process.

*Si tot non es enquist* introduces some more advanced features of the Occitan art. For example, it takes up topical invention: "Sens ditz c'om deu garder | cinq cauzas en parlar: | que ni co, qui, loc, temps" (II, vv. 533-5),<sup>94</sup> a briefer variant of these common places for topical invention in the Latin tradition: *quis? quid? ubi? quibus auxiliis? cur? quomodo? quando?*<sup>95</sup> Since Molinier also treats this sequence in the *Leys*,<sup>96</sup> I suggest that N'At's *joglar* could also have recognised it in the quote above from *Si tot non es enquist*. In another passage, this time in *Al bon rey de Castele*, N'At alludes to the four Aristotelian causes in invention: efficient, material, formal and final that became prominent in medieval Latin poetics beginning in the thirteenth century.

Temps es cauza fazens,        = efficient cause  
 e sems e noirmens

94 This passage is cited and discussed in the *Leys C*, Bk. 1, 86-120; cf. as well *Il Trovatore N'At de Mons*, 173, and Cabré, *Cerverí*, 89 fn. 22; Laugesen, "Las Razos", 86. John of Garland also has a three-part scheme that is more detailed and complex than N'At's (*The Parisiana Poetria*, 8-26).

95 For a thorough treatment of this scheme and its use in the Middle Ages, see Gründel, J. *Die Lehre von den Umständen der menschlichen Handlung im Mittelalter*. Münster Westf., 1963, especially 20-39; for its place in the arts of poetry and prose, see Kelly, *The Arts*, 71-78. Cf. Mehtonen, "Poetics", 304-6, and M.T. Bruckner on naming that fits very well into the *nomen* or *quis* common place in her "Acts of Nomination. Naming Names and Troubadour Poetry. Introduction". *Tenso*, 22, 2007, 1-8; the other articles in this issue of *Tenso* explore nomination (9-96).

96 *Leys C*, Bk. 1, 88-94, 114-20, adding 'qui' and doubling 'quan' to signify both time and place, thereby achieving all seven common places: "*qui? que? cuy? per que? quo? Quan* and [*ou?*]" (94).

cauza maturials. = material cause  
(I, vv. 1394-6)<sup>97</sup>

The two causes account for the features that characterise the diverse species of organic life and, more specifically, of human character:

don fa complexios  
el mon, e carnaduras  
e ssems e noiriduras  
de diversas faissos.  
(I, vv. 1401-4)

Here N'At refers implicitly to all four Aristotelian causes.<sup>98</sup> His words apply not only to the macrocosm but also to the microcosm when he treats free will and predestination together with the common places of topical invention. Similarly, N'At uses *vetz* in *Si tot non es enquist* to describe invention of verse forms and human characteristics. *Vetz* occurs five times in this *dictat* in the sense of the habitual or characteristic actions of specific types of persons.<sup>99</sup> A passage in the mid-thirteenth-century *novas Flamenca* may have used *vetz* in the way N'At does in *Si tot non es enquist*.<sup>100</sup>

97 Cf. *Il Trovatore N'At de Mons*, 86 fn. 1396, and *Leys C*, Bk. 1, 94: "enayssi cum en tota obra fayta o fazedora son necessarias quatre causas, sos assaber la cauza fazens, materials, formals e finals" that Molinier relates to the seven common places. On the formal cause as *modus tractatus* and *modus tractandi* in the later Middle Ages, see Allen, *The Ethical Poetic*, chap. 2 and 3, and Minnis, A. *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*. Philadelphia, 2010, 2nd ed. It also appears in Mathias of Linköping's *Poetria* and the anonymous *Tria sunt*; see Mathias Lincopensis. *Testa nucis et Poetria*. Edited and translated by B. Bergh. Arlöv, 1996, 9-10 (with additional bibliography); Mehtonen, "Poetics", 311; and Camargo, M. "In Search of Geoffrey of Vinsauf's Lost *Long Documentum*". *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 22, 2012, 149-83 (165, 176). Bernardus Silvestris's *Cosmographia*, a model poetic masterpiece in the Latin tradition, implicitly uses these four causes to depict the creation of the Macrocosm in four parts.

98 See also some commentaries on the *Poetria nova* (Woods, *Classroom*, 31-5 et *passim*; Guizzardo da Bologna, *Recollece*, 97-8).

99 II, vv. 137, 194 (quoted above), 353, 563, and 1134; *vetz* occurs as well in *Al bon rey senhor d'Arago* (IV, v. 72). Cigni translates *vetz* as 'abitudine' or 'abitudini' except for v. 194, for which he uses the somewhat broader 'comportamento.' The passage containing v. 563 is inserted into the *Leys d'amors*, with N'At identified as its source (*Il Trovatore N'At de Mons*, 174); see more generally 171-85 there.

100 Kelly, D. "Exaggeration, Abrupt Conversion, and the Uses of Description in *Jaufre and Flamenca*". *The Narrative-Philology*. Vol. 2 of *Studia Occitanica in Memoriam Paul Remy*. Edited by H.-E. Keller et al. Kalamazoo, 1986, 107-19 (especially 111-113). R. Manetti offers a different reading in her recent edition of *Flamenca. romanzo occitano del XIII secolo*. Modena, 2008, vv. 1335-8, and 159, note to v. 1335. She reads *vers* there as 'verse' in her edition instead of *vetz* in the sense of 'Si tot non es enquist', but notes that "più in tono sarebbe *vetz* < VITIUM... nel senso di atteggiamenti strampalati [that is, Archambaut's

The analogous sense of Occitan *vetz* and medieval Latin *vices* becomes evident in earlier medieval commentaries on “Descriptas servare vices operumque colores” in Horace’s *Art of Poetry* (*Ad Pisones*). *Vices* as varieties of versification and *vitia* that refer to ‘colores operum’ anticipates N’At’s use of *vetz* in his reference to the “cinq cauzas en parlar”. This sense recurs in two commentaries on Horace’s poem<sup>101</sup> that can be added to those cited in my article on the term in *Flamenca*. We find such topical invention in N’At’s analysis of different kinds of love in *Si N’At de Mons agues* (V, vv. 257-602). Written to offer “calque doctrina” for “novels amadors” by a lover “d’amor fina” (V, vv. 264-7), the ‘lover’ goes on to describe, define, and analyze love’s virtues and their causes. His analysis discriminates among different features and varieties of love using the *modus divisivus* in the *forma tractandi*, just as his reference to the seven-stage *quis? quid? ubi?*, etc., exemplifies the *modus descriptivus*. Similarly, N’At’s *dictatz* illustrate debate and judgment on scholastic issues using the *modus probativus* and *improbativus*. These *modi* are on the level of invention that Cornet says he cannot emulate in *Al noble cavalier* (Ms. A III, vv. 72-81).<sup>102</sup>

This is not the place for a more detailed analysis of N’At’s treatment of love, its nature, causes and morality. What is important here is whether the poetic devices he borrows from the Latin art and, therefore, illustrates were readily understandable and imitable by accomplished apprentice poets like the *joglar* he sends to the court of Aragon and, in a broader context, by those in his audience who wished to appreciate the art N’At practices.<sup>103</sup> For apprentice poets, the two roles coalesce: N’At’s non-lyric *dictatz* are imitable models in the context of medieval Latin poetics both as poetry and as moral guides.

In *Si N’At de Mons agues* (V), analysis of love and the distinction between good and bad love serve to promote moral and religious ideals. Mindful perhaps of the threat of the Inquisition, N’At feared going astray should he depict the socially acceptable, but morally sinful love depicted

jealous extravagances]... ma resta il problema delle quattro rime uguali” if one adopts this reading. I retain the reading *vetz* because it is more ‘in tono’ with the context in *Flamenca* and in Cigni’s reading of N’At’s examples. The other editions of *Flamenca* treat the issue in diverse ways; I have used the medieval Latin tradition as context for my interpretation.

101 Hajdú, I. “Ein Zürcher Kommentar aus dem 12. Jahrhundert zur Ars poetica des Horaz”. *Cahiers de l’Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin*, 63, 1993, 231-93 (253-4); Friis-Jensen, K. “The *Ars Poetica* in Twelfth-Century France. The Horace of Matthew of Vendôme, Geoffrey of Vinsauf, and John of Garland”. *Cahiers de l’Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin*, 60, 1990, 319-88 (349); and Friis-Jensen, K., “Horace and the Early Writers of Arts of Poetry”. *Sprachtheorien in Spätantike und Mittelalter*. 3 Bd. *Geschichte der Sprachtheorie*. Hrsg. S. Ebbesen. Tübingen, 1995, 360-401 (382-93).

102 Cf. Alvar, “N’At de Mons” and Alvar, “De *epistolaz*”; for additional bibliography, see *Il Trovatore N’At de Mons*, 11.

103 N’At applies his counsel to poetic speech in verse and in society (II, vv. 536-50).

by the ‘ancient troubadours’. For its part, the *Leys d’amors* stipulates that poems on love should eschew sinful passions. The bar was set very high: poets should depict human love such that it could also describe love for God and the Virgin Mary.<sup>104</sup> This moral obligation obtains for both lyric and non-lyric poetry in the Toulouse consistory and in N’At’s own conception of good love in *Si N’At de Mons agues*.

## 7 Allegorical Glossing

As in medieval moralizations of Ovid, allegorical rereading made it possible to adapt even the love fictions of earlier troubadours to religious and moral truths having little or nothing to do with human love except as a vice or sin. This occurs in Matfre’s *Perilhos tractatz* and Ramon de Cornet’s verse *gloza* on a lyric by Bernart de Panassac. According to Cornet, Bernart

... per gran maestria,  
Lo fetz esperital  
Semlan al temporal,  
Escuramen parlan.  
(Ms. A XXVIII, vv. 8-11)

Cornet’s verse *gloza* is, therefore, a non-lyric *dictat* that locates the poem’s lady in a religious context that opens the poem to a love as pure as that for the Virgin Mary (Ms. A XXVIII, vv. 1-7). Although the composition of poetry as obscure allegory is not taught even in the *Poetria nova*,<sup>105</sup> masters could, like Cornet, gloss secular poetry as allegorically ‘obscure’ and, therefore, in need of clarification in an acceptable moral context. Moralizations of Ovid were common.<sup>106</sup> Ramon de Cornet was an ecclesiastic who knew

**104** *Leys C*, Bk. 2, 18; *Deux manuscrits*, XII-XIII; Kelly, “The Late”, 688-9; Navàs Farré, M. “La figura literària del clergue en la poesia de Ramon de Cornet”. *Mot so raso*, 9, 2010, 75-93 (81-3). This conception of chaste love is widespread in the late Middle Ages. On these conflicted issues in French, see the articles in *Idylle et récits idylliques à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Sous la direction de M. Szkilnik. Paris, 2010 (= *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, 20, 2010), 7-123; Guillaume de Machaut contributed poetically to an ideal love of this kind; see Kelly, *Machaut*, Part One. Christine de Pizan, who approved of it at first, came to reject the ideal as unrealisable; see Kelly, D. *Christine de Pizan’s Changing Opinion. A Quest for Certainty in the Midst of Chaos*. Cambridge, 2007, chap. 4.

**105** Bezner, F. *Vela veritatis. Hermeneutik, Wissen und Sprache in der “Intellectual History” des 12. Jahrhunderts*. Leiden-Boston, 2005, especially 391-413. I discuss at greater length this topic in the Latin art in *Poesis. The Medieval Art of Poetry* (forthcoming).

**106** See, for example, Harf-Lancner, L.; Mathey-Maille, L.; Szkilnik, M. (éds.). *Ovide moralisé, Ovide métamorphosé. Les lecteurs médiévaux d’Ovide*. Paris, 2009; Faems, A.; Minnet-Mahy, V.; Van Coolput-Storms, C. (éds.). *Les Traductions d’Ovide au moyen âge = Actes*

Latin; in *Mater Jesu* (Ms. A XVII) he addresses the Virgin Mary without obscurities like those he perceived and glossed allegorically in Bernart's *vers*, because, as he implies in his *Al noble cavalier* (Ms. A III), he does not compose *dictatz clus*.<sup>107</sup> N'At's extant poems are not obscure in the allegorical sense; although their subject matter may have seemed difficult to lay audiences and poets, as in Cornet's Ms. A III on fate and free will.

## 8 Literal Glossing

Less invasive glossing was more widespread, especially for apprentice poets. E.W. Poe has discussed the diverse marginal glosses, or 'postils', compiled in Vat. Lat. 3207.<sup>108</sup> These glosses were "supposed to be used like a scholastic textbook",<sup>109</sup> making this manuscript into a virtual classbook for readers of troubadour poetry. The Vatican manuscript's postils are of six kinds: literal translations into Latin or Italian; translations with explanations; explanations with literary or historical content; textual notes on variant readings and lacunae; grammatical notes that translate Occitan verb forms into their Latin equivalents; and metrical notes on irregular rhymes.<sup>110</sup> There are also references to the writings of some troubadours and to Ovid. Other postils treat formal aspects of verse composition for lay apprentices like those seeking basic knowledge of Occitan grammar and versification, an audience on a more elementary level than that intended in Cornet's allegorical gloss of the Panassac lyric or even his *Mater Jesu*.

Another feature of glossing in the Vatican *compilatio* is the role of *vidas* and *razos* as virtual *accessus* that explain the allegedly biographical origin

*de la Journée d'études internationale à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique le 4 décembre 2008.. Louvain-la-Neuve, 2011.*

**107** Although there is Cornet's enigmatic 'taula' on the lunar phases (Ms. A XXXV) and his 'corona' poem (Ms. A XIX). On hermetic poetry, see Cabré, *Cerverí*, 92-4.

**108** Poe, E.W. *Compilatio. Lyric Texts and Prose Commentaries in Troubadour Manuscript 'H' (Vat. Lat. 3207)*. Lexington, 2000, chap. 4; she bases her study on Careri, M. *Il Canzoniere provenzale H (Vat. Lat. 3207). Struttura, contenuto e fonti*. Modena, 1990; Careri's monograph includes photocopies of the glossed folios. Cf. Coulson, F.T. (ed.). *The Vulgate' Commentary on Ovid's "Metamorphoses". The Creation Myth and the Story of Orpheus*. Toronto, 1991; and Jung, M.-R. "Ovide, texte, traducteur et gloses dans les manuscrits de l'Ovide moralisé". Kelly, D. (ed.), *The Medieval "Opus". Imitation, Rewriting, and Transmission in the French Tradition = Proceedings of the Symposium Held at the Institute for Research in Humanities (University of Wisconsin-Madison, October 5-7, 1995)*. Amsterdam-Atlanta, 1996, 75-98.

**109** Poe, *Compilatio*, 153 and 154 fn. 1. They are therefore analogous to glossing like that in the *Poëtria nova* manuscripts that Woods discusses (Woods, *Classroom*).

**110** Poe, *Compilatio*, 134-8.

or background of the poetry by a given author.<sup>111</sup> These *vidas* belong to the *accessus* tradition as *vitae auctorum*;<sup>112</sup> they are part of the evolution of the Occitan art of poetry by which narrative gradually replaces music.<sup>113</sup> Of course, Occitan romances extant today evince little extensive elaboration of the narrative possibilities of lyric poetry like that evident in *Flamenca*'s narrative expansion of a chanson by Peire Rogier.<sup>114</sup> The prosification of lyric and non-lyric subject matter includes therefore the *vidas* and *razos*.

## 9 *Libri versuum* and *Chansonniers*

Recent scholarship has pointed to a connection between N'At's poetry and Latin writing that deals with scientific and philosophical issues and their impact on the art of poetry and prose in the *Leys d'amors*.<sup>115</sup> Given N'At's place in the late Occitan tradition, the question arises not only as to what the *Leys d'amors* admired in N'At's poetry, but also what influence he may have had in Occitania and beyond. The two manuscripts that contain almost all N'At's poetry that survives today<sup>116</sup> are *chansonniers*, that is, the kind of *libri versuum* M. Camargo has identified in the elaboration of the treatises on the medieval Latin art of poetry and prose.<sup>117</sup> Analogous *libri* range from an author's collection of his or her own poems that eventually became sources of examples for treatises like Geoffrey of Vinsauf's to private or personal collections of exemplary excerpts as well as personal

111 Poe, *From Poetry*, and Poe, *Compilatio*, chap. 5; Meneghetti, *Il Pubblico*, chap. 5. On the Ovid gloss, see Poe, *Compilatio*, 147-9; and Poe, E.W. "Old Provençal *Vidas* as Literary Commentary". *Romance Philology*, 33, 1980, 510-18 (514), on *vidas* and, by implication, *razos* as literary commentary.

112 Gaunt, Marshall, *Occitan Grammars*, 492-3; Meneghetti, *Il Pubblico*, chap. 6.

113 Zink, M. "Musique et subjectivité. Le passage de la chanson d'amour à la poésie personnelle au XIIIe siècle". *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 25, 1982, 225-32; Gómez-Bravo, "Retórica"; Willaert, F. "Het zingende hof. Ontstaan, vertolking en onthaal van hoofse minnellyriek omstreeks 1400". Willaert, F. et al. (Hrsgg.), *Een zoet akkoord: middelneeuwse lyriek in de Lage Landen*. Amsterdam, 1992, 109-22, 348-59.

114 See Manetti, *Flamenca*, 38-40.

115 Zamuner, "Una sottoscrizione"; Cabré, *Cerverí*, 25-32; Cigni, *Il trovatore N'At de Mons di Tolosa*, 251-2, 254-5 fn. 9 (with additional bibliography).

116 Ms. R = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fr. 22543, and ms. C = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fr. 856 (Cigni, *Il trovatore N'At de Mons di Tolosa*, 6-10). The exception is the extract noted above from a poem included in the *Breviari's Perihlos Tractatz*; the *Leys* also refer to poems no longer extant.

117 See Avale, D'A.S. *La Letteratura medievale in lingua d'oc nella sua tradizione manoscritta. Problemi di critica testuale*, Torino, 1961, chap. 3.



compositions.<sup>118</sup> This is the case for the ‘Registre de Cornet’ *chansonnier* in the Toulouse Archives de l’Académie des Jeux Floraux (500.010).<sup>119</sup> This virtual *liber versuum* mostly by Cornet is an anthology manuscript.<sup>120</sup> Such anthologies exemplify the Occitan version of the art of poetry for those like N’At de Mons’s *joglar* who would write *dictatz* in order to imitate or emulate their antecedents. N’At’s poems too are found in two manuscript anthologies.<sup>121</sup>

As for Ramon de Cornet, there exist four *Letras*, or non-lyric *dictatz*, plus his *gloza* to the Panassac *vers*, all found in Ms. A.<sup>122</sup> Poem II is what he defines as a ‘versa’, or ‘inversion’, as in a topsy-turvy world:

Quar mot ome fan vers,  
 Yeu vuelh esser divers,  
 Que faray una versa;  
 Quel mons es tan revers  
 Que fay del dreg envers  
 E tot quant es reversa.  
 (Ms. A II, vv. 1-6)

The *versa* faults those prelates and monks who enjoy the good life rather than practice as they should the religious life they vowed to follow. Poems V and VI are virtual amplifications of the *versa*’s attack on the orders (Ms. A II, vv. 66-78) whose fallen brothers “mielhs vivo dos tans | Que no fazian avans, | En l’ostal de lor payre” (Ms. A II, vv. 69-71). Similarly,

A greu poyretz nomnar  
 Abbat que no despenda  
 Tot lo plus de sa renda  
 Leumens en aytals obras.  
 (Ms. A V, vv. 42-5)

**118** Cf. Williams, S.J. “An Author’s Role in Fourteenth Century Book Production: Guillaume de Machaut’s *Livre ou je met toutes mes choses*”. *Romania*, 90, 1969, 433-54; Careri, *Il Canzoniere*; M.J. Arn, *The Poet’s Notebook: The Personal Manuscript of Charles d’Orléans* (Paris, BnF MS. fr. 25458), Turnhout, 2008.

**119** *Deux manuscrits*, VII-X; Navàs, “Le Registre Cornet”. Cf. Zufferey, *Bibliographie*, XVIII-XXI.

**120** Many poems in this anthology are debates between Cornet and another poet (Ms. A: XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XLII, LVI).

**121** *Il Trovatore N’At de Mons*, 6-10. Cf. Tavera, A. “La Table du chansonnier d’Urfé”. *Cultura Neolatina*, 52, 1992, 23-128 (23-38, 73, 74, 75); Zufferey, “La Partie”.

**122** Ms. A III-VI and XXVIII.

Some monks too “Mielhs beven e manjan | Que no feyra defora” (Ms. A VI, vv. 95-). Cornet’s *versa* ends with a plea for their conversion addressed to the Virgin Mary (v. 287), a “Roza vermelha” (v. 293). The other *Letras* are also addressed to a “Fresca Roza de may” (Ms. A V, v. 74) and “ma Roza d’abril” (Ms. A VI, v. 197). Is she the Virgin Mary here? Like her, Roza is his “Rosarum rosa leticie” (Ms. A XVII, v. 31).<sup>123</sup> Ramon de Cornet has certainly subscribed to the view that love poems must be suitable not only for his lady but also for the Virgin Mary and God.

## 10 Transliteration

The *rayonnement* of Occitan poetry is evident in manuscripts copied outside Occitania that contain troubadour poetry,<sup>124</sup> indicating the multilingualism of different courts for which the manuscripts were prepared and the ways in which troubadour poetry spread its influence.<sup>125</sup> By the same token, multilingualism is indicated when other languages appear in Occitan *recueils*: for example, a fragment from Benoît de Sainte Maure’s *Roman de Troie* in Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, 146<sup>126</sup> and the reference to a prose “romans del sant Grazal” in the *Leys d’amors*.<sup>127</sup> Actual evidence, fictional or nonfictional, of multilingual performances and poets is found in the elementary treatises on the art of poetry and prose in Italian and

123 Huchet, “Le Style”, 114-16.

124 Avalle, *La letteratura*, 128; Paden, W.D. “Manuscripts”. Paden, W.D. *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, 307-33 (309); Taylor, *La littérature occitane*, 148-54; Taylor, *Bibliographical Guide*, 297-309. Cf. Bruckner, M.T. “Marcabru et la chanson de croisade. D’un centre à l’autre”. *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 53, 2010, 219-35, on the modalities of *rayonnement* over time, languages, and in social and poetic registers. Bruckner notes this intertextuality not only in Marcabru’s crusade poems but also in some French manuscripts (221-2).

125 *Leys C*, 4: 104-20 notes that the impact was greatest in Italy and the Iberian peninsula. Cf. Weiss, J. “Literary theory and polemic in Castile, c. 1200- c. 1500”. *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, 496-532; Putter, A.; Busby, K. “Introduction. Medieval Francophonía”. Kleinhenz, C.; Busby, K. (eds.), *Medieval Multilingualism. The Francophone World and Its Neighbours*. Turnhout, 2010, 1-13 (10 and 12); Léglu, C.E. *Multilingualism and Mother Tongue in Medieval French, Occitan, and Catalan Narratives*. University Park, 2010.

126 See Zufferey, *Bibliographie*, XXVII-XXVIII, and Jung, M.-R. *La Légende de Troie en France au moyen âge. Analyse des versions françaises et bibliographie raisonnée des manuscrits*. Basel-Tübingen, 1996, 306-7. Guillaume de Machaut’s poetry as well as those by other French poets were known and imitated in the court of Aragon; see Earp, L. et al. *The Ferrell-Vogüe Machaut Manuscript*. Oxford, 2014, 1: 47-61.

127 *Leys A*, 1: 12; *Leys B*, v. 304; *Leys C*, 2: 29. There exist Occitan fragments of the Prose *Merlin* attributed to Robert de Boron (Cornagliotti, A. “Les fragments occitans du *Merlin* de Robert de Boron”. *Études de langue*, 5-16).

Catalan written for those whose native language was not Occitan.<sup>128</sup> Another instance is Peire de Janilhac; although a Parisian, he was crowned in the Jeux Floraux for an Occitan poem he wrote towards the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>129</sup> Like the Italian poets, therefore, remarkable skill in Occitan can occur in the Francophone world.<sup>130</sup> Was this possible in other languages like English, German, or Flemish?

John Gower, a truly multilingual poet, wrote major works in Latin, French and English. P.T. Ricketts has suggested that he also had indirect knowledge of Matfre Ermengaud's *Breviari d'Amor*.<sup>131</sup> Since Gower did not know Occitan, Ricketts asks how he might have acquired knowledge contained in Matfre's treatise. Did they perhaps have a common source?<sup>132</sup> Possible intermediaries were Occitan poems that had been transliterated for French-speaking audiences. A well-known instance of such transliteration of Occitan lyrics is found in Jean Renart's early thirteenth-century *Roman de la rose*, also known as *Guillaume de Dole*. There Jaufre Rudel's *canso Lanqand li jorn son lonc en mai* becomes *Lors que li jor sont lonc an mai*, whereas Bernart de Ventadorn's "Can vei la lauzeta mover | de joi sas alas contra l rai" becomes "Quant voi l'aloete moder | de goi ses ales contre el rai".<sup>133</sup> Transliteration is one way by which Occitan troubadours may have been adapted for French publics, and through them spread their influence in a kind of Franco-Occitan that those like Gower could understand and imitate.

128 Kelly, *The Arts*, 176-7; Gaunt, Marshall, *Occitan Grammars*, 482-3.

129 Zufferey, *Bibliographie*, XVI-XVII; the poem is LXIV, *Tres dossa Flor*, dated 1471, in *Les Joies du gai savoir. Recueil de poésies couronnées par le Consistoire de la Gaie Science (1324-1484)*. Publié avec la traduction de J.-B. Noulet, revue et corrigée, une introduction, des notes et un glossaire par A. Jeanroy. Toulouse-Paris, 1914, 271-3.

130 Note as well the tendency in the later thirteenth century to copy Occitan lyrics without transliteration, as opposed to the prevalence of such 'rewriting' in twelfth-century manuscripts (Raupach Man.; Raupach, Mar. *Französierte Trobadorlyrik: zur Überlieferung provenzalischer Lieder in französischen Handschriften*. Tübingen, 1979), 85-6, 171-6. On contacts between Occitan and French poet-musicians in the late medieval period, see Wilkins, N. "The Post-Machaut Generation of Poet-Musicians". *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*, 12, 1968, 40-84; and Langlois, *De artibus*, 91-2, and Courouau, *Moun lengatge*, 185-6, 391, on the influence of the *Leys* on Gratiën Du Pont, the sixteenth-century French author of the *Art et science de rhetorique metriffiee*. But this is beyond the beginning of the sixteenth century when the French language had invaded the Occitan poetic contests in Toulouse (Courouau, *Moun lengatge*, 382-7).

131 Ricketts, "Knowledge", 57-69.

132 Ricketts, "Knowledge", 67-8.

133 Occitan texts edited by, respectively, R. Lejeune and C. Appel in de Riquer, M. *Los Trovadores: historia literaria y textos*, vol. 1, Barcelona, 1975, §§ 12 and 60; French transliterations are from Lecoy, F. (éd.). *Renart, Jean: Le Roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*. Paris, 1979, vv. 1301 and 5212-13; cf. XXIII-XXIV. Jean Renart dedicated his romances to French and Walloon patrons (Jean Renart, *Le Roman*, III-VIII).

Troubadour poetry had spread far and wide over Europe well before Gower's time.<sup>134</sup> Even those not conversant in Occitan might have read transliterations of originals like those Jean Renart cites in his romance. These poems are by 'ancient troubadours'. Were they reinterpreted in the light of thirteenth-century changes brought about in Occitania by the Albigensian Crusade and the Inquisition?<sup>135</sup> Gower and Matfre Ermengaud show the effect of such events by relocating troubadour verse and the variety of loves earlier authors depicted in moral and encyclopedic contexts fostered by the new social and religious culture that emerged in the thirteenth century.

Do intermediaries like those suggested by Ricketts for Gower interject themselves into the transmission of the new Occitan art and, if so, how might they do so from Occitan to, say, Flemish Dutch? By way of a Peire de Janilhac from Paris or, perhaps, another poet from Flanders? Recent work by Belgian and Dutch scholars have shown the multilingualism of Dutch and French speakers who also knew one another's languages. This parallels the linguistic interaction Ricketts suggests for Gower and Matfre Ermengaud and the availability of transliterations.<sup>136</sup>

However, the *Leys d'amors* makes a distinction between those languages and dialects for which the Occitan art of poetry was applicable and those whose linguistic differences require adaptation of the Latin and Occitan arts.<sup>137</sup> Assisting this assimilation one can count the 'transliteration' of Occitan poetry into franco-Occitan like that noted above in Jean Renart's romance. This is especially evident in manuscripts containing multilingual poems that were common in the Artois-Picard provinces bordering on Flanders and the Lotharingian province bordering on Rhenish provinces.<sup>138</sup>

**134** See chapters 10-14 in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*.

**135** Armstrong, Kay, *Knowing Poetry*, 198-9; cf. 116-21.

**136** Faems, A.; Van Coolput-Storms, C. (éds.). *Les Librairies aristocratiques dans les anciens Pays-Bas au Moyen Age = Actes de la journée d'étude internationale organisée à Bruxelles* (Palais des Académies, 20 octobre 2006). Bruxelles, 2007 (= *Moyen Âge*, 113, 2007), 473-668; Willaert, F. *De Ruimte van het boek. Litteraire regio's in de Lage Landen tijdens de Middeleeuwen*. Leiden, 2010; and edited by Mareel, S.; Schoenaers, D. (eds.). *Literature and Multilingualism in the Low Countries (1100-1600)* (= *Queeste*, 22, 2015), 1-109. On multilingualism in European courts, see Cabré, *Cerverí*, 21-2; Vale, M. *The Princely Court. Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe 1270-1380*. Oxford, 2001, 282-94.

**137** *Leys* C, Bk. 2, 185, and 4: 88, and on the rondeau borrowed from French poetry.

**138** Raupach, Man.; Raupach, Mar., *Französierte Trobadorlyrik*, 175-76 et *passim*. The preponderance of dance and debate poems (55-6) suggests the genres favoured in Lothringa and the Rhineland (Willaert, *De Ruimte*, 27-31). Tyssens, M. *Le Chansonnier français U publié d'après le manuscrit Paris, BnF, fr. 20050*, vol. 1. Paris, 2015, contains a number of transliterations 346-52, 356-88 (vol. 2 forthcoming).

A link between the Welsh bardic tradition and the troubadours has been noted by A.T.E. Matonis on the Bardic schools.<sup>139</sup> Just as important are the *chambres de rhétorique* in the Low Countries that produced treatises and poetry, including anthology manuscripts, in the final centuries of the Middle Ages;<sup>140</sup> although the French influence was preponderant in Flemish-speaking centres, it may be rewarding to seek Occitan features there as well. These examples of potential Occitan *rayonnement* refer to most of what we may call the pre-Albigensian troubadours who did not have the Inquisition to contend with, even if, as Dante shows in the *Vita nuova*, they evolved in the direction of chaste love, as if each poet had a screen lady hiding his pure Beatrice. May we speak of such adaptation in the case of the late troubadours?

**139** Matonis, A.T.E. "Later Medieval Poetics and Some Welsh Bardic Debates". *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 29, 1982, 635-65; and Matonis, A.T.E. "The Welsh Bardic Grammars and the Western Grammatical Tradition". *Modern Philology*, 79, 1982, 121-45; cf. Matonis, A.T.E. "Textual Cultures and Its Assimilation in Fourteenth-Century Wales". *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 49-50, 1997, 576-90.

**140** van Dixhoorn, A. "De Rederijkskamer (1400-1600)". Janses, J.; Laan, N. *Van hof tot overheid. Geschiedenis van literaire instituties in Nederland en Vlaanderen*. Hilversum, 2015, 67-91.

