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THE CORT D'AMOR

A THIRTEENTH CENTURY OCCITAN ALLEGORICAL ART OF LOVE

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy
in the Graduate School of the
Ohio State University

By
Lowanne Jones Callander, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1972

Approved by

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and Literatures
For my Mother and Father
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With the exception of the romance of Flamenca, and to a lesser extent, the Arthurian romance of Jaufré, the medieval Occitan narrative poems of the thirteenth century have attracted very little scholarly attention, and among the shorter novas, only one, the Castia-gilos by Raimon Vidal, has been published recently. No full length study of Occitan allegory has yet appeared, although one scholar, Marc-René Jung, did devote one chapter to this topic in a broad survey of the medieval allegorical poem: *Etudes sur le poème allégorique en France au moyen âge*. Unfortunately, nearly all studies of medieval allegory that have appeared in the last two decades take one or another of the great epic allegories like *The Romance of the Rose*, *The Divine Comedy*, or *The Canterbury Tales*, as either point of departure or point of arrival, and as a result, the ensuing source studies
or definitions are inevitably distorted by the magnetic field that such masterpieces ordinarily deploy. This tendency is particularly disappointing, in view of the fact that the Occitan allegories are, for the most part, earlier than the *Romance of the Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris, the first of these epic allegories. For this reason, if for no other, they deserve to be considered for and by themselves.

Among the Occitan allegories of the first half of the thirteenth century, it is the *Cort d'Amor*, a poem of 1721 lines, which by virtue of its length and its complexity, must be considered an important precursor of the *Romance of the Rose*, but once again, I have not been able to locate any study dealing with this poem in more than a few pages. It is equally frustrating that the text of the *Cort d'Amor* was published only once in its entirety and that imperfectly, nearly one hundred years ago. Subsequent editors have simply reproduced the original faulty edition. Fortunately the manuscript of the *Cort d'Amor* which was previously inaccessible in a private library in England, is now available for examination in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.

What follows then in this dissertation is a source study and literary analysis of the *Cort d'Amor* in Part I,
and a critical reading of the single manuscript in which it is preserved, accompanied by a literal English translation and notes, in Part II. In order that the Cort d'Amor may be considered for its merits alone, no extended reference is made to the Romance of the Rose of Guillaume de Lorris, or to the later French allegories even though a comparative study of these poems would certainly prove interesting. Although some Latin and French contributions to the allegorical literature of France in the thirteenth century and some of the specific influences of these contributions on the Cort d'Amor are explored, the greater part of this study is devoted to an examination of the Occitan origins of the Occitan love allegory in terms of the evolution of the genre and mode as well as in terms of theme and motif.
1.1. The sources of the allegorical art d'aimer in medieval France have been very amply documented and studied in six major publications. The first and very extensive study is the Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose,\(^1\) published by Ernest Langlois in 1891, and in this study the allegory of love in general is researched. Soon after, in 1899, William Allan Neilson published his study of The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love\(^2\) in which he retraced much of the material already examined by Langlois, although his perspective is more limited to the concept of the cour d'amour.

Twelve years later Charles Oulmont published Les Débats du Clerc et du Chevalier dans la littérature poétique du Moyen Age, Etude historique et littéraire suivi de l'édition critique des textes.\(^3\) This very valuable study examines in some detail the earliest medieval Latin and French love allegories, and offers convincing arguments for the classical and biblical origins of the

\(^1\)Paris: Ernest Thorin.

\(^2\)Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, Vol. VI (Boston: Ginn and Company).

\(^3\)Paris: Champion, 1911.
motifs typical of the cadre of these debates which re-appear consistently in later love allegories. In 1913 Edmond Faral's discussion of primarily Ovidian Sources latines des contes et romans courtis du Moyen Age was published in Paris by Champion. In 1936 Clive Staples Lewis published his very well known and often quoted Allegory of Love, a Study in Medieval Tradition in which he traced medieval personifications back to the classic myths. Most recently, in 1971, Marc-René Jung reworked all of this material in his Etudes sur le poème allégorique en France au Moyen Age, presenting in detail both Latin and French allegories of all types that preceded the Roman de la Rose.

Peripherally but in a most relevant and parallel vein, Peter Dronke published a very informative study of Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love Lyric which demonstrates that medieval love allegory shared a number of its motifs with the lyric to such an extent that it is impossible to separate the two traditions into original sources and imitations. Finally, the study of Reto R. Bezzola, Les Origines et la Formation de la Littérature courtoise en Occident, deals with the historical develop-

5 Romanica Helvetica, Vol. 82 (Berne: editions Francke).
opment and progress of all types of courtly literature in the West.

It would be both redundant and presumptuous to attempt to review here the enormous quantity of material which could, however indirectly, serve as a "source" of the *Cort d'Amor*. By the end of the twelfth century both the allegory and the *art d'aimer* were firmly established as elements of medieval literature, and in this respect the Occitan *Cort d'Amor* represents nothing new. Its uniqueness lies in the fact that it is probably the first combination of allegory and *art d'aimer* to appear in an Old Occitan narrative poem.\(^8\) Or rather, it is the only one that has been preserved. However, since the *Cort d'Amor* clearly did not spring fully formed from a vacuum, its immediate demonstrable sources are of a certain value both in comprehending elements of the poem itself, and in helping to color our concept of thirteenth century Occitan letter. With this understanding, those medieval Latin and French sources which indisputably contributed to the literary atmosphere of the thirteenth

---

\(^8\)The *novas* of Raimon Vidal de Besalù are probably earlier but they are neither allegories nor arts of love. The love allegory (ca. 1210) of Guiraut de Calanso is a lyric and does not involve an art of love as such. The *Chastel d'Amors*, both allegorical and didactic, exists only as a fragment, and the allegorical poem (1234-1253) of Peire Guillem is only briefly didactic.
century and which undeniably influenced the composers of allegories and *arts d'aider* in both the North and the South, in both French and Occitan, will be mentioned only briefly in this study if no direct relationship to the author of the *Cort d'Amor* can be demonstrated. Such medieval Latin poems as the *Romarcimontis concilium* (early 12th century) and the *Altercatio Phyllis et Flora*, both debates on the subject of love, probably had no direct influence on the author of the *Cort d'Amor*. It cannot be proven from his work that he knew either poem. On the other hand, it can be demonstrated from the text of his poem that among the classic Latin writers our author probably did know some of Ovid's poetry quite well, that in the medieval Latin tradition he might have known something of the treatise of Andreas Capellanus, and that he was familiar with several Latin fables.

1.2. That Ovid, particularly through his love treatises and poems, and through his *Metamorphoses*, had an enormous influence on medieval literature has never been seriously questioned. On the contrary, it has been amply documented by the number of manuscripts of Ovid that have survived, by catalogues of medieval libraries, and by


numerous medieval imitators and translators of Ovid, and it has been further demonstrated in a quantity of more recent studies, many of which are exhaustive. Peter Dronke stated most emphatically that the medieval man knew not only the Ars Amatoria, its sequel and the Metamorphoses, but the lyric Amores and Heroides "almost equally well," and added "If Ovid showed the Middle Ages the complete 'Rota Veneris', how could it fail to include something of the courtly experience?" Simone Viarre noted that it was the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that most vividly felt the influence of Ovid, and even more particularly, D. Scheludko, in his article "Ovid und die Troubadours" traced the influence of Ovid as it could be observed in the 'courtly' tradition.


13 Ibid., p. 164.

14 Survie d'Ovide, p. 55.

of Occitania, limiting his study to the earliest known troubadours of the twelfth century, and finding certain clearly Ovidian themes. In Guilhem IX, for example, he found both the guard image and the motif of discretion in love; in Bernart de Ventadorn, the apostrophe to Love, and certain formulaic parallels; in Arnaut de Mareuil the form of the love letter and the motif of the lover's dream. These observations are supported by the fact that Arnaut de Mareuil quoted Ovid as his authority: "Mas Ovidis retrais/Qu'entr'els òcorals amadors/Non paratgeia ricors".16 Richaut de Berbezilh, too, cited Ovid's work: "Qu'Ovidis ditz en un libre, e no i men,/Que per sufrir a hom d'amor son grat,/E per sufrir son manht paubre montat."17 One of the trobairitz, Azalais de Porcaraigrus, mentions him also: "Qu'Ovidis o retraí/Qu'amors per rior non vai;/E domna que n'es chausida,/En tene per avilanida."18

Viarre separated Ovidian influence into two distinct categories: borrowed ideas and borrowed


formulas, the latter being more frequent. Theories, interpretations or legends invented, exposed or transmitted by Ovid can be classified as ideas. In the case of formulas "il s'agit de véritables citations accompagnées ou non de références précises; ou bien de la présence indiscutable d'expressions ou d'agencements verbaux tirés des vers d'Ovide."19 In the Cort d'Amor the borrowing of formulas or motifs is quite evident while, as with the troubadours in general, the Ovidian theories of love are not only omitted but in most cases implicitly rejected. Most obviously, as Marc-René Jung pointed out,20 the troubadours—with the exception of Guiraut de Calanso21—do not use the elements of Ovid's image of Cupid, the blind, naked, winged, and invisible boy with bow and three arrows: "Et puer est et nudus Amor; sine sordibus annos et nullas vestes, ut sit aper-tus habet."22 The portrayal of Love in the Cort d'Amor

19 Survie d'Ovide, p. 6.
20 Etudes, p. 125, n. 9.
is clearly a feminine personification of Love herself, and bears little resemblance to the Latin boy, Cupid, or to the adult male god of Love who appears primarily in the French *arts d'aimer* and love allegories of the same period.

Similarly the camp of Cupid bears little resemblance to the magical palace of Love on mount Parnasses (ll. 71-74), yet it could serve as a prototype: "Militat omnis amans, et habet sua castra Cupido." O. Dammann cites five examples of allegorical castles from the *Metamorphoses*: the castle of the Sun, the house of Envy, the collective domicile of Cold, Fear, Trembling, Famine, the house and cabinet of Sleep, and the palace of Rumor.

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23 Amor in Occitan is a feminine noun. For the borrowing of this word from Old Occitan and its development in French, cf. Ch. Camproux, *Le Joy d'Amor*, pp. 82-85.


25 *Amores* I, ix, 1.

26 *Die allegorische Canzone*, p. 12.


More relevantly perhaps, at least one of Ovid's lyric poems, Amores I, 11, contains four separate elements that reappear in the Cort d'Amor: the lover's sleepless night: "What shall I say this means, that my couch seems so hard, and the coverlets will not stay in place, and I pass the long, long night untouched by sleep, and the weary bones of my tossing body are filled with ache?—for I should know, I think, were I in any wise assailed by love,"32 the darts of love: "Or can it be that love is stolen into me, and cunningly works my harm with covered art? Thus it must be; and subtle darts are planted in my heart, and cruel Love torments the breast where he is lord,"33 and "Thine arrows could not cease, even shouldst thou so wish thyself,"34 the fire of love: "Shall I yield? or by resisting kindle still more the inward-stealing flame that has me? Let me yield! light grows the burden that is well borne. I have seen flames wax when fanned by movement of the torch, and I have seen them die down when no one waved it more,"35 and "Thy fervid flame brings dole with its heat as thou comest

32 Amores, I. 11. 11. 1-5.
33 Ibid., 11. 6-8.
34 Ibid., 1. 45.
35 Ibid., 11. 9-12.
near," and the personification of different elements in the lover's experience: "Conscience shall be led along with hands tied fast behind her back, and Modesty and all who are foes to the camp of Love. Before thee all shall tremble; the crowd, stretching forth their hands to thee, shall chant with loud voice: "Ho! Triumph!" Caresses shall be at thy side, and Error, and Madness—a rout that ever follows in thy train."37

Ovidian influence is most readily apparent in such themes as the condemnation of slanderers: "His evil tongue brought harm to two; the husband suffered grief, the wife the loss of her good name",38 which is a general theme throughout the work of many of the troubadours and which is the subject of two tirades of considerable length in the *Cort d'Amor*. The first is delivered by the jongleur *Rire*:

Amors, molt vos fan estrain tort
Li lausengiers de lin iutas.
Qui mal fuecs las lenguas abras,
Qe li phylosef e.l doctor
Jutguon lausengiers per traidor;
Sia breus sa raszon ou longa
Lo tot o.l plus sera mensonga.
Ai Dieus! Con lait han desconfit!.
Com han domphas e drutz partit!

(ll. 905-913)

36 *Ibid.* , 1. 46.
38 *Amores* II, 11. 49-50.
In this instance it is not possible to determine precisely who the doctor and the philosopher of l. 908 are, although in the Middle Ages, the "philosopher" normally referred to Aristotle. It is impossible to identify the "doctor" with any precision, but he is mentioned by Feire Vidal in another context:

Qu'a Rom'an vout en tal pantais
L'Apostolis el.h fals doctor
Sancta Gleiza, don Deus s'irais. 39

Very probably these lines refer to the doctor of philosophy, the theologian, and in that case these lines in the Cort d'Amor probably indicate a general reference to doctrinal authorities. Ovid, of course, was eminent as an authority on the subject of love and universally recognized as such. It would not be absurd for this passage to refer indirectly to him, especially since, as Viarre pointed out, "pour ces esprits habitués à s'incliner devant une autorité, Ovide est respectable comme les autres." 40

The Jongleur continues his lecture with a reference to the standard theme of the gossip:

Faita an li lauzidor
Con aqel ce dannia la flor
Del vergiez ce vol sordeiar,
Qua non puesca pois frug far.
Zois era floritz antre nos,


40Survie d'Ovide, 15.
Mais lausengiers l'en han secos
Qe no i han laissat flor ni foilla,
Per qe l'aigua del cor ni moilla
Mos oills.

(11. 924-932)

Here the gossips and slanderers pose a clear and continual threat as the enemies of Love, and they are presented as the destructive agents that they traditionally are in troubadour poetry, and consequently this passage is less clearly Ovidian. The slanderers here are considerably more than obstacles, like Ovid's door warder Bagoe, to be overcome in the pursuit of pleasure.

The second tirade against gossips is delivered by Sense in the last speech preserved in the manuscript. This speech is less a lament and rather more of a didactic lecture, outlining the error of the fol drut feinedor (l. 1654) who considers the gossip revolving around him and his lady as honor. Sense particularly emphasizes the speed with which harm is done to lovers by the slanderers:

E ben sapchlatz qe Malparler
Estai enaissi con l'archier
Qe trai e naffra ab son qairel
Dementre qe canta l'aucel.
Atressi naffron l'enozos
Malparler los amans zoios
Ab lor lengas, cui Dieus azir!
E'los fan en viven murir.

(11. 1678-1685)

and he continues with a typically Christian curse:

Totz francz hom veia la vejansa
E perda Dieu qe no los lansa
En foc, envolz, sebelis unis,
Los traitors lausengiers caitis,
E'las traititz desconradas
(ll. 1696-1700)

It appears then, that although this motif, the danger
to lovers presented by slanderers and the destruction
of love and trust caused by gossip, is introduced by
Ovid at some length in the Amores, the author of the
Cort d'Amor has both developed it further and 'christ-
ianized' it. The orchard cited metaphorically by the
Jongleur is an ancient motif derived most probably from
the Biblical garden of Paradise,\(^4\) and the curse uttered
by Sense clearly implies that slander and gossip are sins
that God surely wants punished at the stake (en foc).
In fact, it is suggested that it will be crime re-
sulting in the loss of God if they are not so punished;
it is man's earthly duty to do so. This development
of the Ovidian theme, however, rests on the long tradition
of troubadour poetry considered in Chapter 3.

Parallel to the theme of the slanderers, both Ovid,
and the author of the Cort d'Amor castigate those who
love for money. For Ovid it is wrong for one to pay for
a mutual delight:

Love is a child, and naked; he has the
years that know not greed and is unclad,
so that he may be open in his ways. Why
bid the child of Venus offer himself for

gain? He has no pocket where to put away his gain! 42

Tis the harlot stands for sale at the fixed price to anyone soe'er, and wins her wretched gains with body at the call; yet even she calls curses on the power of the greedy pander, and does because compelled what you perform of your own will. Look for pattern to the beasts of the field, unreasoning though they are; 'twill shame you to find the wild things gentler than yourself. Mare never claimed gift from stallion, nor cow from bull; the ram courts not the favoured ewe with gift. 'Tis only the woman glories in the spoil she takes from man, she only hires out her favours, she only comes to be hired, and makes a sale of what is delight to both and what both wished, and sets the price by the measure of her own delight. The love that is to be of equal joy to both—why should the one make sale of it, and the other purchase? Why should my pleasure cause me loss, and yours to bring gain—the pleasure that man and woman both contribute to? 43

For Amor addressing Larqueza, it is a question of the mortal sin of covetousness:

Il non o faì mas feintament
Per so que.1 dones de l'argent,
E.1 lois qan cobessa aiuda
Non es res mas amor venduda.
(ll. 261-264)

and Covetousness is one of the bitter enemies of Merce:

............E Deu sal vos,
Amors, e tots vostre baros,
E confonda aquiels qe eu vai,
La Cobezeesa ez Orguei,

42 Amores I, x, ll. 15-18.

43 Amores I, x, ll. 21-36.
Q'entre c'aici m'an encausat.
A qant loncs temps m'an travaillat!
(11. 739-744)

For Lady Cortezia it is prostitution pure and simple:

Mais la falsa via bestarsa
Qe sec la gent q'e.l fuec fos arsa,
Las trairitz e las venals
Las canaritz e las comunals,
Qe lor femm'es e lors amors,
Es tot chaitiviers e dolors.
(11. 395-400)

But Love gives the final judgment, rejecting them from her company as traitoresses, merchants and thieves:

Las cobezesas, don vos clamaz
Jamais non vos entremetaz,
Cortezzia las atzinadas.
Aquellas qi qeron solidadas
Er getat de ma companna.
Non voell c'om lur son en la via,
Qe dompna qe diniers demanda
Es trairis e mercaanda,
E non saubon tant de raubar
Li galiot de sobre mar.
E s'ela me faz mon plazer
Als diniers en dei grat saber.
A leis non dei portar onor
Segond lo jutguament d'Amor.
(11. 821-834).

It is significant that in the Cort d'Amor, the only judgment pronounced by Fin'Amor personally, and not delegated to one of her barons, is this judgment concerning those who love for money. Perhaps Love gives this matter her personal attention because such individuals constitute an enemy that corrupts from within under the disguise of Love, and not a declared enemy like Pride who attacks from without. Like the motif
of the slanderers, the motif of the vulgar women is also based on a long troubadour tradition reaching back to Marcabru and past him to Ovid. As Scheludko pointed out, it is nearly impossible to establish the sources of such universal images as the fire of love or, as in this case, the prostitute. It must simply be noted that Ovid and the author of our poem developed these themes similarly.

By way of contrast, the carpe diem theme introduced in the Cort d'Amor with the speech of Honor (11. 1127-1154) was most likely introduced into medieval poetry through Latin literature and possibly from Ovid:

Now already be mindful of the old age which is to come; thus no hour will slip wasted from you. While you can, and still are in your spring-time, have your sport; for the years pass like flowing water; the wave that has gone by cannot return. You must employ your time: time glides on with speedy foot, nor is that which follows so good as that which went before. These plants now withering, I saw as violet-beds; from this thorn was a pleasing garland given me. That day will come when you, who now shut out your lovers, will lie, a cold and lonely old woman, through the night; nor will your door be broken in a nightly brawl, nor will you find your threshold strewn with roses in the morning. How quickly, ah me! is the body furrowed by wrinkles, and the color fled that once was in that lovely face! And the white hairs that you swear have been there since maidenhood will suddenly be scattered over

---

44 "Ovid und die Troubadours," p. 173.
all your head. Serpents put off their age with their frail skins, nor are stags made old by casting their horns; our charms flee without our aid; pluck the flower, which save it be plucked will basely wither.^[5]

The author of the *Cort d'Amor* does not develop or 'christianize' it in the least:

Soi ben vostra,
Q'ieu non soi ges aqil qe mostra
Orguell mentre q'es iovencella:
Qi a la color fresca e novella,
E qant aqil colors li fall,
Ez el se vei en son mirail,
E conols qe trop s'es tarzada,
Ill qier so don era pregada,
(ll. 1127-1139)

Most important, however, this standard love theme does not seem to be utilized by the troubadours. In surveying a considerable amount of troubadour poetry, it has been possible to locate only a single late example of the *carpe diem* theme,^[6] and it appears likely, since so many Ovidian themes recur, that the author of the *Cort d'Amor* may have encountered the idea in Ovid's *Artis Amatoriae*. The very surprising fact that the

^[5]*Ars Amatoria*, III, 59-80. The *carpe diem* theme was first known in the Middle Ages from Horace. It was probably revived with the rediscovery of Ovid in the thirteenth century.

^[6]*Cf. Poésies de Daude de Pradas*, ed. A.-H. Schutz (Toulouse: Privat, Paris: Didier, 1933), 40-42, ix, "Trop ben m'estera st.s tolques," ll. 25-32: "De domnras hi a mais de tres,/que, quand remiron lor color/e lor beutat el mirador,/non cujon que sia mais res./Fauc ant ben legit, so sapatz,/cum beutatz vai e fail viatz,/q'en pauc d'ora plus bella ve/aco sem que sol vezar ple."
carpe diem speech is delivered by Honor herself and not by some lesser baron to whom it might seem more appropriate, such as Solatz or Douza Compania, or even Drudaria, will be considered in Chapter 5.

Where the description of lovers' behavior is concerned, the greater part of these passages in the Cort d'Amor are based squarely on the earlier troubadour tradition. However, there are some exceptions: the pallor of the lover is an Ovidian theme:

White is a shameful color in a sailor; swarthy should he be, both from the seawaves and from heaven's beams; shameful too in a husbandman, who ever beneath the sky turns up the ground with curved ploughshare and heavy harrows. Thou too who seekest the prize of Pallas' garland art shamed if thy body be white. But let every lover be pale; this is the lover's hue. Such looks become him; let fools think that such looks avail not. Pale did Orion wander in Circe's glades, pale was Daphnis when the naiad proved unkind."

The lover's pale face, or the sudden loss of color in the complexion, is specifically cited four times in the Cort d'Amor:

Aq'eus devenc pus blancs
Qe.1 color li fugi e.1 sanos.
(11. 461-462)

Davant m'estava ben e gent.
Mais era perd lo cor e.1 sen.

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47 Artis Amatoriae I, 11. 723-730.
Non puesc pus la dolor suffrir
Qi.m faï la color laideszir.
(ll. 1204-1207)

Lo zou de vos mi faj plorar
Quant eu lo vi color mudar,
Qar conogui a son soenblan
Qe.us amaria ses engan.
(ll. 1463-1466)

Tot'es vostra color mudada.
Eu cuç qe vos es soclamada,
Q'el frons vos nos gieta calor.
Non es; anz es lo mal d'amor.
(ll. 1521-1523)

The idea of a lover's pallor is obviously very closely
related to the notion of love as a sickness, a fever, a
dangerous flood of emotion, lo mal d'amor which robs the
individual of strength and 'color', which is the outward
sign of strength. In Ovid this sickness, whether hon­
est or feigned, represents weakness from long unfulfilled
and often violent desire. In the troubadours, the pale
complexion and the image of sickness tends to represent
a sincere suffering in the service of love. In the first
example in the Cort d'Amor, the lover is presenting his
case (apparently for the first time) to his lady and
his sincerity is demonstrated to her by the fact that
"mudet tres colors en una ora", first black, then red,
then white. It is the emotional strain of declaring
his love, the hope of acceptance and the fear of rejec­
tion that cause his apparent illness. In the second
example, it is the lady who sees her complexion turn
pale, or rather 'ugly', after having fallen in love, and she makes it clear that her lover is the cause of it: "Aqest mal hai haiut per vos" (l. 1208), yet she does not state specifically what he has done to cause it. Her problem remains rather vaguely lo mal d'amor. Once again in the third example, as in the first, the lover's loss of color may be considered a sign of the sincerity of his love, it apparently having been recognized that the loss of color, representing fear or pain, and the blush, representing embarrassment, are purely involuntary and therefore reliable indications of sincerity. In both the first and third examples the lover's words have indicated his feelings and the change in his complexion is cited as supporting evidence of his honesty. In the fourth example, the subject is again the lady and in this case she appears to be quite unaware that she is in love, although her unconscious pallor has betrayed her emotions. At first glance, the messenger remarks, one would suppose that she was sick, but upon closer scrutiny it is clear that she does not have a fever. To those aware of such signs and able from experience to interpret them, it becomes immediately obvious that she is suffering from lo mal d'amor, even if she is unaware of it.48 It is interesting to note that the last two ex-

48 For lo mal d'amor, cf. Chapter 2 and the Roman d'Eneas, ll. 7955-8000.
amples occur within the same intrigue and that the messenger is quite certain of the propriety and ultimate success of her errand because she is convinced, by their pallor, of the sincerity of the two lovers. Pallor, for Ovid, represents a disguise cultivated by the lover in order to appear overcome with desire. For the troubadours and the author of the *Cort d’Amor*, who could very well have noted the original image in the *Artis Amatoriae*, the loss of color is either an involuntary response to the beloved or an involuntary manifestation of suffering, in either case *lo mal d’amor*.

The erotic dream is yet another Ovidian motif that the troubadours incorporated into their lyrics. There are two examples in Ovid’s *Heroides*, Laodamia’s dream of Protesilaus, and Sappho’s dream of Phaon:

I, in my widowed couch, can only court. a sleep with lying dreams; while true joys fail me, false ones must delight. But why does your face, all pale, appear before me? Why from your lips comes many a complaint? I shake slumber from me, and pray to the apparitions of night. 49

You, Phaon, are my care; you, my dreams bring back to me—dreams brighter than the beauteous day. In them I find you, though in space you are far away; but not long enough are the joys that slumber gives. Often I seem with the burden of my neck to press your arms, often to place beneath your neck my arms. I recognize the kisses—close caresses of the tongue—which you

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49 *Heroides* XIII, 11. 107-111.
were wont to take and wont to give. At times I fondle you, and utter words that seem almost the waking truth, and my lips keep vigil for my senses. Further I blush to tell, but all takes place; I feel the delight and cannot rule myself. But when Titan shows his face and lights up all the earth, I complain that sleep has deserted me so soon;..."50

And such dreams are experienced by lovers in the Cort d'Amor:

Ni ia Dieus no m'en don lezer
Qe de vos sparton mei deszir,
Nes lo zorn qe volraí morir,
Qe qan per aventura ven
Q'eu dorn ez estau tan be,
Dompna, q'adonc soz eu ab vos,
E remir las vostres faïos,
E cug ades ab vos parlar
Privademens, si com soil far,
E cug q'ades sliat enblada
De la cambra en qe es gasiada.
Lo grans zoi me fai ricedar,
E quant eu non vos puose trobar
Tan granda dolor emdeven
Q'ieu me mervell qar non forsen.
(11. 939-954)

Gran maltrait hai per vos haiut;
Soven n'hai lo maniar periu,
E quant eu cuiava dormir,
M'esvellavon li dous sospir,
Qe pensava, bels amicx dous

..............................
E qant eu era desidada,
Disia: "Mala fui anc nada,
Seinher Dieus, qar non dura totz temps,
Q'adonc sivals estiam emsens,
E u e mos amicx per cui plor.
(11. 1181-1190)

In the first example from the Cort d'Amor the lover is the awakened dreamer, and in the second it is the lady, although it is unfortunate that in the lady's case

the nature of her dream was omitted by the scribe. The possibility of censorship is not remote but given the general tone of the *Cort d'Amor*, it is far more likely that these lines were accidentally forgotten. Still one cannot help wondering exactly what it was the lady was thinking that caused *lidous sospir* to awaken her! In any case, in this text it is most probable that her dreams were more like the chaste fantasies of the lover in ll. 941-945 or the lonely dreams of Ovid's Laodamia, than the erotic dream of Sappho.

In other aspects of the lover's behavior, no longer involuntary but now quite conscious, Ovid counsels the cultivation of the lady's servants, in order that they might be kindly disposed toward the suitor or lover and thus influence their mistress:

Blush not to win over handmaidens as each stands first in rank, blush not to win over slaves. Salute each one by name: you lose nothing thereby; clasp low-born hands, ambitious one, in yours. Ay, even to a slave, should he ask you (the cost is trivial) offer some small gift on the day of Fortune; offer it to a handmaiden also, on the day that the Gallic band paid penalty, tricked by the marriage-robe. Believe me, make the humble folk your own; let the gatekeeper ever be one of them, and him who lies before her chamber door. 51

And in a nearly identical passage the author of the *Cort d'Amor* expresses the same idea:

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51 *Artis Amatoriae* II, 251-260.
In the lines immediately following his advice concerning the courting and bribing of the servants, Ovid takes up the problem of the gifts to be sent to the lady:

Nor do I bid you give your mistress costly gifts: let them be small, but choose your small gifts cunningly and well. While lands are fertile, while your branches droop with their burden, let a slave bring rustic tributes in a basket. You can say they were sent to you from your suburban property, though you bought them in the Sacred Way. Let him bring either grapes or the nuts "that Amaryllis loved"—but chestnuts she loves not now. Nay too by sending a thrush or a pigeon you may witness that you are mindful of your lady.\textsuperscript{52}

And the author of the \textit{Cort d'Amor} continues his passage with the same advice, although the nature of the gifts differs:

\begin{verbatim}
E fassa a ci dors cembel,
Manias, e corson et anel,
Qe tuit sabem ad esient
Q'amistat creis per lausiment.
\end{verbatim}

(11. 561-564)

It seems obvious that these two instructions to the lover are not necessarily related, and the fact that

\textsuperscript{52}Ibid., 11. 261-270.
both Ovid and the author of the *Cort·d'Amor* take up the same two pieces of advice in the same order demonstrates more than coincidence.

Here it seems likely that our author had the text of the *Artis Amatoriae* at least, either before his eyes or committed to memory. This is all the more probable because nowhere else in troubadour poetry do we find such advice. Although the troubadours and their ladies relied heavily on messengers (or jongleurs) in order to deliver their letters and songs, the messenger was usually a trusted friend or servant of the sender, and under no circumstances was it ever a question of bribing the lady's servants. Furthermore, the troubadours were not ordinarily concerned with gifts except as tokens of love, never as a means of winning love, and as a general rule, the gifts were bestowed by the lady, not by the suitor who was normally limited to the performance of services. It is interesting to note that Ovid's gifts of birds, fruit and nuts are replaced in the medieval text by feudal emblems.

De la bella, don sui cochos,/Desir lo tenir e.l baiszar,/E.l jazer e.l plus conquistor,/Et après, mangas e cordas,
E del plus qu.e.ll clames merces;"
sleeves, necklaces and rings, all of which were more normally bestowed by ladies upon their admirers as tokens to be worn into combat and tournaments.

In the same vein but far more significantly Ovid gives specific advice concerning the use of force in love:

Who that is wise would not mingle kisses with coaxing words? Though she give them not, yet take the kisses she does not give. Perhaps she will struggle at first, and cry "You villain!" yet she will wish to be beaten in the struggle.54

He who has taken kisses, if he takes not the rest beside, will deserve to lose even what was granted. After kisses how much was lacking to your vow's fulfillment? Ah! that was awkwardness, not modesty. You may use force; women like you to use it; they often wish to give unwillingly what they like to give. She whom a sudden assault has taken by storm is pleased, and counts the audacity as a compliment. But she who, when she might have been compelled, departs untouched, though her looks feign joy, will yet be sad.55

Astonishingly enough, and contrary to all troubadour teachings, the author of the Corte d'Amor takes an identical position:

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\begin{align*}
\text{E si per aventura eschai} \\
\text{Qu'el la trob sola mantenent,} \\
\text{La bais e l'embras sovent.} \\
\text{E s'il s'ill se suffre a forsar}
\end{align*}
\]

54Ibid., I, 11. 663-666.
55Ibid., 11. 673-678.
It is perhaps ironic that this brutal advice is given by Lady Cortezla, but it is quite plain that such an attitude was almost universally rejected by the troubadours. There is only one extant poem in which the use of force is defended and that position, oddly, is taken by a lady, one of the trobairitz known only as Lady H., in a tenso with the troubadour Rofin. 56 She poses the problem:

Rofin, digatz m'ades de oors
Cals fetz meills, car etz concissens:
Una domna coind'e valens,
Que ieu sai, a dos amadors,
E vol qu's quecs jur et pliva
Enanz que ls voil ab si colgar
Que plus mas tener e baiser
No.1h faran; e l'uns s'abriva
E.1 faig, que sagramen no.1h te;
L'autres no l'ausa far per re.
(11. 1-10)

In strophe II, Rofin, in true troubadour style, rejects the impetuous lover as more fool than lover for being disobedient to the express orders of his lady, but Lady H. responds to the contrary:

A fin amic no tol paors,
Rofin, de penre jauzimens
Que.1 dezirs e.1 sobretalens

For Lady H. the ardor of love is necessarily stronger than any fear that might arise from disobedience. Rofin brings up the problem of honor, arguing that anything contrary to the lady's honor (and the use of force is just that), can be nothing but grands errors (l. 31). However, not only does the vehement Lady H. disregard this argument, she declares that "domna qu'aïtal drut mescre/Mal creira cel qui s'en recrè" (ll. 49-50). In response Rofin can only reiterate:

E cel fetz foudat nadiva
Que sa domna auset forsar,
E qui'il mante sap pauc d'amar;
Qu'amans, pois fin'amors viva
La destreing tan, sa domna'il cre
De tot quan ditz qu'aisii's cove.

(ll. 55-60)

It has not been possible to identify either the troubadour Rofin or the strange Lady H., yet it is most curious that he defends the 'courtly' tradition, elevating and honoring the lady, recognizing her will as law for the lover, while it is the trobairitz who debases the position of the woman by strenuously defending the violation of her will (and also the violation of her body) as a certain sign of love. Obviously the tenso
turns on the respective definitions of love, and these definitions are crucial since they are antithetical. Clearly Lady H. could cite Ovid as authority for her position, and Hofin could point to the tradition of the troubadour lyric. Just as the Lady H. and her defense of force are unique in the corpus of troubadour poetry, so in the same way, ll. 576-584 seem unique in the *Cort d'Amor* and antithetical to the rest of the poem. One of the general themes of the *Cort d'Amor*, with the exception of these nine lines, is the submission of the lover to the lady's will, in order that he might merit her love, and in ll. 525-538, the physical violation of the lady is expressly forbidden by *Cortezia*:

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Qe.1 menre amors qe si dompa fassa
Qe drutz de si dons arozinatz,
El dheve vilas e malvatz,
E ubida se de donar,
De servir e d'armas portar.
(ll. 525-530)
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She has specified in no uncertain terms that the lover

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57Cf. Jaufré, l. 3891: "Amors forsada non es bona," and Guilhem de Montanhagol (Les Poésies de Montanhagol, troubadour provençal du XIIIe siècle, ed. Peter T. Hicketts, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1964, p. lll, XI, "Nulhs hom no.val ni deu esser prezatz," ll. 10-18): "Mas ieu non tenc que s'enamoratz/ceil qu'ad amor vay ab zaliamen;/quar non ama ni deu esser amatz/hom que sidons prec de nulh falhimen,/qu'amans non deu voler per nulh talen/ren qu'a sidons tornes a deshonransa;/qu'amos non es res mas aysso qu'enansa/so que ama e vol ben lialmen,/e qui.n quier also lo nom d'amor desmen." Admittedly both of these examples are late, perhaps later than the *Cort d'Amor*, but both represent a summary of the troubadour tradition which preceded their work.
may not ask the lady to go to bed with him—and here sexual consummation is implied—without debasing their love. Should such a thing happen, he will become vile and miserable and cease to behave like a knight and a gentleman. But, Cortezia continues, this does not mean that the jazer, the sensual meeting in bed (often with both individuals naked in bed, probably the original intention of Lady H.'s domna: "E vol qu’s quecs jur et pliva/Énanz que.1s voil ab si colgar/Que plus mas tener e baiser/No.1h faran" ll. 5-8), has been forbidden:

E si lóvol tener vaillent  
Ab respeig lo fasa jausent,  
E qant lì dara son bel don,  
Fassa o qe.1 sapcha tan bon,  
Qe qant l'aura entre sos braz,  
El non cug qe.1 sia vertatz.  
(ll. 531-536)

The two keys to this passage are respeig, respect (l. 533), and li dara son bel don (l. 534). Out of respect for her lover, his devotion, his service, and above all his obedience (i.e., his respect for her), she will give him her beautiful 'gift', which is not necessarily her body in a sexual union, but is more likely the right to contemplate her naked body, or perhaps a kiss or an embrace (l'aura entre sos bratz, l. 535), or in cases of ultimate reward, the right to spend the night ascetically in her bed. The important point, however, is the fact that the lady freely bestows her 'gift'; it is
not wrested from her by force. The conclusion to this passage is absolutely unequivocal: "Aiso queron li drutz leial;/Qui pus en demanda faí mal" (11. 537-538).

An unsolvable problem arises, however, from the fact that it is Lady Cortezia who delivers both speeches, 11. 525-538 forbidding violation and 11. 576-584 encouraging it, both of them within the context of the same address!

Finally, it is relevant that this last and most curious evidence of Ovidian influence quite closely follows two previous examples: 11. 551-557 on bribery, and 11. 561-564 on gifts, and in fact the entire 47 lines from 1. 543 to 1. 590 have a distinctly Ovidian flavor that is quite separate from the general tone of the rest of the poem. In these lines Cortezia also advises the poor lover to pretend that he is rich "ab un petit de bel garnir" (1. 545), and the angry lover to avoid his lady so long as he is irritated and his manners are abrupt. She counsels the lover to listen to praise of his lady's husband and to remark in a self-seeking way that the jealous husband can't be all that bad "qar dieus volc alte qu'es a voz" (1. 574). Everything in this passage conveys the Ovidian idea of pursuit with the lover as hunter and the lady as prey while the rest of the poem stresses instead the concepts of merit, value
and humility, with both lover and lady striving for perfection in keeping their covenant once it has been made. This is the only passage in the entire Cort d'Amor that strikes such a discordant note, and there are three possible explanations that come to mind. It may be a later insertion by another author, possibly by a scribe, who was more familiar with Ovid, or perhaps the original poet, acknowledging the popularity of Ovid, might have included it in his text in order to broaden the appeal of his poem. On the other hand, perhaps we, as modern readers, are misunderstanding what the poet means to signify by "s'il se suffre a forsar/Prenda son ioi ses demorar." Here the noun describing the act is ioi, one of the key words in the troubadour ethic which signifies 'inspiration, enthusiasm, the game that requires heart and soul and body and mind' and which never signifies anything else. The poet did not use the words gaug or jeuzimen which ordinarily signify 'joy' or 'enjoyment', hence, 'pleasure', and therefore it may be that what takes place here is not, after all, the violation or rape that it first appears to be, but rather the jazer which is alluded to elsewhere in the text. It is the phrase un petit de foresa that is misleading since modern readers tend to equate the use of force with rape, particularly in a context such as this passage
provides. I would suggest, however, that these lines should be read with both the Ovidian and the troubadour traditions in mind: the ioī that is taken is not sexual consummation, but the rigors of the jazer, after which the suitor is accepted, not as a lover in the modern sense of the word, but as a trusted and intimate companion. The force that is used is not the violence we ordinarily connect with the crime of rape, but the insistence, the reiterated requests, the verbal pressures, the kisses and embraces that are typical of the troubadour-suitors and which do ultimately add up to a kind of 'force'. It is possible that our poet has taken the obvious Ovidian theme of force and adapted it, along with several other Ovidian themes, to the troubadour ethic.

1.3. The only other Latin work besides that of Ovid which has a demonstrable relationship to the Cort d'Amor is the medieval Latin love treatise of Andreas Capellanus, De arte honesti amandi, or De Amore as it is also known, written late in the twelfth century at the court of Troyes. According to translator John Jay Parry, portions were probably revised by the author between 1184 and 1186.58 Parry also notes that the manuscripts are all late although two of them may be copies of an exemplar

in 1209 or 1210. By the thirteenth century, Capellanus' work was well known, and the first French translation dates from the first half of the thirteenth century and comes from the neighborhood of Verona. The sole surviving manuscript of the translation of Douart la Vache was completed in 1290. If the author of the Cort d'Amor knew the Art of Love at all, however, it is most likely that he knew the Latin text since the Occitan poem is probably earlier than most of the French translations.

It must be noted from the outset that Capellanus was a Frenchman who did not have the advantage of being raised in the courtly atmosphere of Occitania. In Northern France, even at the court of Troyes under Marie of Champagne, the great-granddaughter of the first troubadour, the courtly tradition was an imported concept. Consequently Capellanus' treatise represents a sort of compendium of love material, courtly or not, and it includes a good deal of non-courtly Ovid. It is entirely possible that Capellanus and the author of the Cort d'Amor arrived at similar motifs independently by drawing on the same traditions. However there are enough points of coincidence to warrant a comparison.

It is primarily in Book I, Chapter VI, the fifth

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59 Ibid.
60 Ibid., p. 22.
dialogue in which a nobleman speaks with a noblewoman, that similarities abound. The man, in attempting to convince the lady to accept him as a suitor, assures her that only those women who have enlisted in the classic 'army' of Love, "quae amoris noscuntur aggregari militae", are worthy of praise in all the world's courts, and this reference is clearly drawn from Ovid's "militat omnis amans et habet sua castra Cupido." However, the woman in her counter-argument, uses the more strictly medieval image of the court of Love, and here the literal sense of court is that of the place of judgment, or law court, which the lady in her hesitation compares to Hell:

Men find it easy enough to get into Love's court, but difficult to stay there, because of the pains that threaten lovers; while to get out is, because of the desirable acts of love, impossible or nearly so. For after a lover has really entered into the court of Love he has no will either to do or not to do anything except what Love's table sets before him or what may be pleasing to the other lover. Therefore we ought not seek a court of this king, for one should by all means avoid entering a place which he cannot freely leave. Such a place may be compared to the court of hell, for although the

61 Capellanus, Regii Francorum, De Amore, libri tres, ed. E. Trojel (Munich: Eidos Verlag, 1964), bk.I,VI, fifth dialogue, p. 86. The following and all subsequent translations of Capellanus are taken from John Jay Parry, op. cit.: "...those who are known to have joined Love's army." (p. 71).

62 Amores I, ix.
door of hell stands open for all who wish to enter, there is no way of getting out after you are once in."

The person who falls in love does so easily and desires to remain so because love is pleasant. But love is simultaneously most unpleasant, for at all moments the lover risks displeasing or offending the beloved, risks accusation, examination, judgment, and condemnation, even rejection. The court or palace of Love may at any moment be transformed into a court of law with Love sitting in judgment. The lover has not the equal and opposite power of falling out of love, and so having once entered Love’s court, he is powerless to escape Love’s judgment and the pains of love, equal to those of Hell.

The Cort d’Amor is precisely this same court. Since no title is given in the manuscript, the Occitan poem has been arbitrarily assigned the title Cort d’Amor because that is the word used in the poem to describe the gathering of Amor and her barons: "Tota la cort estet en paz" (l. 126); "A tant es [Mercè] a cort desendutz" (l. 737); "Tan rica cort no er iamais" (l. 858); "Sapchatz qe.1 cortz en val mais" (l. 1075); "Eu no.m soj entremessa/Ad aqesta cortz de parlar" (l. 1335-6).

De Amore, pp. 86-87.
1336). The court is also referred to as parliament: "Qe cant Amors ten parlament, / No s taing haza galiament" (ll. 27-28); "Aqi s'asis a parlament/Amors..." (ll. 95-96); "E vi Merce venir corrent/Qe volg esser el parlament" (ll. 727-728). The legal, judicial nature of the court, as opposed to the legislative connotation of parliament, is emphasized by the fact that two major judgments are decided during the course of the day, one by Love herself, concerning the covetous (ll. 781-834), and the other by Courtesy at the request of Fin'Amor, concerning the proper nature of love (ll. 377-408). The judgment of Courtesy is not only pronounced but is written into a chart, signed by Love, sealed with her ring, and carefully stored away (ll. 409-420), perhaps in order to give it an air not only of legality but also of permanence.

Capellanus' god of love pronounced judgments, too, but the court of love in De Amore is also a place of punishment as well as a place of judgment. The first judgment concerns those women who served Love fairly:

That knight whom you see crowned with a golden diadem, going before all the people, is the God of Love, who joins this army one day in every week, and in a marvellous fashion gives to each one his deserts, according as he has done good or evil in life. And those women, so beautiful and so honored, who follow after him in the first rank,
are those most blessed of women who while they were alive knew how to conduct themselves wisely toward the soldiers of love, to show every favor to those who wished to love, and to give appropriate answers to those who under pretense of love sought love falsely; for this reason these women now have their full reward and are honored with innumerable gifts.

And the second, those who accepted the attentions of all suitors:

Those women who follow in the second group and are so pestered by the services of so many men are those shameless women who while they lived did not fear to subject themselves to the pleasure of every man, but assented to the lust of any man who asked them and denied entrance within their gates to no man who sought it. And in this court they have earned this kind of reward. In return for their excessive giving of themselves and their indiscriminate acceptance of men they are unceasingly wearied by the indiscriminate services of innumerable people, and for them such services are converted into their harmful opposites and cause them great annoyance and shame.65

And the last, those most wretched of all who refused to accept any man as suitor:

Then those women who follow in the last group, so meanly equipped, going along with downcast faces, without help from anybody and wearied by discomforts of all kinds, as you can plainly see with your own eyes (in which group I find a place),

64Ibid., pp. 76-77.
65Ibid., p. 77.
are those most wretched of all women who while they lived closed the palace of Love to all who wished to enter it and would not give a fitting answer to any man who did good deeds or who asked of them a cause and approval of well-doing; they rejected all who asked to serve in Love's army and drove them away just as though they hated them, not at all considering what sort of person is this God of Love whom those who were asking for love sought to serve. So now we suffer these well-deserved punishments and receive from the King of Love, through whom the whole world is ruled and without whom no one does anything good in this world, payment appropriate to our sins. We are, besides these, subjected to so many other kinds of punishments which no one could know about unless he learned by experience, that it would be impossible for me to tell you about them and very difficult for you to listen to the account.66

A doom is even laid by the god upon the narrator who is ordered to relate the tale of what he has seen to any lady who refuses to submit to Love:

You have been permitted to see our mighty works that through you our glory may be revealed to those who know it not, and that this sight which you now see may be a means of salvation for many ladies. We therefore command and firmly enjoin upon you that wherever you find a lady of any worth departing from our pathway by refusing to submit herself to love's engagements, you shall take care to relate to her what you have seen here and shall cause her to leave her erroneous ideas so that she may escape such very heavy torments and find a place here in glory.67

66Ibid., pp. 77-78.
67Ibid., p. 181.
Although the judgments of Fin'Amor and the god of love are different in nature, they are similar in style, and it is worthwhile to note that in both poems the sentences pronounced by the judge are judgments against women, and do not include male transgressors.

The judgment theme is heavily reinforced in Capellanus' second Book, Chapter VII, in which "various decisions in love cases" are reported. Here twenty-one different examples of love quarrels requiring arbitration are cited, and in each case the judge pronouncing the court's decision is a woman or group of women:

- the Countess Mary of Champagne (cases I, III, IV, V, XIV, XVI, XXI)
- Lady Ermengarde of Narbonne (cases VIII, IX, X, XI, XV)
- Queen Eleanor (cases II, VI, VII)
- the Countess of Flanders (cases XII, XIII)
- Adele of Champagne, Queen of France (cases XVII, XIX, XX)
- a court of ladies in Gascony (case XVIII)

It is this series of judgments that more closely resembles the judgments of Cortezia and Fin'Amor. The judgments reported by Capellanus involve specific cases which require specific decisions, although they may serve as general precedents in later cases. In case XVII, for example, Queen Adele refers to an earlier decision by the Countess of Champagne against love between husband and wife. In the same way, the first eleven judgments pronounced by Fin'Amor often refer
to specific cases and are clearly intended to set precedents. More to the point, however, the woman as arbitrator and judge in matters of love is a literary tradition summarized in these pages by Capellanus and obviously continued by the *Cort d'Amor*.

Similarly, in the fifth dialogue, Capellanus' god of love promulgates the twelve laws of love:  

1. Thou shalt avoid avarice like the deadly pestilence and shalt embrace its opposite.

2. Thou shalt keep thyself chaste for the sake of her whom thou lovest.

3. Thou shalt not knowingly strive to break up a correct love affair that someone else is engaged in.

4. Thou shalt not choose for thy love anyone whom a natural sense of shame forbids thee to marry.

5. Be mindful completely to avoid falsehood.

6. Thou shalt not have many who know of thy love affair.

7. Being obedient in all things to the commands of ladies, thou shalt ever strive to ally thyself to the service of Love.

8. In giving and receiving love's solaces let modesty be ever present.

9. Thou shalt speak no evil.

10. Thou shalt not be a revealer of love affairs.

11. Thou shalt be in all things polite and courteous.

12. In practicing the solaces of love thou shalt not exceed the desires of thy lover.

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68 *ibid.*, pp. 81-82.
But these laws, in spite of the fact that there are twelve, bear little resemblance to the eleven speeches Fin'Amor makes to her twelve 'barons' in the beginning of the Occitan poem. Rule I refers to the theme of largess which Fin'Amor describes in her seventh address to her baron by that name (ll. 249-272), but the subjects of Rules II through V are not mentioned at any point in the *Cort d'Amor*. Rule VI deals with discretion, and Fin'Amor in speaking with her baron by that name, Celamens, discusses that problem but she also touches upon it in her discourses to Jol and Solatz as well. Obedience to the lady is demanded by Rule VII, but it is never specifically treated in the *Cort d'Amor* except as a general theme consistent throughout. It is at least never explicitly emphasized. Similarly modesty, which is commanded by Rule VIII, is not specifically treated except in passing and then always in terms of the lady (ll. 591-595, 703-705, 1147-1154). Rule IX forbidding the lover to be a *male dicus* is, like obedience and modesty, a continually recurring theme in the *Cort d'Amor*, and most obvious in the repeated rejection and castigation of the *lauzensiers*. On the other hand, Rule X, a specific injunction against the revelation of love affairs, has no counterpart in the *Cort d'Amor* except in connection with the more general requirement of
discretion or calamens. The last two commandments, however, fall rather clearly within the province of Domneis and Cortezia and are outlined in Fin'Amor's speeches to these barons (11. 273-284, 181-190 respectively. While it is impossible to say that the eleven speeches delivered by Fin'Amor to her twelve barons were directly inspired by the god of love's twelve commandments, it is possible that the author of the twelve speeches by Fin'Amor may have had them in mind as he composed. In Book II, Chapter VIII, Capellanus offers another list of rules, thirty-one in all, but although they are called regulae, they are more descriptive than prescriptive and they more closely resemble Ovid's precepts than the troubadour tradition.

More concretely however, Capellanus gives a rather detailed description of the palace of Love which is symbolically distinct from the workings of the court, just as the palace of Fin'Amor is separate from her parliament; the first referring to the static location, the second to the function of her court. In Capellanus' text, the palace is first mentioned by the man:

Now men say, and it is true, that in the middle of the world there is built a palace with four very splendid façades, and in each of these is a marvellously beautiful door. The only people entitled to live in this palace are Love and certain
communities of ladies. The eastern gate the God of Love has reserved for himself alone, but the other three are assigned to three definite classes of ladies. 69

The woman admits that allegorically this description is too obscure for her. Her suitor explains the allegory of the gates, and continues with a description of his personal encounter with the god of love and his own impressions of the garden of amoenitas where the god and his queen live:

While we were talking thus we had gone a good distance and had come to a most delightful spot, where the meadows were very beautiful and more finely laid out than mortal had ever seen. The place was closed in on all sides by every kind of fruitful and fragrant trees, each bearing marvellous fruits according to its kind. It was also divided concentrically into three distinct parts. The first of these, the central one, was separated from the next part and surrounded on all sides by it. While the third, on the outside, was completely walled off from the first by the intervening part. Now in the middle of the first and innermost part stood a marvellously tall tree, bearing abundantly all sorts of fruits, and its branches extended as far as the edge of the interior part. At the roots of the tree gushed forth a wonderful spring of the clearest water, which to those who drank of it tasted of the sweetest nectar, and in this spring one saw all sorts of little fishes.... This section, the inner one, was called 'Delightfulness,' because in it every sort of pleasant and delightful thing was to be found. 70

69Ibid., p. 73.
70Ibid., p. 73.
The castle of the god of love stands in the middle of the world, in medio mundi, and Fin'Amor, too, has her castle near the center of the known world on Mount Parnassus. The god's throne is located under a tree in the center of a meadow, "in prima igitur et interiori parte in medio loci", and Fin'Amor has built her castle in the center (on the top?) of the mountain, "Ze.l mei loc ac un castel" (I. 71). Both castles are surrounded by gardens or orchards: "sedebat quaedam mirae altitudinis arbor universorum generum abundantier proferens fructus", and "Claus es de lauris[rs]e de pis,/E de pomiers de paradis" (II. 91-92). Both gar-

71 Concerning the allegory of the edifice, cf. O. Dammann, Die allegorische Canzone, pp. 11-29, and Roberta D. Cornelius The Figurative Castle, A study in the Medieval Allegory of the Edifice with Especial Reference to Religious Writings. (Bryn Mawr: 1930), passim.

72 Angus Fletcher in his study: Allegory, The Theory of a Symbolic Mode (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1964), p. 210 remarked that "There are, for example, sacred places which are free of contagion....These uncontaminated places can be of several kinds, their main claim to sacred value residing in their supposed centrality to a given universe." See also M.M. Davy, Essai sur la symbolique romane: XIIe siècle (Paris: 1955).

73 D.W. Robertson in his A Preface to Chaucer, Studies in Medieval perspectives (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1962), p. 386, explained that "There are significant gardens in works of all kinds—in saint's legends, in ribald comedies like the Miles Gloriosus, in fabliaux, in romances, and so on. And most of them reflect in one way or another, the gardens of the Bible...."
dens have a marvellous fountain: "ad arboris quidem radices surgebat fons quidam mirabilis mendissimam habens aquam, quae nectaris swavissimum praelibantibus inducebat saporem; in qua etiam omnium generum psicolorum species apparebant", and "Davant la' porta hac una font,/E non a tan bella e.1 mont,/Qi sortz en una conca d'aur./De tot lo mont val le tesaur./N'a om e.1 mont, si n'a begut,/Que cant qe es e cant [qe] fut,/Non sapchza de be e d'onor,/Qe non oblitt ira e dolor" (ll. 83-90). The fire of love is found in the vicinity of the palace in both cases. For Capellanus, the fiery ray comes from the East and obviously is related to the sun: "igneus amoris radius ab oriente ad illas usque pervenire non potest". In the Cort d’Amor the fire of love is a less symbolic, more realistic flame: "Lo cortes pueih, de l’autra part,/De.1 fuoch d’amar relusz ez art./D’aqui mou tota lo ioza/Qu’Amors per mez lo mond envoza" (ll. 52-54), and "Qant venc al intrar del castel,/Comenson a cantar li aucel,/El for d’amor ad abrasar" (ll. 853-855). Both the god of love and Fin’Amor are surrounded by beautiful blissful lovers:

...and after him, by the same road, followed all the first band of women and knights. For each of the women there was prepared a most beautiful couch on which to sit, and the knights chose for themselves the seats they preferred.  

74De Amore, p. 91.
75Ibid., pp. 79-80.
and both the god of love and Fin'Amor have jongleurs
and music in their palaces which is, of course, quite
typical of medieval nobles:

...the whole place of Delightfulness was
appointed for their pleasure, and before
them jugglers of every kind sported and
sang, and men played all kinds of musical
instruments there."6

Finally, both characters are referred to as the "King
who rules the world":

So now we suffer these well-deserved
punishments and receive from the King of
Love, through whom the whole world is
rules and without whom no one does any­
thing good in this world, payment ap­
propriate to our sins."7

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6 Ibid., p. 80.
7 Ibid., p. 77.
It is important, however, to remember that Andreas Capellanus is describing the god of love, a masculine deity who represents Love, "vidi hominem praecedentem et in spectabili equo nimis formoso sedentem aureo diademate coronatum",78 while the author of the Cort d'Amor is describing Love herself, "Amors la dousa et la bona" (1. 30). Capellanus’ god is first seen wearing his crown, but Fin’Amor is crowned early in the sequence of events (11. 835-866). Both have power and dominion, even habits and manners comparable to that of earthly kings, but they remain supernatural rulers of the world, "second only to Christ", and they are not in themselves mortal rulers of terrestrial kingdoms. The Latin poem remains closer in this respect to the Ovidian conception of Cupid, while the Occitan personification springs from the troubadour tradition of

78 Ibid., p. 92. "...I saw a man riding in front of them, seated on a very beautiful horse, well worth looking at, and crowned with a golden diadem." (p.75).
the female Fin'Amor. It is apparent, however, that the Cort d'Amor and certain passages of Capellanus' De Amore bear a certain fairly extensive resemblance to each other, which implies, if not direct contact, at least a common tradition.

1.4. There is one (or possibly two) minor Latin sources used by the Occitan author in the composition of his poem: the fable of the ant and the lion (ll. 107-116) and the fable of the stag at the fountain (ll. 1663-1669). The first, although it is attributed in the text to a certain Johanitz, has proved impossible to trace. Léopold Hervieux in his compendium of Latin fabulists79 includes the fables of a thirteenth century fabulist known as Johannes de Capua, who in 1280 translated some Indian fables into Latin.80 Unfortunately the list of his fables does not include the story of an ant and a lion. However, one of the fables related by Johannes in his second chapter, that of the lion and the bull, bears some resemblance to the theme of the fable of the lion and the ant cited by Fin'Amor: false denunciations that lead to the separation of friends. In this fable the lion


80Ibid., V, pp. 1-167.
had taken the bull, Senesba, as his favorite, elevating him in the court and conferring the highest dignities upon him. Soon, however, deceived by the traitor Dimna's clever accusations, the lion believed Senesba guilty of treason and had him executed, only to regret it deeply afterwards. The similarity in the theme and the similarity in the names of the fabulists, Johanitz-Johannes, argue that perhaps this is the source of the fable, and that it was only incompletely remembered by the author of the *Cort d'Amor*. This, of course, remains conjecture, since the date of the *Directorium* of Johannes is 1280, which is certainly too late for the *Cort d'Amor*, and thus Johanitz is impossible to identify at this point.

Hervieux also lists another fabulist, Johannis de Schepeya,81 among those whose stories one does find the well-known Aesopic fable of the stag at the fountain, but the translator, an English bishop, died in 1360, which is much too late for the *Cort d'Amor*. This fable is certainly Greek in origin, and not Italian as the first may be, and can be found in numerous other collections of fables including the *Isopet* of Chartres, no. 30, and *Isopet II* of Paris, no. 32.82 It is nonetheless


impossible to know whether or not the author of the *Cort d'Amor* encountered these fables in Latin, or in one of the Romance languages or whether he read them himself or simply heard them recited. The latter is entirely possible since the troubadour Guilhem de Montanhagol, a troubadour of the first half of the thirteenth century, devotes one strophe of a lyric poem to this same fable:

Mas eu fatz si com fe.1 cers, qe, can vi l'ombra dels bans en la fon bandejar, de.s gran erguelh, tro qe pres a gardar vas sos sec.s pes, e non s'amet aissi com per los pes l'avion restaurat tro.1 feiron pueys los corns prendr's aucir; q'eu lais per lei qe m'auci de desir mans de plazers q'amors d'autra.m daria.83

1.5. Taking into account the relatively high correlation between the themes and motifs of the *Cort d'Amor* and the love treatises of Ovid and Andreas Capellanus, as well as a certain familiarity with fables that appeared first in Western Europe in Latin versions, it is quite probable that the author of the *Cort d'Amor* was a cleric, or that he had had formal, probably clerical, training and could read Latin. It has long been evident, even from only a superficial reading of the troubadour biographies preserved in the *vidas*, that many

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of the troubadours were well educated and probably read Latin: Guiraut de Borneilh "fo; hom de bas afar, mas savis hom fo de letras e de sen natural...E la soa vida si era aital que tot l'invern estava en escola et aprendia letras..."; Arnaut de Mareuil "cantava ben e lecia romans." Uc Brunet was a cleric "et enparet ben letras", Gui d'Uisel was Canon of Brioude, and Daude de Pradas was Canon of Maguelonne. Guiraut de Calanso "ben saup letras e suptils fo de trobar." Uc de Saint Circ, sent to the university at Montpellier to learn his letters, lost interest and turned his attention to composing songs. As for Peire d'Alvernhe, "savis hom fo e ben letratz." It can be assumed that the Monk of Montaudon and Folquet

85 Ibid., p. 32.
86 Ibid., p. 199.
88 Ibid., p. 233.
89 Ibid., p. 217.
90 Ibid., p. 239.
91 Ibid., p. 263.
92 Ibid., p. 307.
de Marseille, later Bishop of Toulouse, were well versed in Latin. Peire Cardenal, a native of Le Puy Notre-Dame, was trained as a cleric, "e cant era petitz; sos paires lo mes per quanorgue en la quanorgui major del Puei; et pares letras, e saup ben lezer e chantar." As Professor Camproux pointed out "...si les pays d'Oc ne connaissaient à cette époque-là comme grandes écoles que celle de droit et celle de médecine de Montpellier, il existait bien d'autres écoles plus modestes qui n'en étaient pas moins des centres de culture, les canorgas ou canorguias si souvent citées où nos poètes allaient faire leurs études soit de clerrie soit de letras. Ces canourgues étaient des centres d'étude, religieux avant tout, où enseignaient des maîtres qui étaient au courant des discussions passionnées de leur temps." We must imagine that Ovid, and later Andreas Capellanus, were read in Latin and were as passionately discussed and at least as well known as the Church Fathers, if not better.

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93Ibid., p. 471.
94Ibid., p. 335.
95Charles Camproux, Le Joy d'Amor, p. 48.
Chapter 2
OLD FRENCH INFLUENCES

2.1. A more complicated problem is presented by the Old French sources of the Cort d'Amor. Whether our author knew French or French poetry at first hand is difficult to judge with any degree of certainty. It would not, in any event, be impossible since in the latter half of the twelfth century Marseille was the port of embarkation used by those Frenchmen participating in the crusades in the Holy Land, and they and their armies had necessarily to cross large portions of Occitania in order to reach that port. It is more likely, though, that Occitan seigneurs, soldiers and singers encountered French literature far from France, in the Holy Land itself, during the various crusades in which they too took part. It is not in the least unusual to find in the troubadour vidas and razos, that one or another poet took up the cross and passed outra mar:

"Et en aquesta alegressa, lo marques de Monferrat si se crosset e fez crosar Gauselm Paiditz per anar outra mar."¹

"E tant quant ella [N'Azalais de Mercuor] visquet, 'non amet autra; e quant ella fò

¹Biographies des Troubadours, ed. cit., p. 185.
There, the Occitan crusaders must have come into close contact with the French songs and romances of the time although this contact was almost certainly oral and not written.

Furthermore, we learn from the razos that French jongleurs did perform in the South:

En aquest temps vengen dos joglars de Franza en la cort del marqués [of Montferrat] ...."4

These jongleurs played an estampida on the viola, and Raimbaut de Vaqueiras was persuaded to compose a stampida based on their French melody. It is very likely, given the Southern cultivation of the virtue of largess, that these two were not the only performers to travel south.

On the other hand, troubadours were, naturally and by profession, a travelling sort, accustomed anar per cortz, and it is not surprising to find them in French

\[2\] Ibid., p. 311.
\[3\] Ibid., p. 462.
\[4\] Ibid., p. 465.
courts. When Alienor of Aquitaine moved north to join first one husband (French) and then the other (Angevin), she moved substantial portions of her court with her, and opened the way for increased literary communication between Occitania and France. Very likely Bernart de Ventadorn visited France in her retinue, and could have even visited Troyes while Chrestien and the chaplain Andrew were living there. There is, therefore, a considerable likelihood that Occitan poets knew French poetry rather well.

2.2. Where Old French literature is concerned, as in the Latin tradition, numerous works contributed to the development of the love treatises and allegories, and together these works contributed to the general literary atmosphere of early thirteenth century France with which our author, as a learned man, was probably quite familiar. Among these works are the various versions of the love debate, elaborations on the story of Florence and Blanchefleur\(^5\) from the twelfth century; a discussion between two lovers overheard by a narrator, "Le donnei des amants"\(^6\) from the same period; *Li Fablel dou Dieu*


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d'Amour? a short time later; "Comment l'amant doit donner,"8 a fragment from a lost art of love from the early thirteenth century; the Lai de l'Oiselet9 from the same period in which a little bird lists the rules of love; and "Dou vrai chiment d'amours,"10 an early thirteenth century art of love, one of the sources of the love allegory De Venus la Déesse d'amour.11 Each of these poems, either allegory or art of love, more often both, has certain elements in common with the Cort d'Amor: the garden of love with springtime greenery and flowers, often with a fountain, the personification of love as god or goddess, a discussion of the nature of true love, a judgment delivered in a specific case, and often certain elements of magic or the marvellous. Nonetheless, it is impossible to demonstrate that any one of these poems was specifically known to the author of the Cort d'Amor. It cannot be proven that he knew them and yet it is undeniable that he certainly knew poems very like


8 J. Morawski, "Fragment d'un art d'aimer perdu," Romania, 48 (1922), pp. 431-436.


11 Ed. W. Foerster (Bonn: 1880).
them from which he borrowed these motifs.

Similarly, as Marc-René Jung pointed out, the quasi-allegorical passages in the great romances inspired by the Greek and Latin classics, and composed and circulated in the late twelfth century: the monologue in dialogue form, and the allegorical personification of mythological figure, served to prepare the literary atmosphere for the Roman de la Rose:

La grande nouveauté de Thèbes et de Troie, ce sont les épisodes amoureux, soit que les auteurs développent une donnée que leur fournir leur modèle, soit qu'ils inventent de nouvelles intrigues, ....

Le roman d'Enées se situe dans la même lignée. Ces histoires d'amour donnent lieu à de longues analyses de sentiments. Héros et héroïnes s'interrogent sur ce qui leur arrive, reconnaissent qu'ils sont en proie à l'amour, essaient de résister, luttent, succombent enfin. Cette psychologie de l'amour s'exprime le plus souvent dans des monologues. La situation respective des amants (situation sociale, le fait d'être l'ennemi de la personne aimée, l'honneur du sexe) érigé une barrière de difficultés qu'il s'agit de surmonter. De là, un débat entre le principe de l'amour et les principes de l'état, de la famille, de l'honneur. Ces principes entrent parfois directement en lice, prennent la parole, et argumentent chacun en faveur. Si l'écrivain ne se contente pas de rapporter ce débat en style indirect, on aboutit au monologue dialogué. Les deux principes opposés se disent alors dans le "coeur" du héro ou de l'héroïne. Les voix intérieures portent des noms, comme amour.

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12Etudes sur le Poème allégorique, pp. 170-191.

13Ibid., p. 171.
M. Jung agrees with Edmond Faral that the love scenes in these romances, particularly in Enées, find their source in Ovid, primarily in the love stories of the Metamorphoses. But M. Jung also devotes special attention to the development of the medieval personification of Love. He notes that in Enées, the god of love, Cupid, the half-brother of the hero through their mother Venus, and Love, "la puissance qui agit si fortement sur les amoureux, que l'on apostrophe avec véhémence, qui semble même prendre la parole," are evidently two separate entities. The first is a character in the romance, the second remains an "active abstraction" to use his terms. In the Roman de Troie of Benoît de Sainte-Maure on the other hand, "l'Amour (amour?) est toujours une force puissante et agissante, mais au niveau de l'abstractum agens. Amour naîtra, saisit, attire, veut, fait plier, étreint dans ses lacs, montre, blesse, assaile, pince, mord, lit grave leçon, défend, fait perdre la raison. Toutefois, on peut mettre une nouveauté à l'actif de Benoît de Sainte-

14 Ibid., pp. 171-172.


16 Etudes sur le Poème allégorique, p. 178.
Jung also points out that Chrétien de Troyes, during this same period or only a short time after, uses the same sort of monologue-dialogue in which Love is personified. In the *Chevalier de la Charrette*, Reason and Love debate (vs. 365-377), and likewise Largess and Pity (vs. 2838-2847); in *Cliges* both Soredamors and Alexander undergo these internal psychological debates (vs. 468-521 and vs. 608-864 respectively), with Alexander examining the pretty little allegory of the "dart" with which he has been wounded and which represents the lady herself. Li Deus d'Amors himself appears in *Yvain* (v. 5371), but Jung notes that "partout, ailleurs, Amors est du féminin, même si elle (ou: il) se comporte comme un chevalier errant (vs. 1382, 6035, 6041)." Thus the personification of Love, parallel but nonetheless distinct from the classical concept of Cupid, is established early in the medieval tradition of the romance, ca. 1160, at least as early as any extant lyric in a Romance language. In the romance, Love may be either male or female, either a personified "force," a "power," an "active abstraction," or the god (or goddess) of

17Ibid., p. 179.
18Ibid., p. 185.
Love, a character able to take part and influence events.

Once again there is no positive link between the twelfth century romances and the *Cort d'Amor*, although there are certain similarities. In the *Roman d'Enéas*, for example, Lavinia's mother delivers a lesson on the *mal d'amor* that is similar to that pronounced by the messenger in the *Cort d'Amor*:

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Tot'es vostra color mudada.
Eu cur qe vos es soclamada,
Q'el frons vos no s gieta calor.
Non es; anz es lo mal d'amor
Qe.us. ha tenguda longament.
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(vers. 1521-1525)

est donc amors enfermetez?
"Nenil, mais molt petit en falt,
une fievre quartaine valt.
Pire est amors que fievre ague,
n'est pas retors quant l'en en sue.
D'amor estuet sovent suer
et refreidir, fremir, trenbler
et sospirer et baaillier,
et perdre tot beivre et mangier
et dageter et tressaillir,
muer color et aspalir,
giendre, plaindre, palir, penser
et senglotir, veillier, plorer:
ce li estuet faire sovent
ki bien aime et ki s'en sent.
Tels est amors et sa nature.
Se tu i vuels metre ta cure,
sovent t'estovra endurer
cce que tu m'oz, si aconter
et asez plus."

(vers. 7916-7935)

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19 *Roman d'Enéas*, texte critique, Jacques Salverda de Grave (Halle: Niemeyer, 1891) vs. 7889-7935, 8505-
8513, 8445 ff., 8047 ff., 8399 ff., particularly 7916-
7935.
2.3. Besides these works, which are probably only very indirect sources, the Old French material falls naturally into two more categories: those works that the author mentions but knew apparently only by reputation, and those works he probably knew well and may have read. The first category includes those works whose characters are mentioned by the author as examples of a specific type or situation, but which apparently had no other influence on his work. It is still possible in these cases that the Occitan author had read them and knew them very well, but this simply cannot be proven by reference to the *Cort d'Amor*. This category remains therefore a list of those works that are merely mentioned, directly or indirectly by the author, and from which nothing else is borrowed, literary influence being impossible to demonstrate. The latter category includes those works whose influence can be demonstrated by comparison of themes, metaphors, phrases, style, etc., and which are truly sources of the *Cort d'Amor*, such as the love treatises and lyric poetry of Ovid, for example, and possibly the work of Andreas Capellanus discussed in the preceding chapter.

There are in our poem several examples of Old French works that could be classified in the first category, the first two examples occurring together early in the text.
The lady assures her lover thus:

S'ieu ren vaill, so es per vos,
Q'ananch Galvains ni Soredamors,
Ni anch Floris ni Blancheflors,
Ni l'amors Ysolt ni Tristan,
Contra nos dos non valg un gan.

(vs. 314-319)

It will be demonstrated below that the Old French romance of Floire et Blanchefleur may have influenced the author of the Cort d'Amor considerably and that he probably knew it quite well. It is the reference to the other couples that probably falls into our first category, and it is the first of these couples, Galvains and Soredamors, (v. 315) that is rather disturbing. The lady, listing three of the most famous pairs of faithful lovers in medieval literature in order to compare them unfavorably to her lover and herself, has included a brother and sister! Soredamors is the sister of Sir Gauvin in Chrestien de Troyes' Arthurian romance Cligès (1176). In reality, the love affairs in that story are first that of Soredamors and Alexander and later that of their son Cligès and Fénice. That this story was well known in Occitania in the middle of the thirteenth century is demonstrated by references to it in the slightly later poems Jaufré:

Aital amor mi sobreporta
Cun fes Fenisa, que per morta
Se fes sebelir per Cligès
Qe puis amet lonc temps apres.

(vs. 7609-7612)
and Flamenca:

L'autre comtava de Feniza
Con transir la fes sa noirissa;
(vs. 677-678)

but it is most unlikely that our author had any first
hand acquaintance with it, since a direct knowledge of
the story of Soredamors would automatically prohibit her
name from being linked in a love context with that of
Galvains, her brother. It is not likely that our author
simply knew another (perhaps Southern) version of this
story since Chrestien appears to have invented this
particular sister of Gauvain himself.²⁰ It is curious,
however, that we also find the familiar theme of the
traitorous eyes developed at some length in Cliges by
Soredamors:

Ses tialz de traison encuse,
Et dit: "Cel, vos m'avez traie;
Par vos m'a mes cuers anhaie,
Qui me soloit estre de foi.
Or me grieve ce que je voi."
(vs. 468-472)

And this theme is taken up in the Cort d'Amor:

De me non podes haver tort,
Mais l'oill traid r qe m'an mort
Oeiramem son ill traidor:
Mais aimon vos qe lor seimor.
(vs. 493-496)

Still, it is impossible to certify that our author knew
Cliges since the same motif occurs in troubadour poems

(1956), pp. 69-77.
in which he may have found it:

Gaucelm Faidit:
E pois mos cors e miei huoill trahit m'an. 21

Daude de Pradas:
Mos cors e miei huoill m'an trahit. 22

Finally, and perhaps coincidentally, Alexander refers to the Court of Love:

Vos qui d'Amors vos feites sage,
Et les costumes et l'usage
De sa cort maintenez a foi,
N'onques ne faussastes sa loi,
Que qu'il vos an doie cheoir,
Dites se l'en peut nes veoir
Rien qui por Amor abelisse,
Que l'en n'an tressaille ou palisse.
(vs. 3819-3826)

Unfortunately these bits and pieces of evidence remain circumstantial, and no conclusions can be drawn from them regarding Chrestien de Troyes, or at least his Cliges, as a source for the Cort d'Amor.

Like Soredamors and Galvais, but far less drastically, it is evident that Tristan and Ysolt as well are cited only as a well known example of a famous couple, for there is nothing in the Cort d'Amor to indicate borrowing from or influence by this Celtic romance. Rather it seems from the numerous references by


the troubadours to Tristan and Yseult:\(^{23}\)

Raimbaut d'Orange: "Car ieu begui de l'amor,/Que ja us deia amor celada,/Ab Tristan, quam la il det Yseus gen..../Sobre totz aurai gran valor,/S'aital camisa m'es dada/Cum Yseus det a l'amador/Que mais non era portata;/Tristan mour presetz zent presen.../
Qu'Yseutz estet en gran paor,/Puoiis fon breumens conseillada,/Qu'elh fetz a son marit crezen/C'anc hom nasques de maire/Non toques en liis mantenen."

Bernart de Ventadorn: "Tan trac pena d'amor/Qu'a Tristan l'amador/Non aveno tan de dolor/Per Yseut la blonda."

Daude de Pradas: "Beure.m fai ab l'emap Tristan/Amors, e eisses los pimens."

Bertran de Born: "Als pels d'Agnes.../
Qu'Isceus la domn'a Tristan,/Qu'en fo per totz mentauguda,/No'ls as tan bels a saubuda."

Arnaut de Mareuil: "Ni.l bel Yzeus ab lo pel bloy/Non agro lo mitat de joy/NI d'alegrier ab leurs amis,/Cum yeu ab vos, so m'es avis."

Pons de Capdollh: "Be.m deu valer s'amors, quar fis amans/Li sui trop miels no fon d'Izeutz Tristans."
"Mais vos am ses bauzia/No fes Tristan s'amia."

Bertolome Zorzi: "L'amoroseta beuanda/Non feric ab son cairel/Tristan n'Iseut plus fortmen/Quant ill venian d'Irlanda."

Flamenc: "L'us comtava de Governail/Com per Tristan ac grieu treball." (vs. 675-676)

\(^{23}\)The seven troubadours mentioned here are cited in Raynouard's Choix des poésies originales des troubadours (Paris: Didot, 1817), II, pp. 312-316.
that they are simply a motif common throughout the lyric
tradition of the troubadours and that the motif has
been transferred into the narrative tradition of the
romance from that of the lyric. It is entirely possible
that our author knew the story indirectly, that he had
heard some version of it recited, or that he had read
it himself, but it is evident from his Occitan text
that he did not allow it to influence his own composi-
tion.

In precisely the same way, Aia and Landric, the
presumed heroine and lover of an Occitan chanson de
geste which is now lost, are cited as an example of
perfect lovers. The lady is urged by her messenger
"Amatz lo mais c'Aia Landric" (v. 1518), and at least
three troubadours have mentioned this couple in exactly
the same context:24

Arnaut de Mareuil: "Vostre hom sui, donna
gaya,/E am vos mais que Landrics Aya."

Peire Raimon de Tolosa: "Plus fis...que
no fo Landrics a n'Aya."

Paulet de Marseille: "Bella dompa plazens,
ay/Dit soven quar ieu nous ai,/Quar vos am,
que qu'ieu n'aya/Mais qu'Enricx no fis n'Aya."

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24 See notes to translation v. 1518.
It is therefore quite possible that this couple also entered the romance as a motif by way of the lyric, and that it entered the lyric by way of the chanson de geste! This particular reference is part of the Old Occitan tradition rather than Old French, and, unfortunately, the original poem being lost, it is impossible to trace with any precision. Numerous interesting hypotheses have been proposed on this subject but until the present they remain unsubstantiated by any text.

The last of the direct references in the Cort d’Amor concerns Marcoul and Salomon:

E si lausængier son Marcos
Hom lur deu esser Salamos.
(vs. 988-989)

from a twelfth century collection of proverbs: Les Dits de Marcoul et de Salomon. It has been pointed out that Salomon represents the moralist and Marcoul the parodist,25 but Constans noted that here the roles are reversed, "et l'attaque est attribuée à Marcoul (Marcon)."26 It is possible, however, that this passage is not necessarily intended to be construed in that manner, for here the part played by Marcos is not viewed


as clever and amusing; the satiric parodist who resolves
the enigmas of Salomon and proposes others is not ap­
plauded. The righteous lover has no choice but to play
the part of Salomon (the wise moralist) since the gossips
insist on playing the part of Marcon (the licentious
satirist). In Occitania, at least, the reader or audience
approved and identified with Salomon, while in France
they apparently approved and identified with Marcoul,
hence what appears to Constans as a reversal of the
roles. Nevertheless, the general scarcity of proverbs
in the Cort d'Amor leads one to believe that, once
again, the reference in question is simply a well known
and popular literary motif, and that our author may not
have known the Dits de Marcoul et de Salomon at first
hand.

2.4. The romance of Floire and Blanchefleur, on the
other hand, is not only cited in the Cort d'Amor: "Ni
anch Floris ni Blanchaflors,.../Contra nos dos non
valg un gan" (vs. 316-319), but also in the lyrics of
at least five troubadours of the golden age: 27

La comtessa de Dia: "Car plus m'en sui
abelilda/Non fis Floris de Blancaflor."

Arnaut de Mareuil: "Blancaflor ni Semiramis/
Non agro la meitat de joy/Ni d'aegrier ab
lurs amis/Cum isu ab vos, so m'es avis."

27 The five troubadours mentioned here are cited in
Raynouard, Choix, II, pp. 304-305.
as clever and amusing; the satiric parodist who resolves the enigmas of Salomon and proposes others is not applauded. The righteous lover has no choice but to play the part of Salomon (the wise moralist) since the gossips insist on playing the part of Marcon (the licentious satirist). In Occitania, at least, the reader or audience approved and identified with Salomon, while in France they apparently approved and identified with Marcoul, hence what appears to Constans as a reversal of the roles. Nevertheless, the general scarcity of proverbs in the Cort d'Amor leads one to believe that, once again, the reference in question is simply a well known and popular literary motif, and that our author may not have known the Dits de Marcoul et de Salomon at first hand.

2.4. The romance of Floire and Blanchefleur, on the other hand, is not only cited in the Cort d'Amor: "Ni anch Floris ni Blanchaflors;/.../Contra nos dos non valg un gan" (vs. 316-319), but also in the lyrics of at least five troubadours of the golden age:27

La comtessa de Dia: "Car plus m'en sui abellida/Non fis Floris de Blancaflor."

Arnaut de Mareuil: "Blancaflor ni Semiramis/
Non agro la meitat de joy/Ni d'alegrier ab lurs amis/Cum ieu ab vos, so m'es avis."

27The five troubadours mentioned here are cited in Raynouard, Choix, II, pp. 304-305.
Folquet de Romans: "Que meill non pres a Raol de Canbrais,/Ni a Flori qan poget el palais."

"Anc no fon de Joy tan rixc/
Floris quan jac ab s'amia."

Aimeri de Belenoi: "Ni Blancaflor/Tan greu dolor/Ter Flori non senti,/Quan de la Tor/L'empedador/Per s'amistat eussi."

Gaucelm Faidit: "Pro m'esta miels d'amor/
Qu'a Floris el palais."

and in Jaufre: E non m'en devetz mentz amar/Car vos sui venguda preguar,/Que far m'o faí forsa d'Amor/Que fes Floris a Blancaflor/Tant amar, qu'era filz de rei,/Que partir lo fet de sa lei." (vs. 7599-7604).

It is entirely possible that the story of Floire and Blanchefleur was so well known by the thirteenth century that all memories of the French version were forgotten, and that it circulated orally in Occitan, and not in Old French. Nonetheless, the French version is the only one that has survived, and it is still possible to trace certain similarities between it and the Cort d'Amor.

There are, first of all, two small, nearly insignificant details: the author of the Cort d'Amor writes of "En ma tour avec mes puceles,/Ou il en a sept vinz de beles,/A honeur servir la feisioe." This viij.xx. is the earliest attestation of the system of counting by twenties to be found in the
South,\textsuperscript{28} and it could easily have been borrowed from the story of \textit{Floire et Blanchefleur}. In a similar way, the Occitan author seems to have borrowed the notion of 'pretty as a picture': Bella borsa, bella centure/
Com s'era tot fait en peinture" (vs. 677-678), from vs. 2650-2651 and vs. 2668-2669 of \textit{Floire et Blanchefleur}:

\begin{quote}
Les narilles avoit mielz fetes
Que s'il fussent as mains portretes.

De cors est ele tant bien fete
Con s'ele fust as mains portretes.
\end{quote}

In the second place, vs. 1421-1462 of the French poem involve a debate between \textit{Savoir} and \textit{Amours} which is intended to depict the internal struggle caused by Floire's hesitation and mistrust upon entering the city of Babylon and his desire to find and rescue Blanchefleur. \textit{Savoir} attempts to convince him to remember his lineage and to return home; \textit{Amours}, predictably, urges him to stay and seek out Blanchefleur. Here the monologue in dialogue form, similar to those of \textit{Eneas} and the other Old French romances, personifies \textit{Amours} who evidently wins the struggle against \textit{Savoir} and returns to encourage the hero in vs. 1516-1522:

\begin{quote}
Amours alume son corage.
Amours li dist: "Aies anvie;
Ci ammaine Paris s'amie.
--Hé, Dieus! verrai ge ja le jor
Que si enmenrai Blancheflor?
--Diva, Floires, après mengier
To doit tes hostes conseillier.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Few}, XIV, pp. 444-445.
In the **Cort d’Amor Savoir** appears as **Sens**, intelligence, and pledges his allegiance to **Fin’Amor**, and Intelligence is her loyal vassal.

Finally, it is the poet’s description of Babylon, an exotic, oriental, and slightly unreal city that resembles our author’s account of **Fin’Amor’s** castle on Mount Parnassus. As in Capellanus’ *Amenitas*, and the **Cort d’Amor**, the emir’s castle is located in the center of the city:

> Z’el mei loc ac un castel.  
> (v. 71)

> El milieu de ceste cité  
> A une tor d’antiquité.  
> (vs. 1623-1624)

The walls of **Fin’Amor’s** castle and the walls surrounding the emir’s garden are of gold and azur:

> Que non ha una peira e.l mur  
> Non luisza con d’aur o d’azur.  
> (vs. 73-74)

> De toutes parz est clos a mur  
> Tout paint a or et a azur.  
> (vs. 1748-1749)

This similarity could be explained perhaps by the artist’s search for a word denoting a color that rhymes with *mur*: azur. Still the gardens themselves bear certain resemblances to each other. Each garden contains fantastic birds:

> E d’autra part hae un ombrage
On hac maint auzel salvatge
Que cantent la nuelt e lo zor
Voltas e lais de gran dousor.
(vs. 67-70)

Las flors e l's ausels mesclament
E l'mon no es volta ni lais
L'ausel non canto en palais.
(vs. 1750-1765)

E l'aussell movent tut lur lais
E veian si s'acordon gen
L'aussell e nostris estrumen.
(vs. 1062-1064)

Et desus seur chacun quernel
Divers de l'autre a un oisel
D'arein ouvrez tresgeteiz;
Quant il vente, si font hauz criz
Chaucuns oisiaux a sa maniere;
Il ne fu onc beste tant fiere,
Liepart ne tigre ne lions,
Ne s'asoaits, quant ot les sons.
Et en ce vergier ou tans seri
A tant d'oisiaux getant doz cri
Et des fetis et des verails,
De mauviz, de melles, de jais
Et d'autres oisiaux qui i sont,
Qui par le vergier joie font,
Qui le son ot de l'hermonie
Moult est dolenz, s'il n'a s'amie.
(vs. 1750-1765)

The Occitan birds mingle with flowers and instruments
and sing all the songs there are in the world, while the
song of the French birds is so sweet that it charms
wild beasts and makes men dream of love. In addition,
both gardens contain marvellous trees and flowers:

Zoi e Solasz foron laisus,
E Ardimenz e Cortezzia
Qe de flors l'enzonchon la via.
Bon'Esperancha e Paors
Li portent de denant las flors.

..............................
Fin'Amor's flowers are her loyal subjects, strung on her path, perfuming her bed, decorating her crown, and in the excess of extreme joy produced by her coronation, they even detach themselves from their earth-bound stems and roots in order to become mobile and to leap toward her face. Rather ambiguously, all the flowers in the world "do what they can to honor her." Rarely do we think of flowers 'doing' anything besides growing, blooming, and dying, and it could be that that is exactly what the author means: the very existence of the flowers is in honor of Fin'Amor. Yet it is impossible to ignore those flowers that leapt for joy and the trees that ran to meet their lady and to bow before her at her coronation, for
they truly are in the realm of the marvellous. More practically, the wealth of Love is measured in flowers:

Trenta cofres totz ples de flors
Lor fetz per sol gitar Amors
Qe fez traire de son tesaer,
Q'el no j ten argent ni aur,
Ni non toca aur ni argent,
Si non sei joias q'hom no vent
Qe non son ges per aur gardadas.
(vs. 1581-1587)

They are the joias q'hom no vent which are not kept for money, but only for delight and pleasure which are the proper currency of Love, who keeps them in her treasury. Since flowers are abundant nearly everywhere, the whole world becomes the treasury of Love.

In Floire et Blanchefleur the trees, flowers and particularly the spices in the emir's garden are marvellous mainly by their quantity and variety:

Li vergiers est toz tens floriz
Et des oisiaux i a hauz criz:
Il n'a soz ciel arbre tant chier
No soit planté en ce vergier:
Olivier, lorier ne fier,
Aleandier ne laier
Ne autre arbre chier qui fruit port
Ne soit plantez en icel ort:
Pouvre, canele et garingaut,
Encens, girole et citoaut
Et autres espices zranment
Qui moult par eulent doucement;
Il n'en a tant, mon esclent,
Entre orient et occident.
(vs. 1780-1793)

but the emir's garden also contains the very exotic arbre d'amours:
Uns arbres est desus plantez,
Plus biau ne vit hon qui soit nez;
Pour ce que toz 'tens i a flour
L'apele l'en l'arbre d'amours;
L'une renest, quant l'autre chiet,
Par grant mestrise l'arbre siet;
L'arbre, la flour, tout est vermeil.
De fisique ot cil grant conseill
Quil planta, car en l'aseoir
Se fez l'engin, se con g'espoir.
Au matin i fiert li solaus
Qui de l'oriant sort vermaus,
Et avec lui fierent dui vent
Par qu'est tenuz tempreemnt;
Par fisique est si enseigniez
Que touz tens est de fleurs chargiez.
(vs. 1804-1819)

It is this tree which, through enchantment, will help the emir choose his next bride by allowing one of its flowers to fall upon the most beautiful maiden (vs. 1836-1851).

There is little indication, however, that the Cort d'Amor's running, bowing trees, and leaping flowers are in any way directly inspired by the emir's arbre d'amours, unless perhaps, the Occitan author was encouraged by it to give his imagination free rein.

The magic fountains in the two poems are, on the other hand, much more similar:

Davant la porta hac una font,
E non a tan bella e.1 mont,
Qi sortz en una conca d'aur.
De tot lo mont val le tesaor.
N'a om e.1 mont, se n'a begut,
Que cant qe es e cant fut,
Non sapchza de be e d'onor,
Qe non oblit ira e dolor.
(vs. 83-90)
La fontaina pres a bruir;
E la conca a retenir
C'om no sat negus estrument
E.1 mo qa s'acordes tan gent.
(vs. 843-846)

Fin'Amor's fountain is especially exotic for it is
caught in a golden shell, flows and ceases according to
mysterious laws, and has a most magical and salutory
effect on any man who drinks from it. Whoever the man
may be, he will forget anger and sorrow and become good
and honorable with just one sip. It does not seem to
affect women, whereas the emir's fountain decidedly
reacts only to women:

El milieu court une fontaine
Qui touz jours est et clere et sainne;
Par carrel i a fet channel
De bon argent cler con cristal.
(vs. 1800-1803)

Quant l'amirant i velt sortir
Ses puceles i fet venir
Au ruissiau de la fontenele
D'esmeraude et de gravele.
Quant dovent passer le chenal
Qui est d'argent et de cristal,
Outre vont ordeneement
Et il au passer moult entent
Et a ses rois i fet entendre.
Grant merveille i poez aprendre,
Car comme i passe pucele,
L'eve est touz jours et clere et belle,
Et au passer de fame eüe
L'eve est tretoute commeüe.
(vs. 1820-1833)

Most curiously, however, an engineer has cleverly con­
trived so that by means of a channel this already re­
markable stream will actually rise to the third floor
enabling the maidens who live there to wash their hands whenever they wish:

Dedenz est bien fez uns chanaus
Par quoi sus monte une fontainne
Dont l'ève est froide, clere et mainne;
Droit amont el tierz estage;
Moult tien l'engineor a sage
Qui fist amont l'ève torner
Par une coste d'un piler
Si qu'es estages sus remant
En un metal gentement pent,
Dont les puceles qui i sont
Levent lor mains, quant mestier ont.
(vs. 1656-1666)

Although the water of each fountain has specific magical properties, the emir's fountain is certainly richer and more marvellous than that of Fin'Amor whose fountain, although of gold, bears no precious stones and simply stops and starts but does not flow uphill. Indoor plumbing in the twelfth century, created not by magic but by an "engineer", is more marvellous perhaps, in a technical way, than a natural fountain that begins to flow again in the springtime (at the coronation of Love). Magic fountains are not uncommon in medieval literature, especially in the Celtic material, and it is possible that our author is drawing on an entire tradition involving such phenomena, and did not necessarily find his inspiration for it in Floire et Blanchefleur.

Finally, however, both gardens are compared to

Paradise. *Fin'Amor* is surrounded by the apple trees of the biblical Paradise:

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Claus es de laurie [r] e de pis,
E de pomiers de paradis.
(vs. 91-92)
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And she orders the chart containing her judgment, once it has been signed and sealed, placed in her vaults:

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Met li n'en paradis terrestre.
(v. 416)
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Earthly Paradise then, would be located in the vicinity of Mount Parnassus (vs. 40-41), in Greece, north of Delphi. In this case, our author is either ignorant of the geography of the eastern Mediterranean, which is unlikely since the crusades in the Holy Land had familiarized a good number of western Europeans with that area, or he is indulging in a bit of poetic licence.

It was assumed throughout the Christian Middle Ages that the earthly Paradise, the Garden of Eden, was located in the Holy Land itself, although, of course, its specific location was lost. Our medieval author avoids the blasphemy of actually placing *Fin'Amor's* court and garden in the biblical Eden by transporting them to Greece. His choice of Mt. Parnassus as the site is a logical one because that mountain has always been a magic place, the home of various deities, sacred first to Dionysius, with shrines to the Corycian nymphs and Pan, later to Apollo, and under the Roman poets, home of the Muses. The role
of Fin'Amor as inspirer of poets could easily lead to an identification between her and the Muses, and then to a natural assumption that she lived on Mt. Parnassus in the Muses' traditional home. The identification of the verger d'amour and the biblical earthly Paradise developed slightly differently. Charles Oulmont in his study of the Débats du Clerc et du Chevalier, 30 explained how the concepts of the Garden of Eden in Genesis, home of the first couple, the garden in the Song of Songs, scene of the lover's meeting and their hymn to love, and the depiction of the celestial Jerusalem in Revelations, appealed to the imagination of the Middle Ages, and how medieval poets combined elements of each in order to arrive finally at the landscape of the profane but still mysterious garden of Love.

In Floire et Blanchefleur, because the location of the garden and the castle is the city of Babylon, east of Jerusalem in the Mesopotamian Valley, the author may be correct without the risk of blasphemy:

De l'autre part, ce m'est avis,
Court un fleuve le paradis;
Eufrates est apleez;
De celui est avironnez
Einsi que riens n'1 peut entrer,
Se par desus n'1 peut voler.
(vs. 1766-1771)

He does not state that the emir's garden is Paradise.

30 pp. 6-12.
only that one of the rivers of Paradise, the Euphrates, flows through it. With this allusion he implies that the emir's garden resembles Eden by sheer proximity, and by the fact that it is watered by one of Eden's rivers. This identification with the biblical Paradise is encouraged by the poet's assertion that the emir's garden contains all possible varieties of fruit, flowers, trees, birds, and spices:

Il n'en a tant, mon esclaire,
Entre orient et occident,
Qui enz est et sent les odors
Et des epices les flerors
Et oit les oisiaux par doucer
Chanter le lai qu'il font d'amor,
Pour la douceur il est avis
Du son qu'il soit en paradis.

(vs. 1792-1799)

This may not be Paradise, but anyone who has entered the garden would believe that it was!

The concept of a lover's paradise, a garden of Love, is a natural enough development, and the Occitan poet did not have to read a French poem in order to discover it. However, he does mention Floris and Blanchaflor in his own poem, and it is therefore very possible that the author of the Cort d'Amor really did know the story of Floire et Blanchefleur in a version very like the one that has survived in Old French, and that he was inspired by it in certain instances. Once again, as with the influence of Chrestien de Troyes, all the evidence is
more or less circumstantial, although in this case there
is a good deal more of it, and none of it is specific
enough to warrant a conclusive assertion that *Floire
et Blanchefleur* is a direct source of the *Cort d'Amor.*
Rather we must assume that our author could have known
all of these works in one version or another, that he
probably did, and that he may have drawn on all of them
for his inspiration, modifying whatever he borrowed and
changing it to suit his own poetic vision.
Chapter 3
OCCITAN LYRIC SOURCES

3.1. By far the largest number of direct sources of the Cort d'Amor are to be found in the troubadour poetry of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. There will be no attempt here to explore the origins of the troubadour lyric, for there is little doubt that the Occitan lyrics themselves were the sources from which our author drew much of his inspiration, and it is most probable that he was himself quite unaware of the specific sources of the motifs he borrowed. The Occitan poems to be considered first, the lyrics, consisted of songs whose topic or subject is very often, though not necessarily, love. The troubadours had a tendency, however, to inject the philosophy and the vocabulary of their love ethic into all of their poetry, even their most political songs:

Lo coms de Tolosa val tan,
Tan fai e tan embria
Que mulh home del mon non blan
Per mal, qui.s vuelh sia;
Aitais.es com ieu lo demun;
Larcs, arditz, alegrez'aiman,
Francs, de bella paria,
Vertadiers, drechura gardan,
Leiais e ses bausia,
Since the subject of a love song is normally the sense of joy or suffering, which the poet wishes to communicate either to his beloved or to the world at large, together with his reasons for feeling as he does, almost all troubadour poetry is in some sense didactic, and nearly all love songs are to a certain extent, arts of love: "Do as I have done and rejoice," or "Do not do as I have done and thereby avoid misery." Although the troubadours themselves, from beginning to end, were, in a typically medieval way, continually probing, analyzing, and defining the realm of Fin'Amor, of necessity each poet viewed it with a different and highly personal attitude, and this accounts for the wide diversity of depictions. Rarely is the poetry of two troubadours indistinguishable, one from the other. Some troubadours, like Marcabru, lean more heavily toward the moralistic and didactic vein, while others, like Bernart de Ventadorn, tend toward the pure song of joy or suffering, and the examination of private emotions. By the first quarter of the thirteenth century, perhaps in conjunction with

the rise of scholasticism, perhaps as a result of the invasion of their territory by the crusading French and the subsequent threat to their institutions, troubadour poetry assumed an even more didactic tone, lamenting the passing of the golden years of Cortezià and poetry, and teaching the precepts of Fin'Amor to those for whom they were foreign concepts. This didactic tendency reached a culminating point with Guilhem de Montanhagol, where, in a frequently quoted passage, he forbids sexual indulgence and defends love as a source of chastity:

Ben devon li amador
de bon cor servir amor,
qar amors non es peccatz
anz es vertutz qe.ls malvatz
fai bons, e.ll bon son meilleur,
e met hom'en via
de ben far tot dia;
e d'amor mou castitatz,
qar qi.n amor ben s'enten
Non pot far qe pueis mal renh.

As a result, the troubadour poetry as a whole forms a most substantial art of love, which is surprisingly consistent, with only a very small number of nonconform-

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This process, by which troubadour poetry becomes more and more defensive and didactic, will continue until the fourteenth century, when Matfré Ermenaut will publish his *Breviarì d'Amor*, a compendium of all the troubadour motifs and themes, an art of love *par excellence*.  

3.2. In addition to art of love, troubadour poetry frequently involves personification of abstract ideas to such an extent that it continually verges on allegory.  

Jean Pépin has noted that allegory is fundamentally a function of language:

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4Among the very few nonconformists we would have to place Lady H., cited in Chapter 1, who defended the use of force in love.


Jung, op. cit., p. 121, remarks that 'le conceptualisms de la poésie lyrique des troubadours est à l'origine d'un style nominal qui atteint, tôt déjà, un haut degré d'abstraction. Puisque les troubadours, évitant les latinismes, forment les noms abstraits à partir de leur langue maternelle, un lien vital unit l'abstraction et le langage. Le nom ab­strait ne s'imposait pas du dehors, il est véritablement imagé. Lorsqu'il s'ériçe en sujet, il agit; (cont.)
Observons d'abord combien l'idée de l'allégorie est liée à l'essence même du langage. On a souvent fait remarquer la solidarité de la pensée et de son langage, simultanés et inséparables, d'où naît la difficulté de traduire une pensée dans une autre langue que l'originelle [...]. Cette infidélité du langage à la pensée provient d'une double inadéquation: d'une part chaque signe du langage répond à plusieurs contenus de la pensée différents (homonymie): le mot est rarement univoque, et le clavier rudimentaire du langage ne dessert pas les innombrables nuances de la pensée; d'autre part, bien que plus rarement et avec un moindre danger, la même idée peut s'exprimer par des mots divers (synonymie). Pour ces deux raisons la coextensivité du signe et du sens est l'exception, et la paronymie la règle. Dès lors, à lui seul, le langage est naturellement déguisement et allégorie: il dit autre chose qu'il ne semble dire. Mais comme si ce travestissement inséparable du langage ne suffisait pas, l'on a imaginé d'introduire l'allégorie proprement dite, qui est un déguisement du langage clair, c'est-à-dire, le déguisement d'un déguisement.7

In other words, language itself, by its very defects, is allegorical. The irony (also a form of allegory) appears when the innately allegorical medium of language is used to construct an allegorical tale in which the tale itself represents something else.

One of the first, and also one of the simplest intentional allegories to appear in literature through the conscious use of the ambiguity and versatility of language is the personification of abstract ideas. Marc-René Jung notes that "l'origine des personnifications est double; elle se trouve ou dans la langue même, ou alors dans la tradition littéraire. C'est un fait linguistique que l'abstraction a tendance à se rendre indépendante du sujet parlant, à s'animer." He links this tendency to the lyric poem: "La poésie lyrique, enfin, est pleine d'abstractions personnifiées, peu variées, cependant; elle est en outre empreinte de formules traditionnelles et de situations topiques qui reflètent un haut degré d'abstraction. Le climat de généralité dans lequel baignent les poèmes allégoriques est déjà tout entier dans la poésie lyrique." This use of personification is most vividly illustrated in the lyric Psychomachia of Peire Cardenal:

Falsedatz e desmezura
An batailla empreza
Ab vertat e ab drechura
E vens la falsëza,
E deslialtatz si jura
Contra lialeza,
E avaretatz s'atura

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9Ibid., p. 19.
Peire Cardenal, of course, is a troubadour of the thirteenth century, probably even a contemporary of the author of the *Cort d'Amor*, but allegorical personifications appear in the poetry of even the earliest troubadours. In a poem by Marcabru, for example, the allegory of the battle between personified vices and virtues, another replica of the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, melts into the metaphor of Prowess, a mighty bird that has been destroyed, of which only beak and claw and wing remain, and from this metaphor develops a wish that these remnants be preserved by the defenders for "from a small sapling, a mighty branch will grow if it is given proper care."

Non aus so que m'atalanta.
Dir d'una gen que.s fa cusca,
Cui Malvestatz franh e frusca;
Qu'entre mil no.n trueb quaranta
De cells cui Proeza ama.
Qu'en castell l'an assiza
E trazon i ben ab cen
Peiriers cill qui l'an revisa


11 See Charles Camproux, "Faray un vers tot covinen" *Mélanges de langue et de littérature du moyen âge et de la renaissance offerts à Jean Frappier* (Geneva, Uroz, 1970), I, pp. 159-178. In this study Professor Camproux explores the allegory of the two "dames-chvaux" in this poem by Guilhem IX.
Although the first two strophes cited here do introduce an acceptable allegory in a traditional form, the third strophe reduces it all to a bundle of mixed metaphors, thus suggesting that, in composition, troubadour poetry probably follows the thematic development of the great oral epics, and not the orderly development of related metaphorical images typical of the more modern concept of a lyric poem. The little allegory in the two strophes by Marcabru was lightly abandoned when an unrelated image in a similar, related theme came to the poet’s mind. These partial, usually undeveloped allegories abound in troubadour lyric poetry.

3.3. The personification of fin’amor and certain aspects

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of it as well as the personification of concepts opposed to it, which we find also in the Cort d'Amor, spring from the Occitan language and the troubadour lyric tradition. Admittedly some of the troubadour-poets tend more often in the direction of personification and allegory than others. Of the twenty-five lyric poems of Arnaut de Mareuil, for example, twenty-one poems contain one or more personifications with a total of twenty different personifications: Amors, Merces, Chauzimens, Essenhamens, Pretz, Cortezia, Honor, Jois, Pretz, Orquelin, Car Tener, Humilitatz, Razos, Jovens, Solatz, Gaiesa, Gailhardia, Paratges, Franqueza, and Natura. Love herself is personified in twenty different poems by Arnaut. Ten of Daude de Pradas' seventeen lyric poems involve thirteen different personifications: Natura, Amor, Merce, Razos, Humilitatz, Bels Jois Novels, Pretz, Valors, Bel Desir, Beltat, Joven, Fals Conselh, and Mals Alps.

Most frequently of course, it is again Love who is the favorite personification, appearing in seven poems. The poem by Peire Cardenal cited above contains seventeen personifications in the first strophe alone: Falsedatz.

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Of the twelve "barons" cited in the Cort d'Amor, it has been possible to locate nine in the works of earlier troubadours.** Joi, Solatz, Cortezzia and Pratz appear in the lyrics of Arnaut de Mareuil as we have already noted. Bon'Esperansa appears as Bon'Esper in a poem by Daude de Pradas: "E.l plazer mou del bon'esper,/ E.l bon esper de joi novel.** Larszueza is mentioned in the poem by Marcabru, cited above, and, as we have also seen, by Peire Cardenal. Domneis appears in the seventh poem by Peire d'Alvernia: "Domneis d'amor q'en lieis s'espan e creis."17 Peirol introduces Dousa Compania and Drudaria: "Era conosc et enten/Q'es Bona Companhia,/ Quan dui s'amon finamen/Per leyal Drudaria."18 Only Ardiment, Paors, and Celamens have been so far impossible to locate as personifications, in spite of the fact that references to them abound.


16 Ed. cit., "En un sonet gai e leugier", ll. 5-10.


Of the seven "peers" and the seven "enemies", all but the Bailessa d'Amor, Malparliers, Putaria, and Fals Semblantz have been verified. Mercy, Honor, Valor, and Youth appear in Arnaut de Mareuil's lyrics, and Sense is perhaps presented by Daude de Pradas as Razos. Merce and the enemies Vilania and Orguill are mentioned by Peirol: "Car Amors non vai queren/Orguill ni Vilania/mas Merce tota via." Malvestat is cited above by both Peire Cardenal and Marcabru. Clearly the characters of the Cort d'Amor are not descendants of Latin Mythology, nor are they visitors from France. They are instead, natives of Occitania.

3.4. Including these troubadours, who supplied our author with personifications, there are numerous other Occitan poets who inspired him in other ways. In fact, there are forty troubadours all told, whose phrases, motifs, or ideas reappear fairly intact in the Cort d'Amor:

I. North: Poitou, Limousin, Périgord.

3. Gaucelm Faidit, Limousin, ll. 316, 494-495, 998.

19Ibid., ll. 52-54.

20See both Jean Pepin, op. cit., and C. S. Lewis, op. cit., for the mythological origins of allegory.
II. East: Auvergne, Velay, Vienne, Provence, Italy.

1. Peire d'Auvergne, 11. 640-642.
3. The Monk of Montaudon, Auvergne, 1. 592.
5. Peirol, Auvergne, 1. 998.
8. Folquet de Romans, Vienne, 1. 316.
10. The Countess of Dia, Provence, 1. 316.
13. Paulet de Marseilla, Provence, 1. 1518.
15. Lanfranco Cigala, Italy, 1. 959.
17. Bonfacio Calvo, Italy, 1. 457.

III. South West: Bordelais, Gascony, Catalonia, Roussillon.

1. Aimeric de Belenoi, Bordelais, 1. 316.
5. Guilhem de Cabestanh, Roussillon, 11. 931, 1227-1229, 1448-1452.

IV. Central: Toulousein, Quercy, Languedoc, Albigeois, Rouergue, Gavaudan.

1. Peire Raimon de Toloza, Toulousein, 11 293-296, 1292-1297, 1448-1452, 1518.
2. Uc de St.-Circ, Quercy, 11. 403-404.
5. Aimeric de Peguilhan, Albigeois, 1. 1524.
6. Raimon de Miraval, Albigeois, 11. 959, 1016-1017.

V. Unidentifiable:

1. Dame H., 11. 575-584.

The specific contributions of each of these troubadours are cited in the Notes to the Translation in Part II. The verses in the *Cort d'Amor* that they inspired are given above, and the corresponding lines from the troubadour lyrics will be found in the Notes cited under these verse numbers. It would be repetitive to review here each of the specific lyric sources of the *Cort d'Amor*, but several very interesting statistics that emerge from this table bear mention.

Nearly 10% of the lines (163 out of 1721) can be directly traced to these forty troubadours. Eighteen of them contributed more than one idea to our author, and two, Daude de Pradas and Arnaut de Mareuil, were very influential: six motifs from Daude de Pradas and twelve from Arnaut de Mareuil reappear in the *Cort d'Amor*. These troubadours, whose lyrics can be considered direct sources of our poem, include some of the earliest poets: Guilhem IX, Cercamon, Mercabru, and Bernart de Ventadorn, as well as thirteenth century contemporaries: Uc de Saint-Circ, Guilhem de Montanhagol, and Guiraut de Calanso. Although these forty troubadours are not
limited to natives of any single area, and do represent almost all of Occitania, there is an unusually high proportion of Italians: Bertolomeo Zorzi, Bonifacio Calvo, Sordello, and Lanfrance Cigala. This is perhaps explained by the lateness of the *Cort d'Amor*, for with the Albigensian crusade many of the troubadours *faidits* fled to Italy. At least four of the *trobaritz*, the lady troubadours, are represented: the Countess of Dia, Azalais de Porcaraignes, Na Castelloza, and the lady known only as Dame H. The only very famous troubadour that is absent from this is Guiraut de Borneilh, the "Master" of the troubadours who was closely identified with the *trobar clus*, the complex and hermetic development of the lyric.

The table and this study necessarily overlook the more general troubadour sources which do not appear in the *Cort d'Amor* in observable form. For example, the influence of Peire Cardenal, who lived for nearly one hundred years (1180-1272) and composed at least 96 poems, must have been tremendous, but we have no demonstrable evidence of his influence on the author of the *Cort d'Amor*.

3.5. Among the extant troubadour poems, only two lines are allegories complete in themselves, and both of these are products of the thirteenth century. Peire Cardenal's allegorical fable (*faula*) of the rain that
fell on a city and turned insane all those upon whom it fell,\textsuperscript{21} is dated nearer the middle of the thirteenth century, between 1250 and 1265,\textsuperscript{22} and so it probably was not known to our author when the \textit{Cort d'Amor} was composed. No trace of it can be found in our poem.

The other, very famous allegory by Guiraut de Calanso is dated at the latest 1204,\textsuperscript{23} and our author probably did know of it:

\begin{verbatim}
A lieis cui am de cor e de saber,  
Domn'e seignor et amic, volrai dir,  
En ma chanso, sill platz qu'o deign'auzir,  
Del menor tertz d'amor son gran poder,  
Per so car vens princes, ducs e marques,  
Comtes e reis, e lai on sa cortz es,  
Non sec razo mas plana voluntatz,  
Ni ja nuil temps noi aura dreitz jutjat.

Tant es subtils c'om non la pot vezir,  
E corr tan tost que res noil pot fugir,  
E fer tan dreg que res noil pot gandir  
Ab dart d'acier don fai colp de plazer,  
On non ten pro ausberc. fortz ni especs,  
Si lansa dreit, e pois trai demanes  
Sajetas d'aur ab son arc estazat,  
Pois lans'un dart de plom gen afilat.

Corona d'aur porta per son dever,  
E non ve re mas lai on vol ferir;  
No faill nuill temps, tant gen s'en sap aizir.  
E vola leu e fai si mout temer,  
E nais d'azaut que s'es ab joi empres,  
E quan fai mal, sembla que sia bes,  
E viu de saug e.s defen e.s combat,  
Mas noi garda paratge ni rictat.
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{21}Ed. cit., p. 530, LXXX, "Una ciutatz fo, no sai cals";

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., p. 534.

25 En son palays, on ela vai jazer,
A cinc portals, e qui,ls dos pot obrir,
Leu passa,ls tres, mas non pot leu partir.
Et ab gaug viu cel,qui pot remaner,
E pojaï hom per quatre gras mout les,
Mas noi intra vilans ni mal apres,
C'ab los fals son el barri albergat,
Que ten del mon plus de l'una meitat.

Fors al peiro, on la,s vai sezer,
A un taulier, tal cous sai devezir:
(Que negus hom no sap nuill joc legir,
Las,figuras noi trob a son plazer);
Et ai mil poinz mas zart que noi aies
Hom malazautz de lait jogar mespres,
E li point son de veire trasgitat,
E qui,n fraing un, pert son joc envidat.

Aitau quan mars ni terra pot tener
Ni soleils par, se fai a totz servir.
Los us fai ricx, e,ls autres fai languir,
Los uns ten bas e,ls autres fai valer,
Pois estrai leu so que gent a promes.
E vai nuda, mas quan d'un pauc d'orfres
Que porta ceing, e tuit sei parentat
Naiison d'un foc de que son assemblat.

Al segon tertz taing framquez'e merces
Car sobeiras es de,tant gran rictat
Que sobre totz eissaussa son regnat.

A Monpeslier, a'N Guilem lo marques,
T'en vai, chanso, fai l'auzir de bon grat,
Qu'en lui a pretz e valor e rictat.24

(To her whom I love with heart and mind, Lady and
Lord and friend, I want to speak in my song, it if pleases
her to deign to listen to it, of the lesser third of love,
hers great strength, since she conquers princes, dukes,
and marquis, counts, and kings, and there where her court

24 The critical edition of this poem was published
by Otto Dammann in 1891 as his inaugural dissertation,
op, cit., and I have used his edition as the basis for
my reproduction here. I have preferred sobre totz of MS.
A in l. 51 to sobre,1 cel as printed by Dammann, because
it seems to me that the latter forces a definition of the
last third of love which is altogether too restrictive.
is, not reason but pure desire reigns, and henceforth law will not be judged.

She is so subtle that no one can see her, and she runs so fast that nothing can flee her, and she strikes so straight that nothing can escape her with an arrow of steel with which she inflicts blows of pleasure, against which no one has enough strong hauberks or swords; She shoots directly, and then immediately draws arrows of gold with her bent bow, then she shoots a well-sharpened dart of lead.

She wears a crown of gold as her right, and she sees nothing more there where she wishes to strike. She never misses, so well does she know how to aim. And she is born of the assault that she with joy undertakes, and when she does evil, it seems that it is good, and she lives with joy and defends herself, and does battle, but she keeps neither titles nor wealth.

And her palace, there where she goes to lie down, has five doors and he who can open two of them, soon passes three more, but cannot easily depart; but the one who can remain lives with joy. And a man ascends by four very polished stairs, but the villain may not enter, nor those of bad education, for with the false they are sheltered in the suburb which holds more than half the world.

Outside on her porch, where he goes to sit, there is a gambling table; she knows how to read such tosses (although no man knows how to interpret any game, nor does he find the numbers at his pleasure), and there are a thousand points, but she watches so that no discourteous man arrive there, guilty of playing badly, for the points are of colored glass, and he who breaks one loses his turn in the game, outbidden.

As much as sea and earth can hold, and the sun adorns, she causes to serve her. She makes some rich and causes others to languish; she holds some down and gives value to others, since she takes away easily what she has sweetly promised. And she goes about naked, but only dressed in a few rich bands that bear a sign, and all her kindred are born of a fire which they resemble.

To the second third belong honesty and mercy, and the sovereign third is of such great power that over all the world it has imposed its reign.

To Montpellier, to Sir William the marquis, go, song, and be heard with good will, for in him are merit and valor and authority.)

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25 This translation is mine and intentionally literal in order to deal more precisely with the allegory, but unfortunately it destroys much of its poetic value.
This poem has, unfortunately, become obscure to those readers who do not breathe a "courtly" atmosphere. As early as the late thirteenth century, only eighty years later, Guiraut Riquier required 947 verses in order to explain, more or less unsuccessfully, the subtleties of these fifty-four lines.

The relationships between Guiraut's allegory and the *Cort d'Amor* are numerous and explicit, and an examination in detail may serve to clarify both poems. In the first place, and typical of troubadour poetry, or rather of the Old Occitan language, *amor* is feminine; Guiraut's personification is a woman (l. 25 *ela*), just as she is in the *Cort d'Amor* (l. 30, *Amors, la douza et la bona*; l. 351 *leis*). Guiraut calls her *el menor tertz d'amor* (l. 4), 'the lesser third of love', and this definition has provoked some speculation. Guiraut Riquier interprets *el menor tertz d'amor* as *amors carnals*, physical love between men and women, the second third being *amors naturals*, the 'natural' love of relatives, (i.e., parent and child, brother and sister), and the last, *amors celestials*, the love between God and man (ll. 119-173).

Otto Dammann, in his thesis, simply repeats this.

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26 Guiraut Riquier "Als subtils aprimatz", Mahn, Werke, IV, p. 213, ll. 119-123.

27 Die *Allégorische Canzone*, pp. 9-10.
interpretation (p. 9). For all intents and purposes, Marc-René Jung\(^{28}\) does the same: "A l'amour charnel (le menor tertz d'Amor) s'ajoute soit l'amour naturel, donc l'amour des parents, soit l'amitié. Les termes qui caractérisent ce "second tiers" ne sont pas assez explicites pour que la question puisse être tranchée. Le degré le plus élevé, enfin, est représenté par l'amour de Dieu. Mais Guiraut de Calanso n'insiste pas sur les deux derniers "tiers". Le sujet de la chanson est bel et bien le "moindre" des trois amours. Qu'on veuille l'appeler fin'amors ou amour courtois—il s'agit de l'amour charnel."

René Nelli,\(^{29}\) on the other hand, cites the concepts of Ibn Arabi in the Spanish Arabic tradition, who also defined three types of love or modes of being: 1. divine love, both the love of the creator for its creature and the love of the creature for its creator, "qui n'est alors plus rien d'autre que le désir du Dieu révélé dans la création, aspirant à revenir à soi-même après avoir aspiré, comme le Dieu caché, à être dont elle découvre en elle l'image, c'est dans la création, l'amour qui n'a d'autre souci, but et volonté, que de satisfaire à l'aime, et a ce que celui-ci veut faire

\(^{28}\)Etudes, p. 144.

de et par son fidele," 3. natural love, "celui qui veut posséder, sans se soucier de l'agrement de l'aimé." It is important to note that in this last case it is not a question of possession but rather of the desire to possess.

It is the sixth strophe of Guiraut's poem that lends weight to this definition of *el menor tertz d'Amor*. Franquez's *merces*, honesty and grace, which according to Calanso belong to the second third, are basically irrelevant to Guiraut Riquier's natural love between relatives, (parents and children, or brother and sister), while they are the essential condition of Ibn Arabi's second third: spiritual, unselfish love between men and women. The last third (or the first third according to Ibn Arabi) rules more than heaven: it is the raison d'être of the entire world. The *menor tertz*, therefore, is probably not the crude carnal love of Guiraut Riquier, but rather the first step in the sequence leading next to the spiritual love which truly unites men and women, and thence to the divine love that reunites men with God, and this is not in itself immoral but it can easily be perverted, as the troubadours say, into fals'amor. It can just as easily, however, lead to fin'amor, Ibn Arabi's second third, spiritual love between a man and a woman. A quick
glance at the rest of Calanso's poem bears out this interpretation: the lady rules all men, princes, dukes, marquis, counts, and kings; she follows her will, never reason; she cannot be seen or avoided; she strikes directly, blindly, and with force; she is both feared and served by all; she wears a crown; evil done by her seems good; she is fickle; she is impervious to wealth or rank, and most importantly, she is born of the assault which she undertakes with joy (gaug, not joj), and she and all her kindred resemble fire. The lady is Desire. Although one can easily argue that Love does not always, in fact, rule counts and kings, it is not difficult to recognize that Desire very probably does!

Furthermore, it is this desire through which the lover is perfected (melhurar), not sexual love, that is one of the standard themes of the troubadour lyric, from Bernart de Ventadorn:

Ja Deus no.m don aquel poder
Que d'amor no.m prenia talans.30

E mainh genh se volv'e.s vira
Mos talans, e.ven e vail
Lai on mos volers s'atrai.
Lo cors no.m pauza ni fina,
Si.m te conhd'e rai
Fin'amors, ab cui m.apai,

No sai com me contenha. 31

and Jaufré Rudel:

De dezir mos cors no fina
Vas selha ren qu'ieu pus am;
E cre que volers m enquana
Si cobezza la.m tol;
Que pus es ponhens qu'espina
La dolors que ab joi sana;
Don ha non nuelh qu'om m'en planha. 32

to the end of the golden age. It was only with the
collapse of the troubadour culture that this desire was
misunderstood and branded immoral, and this perhaps ex-
plains Guiraut Riquier's difficulty in explicating
Calanso's poem:

Aysso laissem al fons
Estar; car far nons a,
Per so car ren non fa
En drege declaramens
Al clus entendemens. 33

(Let us leave that be at the bottom; for there is no
lamp, because he does nothing in straightforward ex-
plication of the hidden meaning.)

And he concludes his discussion rather lamely:

Aquela ses mentir
Merma, que apelet,
Qui la chanso trobet,
Lo menor ters d'amor. 34

(That (Love), without lying, abases, for he who wrote
the song, called it the lesser third of Love.)

31Ibid., p. 89, 18, 11. 1-7.
32Les Chansons de Jaufré Rudel, ed. A. Jeanroy,
33P. 212, 11. 102-106.
34P. 214, 11. 162-165.
Love, then, in Guiraut de Calanso's poem is desire. In the *Cort d'Amor*, Love is *Fin'Amor*, not only Desire but also the spiritual love of Ibn Arabi, for in the longer poem she represents both the aspiration toward perfect love and its attainment, both the first and second thirds of Love. In the series of speeches delivered by *Fin'Amor* to her twelve barons, for example, the general topic of each discourse is one or another of the rules for the management and governing of desire: Sir Joi is to reward only the worthy aspirant, Solace must make the man and woman please each other, Boldness must give them courage, Courtesy will inspire moderation, Good Hope will provide an excuse for disappointment, Fear will restrain the impetuous, Largess must encourage generosity; *Domneis* teaches courtly behavior, Sweet Company avoids disagreement, and Merit together with Intimacy "hold the keys to the castle," the abode of *Fin'Amor*, where the pure aspirants will find *Fin'Amor* herself and may sleep in her bed (ll. 341-344). Before actually entering the castle, however, the entire court will hear the judgment of Courtesy (ll. 377-408), who defines *Fin'Amor* as quadripartite, consisting of good faith, loyalty, moderation, and intelligence (ll. 385-389). These four elements could correspond to the *quatre gras mout les* mentioned by
Guiraut de Calanso (l. 29). These four very polished steps by which a man ascends, presumably in order to enter the palace of Love, are, in Guiraut Riquier's opinion, onrar, selar, servir, sufrir (honor, discretion, service, and suffering):

Verdis, segons que les pes,
E'que truep cossiran,
Li gra son benestan,
Le premiers es onrar,
El segons es selar
El ters es gen servir
El quartz es bos sufrir.35

Otto Dammann offers no further explanation but points out36 that Calanso in his ensenhamen to his jongleur, "Fadet joglar," mentions not only the four steps (los catre gras) but also the fifth rung: (el quint escalon). Marc-René Jung believes the steps are the gradus amoris of Andreas Capellanus: 1. the giving of hope, 2. the granting of a kiss, 3. the enjoyment of an embrace, and 4. the yielding of the whole person.37 René Nelli38 also lists four successive degrees: 1. senhedor (soup-irant), 2. precador (suppliant), 3. entendedor (amant agree), and 4. drut (amant charnel). These degrees, described by an anonymous troubadour and recorded in

35P. 223, 11. 557-563.
36Die Allezorische Canzone, p. 29.
37Études, p. 142.
38L'Erotique, pp. 179-180.
a fourteenth century manuscript, are explained by Nelli: "Le service du fenhedor était en principe ignoré de la dame, c'est le service tout caché, discret et silencieux de Pierre de Rogiers." The precador is the active suitor of which Flamenca's William is a good example. The entendedor is the suitor who has received the kiss he sought: "c'est donc à ce niveau que s'achève l'amour provençal considéré comme simple galanterie de tête: l'entendedor -- c'est-à-dire le precador que sa dame avait embrassé -- devenait son amant d'honneur." The fourth degree is drudaria: "c'est d'ailleurs la définition qu'en donne le troubadour anonyme: le fis drutz (drut courttois) est celui que sa dame "a couché" avec elle sous couverture. Tout porte à croire que la société courttoise appelait drut, non pas l'amant qui avait tout obtenu de sa maîtresse, mais celui qui avait "couché" avec elle, selon les règles de l'asag, c'est-à-dire sans outrepasser mezura."

Once again it appears that Nelli's proposal is the most acceptable. Guiraut Riquier's four degrees are not

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40L'Erotique, p. 179.
41Ibid., p. 180.
42Ibid.
in the least successive, and do not permit one to "ascend," rather the contrary, since the first step is honor and the last is suffering. Capellanus' degrees, as cited by Jung, are similar to those outlined by the anonymous troubadour, but still remain quite carnal and not necessarily the province of a refined love, although Capellanus claims great antiquity for them. It is a good deal more likely that the four degrees proposed by the anonymous troubadour are the ones that his countryman, Guiraut de Calanso, had in mind.

The four qualities cited by Cortezia are not means of ascension or degrees of progress, but a simple definition of love. Our author was not, however, ignorant of Calanso's four degrees, for Fin'Amor herself announces that Drudaria and Merit hold the keys to the castle, the realm of perfect love:

Las claus son Pretz e Drudaria
(l. 76)

"Drudaria, vos es Dons Pres
Qe del castel las claus tenes

E si chal venon amador,
Domnas ni drutz de gran valor,
E vos lo fatz fort bel ostal:
Asetzes los as deis rial
E colgas los lai dins la tor
En la mia cambra de flor."

(11. 325-344)

By this she clearly implies that Merit and Drudaria must be attained before one may enter the castle.
Since they are the "keys," those lovers who have attained these conditions will be welcomed royally, with no difficulty in gaining access to the castle itself, the state of perfect love. Fin'Amor has also stated here that the aspirants will be brought to the castle by one of the ten other barons, but it is the desire for Drudaria and Merit that will light the fire of love:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gardas qe s'aqest dez baron} \\
\text{Vos aduiszon negun presszon} \\
\text{Qe lo metas en fuec d'amor.}
\end{align*}
\]

(11. 327-329)

**Drudaria and Merit**, the keys to the castle, function also as her watchmen and guards, who prevent the unworthy from entering. The worthy are those to whom their ladies grant *merce*:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gardan la nueit e lo zor,} \\
\text{E zamais non haion be} \\
\text{Tro lor domnas n'ailon merce.}
\end{align*}
\]

(11. 330-332)

*Merce* is a complicated notion, but most commonly it refers to the granting of the lover's request, which, if he is a *fin'amador*, will not be dishonorable to the

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lady in any way. For Fin'Amor, therefore, Drudaria and Merit are the keys to the castle, the fourth degree, the last step. Merit (pretz, literally 'price', the value of an individual) is readily comprehensible, but Drudaria is another complicated concept. Although it has often been interpreted as 'carnal love', Professor Ch. Camproux has discovered that in the Customs of Montpellier,\(^{44}\) drut is a legal term referring to those personal possessions within the legal domain of the lady, of which she is the sole owner and of which she may dispose as she wishes. By extension, drut refers also to the personal friends and associates of the lady, those admitted into her confidence, her intimates. Drudaria then is the condition of the drut, the state of having been admitted to the lady's intimate circle of friends, the relationship between drut and druda, or simply 'intimacy'. Although this relationship may very likely be (and most often was) most sensual, nothing indicates that it was necessarily sexual. In all probability, drudaria in the Cort d'Amor, closely resembled Guiraut de Calanso's second third, or spiritual love, as well as serving as his fourth step.

In the Cort d'Amor, it is after Cortezia's very

\(^{44}\)The Joi of Love of the Troubadours, revised, English translation by L. Callander (unpublished). See also Part II, translation note to verse 14.
lengthy discourse concerning dress and deportment in addition to aspects of Fin'Amor, that Mercy arrives, makes a request of Fin'Amor, and receives the judgment she seeks against women who love for money, a topic not suitably discussed within the castle of Fin'Amor, the realm of pure love. The coronation of Fin'Amor follows and then the cortege enters the palace accompanied by various marvellous events heralding a new era, or a new status for the lover:

Qant venc al intrar del castel  
Comenson a cantar li aucel,  
El foc d'amor ad abrasar,  
E las donzellas a dansar,  
E l'amador canton dous lais.  
Tan rica cort no er jamais.  
(11. 853-858)

The rest of the Cort d'Amor concerns the maintenance and perfection of Fin'Amor, or pure love, which is a subtle blend of desire and drudaria, a combination of Guiraut de Calanso's first and second thirds of love. In this portion of the poem, roughly the second half of the surviving lines, the topics of the discussions revolve around the dangers, especially the gossips, that threaten the established pair of (spiritual) lovers, and advice from Honor, Valor, the governess of Love, Prowess, and Sense. As if to emphasize the more positive aspect of life within the castle walls, as opposed to that of the aspirants outside, el barri [..] que ten del mon
plus de l'una meitat according to Calanso, there is even a lovers' dance and a ritual exchange of kisses and flowers.

In more physical terms, Calanso's figura lives in a palays (l. 25). Fin'Amor inhabits a castel (l. 71), and it is there that each holds her court (Calanso l. 6, Cort d'Amor li. 126, 737, 858, 1075, and 1336). The building described by Calanso has five entrances as opposed, for example, to the four entrances at the four cardinal points of the compass in the castle of love described by Andreas Capellanus. Once again, as with the thirds of love, and the four steps, there has been much speculation on the significance of the five doors. Guiraut Riquier defined them as:

1. Far saber lo dezir
   Per amoros semblans
   O per ditz mot doptans
   Per si o per autrui;
   Pero mielhs es de luy,
   Sis. pot gent ayzinar;
   Ar amors ses selar
   Non pot venir a port.
   (ll. 497-504)

   (To make desire known through amorous appearance or through carefully chosen words, by the lover himself of someone else, but it is best that it come from him if he can prepare himself carefully for love without discretion cannot arrive at the door.)

2. El segon es, som par,
   D'umil precx percebutz,
   Que sia retengutz
   Per servir ad honor:
   (ll. 507-510)

   (The second is, so it seems to me, composed of humble,
intelligent prayers that he may be accepted in order to serve with honor.)

3. El·ters es per ver dir
Servirs ab gran aizina,
Que vezís ni vezina
Non la puesca saber,
Conoísser ni vezez,
Car mot grans perilhes.
(ll. 513-518)

(And the third, to tell the truth, is to serve with great skill so that no neighbor knows of it, hears of it, or sees it, for that is very perilous.)

4. El·cartz es motz cortes:
So es buïzars de grat,
E si fos costumat
C'om remazes aquí,
L'amor non agrá fi
Ni morira tan lieu.
(ll. 519-524)

(And the fourth is most courteous: that is the kiss of recognition, and if it were the custom for one to remain at that, love would not end, nor would it die so easily.)

5. Mas lo V. trop greu,
Qu'es lo faitz, per que mór
L'amors, c'om te al cor
Entro'qu'en es passatz.
(ll. 525-528)

(But the fifth I find disagreeable, for it is the act, through which love that men hold in their hearts, dies when it is over.)

It is readily apparent that these five 'doors' are the five lines of love of the ancients and correspond to a certain extent to the four degrees in the service of love proposed by René Nelli: fenhador, precador, entendedor, drut, with the addition of sexual consummation as the fifth. Riquier's interpretation is unsatisfac-
tory for the simple reason that these are not necessarily "doors," rather they are steps, demarcations of progress, or degrees, and so apply more readily to the quatre gras mout les of 1. 29, than to the cinc portals of 1. 26.

Otto Dammann thought that the five doors were the traditional five portals of the human head through which we receive communication from the outside world: the eyes, ears, and mouth. This argument gains weight with Calanso's remark that he who manages to pass through the first two, easily passes through the next three:

\[
\text{Leu passa,ls tres,.............} \\
\text{(11. 26-27)}
\]

\begin{quote}
In the later Middle Ages everyone believed that there was, in fact, a sort of beam of light which passed from one eye to another and descended to the heart of the receiver where it kindled love, almost as a beam of light passing through curved glass will kindle a fire. This event having occurred, the likelihood of the suitor passing the other three portals, the ears and the mouth: i.e., gaining audience with the lady in order to plead his case, to be heard, and, if he were found worthy, to
\end{quote}

\[45^5\text{Die Allegorische Canzone.}\]

\[46^6\text{See R. Nelli, L'Erotique, p. 166.}\]
receive the kiss of the covenant, is considerably increased. He who can pass the first two doors, easily passes the other three.

Both René Nelli and Marc-René Jung believe with E. R. Curtius that the five portals are the quinque lineae amoris of the ancients: visus, allocutio, tactus, osulum, coitus. Nelli admits that the significance of Calandro's poem is obscure in this respect, and that the identification of the five doors and the quinque lineae amoris may be tenuous: "Il semble que l'antiquité ait voulu simplement déterminer les démarches successives de l'amour, de la perception de l'objet, à son utilisation érotique, tandis que les troubadours ont essayé plutôt de marquer les étapes de la purification intérieure de l'amant." Jung also recognized the difficulties inherent in interpreting the five doors according to the ancients and considered the possibility of the five senses as a solution to the riddle. The problem here is the fact that passing

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*Ibid., p. 181.

**Etudes, pp. 140-141.


*L'Érotique, p. 181.

**Etudes, p. 142.
through the first two is the most difficult, after which passing through the next three is easy. Jung argues "Quinconce a été "pris" à la vue et l'ouie, ne doit plus s'attendre à être secouru par les trois autres sens. L'allégorie des cinq portes pourrait fort bien refléter des idées analogues. Nous devrions ainsi comprendre que les deux premières portes de Guiraut de Calanso correspondent aux sens de la vue et de l'ouie. Les portes et les degrés représenteraient donc la "prise amoureuse" et le développement de l'intrigue."

However likely this solution may seem, Otto Dammann's interpretation remains the most viable. It is difficult to demonstrate, in support of Jung's thesis, precisely what the senses of smell and taste, particularly the latter, have to do with the development of love in the troubadour ethic. Sight, hearing and touch, particularly the kiss, on the other hand, appear repeatedly in the poems of Bernart de Ventadorn, to name only one of the more sensuous troubadours:

Bela domna, l vostre cors gens
elh vostre belh olh m'an conquis
el doutz esgartz e lo clars vis
el vostre bëls essenhamens
que, can be m'en pren esmansa,
de beautat no.us trob esansa.
La genser etz o'm posc' el mon chauzir.

53Ibid., p. 143.
Beautiful lady, your delicate form and lovely eyes, your soft glance, radiant face and charming ways have conquered me; for, as I judge it, your equal in beauty cannot be found. You are the most beautiful that one could choose in all the world, or else I am not seeing clearly with the eyes that look upon you.)

Tost m'agran mort li sospire,
Domna, passat a un an,
no.m fos per bel semblan,
don si doblan mei dezire.55

(Lady, sighs would have killed me over a year ago, if it were not for the beautiful sight which doubles my desire.)

No.n fatz mas zabar e rire,
domna, can eu re.us deman.
E si vos amassetz tan,
alres vos n'aveng'ra dire.56

(You do nothing but mock and laugh, Lady, whenever I beg you for grace. If you loved enough, it might occur to you to speak differently.)

Ja ma domna no.s meravelh
si.lh quer que.m do s'amor ni.m bai.
Contra la foudat qu'eu retra
fara i zenta meravelha
s'ilh ja m'acola ni.m baya.57

(Indeed, my lady should not be surprised if I ask her to give me her love and to kiss me. She would perform a real miracle against this madness I speak of, if she embraced and kissed me.)

54Ed. cit., p. 42, "Ab joi mou lo vers e.1 comens", 11. 49-56.
55Ed. cit., p. 52, "Amors, e que.us es vejaire?"
11. 53-56.
56Ibid., 11. 57-60.
Most probably, then the **cinc portals** are the two eyes, the two ears, and the mouth: the vision of the lady and the inspiration of her beauty, her words of gratitude and praise, and the kiss she bestows in order to seal the relationship.

The five portals as such do not appear in the Cort d'Amor; however, the themes of sight, hearing and the kiss recur consistently. In a long passage, the lover speaks repeatedly of the difficulties he experienced because his lady did not see in the Sophoclean sense that the miserable man she saw before her eyes was dying for love of her:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{E voillatz q'el haza merce} \\
\text{De.l caitiu qe vez denant se.} \\
\text{Dompna, Disus e mercess mi vailla!} \\
\text{Gitas me d'aqesta batailla!} \\
\text{Non vezes qe denant vos mor?} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(11. 479-483)

His eyes are leaping from his face from the supreme effort of concealing his overwhelming love:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{L'uels mi volon saillir del cor,} \\
\text{Tant vos haz cellada l'amor.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(11. 484-485)

When he discourteously suggests that she would be more sympathetic to his cause if she only felt a portion of his agony, he immediately retracts this unworthy wish and utters his hope that she never be forced to see her reflection in her mirror turn pale from suffering:
Las! qe hai dit? be fas a blasmar!
Bella dompna, Dieus vos enguar
Qe za, per mi, laisor color
Vezas en vostre mirador.

(11. 489-492)

And finally, he blames his condition on his own treacherous eyes which betrayed him by loving the lady more than their owner; they were so attracted to her beauty that they received the wound from which he is presently suffering:

De me non podes haver tort,
Mais l'oil traitor qe m'an mort
Veiramen son ill traitor;
Mais aimon vos qe lor seïnor.

(11. 493-496)

According to the lover, his eyes argue in self-defense that great good will come of it because the beautiful person they have shown him was never without humility, and he will ultimately receive great good from her:

Mais ill se raszonon vas me
Q'enquera mi fàres gran be,
Qe tan bel cors com m'han mostrat
No fo anch ses humilitat.

(11. 497-500)

Later, another lover refers to the traditional arrow from the eyes of the beautiful woman which wounded his heart and kindled desire:

Anc mais no.m entremis d'amor
C'agesta.m fai gran paor,
Qe m'ausi ab un dous esgart
Qe dompnas han en l'uel dart
Ab qe naffrom tan dousament
Qe mentre q'hom mor, non o sent.

(11. 1447-1452)
Finally, Courtesy notes that the lady's eyes have a certain power:

E l'oïlls saphon retener grat
D'aco q'il aura esgardat.
(11. 609-610)

Love, in her speech to Discretion, remarks that it is very important that the lady hear good things about her suitor, that he speak courteously to all with that in mind:

E parla plus ballament
Ab lo paubre q'ab lo manent,
Per so'qe chadaus om diga,
Ben de lui a sa dousa amiga.
(11. 281-284)

Similarly, Courtesy points out that friendship grows from hearing good things, from a good reputation:

Qe tuit sabem ad esient
Q'amistat creis par l'ausiment.
(11. 563-564)

Si cors consen e coindia
Qe gen parlars creis son seinors.
(11. 626-627)

Very often in the troubadour lyric and in the Cort d'Amor, speaking and hearing are combined with the kiss for special recognition in the lovers' interview. The word and the deed are combined, fár e dir plazer d'amor:

Qe pro ha drutz ab domneiar
De si dons et ab gen parlar,
E qant l'a un long temps servit
E.l baisa, ben l'a enriquit.
(11. 521-524)

E.l baisa mil ves en la boca
The role of sight, hearing (i.e., graceful and courtly discourse), and the kiss in the progress and development of love, is an identifiable theme in the *Cort d'Amor*, and it is possible to infer from it that our author might accept Calanso's premise that once having passed the point of kindling desire with the eyes, it is easier to obtain an audience with the lady and ultimately a kiss. Having passed the first two doors, it is easier to pass the other three.

Certain other elements of Calanso's poem are drawn from Ovid. In fact, this poem is the first troubadour lyric to depict a Goddess of Love so nearly identical to the Latin Cupid: blind, invisible, winged, naked, shooting arrows of steel, gold and lead. The game of chance and her ability to predict the fall of the dice and read the numbers is also Ovidian but could also reflect the popular medieval depictions of Fortuna. In other respects Love resembles the *Fin'Amor* of the troubadours and the *Cort d'Amor* quite closely. Both wear crowns and give judgments, indeed they rule the world after the manner of earthly kings,

although neither is concerned with titles or wealth:

Mas noí garda paratge ni rictat  
(1. 24)

Flaçers faire sensa moneda,  
Ses tot aver, faí sa fazenda  
Q'el ha tot qant se vol de renda  
Qe tot qant tenon l'amirant  
Ni.1 rej, tot es a ssen.comant.  
(11. 1590-1594)

Each personification does battle in order to defend her interests:

E nais d'azaut que s'es ab joi empres,  
.............................................
E viu de gaug e.s defen e.s combat,  
(11. 21 and 23)

Sens estet en un farastol  
E plaz li molt qar Amors vol  
Gerreiar per tenir dreitura.  
(11. 1647-1649)

Evidently the figure described in fifty-one lines of Guiraut de Calanso's poem could not be developed as completely as the Fin'Amor described in the longer text, but she is certainly enigmatic, representing as she does, a combination of the Latin and Occitan traditions. Fin'Amor, by contrast, is described in considerably more words, but it is more concrete, less symbolic information that is conveyed, generally outlining her daily activities, and reporting her speeches. Compared to Calanso's goddess, Fin'Amor is a more human figure who holds court, addresses her parliament, moves about in a normal way, and even devoutly offers prayers
of thanksgiving to God, her own seigneur. She is surrounded by marvels, and such things happen in her name, but she herself is scarcely marvellous: she is an Occitan seigneur, not a Latin goddess. Nothing approaching an actual description of her physical person is given at any point in the Cort d'Amor although praise of feminine physical beauty was a popular motif in the troubadour poetry. As a result, Calanso's basically pagan personification remains entirely allegorical in nature while the Cort d'Amor tends more explicitly away from allegory toward the more practical art of love.

3.6. By drawing on the tremendous amount of poetry that was literally floating in the air around him in the form of popular songs, our author had only to take one additional step and gather it all together into one large compendium in order to produce the allegorical art of love that we call the Cort d'Amor, and in this respect he was doing precisely as Andreas Capellanus had done in composing his De arte honesti amandi.
Chapter 4

OCCITAN NARRATIVE AND ALLEGORY

4.1. The oldest extant example of allegorical narrative poetry in Old Occitan is a translation of Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae*, dated by Nicola Zingarelli slightly later than the *Chanson de Roland*, and probably contemporary to Guilhem IX, contains 98 verses describing the marvellous lady who represents the personification of Philosophy. Zingarelli pointed out that the Occitan version was probably not intended simply as a translation of the Latin work to be read and studied by a cleric but rather as a vulgarization, a poem to be sung or recited aloud by a jongleur. Although the Occitan *Boecl* exists only as a fragment of 258 lines in 35 laisses, it is conjectured that the original poem was not much longer, consisting perhaps of only 200 or 300 more verses, and that it resembles

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1 Boecis, Poème sur Boèce (Fragment), le plus ancien texte littéraire occitan, eds. René Lavaud and Georges Machicot (Toulouse: Institutes d'Etudes Occitans, 1950), and Christoph Schwarze, Der altprovenzalische "Boecis", (Munster, 1963).

in certain rhythmic and oratorical respects, the chansons de geste. Marc-René Jung suggests that it is in fact a sermon, but in either case the poem probably circulated widely, and the tradition of the allegorical female figure was thus introduced from the Latin literature into the Occitan poetry early in its development. She could not fail to capture the minds of the poets who encountered her.

Fortunately the poet who described her magical manifestations also included explanatory passages. The lady holds a book blazing with fire in her right hand which, the poet hastens to inform us, represents the justice of the omnipotent King with which the lady punishes those who forfeit grace:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{E sa ma dextra—la domna u libre ten,} \\
\text{Toz aquel libres—era de fog ardent:} \\
\text{Zo.s la justicia—al rei omnipotent} \\
\text{Si l’on forfai—e pois no s’en repent,} \\
\text{E evers Deu—no.n faz’amendament,} \\
\text{Quora que.s vol, ab aquel fog l’encent,} \\
\text{Ab aquel fog—s’en pren so bengament.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(11. 246-252)

By contrast, he who loves her and treats her well will receive good recompense from her when she surveys those around her:

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3Ibid., p. 85.

4Marc-René Jung, Les Études allégoriques, p. 127.
In her left hand Philosophy holds a royal scepter signifying corporal justice:

El ma senestre--ten u sceptrum reial
Zo signifiga--justicia corporal.

(11. 256-257)

Unfortunately the fragment ends here, but it seems clear enough that we are to understand the reign of Philosophy to include not only the celestial and the abstract but also the temporal and the concrete.

We know from her prayer that Fin'Amor considers herself the vassal of God after the manner of any Christian knight. As, for example, Roland in his dying moment offers his gauntlet to God (l. 2365), in token of fealty, so Fin'Amor offers her prayer:

El dis: "Senior Deu glorios,
Tot aquest ici teng eu de vos.
Seiner, la vostra gran merces
De l'onor qu'ieu hai e del bes."

(11. 879-882)

And it is clear from the beginning that Fin'Amor rules the world, for all individuals in one way or another come before her court for judgment. It is clear as well that her judgments carry with them the threat of punishment by fire, should the litigant be found guilty:

Mais la falsa via bastarsa
Qe sec la gent q'e.1 fuec fos arsa,
Las traititz e las venals
Las canaritz e las comunals,
This is no less true for Philosophy who in fact has the additional aid of a devil who guards the abyss and seizes the transgressor by the heel:

Ven lo diables—qui guarda,1 baratro,  
Ven acorren, si l pren per lo tal,  
Fai l'acupar—a guisa de lairo,  
Fai l'aparer: de tot no l troba bo.

Furthermore Philosophy is beautiful and very ancient and she is able to see the thoughts of men wherever they are. No matter how great and honorable a man may be, he who is forfeit to her loses his soul and must suffer the pains of the Inferno, for Philosophy, like Fin'Amor, controls the keys to Paradise:

Ella metesma—ten claus de paradis.

It is not without significance that the earliest Occitan literary monument describes a lady of marvellous power and rank who dispenses judgment and justice, punishing the unjust and rewarding the faithful both on earth and afterward, in both the name and the place of God. Professor Comproux points out that we must not forget that
"c'est également une très belle femme qui montre l'échelle du Ciel à Boèce dans le poème qui date du Xe siècle. Il est vrai que le poème de Boèce peut passer pour manicheen, la Dame étant alors Sophia, la Sagesse, première ébauche de la dame des troubadours qui de la vie terrestre, élève à la connaissance de Dieu suivant la théorie du parfait amour Cathar."

More than a century later, Fin'Amor will perform precisely the same function, following the precedent set by Philosophy.

Philosophy wears beautiful clothes bearing mystic signs embroidered in gold which she herself made of charity and faith, but in speaking with Boethius she informs him that young men tear her dress in vain attempts to force her to do their will, and so they lose her love. (ll. 190-201). Her clothes are so beautiful and reflect such light that her presence is blinding, and Boethius believes he has lost the use of his eyes (ll. 201-203). The patterns on her dress include the Greek Π near her hem signifying life on earth, and the Greek Θ on her shoulder representing the true faith of Heaven (ll. 204-208), and between the two signs fly one hundred thousand little birds representing human souls. Those that are

saved arrive at the theta, those that are lost return to the pi. The steps in between represent the seven cardinal sins (11. 209-230). Here she resembles Calanso's figure of Love who wears gold bands embroidered with a sign (1. 47), who holds some down while raising others up (1. 44), and who is born of a flame which she and all her kindred resemble (1. 48). Surely Beothius' Philosophy, Calanso's Love, and Fin'Amor are kindred, each shining with her particular light, each administering on earth her own special justice and each bestowing her own identifying grace on the faithful and the chosen.

4.2. Although Philosophy remains a Latin lady transported from the Latin tradition into Occitan, there are within the Occitan narrative tradition itself, numerous references to myriad powerful ladies and a great deal of poetic material that will be incorporated later into the Cort d'Amor.

Troubadour narrative poetry proper originates early in the Occitan tradition with the ensemhamens, didactic narratives in octosyllabic lines addressed by the troubadour to his jongleur in order to teach him his business. The earliest of these, "Cabra juglar", a poem of 146 lines composed approximately 1160 by Guiraut de Cabreira,⁶ is

little more than a list of famous epics and romances, ancient as well as medieval, that were indispensable to the repertoire of any successful jongleur. By the thirteenth century, however, the scope of the ensenhamen had been expanded to include other topics, and Guiraut de Calanso\(^7\) warns his jongleur that he will have to know something of love:

Sapchas d'Amor
Com vol'e cor
E com jai nuda ses vestir
E non ve ren
Mas fer trop ben
Ab sos dartz c'a fatz gen forbir;
Dels dos caires
L'us es tan bels
De fin auri c'om ve resplandir;
L'autres' es d'acier,
Mas tan mal fier
C'om nos pot del sieu colp guerir;
Comandamens
Nous, si l'aprens,
I trobaras, senes mentir:
Apres sabras
Los catre gras
El quint escalon defenir:
Com va de brieu
E de que viu
Ni que fai, can ven al partir;
E dels engans
Que fai tan grans
Ni com sap los sieus destruir.
(11. 202-225)

Here Calanso is referring to the basically Ovidian description of Love which he related in the second, third, and fourth strophes of his famous lyric poem "A lieis cui am de cor e de saber." The didactic nature of the

\(^{7}\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 94-101, "Fadet joglar", 11. 202-225.}\)
ensenhamen itself as a genre, and the fact that Calanso feels he must instruct his jongleur in the nature and attributes of Love, clearly indicate that a new dimension had been added to the demands made upon a jongleur by his audience. Cabreira's jongleur needed only to know the tales that were then available, which did not involve anything specifically related to Love. Calanso's jongleur, on the other hand, needed, in addition to the old sagas and romances, a working definition of Love. It is very likely that Calanso was saying in effect, "You must know the song I myself have composed regarding Love," but it amounts to the same thing. The jongleur of the thirteenth century was expected by the troubadour who hired him or by the audience who heard him, to have, in his repertoire, allegorical songs that taught or celebrated the mysterious personification of Love. Calanso's advice to his jongleur reflects in a limited way the slightly altered tastes of the early thirteenth century poets and also presumably the tastes of their audiences, and in this respect his poem helps to define the atmosphere in which the Cort d'Amor was created and probably recited. If certain allegorical elements of either poem are obscure to the modern reader, they were very probably not obscure to the contemporary audiences.

4.3. Approximately contemporaneous to the ensenhamen,
troubadours were also writing other forms of short narrative poetry including the love letter or salut d'amor. 8 Fr.-J.-M. Raynouard and Paul Meyer defined the genre in terms of "une pièce qui commençait par une salutation à la dame dont le poète faisait l'éloge," 9 and "une épître dressée à une dame par son amant ou par celui qui désire le devenir." 10 Pierre Bec, 11 insisting that its distinguishing characteristic is not the salutation but the epistolary nature, goes on to note that in fact, the usual metrical form is quite consistent with that of the novella, the Occitan novas, with only rare exceptions appearing in the metrical form of a song.

Eighteen saluts d'amor, all dating from the twelfth century, have been preserved. Of these, five can be attributed to Arnaut de Mareuil, the earliest known author of these letters, leading M. Bec to suppose that "il paraît d'autre part probable qu'Arnaud a été, sinon l'inventeur, du moins le maître incontestable du genre, et c'est sur


9Choix, II, 258.

10Le Salut d'amour dans la littérature provençale et française, (Paris, 1867).

lui que les autres auteurs ont dû plus ou moins s'aligner.\textsuperscript{12}

Not surprisingly the author of the \textit{Cort d'Amor} also found an imitable model in Arnaut's love letters; and three passages of considerable length from the \textit{Cort d'Amor} can be traced directly to one of his \textit{saluts}.

First, the description of the ideal lady given by Cortezia:

\begin{quote}
E anon dreit e per un fil
E coindament sion sotil
Li sobrecil sotz lo bel front.
Lo mentonet bel e rodon,
Las dents paucas e menudetas,
Bel nas e bocas vermelletas
Ben faiitas ad ops de baisar
Cui Deus volria tan onrar.
Blanc col e porte sas bellas mans
En ganz qe no.Is veza vilans.
Bella borsa, bella centura,
Com s'era tot fait en peintura,
E paresca bella e dolguda
Sotz la bella boc\textsuperscript{[1]} adaurada.
D'una re se deu donar cura,
Com l'estei be sa vestidura,
Gent vistent e gent afublans,
Amorosa en totz sos semblas.
Bel sion li vestit defors:
La camisa qe toca.l cors
Sia bella, sotils se blanca,
Co, l neus en uvern sor la branca.
Gent se cals e gent port sos pes.
E an ab dompnas de gran pres,
Am gentils omes q1 q'en qromia,
Parle gent et digna e resposta.
\textsuperscript{[11. 667-692]}
\end{quote}

This corresponds rather closely to Arnaut's \textit{descriptio puellæ in the first \textit{salut}}:\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{12}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 30.

\textsuperscript{13}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 71-91, "Dona, genser qe no sai dir."
Can cug pensar en outra res,
De vos ai messatje cortes,
Mon cor, q'es lai vostr'ostaliers;
Me ven de vos sai messatgers
Qe.m ditz e.m remembr'e.m retray.
Vostre gen cors cuende e gay,
Las vostras belas sauras oris,
E.l vostre fron pus blanc qe lis,
Los vostres huelhs vairs e rizens,
E.l nas q'es direitz e be sezens,
La fassa fresca de colors,
Blanca, velmelha pus qe flors,
Petita boca, blancas dens,
Pus blancas q'esmeratz argens,
Mento e gola e peitrina
Blanca co neus ni flor d'espina,
Las vostras belas blancas mas,
E.ls vostras setz grailes e plas,
E la vostra bella faisso,
On non a ren de mesprei so,
Los vostres gaps plazens e bos,
E.l gen solatz e.l franc respos,
E.l ben semblan qe.m fetz al prim,
Can s'endevenc c'abdos nos vim.

(11. 79-102)

The traditional progress of the description, from the top of her head to her feet or the hem of her dress is established here. Although our author follows Arnaut's references to her forehead, nose, mouth, teeth, chin, neck, hands, figure, and even concludes by also mentioning her gentle habits of speech, he inexplicably omits Arnaut's references to her hair, eyes, and breast, all traditional objects of praise in the troubadour lyric. More importantly perhaps, our author adds eight lines concerning the lady's dress and her white linen. This might be only an adaptation of Arnaut's preoccupation with the lady's white skin which is mentioned six times
in this short passage, but it is also very likely that it represents changing fashions, and nothing more.

In the second place, we find in the *Cort d'Amor* the motif of the lover's dream:

Qe qan per aventura ven
Q'eu dorm ez estau tan ben,
Dompra, q'adonc soz eu ab vos,
E remir las vostras faiəsos,
E cug ades ab vos parlar
Privadamens, si com soil far,
E cug q'ades siatz enblada
De la cambra en qe es gardada.
Lo grans zoi me faι ricedar,
E quant eu non vos puosc trobar
Tan granda dolor emdeven
Q'ieu me merveil qar non forsən.

(11. 942-953)

And it very closely resembles Arnaut's account of the lover's dream:

Mos huelhs clauzens fas un sospir,
En sospiran vau endormitz;
Adoncx se.n vai mos esp[er]itz
Tot adreitamen, Dona, vas vos
De cuy vazer es cobelitos,
 tot enaιsi co veg dezir
La nueg e.ι jorn, can m'o cossir,
A son talan ab vos doneya
Embrass'e baiza e maneya.
Per qe dures aisi mos sens,
No volgr'esser senher de Reims.
Hai volria jauzens dormir
Qe velhan deziran languir.

(11. 140-152)

Each lover falls asleep, dreams that he (or his heart) is reunited with his lady, experiences the bliss, "lo grans zoi," of his lady's favors, and then awakens to his great sorrow. Arnaut would give up the lordship of Reims if he could only remain in that state of dream.
and so avoid the languishing caused by unsatisfied desire in the waking state. The lover in the _Cort d'Amor_ marvels that he is not driven out of his senses by the unbearable sorrow he, too, feels upon awakening and discovering that he cannot find his lady nearby.

Thirdly, our author follows Arnaut in citing a list of famous lovers, whose happiness, however great, could not have been equal to that of the present couple. First the troubadour and his lady:

```
E Rodocesta ni Biblis
Blancaflor ni Semiramis,
Tisbe ni Leida ni Elena
Ni Antigona ni Esmena
Ni.1 be Yzeus ab lo.pe1 bloy
Non agro la mitat de joy
No d'alegrier ab lurs amis
Can yeu ab vos, so m'es avis.
(ll. 153-159)
```

Later the lady to her lover in the _Cort d'Amor:

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Q'anch Galvains ni Soredamors,
Ni anch Floris ni Blanchaflors,
Ni l'amors Ysolt ni Tristan
Contra nos dos non valg un gan.
(ll. 315-318)
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Again our author has adapted his model to suit his own purposes. Arnaut cited only the ladies while the later poet listed the couples; Arnaut's list included Greek heroines in addition to Blanchefleur and Iseult, our author retained the latter, rejected the former, and added the strange couple Soredamors and Gawain. We
know already from the discussion in Chapter 2 that our author could have discovered the comparison to Tristan and Iseult from any of several different troubadours, and to Floire and Blanchefleur from at least three, that is, of course, if it did not occur to him spontaneously. It is likely though that having borrowed both the descriptio puellae and the dream motifs from Arnaut's first love letter, our author probably found his inspiration for the list of lovers in the same poem.

4.4. Not long after Arnaut wrote his love letters, probably at some point during the upheavals of the Albigensian crusade, jongleurs began to consider it necessary to introduce certain songs with a few preliminary remarks concerning the life of the poet and the subject of his song. Presumably the authors and their particular styles were not so well known nor as immediately recognizable as they once had been, hence the need for an introduction, and in this way the prose vidas and razos of the early thirteenth century were created.¹⁴ Although the vida or biography of the poet tended to give origins, facts of birth and family, and life history in a fairly straightforward manner, several of the vidas based apparently on information drawn from the songs, verge

on the fantastic and have all the attributes of a story sufficient in itself. Such a one, for example, is the *vida* of Guilhem de Cabestanh which casts him, accurately or not, as the hero/victim in a drama based on the *coeur mangé* motif.15 Similarly certain *razos*, introductory remarks explaining the content of a song, were expanded to considerable lengths and assumed a narrative value in their own right. Among these we find, for example, the famous account of Peire Vidal's courtship of La Loba of Pennautier during which he disguised himself in the skin of a wolf and found himself torn by dogs and soundly beaten by the men of her castle who mistook him for the predator he was impersonating.16 Such *vidas* and *razos* are probably based mainly on fantasy, for they are often verified by no more than a single obscure reference within a few lines of a poem as in the case of Peire Vidal's adventure:17

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E sitot lop m'apellatz,
No m'o tenh a dezonor,
Ni si.m cridan li pastor
Ni si sui per lor cassatz.
(XXXIII, 41-44)
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Jean Boutière, in his discussion of the "Intérêt des biographies" in his critical edition of the *Biographies des Troubadours*, suggests that "...certaines, plus étendues, sont les lointains ancêtres des vies romancées, de la nouvelle et du roman moderne." Joseph Salvat agreed noting that "le modèle des novas en prose, dont la plupart ont malheureusement disparu, est fourni par les biographies des troubadours, *vidas*, qui servirent de modèle au novellino italiano." A well-known instance of this is the *vida* of Guilhem de Cabestan mentioned earlier which is the source of Boccaccio's 36th novella in the *Decamerone*. In the same way, certain of the *vidas* and *razos* that recount the history of a love affair between troubadour and lady, such as those of Arnaut de Mareuil, Guiraut de Borneilh and Bertran de Born among others, may easily have served as models for those passages in the *Cort d'Amor* where one or another baron relates scenes in which the interview of lover and lady takes place: 11. 305-324, 441-524, 570-574, 786-808, 914-973, 1161-1235, 1275-1331, and 1350-1376.

4.5. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, these shorter narrative forms, the *ensenhamen*, the *salut*, the

18 *Biographies*, xv.

vida, and the razos, had been expanded in length and
detail until they reached the status of a "new" genre,
the novas or "nouvelle". The specific origins of the
genre are still subject to much speculation, although
it does seem to have evolved naturally, i.e., it is not
an artificial form arbitrarily invented by any single
individual, as the sonnet is generally believed to be.
Rather the novas seem to have developed from some of
the same sources as the French fabliau: primarily
popular story-telling. Alfred Jeanroy suggests that
"plusieurs des troubadours du XIIIe siècle excellaient,
à en croire leurs biographes, dans l'art de conter aussi
bien que dans celui de chanter. Le jour où l'on eut
l'idée de versifier ces contes, la nouvelle était née."20
Joseph Salvat adds further that "ce genre particulier fut
inventé par le Midi de la France. Il nous en reste mal-
heureusement peu de spécimens, alors que nous savons,
par beaucoup de preuves, que de nombreux troubadours
en écrivaient et leur devaient une part de leur célé-
brité."21 Paul Zumthor compares the origins of the
novas to that of the lai in northern France: "Vers
1170 apparaît un genre romanèsque mineur, appelé lai,

20 Histoire sommaire de la poésie occitane: des
origines à la fin du XVIIIe siècle (Toulouse and Paris,

21 Art. cit., p. 553.
qui semble provenir d'une amplification narrative des lais celtiques chantés; mais très tôt, il tend à se confondre soit avec le roman, soit avec le fabliau dont rien ne le distingue nettement, ni dans ses thèmes ni dans son style. À la fin du XIIe siècle, les Occitans créent le type de récit dit nova, "nouvelle," sorte de courte histoire d'amour...."22 All of these suggestions are reasonable, even demonstrable, and perhaps only a combination of all of them presents a true picture.

The Occitan novas is most commonly described with a negative definition: the novas is what the fabliau and the roman are not. "Elle se distingue du roman en ce qu'elle ne conte qu'une aventure unique, du fabliau en ce qu'elle situe l'action dans un milieu choisi et qu'elle s'interdit toute obscénité ou vulgarité."23 Joseph Salvat states more specifically that "...l'action se passe exclusivement dans le milieu de l'aristocratie ou de la bourgeoisie, avec toute l'atmosphère et le vocabulaire de la société courtoise, et sans aucune vulgarité.

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quoique le sentiment de l'amour y soit parfois dépeint avec des caractères réalistes."24 Fr.-J.-M. Raynouard stressed the courtly nature of the genre: "Les NOVAS, NOVELLES, étaient de petits poèmes dans lesquels les troubadours retraçaient le plus souvent des anecdotes galantes relatives aux seigneurs, aux chevaliers, aux dames, etc."25 But he noted that one occasionally finds works called novas which do not deal with love or the courtly tradition and he mentioned as a case in point Las Novas del Heretic, "pièce remarquable, dans laquelle un dominicain inquisiteur discute une suite d'argumentation mêlées d'invectives et de menaces."26 In general, however, the novas is an historiette amoureuse in which it is not uncommon for the author to cite the works of other troubadours.

The novas is most often written in octosyllabic lines with alternating masculine and feminine rhyme. Joseph Salvat remarks that this form is distinguished by "délicatesse, grâce, facilité, élégance. On peut, par elles, compléter le tableau de la société raffinée des XIIe et XIIIe siècles en Occitanie, fourni par les

24 Art. cit., p. 553.
26 Ibid.
poesies lyriques des troubadours.\textsuperscript{27} He also adds, as Raynouard had previously noted, that there is a longer poetical form often called novas, rimadas, also in octosyllables with alternating rhymes which treats philosophical subjects such as the Novas del Heretic already cited. Raynouard had already characterized the traditional novas form in much the same way as Joseph Salvat: "Une versification facile, un rythme presque toujours harmonieux, une naïveté agréable, de la grâce dans les détails, des traits piquants, des allégories quelquefois ingénieuses,\ldots\textsuperscript{28}

Much later the Occitan novas would develop into the French nouvelle, "sorte de roman très court, récit d'aventures intéressantes ou amusantes."\textsuperscript{29} The word nouvelle is attested as early as the XIth century in the St. Alexis but with a different contextual meaning. It is not until the Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, about 1460, that the southern novas can be considered adopted as a genre in French literature.\textsuperscript{30}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{27}Art. Cit., p. 553.
\item \textsuperscript{28}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{29}Choix, II, p. 275.
\item \textsuperscript{30}A specific reference to the Occitan novas does not appear in literature until the seventeenth century when Scarron refers to it in his \textit{Roman Comique}, I, 21, (1651-1657).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
The origin of the terms novas and novella more specific. The word novas, used by Raimon Vidal in the first line of his novas Castia-gilos, "Unas novas vos vuelh comtar," and also in his novas Judici d'Amor, is derived from the Latin novus (diminutive novellus), which originally referred to the plural form of young plants or animals. The word entered Gallo-Romance in the neuter nova, 'novelty, news', being interpreted as a feminine singular, like the Italian nuova, Spanish nueva, Portuguese nova. In Occitan, it is always used in the plural form even when it refers to one work. French is the only Romance language which developed the word nouvelle, borrowed from Boccaccio's novella, with the meaning of 'short narration'; this word is attested for the first time in the title Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles (c. 1460). Raynouard notes the use of the term noelairre to designate those who compose novas; the author of the vida of Elias Fonsalada admits that he was not a good troubadour but that he could write novas: "No bons trobaires mas noelairre fo." Although his poem conforms to the formal definition of the novas, the author of the Cort d'Amor called

31 FEW, VII, 212a, 204a ff., and especially E. Müller, Die altprovenzalische Versnovelle; Inaugural Dissertation, Halle, 1930.

32 Biographies, p. 235.
his poem a romance: "Auzatz un romanç ben e bel" (l. 5), and "Que za negus hom no fara/So que.l romanç com-
andara/No sia plenz de corteszia" (ll. 9-11). In Old
Occitan romans refers simply to the vernacular language
and, by extension, to anything written in the vernacular.
Raimon Vidal uses the word in a more specific generic
sense in his poetical treatise Razos de Trobar: "La
parladura francesca val mias...a far romanç, retronzas
et sirventes." Later the author of Flamenca uses
the word similarly: "Vai sus Alis.../Pren lo romanç
de Blancaflor./Alis se leva tost e cor/Vas una taula
on estave/Cel romanç" (ll. 4477-4480). It is most
likely that the Cort d'Amor was written after the
Razos de Trobar, which appeared very early in the
thirteenth century, and probably before Flamenca, writ-
ten between 1240 and 1250. Romanç, in referring to the
Cort d'Amor, therefore, has here its ordinary meaning
of narrative poem written in the vernacular language.
This general description in no way excludes the more
precise definition of the novas given above which also
applies to the Cort d'Amor: a narrative poem in octo-

33Cited in: E. Levy, Supplement-Wörterbuch, VII,
373b-374a.

34Ibid., Cf. also FEW, X, 453b and 455b, and esp-
ecially P. Voelker, "Die Bedeutungsentwicklung des Wortes
Roman", Zeitschrift fur romanische Philologie, X. (1886),
pp. 485-525.
syllabic lines, written in the vernacular language and relating the events of a courtly adventure. To be exact, the *Cort d'Amor* is, like the *Novas del Heretic*, an example of the *novas rimadas*, the longer poetical narrative in octosyllables which treats a philosophical subject. The text of the *Cort d'Amor*, preserved only in manuscript M. 819 of the Morgan Library, comprises 1721 verses but it is incomplete at the end, and there is nothing in the text or the manuscript to indicate the original length of the poem. The topic, insofar as we can tell from the lines that remain, could certainly be classified as both courtly and philosophical.

Raimon Vidal de Besalú, the Catalan troubadour credited with inventing the *novas*, wrote three of them in addition to his poetical treatise, which are generally recognized as the first of this genre to appear in Gallo-Romance, and they represent the very early stages of its development. The earliest of the three is probably "*Abrils issi'e mays intrava,*"35 a *novas* of the *ensenhamen* tradition, which must be dated before 1213 since Peire II of Aragon is mentioned as still living. From this it can be deduced that this *novas* could have

been written no earlier than 1196, the first year of his reign, nor any later than his death in 1213 in the battle of Muret against the French.

This novas is the longest of the three, consisting of 1773 verses, of which eight lines and sixteen fragments are lost. The theme or subject is developed in two parts: the first laments the decline of poetry, hospitality, and the courtly tradition, and the second narrates certain aspects of the good old days in an attempt to teach a younger jongleur the ways of the courtly life as it used to be and ought to be lived. It is narrated in the first person and is situated in the springtime in the native town of Raimon: Bezaudun in Catalonia. A young jongleur approached him, introduced himself, and said that he was devoted to minstrelsy and singing, and also to reciting romances, stories, and famous pieces. Especially he sang the verses and songs of Guiraut de Borneilh, Bertran de Born, and Arnaut de Mareuil as well as those of other troubadours which he quotes. He had seen that these compositions were appreciated in the courts of wicked and ignorant men, and because of these he had decided to cease reciting and to withdraw from the world. First, however, he wanted to consult with Raimon. The younger man related all that he had seen and done in his short career, and then
Haimon Vidal responded, and from the advantage of long experience the older troubadour recounted to the young jongleur what he had seen in his visits to the court of King Anfos, father of the present courtly king, Peire II. The troubadour continued to list a surprising number of good and courtly knights and lords, and after citing the names, qualities, and countries of so many valiant men, he proceeded to instruct the young man concerning his behavior, the nature of his profession, and those things that were expected of him, quoting as his authorities En Miravals (1. 1043), Peire Hotgiets (1. 1152), En Raymbaut (1. 1153), Aenac (1. 1181), and N'Arnautz de Mareulh (11. 1226-1227). He sadly concluded that he did not know whether the present century would be able to find any men that were better than those he had just praised for he had not seen any since that time who were their equals:

E no say, si.l segle trobet
Melhurat, car anc pueis, no.1 vi.
(11. 1771-1772)

Obviously this novas is not a short story or nouvelle in the modern sense. In narrow literary terms, a nouvelle or short story is a literary composition which narrates a single complete activity with a beginning, a middle and an end. It possesses the rudiments of plot and a conscious structure. The purpose of the
story is to reveal character through a series of actions, and this purpose is accomplished when the reader comes to know the nature of the character through his actions. This *novas* is instead an harangue rejecting the low standards of the times, and involving approximately the first third of the work to line 660, followed by a celebration in the last two-thirds of the good old days of the last decade in the previous century under King Anfos. There is no story line or plot development, especially in the last section, which reads like a catalogue. There is no character development or even any character description other than the very brief lists of conventional adjectives which often modify a particular knight: *pros, dos, francx, fîgs, adreitz, rícs, amoros*. Raimon even fails to take advantage of this opportunity to develop convincing portraits of himself as a world-weary, experienced old troubadour who remembers and passes on the glory of bygone days, and of the eager but disappointed young jongleur who looks to his elder to restore his faith in the old ideals. The only semblances of story and characterization appear in an anecdote related by the Dauphin d'Alverne to the young jongleur, and this is so slightly developed that it serves only to increase the regret of jongleur and reader alike. Instead of the *novas* as we have defined it, "Abrils issi" repre-
sents a developmental stage of the genre, combining both the ensenhamen, and vaguely biographical elements of the vida. In this respect it is important to note Raimon's tendency to quote frequently from the works of other troubadours. This serves two functions: 1. it lends authoritative support to the subject under discussion, 2. it serves to develop and amplify his themes. In his earlier Razos de Trobar, citations from the troubadours serve the first purpose, in his later novas "So fo e.l temps" they serve the second. In "Abrils issi" they fill both functions. Here he quotes the older troubadours in order to prove both the nobility of times past and the decadence of the present generation. Unfortunately this tendency lends an air of pedantry, although it if entirely consistent with the subject of the poem; the instruction of a jongleur, an ensenhamen. Far more subtly, the author of the Cort d'Amor utilizes the same device, although he is not instructing a jongleur in his art or the history of his profession, but rather a group of ladies: "vij. xx. que donas qe pulsellas/ Q'an trobat lurs raszons novellas/Coment Amors sia lials" (ll. 23-25). After the lecture on the nature of love delivered by Fin'A'mor herself in the form of eleven short speeches addressed to the twelve barons, the ladies listened attentively, but required further elaboration
on the specifics of love:

It is Cortezia who delivers the ensenhamen in response to this request, and there follow numerous lectures on the subject of Love, which are addressed to the court at large, with the exception of that pronounced by the Government of Love, who addressed her speech directly to the unmarried maidens in the audience:

With that she proceeds to describe the ritual of the jazer, initiating, so to speak, the young ladies into the mysteries of the naked embrace.

The didactic nature of the Cort d'Amor correlates quite closely in this respect with the pedantry of Raimon Vidal's "Abrils issi." Both novas are intended
for the edification of the young. Where Raimon quotes the authority of the earlier troubadours, naming them in the poem, the author of the *Cort d'Amor* simply borrowed verses and images from their songs, apparently assuming, probably correctly, that the sources would be recognized. Certainly the more obvious ones like the parable of the thief borrowed from Perdigon (ll. 1196-1203) and the fable of the stag borrowed from Montanhasol (ll. 1663-1668), were immediately recognized and appreciated. It is quite possible that a certain significant part of the pleasure taken in this poem by a contemporary audience lay precisely in this recognition and identification of themes and motifs from popular songs. The *Cort d'Amor*, then, represents in some aspects a development of the *ensenhamen* as it can be traced from Guiraut de Cabreira through Guiraut de Calanso and Raimon Vidal.

4.6. The second of Raimon's three *novas*, "So fo e.1 temps c'om era lays,"[^36] is often given the title *Judici d'Amor* because that is its general theme: like the *Cort d'Amor* it describes a court of love, although the judge is not *Fin'Amor* but a mortal man, Uc de Mataplana.

This novas is not as long as the first, having only 1397 lines and no lost or fragmentary verses. It is not datable although it is quite likely that it was written within the lifetime of Uc de Mataplana, who plays the role of judge and who dies in 1213 of wounds he received in battle near Toulouse, serving under Peire II, against Simon de Montfort. This would tentatively date this novas at approximately the same time as the first. There are six manuscripts or fragments of this poem extant, and to a certain degree, this testifies to the popularity of the piece. The novas resembles a debate in which two or more different points of view are argued, much like the traditional Occitan tensos and partimens, hence the title Judici d’Amor. The contest takes place in that time when there was joy, fine and true love, kindness, gentility and amiability. In Limousin, near Exideuil, there was a knight who was very courteous, correct, generous, and well educated, and in his deeds valiant and powerful. Because of this knight, a lady and a maid became rivals. The knight, who had attended his lady for seven years, finally approached her to petition her for her love, but she haughtily sent him away. The lady’s niece promised to accept his love if only he would wait one year until she would be married. The lady, however, changed her
mind and decided to accept the love of the knight and to
give hers in return. The niece, la donzela, refused
to give up her newly-found knight, and the two women were
unable to reconcile their conflicting claims. Finally,
they decided on a baron "pro e veray" from Catalonia
as an arbitrator, Uc de Mataplana. After the case had
been presented to him by a jongleur messenger, Sir Uc,
who never dissembled to himself nor wished to do so with
another, remained for a moment reflective, not for lack
of reason but rather because it is proper for such lords
to present themselves as tranquil and gentle: "no per
sofraita de razo,/mas car ades aital baro/volon estar
suau e gen." In the same way Fin'Amor would pause be­
fore beginning her discourse: "Esgardet vas terra un
peiti,/Con sabis om, e pues ha dit:" (l. 99-100).
After having thought for a moment Sir Uc decided: "For
however valiant and worthy I may be and such matters
touch on the duties of a baron, the two ladies are, it
seems to me, very discreet, and I have faith in their
reasons, although not seeing them makes it difficult
for me. You will remain here tonight, and I, very early
in the morning, will meditate and decide so that I will
soon deliver you of your errand."

So it was done, and in the lovely spring morning,
Sir Uc, the jongleur, and Raimon went out to a pleasant
meadow where Sir Uc pronounced his decision. "Friend, you came to me because you were given this errand to deliver your message. But courage must come to me to make such a judgment because such affairs tend to produce discontent. However since such manner of decision has been validly established among people of merit, I will give my opinion." After reviewing the case, he concluded that the right of precedence was legally binding, and that the knight owed his allegiance to the lady and not to her niece. The lady was to be pardoned for her cruelty, and the knight was not to be blamed for turning to another. Sir Uc supported his decisions with citations from the troubadours, including the author, who then reported that he departed, and that he had never seen a more courtly jongleur, nor one who knew how to deliver his message in a more courtly manner. Raimon added in closing that he had heard that the judgment was accepted without opposition because gentle lovers are so much more patient in love.

This novas has considerably more literary merit than the first if only for the depiction of Uc de Mataplana who appears here as a relatively more complex character than any of the others in this novas or the earlier one. He is obviously aware of the delicacy of his position and his reputation, and yet he hesitates
to consider the case presented to him by the jongleur. Whether this hesitation arises from modesty or rather from previous experience with such problems, the character of Sir Uc is an appealing and impressive one, and may have served as a model for the depiction of Fin’Amor, who, in the Sort d’Amor, resembles nothing so much as a medieval baron like Sir Uc de Mataplana, and he is obviously intended, and succeeds, as a model of the perfectly courtly knight and an able judge in courtly affairs. The picture of his court is delicately drawn. The guests playing dice and chess on carpets of four different colors, the curiosity of the guests when the jongleur arrives, are small scenes which are very effectively and elegantly described. Similarly, although far less realistically and with good reason, the activities of the court of Fin’Amor are described:

Zoi e Solasz foron laisus,
E Ardimenz e Corteszia
Qe de flors l’enzonchon la via.
Bon’Esperancha e Paors
Li portent de denant las flors.
D’autra part Larguesza e Donneis
Lo meton en un lait d’orfreis.
Celars e Dousa Conpania
Geton desus roesa floria.

(11. 42-50)

But in addition to the activities of the allegorical characters we are informed of the doings of mortals at her court:

E d’autra part ha cent pulsellas
Q'anc negus hom non vi plus bellas,
E chascuna ha son amor,
E son vestu d'una color;
Baison ez braisson soven,
E mantanon pretze ioven.
Totz temps han aital desdug
Ad aital gen vai be, so cug.
(11. 59-66)

Once again, however, this novas is not a true nouvelle in the modern sense. There is no activity at all; only a description of a situation which must be resolved by a decision on the part of an arbiter. Once again, on a much larger scale, Raimon makes use of citations from the works of the troubadours, including altogether Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Bertran de Born, Folquet de Marseille, Uc Brunet, Gaucelm Faidit, Bernart de Ventadorn, Raimon de Miraval, and even an anonymous poet (l. 593). In this case, as previously suggested, the quotations serve in the first and longer section to explain the nature of the argument. Here they help to advance both the general theme of the various interpretations of love and the specific topic: to whom does the knight owe his loyalty. In the second, much shorter section (11. 1073-1397), the citations serve as references to authority, and Sir Uc uses them to support his decisions, perhaps also to form them. This use of the works of the troubadours is particularly interesting in this novas because three times (11. 435-448, 753-763, and 1239-1247) Raimon quotes himself, and these very short
passages are the only examples of his own lyric poetry which have survived.

Finally, since this novas seems to have been very popular, at least more popular than the other two, to judge from the number of manuscripts, one must assume that this topic was in considerable vogue at the time it was written or not long thereafter, and so it deserves some attention. It revolves around a judgment quite similar to those that concluded the Old French débats du clerc et de chevalier, in which a person of authority, the God of Love, Love herself, or a baron known for gentleness and courtly wisdom, presides over the case and renders judgment. In the Cort d'Amor there are at least two such formal judgments, one rendered by Fin'Amor, the other by her baron, Cortezia. The case itself normally springs from a debate or to use the Occitan term, a tenso, which means a dispute or quarrel involving "tension" as opposed to the partimens, an artificial debate in which points of view are arbitrarily chosen and defended regardless of personal convictions. Tenso eventually came to designate also that type of poetry which dealt with a dispute or quarrel. The fact that the tenso often required certain mental gymnastics in order to follow the more or less philosophical argument, together with the fact
that the subject of the quarrel described by Raimon is a problem of courtly behavior, so complex that it requires a judgment delivered by a third party, may explain its great popularity.

The similarities between Raimon's novas and the Cort d'Amor suggest that our author was either directly inspired by Raimon's novas, or that the two narratives were written more or less simultaneously in response to a widespread and growing public interest in the literature of trial and judgment by the courtly code. The Cort d'Amor is identical to Raimon's novas in this respect. In the judgment pronounced by Fin'Amor (11. 821-834), the tenso or case being considered is a dispute between the true lovers and those women who love for money, and Merce has been sent by the lovers to bring the case before Fin'Amor, in order that she may dispense justice. In the instance of the judgment delivered by Cortezia (11. 377-408), it is not a specific case that is examined, but rather the definition of Fin'Amor, and so the judgment takes the form of a decree. On a less formal level, the first eleven speeches of Fin'Amor outline what we may assume are previous judgments made at the court of Love, and each of the subsequent speeches make by her barons clarify some point in the "courtly" code. It is impossible to remark the popularity of the
Cort d'Amor by reference to the number of manuscripts in which it is preserved, because it exists today, as far as we know, in only one. This fact, however, does not imply that it was not well-known since untold numbers of manuscripts were destroyed in the catastrophes of the Albigensian Crusade. We can only infer from the apparent popularity of the Judici d'Amor that the Cort d'Amor also appealed to the demands of the listening and reading public.

4.7. The third and last of Raimon’s novas, "Unas novas vos vuelh comtar,"37 is the shortest, consisting of only 450 lines all of which are complete. As with the others, this novas is not datable except insofar as it was probably written after the death of Anfos VIII of Castile (1199), since the author in his first ten lines speaks of him in the past tense. It was King Anfos who, according to Raimon Vidal, gave the novas the title Castia-zilos by which it is commonly known, and which was later used to designate all pieces concerning punishment of the jealous husband:

    "Io glars, per bonas las novelas e per avinens e per belas

The plot of Castia-gilos is simple and has come to represent the classic example of the type. The jealous husband suspected one of his knights, Sir Bascols of Cotanda, of being the lover of his wife, Lady Alvira, and following the most uncourtly advice of a villainous knight, he devised a test whereby he pretended to go off to war requiring the service of Sir Bascols in that enterprise. Sick with love, Sir Bascols pretended to be sick with a fever, and was allowed to remain behind. The Lord, however, only pretended to depart, and returned after dark to his wife's door thinking to surprise her with her lover. Finding her alone he decided to impersonate Sir Bascols in order to test her further, but received instead a beating from his wife, who had recognized him and wanted to teach him a lesson. Having locked him in her chamber, leaving him bruised but happily convinced of her fidelity, Lady Alvira went to meet Sir Bascols and pass the night safely in his arms. In the morning she accused Sir Bascols and directed the townspeople to her bedroom where her husband, Lord Anfos, succeeded in identifying him-
self in time to avoid further injury. Lady Alvira and Sir Bascols were pardoned by her husband, and Lord Anfos was content with his misfortune.

The last and shortest novas is a true nouvelle, and it displays a noteworthy mastery of the art, in spite of the fact that its source lies in the more vulgar fabliau genre and a rather common topic: the beaten, deceived, and contented husband. The castia-gilos theme is treated similarly in the novas of the Papagai by Arnaut de Carcassès, a poem of 300 lines and approximately the same date, in which a parrot is the accomplice in an illegal love affair, but, the fullest expression of this theme is reached with the famous Occitan romance of Flamenca, composed about 30 years later. Once again Boccaccio, too, will borrow from the troubadours, and he will use the theme of jealousy in slightly altered circumstances in the 24th and 49th novellinos of his Decamerone. Although Paul Rémy dismissed the art of the early novas as naïveté: "ces anecdotes sont plaisantes, elles ont du charme et de l'allant mais rien de plus,"38 this view is not justified in the case of Raimon's Castia-gilos. The plot is

38La Littérature provençale au moyen âge, Synthèse historique et choix de textes (Brussels, 1944), p. 86.
complete, compact, clear, and original, and it omits the extraneous or unrelated activity typical of the *romans d' aventures*, which were also popular in the same period. The three principal characters: Lord Anfos, the husband, Lady Alvira, the wife, and Sir Bascols, the lover, are clearly characterized. Raimon even succeeds in removing these three from the stereotypes of the *fabliau* by allowing them to present themselves subjectively through their conversations rather than limiting himself to an objective description of their activities. This high frequency of dialogue provides *Castia-gilos* with considerable dramatic impact, which is also reproduced in the *Cort d'Amor*, where the large majority of verses involves dialogue or direct quotation.

Although the *Cort d'Amor* bears no relationship in theme or plot to the *Castia-gilos*, the motif of the jealous husband recurs on numerous occasions. First the watchman proclaims:

"Ar es lo luochs e la saizzos
Qu'ieu haz endormitz los gilos."
(11. 81-82)

Then *Cortezia* in three different passages recommends:

"E una causa non oblit:
Ausen leis lause son marit
E dizua qe molt fora pros
Si non fos un petit gilos."
(11. 565-568)
"Eu haz ben dig al parlament
So qe li bon drut teiran car,
E fara.l gilos enrabschar."
(ll. 706-708)

"D'aiso m'acort eu ben ab vos,
Qe molt es gilos en gran pena
Qe, s'el bat se moiller, forsen.
Adonc pens'ella: "Ar amarai
Pois atrestant de blasme n'hai."
E puis c'ave tot en trait
Qe dis: "Mals es ma parte fait,"
E el la baisa e la percola;
Adons la destrui e l'afola
Q'ella pensa: "Molt m'aima fort.
Ben sufriria dreig e tort."
Per nient serion gillos:
Batre ni blandir non ges bos,
Mais lais lor on anar los pe,
E venia lui bona merçe."
(ll. 710-724)

Good Pleasure, the seneschal, states:

Ja no er qe gilos non sia,
Mais ieu dic qe re non enbria
Qe mos sehner es poderos
Qe is luszengiers ni gelos
No ceran dan a drut cortes.
(ll. 990-994)

Jealousy, generally recognized as a serious fault on the part of the husband, and the violence that usually accompanies it, provided the troubadours with much poetic material that appeared frequently in all their literature from the lyric to the *vidas*, *razos*, and *novas*. The considerable emphasis on jealousy, to the exclusion of other vices rejected by the courtly code, such as pride, is a slightly later development and very typical of the thirteenth century, culminating in the greatest *Castia-gilos* of all, *Flamenca*. In this tradition, both
the novas of Raimon Vidal and the Cort d'Amor, represent the middle stages. Chronologically speaking, it was possible for the author of the Cort d'Amor to have had the advantage of knowing all three of the novas of Raimon Vidal de Besalú. It could have been the very existence of these novas, that is, the appearance of the "new" genre and its popularity, that led our author to choose this form. It is also likely that, in composing his compendium, he was inspired by Raimon's fondness for quoting earlier troubadours in his novas "Abrils issi" and "So fo e.l temps". The didactic nature of the Cort d'Amor can be traced to the tradition of the ensemhanen, to which Raimon's "Abrils issi" belongs, and the subject is an imitation of Raimon's Judici d'Amor. "So fo e.l temps." The dramatic effect of dialogue was very possibly impressed upon our author by the Castia-gillos, and it is certainly this poem and its popularity that encouraged him to emphasize the motif of jealousy. The primary difference between the novas of Raimon Vidal and the romanz, the Cort d'Amor, is the allegorical nature of the latter.

4.8. The earliest purely allegorical narrative love poem composed in Old Occitan is impossible to designate. There are only three which have survived: the Cort d'Amor.
an allegorical novas by Peire Guillem, and fragments of an allegory based on a Chastel d'Amors. Both the Chastel d'Amors and the novas are later than the Cort d'Amor, although not so much later that they do not belong to the same period and the same "atmosphere." The novas of Peire Guillem (who could be Peire Guilhem de Tolosa), can be dated between June, 1252 and July, 1253 since Thibaut I of Navarre (d. 1253) and Alphonse X of Castille (r. 1252-1284) are mentioned as still living. The Chastel d'Amors is not datable in any precise terms, but one of its early editors, Antoine Thomas, considers it a later work than the Cort d'Amor, and dates it closer to the middle of the thirteenth century. "L'auteur du Chastel d'Amors est inconnu, toute conjecture à ce sujet manquerait absolument de base. Tout ce qu'on peut dire, c'est qu'il vivait et composait probablement au treizième siècle vers le milieu que vers la fin." Thomas notes that the Cort d'Amor is an earlier poem, and may have

39Editions of this poem, "lai on cobra sos dregz estats," can be found in: Raynouard, Lexique Roman (Paris, 1838), I, pp. 405-411; Mahn, Werke, I, pp. 241-250; and K. Bartsch, Chrestomathie, cols. 291-296.


41Marc-René Jung, Études allégoriques, p. 161.

42Ed. cit., p. 186.
served as an inspiration to the author of the *Chastel d'Amors*: "Un auteur anonyme, à peu près contemporain de Calanson, nous a laissé un long poème allégorique connu sous le nom de *Cour d'Amour*: on y trouve une courte description du *castel d'Amour*. La chanson de Guiraud de Calanson et la *Cour d'Amour*, tels sont vraisemblablement les modèles dont s'est inspiré l'auteur du *Chastel d'Amors*."^43^3

We can assume that Calanso's allegorical lyric, the *Cort d'Amor*, Peire Guilhem's *novas*, and the *Chastel d'Amore* were produced in roughly that order within approximately 50 years of each other between 1200 and 1260, and that they represent a new development in Occitan poetry: allegory fully developed and complete in itself, as opposed to the common practice of allegorical amplification of a specific point. In attempting to explain the appearance of the entirely allegorical poem at this point in time, Antoine Thomas theorizes that: "L'amour a mis la chanson sur les lèvres des premiers troubadours; la chanson, à son tour, a mis un amour plus ou moins réel dans le coeur ou dans la tête de ceux qui sont venus après eux. Dès que l'amour est devenu le thème banal de toute poésie, à l'expression simple, et par cela même poétique, de sentiments sincères, telle

\[^43^3\text{Ed. cit., p. 187.}\]
qu'on la trouve chez un Bernard de Ventadour, succèdent bientôt de singuliers raffinements. On s'ingénie de plus en plus à définir, et à peindre l'amour, à mesure évidemment qu'on le sent moins. On la personnifie, par un souvenir de l'antiquité, et ce premier pas fait, on se lance à bride abattu dans la voie de l'allégorie. De là, une littérature d'un caractère tout artificiel qui se développe dans le midi de la France à fin du douzième siècle.44 Thomas is correct in seeing the literary phenomena of the thirteenth century as a consequence of the preceding era. The four allegories in question do not represent a totally new poetic event. Their poetic form, with the obvious exception of Calanso's lyric, is that of the standard troubadour narrative poetry which appeared in the middle of the twelfth century with the salut d'amor and the enseñhamens: octosyllabic lines in rhyming couplets. This form was retained, and simply lengthened to produce the novas and romans of the thirteenth century. Thomas is inexact, however, when he dismisses personification of vices, virtues, ideals, and concepts as a "souvenir of antiquity," since it is quite apparent from the troubadour poetry of the twelfth century, that personification is a normal function of the troubadour language. Thir-
teenth century authors found personification aplenty in their native Occitan poetry and had no need of ancient memories in order to dredge it up again. It is likely, though, that the rise of scholasticism at this time, with its emphasis on ancient or Biblical authority and the allegorical explication of primarily Biblical texts, particularly the work of St. Augustine, contributed to the taste for allegory, thus permitting development of the allegory latent in nearly all troubadour poetry.

It is also simplistic and perhaps a bit too romantic to believe with Thomas that "love inspired the songs on the lips of the first troubadours," since it is generally agreed at present that the troubadour love song has very complex origins including Latin liturgy, Spanish-Arabic poetry, and certain elements of folkloric song and dance. According to at least one scholar, it was more likely politics and conflicts with the religious fraternity than love that inspired the first known troubadour Guilhem IX. Even less acceptable is Thomas' statement that "the love song inspired a more or less real love in the head or heart of their succes-


46Ch. Camproux, Le Joy d'Amor, p. 125.
sors." In opposition to the supposed sincerity of a Bernart de Ventadorn whom Thomas cites, we have a Marcabru, certainly a troubadour of equal standing, who declared that he had never felt the joy of Love:

Amor no vueill ni dezir,
Tan sap d'engan ab mentir;
Per aiso vas lo vueill dir
G'anc d'Amor nue.m puec jauzir.

If we dare speak of inspiration at all in this context, it is plain from the tone of most of Marcabru's poems that he was not inspired in the least by love, but on the contrary, by the abuses of love that he apparently perceived in the society around him. In the context of medieval poetics as a whole, it is probable that sincerity had very little immediate relationship to the creation of poetry, aside from the obvious fact that the troubadours certainly were deeply committed in most cases to the concepts and ideals of fin'amor. As a result, it was probably not the "banality of the love theme" that drove poets in desperation to allegory, but rather a desire for refined and extensive definition of a concept that was becoming increasingly misunderstood that led them to adopt the

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48 Paul Zumthor, Langue et techniques poétiques à l'époque romane (Xie-XIIe siècles), (Paris: Klincksieck, 1963), passim.
popular allegorical form as a means.

Similarly it is problematic to conjecture that the later troubadours intensified and developed the depiction of Love in inverse proportion to the strength of their actual sentiments, and to conclude that the thirteenth century love allegory is, as a result, "a literature of a completely artificial nature" is unjustified. This last, however, is a common assessment of medieval allegorical poems. Marc-René Jung remarked that "les médiévistes de naguère ont tous été victimes de ce préjugé qui faissait de l'allégorie un procédé froid et mécanique," and he cited the attitudes of Ernest Langlois, Gaston Paris, and Ch.-V. Langlois in this same vein. A. Jeanroy, referring to the personifications of abstractions that constantly appear in troubadour poetry, complained that "ces êtres simplifiés ne sont naturellement capables que d'une sorte d'action, qui ne peut être mieux exprimée que par le verbe de même racine que le substantif qui les désigne: Humilitatz doit humiliar, Orgolh doit orgolhar, et ainsi de suite. On ne voit pas du tout ce que la pensée peut gagner à ces tautologies, et on voit fort bien, à moins qu'on ne soit charmé du rabâchage, ce que l'expression y perd." More recent-

49 *Études allégoriques*, p. 10.

50 *La Poésie lyrique des troubadours*, II, p. 122.
ly, Charles Camproux remarked in reference to the political upheavals and military campaigns of that period that "les transformations en train de s'accomplir avec violence n'empêchaient apparemment pas de jouir des meilleurs comme des pires traditions. D'ailleurs cette allégorie [that of Peire Guilhem] est un signe des temps: l'artificiel finira par prendre le pas sur la poussée vital." 51 Jung further noted that "les manuels d'histoire de la littérature codifient cette attitude en rangeant les poèmes allégoriques sous l'étiquette de la littérature didactique. A les lire, on a l'impression qu'il existe un genre didactique, qui peut (malheureusement) prendre la forme allégorique. C'est le contraire qui est vrai: la forme allégorique devenant la forme dominante, la littérature didactique (tout comme la littérature amoureuse, politique, ou dramatique) subit l'influence de cette forme. Et encore faudrait-il distinguer entre l'enseignement débité par une personification, et le poème allégorique où l'enseignement ressort du jeu dialectique et complémentaire de différentes personnifications." 52 Jung also pointed out that no medieval theoreticians considered the allégorical poem per se: "Dans l'ensemble, les

51 Histoire de la littérature occitane, p. 52.
52 Études, p. 10.
oeuvres en langue vulgaire ne doivent rien aux théories de l'allégorie, car celles-ci négligent l'aspect de la création littéraire. Les théoriciens s'occupent de deux types d'allégorie, de l'allégorie-ornement et de l'allégorie-exégèse. For the three allegories at hand, the Cort d'Amor, Peire Guillem's novas and the Chastel d'Amors, neither of these cases is relevant. All three are entirely allegorical poems in which ornament and exegesis, if they appear at all, are secondary. "Les théories sur l'allégorie passent complètement sous silence le poème allégorique. Les poétiques et les accessus ne s'occupent pas non plus de ce genre littéraire. Et pourtant il a existé." One could object to Jung's classification of the allegorical poem as a genre since it is generally recognized at present as a mode, but it is clear that the description of the medieval allegorical poem was, for all intents and purposes, left to the reader.

In the modern era there have been numerous attempts to define and describe allegory in general and medieval allegory in particular, and these attempts will be considered in detail in Chapter 5. For the time being, D.W. Robertson Jr., in his Preface to Chaucer, 55

provides a workable definition which permits us to examine the novas and the Chastel d'Amors: rejecting the notion that 'symbol' refers to things and 'allegory' refers to actions, Robertson states that "allegory is simply the device of saying one thing to mean another, and its ulterior meaning may rest on things or on actions, or on both together."

The novas of Peire Guilhem, "Lai on cobra sos dregs estatz," is based on a very simple, entirely allegorical event. While travelling along a road in the springtime, the poet, who is addressed as Peire W. in the manuscript, meets a company travelling the same road. It is immediately obvious to the poet that their beauty and majesty are far beyond the ordinary, and he describes each member of the party in allegorical detail. First, lo cavazier (ll. 17-49) is a beautiful man with blonde hair, grey eyes, and sunburned face, and not surprisingly, "larc ac lo col":

Amplas espallas e costatz,
E pels flancs fon gros e cairatz,
Lonc cors e delgatz per sentura,
E fon larcs per lo forcadura,
Cambos e colchas de faisso.
(ll. 34-38)

This is altogether a standard portrait of masculine beauty, with perhaps the single exception of his sunburn, which could be either a simple recognition of the fact that blondes tend to get burned by the
sun, or an attempt to signify that this particular knight lives outside, close to nature. It is his accoutrements, his clothing, his saddle and his horse which are truly marvellous, for they are made of jewels, flowers, and colored with unusual tints. One foot, for example, is shod in a clog of emeralds, the other with a shoe, as if to suggest that here was an individual who walked in both the ideal world and the real, in Heaven and on Earth. His clothes, on the other hand, were composed of various kinds of flowers, for, obviously, he is supernatural and does not wear clothing for protection from heat or cold as mortals do, but only for decoration. His palfrey is variegated and the colors are so extraordinary that our author assures us he is not lying in his account: "E dirai vos del palafre/Cals fo, que non mentrai de re" (ll. 50-51). There seems to be no particular significance attached to the specific colors of the animal: its neck and one haunch were black; the other was ivory; its right shoulder brown; the left was grey; the mane and head were red; one ear was saffron yellow and the left was iron grey. The animal itself was neither too small nor too large (ll. 52-59). All of the colors named are "natural" or earth colors, any one of which including shades of red or yellow, could be considered
an acceptable color for a horse. The problem lies in the fantastic combination in one animal. It is just possible, though, that this unnatural combination of natural horse colors was intended to represent the external "essence" of horse: it is a horse, yet it isn't. It would not be difficult to envisage the knight, an embodiment of a concept, riding upon an embodiment of the concept of horse. Just as ordinary clothes were not necessary, a mortal horse would not suffice. It should also be noted that the colorful horse is a part of the allegorical tradition established in the débats du clerc et du chevalier in Old French, in which the unusual hues have similar symbolic values.56

Finally, to complete the picture, his saddle is priceless. In fact, each part of the saddle is priceless:

Lo fre ni.1 peitra, ses doptansa,
No poiria comprar lo rei de Fransa;
E que ilh valguies l'emperaire!
Car tot lo tesaun del rei Daire
Vals doas peiras que i so."
(11. 68-72)

and we know from this that the domain he administers must include the entire world, for no other lord could afford such a harness.

The knight is accompanied by a lady, una dona, who is equally beautiful, "car anc Dios non formet sa par/De gran beutat e de cunhtia" (11. 103-104). Like

56See Ch. Oulmont, Les Débats, op. cit.
the knight's saddle, the lady's harness is invaluable:
"Val mais que l'aver de Castela/Ab los .v. regemes
d'Espanha!" (ll. 107-108) Her palfrey came from Bretanha, and is quite marvellous in its own right. This horse is green, red, and grey, and is thereby worth twice as much as the horse ridden by the knight: "E valc dos tans, senes mentir,/Qu'el palafre del cavasier" (ll. 115-116).
No one would argue that this horse, with touches of green in its hide, was not by its very rarity, worth far more than the first. The question that arises is why the lady, and not the knight, was depicted as riding the more valuable horse, and the logical response is that she apparently represents a loftier, perhaps rarer concept.

With the knight and the lady travelled an esquire and a lady-in-waiting. The squire carried a bow and three arrows, one of gold, one of Poitevin steel, one of lead:

E fo.m veiraque portes
Un arc d'alborn, bel per mezura,
E tres cairels a la sentura;
Lo us es resplendens d'aur fi
E l'autre d'acier peitavi
Gent furbit e gent afilat
El ters es de plum roilhat
Ab una asta torta de boih.

(ll. 119-126)

It is only at this point that the narrator hints that he knows the identity of the members of the party,
for he recognizes the purpose of the arrows: "ab que fier tot amador moih,/E amairitz cant vol traîr" (ll. 127-128). The memory of the Ovidian cupid is instantly recalled by the reference to the three arrows, and the influence of Guiraut de Calanso's allegory is indicated. Peire Guilhem has met the god of Love, travelling with his company.

If the arms carried by the squire reveal the identity of the lord, the identity of the lady-in-waiting is wrapped in obscurity by her hair: "De la donzela, ces mentir,/No sai si c'ès bruna ni blanca,/Qu'els cabels li van tro part l'anca,/Si que cobron tota la cela,/Qu'om non ve arsso ni sotzcela" (ll. 129-133). Peire could not see her face or her form except for a red tunic which could be seen through her hair. As she rode, she sang a "new" song about those who do not love, and those who love for money (ll. 146-154). At this point it is possible only to conjecture that the lady-in-waiting represents either an idea that is difficult for men to grasp, or to "see", because it is hidden, or that she wishes herself to be hidden, probably the latter, since in her song she castigates those who are bold and reject the purer love for one reason or another.

By this time, the company had moved within ear-shot, and Peire Guilhem greets them, not surprised to
hear himself saluted by name (l. 161), with the wish expressed by the knight that Peire might find the lady whose favors he had sought for so long. There follows a discussion of the pitfalls of love, and finally Peire asks the knight how he knows his name and invites him to pass the night in his house. To this the lady responded that the knight preferred to avoid castles and to remain close to nature (ll. 193-196), and Peire suggested a meadow that he knew "l'en h'de castel,/En .I. verdier, claus de rauzel,/Estaretz sotz .I. bel laurier,/On cor fontaina, sul gravier,/Fresca, freia, clara e genta" (ll. 201-205). The knight and the lady found it to their satisfaction and provided with everything one could want, including flowers and bird song. In short, it is the typical medieval garden of love, the earthly Paradise. From this it also becomes evident that the knight and the lady have very close ties to nature, preferring not to enter a castle so long as an open place is available.

The donzela then drew from her purse a tent of many colors upon which one could see images of birds, beasts, and flowers, and which expanded miraculously until it could hold a thousand knights, and one would have thought it required ten men to carry it. The dwelling of the knight is portable; he is at home.
wherever he is, and the marvellous nature of his house, in addition to all the other wonders connected to his person, lead one to suspect, well before he announces it himself, that he is a god:

"Paire W., ses contrastar, Sapchatz qu’ieu soi lo Dío d’amor."
(11. 246-247)

Nor does it come as a surprise that the lady is Mercy, the lady-in-waiting is Modesty, and the squire is Loyalty. They have already been introduced allegorically; we knew before this that the company was supernatural; embodiments of essential ideas moving on the earth among men. We knew that the lady represented a higher, more valuable, perhaps purer concept than the knight, and this assumption is now supported by the fact that Merce (mercy, pity, or the Christian idea of grace) is in certain respects, a concept superior to that of Amor in a philosophical hierarchy of Christian ideas.

We knew that their wealth was that of the entire world, that the arms carried by the loyal squire were those of Love, and that the lady-in-waiting represented a concept closely related to the symbolic covering of the body. We recognized symbols of nature and the garden, and we experienced the intellectual satisfaction of knowing all of this before the meaning behind the allegory was formally revealed to us by the god of Love in lines 246-255.
Emboldened by the fact that his interlocutor is the god of Love, Peire Guilhem hastened to ask a flood of questions, all of the questions, twenty-four in fact, that men have continually, rhetorically asked of Love, to which the god responded not without good humor:

"Tot autre home tenga per fat, /Peire W., de la demanda;/Mas ieu, car Merces m'o comanda, /Vos en dirai la veritat" (ll. 346-349). The god good-naturedly answered Peire's questions: the lady Peire loves will have mercy if he is careful to remain steadfast. Also, the flame, fire, and fever of love are born in the heart and they engender the thoughts that run a thousand times faster than the wind. Love lives with joy and happiness and is aroused by pleasure, and it is destroyed by false slanderers. Love can be born without a father or sisters or brothers, for it grows with glances, but it shrinks with deceit and displeasure, although, when grace and pleasure are able to mingle, it grows a thousand times more than before. As for Sir Loyalty, the squire with hawthorne bow and the arrow of lead, he strikes the false and the dismal who never recover, for the arrow enters with their sighs through their eyes and ears. With one blow he can make two hearts one, but no man believes that he will be striken, nor does a woman take breakfast or lunch if she is not loyal
and lacking any trace of deceit. The knight further expressed his desire to warn the ladies henceforth to be on their guard against Sir Peire de Moncada, Sir Dor de Barasc, Sir Foih, and Sir Olivier since “all four were great courters of ladies, and this was displeasing to the god, for they resembled Ramon Guiraut who wanted only to sell a horse. On the other hand, the lady is to be blamed if she embraces one knight in bed after she has already so honored another, for, having committed an error, she cannot be restored. The lady is the summit of courtesy, cap de cortesia (l. 415), and everyone must honor her, and that is why she must avoid misdeed so that no man of vile habits may take her to task.

These last 200 or so lines are basically an enseñamen in which the god of Love responded to Peire’s questions, and in this respect Peire is the literary heir of Raimon Vidal. It is interesting to note also how much Peire was influenced by Guiraut de Culanso’s depiction of love although Peire’s personification is clearly a male god of Love, while Guiraut’s figura is the traditional troubadour version of Love herself.

Peire Guilhem’s novas is composed of two roughly equal parts: an allegorical introduction of the divine company, and a straightforward explanation of the concepts they represent. The chief point of the first is
to present familiar concepts in a veiled way, to say one thing and mean another, thus permitting the reader or listener to rediscover an old truth in new clothing. Far from considering this technique artificial or mechanical, the medieval audience apparently considered it, if not challenging, at least intriguing and certainly delightful. The second part, the ensenhamen, served a different purpose, for it functions as a secular sermon, teaching and explaining the mysteries revealed in the early passages. It was in this section that the medieval audience found their interpretation of the first part confirmed, and this must surely have provided considerable satisfaction.

The novas of Peire Guilhem has only its form and its allegorical nature in common with the Cort d'Amor, for in content and doctrine they are quite distinct. Peire describes a male god, not Fin'Amor; his god lives in a tent which he pitches in the fields, not in a castle; his god travels about on a marvellous beast. Fin'Amor apparently ventures forth only to do battle; his god goes about dressed in flowers while we know nothing of Fin'Amor's physical appearance. In short, the novas of Peire Guilhem is more directly related to the Ovidian mood of the later thirteenth century while the Cort d'Amor still represents the sentiments of the
twelfth.

4.9. The Chastel d'Amors, like the Cort d'Amor and Peire Guilhem's novas, is preserved in only one manuscript, and like them it is complete, consisting of 180 fragmentary lines in 30 strophes. Unlike these, it was probably written in Italy by an Italian: "Il nous paraît très probable que l'auteur de notre petit poème était un Italien qui s'exerçait à la poésie provençale, comme Sordel, Cigala, et tant d'autres de ses compatriotes, qui ont voulu rivaliser avec nos troubadours et qui souvent l'ont fait avec un véritable talent. Dans ces conditions, il impossible de savoir quels sont les italianismes qui remontent au poète, quels sont ceux qui doivent être mis au compte du copiste..." As support for this hypothesis, Antoine Thomas cites eleven stylistic and syntactical details unlikely to occur in a poem composed by an Occitan poet, and the very unusual strophic form: "Le vers de sept syllabes employé par l'auteur est commun chez les troubadours; mais ce qui ne l'est pas, c'est la forme strophique adoptée par notre auteur. Sa strophe se compose de six vers: les cinq premiers riment ensemble, le sixième offre une

57 Vat. lat. 3206, known as chansonnier L. The novas of Peire Guilhem is preserved in a French manuscript, fr. 22543, known as chansonnier R, in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

58 Antoine Thomas, ed. cit., p. 185.
rime différente qui se retrouve aux cinq premiers vers de la strophe suivante. On a donc une série indéfinie: AAAAAB 'BBBBBC CCCCCD, etc. C'est ce que les Leys d'Amors appellaient des còblas continuadas capcaudadas. Mais si, en théorie, ce système n'a rien de contraire aux préceptes de l'école de Toulouse, en fait nous ne l'avons pas rencontré dans les œuvres originaires du Midi de la France. D'ailleurs, étant donné le sujet de Chastel d'Amors, un poète provençal l'aurait presque sûrement traité en vers de huit syllabes rimant deux à deux."59

The Chastel d'Amors is not an Occitan novas in the strict sense, although Thomas did mention the Cort d'Amor as one of its general sources. Marc-René Jung pointed out that "quelques passages pourraient faire penser que l'auteur a connu la chanson de Guiraut de Calanso, mais dans son inspiration générale, le poème nous semble plus proche des 'débats du clerc et du chevalier' français. Le Chastel d'Amors se rattache à la tradition des dits, dont la vogue va croissant tout au long du XIIIe siècle."60

More significantly perhaps, the method of exposition in the Chastel d'Amors varies considerably from that used by Peire Guilhem and the author of the Cort d'Amor, or even from that of Guiraut de Calanso, for the Italian

59Ibid., p. 186.
troubadour assigns himself the role of allegorical exegete. The basic style of the poem consists of a statement followed by an explanation or comment: allegory followed by exegesis. Jung objected to this method: "L'explication du jongleur est maladroite, parce que superflue; il s'y mêle un grain de pédonatiae, qui se manifeste d'ailleurs tout au long du poème." It is curious to note that Jung assigns the composition of this poem, obviously in his opinion a very weak poem artistically, to a mere jongleur-performer instead of to a troubadour-poet.

It is not only the author's method that is criticized, however, but also his use of the allegorical materials. In the first place, he informs us that he is the one who wants to construct a building. It does not exist at present, he implies, and he is describing only the plans he has made for it:

Compagnon, en pessamen
Son de far un bastimen,
Un chastel cortes e gen,
Co ie.l puesca sajamen.
Ec vos en comensamen
Per qual mesura es bastitz.

In this respect he differs from Guiraut de Calanso, Peire Guilhem, and the author of the Cort d'Amor, for they expect us to believe that they are describing

61 Loc. cit.
reality, abstractly perhaps but nonetheless real; actual events, existing buildings as well as a very real god or goddess. The fantasy of the Italian poet is presented as exactly that. He describes a nonexistent allegorical palace composed very illogically of bits and pieces of allegorical poems. One of his editors made excuses for this "sorte de fantaisie baroque à laquelle nous sommes peut-être plus sensibles que ne l'étaient les auditeurs du Moyen Age," in an attempt to justify the inclusion of the Chastel d'Amors in his anthology: "Aucun des ouvrages—même mutilés—qui nous aident à comprendre l'esprit de l'amour provençal, ne peut être absolument dénué d'intérêt."\(^{62}\) To the same end Jung remarked that the Chastel d'Amors was probably one of those allegories intended only for public consumption: "Devant un public qui, incapable désormais de comprendre les allusions voilées mais précises, demande des jolivetés bien expliquées, le jongleur s'exécute. Il veut plaire, et devient précieux et bavard."\(^{63}\)

It is unfortunate that so little of the Chastel d'Amors has been preserved, and that what we do have is so fragmentary, for it is just possible that the Chastel


d'Amors has been consistently misread. In reference to the difficulty modern critics often find in dealing with the medieval alieniloquium by which one thing is said by the words but something else is understood, D. W. Robertson Jr. remarked: "For example, modern critics of Lucan almost without exception regard the invocation to Nero in the Pharsalia as a panegyric, but medieval commentators from the tenth century to the Renaissance treat the dedication as being ironic. It has recently been suggested that the earlier opinion, which regarded 'what the text actually says' with some suspicion was probably correct." In the same way, he proposes, Books I and II of Andreas Capellanus' De Honesti Amanti were probably read with an ironic appreciation although modern critics tend to take it seriously and literally. I would then suggest that the Chastel d'Amors has been similarly misunderstood by its modern readers.

The second legible stanza, the fifth, illustrates the pattern that will be followed with varying degrees of consistency throughout the poem:

Agest chastel es d'Amors
Seinher des...seinhors.
............las hautas tors
So son las donnas meillors
C'an dur'cor vers amadors
Qe per lor amor van zai.

64Preface to Chaucer, p. 288.
The first four lines apparently state the allegory itself, while the last two lines are explanatory.

In this particular case there are at least two problems: given the assumption that the château really is that of Love, how can "las domnas meillors" be "las hautas tors"?, and if the hardness of their hearts toward their lovers is the quality that makes them "meillors," how can the lovers go about merry as a result? In the first problem these ladies could easily be represented by towers if the rest of the castle structures were types of women or types of lovers, but this is not the case for the moats are glances, the doors are words, the rooms are caresses and so forth. The allegory is immediately inconsistent—one of the most puzzling and annoying problems a modern reader encounters in medieval allegory—but this is in itself both intentional and ironic: the castle of Love is most haphazardly constructed. In no other Occitan allegory is the structure or the relationship between structures as wildly inconsistent as it is here. The high-tower-ladies are comic, a mockery of the troubadour lady and of the integrity of the allegorical edifice. The second problem is of a different nature, for it involves theory and the philosophy underlying the concept of fin'amor. How can the best ladies be
those with hard hearts? and, furthermore, how can their lovers be "gai" for love of them if they do indeed have hard hearts? This notion derides the troubadour portraits of the aloof and cruel lady and her long-suffering lover, as well as the notion that the torments of this suffering should be borne patiently, even happily because through them one improves. In the troubadour ethic the lady is within her rights to test and try the sincerity of her suitors, and the Italian author finds this positive view of a negative thing comic.

In the sixth strophe, the original metaphor of the tower-ladies is destroyed by the fact that the only ladies who may enter the castle are those who love a worthy man, those who are pledged to love, or those who have the intention of doing so:

E donna dedinsz no vai,
Se d'amor no es en plai,
De fach o d'asentimen.

Immediately, the earlier image of certain ladies represented by the high towers is either shattered or replaced by the list of ladies, presumably of flesh and blood, who are permitted to enter this same castle. Either the author did not take the earlier image seriously or it is not intended to be retained by the reader. Since the latter is unlikely—no author intentionally writes forgettable lines—it is quite possible that the
juxtaposition is intended to be humorous, especially since the last ladies mentioned, those who intend to commit themselves to Love, are among those admitted to a castle bedecked with towers of hard-hearted ladies.

We are told in strophe seven that our author constructed this castle with "sen" and "enchantamen", and that it cannot be seen unless it is approached with words and thoughts, for to all deeds it is invisible?, impregnable?]. The last word is illegible but it is clearly intended to be negative. Jung believed that the intention of the "jongleur" was to insist on the imaginary nature of the entire construction, which is very probable. It is important too, however, that deeds are a hindrance to entry, or even to the sight of the castle, and once again this appears to be a mockery of the languishing troubadour incapacitated by love of his lady, a precursor or even a contemporary of the great "goose" Aucassin whose name after all is of Occitan origin.

In strophes eight and nine, the poet returns to the allegorical nature of certain structural parts of the castle. The moats are made of glances, something illegible in the text, possibly walls, are made of will,

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66See also Charles Camouroix, Histoire de la littérature occitane, p. 49.
the doors are words, the keys are prayers, and the castle is pleasing to the sight. Surprisingly no one enters who doesn't attack it with "saber" or "plazzer" if he knows how. Even more curiously the doors which the courteous open with their prayer-keys are used for leaving as well as entering, "a l'eusir et a l'entrar." Our poet is implying that the castle of Love is entered and departed at will be the courteous beseechers, but he who does not speak well must remain outside: "qui gen non sab raszonar, /Defors li ven a estar." No doubt, our author mocks the troubadour conviction that the poet-singer-lover, the articulate man, is preferable to all others, and he makes it clear that he is not of the same opinion:

E ja non, i es intrat
Qi ab saber no.1 combat
O ab plazer, qi.1 sap far.

These same "cortes" who can open the doors with their prayers, entering and leaving at will, attack the castle with pleasure and knowledge once they are inside. This apparently implies that the lovers remain humble, courteous, and "fin" only while imploring permission to enter, but once inside their true convictions (saber) and erotic desires (plazzer) are revealed, and thus they threaten Love.

The next two strophes concern the non-lovers in-
volved in the game of love: inside the first wall are the bourgeois who sell precious objects "per entresseignas d'amor," and here foreigners may purchase the necessary trifles if by chance they have arrived unprepared. Here also are located the vavasseurs and damsels who serve their masters and mistresses and who may be beseeched in moments of particular need, "aqui es major atz."

The first of the two strophes involves particularly blunt satire, for the barely veiled implication is that Love cannot be properly served without the exchange of jewels and rings to symbolize it. Consequently, an "estraing" who might arrive at Love's castle unprovided with such things will find bourgeois merchants well stocked and conveniently at hand. Equally ironic are the gentlemen and ladies-in-waiting who may be approached where need is greatest, for the theme of the lovers' intermediary, the messenger, had been quite exhausted in the earlier allegories and novas, to the point that even a parrot had been called into service. Any interpretation of the major atz would remain conjecture but it does refer to at least three possibilities: a last resort, uncontrollable desire, or an inarticulate lover. I incline toward accepting all three whereby the irony is strengthened.

The rest of the poem continues in this manner. In
strope fifteen, Youth and Sweetness appear, and we are told they consist of nothing but greetings, presents, gentle responses, and promises, in short, nothing much. In strophe nineteen, our poet announces that the sommeliers and cooks are smiles and games and "de parlar ses ennuue", unwearying conversation. Lovers have no need of food, but even more significantly:

Lainsz non cal autre foec  
Mas Amor, per que o moec  
Qui lur fai estiu tot l'an.

Lovers need no other fire than that of Love for it makes the entire year an endless summer. It is possible to see in this remark a not so respectful reference to the traditional evocation of spring or summer at the beginning of so many troubadour songs. It is also a reference to the heat generated by the fire of love, the eroticism produced by desire.

Strophes twenty-one through twenty-eight recount an allegorical battle between ladies and the jealous ones, the husbands, and the gossips. Here the satire is perhaps the strongest, for in strophes twenty-three through twenty-five, the duplicity of the ladies is praised:

Lainsz an arbalisters  
Qui las defeniront dals guerrers:  
Voltas e gens traversers  
Qe lansan als plus parlers  
Proverbis et sentences  
Qui en etourdissent plus d'un.
They have war machines which launch proverbs and wise sayings at the heads of the best speakers and which stupefy more than one. They use deceits as bucklers to cover themselves against their husbands; with sworn oaths they make lances of brilliant iron with which they wound the hardiest when they are too pressed. And this lance that pricks and wounds also knows how to caress and flatter. The skill of the woman in duplicity was a fact established beyond a doubt by Raimon Vidal's Castia-zilos and by Flamenc a, and the Italian poet simply took advantage of a popular non-"courtly" theme in order to develop his satire.

The inhabitants of the castle, described in strophe thirty, lack neither merit nor joi and live only for messages from afar. These messages and "ditz", probably poems or songs, are their occupation and their "bath," and it is probably this strophe which displays the most contempt on the part of the poet, for he is saying in so many words that these people, who claim merit and vigor, take their delight "wallowing" in meaningless...
exchanges over great distances. This strophe relates to strophe seven: "Qe hom no.1 ve se no.1 ten/De ditz e de pessamen," and strophe nine: "Las portas son de parlar.......E las claus son de prejar." The emphasis here is the inactivity, the uselessness of a life that is spent writing, receiving and awaiting "messatg'estranh/Q1 de loing lur son trames."

From this brief discussion it becomes evident that the Chastel d'Amors is not the typical allegory of love that its modern readers have generally assumed it to be. It is rather a satire of the earlier love allegories, ironically, perhaps sarcastically, using the love allegory as the form. We could perhaps say further that, in comparative terms of attitude and expression, the Cort d'Amor relates to the Roman de la Rose of Guillaume de Lorris, as the Chastel d'Amors relates to the Roman de la Rose of Jean de Meung. By this illustration I would like to imply that the two earlier works depict an honest expression of a firm belief in the ideals, manifestations, rituals and practices of the troubadour concept of fin'amor while the two later poems present an ironic, occasionally satiric, fundamentally contemptuous view of the same idea.

4.9. The reasons for this development must ultimately remain hypothetical, but there are several factors that
probably contributed. In the first place, any literary form may become a legitimate and popular object of ridicule and satire once the topic or style is so well-known and so widespread that it's potential original expression is exhausted. This partially explains Cervantes' parody of the chivalric romances, and Boiardo's treatment of the Roland theme. The rapid development and popularity of the Occitan love allegories, in combination no doubt with the enormous popularity of the Romance of the Rose, together with the numerous allegories it in turn inspired, must have invited satire.

In the second place, the nature of the Occitan civilization had changed almost entirely by the second half of the thirteenth century. During the Albigensian Crusade, the French had devastated the countryside, disrupted the economy, decimated the population, and destroyed the numerous courts that supported the troubadours and the quality of life they advocated. The precepts of fin'amor fell almost immediately into oblivion, although they were preserved for a while in the courts of Spain and Italy where the troubadour fâîdits found refuge. But even this support did not last long. As Alfred Jeanroy pointed out: "le succès de la poésie provençale en Italie ne se prolonge guère au-delà de 1250: dès cette époque les seigneurs se mettant en frais pour
Thirdly, although transplanted ideas may flourish in new soil, the fruit that is produced is rarely identical to that produced in the original climate. The concept of fin'amor developed quite differently in each of the separate cultures to which it was imported, and in none of the foreign cultures did the idea closely resemble the original troubadour concept. The Italians, the French, the Germans, and the English all adapted it to fit their specific civilizations, their climates, and their literatures. This is nowhere more striking than in Italy where Dante's Beatrice and Petrarch's Laura are daughter and grand-daughter of the troubadour lady, and related by marriage to the greatest Occitan lady, Fin'Amor. Even so, the family resemblances are not always immediately apparent. At this point it is worth recalling that the author of the Chastel d'Amors was, by all indications, an Italian. To suppose that the troubadour ideas of the golden age had not been transplanted intact, at least where our poet is concerned, would not be erroneous.

Fourthly, the influence of the Church in general and the Inquisition in particular probably counted for something in the ultimate dwindling of adherents to the cultivation of fin'amor. René Nelli noted that "entre

1233, date où l’Inquisition fut confiée aux Dominicains, et 1258, dernière date certaine de la vie de Montanhagol, il ne semble pas, pourtant, que l’Église ait combattu l’Amour sur le plan dogmatique. Peut-être parce qu’il était difficile à définir théoriquement, qu’il ne s’appuyait pas sur des textes anti-romains et qu’il ne se réclamait d’aucun hérésiarque. Sous prétexte de corriger les moeurs, les clercs ne s’attaquèrent d’abord qu’aux conditions objectives de la Courtoisie: à la générosité—c’est à dire aux habitudes de libéralité et de prodigalité des grands seigneurs, au luxe des hommes et des femmes, à la galanterie.68 Nelli also specified that the Church did not expressly reject the doctrine of fin’amor until March 7, 1277, when the Bishop of Paris, Etienne Tempier, condemned in 219 propositions everything of which he disapproved, including a treatise on love.69

Finally, I would suggest that the author, in composing the Chastel d’Amore, was simply transferring the serious allegorical exegesis of Biblical texts to the frivolous exegesis of the love allegories, which were everywhere available by the middle of the thir-

68 L’Erotique des troubadours, p. 239.

69 This treatise, in Nelli’s opinion, was probably a version of De Arte Honesti Amandi of Andreas Capellanus.
teenth century. Perhaps the Chastel d'Amors represents nothing more nor less that a bored clerical student's personal amusement copied down to pass the time. As in the case of Jean de Meung, this attitude is that of those who embraced the "new" Aristotelian philosophy which appeared in Italy at the end of the thirteenth century.70

4.10. The Occitan love allegory in the thirteenth century is not a "new" genre, for it represents no forms or ideas new to the Occitan literary tradition. It represents instead a new combination of many older genres, themes, and motifs, not the least of which were furnished by the troubadour lyrics and the Occitan novas: the authors of the allegories poured the concepts and styles of the former into the structure provided by the latter. The novas of Peire Guilhem and the Cort d'Amor are the only such allegories that have been preserved, since the allegorical lyric of Guiraut de Calanso at the beginning of the century, and the Chastel d'Amors, after 1250, represent transitional stages: the birth and the decline of narrative love allegory.

70Cf. Dante who not only placed Siger of Brabant in Paradise but also put his praises on the lips of St. Thomas.
Chapter 5

THE CORT D'AMOR

5.1. The Cort d'Amor occupies a unique position in Occitan literature for it is the earliest narrative love allegory in that language of which we have any record. Unfortunately the poem which is preserved in fragments in only one manuscript,\(^1\) contains no historical references to events or individuals that might permit us to date its composition precisely. The fact that it exhibits no demonstrable influence by the Roman de la Rose of Guillaume de Lorris leads us to suppose that it was written earlier than 1235. References to the rose, or roses, occur in seven different verses of the Cort d'Amor (ll. 50, 56, 628, 959, 1262, 1601, and 1627), but in only one of these instances is the rose directly related to love:

\[
\begin{align*}
Qe & \quad prous \quad domnna \quad ab \quad fresca \quad color \\
Es & \quad russa \quad del \quad vergiers \quad d'Amor. \\
(11. \quad 1260-1261)
\end{align*}
\]

In this case, however, it is clear that the poet is referring only to the lady's rosy, "amorous", apparently blushing complexion and intends no further significance. Furthermore, there is no direct, observable relationship

\(^1\)Manuscript M. 819 in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, folios 31r through 46 v.
between the personifications of virtues, vices, or aspects of love in the *Cort d'Amor* and the personifications of Guillaume's *Roman de la Rose*, for as we saw in Chapter 3, the personifications in the *Cort d'Amor* are each and every one drawn from the earlier Occitan tradition. Therefore, in terms of the *Roman de la Rose*, although it is impossible to prove that the author of the *Cort d'Amor* did not know (or could not know) the French poem, we can see quite plainly from even a cursory reading of the Occitan poem that there was probably very little influence of that type from the north.

In an equally negative way, it is also possible to note that the *Cort d'Amor* displays none of the cynical, slightly contemptuous satire so obvious in the later thirteenth century with the *Chastel d'Amors*. More positively stated, the *Cort d'Amor* is still very close to the troubadour tradition of the twelfth century. In style and content our author resembles Raimon Vidal more closely than he resembles Feire Guilhem in spite of the fact that the latter wrote allegory while the former did not.

This close relationship to the troubadour Golden Age can be seen most strikingly in the personification of *Fin'Amor* herself. We have seen that in the medieval
Latin, northern French, and later Occitan poems the personification of Love is masculine, either as a direct personification of the word _amour_ which is masculine in French, or more often as a version of Ovid's male Cupid, the god of love. Almost without exception, however, the troubadours referred to love, _fin'amor_, as "she" since the Occitan word is feminine: _Amors la dousa e la bona_ (l. 30). Arnaut Daniel, to cite only one example from the lyric poets, spoke of Love as a woman:

```
Anc ieu non l'ai, mas ella m'a
Totz temps en son poier Amors,
E faï mas irat, let, savi, fol,
Cum cellui q'en re no.is torna,
C'om no.is deffen qui ben ama;
C'Amors comanda
C'om la serv'e la blanda,
Per q'ieu n'aten.
Soffren
Bona Partida
Qand m'er escarida.2
```

Significantly, the author of the _Cort d'Amor_ had considerable difficulty remembering (or believing) that his heroine was in fact a woman. Ordinarily _fin'Amor_ is designated in the text by feminine pronouns (e.g., l. 351: _leis_), but she is designated at least ten times by masculine words as if she were a man: l. 48, _lo_; l. 353, _lo_; l. 354, _el_; l. 837, _lo_; l. 872, _el_; l. 879, _el_; l. 899, _el_; l. 903, _rai_; l. 1078, _el_; l. 1584, _el_.

---

In one passage Fin'Amor is compared to a man:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Enaissi con deu far lo seingner} \\
\text{Qe tot lo mont ha a destreigner,} \\
\text{Esgardet vas terra un petit,} \\
\text{Con sabis on,...} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(11. 97-100)

Not surprisingly, other females receive the same treatment: in l. 369 Cortaszia is referred to as il; and in l. 1132, el refers to the lady who looks in her mirror. The most striking example of this phenomenon is that of Merce, a woman who arrives at the court of Love as advocate for the abused lovers:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{E quan l'an vista il baron} \\
\text{No i a cel non sapcha bon,} \\
\text{Mont polsa son caval lo flancs;} \\
\text{Per un pauc qe non es stancs...} \\
\text{Aquest trameto.1 amador} \\
\text{Per faire clam a Fin'Amor} \\
\text{De las dompas des cominals.} \\
\text{Molt cuitas c'a tost le vasals.} \\
\text{A tant es a cort desendutz,} \\
\text{Tuit digon: "Ben sia vengutz."} \\
\text{E el respon: "E Deu sal vos."} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(11. 729-739)

Merce is a feminine noun in Old Occitan, and therefore the personification is feminine: "il baron l'an vista". She arrives on horseback, apparently riding her mount directly into the court, and at this point, our poet tells us that "he" (Merce) was sent by the lovers: "Aquest trameto.1 amador". "He" dismounts to the court: "es a cort desendutz," and "he" is welcomed by the vassals: "Ben sia vengutz".

There are two potential explanations for these
transexual identities. In the first place it is possible that either the author or the scribe—certainly the latter and possibly the former as well—were not native speakers of Occitan. We know the scribe was an Italian and that he often misspelled what he heard, and there is a remote possibility that the author was also a foreigner, one of those Italians who imitated the troubadours. His Occitan was obviously far superior to that of the scribe, but this does not remove the likelihood that he too was careless with pronouns.

On the other hand, it is possible that these "mistakes" are not really faults after all; they could have been logical consequences of the flow of the narrative. A rapid survey of the thirteen cases in question reveals that in context, nine of the ten masculine words referring to Fin'Amor appear in a context of "masculine" activity: in ll. 353-354 the ladies beseech Fin'Amor as their lord to save them from dishonor: "E preigan lo com lor seignor/Q'el las engart de desonor." In l. 837, Courtesy calls upon Fin'Amor, addressing her as one would a male lord: "La Cortesa d'Amor lo sōna:/"Señor, qar non portes corona?" In l. 872 the watchman proclaims that one has joi if Love bestows it: "Alquel han ioi cui el en bona." In l. 879, Fin'Amor offers a prayer to God, and it is stated in terms of a vassal
addressing the suzerain: "El dis: 'Seinor Deu glorios.'"

In ll. 898-899, the seneschal announces the wishes of
Fin'Amor: "Qe.l loqlar sion escoutat/Q'el vol....."

In l. 903, Fin'Amor is given the title of king: "Li joglar s'approchon del rei." In l. 1078, Fin'Amor
assumes the additional male role of lover when Honor
approaches: "El ac gran joi qan l'ac veszuda," and the
matter of the treasury (another masculine domain) is
brought up: "Q'el no l argen ni aur." It is
only the first use of the masculine reference (ll.
47-48) which has no appreciable masculine context:
"D'autra part Larguesa e Domneis/Lo meton en un leit
d'orfres." The vast majority of the instances in which
the feminine Fin'Amors is designated by a masculine word
involve situations in which Fin'Amor acts in a predomin­
antly masculine context. This has already been demon­
strated in the case of Merce: she is a feminine abstrac­
tion when she is first seen by the barons, but her hasty
arrival on horseback in the very midst of the court,
her mission on the part of the lovers, and her greeting
to the court are "masculine" activities in a "masculine"
context, and as a result, the pronouns and adjectives
referring to her are masculine. Similarly in the one
passage where Lady Corteszia is signified by a masculine
pronoun, she, too, is playing a male role: that of
spokesman for her seigneur, the legal counsellor of

Fin'Amor:

[8] o dis Amors: "Bon conseil sai,
Na Corteszia, q'eau vez lai,
Voell q'en fassa aqest iutgament,
Qe sab per on monta e disent
Amors, e qar sab ben q'il es
Del mont la plus adreita res.
Il lo fera be ses engan.
(11. 363-369)

Strangely, Fin'Amor here refers not only to Corteszia in
masculine terms (l. 369) but also to Love (l. 367).

Corteszia, too, is compared to a man:

Cortesia pleigua son gan
E doba se de liugar,
Q'om cortes se fan pauch pregar
Qant vei q'es luecs es aviments.
Molt es grantz e preon sos sens.
Pueis parlet com savis e pros.
(11. 370-375)

There remain two more cases in which a feminine person
is designated by a masculine word. In the first case,
Laughter is obviously speaking of the lady:

Enaisi plainz lo drutz e.l druda
Es mil aitans morta e venduda
Q'el non ausa ab omen parlar.
(11. 962-964)

Most likely the scribe erroneously wrote el for ilh.
In the second case, Honor is clearly speaking of the

Jovencella:

E'qant uq'il colors li fail,
Ez el se vei en son mirail,
E connois qe trop s'es tarzada,
Ill qier son don era pregada.
(11. 1131-1134)
Apparently there is also a scribal error for *Ill since the *Ill of l. 1134 obviously refers to the same individual.

There is only one example in the text of a masculine person designated by a feminine word: "Qe qant *Ill a si dons conques", (l. 1655), and this too is apparently a scribal error similar to the one mentioned above.

From all of this it is possible to conclude that in the great majority of cases in the text of the *Cort d'Amor in which a masculine word is used to designate a female person, the phenomenon is probably not a scribal error or grammatical mistake on the part of the author. Rather they represent a certain unconsciously changing attitude that could be indicative of the times: for decades the Occitan poets had regarded *Fin'Amor as a woman, and a woman she remains in the *Cort d'Amor, but the nature of her position (seigneur and judge) and her activities (public address, coronation, the law court, possibly riding to war) either suggest or require in the mind of the poet certain attributes that he considers exclusively masculine. For this reason, *Fin'Amor and, on at least one occasion each, *Corteszia and *Merce are treated by the author as though they were male personifications. We have the opportunity to remark *Fin'Amor
here in transition from a female personification of an abstract idea to a male god representing the same idea. The Fin'Amor of the Cort d'Amor as a result represents one step beyond Guiraut de Calanso's figura and one step before Peire Guilhem's dieus d'amors. Accordingly I would suggest that the poem may be dated after 1204 (Guiraut de Calanso) and before 1235 (Guillaume de Lorris) at the earliest, and before 1250 (Peire Guilhem) at the latest. The author of the Cort d'Amor was probably therefore a contemporary of Raimon Vidal.

3.2. The narrative of the Cort d'Amor, as the title implies, revolves around the activities of the court of Fin'Amor. This lady is extremely difficult to identify in specific terms. The author gives her the epithet "la dousa e la bona," tells us that she lives on Mount Parnassus in her marvellous castle surrounded by her barons and the world's lovers, and all we know further is that she rules the world:

\begin{verbatim}
Aqi s'asis a parlament
Amors, e parlet bellament
Enaissi con deu far lo seingneur
Qe tot lo mont ha a destreign.
(11. 95-99)
Qe reis es de trastota ʒent
Apres Christus l'omnipotent.
(11. 839-840)
\end{verbatim}

and that her wealth is that of the entire world:
This is the extent of the specific, direct information we are given concerning her, and it disappointing that our author does not once provide a physical description of her. In fact, he seems to avoid physical portraits of the characters he presents with the brief exceptions of Honor, Valor, and the Governess of Love, who are dressed alike (ll. 1071-1073), and Youth whose appearance is described in the last fragment (ll. 1720-1721).

It is clear from the beginning that the poet intendis for his poem to be primarily didactic in nature. Those who desire the flower and the courtesy of love, and care for nothing else, but prefer to remain with jo1, must pay careful attention to this romance which is built of fine new jo1:

E garriatz quant l'euresz auszit,
Non metatz los motz en oblit;
Qe za negus hom no-fara
So que.1 romanx comandara,
No sia plenz de corteszia,
E que non guerrez Villania,
Que lo be que lo.romanx di
Passon las donpas e.1 drut fi,
Que.1 romanx deveda e castia.
(11. 7-16)

It is equally clear that the lessons will be given by the speeches and conversations of various persona-
Ora zuatz coment araszona  
Sa gent, Amors la douza e la bona.  
Mas prenderamens vos dirai  
Sos conpainons, ni hon estaz  
Ab cui faz acordament  
D'Amor lo lial zutzament.  
(11. 29-34)

The notion of judgment and the agreement of Fin'Amors and her barons is introduced early, and it will serve as the foundation upon which the edifice of the narrative and the allegory will rest. The twelve barons are introduced in lines 42-47 and in line 76, in precisely the same order in which they will be addressed by Fin'Amors in her eleven speeches: Jois, Solaz, Ardiment, Cortezzia, Bon'Esperansa, Paors, Larguesza, Domneis, Celamens, Douza Conpania, Drudaria, and Pretz. In essence, each "baron" is defined by the illustrations of Fin'Amor's discourses; the suzerain tells her vassals what their duties and responsibilities are. On the assumption that they were irreconcilable, Marc-René Jung wondered that both Ardimens and Paors were found together at the court of Fin'Amors, and he resolved the conflict by concluding that fear was necessary for the suitor while boldness was required only of women: "Craintes pour le soupirant, hardiesse pour la femme, telle est la répartition que propose notre auteur." Unfortunately

3Etudes, p. 150.
the resolution is not that simple because certain verses in the address to Boldness do indeed concern the lover:

E cel que de re non s'es freda
Sitot, s'a petit de moneda,
S'adobra ades de ben servir.
(11. 169-171)

E per vos va a parlament
Drutz a si dons ardiment.
En amor, non val re paors;
Ardimentz es la claus d'amors.
(11. 177-180)

\textbf{Fin'Amor} never implies that Boldness is exclusively the province of the woman. On the contrary, she specifically states twice that the lover will occasionally have need of boldness in the pursuit of perfection. Fear, on the other hand, is apparently assumed to be a natural attribute of women, for in her address to that baron, \textbf{Fin'Amor} dramatizes only the fear of the lover, and in her earlier address to Boldness, the fear of the woman was taken for granted:

Que vos fatz toszeta ardida
Q'a paors neis.d'aucel gant crida.
(11. 159-160)

Furthermore, Laughter makes it quite clear in his speech that the lady is indeed expected to be afraid of certain things:

Enaisi plaing lo drut e.l druda
Es mil gitans morta e venduda
Q'el [h] non ausa ab omen parlar
Ni gen vestir ni gen causar,
Ni s'ausa deportar ni rire,
Qe non haia paor d'auire.
(11. 962-967)
Jung's facile resolution of the problem is insufficient. Both fear and boldness are clearly intended by the author to signify aspects of the behavior of both lover and lady. One really need not wonder "comment Ardimen et Paors, qui sont tous deux de la compagnie, peuvent s'entendre", for each serves a similar purpose in attaining the desired end, and by examining this purpose as it relates to the end, the unity of the poem becomes clearer. The end for which both lover and lady are struggling is definitely not the physical possession of the other, for in that case boldness and fear would be irreconcilable, and equal measure of each would in fact result in a static condition. Encouraged by boldness but held back by fear, both lover and lady would find themselves rooted to the ground unable to advance or retreat. Instead of the physical possession of the beloved, which Jung apparently believes Fin'Amors represents: "Il est intéressant de noter que le personnage portant le nom de Fin'Amors, ne représente pas ce que la critique moderne entend par fin'amors....La conception de l'amour, telle qu'elle se manifeste dans la première partie de la Cour d'Amour, correspond moins à la fin'amors de la poésie lyrique qu'à l'amour courttois des romans",⁴ the goal that the Cour d'Amor in fact

⁴Ibid., p. 155.
teaches is: "novella amor/D'una donna de gran valor", (11. 21-22). The cultivation and attainment of a state or condition of fin'amor. In this case, Fear and Boldness work together in alternately, not simultaneously, restraining and encouraging both the lover and lady as they strive for perfection. It is the seneschal of Love himself, Sir Pleasure, who states this principle:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mas ieu dic qe re non en brià} \\
\text{Qe mos seihner es poderos} \\
\text{Qe ia luszençiers ni gelos} \\
\text{Ne ocran dan a drut cortes.} \\
\text{Ans lur pro mas bo lur pes} \\
\text{Qar en luoc fan tan gran paor,} \\
\text{Q'el non parlara auien lor,} \\
\text{E si con l'aurs e.l fluec s'escura,} \\
\text{Agesita paor los melilura} \\
\text{Q'il si gara de fol parlar} \\
\text{E fai ab sen tot son afar.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(11. 991-1001)

Fear, then, has a purifying effect, like fire, in that it inspires moderation: fai ab sen tot son afar. Boldness reassures the lovers that the goal is worth achieving and ultimately within reach, while Fear warns them of the dangers of excess. Together, Fear and Boldness are not in the least irreconcilable but rather, as the two sides of the coin define the penny, so Fear and Boldness define moderation, meszura.

From this brief digression it becomes clear that all twelve of Fin'Amor's barons function more or less in this way. Each one represents one element in the struggle to achieve Fin'Amor, each represents one of
the channels through which desire must flow before it can be successfully converted—sublimated if you will—into Fin'Amor.

From this it is obvious that each of the twelve barons was very carefully chosen by the author in order to represent the "vassals" of Fin'Amor, the members of her immediate household, the permanent residents of her castle, her lieutenants, and finally, the component parts of the idea of Fin'Amor, most specifically the way that desire must be transformed in order to attain merit and valor. Their number is twelve for significant reasons: Fin'Amor relates to her twelve barons, just as Charlemagne related to the twelve peers of France, and as Christ related to the twelve apostles. The comparison is not intended to be blasphemous, for it represents only a parallel on a lower level of the hierarchy of ideas. Charlemagne represents one sort of perfection, that of the warrior king, Fin'Amor represents another type of perfection on a slightly higher level, that of a social ethic, while Christ represents the highest level of human moral perfection. One may suppose that the twelve peers of France represent different aspects of the soldier-knight: "Roland est preux et Olivier est sage"; that the twelve apostles represent different aspects of human morality including even the traitor
and the doubter along with the faithful, and that the twelve barons of Fin'Amor therefore represent different aspects of the ethical behavior defined by the term fin'amor. As suggested in Chapter 3, none of these personifications was invented by our author. Instead of creating characters to fit his allegory, our poet simply gathered together personifications that were already famous and clearly understood from the poems of the earlier troubadours.

5.3. The 244 verses comprising the eleven speeches delivered to the twelve barons by their seigneur can thus be considered a definition of Fin'Amor. These, together with the first 100 introductory verses; in which the season, location, landscape, and characters are presented to the listener, set the didactic tone of the poem.

The next 63 verses (345-408) maintain the sober instructional style of the sermon. When Love had finished her prepared speeches, the ladies requested further information concerning the nature of love, and Fin'Amors required DameCourtesy to pronounce the judgment in which she defines love succinctly in 32 lines (11. 377-408). At this point the first semblance of action to appear in the poem takes place: the judgment pronounced by Courtesy is written in a chart, signed, sealed, and carefully stored away (11. 409-420). After this, how-
ever, the author returns to his original didactic style and permits Courtesty to embark on a very long discourse (ll. 421-724). It is almost certain that this discourse has been distorted in the manuscript, for in ll. 709-710 it is Corteszià who responds to this speech by Corteszià: "[C]orteszià ditz: 'Domna pros, /D'aiso m'acort eu ben ab vos.'" Any resolution of this problem must remain conjectural, but there is one point in this very long speech where, as a result of faulty transition, we could logically suspect a scribal omission of several lines, possible including the introduction of another speaker. In verses 652-656, Cortesià solemnly pronounced the doom of the lady who had been deceived:

E domna puis engans ies
Ni pot esser d'engan represa,
Jamais non pot esser cortesa,
Ni pus com pot estain durar,
Non pot jamais son prez cobrar.
(ll. 652-656)

But verses 657-708 incongruously take up the physical description of the lady:

E ill cabeill ssion coindament
Estretz ab fil d'aur on d'argent, etc.
(ll. 657-658).

It is quite possible that at this juncture the scribe (or the reader dictating to the scribe) omitted several lines, and that another speaker of whom we are unaware has introduced another topic. It is impossible to know
who this speaker might be, but there are several likely candidates, since neither Solasz nor Dousa Compania speak elsewhere in the poem and the subject of the lady's beauty would be suitable to either of the concepts they represent.

Immediately after Corteszia's response to this speech, Nercce arrived in much haste in order to present before the court the case of the aggrieved lovers against those ladies who loved for money (ll. 727-780). Fin'Amor herself delivers the judgment in this case:

\[
\text{Aquellas qi qeron soldadas} \\
\text{Er getat de ma compana.} \\
\text{(ll. 824-825)}
\]

5.4. With this judgment terminating on l. 834, the first major division of the extant Cort d'Amors is concluded, for in these 834 lines is depicted the law court of Love, and in the lines that follow, the coronation and royal court of Love will be portrayed. Although the didactic tone will be continued to a certain extent, the number of new characters introduced and the amount of dramatic activity described will increase considerably. It is in the last half, for example, that the humbler castle folk will be introduced: the jongleurs Ris and Daportz in l. 884; their sister Na Coindia in l. 886; Plazers, the seneschal in l. 898; and the courtiers Cor, Deszir, Dous Eszar, and Baiszar
in ll. 1568 and 1570. The Baillessa d'Amor will arrive in ll. 1068 with Honor and Valor, and we are led to believe that although the Baillessa could be one of Fin'Amor's own vassals, she does not live at the castle of Love, and as the governess she probably represents the social restrictions on Love. Nor are Honor and Valor, like Merce who arrived earlier, permanent residents of the castle, but rather they are peers of Fin'Amor, powerful seigneurs in their own right. We are told that Merce arrived "Qe volg esser el parlament" (ll. 728), and we can assume that she had undertaken to deliver the request of the lovers of her own volition in order to relieve their suffering, which would be in keeping with her nature, and that she was not commanded by Fin'Amor to appear. Likewise Honor, Valor and the Baillessa d'Amor "son vengudas ad auzir los chan" (ll. 1070). To the list of peers we must also add Erasssa, who first speaks in verse 1334, Sens who first speaks in verse 1647, and Joven who is introduced in the very last fragment, verse 1718. It is evident from their activities and their remarks that these seven are not, like the first twelve, vassals of Fin'Amor, but autonomous seigneurs of equal rank, who are her companions, advisers, and friends: "Qant ellas entron e.1 palais/Sapchatz qe.1 cort en val mais" (ll. 1074-1075). Our poet is careful
to demonstrate, by their late arrival, after the sermons, by their manner, and by their speech, that they do not necessarily belong to the realm of Fin'Amor, that they control realms of their own, and that they are present at the court only because they wish to be. Sense, for example, gives Love his opinions freely and freely offers his services in war:

Eu vos hai dig mon vejaire
E vos fai oimais vostre afaire
E qant domandares: "Montatz!"
Eu serai dels premiers armatz.
(11. 1692-1695)

This is certainly not the speech of a vassal to his suzerain but rather that of one comrade-in-arms to another. On the other hand, Fin'Amor declares herself the vassal of Honor:

Mos cors prenc de vos e mos fieus,
E qar eu soi sener d'amor,
Hai causit lo pus ric seinhor.
(11. 1124-1126)

This exchange between Fin'Amors and Honor is, at first glance, most bizarre. Fin'Amor couches her speech in the language of love and assumes the male role of lover in her greeting:

Vos mi tenes en tal liam,
Con pus m'aucisses, no m'en clam.
(11. 1089-1090)

Vostra douza amors m'esperona,
Pos bella es, siatz me bona.
(11. 1093-1094)
Regardon, pus son cor no.us cela,
Le vostre sers de tant vos ama.

(11. 1100-1101)

Ja mos cors non haura repaus
Tro qe.m digas coment sera
S'ill vostre bel cors m'amerà,
Q'ieu soi vostre hom en tota guïsza,
Qe Fin'Amor e.l cor m'astiza
Un fuec don m'es suaus la flama,
Qe del vostre bel cors m'aflama.

(11. 1106-1112)

Although this fairly long speech is entirely unexpected, it does provide a very important definition of Fin'Amor, not, as previously, in terms of her own various aspects, but this time in terms of her relationship to another virtue. In this case we are afforded a most significant insight into the specific relationship between Love and Honor, and it is clear that Fin'Amor approaches her guest with utmost humility and formality, with moderate speech and eager desire, with both fear and boldness, in short, with all the aspects outlined earlier in her court of law. Once again, as noted earlier, the feminine Love assumes a masculine role, for the context requires that she approach Honor as the lover must approach the lady, as the aspirant must approach the ideal. Most curiously, however, Fin'Amor states that fin'amor has inspired a flame in her heart and that Honor's beautiful body inflames her further. We can only conclude that, like the gods and goddesses of the Greek pantheon, Fin'Amor is also subject to the concept she represents.
We find Aphrodite forever falling in love with some beautiful youth and Cupid pricking himself with one of his own arrows at seeing Psyche, and similarly Fin'Amor falls in love with Honor.

Even more curious, however, is Honor's response to Fin'amor's greeting, for she introduces for the first and only time, in the Cort d'Amor, the *carpe diem* theme:

[A] j'ors respon ela: "Soi ben vostra, Q'ieu non soi ges aqil qa mostra Orcuell mentre q'es iovencella Ql a la color fresca e novella E qant aqil colors li fall, Ez el se vei en son mirall, E conois qe trop s'es tarzada Ill qier so don era pregada.

(11. 1127-1134)

Inexplicable as it may seem, the author had good reason to put this speech on the lips of Honor, for she is the only one who could logically advocate the commitment of the young woman to love and still remain beyond reproach. She is, after all, Honor, and if she supports the games and rituals of Fin'Amor, it can only be because they are honorable beyond suspicion. She does, nevertheless, give sage words of warning against certain follies, primarily the use of artificial color on the face, and she is particularly anxious that ladies learn to speak carefully:

Dompna non deu parlar mas gent
E suau e causidament,
E deu tant gent sos mots assire
Qe totz hom son solaz desire,
Qe las puraulas qe son fors,
Demostran los talens del cors,
Per qe non deu dire folor,
Dompha qe s'enten en valor.
(11. 1147-1154)

All seven, Mercy, Honor, Valor, the Governess of Love, Prowess, Sense, and Youth, are virtues and they relate to Fin'Amor as equals, as "Peers". René Nelli remarked (p. 5) that:

It is significant that the virtues related to Fin'Amor in the Cort d'Amor are seven in number. They are apparently intended to be parallel to the seven Christian virtues: Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, Justice, Faith, Hope, and Charity, and they stand in opposition to the seven vices of Fals'Amor: Villania (Vilany, l. 12), Malvestat (Wickedness, l. 19), Putaria (Prostitution, l. 19), Cobazesa (Covetousness, l. 740), Orguei (Pride, l. 742), Falz Semblantz (Hypocrisy, l. 1676), and Mal-parlers (Slander, l. 1678). These, in turn, are parallel to the seven deadly Christian sins: Envy, Avarice,
Lust, Sloth, Gluttony, Anger, and Pride. Ultimately, this interpretation remains problematical, since it is impossible to know how much of the text has been lost, and how many more personifications are yet to be introduced. For this reason, the numerical symbols of the poem cannot be legitimately explored further.

5.5. In the second part of the *Cort d'Amor*, the formal aspects of the law court, which prevailed in the first half, are abandoned. After the coronation of *Fin'Amor* (ll. 835-966), the company enters the Palace of Love, thus signifying physically that the rule of *Fin'Amor* had been consecrated, and now the realm is proclaimed by the herald:

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Cobezena es morta e aunida,
E havem Orzuel abattut,
Ara si guardon li cornut
Qe mon senior porta corona,
Alquen han ioi cui el en dona,
E totz om es malauros
Que non s'acompania ab vos.
Noi havem fag lo iugament
D'Amor: fols es qui non l'aprent.
(ll. 868-876)
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From this point on, the court of *Fin'Amor* resembles not a court of law, but rather a royal household. The banquet begins with a prayer in which *Fin'Amor* offers her thanks to God, her suzerain (ll. 879-882). The jongleurs arrive with music and dancing, which is so infectious that lovers and ladies leap from their seats in order to dance, but *Fin'Amor* orders her seneschal to
reseat them so that the jongleurs may be heard. Laughter, the first jongleur, delivers a lecture of 72 lines (ll. 905-977) castigating the gossips and slanderers, the lausengiers. Amusement then speaks, less emphatically, against deceiving the lady (ll. 1006-1040), and finally, Dame Grace, their sister, describes the responsibilities of the lady, once she has accepted her suitor (ll. 1041-1067). Immediately afterward, Honor, Valor, and the Governess of Love arrive and, after they are welcomed by Love, each speaks according to her nature (ll. 1127-1331). Lady Prowess next gives warning against the foolish, presumptuous lovers, and then, by way of illustration of the opposing virtue, she relates a lengthy anecdote in which a messenger takes it upon herself to reveal to both lady and suitor the desires of the other, since the two concerned are too hesitant and cautious to bring up the subject.

After this speech the lovers resume their interrupted dance, jewels are exchanged as tokens of Love, flowers are strewn about, and the courtiers Heart, Desire, Sweet Regard, Pleasure, and Kissing and the baron Domnels join the dancers. Before long, however, the tumult becomes too much for the other barons to bear and, because they remember that not all lovers are happy, they request that the festivities be ended.
Through the seneschal, Fin'Amor orders an end to the dancing, and Pleasure warns the lovers of the threat of Pride:

......Za Dieus non veia,
Cortesa sens, qi vos gerreia!
Qe re non de hom tant onrar
Com bona dompna a fin amor,
Mais aqest mieu blonde cap,
Be m peszara s'orguels non sap,
E l garsona la que l mante,
Lo poder qe he contra me,
Qe za non er longa sazons
Qe l'en veran mil gonfanons
Qe volriam en un gran soil
De clam ar [v]eser ab un oil,
Q'ieu non voell soffrir la clamor
Qe fan dompnas e amador,
E si vos, seinhor, m'o laissatz
Non er pus suffert en patz.

(11. 1631-1646)

I have reproduced the entire speech given by Pleasure because it is this passage and the speech of Sense which immediately follows that have led several scholars to believe that, in the rest of the poem which has been lost, Fin'Amor, her barons, and peers, go to war against Pride. In the next passage, Sense responds to the seneschal's speech with satisfaction:

[8]ens estet en un farestol
E plaz li molt qar Amors vol
Gerreiar per tener dreitura,
El pensa qe sos fies pejura.
E al dig: "Anseis qe movatz,
Ad aqest bésolim me sonatz."

(11. 1647-1652)

He goes on to castigate not Pride but "li fol drut feinedor" and he concludes:
After this speech by Sense, Youth is introduced (ll. 1718-1721), but the rest of the poem is missing.

Strangely enough, Marc-René Jung also noted on page 154 of his study that "ensuite, Jovens, blond et couronné de fleurs de lis, prend la parole," but on page 155 he inexplicably forgot that Youth had appeared: "On chercherait en vain dans la suite de Fin'Amors, des personnages-notions aussi importants que Mezura ou Jovens."

While Constans felt that as a result of 1. 1651 (1659 in Constans' edition), Anseis ce movatz, only a few lines were missing, Jung believes that the speeches of Pleasure and Sense represented a call to arms, a preparation for battle against Orquiel, and, in short, a courtly Psychomachia in which the virtues of Fin'Amor combat the vices of Fals'Amor:

Or ces paroles sont prononcées par Sens, juste après l'appel aux armes d'Amors. Nous ne croyons pas qu'elles annoncent la fin du poème; elles ne sont qu'un moment de retardement avant la prise des armes. Sens veut encore placer son discours avant que les barons partent en campagne. On peut donc supposer que la partie finale devait raconter la guerre d'Amour et de ses barons contre Orquiel. Malheureusement, il ne nous reste que l'appel à la guerre. Cette dernière partie du poème (si elle a jamais existé) se situerait dans la tradition de l'allégorie morale, où les Vertus affrontent
In the first place, as we have seen, Jung has overlooked the appearance of Youth after the speech by Sense. It is very probable that Youth, like every other peer introduced up to this point, would have had something to say, and it is equally possible that there were other peers not yet presented, perhaps even Mezura whose absence Jung notes, or perhaps even barons named in the earlier verses, who might also have had something to say on the subject of war. This of course remains conjecture, but even so, we cannot ignore the appearance of Youth, and therefore, Jung's suggestion that Sense wanted to speak his mind before the barons left for the campaign would probably apply at least to Youth, if not also to other individuals. The departure for war, if such indeed is the case, could not have been as precipitous as Jung suggests.

As early as 11. 776-780, Mercy called for vengeance on the false ladies:

De lor avetz torts e pecatz,
E fares mal vostra fasenda
Si de vos non hon bella esmenda.
E c'om digua q'a bon signor
Han servit, membre.us de lor.

---

Fin'Amor responded to this "call to arms" by pronouncing a judgment against "aqellas qig qeron soldadas" (l. 824), but, significantly, she did not go to war in order to avenge the suffering of the lovers. On the other hand, as we have already seen, the death of Covetousness and the defeat of Pride were announced earlier at the coronation: "Cabezesa es morta e aunida, /E havem Orguel abatut." It is granted that Pride will always rise again, but that it should threaten so soon after its alleged defeat, in fact the same day, reflects very negatively upon the strength of Fin'Amor. Instead, I would suggest that the reference to Pride in the speech by the seneschal represents a threat to the noisy lovers, essentially: "If you continue in this manner of behavior, you will fall victim to pride, and pride is ultimately an enemy of pleasure (lo poder ce ha contra me). Therefore I ask you to exercise moderation and be quiet (Q'ieu non voell soffir la clamor)." This speech is in no way a call to arms. Rather it is a warning: "If you continue in this way, it will not be long before you will see a thousand banners marching against you." In the following speech, Sense merely continues the metaphor of battle, although he applies the image not to the pride of the noisy lovers, but to the foolish presump-tuous lover and the gossips who also threaten the well-
being of true lovers. Like Mercy, Sense only wishes that Fin'Amor go to war and he so counsels. It is plain from a careful reading of the text that Fin'Amor herself has indicated no intention of declaring war. Sense very clearly demands to know why in fact Love has not declared war:

Per qe lz ne castias, bel Seinher?  
Qe laisson e.l fol brut e.l feiner?

(ll. 1686-1687)

While the possibility that the Cort d'Amor ends in war cannot be entirely excluded, it is apparent that such a conjecture remains extremely hypothetical. The appearance of Youth at the end of the fragment, the basically pacific character of Fin'Amor, and the nature of the speeches by Pleasure and Sense together with the futility of the earlier request for vengeance delivered by Merce, leave only a remote possibility that the Cort d'Amor ends in war.

It seems far more likely that the Cort d'Amor ends as it begins, with the daily business of a medieval seigneur. The activities of the Occitan Lady, the powerful 'King' Fin'Amor, form what little plot structure there is in the poem, as we have it, and these activities fall into two basic categories: those didactic formal events (speeches, discourses, pleadings, judgments, the signing and sealing of charts) that pertain to the court
of law, and those less solemn activities (feasts, dancing, coronation, story-telling) that pertain to the routine of a noble household.

5.6. The first 834 lines teach the aspiring lovers what Fin'Amor is and how to go about approaching it, what to embrace and what to avoid. Almost all of this information is formally preached by Fin'Amor and Cortezia. In the last 887 lines, these precepts are illustrated by a numerous cast of characters, who reveal different aspects of the courtly life in different tableaux. The first half of the poem deals generally with the regulation and control of desire, while the second half deals with the maintenance and defense of drudaria. In other words, the first 834 lines depict the legal court during which the parliament is passive, and the last 887 lines depict the royal court in which the parliament is active. In this respect, the Cort d'Amor is parallel to medieval religious festivals, which often began with sermons and ended with theatre.

It is interesting to note that this relationship between the "halves" of the extant Cort d'Amor is supported stylistically by the poet's use of direct discourse, specifically his tendency to allow his characters to quote someone else in their speeches. For example, the first half is primarily static with 501
verses of 834 in direct quotation of only three figures: Fin'Amor (217 verses), Cortezia (246 verses), or Merce (38 verses). Oddly, Cortezia has slightly more to say than Fin'Amor on the general theme of desire and its proper control. Within these direct discourses, the lover is quoted directly in 79 verses, the lady is quoted directly in 53 verses, the wise are quoted in 10 verses, the wife in 4, the false woman in 2, the good woman in 2, the husband in one, and the barons of the court in one, for a total of 152 lines of "double" direct quotation. In three lines, the lover quoted by Fin'Amor quotes himself presenting an example of "triple" direct quotation (11. 801-803).

The last 886 lines, which deal with the concept of drudaria, are slightly more descriptive and a good deal more dramatic, since the cast of speaking characters increases considerably from 3 to 14. Cortezia speaks only 3 lines, and Fin'Amor only 47, of which 4 verses make up her prayer. Prowess has the largest speaking part with 226 verses, and in her speech she quotes the messenger for 139 lines. The messenger in turn quotes the lover for 19 lines (11. 1444-1462), and the lady (hypothetically) for 2 lines (11. 1500-1501). In this same speech Prowess also quotes the lady in response to the messenger for 14 lines (11. 1475-1484). In the
rest of the poem Sense is quoted directly by the author for 66 lines; Pleasure, the seneschal, in 45; Amusement, the jongleur, for 35; the Governess in 28; Dame Crace in 27; Domneis in 14; Valor in 13; the watchman in 9; and the lovers present at the court are quoted directly in 3 verses for a total of 516 lines of direct quotation. The number of verses quoted directly are nearly equal in both halves: 501 in the first 835 lines, 516 in the last 866 lines, although this conclusion must remain provisional since the rest of the poem is lost.

It is from the quotations within the quotations that the sense of drama in the second half derives. Within direct quotations the lover is quoted by someone else in 138 verses. He in turn quotes the serf for three lines of "triple" direct quotation. The lady is quoted by someone else in 99 lines in addition to which she quotes first herself for 6 lines (ll. 1187-1192), and then the thief for 2 lines (ll. 1198-1199). "They" are also quoted by someone else in 7 verses. Including the complicated anecdote related by Prowess, the "double" quotations total 377 verses, and the "triple" quotations total 36 verses, an increase of 225 and 23 verses respectively over similar types of quotations in the first half. This use of the direct style gives the second half of the Cort d'Amor a most
vivid dramatic flavor which, like a tale within a tale, is highly entertaining and realistic. Noting this anecdotal style within the larger framework of the allegorical narrative, specifically in the discourses of the Governess, Valor, and especially in that of Prowess, Jung remarked that these passages are in fact, "un véritable morceau de bravoure, pour un jongleur habile."  

Stylistically, then, the *Cort d’Amor* shows the same division we have already noted thematically both in this chapter and in Chapter 3. The first half of the *Cort d’Amor* is the static, sermonic, art of love, in which the manipulation and control of Desire are taught in the court of law. The second half of the poem is principally the dramatic love allegory, in which the elements of *Drudaria* are illustrated by the activities of the royal court.

5.7. The problem of the nature of the medieval "courts of love", the *cours d’amour* described by Jean de *Notredame* in the sixteenth century, a problem that so perplexed Provençal scholars like Raynaud, Fauriel, and Anglade, is somewhat clarified by our poem. The


7Jean de Notredame, *Vies des plus célèbres et anciens poètes provençaux* (1575).
problem, in essence, is whether there existed in the
Middle Ages actual courts of love, tribunals with
advocates, judges, and a certain theoretical juris-
diction, to which litigants could bring their disputes
and where they would find honest, learned arbitration.
While F.-J.-M. Raynouard assumed that the love courts
were a reality:

Dans les usages galants de la chevalerie,
dans les jeux spirituels des troubadours,
on distinguait le talent de soutenir et de
defendre des questions delicaces et contro-
versées, ordinairement relatives a l'amour;
l'ouvrage oü les poètes exerçaient ainsi
la finesse et la subtilité de leur esprit,
s'appelait tension, du latin contensionem,
dispute, débat;... Mais ces tensions, nommées
aussi jeux-partis, mi-partis, auraient été
des compositions aussi inutiles que frivoles,
si quelque compagnie, si une sorte de tri-
bunal n'avait eu à prononcer sur les op-
inions des concurrents.8

Fauriel argued that they could have existed:

C'est un des caractères de cet âge singulier
que les idées, même les plus étranges, n'y
restaient guère de pures spéculations;
elles tendaient toujours à s'organiser en
forces actives, en institutions énergiques.
Ainsi donc, quant à l'invraisemblance,
il n'y en a pas autant que l'on pourrait
imaginer d'abord, à supposer en France, vers
ces temps-là, quelque chose semblable à
des cours d'amour.9

8 Choix, I, p. lxxxv.

9 C. Fauriel, "André le Chapelain, auteur d'un
traité de l'amour", Histoire Littéraire de la France,
21 (1895 facsimile reproduction), p. 327.
Even as recently as 1921, Anglade equivocated on this subject:

Qu'il y ait eu, à l'occasion de fêtes poétiques, des réunions de dames où l'on a discuté le casuistique amoureuse, cela n'est invraisemblable; la légende—d'origine savante d'ailleurs, du moins au début—a consisté à faire de ces réunions occasionnelles des Cours au sens judiciaire, des "parlements" comme on a dit au XIIIe siècle.10

Gaston Paris, on the other hand, stated that in the Middle Ages "on ne trouve court d'amour (ou d'Amours) que dans le sens de 'cour du dieu (ou de la déesse) d'Amour', ce qui n'est pas du tout la même chose, cour, au sens où les modernes prennent le mot dans 'cour d'amour', signifiant 'cour de justice, tribunal.'11

Paris agreed with Frédéric Diez in seeing in these alleged courts nothing more than intellectual social games like the tenso, the jeux d'esprit in which different views are defended and in which arbitration is normally required, like the jeux parties, the jocis d'amor of il. 293-294 of the Cort d'Amor:

E qant es la sasons ni.1 locs,
Vos fatz pareiser vostre locs.

Gaston Paris asked: "...qui ne voit que nous avons


là, comme ailleurs, de purs jeux d'esprit, des espèces aussi imaginaires qui ont fait le bonheur à différentes époques, des sophistes, des rhéteurs, des scolastiques, et des casuistes?" 12 The single most obvious argument against the existence of these courts is the fact that they could have had very little authority and so by virtue of their uselessness in practical terms, their existence is doubtful. The very fact that the names of the parties involved were kept secret, as in the case of Raimon Vidal's *Judici d'Amor*, or were brought to court as a group action, as in the case of the aggrieved lovers in the *Cort d'Amor*, prevents any authority from executing the sentence passed by the judge. Any decisions made in such courts, including the judgments of both *Cortezia* and *Fin'Amore* in the *Cort d'Amor*, even though they are signed, sealed, and locked away in vaults, must remain on the level of theory, for they are impossible to enforce. Gaston Paris admitted, however, that these decisions were not without some effect:

> Que ces décisions, étant donné le singulier état d'esprit que nous fait connaître la littérature courtoise du XIIe siècle, aient pu exercer parfois une influence sur les idées, sur les sentiments, portant sur les actions de tel ou tel chevalier, de telle ou telle dame, c'est ce que je me garderais bien de contester; mais elles en ont exercé comme la philosophie à la

mode, les romans et les poésies du jour, le ton changeant des conversations mon-daines, exercent dans tous les temps.¹³

The implication for our poem, then, is that no one, even in theory, considered the decisions rendered by Cortezia and Fin'Amor as laws to be obeyed. The public that read or heard the Cort d'Amor was instead gratified, even entertained, to find that the social and behavioral customs they practiced were here solemnly proclaimed by a no less august figure than Fin'Amor, the peer of all the other less exciting virtues recommended to them by the Church. As Gaston Paris pointed out, the problems discussed and the lessons taught in these "courts" were intended not so much for the education of lovers, who have no need for instructions and no concern for rules, but for the information of the curious and the aspiring, for the uninitiated:

...quand il fut admis que l'amour était un art comme la guerre, une vertu sociale comme la chevalerie, une science comme la philosophie scolastique, qu'il avait des lois et un droit, il arriva que certaines personnes passèrent pour s'y entendre particulièrement, et que leur décisions furent autorité, non cartes, parmi les amants, mais parmi ceux qui désiraient connaître à fond les règles ardues de l'amour courtois....¹⁴

¹³Ibid., pp. 733-734.
¹⁴Ibid., p. 728.
In the débats du clerc et du chevalier and in Andreas Capellanus' *De Arte Honesti Amandi*, Book V, the authoritative figure is the god of love. In the troubadour tensos and partimens the judge is a wise person who is known for his or her courtesy, like Raimon Vidal's Uc de Mataplana in the *Judici d'Amor*. In Andreas Capellanus' Book II, the authority is a high-born lady or a court of ladies, and in the *Cort d'Amor* the judgments are pronounced by Corteszia and Fin'Amor. Like the courts of love suggested in the débats du clerc et du chevalier, in Andreas Capellanus' treatise, in the troubadour tensos and partimens, and in Raimon Vidal's *Judici d'Amor*, the court of love depicted in our poem represents a fantasy based on the intellectual amusement derived from the debate, and projected into an entire allegorical structure. Although in the case of the *Cort d'Amor* this structure includes many details extraneous to the debate itself (castle, barons, coronation, etc.), the allegory remains true to the fundamental principles of debate: the definition and demonstration of opposing positions, and ultimately, a resolution in favor of one or the other argument.15 As a result, the didactic and the allegorical serve the parallel purpose of teach-

15We must assume that in the missing verses of the *Cort d'Amor*, the final resolution is in favor of Fin'Amor.
ing and illustrating. We must conclude that the courts of love existed first in literature, and that any actual dramatizations of these courts was inspired by the literature and not the reverse. The Cort d'Amor is the most sophisticated example of these intellectual games that has survived in Occitan literature.

5.8. In spite of the lack of authoritative documentation for dating the composition of the Cort d'Amor, and the fragmented nature of the manuscript, we can nevertheless safely assume that it is the first narrative love allegory in Old Occitan. The complex and sophisticated level of expression observable in the 1721 lines which have been preserved, indicate that the author was a learned man, probably able to read Latin, and apparently familiar with Old French literature. It is clear, however, that the sources of the poem are overwhelmingly Occitan. Genre, themes, style, allegory, motifs, and concepts, all were inspired by the troubadour tradition of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, and as a result, the Cort d'Amor is significant as a compendium of the ethic of fin'amor, an encyclopedia of love.
CONCLUSION

The Occitan love allegory of the thirteenth century is, by all indications, a product of its own troubadour tradition and not a literary form imported from northern France or an allegorical adaptation of the earlier Latin arts of love. In the *Cort d'Amor* which is the longest and most subtle of the Occitan love allegories, it is possible to demonstrate a certain acquaintance with Ovid's *Amores*, *Heroïdes*, and *Ars amatoria*, and a certain familiarity with themes and motifs compiled by Andreas Capellanus in his *De arte honesti amandi*, but such resemblances do not serve to explain why the Occitan author chose the allegorical mode for his art of love. Similarly, the Occitan author specifically mentions in his poem three northern French romances, including *Floire et Blanchefleur* which shares a considerable number of motifs with the Occitan poem. In addition to this romance, the *Cort d'Amor* closely resembles in several other aspects the Old French *débats du clerc et du chevalier* which form rather simple arts of love in which fantasy verges on allegory. Nonetheless, even these similarities are insufficient in tracing the evolution of the purely allegorical art of
love as it appeared in Occitania in the thirteenth century.

Without careful consideration of the entire tradition of troubadour poetry, both lyric and narrative, which preceded the love allegories, it is impossible to visualize their evolution, and in most cases, it is also impossible to comprehend their allegorical significance. The evolution of the love allegory becomes immediately apparent upon examination of the tendency of the lyric poets to personify the vices and virtues of the troubadour morality as they preached the art of love. This tendency combined with a narrative tradition that originated very early with the saluts d'amor, the ensenhamens, the vidas, and the razos, and which produced in the thirteenth century, the earliest examples of the novas, or short story in verse, that have been preserved in a Romance language. This fortunate combination of lyric devices and narrative styles was not so much miraculous as it was natural and to a certain extent, it was the only logical step.

In terms of philosophical and thematic content, the Cort d'Amor and at least one of the later Occitan allegories represent extensive definitions of the troubadour concept of love, providing an encyclopedic index of the troubadour ethic. The Cort d'Amor, which is
the earliest extant love allegory, represents, on every level, the orthodox doctrine of fin'amor as it was pronounced by the troubadours of the twelfth century in their lyric poetry, and a perusal of the troubadour lyrics considerably illuminates the difficult or confusing passages in this and the later allegories. The Occitan love allegory, especially the Cort d'Amor, illustrates not an artificial literature signifying decay, but a culmination and summary of the Golden Age of the troubadours and their concept of love.
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I. The Cort d'Amor:

A. Text:

Manuscript M. 819 of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, formerly Phillipps 8335 in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps in Cheltenham, England, also known as Chansonnier N, folios 31r. through 46v.

B. Editions:


II. Occitan Poetry:

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"So fo e.1 temps c'om era iays", ed. Max Cornicelius. Diss., Berlin, 1888.
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___, *Altprovenzalische Lesebuch*. Elberfeld, 1855.

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Douais, Mgr., *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Inquisition dans le Languedoc*. Paris, 1900.


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______, *Table des noms propres de toute nature compris dans les chansons de geste*. Paris, 1904.


PART II: TEXTUAL STUDY

The Cort d'Amor occupies folios 31r through 46v of manuscript M. 819 in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City. The manuscript was formerly owned by Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872), and remained in his library in Cheltenham, England where it bore the number 8335 until it was purchased by the Morgan Library July 1, 1946. The earliest owners of manuscript M. 819 were the Gonzaga, dukes of Mantua in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and it remained in their library where it was used by Mario Equicola (1470-1525) and Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), librarian of the Marciana Library in Venice. It was purchased from the MacCarthy collection by Richard Heber (1773-1853) who sold it to Sir Thomas Phillipps.¹ M. 819 contains 293 pages with 3 blank leaves and measures 10\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches with two columns to a page, each with 27 lines. The folios were misnumbered originally and in the description, table and extracts published by H. Suchier, "Il Canzoniere Provenzale di Cheltenham," Rivista di Filologia romanza, 20 (1875), 49-52, 144-172, but a revised and corrected index was given by Curt F. Buhier, "The Phillipps Manuscript of Provençal Poetry."

Speculum, 22 (1947), 68-74. Léopold Constans
published a description of this manuscript in the Revue
des Langues Romanes, 20 (1881), 130-138, in Part I of
his article "Les Manuscrits provençaux de Cheltenham."
Brief descriptions of M. 819, long known as Manuscript
N, may also be found in Alfred Jeanroy, Bibliographie
sommaire des chansonniers provençaux (Paris: Champion,
1916) CFMA 16, p. 10, in A. Pillet and H. Carstens,
Bibliographie des Troubadours (Halle: Saale, 1933),
p. xviii, and in Clovis Brunel, Bibliographie des manu-
scrits littéraires en ancien provençal (Paris: Droz,

This manuscript in quarto on vellum in an eighteenth
century French binding, was copied and illuminated at
Padua, Italy, near the end of the thirteenth century, and
not in the fourteenth century as A. Jeanroy believed
(Bibliographie, p. 10), although it does include, as he
pointed out, later additions in Italian hands of the
fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. M. 819 is most easily
dated through the miniatures it contains by an artist
(or artists) of the atelier of Giovanni Gaibana, curate
of the cathedral at Padua where he was buried on his death
in 1293.² The miniatures include 28 historiated initials.

²Ibid.
39 pages with marginal illustrations, mostly line drawings in ink, and four illuminated initials. "The style of the miniatures dates it at the end of the XIIIth century and includes M. 819 within a group of North Italian MSS, chief of which is a Lectionary at Padua, dated 1259, and signed by Giovanni da Gaibana.... Professor Jan Kvet, in his discussion of Gaibana's MSS and influence (Italske vlivy) considers them the work of several painters, schooled in the same place and style, to which he applied the term 'style gaibanesque'. Their locale was in the patriarchate of Aquileia, that is, Aquileia itself, Padua, Trieste and Venice, in the second half of the XIIIth century. The date of M. 819 can be fixed between 1285 and 1300 by certain details of costumes, iconography and calligraphic ornament. Among these are the types of costumes, the fillet worn by the women on their brows; the chain armor and shields, the shape of the bishop's mitre (f. 55); the type of filigrane ornament, and the modelling and posture of Christ on the cross on folio f. 65. These are all before 1300."

Unfortunatly folios 31r through 46v are completely without illustrations. Of a certain interest, however, are three drawings along the margin of folio 66v depicting

\[3\text{Ibid.}\]
the lady sitting in judgment, the poet being conducted to her court, and the poet accepting her decision. They accompany the text of a poem composed by the Monk of Montaudon but erroneously attributed in the manuscript to Arnaut de Mareuil, "Aissi con cel c'om mena al iuiemen," not the *Cort d'Amor*, but one cannot help recalling the seigneur of Love also sitting in judgment. In the miniatures of M. 819, Love is personified six times (folios 56, 58v, 61v, 64, 73, and 211), but each time as a cherub and not once as the royal lady described in the *Cort d'Amor*.

MS M. 819 involved the work of five different scribes, and the *Cort d'Amor* was copied by two of them: "Hand II" of the Morgan Library classification is found in folios 31 through 35r, and "Hand IV" in folios 35v through 46v. The script is gothic miniscule book hand and both hands are very similar to the North Italian hand of MS Venice VII (V7) of the *Song of Roland*, published in photostat by Raoul Mortier, *Les Textes de la Chanson de Roland* (Paris: La Geste Francor, 1942), vol. V.

Both scribes copying the *Cort d'Amor* used a considerable amount of punctuation including period, comma, apostrophe, and cedilla. The use of abbreviations is nearly identical, consisting of — above a vowel to indicate nasal m or n;
p to represent per; p’, t’ to represent pri, tri; and
the Italian form ő to represent co, com, con. The second
copyist of the Cort d’Amor tended to use abbreviations
much less sparingly than the first and his script is
slightly larger. The second scribe also uses q for ge,
while the first uses ő or spells out que. It is also
possible that the text was dictated to the scribes. One
finds plus ma (l. 595) for pluma which is an aural
error, not a visual one, and suggests that the scribe
did not have a copy of the text before his eyes. In the
same way gaire (l. 614) is probably also an aural mis-
understanding of gaia.

The orthography also bears certain resemblances
to that of Upper Italy in the second half of the thir-
teenth century:

ci (l. 561), ce (l. 804), c’era (l. 747), ceran
(l. 994), c for s before e is attested as early
as 1228 in a Cremonese document (Monaci, Creto-
mazia, no. 60, l. 93), and in the early fourteenth
century in a Venetian document (Monaci, no. 145,
l. 5).

dicon (l. 738), placers (l. 1590); c for s or z
is attested in a manuscript of a Bolognese
dialect in 1242 or 1243 (Monaci, no. 34, l. 7).

gart (l. 1553), garta (l. 391), geron (l. 824);
q for gu is attested early in the thirteenth
century in a Cremonese manuscript (Monaci, no. 62,
l. 52).

francha (l. 1457); ch for c before a is attested
in 1233-1243 (Monaci, no. 37, l. 2).
seigneur (I. 353); is attested in the twelfth century in a Gallo-Italian sermon (Monaci, no. 18, I. 2). The following spellings of this word are also found in this text: seignor (Ii. I. 124, 127, 496, 979), seignors (I. 101); seignier (I. 97), seignor (I. 881, 1575), seignor (I. 871), seignor (I. 1125), seignor (I. 992), seignor (I. 1645), seignor (I. 1431). Levy PD cites senhor, senher.

ja (I. 1488), za (I. 9, 491), ia (I. 80, 199); jutgament (I. 34), jutguament (I. 834), jutgat (I. 423), jiazi (I. 29); jazia (I. 1670); zou (I. 1618), iou (I. 286), ioi (I. 272), ioi (I. 137), ious (I. 109, 263), zoi (I. 42, 118), zor (I. 36, 69), jorns (I. 1603), jorns (I. 1425, 1557), jorn (I. 1220); z for initial j is attested in the poetry of Bonevesin de la Riva (b. 1240-1250, d. 1313), (Monaci, no. 1462, I. 182), and in the fourteenth century in the story of "Rainardo e Lesengrino" (Monaci, no. 145T, I. 25). The use of i for j, especially in the initial position, and vice versa, is common in medieval manuscripts, and in MS M. 819, the scribes seem to have used i and j interchangeable in this position.

asaia (I. 501), preia (I. 214), cuiaria (I. 1540), cuza (I. 1473), cuia (I. 1702), cuza (I. 295), hazi (I. 28), endompeiazz (I. 1445); enozos (I. 1682) which rhymes with zoig (I. 1683); i for intervocalic j is attested in the first half of the thirteenth century (Monaci, no. 35, I. 148); z for intervocalic j is attested in 1281 in a Bolognese manuscript (Monaci no. 138, I. 12).

envez (I. 190), envei (I. 168), mez (I. 54), mei (I. 312), rei (I. 1594), gaz (I. 1453), estaz (I. 32), estaz (I. 429), ieu haz (I. 82), ieu haj (I. 184), eu hai (I. 230); feu saiz (I. 237, 1427), eu soi (I. 501, 1489); eu sai (I. 1429); and all of the following in the first person singular:

fai (I. 1463), vaj (I. 1454), chiai (I. 1418), progarai (I. 1431), parlaraj (I. 1502), veiiaj (I. 1505) which rhymes with metrai (I. 1506): z and and j for final i are not attested as far as it can be ascertained. It can be determined that the pronunciation of this phoneme is /j/ and it is probably derived by the scribe by analogy to the initial and intervocalic z/j described above.
From the preceding it is apparent that MS M. 819
was very probably copied in the famous scriptorium of
the Dukes of Mantua, at the end of the thirteenth century.

The complete text of the *Cort d'Amor* has been
published only once, by Léopold Constans, *Revue des
Langues Romanes*, 20 (1888), 121-179, 209-220, 261-276,
as Part III of "Les Manuscrits provençaux de Cheltenham,"
abbreviated below as 'Constans'. The offprint of this
text which was corrected to a small degree by its editor
is no longer obtainable. Camille Chabaneau offered
corrections to the text published by Constans, in the
*Revue des Langues Romanes*, 21 (January, 1882), 90-98,
abbreviated below as 'Chabaneau'. Emil Levy offered
further corrections and revisions of the same text, ben-
efitting from the corrections added by Constans to the
offprint, in the *Revue des Langues Romanes*, 21 (May, 1882),
238-239, abbreviated below as 'Levy'.

C.A.F. Mahn, in his *Gedichte der Troubadours* (Berlin,
1856-1873), II, no. 279, pp. 168-171, had previously
published lines 1-182, 345-484, and 505-514 of the *Cort
d'Amor*, and this text is abbreviated below as 'Mahn'.

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5Reverences to Emil Levy's *Petit Dictionnaire
Provençal-Français* (2nd ed., Heidelberg; Carl Winter, 1923),
are abbreviated below 'Levy PD', references to his *Proven-
zalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch* (Leipzig; 1894), 8 vols.,
are abbreviated 'Levy SW'. References to Walter von Wart-
burg's *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bonn, Leipzig,
Basel: 1928 to present), are abbreviated below FEW.
K. Bartsch published exactly the same verses in his 
Altprovencalisches Lesebuch (Elberfeld: 1855), 34-38.
Bartsch seems unaware that 21 lines have been omitted
between l. 484 and l. 505, and so prints them continuously.
L. 484 is not even the end of a sentence; L'uels mi volon
saillir del cor is followed by Tant vos haz cellada l'amor,
which both Bartsch and Mahn omitted. Furthermore,
orthography in the Bartsch edition is radically different
from that of the manuscript, and it is apparent that for
instructional purposes he has simply attempted to stan-
dardize the original spelling. It seems, therefore, that
someone, either Bartsch or Mahn or a third unknown individ-
ual, made the trip to England and copied lines 1-182,
345-484, and 505-514 from the manuscript. Both Bartsch
and Mahn probably made use of this single copy for their
respective publications which appeared within one year
of each other, Mahn printing the original text for
scholarly use, Bartsch printing a standardized text for
student use. René Nelli and René Lavaud published lines
1159-1257 of the Constans text with a modern French
translation in Les Troubadours, II, "L'Oeuvre Poétique"
(Bruges, Desclée de Brouwer, 1966), 236-243. Since this
text is nothing more than a reprint of the Constans text
it is not cited below.
In transcribing MS M. 819, I have attempted to reproduce the manuscript as faithfully as possible, making no corrections whatsoever. In many cases, the initial letter of a major division was left blank for the illuminator and I have inserted the restitution of these initials in brackets. Letters that have been deduced from abbreviations are underlined, and abbreviations that are unusual or misused are discussed in the notes to the text. Similarly, the translation that accompanies the text is a literal one, departing from the Occitan only where a literal rendering would produce nonsense in English.
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The text is incomplete at the end.
[S]einer, vos que voelez la flor
E la corteszia d'amor,
E non avez soing d'autr'aver,
Mas ab ioe voletz remaner,

5 Auzatz un romanz bon e bel,
Bastit de joi fin e novel,
E gardatz quant l'auresz auszit,
Non metatz los motz en oblit;
Que za negus hom no fara

So que,l romanz comandara,
No sia plenz de corteszia,
E que non guerrez Villania.
Que lo be que lo romanz di
Fasson las dompnes e,l drut fi,

15 E gardon se de la folia,
Que,l romanz deveda e castia;
Que vos sabetz qu'ab Desmeszura
Perd Amors a tors sa dreitura,
Que Malvestat e Putaria

20 No,l laisson tener dreita via.
Per so han fag novella amor
D'una domna de gran valor.
Viij. xx. que donas qe pulaellas,
Q'an trobat lurs raszons novellas

25 Coment Amors sia lials,
Fuguon s'en las falsas e.les fals,
Qa cant Amors parlament,
No. s'taing haza galiament.
Ora zuzatz coment araszona

Sa gent, Amors la dousa e la bona.
Mas premieramens vos dirai
Sos conpainons, ni hon estaz,
Ab cui faz acordament
D'amor lo lial zutgament.

[El] temps q e. l roissignol faz nausa,
Qe de nueit ni de zor no pausa
Desots la fuella de cantar
Pe. l bel temps que vei refrescar,
Aven que Fin'Amors parlet

Ab sos barons en son rescet
En som del puei de Parnasus.
Zoi e Solasz foron laisus,
E Ardimenz e Cortezzia
Qe de flors l'enzonchon la via.

Bon'Esperança e Paors
Li portent de denant las flors.
D'autra part Larguesza e Domneis
Lo meten en un leit d'orfreis.

Celars e Dousa Conpania

Geton desus roesa flora.
Lo cortes pueih, de l'autra part,
De.l fuoch d'amor relusz ez art.
D'aqui mou tota la ioza
Qu'Amors per mez lo mond envoza.

E d'autra part son las floretas,
La ruosas e las violetas,
Qi trameton lor gran douzor
Denant lo leit de Fin'Amor;
E d'autra part ha cent pulsellaë

Q'anc negus hom non vi plus bellas,
E chaescuna ha son amador,
E son vestu d'una color;
Baison ez braisson soven,
E mantenon pretz e ioven.

Tott temps han aital desdug
Ad aital gen vai be, so cuig.
E d'autra part hac un ombrage
On hac maint auzel sauvatge
Que cantent la nueit e lo zor

Voltas e lais de gran douzor.
Ze.1 mei loc ac un castel
Q'anc negus om non vi plus bel,
Qe non ha una peira e.1 mur
Non luisza con d'aur o d'azur.

D'aqi guerezon Vilania.
Las claus son Pretz e Drudaria,
E.l gaita q'es e.l castel cria:
"Esta lo drutz contra sa mia,
E la mia contra son drut.

Era non será ia sauput.
Àr es lo luoch e la saizos
Qu'ieu haz endormitz los gilos."

Davant la porta hac una font,
E non a tan bella e.l mont,

Qi sortz en una conca d'aur.
De tot lo mont val le tesaur.
N'a om e.l mont, si n'a begut,
Que cant qe es e cant fut,
Non sapchza de be e d'onor,

Que non oblitz ira e dolor.
Claus es de lauries e de pis,
E de pomiers de paradis.
De flors de lizs es coronada,
Que nais menudet en la prada.

Aqi s'asis a parlament
Amors, e parlet bellament
Enaissi con deu far lo seingner
Que tot lo mont ha a destreigner.
Esgardet vas terra un petit,

Con sabis om, e puesis ha dit:
"Seïors, eu me lau be de vos,
Mas vos sabetz qu'è totz om pros
Deu gardar q'en sa senioria
Fassa om sen e lais folia,

105 Què vos sabetz qu'è ad obs d'amor
No val re que vol folleiar,
Que l'autrer nos dis Ichanitz
Que leóns aucis la formitz.
Don Isís, aisso dig contra vos,

110 Què vos faitz aitant fort iòios
Us vassal què no er cellatz.
Si domna li fai sos agratz,
Si a el non s'ennanara,
E lo blasme li remanra,

115 Vec vos la fromitz e l leon.
La domna es morta pe l garchon.
Eu s comanc: non fassatz mais re,
Mas donatz zoi lai en conve.
Als enfantz fatz con a d'enfans,

120 Als parladors donatz parlans,
E metetz en tot tal meszura
Q'eu no i perda ma dreitura,
Que pros om i a grand onor
Qan fai be l'afar son seïnor."

125 [A]pres araiszonet Solaz.
Tota la cort estet en paz.
"Seinor, mout si deur'om sofrit,
Qe mout deu om son cors cobrir,
Qe non diga tot son coratge,

130 Ni non mostre grand alegratge,
Mas lai on es luechs e meszura,
Q'amors per be celler meillura,
Qe l'auzel, cant el ve lo latz,
S'en fui d'aqi tost e viatz.

135 Tot altretal fai de manes,
Vilans qant vei ome cortes,
Que viu de ioi e de solatz
E porta trezador ni laz,
Quant el lo ve serra sa porta

140 E sa moiller es pesz qu'a morta.
Aisso dic per vos, don Solatz,
Qu'ez mos amig e mos privatz,
Ez affi vos la mia fe,
Qe tot lo mon non am tan re

145 Mas voill qué laissetz la gaiessa
Qan non es luechs qe, si be.us pesa,
Vos enseñarai vostre pro
Qar eu n'ai fort bel gaszardo.
Qe vos faitz amors comenssar,

150 Vos faitz l'un a l'autre agradar.
Vos non voletz envei ni plors;
Viulas, dansas e tanbors
È Ioventz vos fan companya.
Seigna vos qi no sab la via
155 D'amor, qe vos lo metretz lai
On om non meissaona mas iai.

fol. 32v

[A]pres parlet ab Ardiment:
"De vos me lau eu ben e gent,
Que vos fatz toszeta ardida
160 Q'a pars neis d'aucel qant crida.
Pueis la fassaitz vos tan segura
Q'a son drut vaz de nueit oscura,
Qe non tem marit ni parent
Batre ni menassar sovent.
165 E faitz a paubre drut enquerre
Domna q'a gran fieu e gran terre.
Qe.1 ditz: "Se no.m laissas estar,
Eu te farai ton envei far."
E cel que de re non s'esfreada,
170 Sitot, s'a petit de moneda,
S'adoba ades de ben servir.
Pueis la fatz tant enardir
Qu'ella oblida son lignatje,
Sa riqesa e son parate,
175 E torna tot son cor en lui,
E son bon amic ambedui.
E per vos vai a parlament
Drutz a si donz ardiment.
En amor, non val re paors;

180 Ardimentz es la claus d'amors."

[C]ortezzia, de vos non sai
Dir lo bens qe de vos hai,
Ni non sai grazir las onors
Q'ieu haj de vos, ni las lauszors,

185 Q'ab plana razon de sofrir,
Me fatz a totz mon abellir.
Ab lo sofrir avetz mesura
Per qe vostre bon pretz meillura.
Vos metetz mesura en parlar,

190 Envez no sabetz vos ia far,
Ni ia negus om non er pros
Si non ha compaunia ab vos,
Que aqel que i a compaunia
Non fara orguoill ni folia."

195 "[E]on' Esperánsa, grand aiuda
Me fatz, qar vostre cor no.s muda
Q'al premier qe vol faire druda,
El ven a'leis, si la saluda,
E pues comensa la pregar

200 Per Deu q'elle lo deia amar.
Bon' Esperansa la lo guida,
E sitot noncha l'es gracida
Sa pregueira al comensar,
Ades lo faz ben esperar

205 Qe greu verreis novella amia
Q'a premier non se fassa enia.
"Domna, per q'es q'altr'amic hai?"
Qe l' dira: "Ges no.us amarai,"

fol. 33r
O dira: "Ges no.us amaria

210 Q'onore marit en perdria,"
O dira qe: "Plens es d'engan,
Vos amador, per qe.us soan,"
Bon' Esperansa, ditz c'aison
Non cal tot preiar un boton.

215 Qant el se desditz ne s'orguella,
Q'adoncs se descausa e despuella."

"[P]aors, vos siatz benedeita!
Per vos vai drutz la via dreita,
Qe, qant vai a si dons parlar,

220 Q'el li cuida desmostrar
E dire qe per s'amor mor,
E vos li donatz ins e.l cor
Si q'el non sab dire razo,
Ni sab detriar cc ni no.

225 qe qant ha trestot iorn parlat,
Non cuia aver dit mas foudat.
E qant l'a trames son message
Et el pensa en son corage:
'Las! aiso l mandetz solamen!

Ben sabra q'eu hai pauch de sen.
Jamais non virara sol l'uei.
Aiso se tenra az orguel.
Catieu! qe faras si.t soana?
O si vos messages t'engana?

O qe faras si desir lonia?
O.l messages te dis mensionia?
Ben saz qe m'escanara,
E mon message me batra.
Non fara qe tan ez cortesa.

Ja non fara aital malesa.
Catieu! mala la vi'enanch!
Sa plaia me tol tot lo sanch.
Be.m pesa qar lo i ai trames,
Que sos maritz es malares.

E Dieus! com aura vergoinat
Si mon message auci ni bat.'
Aici vos dic on nos estem:
'RE non ana om qe non tem.''

"[L]argeza, vos voell castiar

E si.m fatz vos tot mon afar,
Qe greu pot haver gran pesa
Negus om si non ha larguesa,
Ni causa no pot om trobar
Qi tant vailla ad obs d'amar.

Mais no.u cell qe vore pesa
Metas en orba Cobetsa,
Ni.u cell qe dones largament
A neguna dompa qe.s vent,
Qe qant il vos atraí, ni.us tira,

Ni de.l cor de preon sospira.
Il non o faí mas feintament
Per so que.l dones de l'argent,
E.l iois qan cobeesa aiuda
Non es res mas amor venduda.

Per q'ieu vos prec qe.l fals sospir
No.us puoscan l'aver escotir,
Mais qant veires doma de pretz,
Digas li vos eissa en privetz,
Qe si.l donas, il vos dara,

E de confundre.us gardara,
E pueis dara vos largament
Joy e proesa e ardiment."

"[D]omneis, qui.us vol mal si 'aonitz.
Per vos vai paujres drut garnitz,

E vai en invern a la bis a
Qe non ha freig en sa camisa,
E conten se plus bellament
Qe tals qe ha trop mais d'argent.
E cel es richs, el fara cort,

280 E torneiament e beort,
E parla plus bellament
Ab lo paubre q'ab lo manent,
Per so qe chadaus om diga
Ben de lui a sa dousa amiga."

285 "[O]lamens, vos es la flors
Don nais e creis la ioy d'amors.
Vos non voles envei ni bruda,
Ni ia domna no er batuda
Per re qe vos digatz en fol.

290 Vos non li viratz sol lo col
Qant om o ve, ni fatz semblant
Qe de ren mens alatz calant.
E qant es la sasons ni.1 locs,
Vos fatz pareiser vostre iocs.

295 Qan es partitz, cuza cascus
Qe siatz monges ou resclus.
Vos voletz vostre ioi en pasz;
Vos mantenes ioi e solasz.
Per cortesia e per onor

300 Vos doin la baneira d'Amor.
"[D]olsa Compania, fina druda
Es soven per vos ben venguda,
E cela res qi plus li platz,
Son bel amic entre sos bratz.

305 E.1 baisza mil ves en la boca,
Qe qant sos bel cors al sieu toca,
Ella li ditz per plan solaz:
"Amics, enveia vos mos braz?"
El li respon: "Domna, el non.

310 Tan qan vos mi faitz m'es tan bon.
M'arma, mós cors, so m'es avis,
Es e.1 mei luec de paradis."
"Bels amics, coindes e ioios,
S'ieu ren vaill, so es per vos,

315 Q'anç Galvains ni Soredamors;
Ni anch Floris ni Blancaflors,
Ni l'amor Ysolt ni Tristan,
Contra nos dos non valg un gan."
"Bella domna, tant qant vivrai

320 Sachas de fi vos servirai,
Q'ieu non voell qe a mort ni a vida
La nostra amors sia partida."
E volrion mais esser mort
Q'entre lor agues un descort.

325 "[D]rudaria, vos es Dons Pres
Qe del castel las claus tenes,
Gardas qe s'aquest dez baron
Vos aduiszon negun preszon,
Qe lo metas en fuec d'amor,

330
Gardan la nueit e lo zor,
E zamais non haion be
Tro lor domnas n'aion merce.
Si prenon domnas dos tans plus fort
Las conduisetz trus q'a la mort.

335
Tro qez mandon a lur amics.
Qe non lor aion cor enics,
Qe fort fer deu om tormentar
Las domnas car se fan pregar,
E si chai venon amador,

340
Domnas ni drutz de gran valor,
E vos lo fatz fort bel ostal:
Asetzes los as deis rial
E colgas los lai dins la tor
En la mia cambra de flor."

345 [Q]ant Amors hacs a gran leszer
Comandat e dit son plaszer,
Las domnas l'an ben autreiat
Qe d'aco qe ha comandat
Li faran de tot son talan,

350
Qe ia mot non traspassaran.
Mais de' leis volrion saber:
Qal amor deu hom mais tener,
E preigan lo com lor seignor.
Q'el las engart de desonor,

355
Qe tant pros domnas com ellas son
Non haion blasme per lo mon,
Ni qe lor pretz ni lor valor
Non lur destrua Fals'Amor,
E qe lur diga soltiment

360
Per razon e per iugament,
So qe fai d'amor a gardar,
E aco q'hom en dei ostar.'

[S]o dis Amors: "Bon conseil sai.
Na Corteszia, q'eu vez lai,

365
Veuillez q'en fassa aquest iugament,
Qe sab per on monta e disent
Amors, e qar sab ben q'il es
Del mont la plus adreta res.
Il lo fera be ses engan.'

370
Cortesia pleigua son gan
E doba se de iugar,'
Q'om cortes se fan pauch pregar

fol. 34v
Qant vei q'es luecs es avinents.
Molt es grantz e preon sos sens.

375
Puis parlet com savis e pros,
Gent fon auszida sa razos:

"[S]einors, per dreig e per usage
Deu Amors gardar son parage,
Qe paubresza ab gentilesa

380 Val mais q'orgueill ab riqesa,
Ni a sa cort non am res at
Mais servir ab humilitat.
Eu vos o dirai breu e bon,
E breuiar vos hai la razzon.

385 Fin'Amors es de qatre res:
La primera es bona fes,
E la segona lialtatz,
E sos afars sia cellatz.
E la terza es mesura

390 De parlar per la gad tafura,
E la qarta sapchas es sens
Ab q'Amors fai tots sos talens.
Aquesta devem mantener
E gardar de nostre poder;

395 Mais la falsa via bastarsa
Qe sec la gent q'e.l fuec fos arsa,
Las traititz e las venals,
Las canaritz e las comunals,
Qe lor fem's es e lors amors,

400 Es tot chaitiviers e dolors.
D'aqellas non devem parlar,
Mas qant solament de blasmar.
Aqest jutgament, fait d'Amor,
Dreitz es com no.1 pot far meillor,

405 E qi desdïre lo volia,
Ben sapchas q'eu lo il defendria,
E.n rendria mon cavalier,
Si.n trobava encontra guerier."

[Las domnas han ben entendut,

410 E an en lor cor retengut
Lo zutgament, e mes en bieu
Per so qe l'oblide plus greu.
Amors lo lor ha saiellat
Ab son anel d'or niellat,

415 E segnet lo de sa man destre,
Met li n'en paradis terrestre.
La Cortesa d'Amor lo pren
En una caixa dousamen.
L'a mult bellament estuzat

420 E.1 mei loec d'un samis pleiat,
E dis als barons en rient:
"Aves ausat lo zutgament
Qan adreitaments an jutgat,
Mas--qar sai qe m'en sabreitz grat--

425 Vos dirai d'amor de tal loc
Don maint plor tornaran en ioc,
E maint ioc tornaran en plor,
Q'aital usatge han amador,
Qe gai son qant be lor estai,

430
E qant han tant ni qant d'esmai,
Li plaint e li plor e ill sospir
Lur aquiszon trues q'al morir.
Mas drutz q'amors vol conqistar
Deu de mantenent demonstrar

435 A si dons son cor ses tain.
Sera plus rica qe.1 reina,
Q'una non trobares en mil
Qe no.us en tengua per gentil,
E q'e.1 cor no.us en sapcha grat,

440 Si ben non fai semblant irat,
Q'il pensara: "Ges non soi laida,
Pos aquest s'en vol metre en faida,
E molt faria qe felnese
S'aquest gentils om de mi pensa,

445 S'ieu non pensava de lui.
C'aisso non sap re, mas no.s duj,
Q'el es coberts en son coratge,
Q'anch no.m volg trametre mesatge,
Ants m'o dis tots sols de sa boca.

450 Ben conosch qe m'amors la toca.
Ben ai pus dra cor d'un leon
S'el m'ama ez eu non voell son pron,
E molt fazia gran pecat
S'el moria per ma beltat.

Q'el non sembla ges traitor,
Qe qan mi demonstrat l'amor,
Mudet tres colors en una ora,
Q'el devenc pus ners d'una mora;
Aqi eus devenc pus vermels

Q'e.l mantz qan leva solels;
Aq'eus devenc pus blancs
Qe.l color li fugi e.l sanscs."
Vec la vous entrada en consir,
Adoncs s'adobe de servir

Lo drutz. E si plus non l'eschai,
E.l li soplei ab cor verai,
E digua q'il o puosca auszir,
E fasa semblant de morir:
"Domna, ben vous dei adorar

Per la gran beltat q'en vos par,
E.l terra es santa, q'ieu o sai,
Qar anc sostencs vostre cors gai."
E las lacremas iescan for,
Per so q'el puisca emblar lo cor,

E giet s'als pes de genoilos,
E digua: "Dieus, reis glòrics,
Salv'a mi dius la gran pesa
E la beltat q'en lei s'es mesa,
E voillatz q'el haja merce

480 De'l caïtiu qe vez denant se.
Dompna, Dieus e merces mi vaïlla!
Gitas me d'aquesta bataïlla!
Non vezes qe denant vos mor?
L'uels mi volon saïllir del cor,

485 Tant vos haz cellada l'amor:
Mais s'un pauch d'aquesta dolor
Sentis lo vostre cors cortes,
Ben saï qe mi valgra merces.
Las! qe hai dit? be fas a blasmar!

490 Bella dompna, Dieus vos enguar
Qe za, per mi, laisor color
Vezas'en vostre mirador.
De me non podes haver tort,
Mais l'oïll traidor qe m'an mort

495 Veiramen son ill traidor:
Mais aimon vos qe lor seinor,
Mais ill se raszonon vas me.
Q'enquera mi faires gran be,
Qe tan bel cors com m'han mostrat

500 No fo anch ses humelitat."
Dompna, aiso soj per l'asaiai.
Ab un mot mi podez ric far;
Qe sol qe m'apelløtz 'amic,'
Vas mi son paubre li plus ric."

505 [L]a dompna responda causida:
"D'una re non soj ges marrida;
Q'al mie semblan be fora mesa
En voz, si.ill cor al re no pensa,
L'amors de meillor q'eu non soz.

510 Mais si eu.s o dic, no voz enoj
Ni me perpens qe vos diraj
Ab altra vez quan vos veraj,
Qe vos, drutz, quan vos es jauszit,
Metes las dompnas en ubliet,

515 E tota dompna fora druda
Si non fos per aqella cuda.
A altra vez, nos veirem be.
Ez e'l mez membre vos de me
Que.us faraj.de vostre plazer

520 Que.m plaira, si.m venes vezer."
Qe pro ha drutz ab domneiar
De si dons et ab gen parlar,
E qant l'aa un long temps servit,
E.l baisa, ben l'aa enriquit;

525 Que.l menre amors qe si dompna fassa
A son drut es qant vol qe jiaasa.
Qe drutz de si dons arozinatz,
El deve vilas e malvatz,
E ublida se de donar,

530 De servir e d'armas portar.
E si lo vol tener vaillent,
Ab respeig lo fasa jausent,
E qant li dara son bel don,
Fassa o qe.l sapcha tan bon,
fol. 36r 535 Qe qant l'aura entre sos braz,
El non cug que.l sia vertatz.
Aiso queron li drutz leial;
Qui pus en demanda fai mal.

[A]pres aqist bon convinent,

540 Conve q'il tenga sor cor gent,
E qe se gart de fol parlar,
Q'hom non puesca en lui re blasmar.
E d'una causa sia tricx:
S'es paubre qe se fengua rix,

545 Q'ab un petit de bel garnir
Pot hom sa paubreza cobrir;
E gard dommentre q'er iraz
Sa dompna no.l veia en la faz,
Q.totz hom, men q'es ioios,

550 N'es trob plus belle sa faissons.
Als messages de sa maison
Serva e prometa e don,
E acuella plus bellament
Qe s'eron sei privat parent,

Per so qe sa dompna la bella
Aula de lui bona novella
E haia message cortes.
Mais gart qe hom non sia ges
Qe miels dis dompna son talent,

A femina qe ad'autra gent.
E fassa a ci dons cembel,
Manias, e cordon et anel,
Qe tuit sabem ad esient
Q'amistat creis per l'ausiment.

E una causa non oblit:
Ausen leis lause son marit
E digua qe molt fora pros
Si non fos un petit gilos,
E s'ills'en blasma, tant ni qant,

Gel li pot be dir aitant:
"Dousa dompna, fei q'eu dei Deu,
Vos lo conoissetz miels qe eu,
Mais totz temps creirai q'el es pros
Qar Dieus volc alte qu'es a voz."

E anso ven lai on estai,
E si per aventura eschai
Qu'el la trob sola mantenent,
La bais e l'embras sovent.
E s'ill se suffre a forsar

580 Prenda son ioi ses demorar,
Qe dompna vol per dreita escorsa
Q'hom la fasa un petit de forsa,
Q'ill no dira ia: "Faces m'o."
Mais qui la forsa; sofre s'o.

585 Soven deu a si dons parlar,
Si pot, o de loing esgardar,
E mostre semblant cellador,
Q'ill sapcha q'el viu de s'amor.

fol. 36v
Enaisi deu son ioi noirir

590 Drutz qe d'amor se vol iausir.

[La] dompna qe vol esser druda
Deu enans i esser tenguda
Con gentils om se dompna soin
Del sparvier qant l'a en son poin

595 Qe garda qe la plus ma non fraina.
Deu ill gardar qe non remaina
En sa cara q'el desconveigna,
Mas tota causa q'ez aveigna,
No ie meta causa qe i nosa,

600 Mais be pot gitar aigua rosa
Qe qui la baiza per gran dousor,
Cug q'haia,l cors plen de flor.
De si meteissa sia gilosa,
Tant vol esser coinda e ginnosa,

605 Qe tota dompna es bella e cara
Qe ae ten cointamen et esgara.
E es de tot en tot perduda
Si car e gent non es tenguda,
E l'oills sapchon retener grat

610 D'aco q'il aura esgardat.
Ab vertat e ses tricaria
Demostro bella compania,
E ill paresca sots la gimple
Gaire e cortetsa e simpla;

615 E qui ven a leis corteiar
Sapcha gen respondre parlar,
E gart per plana gentilesa
Qe non diga mot de malesa,
Ni de folia ni d'orguell.

620 Qui gent parla semena e cuell
Q'el semena ensenhaiment
E cuell laus e prez de la gent.
E gars q'il mot sian causit,
Per so qe meills sion graszit,

625 Ab vertat e ses tricaria.
Si cors consen e coindia,
Qe gen parlars creis son seinors,
Si com rasa creis e la flors,
Per qe dompna gen enparlada

630 Sera totz temps pros e onrada.
E sapcha tan gen auquill
Qe, qant venra al departir,
Qar sol aurant ab leis parlat,
Cuidon li fol esser senat,

635 E'l savi digan: "Dousa res,
Mult es vostre cors de ioci ples.
Molt sabes mesclat cointamen
Corteszia, foudat ab sen,
Ez urguell ab humilitat.

640 Ancheis hauri'hom fait privat
Un roissinol, com vos amies,
Far ni dir qe us desconvenies.

fol. 37r
Vostre dit han aitan d'onor:
L'un son bon e l'autre meillor."

645 Son amic non tricha ges,
Ni.1 digua mais so qe vers es,
Qe dompna e polpra e samit
Trobares alques d'un aqit,
Qe la porpra, pois es solada,

650 Non pot esser jamais gensada,
On plus la non lai sezes.
E dompna puis engans i es
Ni pot esser d'engan represa,
Jamais non pot esser cortesa,
Ni pus, com pot estain durar,
Non pot iamais son prez cobrar.
Eill cabéill s'ioni coindament
Estretz ab fil d'aur on d'argent.
Una sotilleta garlanda

660 Gart q'uns pel front no s'en espenda,
E s'ion per plana gardat,
Enolt de polpbra o de cendat,
Maia un sol petit c'om en veia
Qe.1 mons digua de fina enveia:

665 "Ben han l'onor e la proesa
Dompna, del mon qi vos adesa."
E anon dreit e per un fil
E coindament sion sotil
Li sobrecil sotz lo bel front.

670 Lo mentonet bel e rodont,
Las dents paucas e menudetas.
Bel nas e bocas vermelletas
Ben faiats ad obs de baisar
Cui Deus volria tan onrar.

675 Blanc col e porte sas bellas mans
En gans que no. ls veza vilans.
Bella borsa, bella centura
Com s'era tot fait en peintura,
E paresca bella e dolguda

680 Sotz la bella boca daurada.
D'una re se deu donar cura,
Com l'estei be sa vestidura,
Gent vistent e gent afublans,
Amorosa en totz sos semblas.

685 Bel sion li vestit defors:
La camisa que toca.l cors
Sia bella, sotils se blanca,
Co.l neus en uvern sor la branca.
Gent se cals e gent port sos pes.

690 E an ab domnus dele gran pres,
Am gentils omes qi q'en gronda.
Parle gent et digua e responda.
La gimpla non sia ges mesa
E.1 cap a gisa de pagesa,

695 An sia coidamen pausada
Sobre las bellas crins planada,
fol. 37v
E si deu anar en coasa,
D'un cordonet daurat la fasa,
Que l'aur, pel e li boton

700 Rescemblon tuit d'una faison.
Gent si tengua, sovent se bain,
E ab nedesa so compagn.
Ves tot lo mont cuberta e cellada,
Mais son amic sia aizinada

705 Quant sera luecs ni d'avinent.
Eu haz ben dig al parlament
So qe li bon drut tenran car,
E fara.1 gilos enrabchar."

[C]ortesia ditz: "Dompn pros,

710 D'aiso m'acort eu ben ab vos,
Qe molt es gilos en gran pena
Qe, s'el bat sa moiller, forse na.
Adoncs pens'ella: "Ar amarai
Pois atrestant de blasme n'hai."

715 E puis c'ave tot en trait
Qe dis: "Mals es ma parte fait,"
E el la baisa e la percola;
Adons la destrui e l'afola
Q'ella pensa: "Molt m'aima fort.

720 Ben sufriria dreig e tort."
Per nient serion gillos;
Batre ni blandir non ges bos,
Mais lais lor on anar los pe,
E venia lui bona merce."

725 Amors, aiso qe.1s ven a grat,
E ha devant se esgardat,
E vi Merce venir corrent
Qe volg esser el parlament.
E quan l'an vista li baron

730 No i a cel non sapcha bon.
Mont polsa son caval lo flancs;
Per un pauc qe non es stancs.
Aqest trameto.l amador
Per faire clam a Fin'Amor

735 De las dompnas des cominals.
Molt cuitas c'a tost le vasals.
A tant es a cort desendutz.
Tuit diçon: "Ben siaz vengutz."
E el respon: "E deu sal vos,

740 Amors, e tots vostre baros,
E confonda aquiels qes eu vei,
La Cobesesa ez Orguei,
Q'entro c'aici m'an encausat.
A qant longes temps m'an treballat!

745 Amors, tot lo mont han delit;
Dompnas vos an mes en oblit.
Qe c'era fills d'emperador,
S'es paupre, gens non a d'amor,
Mais aqell es onratz ses failla

750 Qe promet los diniers e.l bailla.
E qant ha lors diniers pagat,
E'l fausa logs ha escuchat,
Il dis: "Enqer non es sasons
Autra ves trametrem per vos."

755
E'l ten l'e aquella balansa,
E confont la bona esperansa,
E qant non ha plus que donar,
Il lo gaba e laissa.l estar,
L'orgoilosza, cui Deus abata!

760
Qant vei lo mantel d'escarlata,
E lo var e lo cenbelin,
La pols qe mena lo train....
La filla d'un villan caitiu
Vos fara de mil drutz esqui.

765
E amors deu esse umils
On plus es rica e plus gentils.
E s'er filla d'un cavaler
E negus outra om l'enqer,
Ela dira: "Ges no.m eschai

770
Ne ia vilan non amarai."
E fai pecat s'enaisi i clama,
Qe totz om val lo rei qe ama.
Aici.m trameton l'amador
Qe vos regardetz lur dolor:

775
Per vos son mort et enganatz.
De lor avetz torts e pecatz,
E fares mal vostra fasenda
Si de vos non han bella esmenda.
E c'om digua q'a bon signor
Han servit, membre.us de lor."

[S]o dis Amors: "Las dompnas son
Tota.1s plus dousa res de.1 mon.
Eu soi lor et ellas son mias,
E be conois qe lur follias

Lor tolon garen de lur pron
Qe quant om dis: "A vos me don,
Bella dousa res, ses engan.
A Dieu et ab vos mi coman,
Domnma. Vezas ma bona fe.

Si no.m retenes, morai me.
Caitiu, q'hai dit? Domnma no.us pes
Qe.1 grans deszirers.qe.m ten pres
Me fai lo maltrait descobrir.
E si vos mi fazes morir

Mi plaz, mas no i haures honor
S'auciez vostre servidor,
Q'eu sai be qe per vos servir
Nasqiei. E qant li dous sospir
Me coiton tan qe per vos plor,

Beu las lagremas de dousor,
E dic: "Oillz, bona feses anc nat
Qar haves per mi donz plorat
Q'en val mens." S'ella.1 respont gent,
E ce merceira coindament,

fol. 38v 805
E dis: "Amicx, eu vos fai grat
De co qe m'avetz presentat.
Eu voell qe per me siaz pros,
E vos terai gai e ioios."
Ez haurai son pres retengut,

810 E l'autra aura fait coind de drut,
E pueis s'il en conois s'onor,
Pot en faire son amador.
Merces, aitant farai per vos,
Qe dopnas metran orguel jos,

815 Mais amara.1 plus orguilosa
Son drut que cel cui esposa,
E li drut seran lur senior.
E portas lur aqesta flor,
Per entrenia q'ieu lur man

820 Q'lll aurau tot so q'lll voran.
Las cobezesas, don vos clamaz,
Jamais non vos entremetaz.
Corteszia las atzinadas.
Aquellas qi qeron soldadas

825 Er getat de ma companna.
Non voell c'om lur son en la via,
Qe domnna qe diniers demanda
Es traitris e mercaanda,
E non sau bon tant de raubar

830 Li galiot de sobre mar.
E s'ela me faz mon plazer
Als diners en dei grat saber.
A leis non dei portar onor
Segond lo jutguament d'Amor."

835 [A]mors levet del parlament
E tuit li baron eissament.
La Cortesa d'Amor lo sona:
"Seiner, qar non portes corona
Qe reis es de trastota gent

840 Apres Christus l'omnipotent?"
La corona l'han aportat,
Jois l'a mantenent coronat.
La fontaina pres a bruir,
E la conca a retenir,

845 C'om no sat negus estrument
E l mo qa s'acordes tan gent.
L'arbre l'encoron a sopleiar
Qe l'avia viat coronar.
Del prat li sailon per lo vis,

850 Violetas et flor de lis,
E en tot lo mon non a flor
No.1 fasa tant qant pod d'onor.
Qant venc al intrar del castel,
Comenson a cantar li auçol,

855. El foc d'amor ad abrar,
E las donzellas a dansar,
E l'amador canton dous lais.
Tan rica cort no er jamais.
Pe.ls deis si aezon matenent.

fol. 39r

860 Las flors e.ls ausels mesclament.
E.1 mon no es volta ni lais
L'ausel non canto en palais.
Del maniar ia no er parlat,
C'0m no sap poison ni dintat

865 Qe a cors d'ome fasa ben.
No i aia tan quan i coven.
Qant són asis, la guaita cria:
"Cabezesa es morta e aunida,
E havem Orguel abatut.

870 Ara si guardon li cornut,
Qe mon senior porta corona.
Alquel han ioi cui el en dona,
E totz om es malauros
Qe non s'acompanya ab vos.

875 Nos havem fag lo iugament
D'Amor: folge es qui non l'aprent."

Amors comencet a seinnar,
E anceis que volges maniar
El dis: "Senior Deu glorios,

880 Tot aquest ioi teng eu de vos.
Seiner, la vostra gran merces
De l'onor qu'ieu hai e de.l bes."

[Q]ant han le premier mes aiutz
Ris e Deport i es vengutz.

885 Joglar foron a Fin'Amor,
Ab Na Coindia sa seror,
Qui vai per sol molt coindament,
Dansan ab un cimblos d'argent.
Tan gai son' que lor cor lur vola.

890 L'us ag arpa, l'autre viola.
Per las taulas viras los drutz,
De la gran dousor esperdutz.
Las donzellas cuion sautar
Fors de las taulas per dansar,

895 Mais Amors o ha conogut
Que ha por rire son cap mogut.
Pel seneschal lur a mandat:
"Que'1 joglar sion escoutat
Q'el vol, puesis a tot lur plaszer

900 Se deporton a lur voler,
E fe qu'il devon non lur pes  
Q'am.l soffrir vez om.li cortes.  

[L]i loglar se proschon del rei  

Rire parlet enantz Deport:  

905 "Amors, molt vos fan estrain tort  
Li lausengiers de lin iutas,  
Qui mal fuecs las lenguas abras,  
Qe li phylosof e.l doctor  
Jutguon lausengiers per traidor;  

910 Sia breus sa razzon ou longa  
Lo tot o.l plus sera mensonga.  
Ai Dieus! con lait han desconfit!  

Com han dompnaes e drutz partit!  

Fol. 39v  

915 Mout vos avia ben servida.  
Ttot mos avers e mos tesors.  
Era lo vostre gentil cors.  
Er non seretz iamai laida  
E donc, dompna, qe.m val ma vida?  

920 Ben m'er dura res ez amarai  
Se lla vostra convinens cara,  
Qe faï tot lo mon resplandir,  
Se laissa qe vas me nos vir.  
Faïta an li lauzeiador  

925 Cóm aqel qe damnia la flor
Del vergiez qe vol sordeiar,
Qe non puesca pois frug far.
Zois era floritz antre nos,
Mais lausengiers l'en han secos

930 Qe no i han laissat flor ni foilla,
Per qe l'aigua del cor mi moilla
Mos oills. Mas cant a trop tengut
Lais temps, e qe za feit plogut,
Plaz mais lo soleals, el bels iorns

935 Ez es a tota gens sozorns.
A tres si creis e dobl a zais
Apres lo maltraig, e val mais.
Per q'e u, dompna, no m desesper,
Ni ia Dieus no m'en den lezer

940 Qe de vos aparton mei deszir,
Nes lo zorn qe volrai morir,
Qe qan per aventura ven
Q'e u dorm ez estau tan ben,
Dompna, q'adonc soz eu ab vos,

945 E remir las vostras fai sos,
E cug ades ab vos parlar
Privadamens, si com soil far,
E cug q'ades siatz enblada
De la cambra en qe es gardada.

950 Lo grans soi me fai ricedar,
E quant eu non vos puosc trobar
Tan granda dolor emdeven
Q'ieu me mervell qar non forsen.
E Dicus! Qe me pod conortar?

955 Qan mi soven de l'embrasar
E del dous baiszar e del rire,
Amiga, ben deuria ausire,
Qe vos estaz ma dousa amiga,
Aisi com la raza ab ortiga,

960 Qe vos es dousa e plazens
Ez es pauzada entr'avols gens."
Enaisi plaing lo drutz e.l druda
Es mil aitans morta e venduda
Q'el non ausa ab omen parlar,

965 Ni gen vestir ni gen causar,
Ni s'ausa deportar ni rire,
fol. 40r
Qe non haia paor d'aucire.
Ez esta en gran pensamen,
E ditz en son cor mout soven:

970 "Bels amics, haurai iamai aisze
Qe vos percolle ni vos baisze?
Eu non. Faillit, son mez deport.
Me e vos han lauzengiers mort."
Amora, penren en ia veniansa,

975 Ni.n portarem escut ni lansa
Sobre les lausengiers traidors
Que tocón las dousas amors."
Plasers lo senescal d'Amor,
Parlet en luoc de son seïnor.

980 Molt fo pros e cortes e viastes
E savis hom e bon legistes.

[El] ha li dit: "Bels amics bos,
Gent aves dig vostras razos,
Mais tot quant aves devizat,

985 Ha hoi Cortezia iugat,
Q'il ditz q'ab sen et ab mesura
Pot hom aver amor segura,
E si lausengier son Marcos
Hom lur deu esser Salamos.

990 Ja no er qe gilos non sia,
Mais ieu dic qe re non enbria
Qe mos seihner es poderos
Qe ia luszengiers ni gilos
No ceran dan a drut cortes.

995 Ans lur pro mas be lur pes
Qar en luoc fan tan gran paor,
Q'el non parlara auien lor,
E si con l'ours e.l fluec s'escura,
Aqesita paor los meillura

1000 Q'el si gara de fol parlar,
E fai ab sen tot son afar.
E s'il van si don espian,
Ill faz vezer lur bel semblan.
Ab tal don gaere no li cal

1005 A qe cobre son ioi coral."

[A]pres ditz Deportz: "Gran faillida
Fai aqel qe si donz oblida,
Qan de son gent cors onrat,
El non la trait ni galiat,

1010 Antz l'a tengut gai e iausen.
Fait tan enveios prezen
Coves de son bell acuillir,
E l'a volgut tan enreqir
Qe si ag maltrait de s'amor.

1015 Ar lo j ha tornat en dousor,
E donat de sas bellas res,
Mangas, cordos et orfres,
E si.1 mostra puei cor truan,
No se pot desfendre d'engan.

1020 Antz contrafai lo traidor

Qu'es rics de l'aver son seinhor,
E pueis met contra luei l'aver,
Es pena de lui decacer.
Ges non deu haver cor volatge.

1025 Antz deu tener ferm coratge,
Que bona dompna non peiiura.
Antz enancha ades e meillura,
Q'eu prez mais la valor e l sen
De dompna non faz lo ioven,

1030 E si com frugs val mais qe flor,
Val mais qe beltat la valor,
Mais cant es bonà la canchos,
La laissa l ioglar encios,
Aital sai qe tota sazon

1035 Non fai si donz qe l sapcha bon,
E si fai apres autra mia,
Ni autra, qi cosapchatz, si fia.
Ell'apèlla son amador

.................................

Que totz temps es de ioci deiuna

1040 La boca q'ez enquier mas una:"

"[S]i m'aiut Diesus," so dis Coindia,
"Ben fai mal qe si donz oblià,
E'mal fai dompna qe delonza
Son amic, pois per lui es conia,

1045 Qe ia non sera tan zinnosa,
Daus pueis qe si fai vergoinosa,
D'aqel qe volria aver pres.
Non faza lo vilan cortes
E percaz son ben e s'onor

1050 Q'enantz qe li lauzeniador
O haion saubut ni sentit,
Deurian haver son ioi complit.
Qar tost passon li mercadier
Lo pas on tornan li stradier;

1055 E qan ill son en via segura,
Ill van bellamen l'anblaura.
Atressi dompna non deu alen
Penre son ioi, mas torne son gen,
E deu gardar qe Fin'Amors gaia,

1060 Per lonic enplaidar non dechaia,
E no.s deporton nos cimais.
E.11 auzell movan tut lur lais,
E veian si s'acordon gen,
L'auzell e nostri estrumen.

1065 Qi apres aisso au las voz.
E.1 ioi qe menon entre.1s totz,
Ben ha pus dur lo cor d'oziman,"

......

[H]onors e Valors e.1 baillessa
D'Amor, qe re mas ioi non pessa,

1070 Son vengudas ad auzir los chan.
E son vestudas d'un semblan,
D'un blanc samit ab floretas
D'aur; capelz han de violetas.

fol. 41r
Qant ellas entron e.1 palais

1075 Sapchatz qe.1 cortz en val mais.
La baillessa d'Amor a presa
Honor; deiost'Amor l'a mesa.
El ac gran ioe qan l'ag veszuda.
Vas si la streing, baiser la cüda,

Mais sas gen lo feiron suffrir
Per paor q'en fezes murir,
De plan'envelé, dos o tres,
Qe la dompna es tan bella res,
E ditz: "Dompna, ben foz onrada

Ma bocca, si.us hages baisáda,

Q'ieu non soi dignes, dous'amiga
Qe tanha d'onor vostra boca
Qe. tot es sans qant a leis toca.
Vos mi tenes en tal liam,

Con pus m'aucises, no m'en clam.
Per q'auciretz vos, Dompna bella,
Celui qí vas vos no.s revella?
Vostra dousa amors m'esperona.
Pos bella es, siatz me bona,

E non fassatz l'auszellador
Q'apella e trai ab dousor
L'auszel tro qe l'a en sa tela,
Pueis l'auci e.l destrui e.l pela.
Dompna, l'uell pus luszent qe stela,

Regardon, pus son cor no.us cela,
Le vostre sers que tant vos ama.
Per Dieu e per vos se reclama.
Per mil vez siatz ben venguda
Gran joia m'es al cor creguda,

1105 Qar es tant fina e tant liaus.
Ja mos cors non haura repaus
Tro qe.m digas coment sera
Si'll vostre bel cors m'amera,
Q'ieu soi vostre hom en tota guisza,

1110 Qe Fin'Amor e.l cor m'astiza
Un fuec don m'es suaus la flama,
Qe de.l vostre bel cors m'aflama.
E regardatz lò vostr'honor,
Qe diguen li fin amador,

1115 Q'en vos non sap om blasmar re,
Qe bella es.e de gran merce.
De paor no.us aus dire pus,
Mais vostr'amor mi don Christus,
Aissi con ieu, per bona fe,

1120 L'aus quer, mi don, e.l de vos be,
Q'ieu no.m puesc ges de. vos defendre.
Enguazar mi podes o vendre.
Faitz en faire cartas e brieus.
Mos cors prenc de vos e mos fieus,

1125 E qar eu soi sener d'amor,
Hai causit lo pus ric seinhor."

[A]lors respon ela: "Soi ben vostra,
Q'ieu non soi ges aqil qe mostra
 Orguell mentre q'es iovecenilla

1130 Qi a la color fresca e novella,
E qant aqil colors li fail,
Ez el se vei en son mirail,
E conois qe trop s'es tarzada,
Ill qier so don era pregada

1135 E ditz: "Ben hai mon tenps percut.
Ja mais non poirai haver drut.
Adoncs cing sa cara e la freta,
E cuida se faire toseta,
E on pus se gensa e l peizura.

1140 Qe l beutat non ven per natura,
Qe domnas i ha d'autre fuel,
Qe paron laide ande non vuel,
Qe negus gentils hom si fi
En dompna qe laidura di.

1145 Ants se devont d'aitant veniar,
Qe francs hom non la deu baiszar.
Dompna non deu parlar mas gent
E suau e causidament,
E deu tant gent sos mots assire

1150 Qe totz hom son solaz desire,
Qe las pauraulas qe son fors
Demostran los talens del cors,
Per qe non deu dire folor,
Dompna qe s'enten en valor."

1155 [L]a baillessa d'Amor s'assis
Davant las pulsellas e dis:
"Sabetz qe deu faire doncella
Qant sos bos amicx es ab ella,
E Fin’Amors l'a tant onrada

1160 Q'ab. son bon amic l'a colgada?
Lor coven q'al comensamen
Li fassa d'un baisar presen,
E pues ab rire ez ab solaz
Qe.l faissa coisin de son braz,

1165 Ez ab l'autre ves si l'estrenia,
E digas: "Grans onors vos venia,
Amors, e gran bonaventura!
Fols es qe de vos se rancura,
Qe s'anc me venc maltrac de vos,

1170 Bon m'en es rendutz gazardos.
Bels amics, vos podez veder
Q'ieu soi tota al vostre plazer,
Qe vesetz q'eu no.m gard de vos,
E vos es tan bels e tan bos,

1175 Qe gardaretz de vilania
Vostre bel cors e vostra amia.
Endreit vos non desir lo rei.
Al vostre causiment m'autrei,
E vos sabetz qe de toseta,

**1180**
No i ha onor cel qe l'abeta.
Gran maltrait hai per vos haiut;

**fol. 42r**
Soven n'hai lo maniar percut,
E quant eu cuiava dormir,
M’esvellavon li dous sospir,

**1185**
Qe pensava, bels amicx dous

******************
E qant eu era desidada,
Disia: "Mala fui anc nada,
Seinher Dieus, qar non dura totz temps,
Q'adoncs sivals estiam emsens,

**1190**
Eu e mos amicx per cui plor.
Non puesc pus soffretar l'ardor
Q'Amors m'auci de fina enveia.
Mais ia non er qe Dieus non veia,
Amis, se vos m'aves traida.

**1195**
Q'ie.us hai de mon poder servida,
Non faissaz lo lairon, qe di
Qant s'encontra ab lo pellegrí:
"De sains tenez, bels amics,
Sains es vostre dreit camis."

**1200**
E quant l'a mes.el bois preont,
Li tol son aver e.l confont.
Amics, non si'eu confonduda
Atressi, qar vos hai seguda.
Davant m'estava ben e gent,

1205 Mais era perd lo cor e.l sen.
Non puesc pus la dolor sufrir
Qi.m fai la color laideszir.
Aqest mal hai haiut per vos,
Amics, e Dieus q'es francs e bos,

1210 E pius e plena de corteszia,
Sab q'eu.s hai amat ses bauzia,
E vuella q'entre mi e vos,
Vivam long temps ez amen nos.
Tenes lo man q'eu vos o iur,

1215 Ez enasi vos asegur,
Qe za tòtz los iorns de ma vida
No.us farai de m'amor genchida,
E vos iuras m'o atressi,
Qe non fassas lo bel mati,

1220 Qe tramet el miez luec del iorn
La pluseia e.l vent e.l temps morn."
Ez el responda qe cortes:
"Dompna, ben conòsch qe dretz es,
E dic vos per los sans qe son,

1225 Qe tant qant vivrai en est mon,
Non amarai autre mas vos,
Ni a present ni a rescos.
Amors e Ious si iugirent
Mi e vos d'aquest convinent.

Aissi con son bon e privat,
Vuellon que tengam lialtat,
E q'entre nos non haia engan.
A Dieu et a vos mi coman,
E baisem nous en, qar cove,

E nom de tota bona fe."

Enaissi deu esser segura
Dompna dq drut s'i met sa cura.
E quant verra al departir,
Sitot lor es mal a sufrir,

Cant ab hora s'adobes li
E parta de lui tant mati,
Qe za non sapcha mals ni bos,
Mais com assi anc re non fous.
E sapchia mesatge causir

Qe lapsachia tan gen cubrir
Qe pauraiula sia cellada,
Q'hom non sapcha qant n'er tornada.
El matin si vei en la plasa
Son amic, ia semblan non fasa

Qe anc enqera no.1 veges,
Ni qe sapcha de lui qí es,
Qe l ions d'amor, fruïta e florís,
Qi ab sen lo garda e l nourís."

[L]a cortesa vallen Valors

1255 Enseina e ditz als amadors:
"Mút deu esser vallenès e pros
Totz hom pois se feing amoros,
Desqe pois ha vist los bels mans,
De si dons per qi pn'es villans

1260 Qe prous dompna ab fresca color
Es ruesa del vergiers d'Amor
E deu prenre de chausiment
Tant de leis e d'enseinhament,
C'om digua: "Ben tenc per onrada

1265 La dompna don aqist s'agrada,
E cill qe l'ama a ben causit,
Pro drut e vallent e ardit
E homen q'ades se mellura;
En bon lou ha tornat sa cura."

1270 Apress fasa tant de proessa
Qe sa dompna franca e cortesa
Parle privadamens ab lui,
Qe qant ill seran ambedui
Emsens, mout dousamen li diga:

1275 "Dieus vos sal, bella dousa amiga,
Cona la pus ben ensenhada.
E la genszer q'anc fos amada
E pos Dieus ha en vos tramessa.

Honor e beutat e franqessa,

1280 Merces non sia ia ostada.
Amor, enpert tanta velada,
E per tant angoissus martire
M'es enmenda q'ella mi vuella rire,
O qe la douxa man del gan

1285 Me lais baiszar en sospiran.
Bella dompna, vostra faissos
Me fai ardit e pauros.
Non soi ben arditz q'en tal loc
Ausei qerre solas ni ioc.

fol. 43r. 1290 Mei uell non s'auszon enardir
D'esgardar tro qe.m sen murir,
Adoncs vos esgar de paor,
Com lo sors son irat seinhor
Qe non l'auszza merce clamar

1295 Mais plora e pensa: "S'ieu l'esgar,
Ades l'en venra pietatz
Qant veira lo gran dol q'eu fatz."
Ja non aurai ioi ni salut
Tro qe vostre bel cors m'aiut,

1300 Qe, per ma fe, trop m'es pus bon
Qem permetaz q'altra mi don.
Bella dousa res, cui reblan,
Totz tenps vos semblarai l'enfan
Qe plora per la bella re

1305 Totas las oras q'il la ve
Entro qe l'ha. Aital farai,
E si no.us puesc haver, morrai.
E diran totz qant m'aures mort:
"Sa domna l'aucis a grant tort,

1310 Mais sals er al dia del iuzizi,
Qe mort es per son bel servizi."
Grans merces vos clama vostre sers
Qe per vos lo ten en gras fers,
Don zamais non sera fors

1315 Tro qe l'engent vostre bels cors.
Ses engan e ses cor volatge,
M'autrei e.l vostre seinhoratje;
Las mans joïntas, a genolos;
A Deu me coman e a vos,

1320 Qe anc pos vos me donestes jorn,
Non estet mos cors en soiorn.
Antz se Dieus de vos m'aconsel,
Hai pregat la luna e.l solel,
E drieg coma bons mos seinors,

1325 Per Dieu que.m'breu gesson lo iors,
Q'ieu vos volia vez er tan
Q'us pauchs jorns me scemblan a un an.
Ja per mal qe.m fassas sufrir,
No.m laissarai de vos servir.

1330 A la gran valor et al sen
Ez al bel cors de vos mi ren."

[E]nasi ha parlat Valors.
Auien totz, l'en merceia Amors.
Apres lui comencet Proessa,

1335 E dis: "Eus no.m soj entremessa
Ad aquesta cortz de parlar,
Ez hai auzit a totz comtar,
Per Crist, bonas razzos e bellas,
Mais eu vos comtarai novellas

1340 Qe no.s taignon ges entre vos,
Qe fan li fol drut nuallos;
Q'ara venra per aventura
Un drutz enqer bonaventura,

1345 Ez ira qerre son solatz
A dompna qe.z er çoinda e joiousa,
E trobara la angoiosa,
E comensera a rogin.

1350 E ben leu respondra.1 aitant:
"Amic x vos non sabetz ab cuj
Parlatz; q'anc vos ni autruj
Non amei, ni non sai qes es.
Mais s'ieu m'en entremeses
1355 Vos es ben tan bels e tan pros
Q'ieu fera mon amic de vos.
E si voletz haver mon grat,
Ins aisi on es comensat,
Si lasat q'eu vos vencus,
1360 Qe per lo mens ni per lo pus,
Non er fachs e dic vilania,
Qar eu non es devenc vostra amia."
Ez el parra s'en vergoinos.
E l dompna q'es valents e pros
1365 Tenra lo per avilanit,
E dira: "Ben valra petit
Aqela qe vos amara.
Mais valriatz ad ermita,
Vos es be d'aqel lignatje
1370 Don son li fol drut salvatje."
E vechs la bon'amor perduda
Qar non es qì l'aià seguda,
Qe drutz j ha qe per folor
Demandon ó qeran amor:
1375 "Qe ben sapchatz q'eu amaria
Volenters si trobes amia."
Venga sai cel qe vol amar,
Q'ieu sai q'el en porra trobar,
Qe s'el j vol metre s'ententa,
1380 S'el ne vol una, en haura trenta.
De drut conven q'al comensar
En prec tan o fassa prègar
Tro qe s'avenga e s'eschaja
En pro dompna valent e gaia.
1385 E si non la pot tan tost trobar,
Ges per so no.s deu esfredar,
Qe cel qe cercha l'aur tant lava
Lo lot e trastorna la grava
Tro qe truoba lo luzant aur
1390 Don es rics e don fai tesaur.
Per qe non deu haver nuala
Qe press e servir e trabala.
S'era del mon la pus estraigna
Si li.n fara doua compaigna.
1395 Ez apres q'aiha tal messatje
Qe.1 diga e.1 man son coratje
A cellas q'han d'amor talan,
fol. 44r
Mas bellamon e ses malan
E trobera aitant d'aqelas
1400 Com le cels pod haver estelas,
Q'una non trobaires a dire
Qi no am lo solaz e.l rire
D'amor, si noncha vol lo pus
E' diga: "Ja no.m sal Christus,

S'ieu non sai, bella dompna e bona,
Qi porta de ioi la corona
Sobre tous amadors
E vos bauszares m'en lo fron
Senpres qant eu lo vos dirai

Qe lo joventz q'en vos estaz
E.l vergoigna qi ren non tria
Vos en fara faire folia
Qel n'es be de xx parts semos,
Mais eu lo lauzava a vos,

E dic vos qe sots lo solel
Non haura bazaler parel.
Ben seriats de ioi la soma.
De dous arbre chiaj dousa poma,
Qe ambedui es molt avinent.

A com sa conten'ricament!
Qe sel vol haver bon solatz,
Ja hom non sera enciatz,
E quant es ab sabia gen,
Los aprodera totz de sen.

Anc els mieus zorns non fo tan bos,
Ni tan bels, tan pauc orguolos.
Eu saz q'ins el cor vos sab bon
So q'eu dic, e si dizes non,
Eu sai qe vos non dizes ver.

1430 Ez uz metrai aisz e lezer,
E progaraj tan lo sejnor
Si Dieus plaz, vos darai s'amor
E si tant fatz qe.1 bel e.1 bon,
Vos am, e lo mieus gazardon

1435 Non sia ges mes en oblit,
Q'ie.uz darai gran re per petit.
Q'ieu lo mogui l' altre de loin,
Per saber si n'hauria soin.
E j dis, ses vostre saubut,

1440 Qe vos li mandavatz salut,
E qant el s'auzi saludar
De part vos, non poc mais sonar
D'una pessa, puesis respondet:
"C. milia merces li ret.

1445 Con desson sers endompneiatz,
Ab son rire.m teing per pagatz.
Anc maus no.m entremis d'amor
C'aquesta.m fai gran paor,
Qe m'ausi ab un dous esgart

1450 Qe dompas han en l'uel dart
Ab que naffron tan dousament

Qe mentre q'hom mor, non o sent,
Qe l gaz cors ausi drut cortes
Com lo rossinol qant es pres

1455
Qe non pot esser ab sa par.
Per qe vaj a mi dans prégar
Si com ell'es fràncha e cortesza,
Non per me mais per gentilèsza,
M'acella, qe sos ser se mor,

1460
Si no me girola.1 cor.
Ab un baiszar, sa doua alena,
Q'enaiissi.m pot gitar de pena."
Lo zou de vos mi faj plorar
Quant eu lo vi color mudar,

1465
Qar conogui a son soenblan
Qe us amaria ses engan.
Aitant n'hei comensat ses vos.
Amatz lo qe bela es bos,
E no.1 fassatz la vilania

1470
Qe fan las dompnas per folia
Qi.8 fan prégar un an o dog,
Q'es aqell prégar enojos,
Qe cuzon qe lur onor sia,
Lur tol lor pretz e.1 desenbria."

1475 [L]a dompna dira: "No.us mais pes.
Sembla que l'afaz vos trameses,
E per mesatje logaditz
Fan mantas domn na sols arditz.
En son repszas e traïñas.

1480 Ben hai vostras razzos auzidas,
E quant eu lo porai vezer;
Eu sabrai si vos dizes ver,
Qe s'ieu parle veszent la gent,
Ab lui, fols es qe m'en repren."

1485 "D]omna, ben sai qe pels truans
Qe fan las falas e ls engans,
Son li bon homen mescreszut;
Mais domna, si Dieus ja m'azut,
Sitot me soj de paubra gent.

1490 Lial homen son miei parent,
Ez eu soj de lur parenta,
Q'ieu vos dic, bella domna e genta,
Qe si vos en fizevaz en me,
Eu vos irai per bona fe

1495 Q'el vos amara e vos lui,
Q'ieu vez qe m'ořez ambedui.
D'amor. Orus vos non sintez re.
Mai si vos vos veizatz be-
A la color q'havetz perduda,

1500 Vos diriatz: "For Deu, m'ajuda
311
Q’el m’am.” Non digas oc ni no,
Q’ieu parlaraj oimais d’aiso,
E farai vos la pus onrada
Domna de tot’esta contradà.”

1505 [L]a dopna dira: ”Tot veiraj
A qual part vostre cor metrai,
E engan ou en liautat.
Si.m enganatz, fares pecat.”

”[D]omna, ans pèrcas lo vostre be.

1510 No.m en crezes? Vec vos ma fe,
Q’ieu j regarde vostre onor.
Maldit sion li traidor,
Qe per lur soi mescrezuda.
Anseis fos ma lenga perduda,

1515 Q’ieu us hages dit mas so qe.us taing.
Si tant fattz q’ieu vos acompaing
Ab lui, una causa vos dic:
Amatz lo mais c’Aia Landric,
E qe val qant viu ses amor?

1520 Domna q’es de vostra valor?
Tot’es vostra color mudada.
Eu cug qe vos es soclamada,
Q’el frons vos no’es gieta calor.
Non es; anz es lo mal d’amor,

1525 Qe.us ha tenguda longament.
Mota es qi consol no j pret.
Ja vostra mort non soffriraz;
A Dieu vos coman. Vau men lai
Pregar lo franc e.l amoros.

1530 E si tant faz q'el parl'a vos,
Non li siatz ges presenteira,
Mais vergoinosa e pauc parleira;
Con pus seres envelosa
De lui, feines vergoinosa,

1535 Mais no.l laises ges famar
A re q.e.l sapchia demandar,
Q'adorar deu hom e grazir
Dompna qan sab gen acuelir.
S'ieu podia also acabar

1540 Mais cuiaria conquistar
Qe s'era ultra mar romeva.
Ja negus om no.m en don trieva.
Qi volra vostra amor blasmar
Mais vengan a mi parlar.

1545 Q'ambedui es molt avinent,
Bel et enfant e covinent,
E tota gens la lausaria,
La vostra amor, si la sabia.
Per estiers non er za saubut,

1550 Ni ja.l veszin non faran brut,
Ni non sabra hom vostr.'afaire
Mais nos tres q'em coma fraire,
Ez Amors qi fara lo qart
Qi nos gitara de regart."

1555 E qant venra a l'avesprar,
Veigna tot son senor comdar
Qant haura lo zorns espleitat.
Ja aneis non sia laisat
Tro qe s'eschiaza a Fin'Amor

fol. 45v 1560 Puis am ses cor galiador."

Q]uant Proessa hag dit son agrat,
L'amador son en pes levat,
E fetz caschus a si dons un gin.
Adoncs foron uberts escrin,

1565 E joas donadas e preszas,
Qi non son ges en perdos meszas
Qe hom non sap lo prez adismar:
Cor e Deszir e Dous Esgar,
E Plaszer, tug cil q'ho demanda,

1570 E Baiszar ab q'Amors abranda
Lo coratje dels fis amans
E lur fai faire sos comans,
Ad Amor han dig en rient:
"Nos volem nostre convinent,

1575 Seiner, e per onor de vos
Dansar veian vostres baros."

Amors lur o ha autrezatz,
E apres lur ha comandatz:
"Anatz suau e bellament

1580 E cantatz clar et aut e gent."
Trenta cofres totz ples de flors
Lor fetz per sol gitar Amors
Qe fez traire de son tesaur,
Q'el no j ten argent ni aur,

1585 Ni non toca aur ni argent,
Si non sei joias q'hom no vent
Qe non son ges per aur gardadas.
Ans son per Fin'Amor baiszadas
Et envoutas de drap de seda.

1590 Plaçer faire sensa moneda,
Ses tot aver, fai sa fazenda
Q'el ha tot qant se vol de renda
Qe tot qant tenon l'amirant
Ni.1 rej, tot es a sson comant,

1595 Ni negun de mer non adesa
Qar dompnas en fan cobeesa.
Cascus drutz si dons la flor lansa.
Dopneis se vai penre en la dansa
Q'es adretz et ag cor isnel,

1600 E porta cascus un capel
De ruesza puesis dis en rizent:
"Amors, fols es qí se defent
E qui totz los jonrs de sa via
Non es en vostra seinhoria.

1605 Qi, apres aisco, au los sons
E ls novelms motz de las chansons,
E regarda la gran coinindia
Qe cascus drutz fai ab sa mia,
E los doux rires e ls solatz,

1610 E ls gins e los baiszars enblatz,
E las frescas colors q'el hant,
E la beutat q'en lor resplant,
E las bellas crins entrezadas,

.................

Ben es sers e plens de felonía,

1615 Qi ves Amors non s'umilia."

[L]j baron han Amor pregat
Per Dieu qe l bal sion laisat
Qe non podon lo zou soffrir
Qar ab pauc non volon morir.

1620 Qant lur soven de las onradas

...................

Qe non auszon far bel semblant
A lur drutz com aquestas fant.

[A]mors comandet a Plaszer
Qe las fassa tornar sezer,

1625 E qe lur fassa bellament
Ab drap de seda moure vent,
O de l'aigua rosa gitar
En lur caras per reffrescar
Q'en la dansa han ajut calor.

1630 Molt se dompna gran soins de lor.
E pueis ha dig: "Za Dieus non veia,
Cortesa gens, qi vos gerreia!
Qe re non de hom tant onrar
Com bona dompna a fin amar,

1635 Mais per aquest mieu blonde, çap,
Be.m peszara s'Orguels non sap,
E.l garsona la q'elmante
Lo poder qe ha contra me,
Qe za non er longa sazons

1640 Qe l'en veran mil gonfanons
Qe volrian en un gran soil
De clamar eser ab un oil,
Q'ieu non voell soffrir la clamor
Qe fan dompnas e amador.

1645 E si vos, senhor, m'o laissatz
Non lor er pus suffert en patz."

[S]ens estet en un farestol
E plaz li molt qar Amors vol
Gerreiar per tenir dreitura.

1650 El pensa qe sos fieus pejura
E aig: "Anseis qe movatz,
Ad aqest besoing me sonatz,
E castias una folor
Qe fan li fol drut feinedor,

1655
Qe qant ill ha si donz conges,
El se feing tan fort e s'aplagina
Q'el non cuida ges q'hom remaigna
En la vila qant el s'en eis,
E passa soen davan leis,

1660
Entro qe la gens en fai brada
E q'hom dis: "Aqella.es sa druda,"
E el ten la bruit ad onor,
E fan lo cer qe.l casador.
E.l lebrier veinon ateignen,

1665
Ez el vaz s'en seguramen
E pot se denants tot garir,
E platz.li tant qant l'au glatir
Los cans qe torna e non sap mot,
Tro q'es mort e retegutz de tot.

1670
Aital faz cel qe com zauzis
Fol brut, si e si donz trais,
Q'ans dieu esser d'aital escucil
Qe s'amor soisep tant son oil,
E.l fassa si donc esgardar.

1675
Tost en deu la cara virar,
E Folz Semblantz torna e nient
Amors, e blasme de la gent,
E ben sapchiatz qe Malparler
Estai enaissi con l'archier

1680 Qe trai e naffra ab son qairel
Dementre qe canta l'aucel.
Atrëssi naffron l'enozos
Malparler los amans zoios
Ab lor lengas, cui Dieus azir;

1685 E los fan en viven murir.
Per qe.lz ne castias, bel Seinher?
Qe laisson e.l fol brut e.l feiner?
Qe.l mon non es tan folla res
Com feing drutz peintenat plaides

1690 E la dompna q'en lui se fia
Sera grieu q'al derer e'en ria.
Eu vos en hai dig mon vejaire,
E vos fais cimais vostre afaire
E qant comandares: "Montatz!"

1695 Eu serai dels premiers armatz.
Totz francz hom veia la vejansa
E perda Dieu qe no los lansa
En foc, envolz, sebelis unis,
Los traitors lausengiers caitis,

1700 E las traititz desonradas
Don li drut han avolz seuadas
Qer cujon trobar bona fe
E.l falsa lengua ditz lor be.
E van simples com una monza

1705. E.l fals cor es plens de mensonz/a.
Oi! bona gens, fins amador,
Tug es mort qi non vos secor!
E vos es plenz de gentilesa,
E trobas engan et amalesa!

1710 E qi pot soffrir la dolor
Qe l'uel de bella domna plor
Per manasas e per malditz?
E deves l'autra part l'amictz,
Qar sap q'hom la destreing per lui

1715 Totz los deportz q'el ha s'en fui.
Amors si aiso non venjatz,
Totz es vostre prez abaissatz."

[A]pres Sens, ha parlat Zovens.
Molt fon adretz, francs e valens.

1720 Gent li destreis sor sas blozas cris
La garlanda de flor de lis

..........................
Introduction: Seigneur, you who require the flower
And the courtesy of love,
And have no care for other goods,
But wish to remain with joi.

Listen to a good and beautiful romance,
Built of fine new joi,
And beware, when you have heard it,
That you do not forget the words;
Because never will any man do

What the romance commands,
If he is not filled with courtesy,
And if he does not fight Villany.
May the good of which the romance speaks
Make the ladies trust the lover,

And preserve themselves from folly,
Which the romance forbids and chastizes;
Because you know that with Excess
Love wrongly loses its direction,
For Wickedness and Prostitution

Do not permit one to stay on the straight path.
For this reason they have made a new love
For a lady of great merit.
Eight score ladies as well as maidens
Who have found their new arguments

How loyal Love can be,
Flee away from false men and women,
For when Love holds parliament,
It is not suitable that there be trickery.
Now hear how she spoke

To her people, Love the sweet and good.
But first of all I will tell you
Her companions, and where she is,
With whom she is in agreement
In the loyal judgment of love.

Poet's description of Mt. Parnassus:

In the time when the nightingale makes his noise,
Who pauses neither night nor day
From his singing among the leaves
In the lovely season that I see re-budding,
It happened that Fin'Amor spoke

With her barons in her refuge
On the summit of the mountain of Parnassus.
Joie and Solace were up there,
And Boldness and Courtesy,
Who strewed the way with flowers.

Good Hopes and Fear
Brought them the flowers from below.
In another place, Largesse and Domneis
Place her in a bed of gold cloth.
Discretion and Sweet Company

Strew red flowers on the floor.
In another place, the courtly mountain
Shines and burns with the fire of love.
From here moves all the joy
That Love sends throughout the world.

And elsewhere are the little flowers,
The roses and the violets,
That send forth their great sweetness
Around the bed of Fin'Amor;
And in another place there are one hundred maidens

More beautiful than any man has ever seen,
And each one has her lover,
And they are dressed in one color;
They often kiss and embrace,
And they maintain merit and youth.

They continually have such pleasure
As suits such people, so I believe.
And in another place there is a shady wood
Where there are many wild birds.
That sing night and day

Songs and lays of great sweetness.
And in the middle of the place there is a castle
More beautiful than any man has ever seen,
Which has not one stone in the wall
Which does not shine like gold and azur.

From here Villany is waging war.
Watchman: The keys are Merit and Intimacy,

And the watchman who is in the castle cries:

"Here is the lover with his lady,
And the lady with her lover.

Now it will never be known.

Now is the place and the season
Because I have lulled the jealous ones to sleep."

Fountain In front of the door there is a fountain,

And there is none other so beautiful in all the world,

Which spurts from a golden shell.

It is worth the treasure of all the world.

There is no man in the world, who, if he has drunk from it,
Whatever he is or whatever he was,

Does not know good and honor,

And who does not forget anger and sorrow.

It is closed in by laurel trees and pines,
And by the apple trees of paradise.
It is crowned with fleurs de lis,
Which grow very tiny in the meadow.

Fin'Amor Here, seated in Parliament
Is Love, and she speaks beautifully
As must the seigneur
Who has the entire world to rule.
She looked toward earth for a moment,

Like a wise man, and then she said:
"My lords, I praise myself greatly because of you, but you know that each man of merit must keep watch so that in his seigneury men behave seriously and leave folly, because you know that where love is concerned, nothing is of value that requires acting foolishly, for recently Johanitz told us that the lion kills the ant. Sir Joi, this I say to you, that you in the same way make most joyous a vassal who was not discreet. If the lady gives him his pleasure, if to him she does no dishonor, and the blame remains with him, here you have the ant and the lion. The lady died because of that miserable man. I command this: do not do anything else, but give Joi there where it is fitting. Toward infants, behave as with infants, to those who talk, give speech, and in everything observe such measure that I do not lose my direction, because the worthy man has great honor in it when he conducts the business of his lord well."

Then she addressed Solace.
Fin'Amor's second speech to Solace:

The entire court was silent.
"Seigneur, often one will have to suffer,
For often one must cover his heart,
So that he does not tell all his feelings,
Nor does he show his great happiness,
Except there where there is occasion and measure,
Because love through being well hidden improves,
Like the bird, when it sees the trap,
Flies away from that place quickly and lively.

In quite the same way and immediately, behaves
The base man when he sees a courtly man,
Who lives with joie and solace
And carries a crossbow and trap,
When he sees him close his door,
And his wife is worse than dead.
This I say for you, Lord Solace,
Who are my friend and confidant,
And I confide my faith to you,
Than whom in all the world I love nothing better.

But I want you to leave the gaiety
For this is not the place so that, even if that weigh upon you.
I will teach you your rôle
For I have in the affair a very pretty recompense.
In order that you make love begin,
You make them please each other.
You do not want envy or tears;  
Violas, dances and drums  
And Youth keep you company.  
Learn the name of him who does not know the way  
Youth keep you company.  
Where no one any longer harvests."

Next she spoke to Boldness:  
"For you I praise myself well and nobly,  
Because you make the young girl bold,  
She who has the same fears as a little bird when it cries.  
Then you make her so secure  
That she goes to her sweetheart in the dark night,  
And she fears neither husband nor relative  
Will beat or threaten [her] often.  
And you make the poor lover seek  
A lady who has great fiefs and great lands.  
Let him say to her: "If you do not let me remain,  
I will certainly make you do what you desire."  
And he, who is not afraid of anything,  
Soon, if he has a little money,  
He then equips himself to serve well.  
And then you make her so bold  
That she forgets her lineage,  
Her wealth and her rank,  
And turns her entire heart toward him,
And they are both of them good lovers.
And through you the lover goes to converse
With his lady so boldly.
In love, fear is worth nothing;

"Courtesy, as far as you are concerned I do not know
How to describe the good things that I have had from you,
Nor do I know how to thank you for the honors
That I have had from you, nor for the praises,

For with full reason to suffer,
You make me much embellished by everyone.
With suffering you have moderation
Through which your good merit increases.
You place measure in speaking,

Envy you do not know how to cause,
And never was any man ever worthy
If he did not keep company with you,
For he who has you as companion
Will not become proud or foolish."

"Good Hope, great help
You give me, for your heart does not change.
So that to the first whom he wishes to make his sweetheart,
The lover goes and greets her,
And then he begins to beseech her

In the name of God that she deign to love him.
Good Hope guides him there,
And although his prayer is never granted
In the beginning,
You make him hope immediately

That only with difficulty would he see a new lady,
Because he did not become angry with the first.

"Lady, why is it that you have another sweetheart?"
If she say to him: "Certainly I will not love you;"
Or if she say: "Certainly I would not love you

If I should lose honor and husband by it,"
Or if she say: "You are full of deceit,
You lovers, so that I scorn you;"
Say, Good Hope, that that
Must not be considered worth a button.

When he contradicts himself and becomes proud,
Let him then take off his shoes and undress."

"Fear, may you be blessed!
Through you, the lover goes the right way,
Because, when he goes to his lady to talk,

He believes he demonstrates to her,
And says that for her love he is dying,
And you inspire him deep in his heart
So that he does not know how to speak rationally,
Nor does he know how to distinguish between yes and no.

And when he has spoken for the entire day,
He does not believe that he has said so much folly.
And when he has sent his messenger to her,
And he thinks in his heart:
"Alas! I sent her only this!
230 Well she will know how little intelligence I have.
Never again will she turn even her glance toward me.
This will seem like pride.
Miserable me! What will you do if she refuses you?
Or suppose all the messengers deceive you?
Or what will you do if desire escapes?
Or the messengers tell you lies?
You know perfectly well that she will torment me,
And she will beat my messenger for me.
She will not do it because she is so courteous.
240 Never will she do such an evil thing.
Miserable me! A difficult road henceforth!
Her wound took all my blood from me.
It weighs upon me because I sent him there,
Because her husband is vile.
245 Oh God! How ashamed she will be
If he kills or beats my messenger."
Then you say to him right here where we are:
"A man loves nothing who fears nothing."
"Largess, I want to instruct you
And thus you do all my business for me,
For hardly can any man have great prowess

Is he is not generous,

Nor can a man find anything

That is worth so much where love is concerned.

I do not conceal from you that your merit

Blinds Covetousness,

Nor do I hide from you that you give largely

To any lady that comes,

Because when she resembles you, she draws it from you,

And she sighs from the bottom of her heart.

She does not do it except by pretense

So that you will give her money,

And the joy, when covetousness is added,

Becomes nothing more than purchased love.

Therefore I beg you that the false sighs

May not have hidden you from her,

But when you see a lady of value,

Tell her that she comes from you in secret,

That if you give to her, she will give to you,

And she will keep you from perishing,

And then she will give you widely

Joy and merit and boldness."

Fin'Amor's eighth speech to Domneis:

"Domneis, whoever wishes you evil dishonors himself.

Through you poor lovers are armed,

And they go about in winter in the wind
In only their shirt and they are not cold,
and they behave more brilliantly
Than those who have too much money.
And if he is rich, he will pay court,
And take part in tourney and joust,
And he will speak more politely
With the poor man than with the rich,
In such a way that every man speaks
Well of him to his sweet lady."

"Discretion, you are certainly the flower
From which is born and grows the joi of love.
you do not want envy or rumor,
Nor was any lady ever beaten
Through anything that you said foolishly.

You do not even turn your neck to her
When someone is looking, nor do you pretend
That for nothing less you go about content.
And when it is the time and the place,
You make your games appear.

When it is gone, each one thinks
That you are a monk or a hermit.
You require your joi in peace;
You maintain joi and solace.
Through courtesy and honor
I give you the banner of Love.
"Sweet Company, a fine mistress
Is often welcomed through you,
And that thing which pleases her most,
Her handsome lover in her arms.

And she kisses him a thousand times on the mouth,
And when her beautiful body touches his,
She tells him for pure solace;

"Lover, do you dislike my arms?"

And he answers her: "Lady, not at all.

All that you do for me is very good.

My soul, my body, so I think,
Is in the middle of paradise:"

"Handsome friend, gracious and joyous,
If I am worth anything, it is so through you,

For never Gawain nor Soredamors,
Never Floire nor Blanchefleur,
Nor the love of Yseult and Tristan,
Compared to we two, were worth a glove."

"Beautiful Lady, as long as I shall live
You know that I will serve you purely,
For I do not wish that living or dead
Our love should be divided."

And they preferred to be dead
Rather than have a disagreement between them.

"Drudaria, you and Lord Merit
eleventh speech to Drudaria and Merit:

Who hold the keys to the castle,
Watch so that if these ten barons
Bring you any person,
You set him afire with love,

Watching night and day,
And may they never have any peace
Until their ladies have mercy on them.
If they take ladies two times stronger,
You will lead them to their death

Until they assure their lovers
That they do not have hearts hostile to them,
For very cruelly must men torment
The ladies, for they require much persuading.
And if lovers come here,

Ladies and lovers of great value,
You must make a very good welcome for them.
Seat them at the royal dais
And give them beds there in the tower
In my chamber of flowers."

The ladies' Request

When Love had with great leisure
Commanded and spoken her pleasure,
The ladies assured her
That all that she has ordered
They will do according to her desire,

So that they would not pass over a word.
More from her they wanted to learn:
Which love one must hold more dear,
And they begged her as their seigneur
That she protect them from dishonor,
So that such worthy ladies as they are
May have no blame in all the world,
And so that neither their merit nor their value
Be destroyed for them by False Love,
And that she tell them subtly
Through reason and judgment,
What to do in order to keep love,
And that which one must avoid.

Thus spoke Love: "I know good advice.
Lady Courtesy, whom I see there,
I require that she make this judgment,
Because she knows through what Love increases
And because she knows well that it is
The most correct thing in the world.
She will do it well without deceit."

Courtesy pledged her glove
And prepared to judge,
For the courteous man has himself beseeched
but little
When he sees that the place is suitable.
She is very great and her intelligence is
Then she spoke wisely and worthily,
Carefully were her reasons heard:

Lady Courtesy's speech:

"Seigneurs, through right and custom
Must Love guard her lineage,
For poverty with gentleness
Is worth more than pride with wealth,
Nor at her court does she need anything
But service with humility.
I will tell it to you briefly and well,
And I am right to abbreviate for you.

Fin'Amor is made of four things:
The first is good faith,
And the second is loyalty,
That her affairs may be hidden.
And the third is moderation
In speaking before knavish joking,
And the fourth you know is intelligence,
With which Love accomplishes all her desires.
This we must maintain
And guard with all our strength;
But the false bastard way,
That is followed by the people who were burned in the fire,
The traitoresses and prostitutes,
The fickle and vulgar women,
Who are their women and their love,
Is quite miserable and sorrowful."
Of them we must not speak,
Except only to blame.
This judgment, made by Love,
Is just, and no one can make a better one,
And he who wishes to contradict it,
You know very well that I would defend it against him,
And I would offer my champion,
If a knightly encounter take place."

The ladies have understood very well,
And in their hearts they retained
The judgment, and put it into a chart
So that they could forget it less easily.
Love has sealed it for them
With her ring of gold engraved with black enamel,
And she signed it with her right hand,
And placed it in the Earthly Paradise.
There Courtesy took it from Love
Gently in a casket.
She placed it very elegantly
In a place draped with samite,
And smiling she said to the barons:
"You have heard the judgment
That they have judged correctly,
But--for I know that you will be grateful to me for it--
I will tell you of such a place for love
Where many tears will turn into games,
And many games will turn into tears,
For such is the custom lovers have,
That they are gay when things are good,

And when they have the least little bit of
disquiet,
The laments and the tears and the sighs
Bring them nearly to death.
But the lover who wishes to conquer love
Must from now on demonstrate

His heart to his lady without complaint.
Thus she will be richer than the queen,
For you will not find one in a thousand
Who would not consider you as noble,
And who in her heart is not grateful to you,

So much so that she will not pretend to be
angry with you,
Because she will think: "Certainly I am not
ugly,
Since this man is willing to begin a vain wait,
And I would behave like a criminal
Since this gentle man thinks of me,

If I did not think of him.
But that I do not know since he does not reveal
[it],
Because he is hidden in his feelings,
For never does he wish to send a messenger to
me,
But on the contrary, he told it to me all alone
with his own mouth.

Well do I know that my love touches him.
Certainly I have a heart harder than a lion's
If he loves me and I do not want his service,
And I would commit a great sin
If he should die for my beauty.

But he scarcely seems a traitor,
Because, when he was declaring his love to me,
He turned three colors in an hour,
For he became blacker than a mulberry;
Then he became redder

Than the morning sunrise;
Then he became whiter
So that the color fled from him and the blood."

There you are taken into her consideration.
Therefore, the lover prepares to serve.

And if it no longer happens to him,
And he supplicates her with a true heart,
And says so that she can hear it,
And pretends to die:

The lover: "Lady, certainly I must adore you

For the great beauty that appears in you,
And the earth is sanctified, I know,
Wherever it has held your gay person."
And the tears pour forth,
So that he can hide his heart,

And he throws himself to his knees at her feet,
And he says: "God, glorious king,
Protect for my lady her great worth
And the beauty that was placed in her,
And permit her to have mercy

On the miserable man that she sees before her.
Lady, may God and mercy aid me!
Deliver me from this battle!
Do you not see that I am dying in front of you?
The eyes are leaping from my body,

So much have I hidden my love from you.
But if a little of this sorrow
Were felt by your courteous self,
I am convinced that it would earn me mercy.
Alas! What have I said? I am certainly to be blamed!

Beautiful Lady, may God protect you
From ever, through me, seeing
An uglier color in your mirror.
Toward me you can never be guilty,
But the treacherous eyes that have killed me,

They are truly traitors.
They love you more than their seigneur.
But they argue with me
That you will do great good for me,
Because such a beautiful person as they have shown me

Was not ever without humility."
Lady, so am I for attempting it. 
With a word you can make me rich; 
If only you call me 'lover,' 
Compared to me the richest are poor."

The lady: The lady answers carefully:

"Concerning one thing I am not at all distressed, 
Because in my opinion it would be well placed 
In you, if your heart thinks of nothing else, 
The love of a better one than I am."

But if I tell you so, I do not annoy you, 
Nor do I think that I will tell you 
At another time when I see you, 
Because you lovers, when you are happy, 
You forget the ladies, 

And every lady would be a sweetheart 
If it were not for this belief. 
At another time we shall certainly see. 
Remember me within the month 
So that I will do for you your pleasure, 

Because it will please me, if you come to see me." 
For the lover has an advantage to court 
His lady well and with gentle speech, 
And when he has served her for a long time, 
And she kisses him, well does she enrich him by it; 

For inferior love that the lady gives
To her lover, is when he wishes to go to bed.
When the lover makes arrangements with his lady,
He becomes vile and miserable
And he forgets to give,
To serve and to bear arms,
And if she wishes to hold him as worthy,
With respect she may make him rejoice,
And when she gives him her beautiful gift,
She may do what she knows so well,
So that when she has him in her arms,
He does not believe that it is true.
This is what loyal lovers claim;
He who asks for more does wrong.

After this good covenant,
It is fit that he keep his heart gentle,
And avoid speaking foolishly,
So that no one can blame him for anything.
And in one thing should he be a deceiver:
If he is poor, let him pretend to be rich,
For with a little beautiful embellishment
A man can cover his poverty;
And let him beware while he is angry
Lest his lady look him in his face;
Because every man, as soon as he is happy,
Is much more gracious in his manners.
To the domestics of her house
He promises and he bestows and serves,
And he greets them more courteously
Than if they were his close relatives,

555 So that his beautiful lady
May hear good news of him
And have courteous messengers.
But he must beware that no man
Speak better to his lady of his desire,

560 Or to womenfolk as well as to other people.
And he should give his lady gifts,
Sleeves, necklaces and rings,
Because everyone knows from experience
That friendship grows from praises.

565 And do not forget one thing:
Hear her praise her husband,
And say that he would be very worthy
If he were not a little jealous man,
And if she blames herself, however little,

570 The lover can tell her as well:
"Sweet Lady, by the faith I owe God,
You know him better than I do,
But I still believe that he has merit.
Because God requires otherwise in what belongs to you."

575 And with that, he arrives there where she is,
And if by chance it happens
That he finds her alone now,
He kisses and embraces her often.
And if she suffers herself to be forced
He takes his *joie* without waiting,
For the lady requires for her correct exterior
That the man use a bit of force with her,
That she not even say: "Do it to me."
But that he force her and she permit it.

Often he must talk to his lady,
If he can, or gaze at her from afar,
And show himself discreet,
Because she knows that he lives by her love.
Thus must the lover nourish his *joie*.

He who wishes to enjoy love.

The lady who wishes to be a sweetheart
Must be held henceforth
In the same way that a noble man is careful
Of the sparrow hawk when he carries it on his fist,
And watches that the plumage not be harmed.
She must watch that there not remain
In her face that which is not suitable,
But everything that is attractive,
And that she not put anything on it that harms it,
But well may she sprinkle it with rose water.
Because he who kisses her, overcome by great sweetness,
Believes she has a body full of flowers.
Of she herself she should be jealous,
She wants so much to be clever and ingenious,

Because every lady is pretty and dear
Who behaves carefully and attentively.
And she is entirely lost
If she is not treated well and nobly,
And her eyes should know how to please

What she will have seen.
With virtue and without trickery
She should demonstrate good company,
And below her wimple she appears
Merry, courteous and modest;

And he who comes to court her
Ought to speak and respond gently,
And must avoid through pure gentleness
Speaking a single word of impoliteness,
Of folly or of pride.

He who speaks gently both sows and reaps
Because he sows good instruction
And reaps praise and merit from people.
And he must watch that the words be chosen,
So that they will be better received,

With virtue and without trickery.
And she consents and is polite
Because her noble speech increases the number of her suitors,
Just as the rose grows and the flower,
Because a well-spoken lady
Will always be valued and honored.
And she must know how to welcome so gently
That, when the time for departure arrives,
Because they will have spoken with her,
The fools believe they are wise,
And the wise may say: "Sweet thing,
Your person is very full of joy.
Very well do you know how to gracefully mix
Courtesy and folly with intelligence,
And pride with humility.
Never would any man have tamed
A nightingale, such as you hear,
In order to do or say anything that is not suitable to you.
Your words have so much honor,
Some are good, the others are better."
She never deceives her lover at all,
And never may she speak anything but the truth,
Because a lady and purple cloth and samite
You find [have] something of the same nature,
Because the purple, once it is sewn
Can never again be cleaned,
Another's advice to the lady on grooming:

And no longer do you sit there upon it.
And a lady, once there is deception
Can not be taken again by deception;
Never again can she be courteous,

Nor, in the same way that one can gild tin,
Can she ever recover her merit.
And her locks are very prettily
Bound with a golden filet or one of silver.
A fine garland

Should prevent one curl from spreading over her forehead,
And they should be held together by a comb
And laced with purple or silk,
Except for a single curl, that one can see
So that everyone says with pure envy:

"Certainly they have honor and prowess,
Lady, those people whom you sustain."
And very straight and like a thread
And prettily subtle are
The eyebrows on her pretty forehead.

Her little chin is pretty and round,
Her teeth are hidden and small.
She has a pretty nose and red lips
Well made for kissing
Those whom God wishes to so honor.

She has a white neck and wears on her pretty hands
Gloves so that the villain may not see them.
She wears a pretty purse and belt
As if she was made in a painting,
And she appears pretty and slender
680 Below the pretty golden buckle.
Concerning one thing she must take care,
That she be well-dressed,
Nobly appearing and nobly cloaked,
Attractive by all appearances.
685 Her outer clothes should be beautiful:
The chemise that touches her body
Must be beautiful, fine and white,
Like the snow in winter on the branches.
Nobly she must be shod, and gently place her feet,
690 And she should go with ladies of great merit,
And with gentlemen who chide her.
She must speak sweetly and talk and respond.
The wimple should not be placed on her head
In imitation of a rich peasant woman,
695 But rather it should be prettily fixed
Over the beautiful combed hair,
And if she must go about with her hair in a braid,
She ties it with a red gold cord,
Because gold, her hair and the spring buds
700 All resemble each other in the same way.
She should keep herself sweet and bathe often, 
And she must be accompanied by cleanliness. 
Toward everyone she ought to be restrained and discrete, 
But her friend may be welcomed 

Where there is occasion and it is suitable. 
I have clearly told the convocation 
What the good lover will hold dear, 
And what will make the jealous man become enraged."

Courtesy: 

Courtesy said: "Worthy Lady. 

I am quite in agreement with you about this, 
For certainly the jealous man is in great torment 
Because, if he beats his wife, he is out of his senses. 
Then she thinks: "Now I will love 
Since I already have as much blame for it." 

And then it happens suddenly 
That he says: "Badly is my part played." 
He kisses her and embraces her; 
He then disturbs her and drives her mad 
So that she thinks: "He loves me a very great deal. 

He would suffer both right and wrong willingly." 
For nothing should one be jealous; 
Beating and courting are scarcely good, 
But let them go wherever their feet take them, 
And may good grace come to him."

Love, whom this pleased,
Arrival of Mercy

Has looked around her,

And she saw Mercy enter at a gallop

For she wished to be at the convocation.

And when the barons saw her

730 There was not one whom she did not know well.

Often she spurred the flanks of her horse;

Hardly could she stop.

She was sent by the lovers

To make a claim of Fin'Amor

735 Against the ladies of the communities.

All the vassals had many thoughts.

Then she dismounted to the court.

They all say: "You are most welcome."

And she responds: "And God save you,

740 Love, and all your barons,

And confound those that I see,

Covetousness and Pride,

Who up to this place have pursued me.

Ah, what a long time they have tormented me!

745 Love, they have damaged everybody;

Ladies have forgotten you.

Even if he were the son of an emperor,

If he is poor, he has no love at all,

But that one is honored without fault

750 Who promises money and gives it.
And when he has paid them their money,
And the false woman has put it away,
She says: "Now is not the season,
Another time we will send for you."

And she holds him in that balance,
And confounds his good hopes,
And when he no longer has anything left to give,
She mocks him and lets him so remain,
The proud one, may God strike her!

When I see the mantle of scarlet,
And the vair and the silk,
The dust that rises from her train...
The daughter of a miserable villain
Will make you lose a thousand lovers.

And Love must be humble
Where she is richer and more gentle.
And there was the daughter of a knight
And no other man sought her love,
She will say: "Certainly it does not happen to me,
Nor will I ever love a villain."

And he who so claims commits a sin,
Because each man is worth the king when he loves.
The lovers send me here to you
So that you may see their sorrow:
Through you they are dead and deceived.
Concerning them you are wrong and sinful,
And you perform your duty badly
If they do not have good reparation from you:
So that one may say that they have served
A good seigneur, remember them."

Thus spoke Love: "Ladies are
All the sweetest thing in the world.
I am theirs and they are mine,
And I know well that their follies
Remove protection from their affairs,
Because when a man says: "I give myself to you,
Beautiful sweet thing, without deceit.
I recommend myself to God and to you,
Lady. See my good faith.
If you do not accept me, I will die.
Miserable me, what have I said? Lady, may it not weigh upon you
That the great desire that holds me captive
Makes me discover suffering.
And if you make me die,
It pleases me, but you will have no honor from it
If you kill your servant,
Because I know well that in order to serve you
I was born. And when the sweet sighs
Torment me so much that I weep for you,
I drink the tears of sweetness
And I say: "Eyes, it is good that you were never born, for you have wept for my lady.
So that she is worth less for it." Thus she answers gently, and thus prettily she grants him mercy.

The lady: And says: "Friend, I am grateful to you for what you have presented to me.
And I wish that through me you may be of merit, and I will keep you gay and joyful."
And I will have retained his merit,
And the other will have made a gracious suitor,
And then if she knows wherein lies her honor, she can make him her lover.
I will do as much through you, Mercy, so that ladies put down pride,
But the proudest lady will love her lover rather than him whom she married,
And the lovers will be their seigneurs.
And bring them this flower, as a sign that I send them
That they will soon have what they wish.
The Covetous of whom you complain, concern yourself no longer with them.
Courtesy has judged them.
Those who seek wages
I have rejected from my company.
I do not wish that anyone be in their path,
For the lady who asks for money
Is a traitress and a merchant,
And the pirates from overseas
Do not know as much about robbery as she.
And if she gives me my pleasure
I must thank her in money.
I must not bring her honor
According to the judgment of Love."

Love stood up in the council
And all the barons did the same.
There Courtesy speaks of Love thus:
"Seigneur, why do you not wear a crown
Since you are king of all people"

They brought a crown to her,
Now Joi has crowned her.
The fountain began to flow,
And the shell to catch water,
So that no one knows anything
In the world that reconciled so many people.
The trees went to meet her in order to bow
Because they had seen her crowned.
From the meadow, violets and fleur de lis
Jumped toward her face,
And in all the world there was not a flower
That did not do what it could to honor her.
When she came to the entrance of the castle,
The birds began to sing,
And the fire of love to burst into flames,
And the maidens to dance,
And the lovers sing sweet lays.
Never was there such a powerful court.
They are seated at the dais now,
The flowers and the birds mix together.
In all the world there is neither song nor lay
That the birds do not sing in the palace.
Eating was not yet mentioned,
For no one knows potions or delicate foods
That are good for the bodies of men
That were not there in fit quantities.
When they are seated the watchman cries:
" Covetousness is dead and dishonored,
And we have defeated Pride.
And now the cuckold are careful,
Because my seigneur wears the crown.
Those have joy to whom she gives it,
And every man is unhappy
Who is not accompanied by you.
We have made the judgment
Of Love: a fool is he who does not learn it."
Love began to make the sign of the cross,
And before she started to eat
She said: "Glorious Lord God,
All of this joi I hold from you.
Lord, I thank your very great mercy
For the honor and the goods that I have."

When they have heard the first message
Laughter and Amusement came there.

They were jongleurs to Fin'Amor,
With Dame Grace their sister,
Who moves so gracefully,
Dancing with cymbals of silver.
They are so merry that their hearts fly from them.
The one had a harp, the other a viola.
Among the tables the lovers turn,
Bewildered by the great sweetness.
The maidens want to jump
From behind the tables in order to dance,
But Love has realized it,
That from laughter, she has moved her head.

"Let the jongleurs be heard,
For she wishes it, then at their entire pleasure
They may amuse themselves at their will."
Laughter:

And may the faith that they owe not weigh upon them
For in suffering one sees the courtly man!"

The jongleurs approached the king,

Laughter spoke before Amusement:

"Love, much cruel wrong is done you
By the malicious gossips of the line of Judas.
May an evil flame burn their tongues,
For the philosophers and the doctors
Judge gossips as traitors;

Whether their arguments are brief or long,
The whole or more will be lies.
Ah, God! How wrongly they have undone!
How many ladies and lovers have they parted!

Let the lover say: "Sweet chosen thing,

Much have I served you well.
All my goods and treasures
Will be your gentle self.
Now you will never be insulted
And so, Lady, what is my life worth to me?

Certainly it will be a hard thing for me and I will love
[Even] if your lovely face,
That makes the entire world resplendent,
Allows itself not to turn toward me.
But the gossips have done

Like the one who ruins the flowers
In the orchard which he wants to sell,
Because they cannot bear fruit.

 Joi was in bloom between us,
But the gossips have shaken it

So that they have left there neither flower nor leaf,
And so that the water that comes from the heart dampens
My eyes. But when the bad weather

Has lasted too long, and when it has rained very hard,
The sun and the pleasant days are more pleasing,

And for everyone it is a respite.

Similarly Joi grows and doubles
After suffering, and it is worth more.
Therefore I, Lady, do not despair,

Nor does God ever give me leave

That my desires may separate from you,
Even on the day that I will be ready to die,
Because when by chance it happens

That I sleep and I feel so good,
Lady, then I am with you,

And I contemplate your forms,
And I believe immediately that I speak with you
Privately, thus as I used to do,
And I believe that already you are taken
From the chamber in which you are secluded.

The great Joi makes richness for me,
And when I cannot find you
Such a great sadness comes upon me
That I marvel that I am not out of my senses.
Ah, God! What can comfort me?

When I remember the embrace
And the sweet kiss and the laugh,
My Beloved, well I ought to faint,
Because you are my sweet friend,
Like the rose with its thorns,

Because you are sweet and pleasant,
And you are calm among vile men."
Thus sighs the lover, and the beloved
Is so much dead and cheapened
That she does not dare to speak with anyone,

Nor gently dress nor gently speak,
Nor does she dare amuse herself or laugh,
Fearing that she murders him.
And she is in deep thought,
And in her heart she very often says:

The lady:  "Handsome Lover, will I ever be at ease
Unless I kiss or embrace you?
Not I. My amusements are failures.
The gossips have killed you and me."

Love, we will certainly take vengeance on them,

And carry shield and lance
Against the treacherous gossips,
Who take away the sweet loves."

Pleasure, the seneschal of Love,
Spoke in place of his seigneur.

He was very gallant, courtly and prompt,
And a wise man and a good lawyer.

Pleasure, the seneschal:

And he said to him: "Handsome good friend,
Gently have you spoken your discourse,
But all that you have recounted,

Courtesy has already judged today,
For she said that with intelligence and moderation
A man can have secure love,
And if the gossips are Marcos,
One must play the part of Salamos.

Nor will it ever be that the jealous man does not exist,
But I say that nothing matters
Because my seigneur is powerful,
So that never will either gossips or the jealous man
Pose any danger to the courtly lover.

On the contrary, their affairs weigh better upon them
For sometimes they cause such great fear,
That he will not speak where they can hear,
And just as gold is purified in the fire,
So this fear improves him

So that he will avoid speaking foolishly,
And with sense he will conduct all his affairs,
And if he comes looking for his lady,
She shall assume a welcoming expression.
To such a lady, it is scarcely a matter of concern
With what he covers his heartfelt joy."

Amusement:

Then spoke Amusement: "Great fault
Is committed by him who forgets his lady,
When he is honored with her gentle self.
He neither betrays nor deceives her,
But, on the contrary, he has kept her gay and joyful.
He makes very enviable gifts
According to her sweet welcome,
And he wanted to enrich her so much
That he has suffered from his love.

Now she has turned it into sweetness for him,
And she has given of her beautiful possessions,
Sleeves, necklaces and embroidered bands,
And if then he shows a truant heart,
He cannot defend himself against deception.

On the contrary, he imitates the traitor
Who is rich with the goods of his seigneur,
And who then uses his wealth against him,
And tries to destroy him.
Certainly he must not have a fickle heart.

On the contrary, he must keep his heart firm,
So that a good lady does not worsen.
On the contrary, she advances and improves steadily,
For I prize more the value and intelligence
Of the lady, than I do youth,

And just as fruit is worth more than the flower,
Value is worth more than beauty,
But when the song is good,
The bored jongleur leaves it.
Such a one I know who each season

Does not do for his lady what he knows is pleasing,
And he takes for himself later another girl friend,
And the other, who knows this, trusts him.
She calls him her lover,

For it is continually starving for joie,
The mouth that even requires one more."

"If God help me," said Dame Grace,
"Very badly behaves he who forgets his lady,
And badly behaves the lady who turns away
Her lover, then is left by him,

For never will she be so clever,
Once she becomes dishonored
By the one whom she would like to have taken.
She does not make the villain courtly
And seek his goods and his honor,

So that before the gossips
Have known or sensed it,
They would have his **joi** accomplished.
As the merchants pass by quickly
On the path where the narrow streets turn,
And when they are on a secure road,
They go gaily walking on it.
In the same way, the lady must not slowly
Take her **joi**, but should shape her ruses,
And she must watch that **Fin'Amor** be kept gay,
And that **Fin'Amor** not suffer by long pleadings,
And they do not amuse us henceforth,
And the birds are sending forth all their lays,
And they see if they gently blend,
The birds and our instruments.

He who after that hears the voices
And the **joi** that they produce among themselves,
Certainly he has a heart harder than a diamond."

-Honor and Valor and the Governess
Of Love, she who discerns nothing but **joi**,
Came to hear the song.
And they are dressed in one fashion,
In a white samite with little flowers
Of gold; they have crowns of violets.
When they enter the palace
You know that the court increases in value.
The Governess of Love has taken Honor; up to Love she has led her.
She had great joy when she saw her.
She clasped her to her bosom, intending to kiss her,

But her people make her suffer
For fear that she cause death among them,
Two or three, from pure envy,
Because the lady is such a beautiful thing.
And she said: "Lady, well would
My mouth be honored, if it had kissed you,
But I am not worthy, sweet friend,
That your mouth touch me honorably,
For everything that touches it is pure.
You hold me in such a bond,

That the more you kill me, I do not complain of it.
Why, beautiful lady, would you kill
The one who does not revolt against you?
Your sweet love spurs me.
Since you are beautiful, be good to me,

And do not be the bird hunter.
Who calls and deceives the bird with sweetness,
Until he has it in his net,
Then he kills it and destroys it and plucks it.
Lady, with your eyes brighter than a star,

Look, since she does not hide her heart from you,
At your servant who loves you so much.
She recommends herself to God and to you.
You are welcome a thousand times.
Great joy has grown in my heart,
For you are so fine and loyal.
Never will my heart find repose
Until you tell me how it will be
If your beautiful self will love me,
For I am your man in all ways,
Because Fin'Amor stirs up in my heart
A fire whose flame is sweet to me,
And which your beautiful self inflames.
And consider your honor,
What true lovers say,
For in you no one can blame anything,
Because you are beautiful and very merciful.
For fear I do not dare tell you more,
But may Christ give me your love,
As I, in good faith,
Dare seek it, my lady, and the good from you,
So that I cannot struggle against you.
You can pledge me or sell me.
Have charts and letters made of it.
I took my body from you and my fiefs,
And because I am the Seigneur of Love,
Lady Honor: Honor then answered: "I am certainly yours, Because I am not at all one of those who shows Pride while she is a young lady

1130 With fresh new color, And when these colors fail her, And she sees herself in her mirror, And she knows that she has waited too long, She looks for that for which she had been sought, And says: "I have certainly wasted my time. Never will I be able to have a lover." Then she anoints her face and rubs it, And believes she makes herself young, And she decorates herself more and besmears it,

1140 Since the beauty does not come naturally, Since there ladies have other follies, And since they look ugly with repugnance, May no gentleman trust A lady who speaks outrageous words. On the contrary, they must avenge themselves all the more, Because an honest man must not embrace her. A lady must not speak in any way but gently And sweetly and thoughtfully, And she must compose her phrases so gently

1150 That every man desires her company,
Advice of the Governess of Love to the maidens:

The Governess of Love sat down before the maidens and said:

"You know what a young lady must do when her good friend is with her, and Fin'Amor has so honored her that she has been in bed with her sweetheart? It is suitable for them that at the beginning she give him the gift of a kiss, and then with laughter and solace that she make a cushion of her arm, and with the other she embrace him closely, then she says: "May great honor come to you, Love, and great good fortune! A fool is he who complains of you, because if ever suffering comes to me through you, good from it is given to me as recompense. Dear Friend, you can see that I am completely at your pleasure, for you see that I do not keep myself from you, and you are so handsome and so good, that you will keep from villany.

Because the words that are strong reveal the desires of the body. For that reason she must not speak foolishly, the lady who strives for value."
Both your handsome self and your beloved.
In comparison to you, I do not want the king.
To your discretion I give myself,
And you know that where a young girl is concerned,
The man who abuses her has no honor.
Great suffering I have had because of you;
Often have I lost my appetite because of it,
And when I thought I was asleep,
Sweet sighs awakened me,
Because I was thinking, dear sweet friend,
And when I was awakened,
I said: "Unhappy that I was ever born,
Lord God, because it does not last all the time,
For then, at least, we were together,
I and my friend for whom I weep.
I can no longer bear the ardor
For Love kills me with perfect lust.
But it never happens that God does not see,
Friend, if you have betrayed me.
Since I have served you with all my power,
Do not act the thief who says,
When he encounters the pilgrim:
"You resemble a saint, good friend,
Your straight path is safe."
And when he has led him into the deep woods,
He takes his goods from him and kills him.
Friend, may I not be killed
In the same way, for I have obeyed you.
Before I felt good and gentle,

1205 But now I lose my heart and mind.
I can no longer suffer the sadness
Which makes my complexion turn ugly.
This evil I have had through you,
Friend, and God, who is honest and good,

1210 And merciful and full of courtesy,
Must know that I have loved without falseness,
And he will require that, between me and you,
We live a long time and love each other.
Take my hand that I may swear it to you,

1215 And thus I assure you,
That for all the days of my life.
I will not refuse you my love,
And you will swear to me the same,
That you do not sleep until late in the morning,

1220 For it brings in the middle of the day
The rain and the wind and the gloomy weather."

And he answers like a courtly man:

The lover:
"Lady, I know well that it is right,
And I tell you, by the saints that be,

1225 That as long as I shall live in this world,
I will love none other than you,
Neither publicly nor in private.
Love and Jeoi judged
Me and you by this covenant.

1230 Just as they are good and discreet,
They require that we keep loyalty,
And that between us there be no deceit.
To God and to you I commend myself,
And let us embrace, for it is fit,

1235 In the name of all good faith."
Thus the lady must be sure
Of the lover if she places her care in his
And when it comes to departure,
Immediately there is pain for them to suffer,

1240 When sometimes he dresses
And departs from her so early in the morning,
So that one knows neither evil or good,
But [it is] as if nothing ever was.
And she knows how to choose a messenger

1245 Who knows how to protect her so gently
That the word may be secret,
[And] that one not know when he had returned.
And in the morning, if she sees in the square
Her lover, she should give no sign

1250 That she has ever seen him before,
Nor that she knows who he is,
Because of the joy of love, the fruit and flower,
That with intelligence protects him and nourishes him."

There courteous noble Valor

1255 Teaches and says to the lovers:

Lady Valor: "Each man must certainly be noble and valiant
Once he takes pains to be a lover,
When once he has seen the beautiful hands
Of his lady through whom he is not villainous,

1260 Because the excellent lady with fresh color
Is a rose from the orchard of Love,
And she must make a choice
Of so many laws and so much teaching,
That they say: "Certainly the lady is considered

1265 Honorable, whom these men please,
And he whom she loves she has chosen carefully,
An excellent lover, noble and bold,
And a man in whom there is always improvement;
She devoted her care in a good place."

1270 After being chosen, he shall display so much prowess
That his frank and courteous lady
May speak privately with him,
So that when they are both
Together, very sweetly he may say to her:

1275 "God save you, beautiful sweet friend,
As the best instructed
And the sweetest that ever was loved.
And since God has transmitted to you
Honor and beauty and honesty,

Grace will never be taken from you.

Love, I lose so many evenings,
And for so much martyred agony
I am compensated that she may want to smile at me,
Or the sweet hand from the glove

She lets me kiss with a sigh.

Beautiful lady, your manners
Make me bold and fearful.
I am not so bold that in such a place
I dared seek company and games.

My eyes do not dare be so bold
As to look until I feel myself die.
Therefore I contemplate you with fear,
Like the serf [looks at] his angry seigneur,
Because he dares not ask for mercy.

But he weeps and thinks: "If I look at him,
Then pity will come from him
When he sees the great sorrow that I suffer."

Never will I have joy or happiness
Until your beautiful self aids me,

Because, by my faith, it is much too good for me
What you permit me than what another [woman] gives me.
Beautiful sweet thing, whom I serve,
I will always seem to you an infant
Who cries for the beautiful thing

All the while that he can see it
Until he has it. So will I do,
And if I cannot have you, I will die.
And everyone will say when you have me dead:
"His lady was very wrong to kill him,
But he will be saved at the Judgment Day,
Because he died for his good service."
Your servant claims your great mercy
Because you keep him in great irons,
From which he will never be freed

Until you deliver him with your beautiful self.
Without deceit and without fickle heart,
I give myself to your seigneury.
With hands joined, upon my knees
I commend myself to God and you,

For never since you have given me an interview,
Has my body been in repose.
Rather, if God gives me counsel concerning you,
I have asked the moon and the sun,
With justice, as my good seigneurs,

In the name of God, to shorten the length of my days,
For I want to see you so badly
That a few days seem to me to be a year.
Even in spite of the evil that you make me suffer,
I will not stop serving you.

To your great value and to your intelligence
And to your beautiful self, I give myself."

Thus spoke Valor.

Within the hearing of all, Love thanked her.
After her began Prowess,

Prowess: And she said: "I did not enter
This court to speak,
And I have heard everyone present,
In the name of Christ, good and beautiful arguments,
But I will tell you new ones

That are not at all suitable among you,
About what the foolish indolent lovers do;
For now there will come perhaps
A lover seeking good adventure,
Entered into the joy of Fin'Amor,

And he will go to seek his solace
Of a lady who is pretty and joyful,
And he will find her full of agony,
And he will begin to blush,

And he will do it with skill,

And very gently she will answer thus:
The lady: "Friend, you do not know with whom you speak; for never you nor any other Have I loved, nor do I know what it is. But if I undertake it, you are certainly so handsome and so valiant That I will make of you my sweetheart. And if you wish to have my gratitude In it, right here where it is begun, So bound as I conquered you, [Behave] so that in the least things and in the greatest, Villany will not be done or spoken, For I have not [yet] become your beloved." And he will look ashamed because of it. The lady who is worthy and excellent Will consider him as abased, And she will say: "Certainly of little worth Is she who will love you. You would be worth more as a hermit. You certainly belong to that lineage To which the foolish and wild lovers belong." And so was good love lost For there is no one who has pursued it, Because there are lovers who from folly Demand or seek love: The lover: "Because you know very well that I would love
Willingly, if I found a sweetheart."
He who wants to love may come here,
Because I know that he will be able to find
one,
For if he wants to place in it his aspirations,

If he wants one, he will have thirty.
It is fit for the lover that in the beginning
He ask much or send his prayers
Until it happens that he merits
A worthy lady, excellent and joyful.

If he cannot find her so soon,
He must not in the least lose courage for that,
For he who looks for gold washes
The mud so much and turns over the gravel
Until he finds the shining gold

With which he is rich and with which he makes
his treasure.
Therefore he must not be indolent,
Where prayers and service and tribulation are
concerned.
She will be the strangest in the world
If she will not give him her sweet company.

And after he has such a message
Let him speak and send his feelings
To those women who have desire for love,
But prettily and without evil intent,
And he will find as many of these

As the sky can have stars,
The lover:

For you will not find one to speak of
Who does not love the solace and the laughter
Of love, if ever she does not want it more,
And he may say: "Certainly Christ will not save me,
If I do not know, good and beautiful lady,
Who wears the crown of joi
Over all the lovers of the world."

1405

Messenger:

"And you will kiss my forehead
Quickly when I tell you,
For the youth that is in you
And the modesty that cannot distinguish anything
Will cause you to commit folly
Until it is thoroughly blamed twenty times,
But I praised him to you,
And I tell you that under the sun
There will not be a similar bachelor.
You could well be the summit of joi.
From sweet tree falls sweet apple
Which is quite welcome to both.

1415

Ah, how richly they behave!
So that if he wants to have good society,
Nobody will ever be bored,
And when he is with wise men,
He will benefit them all by reason.

1420

Never in the best days was one so good,
Nor so handsome with the least bit of pride.
I know that in your heart you know well
What I am telling you, and if you say no,
I know that you are not telling the truth,

1430 And I will put you at ease and leisure,
And I will beseech the seigneur so much
If it please God, that I will give you his love,
And if you do much that is beautiful and good,
I love you, and may my recompense

1435 Never be forgotten,
For I will give you great things for small.
I moved him the other day from afar,
In order to know if he would have care for it.
And I said to him, without your knowledge,

1440 That you sent him greetings,
And when he heard himself greeted
On your part, he could not speak
For some time, then he answered:

The Lover: "A hundred thousand thanks I give her on my part.

1445 As must the faithful servants,
With her laughter I consider myself paid.
Never more will I undertake love
For that causes me great fear,
That she might kill me with a sweet look

1450 For ladies have a dart in their eyes
With which they sweetly wound
So that while a man dies, he may not feel it,
For the merry person kills the courteous lover
Like the nightingale when it is caught

And cannot be with its partner.
Why do I go to beseech my lady
If, since she is honest and courteous,
Not for my sake but for the sake of nobility,
She greets me while her servant is dying?

If she does not perfume my heart
With a kiss, her sweet breath,
So that thus she can deliver me from pain?"

The lady because of you, made me weep
When I saw him change color,

For I knew by his pallor
That he would love you without deceit.
So I have begun without you.
Love him because he is handsome and good,
And do not do that villany to him

That women do through folly
Who have themselves petitioned for a year or two,
Because it is this wearisome beseeching,
Which they believe does them honor,
That takes their merit from them and diminishes it.

The lady: The lady will say: "Do not let it weigh upon you."
It seems that fate sends you back,
And through mercenary messengers
Many ladies commit bold follies.
They are blamed for them and betrayed.

1480 Well have I listened to your arguments,
And when I am able to see him,
I will know if you speak the truth,
Because if I speak within sight of people,
With him, it is foolish because they will blame me."

The Messenger: 1485 "Lady, well I know that it is through the truands
That fables and deceits are made,
And good men are discredited;
But Lady, if God help me,
I too am of poor origin.

1490 Loyal men are my relatives,
And I am of their lineage,
For I tell you, beautiful and gentle lady,
That if you trusted in me,
I would tell you in good faith

1495 That he will love you and you, him,
For I see that you will both die
Of love. Now you do not feel anything of it
But if you saw yourself clearly
By the color that you have lost

1500 You would say often: "For God's sake help me
That he may love me." Do not say yes or no, 
For I will speak further of this, 
And I will make you the most honored 
Lady of all this country."

The lady: The lady will say: "Soon I will see 
In what part I will place your heart, 
In deceit or in loyalty. 
If you deceive me, you commit a sin."

"Lady, on the contrary, I seek your good. 
Do you not believe me? Here is my faith, 
For I see in it your honor. 
Cursed be the traitors, 
Because through their efforts, I am discredited. 
Thus was my discourse lost, 
Because I have told you often that which is suitable for you. 
If you command that I accompany you 
With him, I tell you one thing: 
Love him more than Aia [loved] Landric; 
And what is a lady worth when she lives without love? 
A lady of your merit? 
Your color has changed entirely. 
I believe that you are suffering from a fever, 
But your forehead does not give off heat. 
You are not; on the contrary, it is the sickness of love, 
Which has held you for a long time."
Dead is he who does not take advice.
Assuredly you will not suffer your death;
I commend you to God. It is of less value there
to beseech the honest and the amorous,

And if you behave so that he speaks to you,
Be not at all of easy access to him,
But modest and of few words;
And the more desirous you will be
Of him, feign modesty,

But do not let him die of hunger
For anything that he knows how to request,
Because a man must adore and give thanks
to the lady when she knows how to receive gently.

If I could obtain this
I would believe I had conquered more
Than if I had made a pilgrimage overseas.
Never does anyone give me truce.
He who would want to blame your love,
May rather come to speak to me.

Because you both are very comely,
Handsome and young and well formed,
Everyone would praise it,
Your love, if they knew about it.
Furthermore, it will never be known,

Nor will the neighbors ever gossip about it,
Nor will anyone ever know of your affair
Beyond we three who are like brothers,
And Love who will be the fourth
Who will give us a glance."

And when it comes to evening time,
Her seigneur shall come soon to chat
As soon as he will have spent the day.
Before [this] he will not be tranquil,
Not until he belongs to Fin'Amor

Since he loves without a deceiving heart."

When Prowess had spoken her mind,
The lovers rose to their feet,
And each one bowed to his lady.
Then the caskets were opened,
And jewels were given as gifts and appreciated.
Those who were not considered pardoned,
Let no man know how to esteem them.
Heart and Desire and Sweet Regard
And Pleasure, all those that asked it,
And Kissing with which Love brands
The heart of the true lovers
And causes them to obey her commandments,
To Love they said with laughter:
"We want our agreement,
Seigneur, and in your honor
To dance within the view of your barons."

Love granted it to them,
And then commanded them:
"Go sweetly and prettily
And sing clearly, loudly and gracefully."

Thirty coffers all full of flowers
Were ordered thrown on the floor by Love
Who had them drawn from her treasury,
For it held neither silver nor gold,
And she does not touch either gold or silver,
But only those jewels that one does not sell,
That are not kept for gold.
On the contrary they are kissed by Fin'Amor
And wrapped in silk cloth,
Giving pleasure without money,
Without possessing anything, she conducts her business
Because she has all that is required in revenue,
For all that the emir owns
And the king, all is at her command,
Nor does she take from anyone pure,
For ladies make of them great covetousness.
Each lover tossed a flower to his lady.
Domneis went to take part in the dance
For he is skillful and has a lively heart,
And he brings each one a chaplet
Of roses, then he said with laughter:

"Love, a fool is he who forbids himself
And who every day of his life
Is not within your seigneury.

1605 Whoever, after that, hears the melodies
And the new words of the songs,
And sees the great gentleness
That each lover observes with his lady,
And the sweet laughter and the society,

1610 And the reverences and the hidden kisses,
The fresh complexions that they have,
And the beauty that shines in them,
And the pretty plaited coffers,

Certainly he is a villain and full of felony,

1615 He who does not become humble before Love."

The barons had beseeched Love
In the name of God, that the dances be ended
Because they could not suffer the joy
For they will nearly die

1620 When they remember the honored ladies

So that they do not dare give good greeting
To their lovers as these do.

Love commanded Pleasure
That he make them return to be seated,

1625 And that he have them prettily
Sir Pleasure:

Fanned with silken cloth,
Or splash rose water
On their faces to refresh them
For in the dance they have been warm.

1630 He takes great pains for them,
And then he said: "Certainly God has not seen,
Courtly people, who wages war against you!
For there is nothing that a man must honor as much
As a good lady to love truly,

1635 But by this my blonde head,
It will weigh heavily upon me, if Pride does not know
And the maid whom he maintains,
The strength that he has against me,
Because it will not be long

1640 Before they will see a thousand banners
[As many] as they could wish on a large field,
To claim to see with a clear eye.
Therefore I do not want to suffer the tumult
That ladies and lovers make,

1645 And if, Seigneur, you leave it to me,
It will no longer be permitted them in peace."

Sense was seated on a throne
And it pleases him much that Love wants
To wage war to maintain justice.

1650 He thinks that he endangers his fiefs
Sir Sense: And he said: "Before you move,
You call me to this need,
And you punish a folly
Committed by the foolish presumptuous lovers,

Who when he has conquered his lady,
Pretends to be so strong and boasts
So that one does not believe a man remains
In the city when he departs,
And he often passes before her,

Until the people gossip about him
And they say: "She is his mistress,"
And he considers the gossip honor,
And he behaves like the stag that the hunter
And the greyhound have just reached,

And it moves away confidently,
And it can escape from in front of everyone,
And it pleases it so much when it hears the baying
Of the dogs that turn and know nothing,
Until it is dead and restricted by all.

So in the same way he behaves when he rejoices at Foolish rumor; he betrays himself and his lady,
For indeed he ought to be of such conduct
That should his love draw his eye so much,
And make him look at his lady,

He must quickly turn his face,
And False Appearance turns Love into nothing,
And into blame by the people.
And you know well enough that Slander
Is just like the archer

1680 Who draws and wounds with his arrow
While the bird is singing.
In the same way the wearisome Slanderers
Wound the joyous lovers
With their tongues, may God hate them!

1685 And they make them die while they are living.
Why do you not punish them, good Seigneur?
Why do you permit both the foolish brute and the pretender?
For in the world there is not such a foolish thing
As the lover who feigns querulous penance
[penitent defense?]

1690 And the lady who trusts him,
Will be displeased that people laugh at her behind her back.
I have told you my view,
And henceforth you conduct your affairs.
And when you give the command: "Mount!"

1695 I will be among the first ones armed.
May every honest man see the vengeance
And lose God if he does not throw them
Into the fire, enveloped, buried together,
The traitorous cowardly slanderers,

1700 And the dishonored traitoresses.
Whose lovers have avowed them sold
Because they believed they found good faith there
And the false tongue spoke to them of good,
And they go about simply, like nuns,

And the false heart is full of lies.
Oh! Good people, true lovers,
All are dead who do not help you!
And you are full of gentleness,
And you find deceit and villany!

And who can suffer the sadness
When the eyes of a beautiful lady weep
From threats and slander?
And on the other hand, the friend should suffer
For he knows that they torment her because of him,

All the amusement that he has disappears.
Love, if you do not avenge all this,
Entirely is your merit abased."

Sir Youth: After Sense spoke Youth.
He was very clever, honest and valiant.

Gently pressed on his blonde hair,
The garland of fleur de lis

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NOTES TO TEXT

1. 4 ioi: Constans ioi.
1. 6 ioi: Mahn ioi.
1. 11 plenz: Mahn plens.
1. 12 guerre: Constans queira.
1. 18 a tors: Constans a cors, Chabaneau a tort.
1. 20 no1 laisson: Constans nollaisson.
1. 27 Qa: Mahn Qa tant, Constans Q[e] a tant Amors parlement. Read Qar cant Amors téns parlement.
1. 29 Ora zuzatz: Mahn Or azuzatz, Chabaneau Or auzatz.
1. 32 estaz: read estai.
1. 33 faz acordament: Constans faz[ia], Chabaneau acordament.
1. 36 nueit: Mahn nuetit.
1. 39 parlet: Mahn parler.
1. 41 som: Mahn and Constans son.
1. 45 Bon'Esperancha e Paors: Mahn bon'esper ancha e paors, Bartsch Bos Espers, Ancha e Paors.
1. 48 meton: Mahn meton, Constans meron. Although both forms are attested in Old Occitan, Chabaneau preferred meton. The manuscript is not clear, and the copyist writes r and t similarly.
1. 53 mou: Mahn mou, Constans mon [ta]?
1. 54 per mez: Mahn permez, Constans mei.
1. 58 denant: Mahn deuant. lo leit: Constans l’oleil.
1. 63 braisson: read abraisson.
1. 65 Totz temps: read E totz temps since the line is short one syllable.
1. 68 maint auzel: Constans maint[be] auzel.
1. 71 Z.el mei loc: read Ez.e1 mei loc.
1. 76 Las claus son: Constans Las clauson.
1. 77 cria: Mahn tria.
1. 78 Esta: Mahn esca. sa mia: Constans s’amia.
1. 79 la mia: Constans l’amia.
1. 80 ia: Constans ja.
1. 83 la porta: Constans la porte.
1. 86 le: Constans lo.
1. 87 om e1: Chabaneau om’el.
1. 88 Que cant qe es e cant fut: read Que cant qe es e cant que fut.
1. 91 lauries: read lauriers.
1. 98 Que tot lo mont ha a destreigner: Constans Q’a tot lo mont a destreigner, Mahn ad estreigner.
1. 103 senioria: Mahn semoria, Constans seinoria.
1. 106 que vol follejar: Constans que vol follejar, Chabaneau qui.
1. 107 Johanitz: Constans Johanitz.
1. 109 Don Iois: Constans Don ieu. For Iois read Jois (vocative).
1. 110 iei: Mahn iei.
1. 111 Us: Levy un. cellatz: Mahn tellatz.
1. 112 Si: read Sa.
1. 113 Si a el non s'ennanara: Mahn s'en vanara, Chabaneau Sia el jou (= joi?).
1. 127 deur'om: Constans deura.
1. 128 cors: Chabaneau cor.
1. 137 ioi: Constans ioi.
1. 139 serra: Constans serra[r].
1. 140 es pesz: Mahn espesz.
1. 142 Qu'ez mos amig e mos privatz: Constans Qu'ez mos amig[5] e mos prevatz.
1. 146 Manuscript Qa.
1. 151 envei: Constans enuei.
1. 152 Viulas, dansas: Constans Viulas e dansas.
1. 153 Joventz: Constans Joventz.
1. 154 Seigna vos: Chabaneau Segua vos.
1. 156 Meissaona is an irregular form of meisonar. The dipthonguization has not been explained so far. Italianism?
1. 161 la fassaitz: Constans lafassaitz.
1. 166 gran terre: read gran terra, although this destroys the rhyme and meter.
1. 167 no.m: Constans non.
1. 168 Eu te farai ton envei far: Chabaneau Eu be farai con eu vei and ton envei.
1. 172 Pueis la fatz tant enardir: Constans Pueis [el] la fatz tant enardir, Chabaneau [F] pueis and Pueis [vos].
Chabaneau felt that at least two verses had been omitted here. His commentary is confusing since his correction deals with the two lines immediately following 1.206. I do not think that two lines could be missing after 1.196 or 1.206.

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1. 237 ge m'escanara: Constans q'e [la] m'escanara.
1. 239 es: Constans es.
1. 242 plaia: Constans plaia.
1. 245 com aura: Chabaneau com aura.
1. 251 pesa: read proesa. The scribe often abbreviated pro as p, and in this case he forgot the notation Cf. 1. 255 and 1. 477.
1. 255 no u cell: Chabaneau non cal. pesa: read proesa.
1. 256 orba: Constansorda.
1. 257 Ni u cell: Chabaneau Ni (or Nius) cal.
1. 260 de prec on sospira: Constans re prec on sospira.
1. 263 iois: Constans iois.
1. 273 si aonitz: Constans sia onitz.
1. 275 invern: Constans ivern.
1. 279 cel: read s el.
1. 281 parla: Constans parla.
1. 283 Chabaneau pointed out that chadaus has three syllables. That pronunciation produces a nine syllable line.
1. 285 vos es la flors: Constans vos es ben la flors.
1. 286 ioj: Constans ioj.
1. 287 envei: Chabaneau enuei.
1. 288 ia: Constans ja.
1. 292 Constans read alatz calant, but Chabaneau corrected it to alatz talant. The manuscript clearly bears the first reading.
1. 297 ioi: Constans ioi.
1. 298 vos man tenes ioi: Constans vos mantenez ioi.
1. 300 doin: read don.
1. 303 Levy: E ce (=se) la ren qi plus li platz./Son bel amic a entrelz bratz...?
1. 306 Que qant: Levy E qant.
1. 308 enveia: Chabaneau enveja.
1. 313 ioios: Constans ioios.
1. 315 Soredamors: Constans no saup re d'amors.
1. 319 vivrai: Constans viurai.
1. 325 vos es: read vos e.
1. 327 Gardas qe s'agest dez baron: Constans Car das qes aquest dui baron.
1. 328 aduiszon: Constans adviszon.
1. 330 Gardan la nueit: Constans Gardan lo la nueit.
1. 331 hajon be: Constans hazon [null] be.
1. 332 ajon: Chabaneau ajon.
1. 333 Si preñon: Chabaneau si son donnas.
11. 335 and 336 amics and enics: Levy amic and enic.
1. 341 lor: read lor.
1. 345 Qant: the initial was left blank for the illustrator. Mahn restituted Cant. hacs: Constans hac.
1. 350 ia: Constans ia.
1. 355 com ellas son: Constans coma son.
1. 356 hajon: Constans hajon.
1. 359 soltiment: read soltiment.
1. 360 jugament: Constans jugament.
1. 365 aquest iugament: Mahn aquest, Constans iugament.
1. 369 Il lo: Mahn ille.
1. 371 E doba se de iugar: Constans E a doba se de iugar, Mahn jutgar.
1. 372 se fan: Chabaneau se fai.
1. 373 q’es luecs es: Constans q’ez, Mahn q’ez, Chabaneau luecs es and qez (for quei)es luecs.
1. 374 sos: Constans son.
1. 375 savis e pros: Chabaneau savi’e pros.
1. 379 paubresza: Constans paubrezta, Mahn paubrezta.
1. 380 ab rigesa: Mahn, Constans ab riquesa.
1. 381 res at: Mahn recat.
1. 383 breu e bon: Mahn ben e bon.
1. 384 breuia: Constans breujar.
1. 385 Fin’Amors es de qatre res: Constans Fin’Amors dis de qatre res.
1. 387 la segona lialtatz: Constans la segonda li altatz.
1. 389 Constans E la terza si es mesura. The manuscript does not show si.
1. 390 gad: read gap (joke, raillery), Mahn gnt, Constans grant, Chabaneau gent.
1. 393 Aquesta: Mahn aquesta.
1. 398 canaritz: read camzairitz (a fickle or changeable woman), Mahn camzairitz, Constans cantaritz.
1. 399 Que lor femm’es e lors amors: Constans Que lor femmes e lor amors, Mahn femes.
1. 401 deven: Constans deven, aquellas: Levy aquella.
1. 403 Chabaneau believed that Cortesia had stopped speaking and that the following lines including l. 408, were spoken by Amor, and consequently he corrected l. 403 to read Aquest jutgament,—fai s’Amor jutgament: Constans jutgament.
1. 412 oblide: Constans obliden.
1. 413 saiellat: Constans sajellat.
1. 414 niellat: Mahn mellat.
1. 415 sa man: Chabaneau son man, the noun being masculine in this case.
1. 416 Met li n'en: Mahn, Constans Met li non.
1. 420 pleiat: Constans pleiat.
1. 422 Aves ausat lo zutgament: Constans Aves auszit lo jutgament, Mahn ausit.
1. 423 Qan: Constans Qe, Mahn Qan. jutgat: Mahn zutgat.
1. 424 sai: Mahn, Constans, saz.
1. 426 and 1. 427 ioc: Constans ioc.
1. 432 aduiszon: Constans advison.
1. 435 dons: Mahn donz. ses taina: Constans s'esta[e]via.
1. 439 E q'el cor no.us en sapcha grat: Mahn e'el non sis en sapcha grat.
1. 440 non: Chabaneau von.
1. 441 soi: Mahn soz, Constans sov.
1. 444 pensa: Levy pesa.
1. 446 no's duij: Constans nos duij, Mahn nous duij.
1. 448 noim: Mahn, Constans, non.
1. 451 dra: Constans dur, Mahn dru.
1. 453 fazia: Chabaneau faria.
1. 456 l'amor: Chabaneau s'amor.
1. 458 ners: Mahn pers, Constans vers.
1. 459 sus: in Upper Italy, especially in the Venetian dialects, ipse serves also as third person personal pronoun, cf. FEW, IV, 810a. Or from French (elg)?
1. 460 mantz, masculine, singular of man (morning): Constans maty.

1. 461 Ag'eus devenc pus blancs: Chabaneau Et aqui eus devenc [ran] blancs.

1. 474 emblar lo cor: Constans emb [r] locor.

1. 477 pesa: Constans proesa. Cf. l. 251 and l. 255.

1. 481 dompna: Constans dompne.

1. 483 vos: Constans vous.

1. 485 haz: Constans hay(z).

1. 489 ge hai: Constans qu'hai.

1. 490 vos: Constans vous.

1. 496 aimon vos: French form, read amon, Constans aimon nous.

1. 501 aiso soj per l'asaiar: Constans aisi soi per l'asajar.

1. 506 soj: Constans soi.

1. 507 mie: read mieu.

1. 509 soz: Mahn soj, Constans soi.

1. 510 enoj: Constans enoi.

1. 512 Ab altra vez: Constans Ab altra voz. Cf. l. 517.

1. 513 Qe vos, drutz, quan vos es jausit: Constans Qe vous, Mahn Qe vous, drutz, quan vous esjausgit.

1. 517 veirem: Constans veiren.

1. 521 domneiar: Constans donnejar.

1. 524 E.l baisa, ben l'a enriquit: Constans El baisa ben la enriquit.

1. 525 This line contains too many syllables. Constans read Qel menre amors que si dons fassa, and Chabaneau corrected it to Qel menre amors que domna fassa, both of which are still two syllables too long.
1. 526 ge jissa: Chabaneau queî (=que i = que li) jassa.

1. 527 This line is certainly corrupt as it appears here and in the manuscript with nine syllables. Malvatz, l. 528, is correct but arozinatz is second person plural present tense, even though a third person singular is required with drutz as subject. Arozina would destroy the rhyme. Constans read aidzinatz.

1. 530 d'armas: Constans dar mas.

1. 534 Fassa o ge.1 sapcha tan bon: Constans Fassa aquel [li] sapcha bon.

1. 539 agist bon: Constans agist hom, Chabaneau aquest bon.

1. 540 q'il tenga sor cor gent: Constans q'il tenga sor cor gent, Chabaneau qu'el. For sor read son.

1. 548 la faz: Constans l'afaz.

1. 549 men: read mentre with Constans.

1. 550 belle: Constans bella.


1. 556 Auia: Constans Aia, Chabaneau Auja.

1. 557 haia: Constans haja.

1. 561 ci: read si.

1. 562 manias: Constans manjas.

1. 569 s'en blasma: Chabaneau l'en blasma.

1. 570 aitant: Constans al [tre] tant.

1. 574 Qar Dieus volc alte q'es a vos: Constans Qar Dieus volc alt en qu'es a voz, Chabaneau attenguës a vos.

1. 575 E anso: Chabaneau E am so.

1. 579 E s'ill: Constans sill.

1. 580 ioi: Constans ioi.
1. 581 Qe dompna: Constans Or dompna, Chabaneau Qar dompna.

1. 583 ia: Constans ja.

1. 584 forsa; sofra s'o: Constans força, sofriš o.

1. 589 ioi: Constans ioi.

1. 591 iausir: Constans iausir.

1. 593 dompna: read dona with Constans.

1. 594 Del sparvier: Chabaneau D'esparvier.

1. 595 plus ma: read pluma.

1. 599 Chabaneau (p. 93) remarked that no ie is an "exemple remarquable de la forme ie, si fréquente aujourd'hui dans les dialectes méridionaux." Constans read noi.

1. 601 Qe qui la baiza per gran dousor: Constans Qe qui l baisza per gran dousor, Chabaneau Qe qui la baisza per dousor.

1. 602 Cug q'haia l cors plen de flor: Constans Cug o'haja l[o] cors plen de flor, Chabaneau Cuge qu'ajal cors.

1. 604 Tant: Chabaneau Cant.

1. 606 Que se: Constans Ques. cointamen: read coindament? (Cf. l. 626, coindia, but l. 637 cointamen). For doubled is found also in Italian manuscripts, cf. E. Monaci, Crestomazia Italiana dei primi secoli con prospetto grammaticale e glossario, nuova edizione rivisitata e aumentata per cura di Felice Arese (Rome and Naples: Societá Editrice Dante Alighieri, 1955), p. 625a.

1. 609 E l'oïls: Constans E loing.

1. 612 demostro: Chabaneau demostre.

1. 614 faire: Constans g[au]di re.

1. 615 cortejar: Constans cortejar.

1. 623 gars: read gart with Constans.

1. 625 This verse is a repetition of l. 611.
1. 626 e: Constans el, Levy et.
1. 627 son: read sos.
1. 628 rasa: read rosa, cf. 1. 50. Chabaneau Si com lo ros acreis la flor.
1. 630 pros: Constans prou.
1. 636 loi: Constans loi.
1. 640 hauri'hom: Constans haurihon.
1. 641 auiès: Constans auiès.
1. 642 desconvenies: Constans desconvenies.
1. 645 tricha: Chabaneau triche. Constans inserted an initial E.
1. 648 alques: Constans alques.
1. 650 jamais: Constans jamais.
1. 651 On plus la non lai sezes; Chabaneau On plus lav[ar] om lai (-la i) fezes.
1. 653 Ni: Constans N'i.
1. 655 com pot estain durar: Chabaneau c'om pot estain daurar. The manuscript clearly bears the former although the latter is the preferable reading.
1. 656 jamais: Constans jamais.
1. 660 s'en espenda: Levy s'en espanda.
1. 662 enolt (from enoldar 'to enlace'): Constans ab vel, Chabaneau e volt and evolt de (involuti).
1. 663 veia: Constans veja. 1. 664 enveia: Constans enveja.
1. 671 and 1. 672 Italianisms, menudetas and vermelletas: read menudedas and vermelladas?
1. 675 sas bellas mans: Chabaneau sos bels mans. Cf. 1. 415.
1. 676 no.la: Constans nos.
1. 679 dolguda: Constans delgada. Read dolgada.
1. 680 boca: Constans loca, Chabaneau bloca.
1. 687 se: read e (s due to the liaison with sotils).
1. 688 uvern: Constans ivern.
1. 690 E an ab domnas: Constans Can[t][es] ab domnas.
1. 695 An: Constans Am[s], Chabaneau Ans.
1. 699 l'aur, pel e li boton: Constans l'aur[i] pel e li boton.
1. 702 so compain: Constans s'acompain.
1. 703-705 Chabaneau believed there was a lacuna before these lines. It is possible that these verses are corrupted.
1. 709 dompn: read dompna.
1. 714 n'hai: Constans i hai.
1. 716 Mals es ma parte fait: Constans Mals esma, part e fait.
1. 717 E el: Constans Cel.
1. 721 serion: Chabaneau seri'om.
1. 722 non ges bos: Constans n'es ges bos.
1. 723 los: Constans lor.
1. 724 venia: Constans venja.
1. 725 a grat: Constans agrat.
1. 730 No i: Chabaneau Nol.
1. 731 polsa: Chabaneau polys'a.
1. 732 non es stancs: Constans non es[e]stancs.
1. 733 trameto: Constans tramonto.
1. 736 Molt cuitas c'a tost le vasals: Chabaneau Molt
cuitas (=cuitatz) tost lo vassals. Read Molt
cuitas an tot los vassals.

1. 741 Aquiels ges eu vei: Chabaneau aquels ques eu vuei.

1. 742 Orguei: Chabaneau Orgueil.

1. 747 c'era: read s'era with Constans.

1. 748 S'es paupre, gens non a d'amor: Constans Ses paupre
gens non a d'amor.

1. 750 e.]l: Constans el[s].

1. 754 trametrem: Constans trametren.

1. 755 l'en: read l'en.

1. 757 ge: Constans que.

1. 765 esse: read esser.

1. 771 e'enaisi i clama: Chabaneau s'enaisil.

1. 772 ge: Constans gez. The scribe wrote gë.

1. 773 aici·m trametom: Constans aici intremetom.

1. 785 garen: Constans garen.

1. 792 ten pres: Constans tenpes.

1. 799 ge: Constans que.

1. 801 bona feses: Constans bon(a) foseses.

1. 803 The manuscript, which bears a considerable variety
of punctuation, clearly shows a period within the
line after the word mens, which is the Constans
also read the line. Chabaneau corrected it to
q'en val mens s'ellal respon gent? and remarked
that Amors has begun speaking again at this point.

1. 804 ge: read se.

1. 805 sai: Constans sai.

1. 806 co: Constans go.
1. 808 ioios: Constans ioios.
1. 814 dopnas: Constans dompna.
1. 816 cui esposa: Constans cui es esposa.
1. 823 Cortezzia, las atzinadas: Chabaneau Cortezzia las a zujadas.
1. 824 qeron: Constans queron.
1. 825 Er getat de ma companna: Constans Ez getat de ma compania, Chabaneau Ei getat (habeo).
1. 838 Seiner: Constans Senier. Chabaneau corrected portes to portas and translated gar as 'pourquoi'.
1. 843 fontaina: Constans fontania.
1. 844 retenir: Constans reten[t]ir.
1. 846 mo: read mon. ga: read que.
1. 848 avia: read avian with Constans.
1. 858 jamais: Constans jamais.
1. 859 si asezon: Constans s'asezon.
1. 863 maniar ia: Constans manjar ia.
1. 866 aia: Constans aia.
1. 869 havem: Constans haven.
1. 871 mon senior: Constans mossenior.
1. 872 ioi: Constans ioi.
1. 875 havem: Constans haven.
1. 878 maniar: Constans manjar.
1. 880 ioi: Constans ioi.
1. 883 aiutz: Constans a[i]jutz, Chabaneau ajutz.
1. 891 viras: read viran.
1. 893 cuion: Constans cujon.
1. 898 _joglar_: Constans _joglar_.
1. 901 _fe qu'il devon_: Constans _E[1] fe[s] qu'il devon_.
1. 902 _Q'am'l_: Chabaneau _Qu'al_.
1. 903 _joglar se proschon del rei_: Constans _joglar s'aprochon del rei_.
1. 906 _Li lausengiers de lin iutas_: Constans _Li lausengier(s) de l'invitas?_, Chabaneau _del lin Judas_.
1. 918 _jamai laidida_: Chabaneau _jamai l'ardida_.
1. 921 _Se lla_: Constans _Sella_, Chabaneau _Se la_. convinens: Constans _convinent_.
1. 924 _Faita an li lauseiador_: Constans _Fait o an li lauze[n]jador_.
1. 925 Possible metathesis: for _damnia_ read _damnia_.
1. 926 _sordeiar_: Constans _soldejar_.
1. 933 _ge za feit_: Chabaneau _quez a fort_.
1. 934 _jorns_: Constans _jorns_.
1. 939 _ia_: Constans _ja_.
1. 940 _Qe de vos sparton mei deszir_: Chabaneau _Qe de vos parton and De vos separton_.
1. 944 _soz_: Constans _soi_.
1. 950 _ricedar_: Chabaneau _ric e clar? and riche bar? Ricedar is a scribal error _ricedat_.
1. 952 _emdeven_: Constans _men deven_, Chabaneau _m'endeven_. Cf. Monaci, _op. cit._, no. 24, l. 176: _m_ for _n_ is attested in the early thirteenth century in Italian manuscripts. Cf. also l. 1274.
1. 957 _deuria_: Constans _devria_.
1. 959 _raza_: Chabaneau _roza_. Cf. l. 50.
1. 963 _venduda_: Chabaneau _vencuda_.
1. 964 _omen_: Constans _ome_.

Cf. M onaci, _op. cit._ , no. 2
1. 967 haia: Constans haia.

1. 972 Constans read this verse as one sentence: Eu non (?) faillit son mei deport.

1. 974 penren en ia: read penrem en ia.

1. 975 portarem: Constans portaren.

1. 982 ha li dit: Constans li ha dit.

1. 985 iugat: Constans iugat.

1. 994 ceran: Constans feran; read seran.

1. 995 Ans lur pro: Constans Ans [tol] lur pro.

1. 997 auien: Constans auien.

1. 998 fluëc apparently represents a contamination of the word fuëc with the word flama.

11. 1003-1005 Ill faz vezé lur bel semblan./Ab tal don gaere no li cal/A qe cobre son ioi coral: Chabaneau El fai, vezé lur, bel semblan/A tal don gaere no li cal./ Ab qe cobre son ioi coral.


1. 1009 Chabaneau wrongly remarked (p. 95) that "El est pour il (elle)."

1. 1010 iausen: Constans jauzen.

11. 1011-1012 Fait tan envejos prezen,/Coves de son bell acuillir: Constans Fai de tan envejos prezen,/Coves de son bell acuillir, Chabaneau E fait tan envejos prezen/Con es de son bell acuillir.

1. 1015 lo i: Constans loi.

1. 1018 si i: Constans s'il.

1. 1019 desfendre: Chabaneau deffendre.

1. 1025 Antz deu tener: Constans Antz deu [el] tener, Chabaneau Antz li deu tener.

1. 1027 peiura: Constans peijura.

1. 1028 mais: Constans mai.
1. 1030 * ge: Constans que.
1. 1031 * ge: Constans que.
1. 1033 ioglar: Constans ioglar.
1. 1034 Aital sai: Constans Aital fai.
1. 1035 * ge, l: Constans quel.
1. 1036 autra mia: Constans autr'amia.
11. 1037-1038 Ni autra, qi cosapchatz, si fia./Ell'apella son amador: Constans Ni autra cosa cui si fia./Ell'apella son amador, Chabaneau Ni autra, qi cosapcha, s'i fia/Ell'apella son amador.
1. 1039 de jo'i deijunia: Constans de jo'i de l'una, Chabaneau de jo'i dejunia.
1. 1041 m'aiut: Constans m'aiut.
1. 1043 delonza: Constans de lonja.
1. 1044 es conia: Constans esconja.
1. 1045 ia: Constans ja.
1. 1049 percaz: Constans perjaz, (fr. pourchaz), "qui est pour perchaz (fr. pourchasse)."
1. 1050 li lauzeniador: Constans li lauzeniador.
1. 1051 hajon: Constans hajon.
1. 1054 tornan: Constans tornan, Chabaneau torna[n].
1. 1057 Atressi dompna non deu alen: Constans Atressi dompnan deu, alen, Chabaneau (p. 95) "rétablir non, dont la suppression fait un contre-sens, et corriger len."
1. 1058 * ioi: Constans ioi.
1. 1059 E deu gardar * ge Fin'Amors gaia: Constans (E) deu gardar que Fin'Amors gaia. Chabaneau remarked "supprimer plutôt que ou fin que E," but the line remains too long in either case.
1. 1060 enplaidar: Constans en plaidar.
1. 1061 E nos deporton nos oimais: Constans E nos deport on [de] nos (oi)mais, Chabaneau deportem nos oimais.

1. 1063 E veian: Constans En veian, Chabaneau E vejam.

1. 1065 au las voz: Constans aulaz vos.

1. 1066 ioi: Constans ioi.

1. 1067 Chabaneau remarked (p. 95) that "la lacune ne doit pas être très considérable. Peut-être ne manque-t-il qu'un vers, dont le sens doit être s'il ne se laisse émouvoir ou s'il ne devient amoureux."

1. 1068 e.l: Constans è.

1. 1069 ioi: Constans ioi.

1. 1077 deiost'Amor: Constans de jost' Amor.

1. 1078 ioi: Constans ioi.

1. 1082 enveia: Constans enveja.

1. 1084 roz: Constans fos.

1. 1087 Qe tanha d' onor: Constans Qe tanha d' Onor, Chabaneau Quem tanha donar.

1. 1101 Le: Constans lo: qe: Constans que.

1. 1110 Levy (p. 239) preferred that Fin'Amor be written here in lower case.

1. 1116 Qe bella es: Constans Que bell'es.

1. 1120 L'aus quer, mi don, e.l de vos be: Constans Laus qu'er mi don el de vos be, Levy L'aus querrem don el de vos be.

1. 1124 Mos cors: Chabaneau Mon cors.


1. 1128 aqil: Constans aquel.

1. 1129 iovecennla: read iovecella. The manuscript bears iovecella.

1. 1139 peizura: a combination of peijurar (<peior) 'to worsen' and peitz (<pix, Old French peiz) 'pitch'? Or simply z for [dz]? This combination is not attested elsewhere.
1. 1141 Que donnas i ha: Constans Que donnas i ha. Chabaneau Est donnas i ha.

1. 1142 Que paron laide ande non vuél: Constans Que paron laiden de novel. Chabaneau Que parlon laid, e ja (ou laidang'e) non vuél. ande: ( apud ab de). cf. PEW, XXIV. 2, 63a. nonvuél: 'repugnance', cf. PEW, XIV. 217a where Old French desvueil 'repugnance' is attested in the fourteenth century.

1. 1145 veniar: Constans venjar.

1. 1165 estrenia: Constans estrenia.

1. 1166 venia: Constans venia.

1. 1181 Gran: Constans Grant. hajut: Constans hajut.

1. 1182 maniar: Constans manjar.

1. 1183 cuiava: Constans cujava. 1. 1185 Que: Constans Que.

1. 1192 enveia: Constans enveja.

1. 1193 Mais ja non er que Dieus non veia: Constans Mais ja non er que Dieus non veia.

1. 1198 De sains: Constans De segur.

1. 1199 Sains: Chabaneau Desains.

1. 1208 hajut: Constans hajut.

1. 1211 Sab g'eu.s: Constans Sab qu'eus, Chabaneau qeus.

1. 1213 tenps: Constans temps.

1. 1214 la man: Constans la man. iur: Constans jur.

1. 1215 enaisi: Constans enaisi.

1. 1216 Que za: Chabaneau Qez a.

1. 1217 no.us...genchida: Constans vous, Levy jauzida.

1. 1218 iuras: Constans iuras.

1. 1220 iorn: Constans iorn.

1. 1221 plueia: Constans plueja. tenps: Constans temps.
1. 1312 Grans merces vos: Constans Gran merceus.
1. 1313 Qe per vos lo ten en gras fers: Constans Que (per) vos lo ten[e] en gra[n]s fers.
1. 1314 non sera fors: Constans non sera el fors.
1. 1315 engent: not attested elsewhere.
1. 1316 volatge: Constans volatje.
1. 1318 jointas: Constans jointas.
1. 1320 Qe anc pos vos me donestes jorn: Constans Q'anc, poss non me donesses (?) jorn, Chabaneau pos von (vos en, or simply vos) me dones (= donetz) ces (= cest) jorn, "c'est à dire, 'depuis que vous m'avez donné un rendez-vous.' Donar cest jorn ou aquest jorn était une formule juridique signifiant 'assigner un jour'."
1. 1321 sojorn: Constans sojorn.
1. 1324 coma: Constans com a. Levy remarked (p. 239) that coma was preferable "puisqu'il y a au vers 1328 [Constans' numbering--here l. 1323] la luna el soleill." The scribe may have inverted bons and mos. A more normal word order would be coma mos bons seinors.
1. 1325 breugesson: read breugesson, imperfect subjunctive of breujar, 'to abridge.' lo iors: Constans lo cors.
1. 1327 sceemblana: Constans sceemblava.
1. 1329 laissarai: Constans la(i)ssarai.
1. 1333 Auien: Constans Aujien. merceia: Constans merceia.
1. 1335 soj: Constans soi.
1. 1343 Un drutz enger: Constans Un[s] drutz, en q'er.
1. 1344 ious: Constans ious.
1. 1346 qe.z er: Constans q'er.
1. 1351 cui: Constans cui.
1. 1352 *autrui*: Constans *autrui*.
1. 1353 *ges es*: Constans *ques es*.
1. 1354 *s'ieu*: Constans *se ieu*.
1. 1358 *Ins aisi on*: Chabaneau *Enaisi on*.
1. 1359 *Si lasat g'eu vos vencus*: Constans *Si lasat z qu'eu vos u encus (?)*, "U prononcez ou-hoc latin," Chabaneau *Si fresatz qu'eu nos (z no vos) o encus*.
1. 1360 *Qe*: Constans *Que*.
1. 1363 *parra*: Constans *pa [r] tra*.
1. 1372 *aia*: Constans *aja*.
1. 1373 *i ha ge*: Constans *i ha que*.
1. 1374 *geran*: Constans *queran*.
1. 1375 *Qe*: Constans *Que*; *g'eu*: Constans *g'ieu*.
1. 1379 *i vol*: Constans *i vol*.
1. 1381 *De drut conven c'al comensar*: Constans *De drut conven. Q'al comensar*.
1. 1383 *Tro qe s'avenga e s'eschaja*: Constans *Tro ques avenga es eschaia*.
1. 1385 *E si non la port tan tost trobar*: Constans *E si no. pot tan tost trobar*, Chabaneau "rétablir non la et supprimer E ou tan."
1. 1387 *Qe*: Constans *Que*.
1. 1389 *truoba*: Constans *truéba*, *luzant*: Chabaneau *luzent*.
1. 1394 *Si li.n*: Constans *Si lui*.
1. 1395 *Q'aiha*: Constans *q'aiha*.
1. 1399 *d'agelas*: Constans *d'aquelas*.
1. 1405 Constans omitted the comma after *sai*. 
1. 1406 ioi: Constans ioi.
1. 1408 bauszares: Constans baiszares.
1. 1410 estaz: Constans estai(z).
1. 1417 ioi: Constans ioi.
1. 1418 chiaj: Constans chiai. Constans felt that there was a lacuna after this line, of perhaps two verses.
1. 1421 sel: Constans s'el.
1. 1422 Ja hom: Constans Jamais. enoiatz: Constans enojatz.
1. 1423 E quant es ab sabia gen: Constans E quant el es ab sabja gen.
1. 1424 aprodera: Chabaneau apodera.
1. 1427 saz: Constans sai.
1. 1432 vos darai: Constans non dara i, Chabaneau von dara, "à la rigueur, darai pourrait rester."
1. 1434 Vos am, e lo mieus: Constans Vos am e[n]lo mieus.
1. 1437 l'altru: read l'altru[r] with Constans.
1. 1439 E i dis: Constans E i dis, Chabaneau E li dis.
1. 1442 mais: Constans mot.
1. 1445 desson: imperfect subjunctive for deguesson. endompneiatz: Constans encompnejatz.
1. 1456 Per que vai: Constans Per que vai.
1. 1458 Constans omitted this line.
1. 1462 Qu'enaissi:m: Constans Qu'enaissimm.
1. 1463 fa. Constans faï, Levy feï. Levy remarked (p. 239) that "M. Chabaneau a émis la conjecture que le discours de l'amant finit qu'aux vers 1469 [1463 in this text] avant lequel il y aurait une courte lacune, qu'il faudrait alors y transporter les points et les guillemets du vers 1468 [1462] et corriger Clar conogui au vers 1471 [1465]. M. Constans s'est rangé à cette opinion, et dans le tirage à part de son travail, il imprime comme suit:
Qu'enaissim pot gitar de pena

.................................
Lo zou[s] de vos mi fai plorar
et, au vers 1471 [1465], Clar conogui.... Je crois que M. Chabaneau s'est trompé et que M. Constans a eu tort de changer la ponctuation. Le discours de l'amant finit au vers 1468. 1462 : 'Car ainsi elle pourrait me délivrer de peine'. La messagère, car c'est elle qui parle à la dame (cf. vers 1491, 1410), [1395, 1414 in this text], après avoir rapporté les propos de l'amant, continue: "La joie, à cause de vous, me fit pleurer quand je vis qu'il changea de couleur, car je reconnus à sa mine qu'il vous aimerait sans tromperie.'" In a note on the same page Chabaneau wrote: "M. Levy a raison. C'est le fai (indicatif présent) du vers 1469 [1463] rapproché de vi (parfait) du vers suivant, qui avait causé mon erreur. Grâce à la correction de notre ingénieux collaborateur, tout devient clair dans ce passage, et il n'y a plus de doute que la première leçon de M. Constans, sauf pour ce fai, était la bonne."

1. 1470 Que. Constans Que.

1. 1475 No.us mais pes: Chabaneau Mais nous pes (where mais pourvu que?). "C'est une formule polie. Peut-être n'y a-t-il rien à changer, le sens au fond restant le même."

1. 1476 Sembla que.1 faz vos trameses: Constans Sembla quel sal vos trameses, Chabaneau qu'el sai.

1. 1477 mesatje logadit: Constans mesatje[s] logadit.

1. 1479 repszas: read represzas.

1. 1486 falas: Chabaneau faulas.

1. 1489 Sitot me soï: Constans Sitot me sai, Chabaneau Sitot me soï. Old Occitan sitot 'also, too' is not attested elsewhere, but rather the synonymous et tot, cf. PEW, XIII, 2, 125.
1. 1490 Liai: Constans Li al.
1. 1491 soi: Constans soi.
1. 1494 irai: read dirai.
1. 1497 D'amor. Orus vos non sintez re; Constans D'Amor. Or vos non sintez re, Chabaneau D'Amor, on (ou mieux e) vos non (=no en). Orus is an inexplicable form; perhaps for Ores?
1. 1498 vos vos veizatz: Constans vos (nos) veiziatz.
1. 1500 Por: read per, cf. l. 1293. Chabaneau Vos diriaz pro: Dieus m'ajuda... The manuscript clearly bears a period after diriaz.
1. 1502 parlaraij: Constans parlarai.
1. 1507 En enengan ou en liautat: Constans E[m]vengan [sa] on en liautat, Chabaneau En enengan on en.
1. 1511 i: Constans i.
1. 1513 Qe: Constans Que.
1. 1518 Amatz lo mais c'Aia Landric: Constans Amatz lo mais c'Aia band ric, Levy Amatz la.
1. 1519 E ge: Constans E que.
1. 1521 Tot'es: Constans Tot'es.
1. 1522 ge: Constans que. soclamada: Constans remarked (p. 271, n. 1) that this word is possibly derived from subclamata in the neuter sense of 'qui se plaint', and seems to signify in this case 'qui a le délire de la fièvre'. Italianism, cf. Old Italian socchiamare, 'chiamare sotto voce', 'to moan', (14th century, C. Battisti, G. Alessio, Dizionario etimologico italiano, V. 3522b).
1. 1523 vos no.s: Constans no vos.
1. 1525 tenguda: Constans cenguda.
1. 1526 *Mota: 'goat without horns'? Cf. FEW, VI, 3, 297b; hence, 'hornless,' or perhaps 'stupid'? Constans assumed that the scribe had omitted a letter and restituted morta. This is perhaps a preferable reading since the subject of the next verse is death.

1. 1527 *soffriraz: Constans soffrirai.

11. 1533-1534 *Con pus seres enveiosà/De lui, feines vergoinosa: Constans *Con pus d'el serez envejosa,/De lui serez mens vergoinosa, Chabaneau *En pus serez envejosa/De lui, feines vos vergoinosa.

1. 1535 *Mais non laisse ges famar: Constans *Mais no.1 laisse ges s'a [fam]ar, Chabaneau faniar, fadiar? "s'a [fam]ar paraît inadmissible."

1. 1540 *cuaria: Constans cujaria.

1. 1544 *Mais vengan: Constans *ja mais vengan, Chabaneau *Mais non venga?

1. 1551 *Ni non: Constans *Si non.

1. 1553 *qi: Constans qui.

1. 1556 *comdar: Constans condar.

1. 1558 *Ja anseis: Constans Ja enseis.

1. 1559 *ge s'eschiaza: Constans ques eschiaza.

1. 1565 *joas: Constans joias.

1. 1566 *Qi: Constans Qui.

1. 1567 *prez: Constans pres.

11. 1568-1570 Constans printed the names of these personifications in lower case.

1. 1569 *E Plaszer: tug cil q'ho demanda: Constans *E Plaszer, cug, cil q'ho demanda, Chabaneau tug cil q'hom.

1. 1570 *o'Amors: Constans qu'Amors.

1. 1576 *veian: Constans vejen, Chabaneau vejen or vezen.
1. 1584 j: Constans j.
1. 1586 Si non sei joias; Constans Si non sol joias, Chabaneau Si non so joias.
1. 1590 Plaçers faire sensa moneda; Constans Plaçers faire re sensa moneda (?), Chabaneau Plaçers faire son sa moneda (?). "Le pluralité du verbe s'expliquerait par l'idée de pluralité contenue dans le sujet." Levy Plaçers faire sensa moneda, /Ses tot aver fai sa fazenda 'de faire des plaisirs sans monnoie [sic], sans avoir, cela fait son affaire'. " (p. 239)
1. 1593 Qe: Constans Que.
1. 1594 rej: Constans rei.
1. 1595 de mer: Constans d'amor.
1. 1602 qi: Constans qui.
1. 1603 jorns: read jorns with Constans.
1. 1608 sa mia: Levy s'amia.
1. 1613 Chabaneau remarked (p. 98) that "il ne paraît pas manquer ici plus d'un vers."
1. 1614 Ben es sers e plens de felonia: Chabaneau Ben es fers.
1. 1624 Qe: Constans Que.
1. 1625 E qe: Constans E que.
1. 1629 ajut: Constans azut.
1. 1630 domna: read dona with Constans.
1. 1631 veia: Constans veia.
1. 1632 qi: Constans que, Chabaneau qui. guerreia: Constans guerreia.
1. 1633 re non de hom: read re non de [u]hom with Constans.
1. 1637 E.l garsona la qu'el mante: Constans E[l]i garson als quals mante, Chabaneau El garsonala quel mante.
1. 1638 ha: Chabaneau hai.
1. 1640 Qe l'en: Constans Q'el en.
1. 1642 eser: read vester.
1. 1649 Gerreiar: Constans Gerrejar.
1. 1650 pejura: Constans pezura.
1. 1651 E al dig: Constans E el dig, Chabaneau E al dig (= 'Et lui a dit').
1. 1655 Qe: Constans Que. conges: Constans conques.
1. 1660 Entro qe: Constans Entro que. brada: read bruda.
1. 1663 E fan lo cer qe.l casador: Constans E fai lo cer, quel casador.
1. 1668 qe: Constans que.
1. 1670 com zauzis: Constans com auzis, Chabaneau com zauzis, "c'est-à-dire jauzis."
1. 1671 si'es si donz: Constans si es si dons, Chabaneau "Faut-il entendre si eis ou si e si dons?" The latter is preferrable, the s of es being one of liaison.
1. 1676 E Folz Semblantz: Chabaneau Fals Semblantz torna a nient? "Peut-être aussi Que pour E?"
1. 1681 qe:Constans que.
1. 1683 zoios: Constans joios.
1. 1686 bel Seinher: Constans (bel) seinher, Chabaneau "rétablir la leçon du ms. seiner et feiner ont l'accent sur la première syllabe."
1. 1687 Qe laisson e.l fol: Constans Que laissol fol.
1. 1692 vejaire: Constans vezaire.
1. 1696 veia: Constans veja, Chabaneau n'aja.
1. 1697 E perda Dieu que: Constans E prega Dieu que,
Chabaneau E perda Dieu qui.

1. 1698 En foc, envolz, sebelis unis: Constans En foc,
(en)volz, sebelis, unis; Chabaneau En foc envolz,
sebelis vius.

1. 1699 caitis: Chabaneau caitius.

1. 1701 seudadas: Constans soudadas.

1. 1702 Qer: Chabaneau Qei (=que i)

1. 1704 monza: Constans monja.

1. 1711 Qe: Constans Que.

1. 1713 amictz: Chabaneau amics ou amicx. "Il y a d'autres
exemples de -icx rimant avec -itz."

1. 1715 los deportz: Chabaneau lo deportz.

1. 1718 Zovens: Constans Jovens.

1. 1720 destreis: Constans destrein.
NOTES TO TRANSLATION

1. 4 Jou is untranslatable since there is no exact one-word English equivalent. In his Joy d'Amor des Troubadours, jeu et joue de'amour (Montpellier: Causse et Castelnau, 1964), Chapter VII, "Origine et definition du joy d'amor", p. 133, Ch. Camproux defines jou as "avant but une activité, une force de vie, qui se manifeste par un exercice, un jeu, au sens profond du mot, un jeu, un exercice qui requièrent Co re c o r e s sa b e r e s f o r s e p o d e r (coeur et corps et savoir et intelligence et force et pouvoir) comme le chante Bernart de Ventadorn." Since jou can be best translated only by lengthy phrases, I have preferred to retain the Occitan word.

1. 5 roman z: Levy PD gives for romans: 'langue vulgaire; écrit en langue vulgaire.' Levy SW, VII, 373b-374a, cites "La parladura francesca val mais...a far roman z, retronzas et sirventes," from the Razos de Trobar of Raimon Vidal de Besalú (first half of the thirteenth century) and "Vai sus Alis.../Fren lo roman z de Blancaflor./Alis si leva tost e cor/Vas una taula on estava/Cel romans" from Flamenca (ca. 1240), Il. 4477-4480. The Cort d'Amor was written most likely after the Razos de Trobar and probably before Flamenca Romanz here, therefore, has its ordinary meaning of narrative poem written in the vernacular language in octosyllabic lines. Cf. also FEW, X, 453b and 455b, and especially P. Voelker, "Die Bedeutungsentwicklung des Wortes Romanz," Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, X (1886), 485-525. The word in Old Occitan was borrowed from French.

1. 14 Drut is defined by Levy PD as 'amant, galant; fidèle, ami privé; homme courtois.' The second, third, and fourth meanings are preferrable since the modern French word 'amant' and the equivalent English word 'lover', imply an intimate physical relationship which would ordinarily include sexual consummation, which is probably not a necessary element in the medieval Occitan concept of drut. According to recent
developments in the semantic study of this word, (cf. Ch. Camproux, _The Joy of Love of the Troubadours_, 2nd. ed., unpublished manuscript translation by L. Callander), _drut_ refers to personal possessions in the legal domain of the lady, and thus the personal friends of the lady, or those admitted into her confidence. It is clear therefore, that _drut_ does not refer to a suitor, one who is seeking admittance to the lady's private circle of companions, but rather to one who has been accepted. Whether this acceptance involves anything more than attendance at her couchee or levee and similarly intimate services, depends entirely on the context in which the word appears and not on any meaning inherent in the word. As a result I have translated _drut_ inconsistently, most often as 'lover' in the most general sense of 'one who loves' and occasionally as 'sweetheart' where lover seems a bit too strong.

1. 22 _domna_ is ambiguous here. It could refer either to the suitor's beloved, the lady, or it could refer to _Amor_, a feminine personification.

1. 23 Eight twenties, _viiij.xx_. , or one hundred sixty (160), is a significantly large number implying 'a great many'. Cf. 1. 59 _ha cent pulsellas_, where the specific number seems to have no particular significance except to emphasize quantity. Eight twenties corresponds to the English 'eight score'. It could also be read as twenty-eight, but this is less likely. Cf. 1. 1697 of _Floire et Blanchefleur_, édition critique avec commentaire by Margaret Pelan (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1937), "En la tour sept-vint chambres a." Cf. also _FEW_, XIV, 444, and particularly the comment on p. 445. Our text contradicts Wartburg's impression (n. 24) that the twenty system of counting was not rooted in the South of France and Upper Italy. On the contrary this attestation is even earlier than the first one given on p. 444a (1326) from the North (Tournai).

1. 30 **Amor**, translated as 'Love', is a feminine noun and therefore the personification is a feminine character as clearly indicated by the epithet *la dousa et la bona*. For the sake of consistency this personification is treated as a feminine figure throughout. Cf. also 11. 48, 351, 353, 354.

1. 39 *Fin’Amor* is untranslatable. Levy PD defines *fin* as "fin, pur; vrai; accompli, parfait; fidèle; sur, certain." The essence of the concept is 'perfect love' with all the implications of both perfection and love included in the definition; cf. Ch. Camroux, *Le Joy d’Amor*, op. cit., passim. For the sake of simplicity and clarity I have retained the Occitan phrase where it occurs in the text. 'Love' and *Fin’Amor* will refer to the same figure interchangeably, but I have followed the text in translating as 'Love' when the text bears simply *Amor*.

1. 47 *Domneis* is untranslatable. The verb is *domneijar* which Levy PD defines as 'faire la cour aux dames, servir les dames; pratiquer la courtoisie (en parlant d'une femme); s'êbattre', as a reflexive, 'parler d'amour, faire l'amour.' The noun *domnei*, m., is defined as 'la cour qu'on fait à une dame, service d'amour et de courtoisie', and the noun *domnejador* refers to the 'galant, homme qui aime à courtiser les dames'. Levy SW cites Arnaut Daniel and Ademar Rocaficha and defines *domneis* as 'Herrin nennen, Herrin dienen; Minnespiel treiben'. The FEW, III, 124a, cites OFr *donoi* 'faire la cour aux dames, faire l'amour', OOC *domneijar* 'id.; s'êbattre', OFr *donoir* 'privauté de rire, baiser, etc., avec une dame, sans la dernière faveur'; OFr *donoi* 'plaisir amoureux, cour qu'on fait à une dame', OOC *domnei*; OFr *donoiement*, OOC *domneijamen*; OFr *donoiisor* 'amant, galant', OOC *domnejador*.

The nearest possible English rendering of *domneis* would have to be 'privileged courtship', which remains vague and stilted. It is impossible to translate as 'the service of love' since this is confusingly similar to *Corteszia* who represents both courtesy and courtship. For these reasons I have retained the Occitan *domneis*.

1. 48 *Lo*, masculine singular pronoun, here refers to the feminine personification of Love/Fin’Amor. Cf. above notes to 11. 30 and 39.

1. 52 Cf. Arnaut Daniel (Canzoni, op. cit., p. 316, xiii, "Er vei vermeils, vertz, blaus, gruocs," ll. 8-11): "D'amor mi pren penssan lo cuocs/e.l desiriers doutz e coraus/e.l mals es saboros q'ieu sint/e.l flama soaus on plus m'art."


1. 61 Amador is defined by Levy PD as 'amant, amoureux, ami', and in the second place as 'qui aimera; qui sera aimé; digne d'ètre aimé'. The only English word capable of rendering any of these ideas is 'lover' which unfortunately is fraught with connotations that practically exclude the last three interpretations. Within the context of the Cort d'Amor, by its very nature as an art d'aimer, futurity and possibility are repeatedly emphasized and 'qui aimera' and 'qui sera aimé' as well as 'digne d'être aimé' are probably intended and should be read into the single term 'lover'. Cf. note to 1. 14 concerning drut.

1. 71 Cf. Arnaut Daniel (ed. cit., p. 222, v, "Lanquan vei fueil'l' e flor e frug," ll. 8-11): "Ar sai ieu c'Amors m'a condug/el sieu plus seguran castel/don non dei renda ni trahug,/ans m'en ha fait don e capdel."

1. 72 This line is a repetition of 1. 60.

11. 73-74 Cf. Floire et Blanchefleur, ed. cit., ll. 1748-1749: "De toutes parz est clos a mur/Tout pain a or et a azur."

1. 76 Drudaria being the abstract idea of the relationship between drut and druda, (cf. note to 1. 14 above), it can be defined as 'the condition of having been admitted to the lady's private circle of intimate friends'. Cf. also 1. 325.


1. 98 For destrenher Levy PD gives: 'êtreindre, presser, tourmenter; restreindre; empêcher; contraindre, forcer; obliger; rendre nécessaire; contraindre (t. de droit); maîtriser, assujettir, terminer, décider'. It is tempting to translate destrenher as 'torment' rather than 'rule', but the context does not specifically permit this rendering. The various connotations of destrenher should be kept in mind nonetheless.

1. 107 Iohanitz may refer to Johannes of Capua, a thirteenth century fabulist who wrote fables of Indian origin in Latin. "C'est seulement au XIIIe siècle que sous cette forme nouvelle Indian fables converted into Latin fables elles ont commencé à être connues en Europe et c'est un Juif italien converti au christianisme, appelé Jean de Capoue probablement de sa ville natale, qui, en donnant d'elles une version intitulée: Directorium humanae vitae, alias parabolae antiquorum sapientium, a peut-être le plus contribué à les vulgariser." (Léopold Hervieux, Les Fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Age, Paris, 2nd. ed., 1893-1899, V, p. 3). It has been impossible to locate any fable regarding an ant and a lion. Either this fable has been lost, or the author of the Cort d'Amor invented it and attributed it to Johannes in order to give it authority. The former is more likely.

1. 108 Que leons acuis la formitz is ambiguous. It could be translated either as 'the lion kills the ant' or as the ant kills lions'. Grammatically either is correct, but 11. 115-116 indicate that the first reading is preferrable.
1. 178 si dons, although it is a masculine form, consistently refers to the lady in troubadour poetry and is synonymous with sa donna. Accordingly I have translated it as 'his lady'. By referring to his lady as 'my lord' the suitor hypothetically and temporarily placed himself in the position of vassal in terms of the feudal, social and legal hierarchy.

1. 182 For dir los bens Levy PD also gives 'dire les messes pour un mort'.

1. 186 Chabaneau interprets mon as derived from multum and not from meum.

1. 189 Cf. Marcabru (ed. _cit._, XV, "Cortesamen vuoll comensar", ll. 19-24): "Mesura es de gen parlar; E cortesia es d'amar; E qui non vol eser mespers, De tota vilania s gar, D'escarnir e de folleiar; Puis sera savis ab qu'el pes."

1. 256 Metas en orba, 'to blind', from orbar, v., 'aveugler' and orp, adj., 'aveugle'. Levy PD also gives 'non fondé en parlant d'une opinion?'. Hence the phrase could also be translated as 'discredits'.

1. 273 Cf. note to 1. 47. above.


11. 293-296 Cf. Peire Rogier (in Mahn, Werke I, p. 125, vii, "Senher Raymbautz, per vezar," ll. 26-28): "Cove que s percas sai e lai/E tolha e do, si cum s'eschai,/ Quan ve qu'es luecx ni sazos," and Peire Raimon de Tolosa _Le Poesie di Peire Raimon de Tolosa_, ed. Alfredo Cavaliere, Florence: Olschki, 1935, p. 121, xviii, "Us noels pessamens m'estai", ll. 5-7): "E.m gart miels de far desplazer/E m'esfors en be captner/ Quan vey que n'es luecx ni sazos."

11. 301-304 The syntax here is confusing. It is perhaps a problem of ellipsis: 'both a fine mistress and that thing which pleases her best (her handsome lover in her arms) are welcomed through you (Sweet Company).'

The intentional ellipsis is not unknown to troubadour poetry. Cf. Peire Cardenal _Poesies complètes du troubadour Peire Cardenal_ (1180-1278), ed. René

1. 315 Soredamors and Gawain make an astonishing appearance here since the other lovers mentioned (Floire and Blanchefleur, Tristan and Yseult) are well known couples, while Gawain and Soredamors are brother and sister (Cliges)! Once again a certain ambiguity allows the reader to accept these six characters as authorities on the subject of love as well as actual lovers.

11. 316-317 These two famous couples often appear in troubadour poetry and the most complete reference to such lovers is found in a poem by Arnaut de Mareuil (Les Saluts d'Amour du Troubadour Arnaut de Mareuil, textes publiés avec une introduction, une traduction et les notes par Pierre Bec. Toulouse: Privat, 1961. Salut III, 11. 150-176): "Neih Leander Eros,/Ni Paris Elenan,/Ni Pirramus Tisban,/Ni Floris Blancaflor,/Qu'n traich manta dolor,/Ni Lavina Eneas,/Ni neich Cleopatras/Cel qe fo reis de Tyr,/Non ac tan ferm desir,/Ni crei qe tant ames/Lo reis Eticcles/Salamandra tan be,/Ni tan per bona fe,/Ni anc Yseut Tristan,/Qu'n sofrí maint afan,/Ni Berenguiers Quendis,/Ni Valensa Seguis,/Ni, pel meu essien,/Absalon Florissen,/Ni anc Itis, ço cre,/No amet Biblis re,/Avers so q'eu am vos/Ni nuls amans q'anc fos/No amet tant s'amia,/Ni no crei ke mais sia/Cors d'aman tant verais;/K'eu, Domna, no m irais." Cf. Part I, pp. 69-70 for a complete list of troubadour references to Tristan and Yseult.

1. 327 Dez 'ten' was read by Constans dui 'two'. Levy noted (p. 238) that "ce sont les dix chevaliers qui ont été harangués par Amors: Jois, Solatz, Ardimens, Cortesia, Bon'Esperansa, Paors, Largueza, Domneis, Celamens et Dolsa Companha."

1. 351 leis, feminine singular oblique stressed form, refers to Amors.

1. 353 lô, masculine singular oblique unstressed form, refers to Amors.

1. 354 el, masculine singular stressed form, refers to Amor.

1. 369 il, masculine singular pronoun, refers to Corteszia, a feminine personification.

"Homicidi e traìdor,/Simoniaic, encantador,/Luxurios e renovier,/Que vivon d'enujos mestier,/E cill que fan faitilhaments,/E las faitileiras pudens/Seran el fuec arden engau."

"Ebriaic et escogossat,/Fals preveire e fals abat,/Falsas recluzas, fals reclus,/Lai penaran, ditz Marcabrus,/Que tuit li fals y an luec pres,/Car fin' Amors o' a promes,/Lai er dols dels dezesperatz."

1. 396 This is possibly a reference to the burning of heretics in Occitania.


1. 417 La Cortesa d'Amor lo pren: Constans La Cortesa d'amor lo pren. Chabaneau believed that a new personification, La Cortesa d'Amor, "personnage différent de Na Corteszia," was introduced here for the first time. Bartsch apparently agreed and printed Na Cortezia d'Amor. More recently Marc-René Jung, in his Études sur le poème allégorique en France au Moyen Age, (Berne; Francke, 1971), p. 151, n. 72, also agreed that a different character is signaled here. Chabaneau referred as evidence to 1. 837: La Cortesa d'Amor lo sona (Constans La Cortesa d'amor lo sona, with the first "30" words in italics which he used to designate the allegorical personifications, indicating that he too considered this verse the second appearance of a character introduced in 1. 417.

This reading is based on a misunderstanding of the word la, which is not the feminine definite article 'the', but rather the adverb of place 'there'. The author of this text does not introduce personifications by means of a definite article, preferring as a rule, to use titles such as Don Jois (1. 109) or Na Corteszia (1. 364), or the proper name such as
Cortesia (l. 181), Bon'Esperansa (l. 195) in direct address. In descriptive passages the same style is maintained: Na Coindia (l. 886). Only la baillessa d'Amor (ll. 1068, 1076, 1155) and Plazers, lo senescals d'Amor (ll. 897, 978), who bear legitimate functional feudal titles, are introduced by articles. In l. 417 d'Amor is not 'of Love', but rather 'from Love' and so "The Courtesy of Love takes it" should instead be read: "There Courtesy takes it from Love."

Finally, the distinction between Cortesia and La Cortesa d'Amor required by these commentators is very difficult to grasp and they offer no satisfactory explanation.


1. 457 Cf. Bonifaci Calvo (in Mahn, Werke, II, 3, iii, "Temp e luec a mas sabers," ll. 11-13): "Quan de sos oifs la ve rire/E pensar ab mainz sospirs,/Camjant mais de mil colors."

11. 473-475 Cf. Guilmèm de Saint-Didier (in Mahn, Werke, II, 48, viii, "Estat auraist das sosas,;" ll. 25-28): "Chanson non die, domna, mas endret vos,/A cui non aus tramet'autre messatge/Mas los sospirs/qu'eu fas de genoillos,/Mans jointas lai on sai vostr'estatge."

11. 484-485 Cf. Daude de Pradas (ed. cit., p. 45, x, "El temps que.1 rossignol s'esgau," ll. 12-13): "aissi lonc temps mon cor en vuoill/que l'uoill m'en son tornat tot blau."

(ed. cit., p. 22, v, "Pois merces no.m val ni m'ajuda," l. 29): "Mos cors e miei huoill m'an trahit." Cf. also Fiolquet de Marseille (Le Troubadour Fiolquet de Marseille, ed. Stanislaw Stronski. Cracow, 1910, p. 12, i, ll. 1-3): "Ben an mort mi e lor/mei huel galiador;/per que's tanh qu'ab els plor."


1. 561 cembel cymbalum. Originally, from the idea of the cymbal, cembel came to signify a lure, a sign, a distraction, a sort of amusement, hence a gift. It referred also to the piece of leather in the shape of a bird used to attract a hunting hawk and lure it into returning to the glove. The idea of lure, trap and artifice grew out of this more technical usage to refer to the small number of troops used to lure an enemy into an ambush. Cf. FEW, II, 2, 1611a. Finally it referred to the combat itself, especially between small groups of men, and ultimately to jousting, tournament or military games. Levy PD cites two specific expressions: bastir cembel, 'engager le combat', and partir lo cembel, 'séparer la mêlée'.

Curiously, the specific gifts mentioned in the following verse are all tokens of favor that were commonly worn in battle as insignias of a certain commitment. It is unusual here that these gifts are given by the lover to the lady since the reverse is more traditional, particularly as regards sleeves which were occasionally affixed to the lance itself as pennants.
1. 564 Ausliment, from auzir, v. 'ouir, entendre, écouter', is defined by Levy PD.as 'ouie', and probably means 'reputation'. Cf. for example, the proverb cited by the Monk of Montaudon (Der Mönch von Montaudon, ein provenzalischer Troubadour, sein Leben und seine Gedichte, ed. Emil Philipson. Halle: Niemeyer, 1873. p. 27, vii, "Ades on plus niu mais apren," 1. 50): "Que bos pretz creis on plus loing es auzitz."


1. 592 deu esser tenguda is ambiguous. The context of this phrase, 11. 591-602, concerns the lady's grooming in whichcase tenguda might refer to her 'tenue' (i.e., behavior, deportment, carriage, bearing, good manners, dress or appearance). This would be reinforced by the image that follows in which both the posture and the behavior of the hawk carried on the fist and the care of the nobleman in protecting its plumage refer to the appearance of the lady. Verse 596 clearly continues this theme by repeating the verb gardar in reference to the lady's face. It is thus the lady's responsibility to behave like the nobleman (se dona soin, gardar) in terms of the hawk (esser tenguda).

On the other hand, tenguda read literally means 'held' and the subsequent simile literally refers to the manner in which the hawk is held, thus implying that the lady must be held by her lover in his arms as carefully as the hawk is held by the nobleman on his fist. However, the fact that this is the beginning of Cortesia's speech advising the lady (preceeded by a break in the manuscript separating it from her advice to the lover) would imply that the lady is responsible for the manner in which her lover holds her in his arms.

The third alternative is to translate esser tenguda as 'be treated' or 'be considered'. Levy SW VIII, 148b, 149a, cites Guiraut de Bornelh: "Que fol tenhatz celui/Que si mezis destrui" (42, 56), and Appel's Chrestomathie (9, 156): "Senher Jozep es mot prozom/ Et es tengutz, per ser [t], bon hom." Levy SW gives as definitions in these instances:
'halten für, erachten, betrachten als'. In the case of deu esser tenguda, the agent would then remain impersonal: everyone (including the lover and the lady herself) must treat la domna que vol esser druda as carefully as a nobleman treats his hawk. Cf. also 1. 608.

The ambiguity is apparently intentional and all three interpretations must be kept in mind.

11. 633-634 Cf. Peire Rogier (ed. cit., p. 123, VI, "Ges non puesc en bon vers falhir," ll. 4-6): "Qu'om non es tan mal ensenhatz, Si parl'ab liy us un mot o dos, Que, s'es vilas non torn cortes."

1. 625 This line is a repetition of 1. 611.


11. 640-642 Cf. Peire d'Alvernha (Liriche, ed. Alberto del Monte. Turin: Loescher-Chiantore, 1955, I, "Rossinhol el seu repaire," ll. 1-10): "Rossinhol, el seu repaire/m'iras ma dona vezar/e diguas li.1 mieu afaire/et ill diguat del sieu ver, e man sai/com l'estai,/Mas de mi.11 sovenha, que ges la/per nuill plai/ab si no.t retenha."

11. 677-678 Cf. Floire et Blanchefleur, ed. cit., ll. 2650-2651: "Les narilles avoit mielz fetes/Que s'il fussent as mains portretes," and ll. 2668-2669: "De cors est ele tant bien fete/Con s'ele fust as mains portrete."

1. 680 Sotz la bella boca: boca 'mouth' was read by both Constans and Chabaneau as bocla or bloca 'buckle' and I have translated it following their proposed correction. The sense of 'below the pretty red mouth' could refer to the area of the chin, jaws, and throat. However, the correction of Constans and Chabaneau to 'buckle' does not change the number of syllables (9) and is more logical in the context. In 1. 670 her chin is described as little, pretty, and round; in 1. 672 her red lips are mentioned; in 1. 675 her white neck. The area that would be sotz la bella boca is already well accounted for in these lines (ll. 670-675). The poet continues with references to her hands, gloves, purse, and belt in a logical earthward progression which is typical of these descriptions. Mention of the
golden buckle would be here in proper sequence, especially since the next nine lines to l. 689 continue to describe her clothes and finally arrive at her feet. It is unusual that no reference is made to the breast since it is traditional in this kind of description. Cf. for example, Arnaut de Mareuil, ed. cit., Salut, I, 11. 93-94, "Mento e gola e peitrina/Blanca co neus ni flor d'espina." In all other respects this portrait of feminine beauty is entirely typical of troubadour poetry.

11. 698-699 In the middle ages gold was considered a shade of red, and therefore the ideal lady is auburn haired rather than blonde as gold seems to imply. Spring buds, rather than being necessarily green, are not infrequently brownish red, hence the comparison.

1. 728 Merce is a feminine noun and therefore the personification is a feminine figure. Cf. l. 729 in which the past participle vista refers to Merce. However, in l. 733 Agest, and in l. 739 el, both masculine pronouns, also refer to Merce. El could be a scribal error for which one could substitute ill, but if agest were corrected to agesta, it would add one syllable to the line. As in the case of Fin' Amor I have translated all pronouns referring to Merce as feminine for the sake of consistency.

1. 834 Cf. 11. 403-404.

1. 837 Lo, masculine pronoun, refers to Amors, a feminine personification. Cf. 1. 417.

1. 872 El, masculine pronoun, refers to Amors.

1. 879 El, masculine pronoun, refers to Amors.

1. 899 El, masculine pronoun, refers to Amors.

1. 902 This line states one version of a well known proverb. Cf. also Guilhem de la Tor (Le Poesie di Guilhem de la Tor, ed. Ferruccio Blasi. Genoa and Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1934. 36, ix, "En vos eu ai mesa," ll. 44-45): "Car [en] suffren, [venz hom la gen]."

1. 903 Rei, masculine singular, refers to Amors.


11. 939-940 Cf. Arnaut de Mareuil (ed. cit., p. 59, x, "Aissi cum selh que anc non ac cossire," ll. 16-17): "Bona dompna, tant vos am finamen,/mos coratges no.is pot partir de vos."

11. 942-953 Arnaut de Mareuil (ed. cit., p. 54, ix, "Aissi cum cel c'am e non es amaz," ll. 29-35): "Soven m'avent, la nuoch can soi colgaz,/que soi ab vos per semblan en dormen;/adonc estau en tan ric jausim,/ja non volr'esser mais residaz,/sol que.m dures aquel plazenz pensatz;/e can m'esveill, cuich murir desiran,/per qu'eu volgr'aissi dormir un an."


1. 964 El refers to druda. Read ilh.

1. 981 Ch. Camproux, in his edition of the selected poems of Peire Cardenal (Peire Cardenal, Troces Causits, Montpellier: Centre d'Estudis Occitans, 1970, p. 55, n. 18), defined legistas as "officiers de justicia, emplagats per los senhors o las ciutats que s'en servissin los clergues per las condamnacions. Cf. per ex. Cancon de la Crosada ll. 177, 53 e seg. 'Uns dels melhors legistas si que cascuns l'ent'en que legis la condemnacion del poble de Tolosa."

11. 988-989 In his note to these verses, Constans remarked (p. 215) that they are an "allusion aux Dits de Marcoul et de Salomon, recueil de proverbes dont la première rédaction en français remonte au XIIe siècle. A chaque sentence de Salomon, Marcoul, une espèce de Sancho Panca, répond par un proverbe populaire et souvent licencieux. De là l'idée de reciprocité exprimée de nos deux vers; mais les rôles sont ici renversés, et l'attaque est attribuée à Marcoul (Marcon)." Cf. Raimbaut d'Orange (The


II. 1016-1017 Cf. Raimon de Miraval (ed. cit., p. 266, xxxii, "Cel que no vol auzir choanssos," ll. 9-16): "De la bella, don sui cochos/Desir lo tenor e.l baiser,/E.l jazer e.l plus conquistar,/Et apres, mangas e cordos,/E del plus qu'il clames merces;/Que jamais no serai conques/Per joia ni per entresseing,/Si so q'ieu plus vuoi non ateing."

I. 1067 Chabaneau remarked (p. 95) that "La lacune ne doit pas être très considérable. Peut-être ne manque-t-il qu'un vers, dont le sens doit être s'il ne se laisse émouvoir ou s'il ne devient amoureux."

I. 1078 El, masculine pronoun, refers to Amors.

I. 1109 'Man' in this context means 'liege man', 'vassal', or 'servant'. Amors who is speaking is feminine.
1. 1109 Cf. Arnaut de Mareuil (éd. cit., p. 24, iv, "Us jois d'amor s'es e mon cor enclus," ll. 39-42): "A! s'er ja temps qu'a dreit vos apleh domna,/qu'ie.us sia homs, mans juntas, lialmen, /e atressi cum bons senher acuèlh/son lige ser, mi denhatz aculhir!"

1. 1110 Fin'Amor stirs up a flame in the heart of Fin'Amor? Here the personification is referring to the concept that she represents, and revealing that she herself is vulnerable to love, not unlike Cupid pricking himself with one of his own arrows and falling in love with Psyche. Furthermore, it should not be surprising to find Love, a thirteenth century noble, speaking in the clichés of her day.

11. 1128-1139 Cf. Daude de Pradas (éd. cit., pp. 40-42, ix, "Trop ben m'èstera si.s tolgués," ll. 25-32). The carpe diem theme along with the motif of the mirror is developed in this strophe.

1. 1132 El, masculine singular, refers to the lady who looks in her mirror.


11. 1168-1180 Cf. Azalais de Porcaraigues (in Mahn, Werke, III, p. 177, "Ar em all freg temps vengut," ll. 33-45): "Bel amics de bon talan,/Son ab vos totz jorns en gatge,/Cortexa e de bel semblan;/Sol no.m demandes outrage,/Tost en venrem a l'assai,/Qu'en vostra merce.m metrai/Vos m'avetz la fe plevida/Que no.m demandes faillida." Cf. also R. Nelli, op. cit., p. 199, "...l'asag était une épreuve imposée à l'homme par la femme," and p. 200, "Le principe de l'asag consistait donc moins à mettre à l'épreuve la volonté, le stoïcisme masculins qu'à manifester in re que, naturellement et spontanément, l'amour est chaste à ses débuts."


1. 1185 Constans placed the lacuna before this line.
11. 1196-1203 Chabaneau noted (p. 96) that "notre auteur pensait ici certainement à la chanson de Perdigon, "Tot l'an mi ten amors d'
aital faiso." The relevant lines are verses 10-18: "Be.m fetz amors l'usatge del lairo,/Quant encontra selhui d'estranh pa
cais,/E.l fai creire qu'alhors es sos camis,/Tro que li dis: 'Belhs amicx, tu me guida.;/Et en aissi es manta gens trahida/Qu'el mena lai on pueis lo lia e.l pren;/Et ieu puesc dir atressi veramen/Qu'ieu segui tant amor com li saup bo./Tan mi menet tro m'ac en sa preizo."


1. 1307 Cf. Arnaut de Mareuil (ed. cit., p. 4, i, "La grans beutatz e.l fis ensenhamens," ll. 33-35): "Domna, genser qu'anc fos de nulhas gens/e la melher de totes las melhor,/per vos morrai, som ditz ades paors." Cf. also p. 54, ix, "Aissi cum cel c'am'exo/Non es amaz," ll. 27): "mas eu soi cel que temen muor aman."

miriey sa fâisso,/Ab un dous amoros esguar/Qu'em lansero siey huelh lairo;/Ab selh esguar m'intret/en aisselh dia/Amors pels huelhs al cor d'aital semblan/Qu'el cor en trays e mes l'a son coman;" and Uc Brunet (in Mahn, Werke, III, pp. 206-207, I, "Cortezamen mov en mon cor mesclansa;" 11. 4-8): "Quar en aissi sap ferir de sa lansa/Amors, que es us esperitz cortes,/Que nos laissa vezer/mas per semblans,/Quar d'huelh en huelh salh e fai/sos dous lans;/E d'huelh en cor e de coratge enpes," and Folquet de Marseille (ed. cit., p. 25, iv, "Us volers outracujatz," 11. 31-40): "Be.m parec necietatz/e trop sobrarditz volers/quan solamen us vezers/m'ac decebuct tan viatz/qu'escondudamens/mi venc al cor us talents/tals qu'ieu emanoratz/mas puois m'es tan fort doblatz/que m'aci e ser/mi fai doussamen doler."

1. 1458 Constans omitted this line.

11. 31-40): "D'una re fan donas trop gran follor/quar lor amor/menam ab tan loncx plays,/que quascuna pus ve son amador/fi ses error,/fah si l'alonga mais;/quar hom no viu tan quan faire solia,/doncx convengra que.l mals costums n'issis/del trop tarzar,qu'ieu no cre qu'om moris/tan leu com fai, si d'amor si jauzia."

1. 1518 Aie probably was the daughter of duke Antoine d'Avignon and the niece of Charlemagne. She figures in the chanson de geste Aye d'Avignon, (publiée pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit unique de Paris par F. Guessard et P. Meyer. Paris: 1861), a poem of 4136 alexandrines belonging to the cycle of Doon de Mayence. She figures also in the chansons de geste Gui de Nanteuil and Parise la Duchesse. Cf. F. Lot, "Notes historiques sur Aie d'Avignon," Romania 33 (1904), pp. 145-162, and especially E. Langlois, Table des noms propres de toutes nature compris dans les chansons de geste (Paris: Bouillon, 1904), p. 9, where one finds mention of two other women bearing this name: Aie, wife of Aimon de Dordon in the chanson de geste Renaut de Montaudon, and Aie de Montorie, wife of Terri in Aiol. Louis-Fernand Flutre in his Table
des noms propres avec toutes leurs variantes figurant dans les romans du moyen âge, écrits en français ou en provençal et actuellement publiés ou analysés, (Poitiers: Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, 1962), p. 7b, notes three other characters named Aie: the heroine of the Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dôle, a woman in Sone de Nausay, and the epic heroine of Richards 11 Biaus by Maistre Requis.

Landri is even more difficult to identify, Langlois, op. cit., pp. 391-392, recording 27 different characters by that name! (Flutre, op. cit., records only two). Maurice Delbouille, in an article in the Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, V (1926), pp. 339-350, suggests that he is Landri le Timonier, hero of a lost poem known through the episode of Synagon in Le Moniage Guillaume and appearing in the Couronnement de Louis.

According to F. Lot, in "La Chanson de Landri," Romania 32 (1903), pp. 1-17, he would be Landri de Nevers, partisan of Girart de Roussillon and appearing in the chanson de geste by that name. Lot remarks that, in the introduction to his edition of Ave d'Avignon, op. cit., Paul Meyer cited the following troubadour allusions:

1. Arnaut de Mareuil: "Vostre hom sui, donna gaya,/E am vos mais que Landrics Aya."

2. Peire Raimon de Tolosa: "Plus fis...que no fo Landrics a n'Aya."

3. Paulet de Marseilha: "Bella domnora plazens, ay/Dit soven quar ieu nous aï/Quar vos am, que qu'ieu n'aya/Mais qu'Enricx no fes n'Aya."

Meyer also found two references in northern French literature:

1. La Prise de Jerusalem: "Baron, ceste chancons n'est mie de folie,/D'Auchier ne de Landri...."

2. Thibaut de Marly: "Ce que je vos veuil dire et ce qu'avez oï/Sachiez que ce n'est pas d'Auchier ne de Landri."

Lot continued (p. 10) "on le voit, ces allusions se réfèrent non pas à une, mais à deux compositions, l'une intitulée Landri et Ave, l'autre Auchier et Landri. De la première, qui n'a qu'un rapport de nom fortuit avec le roman d'Aye d'Avignon, nous savons seulement qu'elle avait pour sujet l'amour violent de Landri pour une certaine Aye. In note
3. of the same page he added, "les rapports que tente d'établir M. Birch-Hirschfeld entre ces deux compositions n'ont aucune vraisemblance ainsi que M. Paul Meyer l'a déjà fait observer," and he continued (p. 11), "les rapports entre Landri, comte de Nevers (m. 1028), et une certaine Aye, reposent-ils sur une réalité quelconque? C'est ce qu'il est impossible d'établir avec certitude. Je remarque seulement que ce nom d'Aye était extrêmement répandu dans le duché de Bourgogne au XIe siècle, surtout en Maconnais et Chaunois." Finally, he states (p. 12), "je laisse à la fantaisie du lecteur le soin de décider s'il y a quelque chose à tirer de ce fait que la femme d'un prédécesseur de Landri s'appelait Aye."


1. 1584 El, masculine pronoun, refers to Amors.

1. 1655 Ill is a feminine pronoun, but a masculine pronoun is required by the sense.

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