CATALAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, **18**: 25-39 (2025)
Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona
DOI: 10.2436/20.1000.01.220 · ISSN (print): 2013-407X · e-ISSN: 2013-4088
https://revistes.iec.cat/index.php/CHR

The reception of the troubadours in the Crown of Aragon*

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Received 6 February 2024 · Accepted 18 April 2024

Abstract

This article aims to provide an overview of the reception of Occitan troubadour poetry in the Crown of Aragon. It will examine the continuities and ruptures in the troubadour model in mediaeval Catalan literature from diverse, complementary areas of reception: the sociocultural milieu that received the poetry, the Catalan troubadours' works, the shift from orality to writing and the Catalan manuscript tradition that has conserved the troubadour legacy.

Keywords: troubadours, mediaeval Catalan literature, reception.

The poetry of the troubadours

The origins of modern poetry can unquestionably be found in the radical novelty that came about with the advent of the troubadour movement in the feudal courts of mediaeval Occitania between the late eleventh century, when the first troubadour, Guilhem de Peitieu, is documented, and the late thirteenth century, when the voice of the last one, Guiraut Riquier, was laid to rest. That novelty was based on the confluence of three phenomena: the voice that speaks in the troubadours' compositions is a poetic *self* that expresses their subjectivity; they are compositions by a known author who claims their own intellectual property; and for the first time, a vernacular language, Old Occitan, was used as a means of expression for this kind of poetry. Modern readers of troubadour poetry may tend to forget it, but it is important to recall that there is an indissoluble bond between the lyrics and the music and that these poems were meant to be sung and heard, not read. It being an oral form, troubadour poetry was 'published' through the ritual of court performances in collective ceremonies. In this context of reception, the troubadour had the chance to display his poetic achievements before an elite, refined audience that was able to recognise the shared ethical and aesthetic values in the song they heard, which united performer and audience within the same physical space, the court, and the same symbolic space, courtliness. Geared at attaining a courtly ideal grounded on the nobility of the spirit rather than on tangible goods, the cultivation of poetry became an element of social ascent that enabled prominent feudal lords, poor knights and even humble minstrels in those southern courts to engage in dialogue, all of them committed to the noble art of making verses.

Even though the troubadours also cultivated other poetry genres, the main one was the *canso* (love song), articulated around the *fin'amor*, or noble love, a concept that designated both an amorous ideal and a poetics, the latter being the rhetorical mould into which the former fit. The failure to satisfy erotic desire was necessary so that amorous passion could become an ennobling urge, as required by the *fin'amor*, which then became the stimulus driving a constant effort to achieve the courtly ideal, both morally and in poetic creation. From this standpoint, the recipient of the song could only be the wife of the lord of the castle, the most inaccessible woman yet the best mirror of the courtly ideal that the troubadour sought. On the other hand, the lady's identification with the lord of the court, which was clear even in the name the troubadour used to call her, *midons* (my lord), often extended to the immediate reality beyond the abstraction of amorous reflections, which was common in a kind of poetry that was also a powerful weapon of political propaganda. In other words, the contradictory and conflictive relationship between the supplicant troubadour and an elusive, unattainable lady often had a metaphorical dimension as a projection of the tensions between the lords and vassals who coexisted in Occitan courts. Strongly rooted in the socioeco-

* This article is part of the PID2023-149444NB-I00 project, funded by MICIU/AEI/10.13039/501100011033 and by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) of the EU."
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nomic system of mediaeval Occitania, troubadour poetry was both 'feudal poetry' and 'formal poetry', given its high degree of rhetorical elaboration within a conceptually and formally closed system that appealed to a small audience of *entendedors* (connoisseurs). Far from becoming a stereotyped, rigid poetic form, however, troubadour poetry was vivid and essentially dynamic, defined by the constant dialogue among troubadours within a production and reception context in which they all knew each other and were able to recognise the value of the subtle variations contained in each intertextual reformulation.

Further proof of the dynamics of troubadour poetry is its ductility, that is, its capacity for constant adaptation and recodification when it moved to new geographic and sociocultural settings.

The troubadours in Catalonia

The troubadours left their deep and lasting mark on Catalonia early on, starting in the last third of the twelfth century. In Europe, the spread of troubadour poetry became the crucible of new poetry movements and, even more importantly, allowed for the emergence of different poetic traditions in vernacular languages. Examples include the German *Minnesänger*, the French *trouvères* and the Galician-Portuguese *trovadores*, among others. Even in Italy, the land where the troubadours had the most avid following, the Occitan legacy prompted the first poetry movement in the Italian language in the Sicilian court of Frederick II. Later transplanted to the vibrant urban and mercantile region of Tuscany, it became the embryo of the profound renewal brought about by the *Dolce Stil Nuovo*, impelling the ennobling conception of amorous passion to the highest and most sublime register. This was not the case in Catalan lands, which perpetuated not only the system of genres and the troubadours' poetic patterns but also the language, with the Occitan *Koine* becoming the channel through which poetry was expressed, based on an awareness of the natural continuity of the languages, until it was permanently displaced by the formidable figure of Ausiàs March in the fifteenth century. Catalonia's permeability to the troubadour movement from its very inception can be explained by a variety of factors, which mainly span from geographic and linguistic proximity to the feudal and dynastic relations among the noble houses on either side of the Pyrenees. The interests of the Catalan-Aragonese monarchs, the Counts of Barcelona and the Marquises of Provence since 1166 played a prime role in these political and cultural contacts.

The Catalan-Aragonese monarchy, promoter of troubadour poetry

Mentions of the house of Barcelona in troubadour verses date back to the era of Count-King Ramon Berenguer IV (1131-1162), and the first troubadour to visit a Catalan court could have been the Gascon Marcabrú if he truly composed the crusade song known as *Vers del Lavador* [The Cleansing-Sink Song], which calls on Christian lords to unite to expel the Saracens from the Iberian Peninsula, in Ramon Berenguer's court in 1149.[1]

Still, the royal court only truly became the site of patronage and promotion of troubadour activity with the reign of Alphonse II, King of Aragon (1162-1196) and Count of Provence (1167-1173). Indeed, we should stress that one essential difference between the Occitan genesis of a kind of poetry we have called 'feudal' and its reception in Catalonia is precisely the Catalan-Aragonese monarchy's involvement as a promoter of the troubadour movement.[2]

As mentioned above, the mastermind behind this image of a chivalrous monarchy that incorporated and adopted the ethical and aesthetic model of courtliness designed in Occitan lands was Alphonse II. Because of him, the troubadour legacy gained a solid foothold in Catalonia back in the twelfth century. Beyond the numerous troubadours that mention him, we know about around twenty of them who actually attended his court, including some of the most prestigious figures of the time, like Arnaut Daniel,[3] Arnaut de Maruelh, Peire Rogier, Peire Bremon de Tolosa, Uc Brunet, El Monjo de Montaudon, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Aimeric de Sarlat, Pons de Capduelh and especially Peire Vidal, who had a long, close relationship with the Catalan court, as well as Giraut de Bornelh, known as the 'master of the troubadours'.[4] In fact, Giraut de Bornelh was not only one of the troubadours who had the strongest influence on mediaeval Catalan poetry, but he was also a prominent presence in Alphonse II's court and even composed the *partimen Be·m plairia seigner en reis* (BEdT 242,22) with the monarch.[5] The *partimen* was a poetic debate in which the troubadour presents a love dilemma in the first stanza (*cobla*) of the poem and commits himself to uphold the opposing stance from that of his interlocutor. In this case, Giraut de Bornelh, who opens the debate and speaks in the odd-numbered stanzas, poses a topic as deeply rooted in the troubadour universe as the relationship between material wealth, moral nobility and love. Given that the erotic tension generated by unrequited love of a superior lady is the stimulus that educates the lover in patient waiting and imbues him with all the courtly virtues, in Giraut's eyes the powerful man, who is used to having what he yearns for at all times, would have no place in the game of courtliness nor any appeal in ladies' eyes. It goes without saying that the king does not recognise himself in this portrait and, speaking in the even stanzas, upholds the compatibility between his royal dignity and a nobility of the heart which drives him to serve his beloved lady like the humblest of his vassals. In addition to this *partimen*, an amorous *canso*, *Per mantas guizas m'es datz* (BEdT 23,1), is also attributed to Alphonse II, where he adopts the rhetorical model of amorous vassalage to present himself as the *fin amant* of the lady to whom the song is sung. Without question, one of the most interesting features of the connection between Alphonse II and the troubadour

movement is his initiation as a troubadour, which complemented his status as a patron. The king's poetic activity, which other subsequent monarchs would further, must have drawn attention among his contemporaries because he was called '*aquel que trobet*' [he who composed troubadour poetry] in a mediaeval *vida*, that is, one of the brief biographies in Occitan prose written by the compilers of troubadour poetry in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to present the authors of the compositions contained therein.

Adhesion to the cultural model of courtliness forged in the Occitan feudal courts sought to construct an elegant, refined image of the royal court grounded on luxury, fine manners and the noble art of the troubadour poetry. However, we should also foreground the political dimension of this adhesion, which cannot be dissociated from the Crown's interests on the other side of the Pyrenees, where, briefly put, Alphonse's pretensions to the region of Provence clashed with those of the Countship of Toulouse and the French monarchy. By welcoming to court troubadours who praised his merits, the king must have wanted to assemble the nobility of the country around him and build a personal image similar to those of the Occitan lords, while also neutralising and countering the barbs he had already received from some hostile troubadours. In this sense, we should recall troubadour poetry's value as a political weapon. Beyond the propagandistic dimension we can attribute to the metonymic displacement of praise of the court and the lord to the lady who was the recipient of the amorous *canso*, the troubadours' aim to influence their closest milieu is quite explicit in the success of a genre like the *sirventes*, a composition that used direct, penetrating language to spread the patron's political ideas, often through virulent disparagement of his enemies. Alphonse must have suffered from derision from *sirventes* that questioned his politics and even his legitimacy on the throne.[6] Worth mentioning among these hostile troubadours is the Occitan Bertran de Born, Lord of Autafòrt, whose castle the king had seized in 1183, along with Giraut de Luc from Roussillon and the Catalan troubadour Guillem de Berguedà, whom we shall discuss below as a leader in the Catalan barons' revolt against the royal administration. The monarch's death was lamented by Aimeric de Peghilhan and Peire Vidal in their *planhs*, a troubadour genre that consists of a eulogy and lament for the death of an important figure, usually the troubadour's protector or his lady.

Proof of the success of Alphonse II's patronage of troubadours is the fact that it continued during the reign of his son Peter II the Catholic (1196-1213), whose court became a major hub in the troubadour world.

Several troubadours dedicated compositions to Peter the Catholic, including Peire Vidal, Aimeric de Belenoi, Pistoleta and Pons de Capduelh, and around thirty[7] mentioned him by praising his courtly and knightly virtues, often asking him to take a side in the political conflicts that were shaking up Occitania during this turbulent period. The image of Peter's reign as knightly monarch who carried on Alphonse II's legacy by incorporating the courtly values modelled in the troubadour world into his ideal life and governance is indirectly corroborated and fleshed out by the portrait of the Catalan nobility found in the literature of that period. The Catalan troubadour Ramon Vidal de Besalú (Raimon Vidal de Bezaudun), whom we shall discuss below, offers the best descriptions of these courtly milieus. In his *novas rimadas*, narrations in paired eight-syllable verses, the Catalan nobility, both men and women, quote troubadour verses to justify their attitudes or censure those of others, thus using troubadour poetry as the model of behaviour that should guide their own comportment. The *effet de réel* is increased with the coexistence in the poem of fictitious characters and contemporary historical figures, such as the Catalan nobleman Uc de Mataplana (~1185-1213~), who was both the patron of troubadours and a troubadour himself. What remains of his poetry is an exchange of *coblas* with the troubadour Blacatz (BEdT 454,2), a *tenso* or poetic debate with the minstrel Reculaire (BEdT 458,1) and a *sirventes* (BEdT 454,1) in which he censured the rudeness of the troubadour Raimon de Miraval, who had abandoned his wife, herself a *trobairitz* (the feminine of *troubadour* in Occitan) as well, out of jealousy on the pretext that having one troubadour at home was enough. Beyond the droll or parodical tone, the Catalan nobleman's stance reveals an interesting attitude in terms of gender: by recognising the extramarital nature of true love, according to the dictates of courtliness, he demands the same freedom for the *trobaritz* wife that her troubadour husband has. Another example of troubadour culture among the Catalan nobility comes from the *ensenhamen* (lesson) that Viscount Guerau IV of Cabrera addressed to his minstrel Cabra (BEdT 242*a*,1). With the pretext of instructing the largely illiterate minstrel, throughout 216 verses the poem lets us know what kind of literature was consumed in Catalan noble circles, including a broad repertoire of French narrative. Furthermore, in the chapter on troubadour compositions, he cites someone named N'Anfos, who could be Alphonse II, as a troubadour.

The image of this brilliant, cultivated courtly society has been muddled and even somewhat distorted by the Catalan monarch's involvement in Occitan policies within the Albigensian or Cathar Crusade. It is common knowledge that the entrenchment of the Cathar heresy in territories where the Occitan nobility had welcomed the troubadours gave the French Crown the perfect pretext to wage a military intervention that finally enabled it to exert real, effective and lasting control over the wealthy southern fiefdoms. The crusaders' triumph meant the dismantlement of the courtly civilisation that had welcomed the troubadours, with their consequent diaspora to the surrounding regions, primarily Catalonia and Italy. Going back to the start of the conflict, we should recall that the murder of the papal legate Pierre de Castelnau within the Count of Toulouse's milieu was the final straw that led Innocent III to proclaim a crusade. Commanded by the

French nobleman Simon de Montfort, it got off to a bloody start with the savage siege of Beziers in 1209. In view of the crusaders' implacable pressure, Raimon VI, the Count of Toulouse, asked the Catalan king for help, and the latter received the homage from the countships located on the northern face of the Pyrenees in 1213. The king's involvement in the struggle against the French crusaders had a tragic denouement when he was killed in the fateful Battle of Muret on 12 September 1213.[8]

We should pause here to point out the flimsy basis of the connections which have often been made—in both the popular imaginary and the scholarly world, and based on many different political, religious, identity and even tourist and commercial interests—between the religious movement of the Cathars and the poetic movement of the troubadours, even though they only overlapped partially in time and space. The myth of the presumed influence of Catharism over the *fin'amor* fed by an erroneous interpretation of some aspects of troubadour erotica, such as the paradoxes of a love that denies satisfaction of sexual desire, began to be forged in the nineteenth century around occultism by figures like Gabrielle Rossetti, Eugène Auroux and Josephin Pelándan. In the twentieth century, scholars like Denis de Rougemont, the author of the famous essay entitled *L'amour et l'Occident*, claimed that the Cathar religion must have influenced the troubadours and thus determined the shape of Western romantic love, given the spread of the troubadour legacy around Europe. Rene Nelli also took a similar stance based on analogies between *fin'amor* rituals and Cathar doctrine, which can almost always be explained by their shared cultural context. Doctrine is not the arena where we should seek connections between Catharism and the troubadours' poetry; instead, it is the interpersonal relations that were possible in a civilisation as refined and cultivated as Occitania, which may therefore have been particularly open to dialogue and tolerance. Emblematic cases of this may be the troubadour Peire Vidal, who was welcomed by the Cathar Guilhem de Dufort into the castrum of Fanjeau, the epicentre of Catharism which the troubadour described as a paradise on earth, and the aforementioned Raimon de Miraval, who was not a Cathar but interacted with its followers when he was in Lleida after the crusaders had dispossessed him of his castle. The Catalan troubadours also engaged in occasional contact with Catharism. For example, Guillem de Berguedà (1138-1192) took refuge in the countship of the Cathar Arnau de Castellbó after being accused of murdering Viscount Ramon Folc of Cardona, according to his mediaeval biographers, because 'no relative or friend wanted him, given that he violated his wives, daughters and sisters'. Other Cathars who appear in Guillem de Berguedà's verses are Bertran de Saissac and Arnautz de Vilar, the latter mentioned in a composition in which the troubadour reproaches Pere de Berga for not giving him fish, even though he had some at home, a likely allusion to the host's Cathar diet. The list could be lengthened with other occasional allusions or more dubious examples; however, the interesting fact is that, as stated above, these verses reveal close coexistence within a framework of civilised tolerance, but not doctrinal affinity. The true attunement between Cathars and troubadours can be found in the sphere of political songs or *sirventes*, where troubadours like Peire Cardenal, Guilhem Figueira, Guilhem de Montanhagol and Gui de Cavalho celebrated the heroes of the crusade, exhorted the Count of Toulouse and his allies to join the struggle and cast virulent attacks against the clergy, who were accused of all the vices and spurious reasons for the crusade.

Yet the heresy not only contaminated the image of the troubadour movement but also probably marred the impeccable image of Peter the Catholic, who shortly before had been celebrated as a champion of Christianity and one of the masterminds behind the victory against the infidels in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. The defeat in Muret, when he fought on the side against the defenders of Christian orthodoxy, probably explains the eclipse of the royal image in the subsequent historiography and literature. His figure is discreetly silenced, or even negatively portrayed, in the Catalan chronicles. One example is found in the *Llibre dels Feyts*, in which James I attributes his father's defeat to the sin of fighting against the defenders of the Christian faith, and on a more mundane plane to the tactical error of not having reached an agreement with Simon de Montfort's men. But more widespread is the anecdote that compounds the memory of the monarch's unfortunate behaviour by alluding to the sexual excesses that he partook of the night before the battle, given his inability to repress the feeble nature of his flesh: '*E aquel dia que feu la batayla hauia jagut ab una dona, si que nos hoim dir depuys a son reboster qui hauia nom Gil, e fo puys frare del espital, qui hauia estat en aquel conseyl, e a altres qui ho uiren per sos uyls, que anch al Evangeli no poc estar en peus, ans sasech en son seti mentres deya*' [The night before the battle the king had lain with a woman, so that, as his butler Gil told after he became a man of the cloth in the Order of the Hospital, and others who saw it with their own eyes, the king could not stand upright while the Gospel was being read and had to sit in his chair as it was read].[9] The image of Peter as 'un rei faldiller' [a skirt-chasing king], perhaps a caricatured distortion of the courtly spirit of this monarch, the protector of troubadours, appears in other mediaeval documents like *vidas* and *razos*. The *vidas* and *razos* were brief texts in Occitan prose written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that accompanied the troubadours' compositions in the chansonniers with the goal of contextualising the compositions and assisting in their interpretation by giving information on the troubadour's life (*vida*) and/or the circumstances in which they composed their songs (*razo*); however, as the information was often gleaned from the poems themselves and was not based on actual knowledge of the life of authors dating from two centuries earlier, the facts in the *vidas* and *razos* are often invented.[10] The *razo* of the composition *Entre dos volers sui pen-*

sius (BEdT 406.B.D) by Raimon de Miraval actually says that the real reason King Peter II marched to Occitania was that he had fallen in love with Alazais de Boissazon without ever laying eyes on her because of Raimon de Miraval's praise of her in his poetry. Martí de Riquer noticed the coincidence between this portrait of the king and the explanation that Guilhem de Pueglaurens provided in his chronicle of the Albigensian Crusade. According to that chronicle, on the verge of the battle, Simon de Montfort must have intercepted a letter from the Catalan king which instead of containing the military strategy revealed Peter's love of a lady from Toulouse, whom he confessed was the real reason he had come to fight the French.[11] These documents, which shade that unstintingly laudatory portrait of the sovereign contained in other *vidas*, are joined by testimonies like the one by the troubadour Aimeric de Sarlat, whose *Aissi mueu mas chansos* (BEdT 11,1) expresses the fear that the King of Aragon would steal his beloved. Within the realm of troubadour *vidas* as well, another stigma that the disaster at Muret cast on the memory of Peter can be found in the celebrated *vida* of the Catalan troubadour Guillem de Cabestany. This novelesque biography recounts the tragic death of the troubadour and his lady brought about by her villainous husband; even though Peter II was the troubadour's natural lord, he does not play the heroic role of arbiter of the court and administrator of justice who punishes the murderer, but instead his father, Alphonse II, does. This anachronism may be deliberate and put down to the reasons cited above.[12] No indisputable traces of Peter II's poetic creations remain, but he may well be the 'Roi d'Aragon' who participated in a troubadour debate conveyed in chansonnier *C* (Paris, BnF, fr. 856) copied in Narbonne in the fourteenth century.

Peter's son, James I (1208-1276) was not a patron on the scale of his father and grandfather, but he also appears in the troubadours' verses.[13] Within the new context marked by the hegemony of France and the papacy in Occitan lands, many of these verses reveal how James I forgot the cause and abandoned his forefathers' policy of patronage. These dashed hopes are clear, for example, in the troubadour Sordel's *planh* composed in 1236 for the death of the patron and troubadour Blacatz d'Alms (BEdT 437,24). In an original adaptation to a chivalrous context of the poetic motif of the Eaten Heart, which we will cite when discussing the Catalan troubadour Guillem de Cabestany, Sordel suggested that the contemporary sovereigns share the heart of the deceased Blacatz, each one eating a piece to gain the virtues that the nobleman displayed when alive. Worth particular note is the reference to James I in verses 25 to 28 of the composition: '*Del rey d'Arago vuelh del cor deia manjar / que aisso lo fara de l'anta descargar / que pren sai de Marcella e d'Amilau; qu'onrar / no·s pot estiers per ren que puesca dir ni far*' [I want the king of Aragon to eat the heart, so that he can free himself of /the shame he earned in Marseille and Millau. If not, he will be unable to conquer any honour for anything he does or says]. James's detachment from Occitan political interests to instead focus on the prospects of conquering the Iberian territories occupied by the Saracens also sparked other criticisms by the troubadours Peire Duran, Bertran de Born the Younger and Aimeric de Belenoi in a composition (BEdT 9,12) written at the Catalan court. Always seeking the connection with local poems, we should also highlight the *sirventes* by Bernart Sicart de Maruejols, *Ab greu cosire* (BEdT 67,1) because it imitates the formal scheme of the *canso* by the Catalan troubadour Guillem de Cabestany, *Lo dous cossire* (BEdT 213,5), one of the most celebrated compositions around Europe from the Catalan corpus. We should note here that the technique of *contrafactum*, that is, using the melody or metric and rhyme scheme of a successful piece, was common in the poetics of the *sirventes*, given that—as all advertising professionals today know—it was a quick, effective way to ensure that the message spread. Alongside the compositions that circulated in the political milieu on the far side of the Pyrenees, we can also find references to the king in other pieces referring to internal conflicts between the Catalan nobility and the monarch, as well as in crusade songs. Two examples of the latter are the one by the Catalan troubadour Oliver del Temple (BEdT 312,1), which reports on James I's failed expedition to the Holy Land, and the one by a fellow Catalan Guillem de Murs, which promoted participation in Saint Louis's crusade to Egypt (BEdT 312,1). The Catalan troubadour Cerverí de Girona served James I and was affiliated with his court, although by that time he was more closely affiliated with the person and interests of his son and heir Peter (later Peter III) than those of his father.

As soon as the prince succeeded James I as Peter III the Great (1276-1285), the cultural policy initiated by Alphonse II was systematically resumed. Just like his forefather, Peter III was a protector of troubadours, including Guilhem de Montanhagol, Paulet de Marselha and Folquet de Lunel, and he was likely also a troubadour himself, although perhaps only occasionally. He is attributed with a *tenso* that can be dated from around 1268 with the minstrel Peironet, who may actually be Pere Salvatge, 'the king's minstrel', who participated in the debate in the 'Cycle of *Sirventes* of 1285' with King Peter.[14] As shall be outlined below when discussing the Catalan troubadours, Peter III's policy essentially entailed promoting the troubadour Cerverí de Girona as the court poet who was wholly devoted to constructing the monarch's image as the ideal prince.

The *dansa* '*Mayre de Deu e fylha*', which Arnau de Vilanova mentioned, can be attributed to James II (1267-1327), to whom Jofre de Foixà dedicated the poetic treatise entitled *Regles de trobar*. Meanwhile, his brother Frederick III of Sicily sent a *cobla esparsa* to Ponç Hug IV of Empúries (BEdT 160,1) between 1296 and 1298, which drew from the metric scheme of a *sirventes* by the Catalan troubadour Guillem de Berguedà. Furthermore, three *coblas* with *tornada* by Peter the Ceremonious (1335-1387)

are also conserved. Pere de Ribagorça apparently composed *dansas* which have been lost but we are aware of through indirect testimonials, and he likely also promoted the development of the treatises on troubadour poetry by Raimon de Cornet and Joan de Castellnou, and probably the compilation *Cançoneret de Ripoll* as well.[15] The troubadour known as the 'Bord del rei d'Aragó' ('Bastard of the King of Aragon', 1291?-1310?), to whom three burlesque *coblas* exchanged with his fellow troubadour Rostanh Berenguier de Marselha are attributed, may be a bastard son of James I or Peter the Great. Finally, we should note that Constance of Aragon, the wife of James III of Mallorca from 1325 to 1346, may be *La Reyna de Mallorques* to whom the Vega-Aguiló chansonnier attributes an amorous poem, which is also found in the Catalan translation of the *Decameron*, although there is no reason it could not just as easily be Violant of Vilaragut, James III's second wife.

The Catalan troubadours

We know the names of slightly more than twenty Catalan troubadours,[16] with varying legacies, ranging from those who only left one *cobla* to figures like Cerverí, to whom more than 100 of the almost 200 compositions still conserved are attributed. There are also lost troubadours whom we are aware of solely through allusions, but whose works have not survived, such as Ot de Montcada, mentioned by Guillem de Berguedà. If Guillem de Berguedà's statement that Ot de Moncada was creating verses 'anz que peira pausada / fos el clochier de Vic'—that is, before the belfry of Vic was built (which was consecrated in 1038)—is true, either literally or figuratively, he was probably the earliest troubadour of whom we are aware. However, the earliest one whose works are conserved is Berenguer de Palol from Roussillon, whose output can be dated from around 1164, the time of the death of Jofre III of Roussillon, to whom the troubadour sent a composition. The interest of this first Catalan troubadour lies primarily in his music, given that chansonnier *R* contains musical notation for eight of the ten compositions attributed to him; his compositions seem inspired by popular tunes, a hallmark of the Catalan troubadour tradition, as we shall discuss below.

Although we have stressed the strategic importance of troubadour poetry for the Crown of Aragon primarily as an instrument of penetration in Occitan politics, we should also bear in mind this poetry's integration into the cultural and political life of the counts' and viscounts' family lineages. Many troubadours, like Berenguer de Palol, Guerau de Cabrera, Guillem de Berguedà, Ponç de la Guàrdia, Guillem de Cabestany, Uc de Mataplana, Ponç Hug d'Empúries and others, were members of the petty nobility, and for them troubadour poetry was a powerful tool for channelling their opposition to the policies issued by the royal administration.

When we talk about Catalan troubadours, we should also look beyond the distinction implied by the label 'Catalan' and understand the awareness of a natural continuity between the Catalan and Occitan troubadours, as revealed by the use of the same linguistic *Koine*, the manuscript tradition, which is indistinguishable in both, and the constant intertextual connections, that is, the reciprocal literary influences. Beyond the enthusiastic reception of troubadours like Giraut de Bornelh and Arnaut Daniel in modern-day Catalonia, mutual influences were frequent, like the ones stemming from the personal relationship between the Catalan Guillem de Berguedà and the Occitan Bertran de Born; those based on the European outreach of some Catalan troubadours, like Guillem de Cabestany; and the cases of *contrafactum*, which were not limited to the Occitan corpus but also incorporated French and Galician-Portuguese models, especially among later troubadours like Cerverí.[17]

Given the limited length of this article, it seems both relevant and economical to sketch the Catalan troubadour movement through a series of strategic assessments of the troubadours considered the most important because of both the number of their extant works and their influence on later Catalan literature. They are also the troubadours that best illustrate the different idiosyncrasies that characterised the movement in the Crown of Aragon, which are continued in subsequent Catalan literature.

Ramon Vidal de Besalú (~1190-1220~)[18]

One hallmark of the troubadours' reception in Catalonia is the metaliterary dimension expressed via constant reflection on poetics, language and the canon, that is, the reference repertoire of authors and texts, as discussed with Guerau de Cabrera's *Ensenhamen*, and of the values that these texts convey. Emblematic of this reception paradigm is the work of Ramon Vidal de Besalú, the author who best matches the profile of the professional troubadour, which was much more deeply rooted among the Occitans.

With solid clerical training and perhaps some background as a minstrel, Ramon Vidal de Besalú deserves the distinction of being the author of the first grammatical treatise written in a vernacular language, the *Razos de Trobar* (ca. 1200). The true purpose of the work was to teach correct use of the Occitan language, given the difficulty of the lexical particularities of the neighbouring language and some aspects of its morphology, such as two-case declension, for Catalan audiences and authors. The development of a grammar of the Occitan language also gives an idea of the prestige the troubadours had achieved as the first authors in a vernacular language to be treated on par with the Latin classics. In order to fulfil his purpose of defining the model of linguistic correctness and teaching the '*dreicha maniera de trobar*' [right way to compose troubadour poetry], Ramon Vidal illustrated his lessons with practical examples, sometimes phrases that he invented, although he often inserted quotes—perhaps just one or two verses—from troubadour compositions as models. These quotes are extraordinarily valuable as testaments of the dissemination of Occitan troubadour po-

etry in Catalan lands, given that they precede the large manuscript compilations of this poetry. Even though the content of the quotes seems irrelevant from the standpoint of the work's purpose, namely to illustrate linguistic correctness, a careful study highlights his tendency to choose proverbial, sententious statements in which the learning of both the language and the ethos behind the erotica of the *fin'amor* could converge. In the preamble to the work, Ramon Vidal stresses the didactic dimension of troubadour poetry as a source of moral values and civilisation (*'trobars et chantars son movemenz de totas gallardías'* [reciting poetry and singing are the stimulus of all gallantry]), thus making sense of this twofold use of quotes as both models of grammatical correctness and vehicles of ideal behaviours.

The complementariness between learning a language and learning courtliness, that is, the view of troubadour poetry as not only a poetic code, a language experience, but also as a code of conduct worth emulating, is probably the main hallmark of Ramon Vidal de Besalú's poetic oeuvre. Despite the diversity of genres, his entire output revolved around the troubadour universe: the *Razós de Trobar*, the poetic compositions that have survived and even the three extended narrations he wrote in *novas rimadas*: *So fo e·l tems c'om era gais* and *Abrils issi'e mays intrava*, which quote troubadours, and *Castia gilós*, which was inspired by the love triangle found in the *canso* and became the name for a cliché, the jealous man who is taught a lesson, which reappears in Occitan novels like *Flamenca* and in the *Novas del Papagai*.

Two stories that are interspersed with quotes of troubadours are of particular interest within the topic at hand. *Abris issia* (1209-1213), halfway between a *nova* and an *ensenhamen*, tells about an encounter in the square of Besalú between the poet and a minor minstrel who debate the decline of courtliness in a world in which the ideal of the courtly life upheld by the nobility, and by extension the profession of the minstrel, seems to have entered into crisis. The work includes nine quotes of troubadours, and in the course of the debate the characters mention real courts, like that of Dalfí d'Alvernha (1155/1160-1235), Count of Clarmont and Montferrand, a troubadour himself and protector of troubadours, and that of the Catalan patron Uc de Mataplana. The lament over the decline of courtliness is accompanied by a nostalgic glance back at a glorious past cast on a scenario not too far back, in a time that was rather close to Ramon Vidal's present. In this context, the old cliché of the *laudatio temporis acti* can be understood not so much as a mere rhetorical artifice but instead was probably related to a burgeoning awareness of loss and transformation, which can most likely be interpreted over the historical backdrop of the crusades against the Cathars.

In *So fo·l tems c'om era gais* (1204-1209), the troubadour poetry and the story are much more closely intertwined. The increased number of troubadour quotes, more than forty, is joined by the story's poetic matrix, which in some ways is simply the dramatisation of a *tenso*, which proposes a typical theme in the troubadours' debates: whether or not there is a time limit on faithfulness in the enamoured vassal's patient waiting. Specifically, the *nova* poses the situation of a knight who after seven years of amorous service to his lady believes that he he should have earned the status of *drutz* (beloved); when rejected, he decides to abandon her to court a maiden who is more favourably inclined towards him. The events give rise to a debate among the characters on the legitimacy of the knight's actions. As they are incapable of reaching an agreement, the affair is submitted to the judgement of Uc de Mataplana, who decides in favour of the lady and orders the knight to return to her service. In this debate, the quotes of troubadours serve as authoritative arguments used by the characters, who bolster their stances by citing the name of the troubadour along with verses from some of their compositions.

A comparison of Ramon Vidal's *So fo·l tems c'om era gais* with a contemporary French work, Jean Renart's *Le Roman de la Rose*, is highly eloquent when illustrating the different reception of the troubadours' poetry in Catalonia and elsewhere in Europe. Around the same time, these two works of fiction were pioneers in a literary fashion that would become quite popular around Europe, which consisted of interspersing fragments of poetry lifted from the troubadours' compositions in a narration in verse. Both works sought a realistic aesthetic by including historical figures in the story and having the characters recite troubadours' verses. However, the difference is significant, given that in the *Roman de la Rose*, the troubadours' verses are not quotes but songs, so the work is readily comparable to what today would be a musical: a work designed to entertain through a dramatised representation, where fictitious characters sing to express their emotions at the story's peak moments. Here, the troubadour poetry is fully absorbed in the fiction, to such an extent that Jean Renart omitted the name of the real author of the songs, a famous troubadour, to foster the illusion that the singing is the fictitious characters' speech. In contrast, the work by Ramon Vidal de Besalú is the product of a very different cultural climate totally dominated by not the oral but the written reception of the troubadours, who were read as classics, and geared at constructing an ethical and aesthetic ideal. Through the mechanism of the quote, Ramon Vidal shares the moral teachings of his Occitan counterparts with the goal of establishing a canon of authors and texts and connecting them to a certain hierarchy of courtly values. While the *Roman de la Rose* is a novelesque fiction that retells a story rooted in folklore, *So fo·l tems c'om era gais* dramatises a poetic debate with the purpose of educating. Inserted in a didactic text that aims to paint Catalonia as the heir to Occitan culture, building an ethical model by turning a canonical selection of troubadour verses into authority, the quotes in no way offer a way to evade the real world, as they do in the French work, but instead aim to bring the troubadours' ideal world to its

audience, bridging the chasm separating poetic fiction from reality. Even though *fin'amor* and courtliness are purely textual realities, Ramon Vidal presents them as a model of behaviour worth imitating.

The need for the conservation and the ethical and aesthetic regulation of troubadour poetry that drove the spirit of the rhetorical treatises and rhymed *novas rimadas* with poetic quotes that emerged in the Catalan literary space is inextricably linked with the political crisis in Occitania in the thirteenth century, which became a complex chessboard that fostered the perception of troubadour culture as an endangered civilisation. The unusual prominence of the notion of 'wisdom' and the figure of the minstrel as a literary motif/character in Ramon Vidal's work makes sense within this context of 'reviving' the memory of and systematising courtly values. The textual nature of the knowledge equated with the conservation of the courtly values, emblematically represented by the poetic texts, confers a crucial role on the minstrel, who becomes the memory and educator of courtly society. This glorification of the figure of the minstrel as the conveyor of troubadour poetry introduces a timely issue in the thirteenth century which unquestionably has to do with a recoding of the literary system inherited from the twelfth century, as we shall see when we discuss Cerverí below. This opened the system up to experimentation and gave an increasingly broad space to subjectivity, forcing the role of the intellectual to be redefined. However, it also had to do with the new social conditions associated with the troubadour diaspora that came in the wake of the Cathar Crusade, and with the real phenomenon of the minstrelsy illustrated by the vicissitudes in the lives of troubadours like Paulet de Marselha.

The aspiration to a new role for the intellectual within the space of courtly poetry found a personal voice and a more complex reformulation in the figure of Cerverí.

Guillem de Berguedà (…1138-1192…)

The troubadour Guillem de Berguedà is highly representative of the cultural and political dynamics of troubadour poetry within Catalan noble circles. His work reveals how troubadour poetry not only was a political instrument wielded by the Crown but also served the interests of the Catalan barons, often in tension with royal and ecclesiastical power. Thirty-one compositions by this troubadour still survive. He was the son of the Viscount of Berguedà and a vassal of the Counts of Cerdagne and the Catalan lord Uc de Mataplana. Even though he also cultivated amorous poetry and other troubadour genres, the bulk of his oeuvre revolves around the poetics of the *sirventes*, a circumstantial form of poetry that reflects the immediate world around it—often a conflictive one— which took on a virulently satirical tone in this Catalan troubadour's works. His verses talk about constant clashes with the policies of King Alphonse II, as well as numerous conflicts with his neighbours. The disagreements with one of them, Viscount Ramon Folc de Cardona, which he proclaimed in song (BEdT 210,8a), ended violently on 3 March 1175 with the viscount's murder by Guillem de Berguedà, who then had to go into exile. In 1184, the troubadour reappeared in the circle of the king, whom he accompanied to Provence, where he had the chance to forge personal and literary relations with some of the most prestigious troubadours of the time, most notably with the master of the *sirventes*, the Occitan troubadour Bertran de Born.[19] The close bonds between the two troubadours, expressed in the *senhal* or pseudonym *Frare* [brother] which Bertran used to call the Catalan, gave rise to reciprocal poetic influences. Far from the royal milieu once again, the troubadour became the mouthpiece of the interests of the viscounts' struggle against the power of the Crown. The *vida* of Guillem de Berguedà that still survives recalls the excesses he committed and reports on his death at the hands of a foot soldier, an unworthy death for a knight.

As noted above, the hallmark of Guillem de Berguedà's oeuvre is the virulence of his satire, which he channelled through his *sirventes*. In the system of troubadour genres, the *sirventes* was an extraordinarily vital one, which clearly proves that one of the main purposes of troubadour poetry in the courts, both royal and feudal, was to spread propaganda aimed at creating a state of opinion by attacking adversaries or promoting a given ideological stance. The immediacy of this purpose goes a long way in explaining why the poetics of the *sirventes* often entailed the *contrafactum* of successful melodic and formal schemes. In fact, one of the proposed etymologies of the Occitan name *sirventes* found in the mediaeval treatises refers to the fact that the *sirventes* uses the metric scheme and melody of a preexisting composition, which can be related to the effectiveness and quick dissemination required by a genre focused on current events, which it aimed to influence somehow.

In the chronological arc spanning from the 1170s to the early 1180s, Guillem de Berguedà used his verses to attack a broad array of enemies: his neighbour Pere de Berga, Ramon Folc de Cardona, King Alphonse and a series of figures in his circles like the Bishop of Urgell, Arnau de Preixens and Ponç de Mataplana. Stylistically, the mastery of the rhetorical conventions of courtly poetry coexists in these compositions with a series of resources that pursue the effectiveness of the satire through mechanisms like humour, where subtleties of irony coexist alongside histrionic comedy. The troubadour uses caricatured hyperbole and often coarse, obscene words to create wordplays that convey threats or injurious contents.[20] Playing with the troubadour code, which obligated him to shroud the identity of the recipient via a *senhal* or pseudonym, he created comical nicknames for his enemies (Ramon Folc de Cardona = Folcalquer; Ponç de Mataplana = Nas-de-corn [nose like a horn], etc.) and exploited the contrast between the lofty register of the courtly style and the sudden lowering of the tone with the incursion of an obscene or scatological word, as in BEdT 210, 10: '*A vos m'autrei, bona dompna de Berga: vos etz fins aurs, e*

vostres maritz merga' [I bestow myself upon you, good lady of Berga; you are fine gold and your husband is 'shit'. The intended pun is with *merda*:'shit'].

Melodically and formally, the immediacy and the extensive dissemination required by propaganda led to the adoption of a *leu* (light, simple) style with a clear propensity for contamination from pre-courtly folk genres, like the presence of the *tornada*. Thus, the melody of the *sirventes* inveighing against Ponç de Mataplana (BEdT 210, 10) was likely built upon a folk song, as suggested in the first few verses: '*Cansoneta leu i plana / leugereta, ses ufana / cantarei*' [I will sing a light, plain, ever-so-light song without pomp], where the *tornada*, a resource from outside the courtly poetry of the troubadours' *canso*, repeats the curse against the marquise at the end of each *cobla*: *A, Marques, Marques, Marques, d'engan etz farsitz e ples* [Ah, Marquise, Marquise, Marquise you are stuffed and full of deceit].

Isabel Grifoll has analysed the syncretism of the sources that converge in Guillem de Berguedà's satire, from the scholastic rhetoric grounded on imitation of the classics to a pan-Romance current of satirical literature, some of whose best examples are the Galician-Portuguese *cantigas d'escarnho*, not to mention the satirical streak in the origin of Occitan poetry. The same author points out an important breach in Guillem de Berguedà's political poetry prompted by his encounter with the Occitan Bertran de Born. The contact and synergies between the two troubadours must have inspired the Catalan to elevate the rhetorical and formal register of his poetry, leading to much more elaborate schemes. His content, too, may have become loftier, leading him to explore themes like the glorification of war and moral reflection, which reveals the influence of the troubadour Marcabrú. One last important aspect contained in Grifoll's study, which is extensively examines the issues discussed above, is the rescaling of the personal nature of Guillem de Berguedà's political poetry, inserted into an ideological context. Beyond the entrenched territorial rivalries in the region, his attacks against Pere de Berga, Ramon Folc de Cardona and Ponç de Mataplana are testimonies of the viscounts' revolt against the monarch, who had turned the former pacts on landownership (the *Usatges*) and diocesan public *pax* into instruments of the royal administration. Therefore, they do not reflect a personal stance as much as they document some noblemen's disgruntlement with royal and ecclesiastical policy and its instrumentalisation of troubadour poetry.[21]

Finally, the troubadour genre of the *planh*, or funeral eulogy, is uniquely represented in Guillem de Berguedà's *Consirós cant e planc e plor* (BEdT 210,9), devoted to the deceased Ponç de Mataplana, the enemy whom he had cruelly mocked in his *sirventes*. The *planh* stands out for its profound originality, given that the troubadour broke with all rhetorical conventions prescribed by the poetics of the genre and replaced them with a discourse in which he expresses regret for his excesses against Mataplana and closes with a sensational image of the paradise he wishes for his former enemy. It is quite an unusual paradise, a courtly and chivalrous one where the marquise is on a carpet of flowers enjoying the company of ladies and minstrels and the heroes of the Roland and Oliver epics. This originality has been interpreted both as sincere and as mocking posthumous regret by those who choose to see a subtle irony that could only be grasped by a small coterie of insiders.[22]

Guillem de Cabestany (…1212…)

Unlike the troubadours discussed above, all of Guillem de Cabestany's works are amorous. The distinctive feature of his poetry within the Catalan troubadour world is his international renown and the fact that he has given rise to a legendary biography that has enshrined the troubadour in the amorous mythology of Western literature from the Middle Ages until today. This troubadour from Roussillon lived in around 1212, the time of the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. He bequeathed us nine songs, although the attribution of two of them is dubious. What stands out in this small corpus is the composition *Lo dous cossire* (BEdT 213,5), due to its extraordinary dissemination (conveyed in 23 manuscripts), along with the imitations of it by Bernart Sicart de Maruèjols (*Ab greu cossire*, BEdT 67,1), Peire Basc (*Ab greu cossire* BEdT 327,1), Peire Cardenal (*Quals aventura*, BEdT 335,43) and Cerverí de Girona (*Pus fis amayre* BEdT 434a,51). The Catalan troubadour's posterity is closely associated with the biographical anecdote conveyed by the authors of the *vidas* and *razos*, who turned him into 'el trobador del cor menjat' [the troubadour of the Eaten Heart].[23] Recasting the old folkloric motif of the 'Eaten Heart'—whose origins are lost in the mists of time—in a courtly fashion, the legendary *vida* recounts the troubadour's tragic murder by Ramon de Castell Rosselló, the husband of his lady, Saurimonda. After killing him, her husband completed his vengeance by removing his heart from his chest and having it cooked, and then serving it to his wife without telling her what it was. Only after she ate it was she told of its horrifying provenance. Yet far from being horrified, she instead performs what should be viewed as a symbolic act of rebellion, given the metaphorical dimension of eating the heart as the image of carnal union. So, the lady replies that the meal she has eaten is so delicious that she never again wants to taste anything else. Angered, her husband rushes to her to slash her with his sword, but she trumps him and kills herself by throwing herself off a balcony. As an emblem of the utmost courtliness, the martyred lovers inspire the mercy of the inhabitants of all the regions, who demand justice from the king. Probably for the reasons cited above, Peter the Catholic is anachronistically replaced in the story by Alphonse II, the Troubadour King, who acts as the judge and guarantor of courtliness.

The historical underpinning of this unlikely legend, which was explored by M. Cots and more recently by J. Dalmases, identifies the heroine as Saurimonda de Navata, the daughter of Maria de Perelada and sister of Bernat de

Navata, documented in 1197 as the wife of Baron Ramon de Castell Rosselló of Roussillon.[24] Possible explanations for the choice of Guillem de Cabestany as the main character in this legend may be not only the wholly amorous nature of his chansonnier but also the 'tragic' twist he gives to the usual motifs of the *fin'amor*. Indeed, one of the paradoxes of the troubadours' conception of love is the joyous glorification of unfulfilled desire. Even though the troubadours lament unrequited love in their verses, they are well aware that the erotic tension stemming from it generates the supreme joy (*joi*) that fuels the song. Compared to this vital celebration of *joi*, Guillem de Cabestany's poetry seems dominated by a tragic pessimism over which the shadow of death hovers, and the peak expression of this pessimism is in the martyrology of the heart, treated as an autonomous entity that only yearns to be with the lady. This metaphorical use of the heart is quite clearly seen in his most celebrated composition *Lo dous cossire* (BEdT 213,5, v. 1-8) and its numerous riffs in European poetry.[25] The myth of Guillem de Cabestany extends far beyond the boundaries of Catalan poetry and was recreated in French, German, Italian and other texts, and in a range of genres beyond poetry, including short stories and chivalrous novels. Even Dante chose the motif of the Eaten Heart associated with the figure of Guillem de Cabestany, whose *vida* the Florentine may have been familiar with through chansonnier *P* copied in Italy, to render the meaning of his poetic work in relation to the troubadours' legacy at the start of the *Vita Nuova*. The magnificent allegorical vision that opens the book, where the dead Beatrice appears eating Dante's flaming heart before Love spirits her away to celestial glory, links Dante's poetry to the troubadours' universe while also suggesting the reorientation of this poetic legacy in a new direction, giving Beatrice's love a theological dimension that had been unexplored and was totally alien to the troubadour tradition. The erotic and carnal reminiscences inherent to the motif of the Eaten Heart in the troubadour tradition, only subtly suggested in Dante's sonnet of Dante's *Vita Nuova*, are transformed into a spiritual communion in the *Commedia*, where love for Beatrice can only lead to Paradise.

Cerverí de Girona (…1259-1285…)

It is essential to mention Cerverí de Girona, also known as Guillem de Cervera, the author of the *Proverbis*, in this overview because of both the volume and the quality of his works that still survive.[26] His corpus, which exceeds 100 compositions, makes him the author of two-thirds of the Catalan troubadour poetry still conserved. Cerverí's chansonnier, perhaps organised by the author himself, seems to have been the embryo for the organisation of Gil's chansonnier (*Sg*) in the Biblioteca de Catalunya, one of the most important compilations of Catalan troubadour poetry.[27] The acephalous section of 104 compositions by Cerverí which opens the chansonnier highlights the fact that this troubadour is treated as a classic, given his important, lasting impact on subsequent Catalan literature.

Before assessing his poetic legacy, we should note that Cerverí is an interesting troubadour from the standpoint of the connection between troubadour activity and the monarchy, which was mentioned above as one of the unique features of this poetic movement in the Crown of Aragon. Even though he started his career as a poet serving Viscount Ramon Folc V of Cardona and later James I, as underscored in the title of the book by M. Cabré, Cerverí de Girona was essentially *El trobador de Pere el Gran* [the troubadour of Peter the Great].[28] As Cabré has shown, Cerverí's longstanding ties with Peter the Great started in the court of James I; Peter, still the heir to the throne, was the true promoter and recipient of many *sirventes* that Cerverí composed between 1270 and 1275. As mentioned above, Peter the Great resumed the patronage model started by Alphonse II and guided it wholly to constructing his image as the ideal prince. However, the context had changed over the years and the differences became clear in many ways, including the new facet of the figure of the court troubadour charged with this mission. Because of both his unwavering, permanent connection in the service of King Peter and his court and his intellectual profile, Cerverí embodied a new type of court poet who merged the courtly poetic tradition with new knowledge on scholastic matters, which enriched this legacy with bookish knowledge from different sources within a context marked by the shift from oral troubadour poetry to written conservation. Cabré has explored how Cerverí himself reflected on his role as court intellectual, crafting in his work a complex self-portrait as a master of both knowledge and all things troubadour. This gives an idea of the multifaceted, complex nature of the new figure of the court troubadour and the different hats Cerverí represented himself wearing, ranging from minstrel to court advisor.[29]

The purpose of serving his patron and depicting the court as a cultivated, chivalrous place is clearly the prime and ultimate goal of Cerverí's entire output, both poetic and narrative, in both lyric and political poetry. Cerverí's lyric poetry is defined by formal experimentation, genre hybridisation and the revival of popular forms, and we should certainly locate it within the context of the '*festa cortesana*', that is, a space where dance pieces and formal showiness somehow replaced the old troubadour performance model targeted at a small, elite audience capable of appreciating subtle variations in the expression of a certain amorous doctrine.

Cerverí showed a notable predilection for genres like the *pastorela*, the *alba*, which he tinges with religion, several kinds of *chanson de femme* and the *dansa*, a genre that other late troubadours like Giraut d'Espanha and Paulet de Marselha also cultivated.

Despite the undeniable mediation of the French models which spread in the court of Charles of Anjou in this revival of themes, formal qualities and genres, there is also a notable influence from Galician-Portuguese poetry and certain Occitan poets like Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, the author of multilingual compositions (BEdT 392,7)

and innovative metric and musical forms that also seem to have been inspired by French literature.

Proof of the diverse range of influences fuelling Cerverí's experimentalism is the *viadeyra*, one of the most original compositions in his repertoire. It is a circumstantial piece composed in 1269 on the occasion of Prince Peter's journey (*viadeyra*, derivative from *via*, is a song sung while journeying) to the court of Alphonse X in Toledo to reach an alliance against Charles of Anjou. The Wise King's facet as a troubadour is well known, and Cerverí himself praises it in *Cançó de Madona Santa Maria* (BEdT 434a,54). It is likely that the host's activity as a poet had to do with the unique aesthetic of the *viadeyra*, which is characterised by parallelisms and all kinds of iterative structures, including the technique known as the *leixa-pren*, a feature of the Galician-Portuguese tradition which was spreading through the Castilian court.[30]

The complexity and formal virtuosity of Ceverí's work contrast with the simplicity of the somewhat traditional subjects, although at times they could harbour allegorical interpretations which could conceal doctrinal or political content despite their apparent simplicity.[31]

Cerverí's poetry had a considerable influence on the poetry and reception of the troubadours' models in subsequent Catalan literature. One of the forms that Cerverí cultivated, the *dansa*, takes up a great deal of space in the *Cançoneret de Ripoll*, dating from the mid-fourteenth century, which could be considered the starting point of the truly local poetic tradition. The Marian composition by James II, *Mayre de Deu e fylha*, is a *dansa*, and other religious compositions also fit within this genre, such as the ones included in the compilations of Castelló d'Empúries and Sant Joan de les Abadesses, which attest to the dissemination of these poetic models in clerical circles. The religious and Marian turn of the *dansa* garnered considerable success in Catalan literature and become the formal mould of the *goigs*. The *Cançoneret de Ripoll*, manuscript 129 from Ripoll conserved in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon, which was probably compiled in Pere de Ribagorça's circle between 1325 and 1341, provides the earliest examples of *dansas retronxades* in Catalonia; this complex form of *dansa*, with verses or rhymes repeated at the end of the stanza, became an extraordinarily vital genre in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century poetry.

Costanzo di Girolamo also emphasised Cerverí's importance in the success of the *decennari* (decasyllable) in Catalan literature until well into the fifteenth century, given the troubadour's preference for the slow cadence imposed by this choice in moral texts, contrasting with the brief, quick rhythms of his *dansas*.[32]

The Catalan chansonniers

We shall devote our last section to assessing the reception of the troubadours in Catalonia by examining the manuscript tradition. Of the Catalan compilations of troubadour poetry, the only ones on the Iberian Peninsula, the oldest one is the anthological selection from chansonnier V of the Marciana Library of Venice, dating from 1268 and copied by the Catalan Ramon de Capellades. It contains two pieces by the Catalan troubadour Berenguer de Palou and also provides useful information on the reception of the poetic-musical legacy of the Provençal troubadours. However, the two later compilations conserved at the Biblioteca de Catalunya, manuscript 146, also known as *Sg* or *Cançoner Gil*, and the Vega Aguiló chansonnier (*VeAg*, manuscripts 7 and 8, in two volumes), are the most interesting.

Painstakingly and luxuriously crafted, *Sg* includes 104 compositions by Cerverí de Girona, eighteen by classic troubadours, including most notably Giraut de Bornelh, and 57 by fourteenth-century poets. These later poets were associated with the cultural milieu of the bourgeoisie of Toulouse who founded the *Consistori de la Gaya Ciència* in 1323 with the aim of revitalising troubadour poetry while also subjecting it to rigid observance on moral matters and poetic rules, as we can read in Guilhem de Tolosa's *Leys d'amor* written between 1328 and 1333. Catalan poets like Joan Blanch, Llorenç Malloll, Jaume Rovira, Bernat de Palol, Lluís Ycart, Lluís de Masdovelles and the anonymous authors of two pieces written in a woman's voice participated in the poetry competitions sponsored by the *Consistori*.[33] Imitating the Toulouse initiative, a Jocs Florals competition was held in Lleida in 1388 and the *Consistori del gai saber* was created in Barcelona in 1393. We have already discussed that a defining feature of the chansonnier was its conferral of the status of 'classic' on Cerverí de Girona, as well as its aim of creating a canonical proposal of poetry models for Catalan poets in the second half of the fourteenth century. This mission of serving as a model or source of teaching clearly connects with one of the main dynamics in the reception of troubadour poetry in Catalonia, as illustrated by the work of Ramon Vidal in the thirteenth century and continued in the ensuing centuries with the drafting of poetic treatises: the Catalan tradition of the *Leys d'amor*, conserved in ms. 239 in the Biblioteca de Catalunya, copied in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries, and the *Llibre de Concordances* by Jaume Marc and the *Torcimany* by Lluís d'Averçó from that same era.

The studies by M. Cabré and S. Martí on the Catalan chansonniers and their relationship with the courtly circuits of production and dissemination have provided new perspectives for research. These scholars have related chansonnier *Sg* with a patron close to the royal milieu, perhaps Count Peter II of Urgell, and they have analysed the internal structure of the compilation in light of its connection with this power centre. Their assessment of the section of fourteenth-century poets is particularly interesting when they recognise a selection criterion that bears in mind not so much the connection with the competition in Toulouse as all the poets' connection with the political milieu of the Urgell family (especially James I of

Urgell, count from 1324 to 1347 and father of Peter II), and, for Joan de Castellnou and Raimon de Cornet, their work as the authors of poetic treatises. These approaches are framed within the context of a meticulous review of approaches rooted in literary historiography that leads us to view Catalan poetry from the first half of the fourteenth century as a minor poetry form wholly situated within the orbit of the group from Toulouse, which had been founded to revitalise a tradition that had gone extinct by the thirteenth century. The two authors assert the continuity between these poets and the works of the late troubadours by documenting the vitality of an Occitan-Catalan cultural area which was firmly anchored in the Catalan court in those centuries.[34]

The *VeAg*, a miscellaneous codex compiled in the circles around King Alphonse the Magnanimous between 1420 and 1430, is the main source available for studying Catalan poetry prior to Ausiàs March. The chansonnier also includes around thirty compositions by troubadours who were active between the twelfth century and the reign of Peter the Ceremonious, sixteen anonymous compositions written in Occitan, twenty-two French compositions from the fourteenth century and a notable selection of narrative poems. In this sense, the most salient feature of this chansonnier is the juxtaposition of poetic and narrative texts that resemble the major Catalan compilations of narrative in verse—the Estanislau Aguiló (*E*) and the Carpentras-París codex (*Fa* and *Fb*)—which are somehow similar to the Occitan tradition, or the combination of the works of classic troubadours and contemporary poets.[35]

More in-depth knowledge of these prominent codices in recent years is joined by the discovery of new evidence, such as the fragment *Mh*[36] and the records from Castelló d'Empúries located by M. Pujol in the Arxiu Històric de Girona inside the covers of notary books.[37] Equally valuable is the information on the existence of lost testimonies, like the chansonnier of Girona studied by V. Beltran, which contained a combination of classic troubadours and fourteenth-century poets, making it somehow analogous to the combination found in the major troubadour compilations that still survive.[38] These findings also underpin the hypothesis of the broader circulation of the troubadour legacy than what we may have deduced from the extant chansonniers, a hypothesis that can also be confirmed, as gleaned from the studies cited above, by the chansonniers themselves. For example, we can cite the section on Cerverí in *Sg*, which leads us to posit the circulation of a compilation of works by this troubadour, or alternatively, in a different area, the studies of the Occitan chansonnier *C* at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, where the number and sequence of the compositions by Catalan troubadours suggest the existence of a lost Catalan source.[39]

Apart from chansonniers, in recent years the study of the compositions left in empty spaces found in notary protocols and all sorts of documents has increased the known corpus of Occitan poetry circulating in Catalonia.[40] Based on all these testimonies, the reconstruction of the Barcelona school's array of poetic tastes, fashions and forms has also led us to question the monolithic conception of the court as the culture-promotion hub—especially during the reigns of Peter the Ceremonious and John I—and to highlight the role of peripheral cultural centres and bourgeois and ecclesiastical social groups in promoting Catalan poetry's opening to the more popular register and introducing poetic innovations that were only later incorporated into courtly culture.

Notes and references

[1] The context of Marcabrú's composition leads us to recall that on 13 April 1147, Pope Eugene had blessed the fight against the infidels on the Iberian Peninsula, and the following year, 1148, he declared the conquest of Tortosa a crusade, thus granting the same privileges as those that were conferred on the crusade in the Holy Land. The name by which Marcabrú's composition is known refers to the image he constructs of the Crusade as a *lavador*, that is, as a 'cleansing sink that should enable Christians to wash away their sins'. Cf. A. M. Mussons, '*Preizicar en cantan* a la lírica trobadoresca occitana'. In: G. Avenoza, M. Simó, L. Soriano Robles (coord.), *Estudis sobre pragmática de la literatura medieval.* PUV, Valencia, 2017.

[2] On the importance of royal patronage as a unique feature of troubadour poetry in Catalonia, see the classic studies by I. Cluzel, 'Princes et troubadours de la maison royale de Barcelone-Aragon', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, XXVII (1957-1958), pp. 321-373; Martí de Riquer, 'La littérature provençal à la cour d'Alphonse II d'Aragon', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, II, 1959, pp. 177-201; and C. Alvar, *Poesía trovadoresca en España y Portugal*, Madrid, Planeta/Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, Cupsa, 1977; *Textos trovadorescos sobre España y Portugal,* Madrid Planeta/Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, Cupsa, 1978; and 'Reyes trovadores'. In: *Scène, évolution, sort de la langue et de la littérature d'oc. Actes du VII Congrès International de l'Association Internationale d'Études Occitanes*, Reggio Calabria-Messina, 7-13 July 2002, v. 1, pp. 15-24. See, too, the most recent contributions by S. Asperti, 'I trovatori e la corona d'Aragona. Riflessioni per una cronologia di riferimento', *Mot so razo*, 1/1999, pp. 12-31. Regarding the reign of Alphonse, see M. Aurell, 'Les Troubadours et le pouvoir royal: l'exemple de Alphonse Ier (1162-1196)', *Revue des langues romanes*, 85 (1981), pp. 54-67; J. E. Ruiz Domènec, *A propósito de Alfonso, rey de Aragón, conde de Barcelona y marqués de Provenza,* Barcelona, Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, Servei de Publicacions de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1996. Isabel de Riquer, 'Presencia trovadoresca en la Corona

de Aragón', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 26/2 (1996), pp. 933-966.

[3] Of the different graphic criteria available to write the names of the Occitan troubadours, we have used the ones found in the *Corpus de Troubadours*: https://trobadors.iec.cat/autors_d.asp

[4] His relationship with Alphonse is joined by the rich manuscript legacy in Catalonia (72 compositions conserved in chansonnier *Sg* at the Biblioteca de Catalunya) and his constant, obvious footprint in the work of the Catalan troubadours, from Ramon Vidal de Besalú to later ones like Cerverí. In this regard, see the studies by Isabel de Riquer, 'Giraut de Bornelh en las obras de Ramon Vidal de Besalú y Jofre de Foixà', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, XLII, (1989-1990), pp. 161-184; 'Presencia trovadoresca en la Corona de Aragón', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 26/2 (1996), pp. 933-966.

[5] The references in parentheses used to identify the texts correspond to *BEdT: Bibliografía elettronica dei trovatori,* dir. Stefano Asperti, Università degli Studi di Roma 'La Sapienza', Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia - Dipartimento di Studi Romanzi con la collaborazione dell'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes del CNRS-Paris, 2002-2004; URL http://www.bedt.it

[6] Some of the king's adversaries had sowed doubts about his legitimacy as the successor to the Crown of Aragon and had supported an imposter who pretended to be Alphonse the Warrior, the brother of the king's grandfather, Ramiro II the Monk, who had been executed in 1170. Cf. Antonio Ubieto Arteta, 'La aparición del falso Alfonso I El Batallador', *Argensola: Revista de Ciencias Sociales del Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses,* 33 (1958), pp. 29-38. Martí Aurell, 'Les Troubadours et le pouvoir royal: l'exemple de Alphonse Ier (1162-1196)', *Revue des langues romanes*, 85 (1981), pp. 54-67.

[7] These troubadours are: Ademar Jordan, Ademar lo Negre, Aimeric de Belenoi, Aimeric de Peguilhan, Aimeric de Sarlat, Albertet, Bernart Arnaut de Moncuc, Bertran de Born lo fill, Elias Fonsalada, Gui de Cavalhon (if he is considered the author of the second part of the *canso* of the Albigensian Crusade), Gui d'Ussel, Guilhem Ademar, Guillem de Cabestany, Guilhem Magret, Guilhem Rainol d'At, Guilhem de Tudela, Guiraut de Cabrera, Guiraut de Calanson, Peire de Bragairac, Peire Vidal, Perdigo, Pistoleta, Pons Barba, Pons de Capduelh, Pons d'Ortafà, Raimon de Miraval, Raimon Vidal, Uc de Mataplana and Uc de Sant Circ. This list should be joined by the author of the *sirventes*, *Vai, Hugonet, ses bitensa* (as long as it is not considered to be Raimon de Miraval) and the *trouvère* Andrieu, with whom Peter the Catholic may have exchanged verses. Cf. Saverio Guida, 'Pietro il Cattolico ed i trovatori'. In: *Els trobadors a la Península Ibèrica*. Ed. by Vicenç Beltran, Meritxell Simó and Elena Roig, Barcelona, PAM, 2006, pp. 223-240.

[8] Cf. Martin Alvira Cabrer, *El jueves de Muret: 12 de septiembre de 1213*, Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, 2002.

[9] Ferran Soldevila, 'La figura de Pere el Catòlic en les cròniques catalanes', *Revista de Catalunya*, vol. 4, (1926) pp. 495-506.

[10] The Catalan troubadours with *vidas* and *razos* conveyed in the chansonniers are: Berenguer de Palou, king Alphonse of Aragon, Guillem de Berguedà, Guillem de Cabestany and Uc de Mataplana.

[11] Cf. Martí de Riquer, *Los trovadores*, Barcelona, Ariel, 1975, vol. I, p. 955.

[12] Isabel de Riquer notes that in the version of the legend written by Pompeu Gener in 1916, Peter II, not Alphonse, is the king involved in the affair. Cf. *El corazón devorado,* Siruela, Barcelona, 2007.

[13] For troubadour poetry under the reign of James I, see Albert Hauf, 'Història i literatura: Jaume I i els trobadors'. In: *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I,* Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Memòries de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica, Barcelona, 2011, pp. 897-920; and Miriam Cabré, 'Trobadors i cultura trobadoresca durant el regnat de Jaume I'. In: *Ibid.*, pp. 921-938.

[14] Cf. Martí de Riquer, *op. cit*. 1975, III, pp. 1590-1600.

[15] Cf. Lola Badia, *Poesia Catalana del s. XIV. Edició i estudi del Cançoneret de Ripoll*, Barcelona, Quaderns Crema,1983.

[16] Not including those associated with the royal house cited in the body of the article, the Catalan troubadours of whom we are aware are: Berenguer d'Anoia, Berenguer de Palou, Bernat Vidal, Cerverí de Girona, Formit de Perpinyà, Guerau de Cabrera, Guillem de Berguedà, Guillem de Cabestany, Guillem de Murs, Guillem de Ribes, Guillem Ramon de Gironella, Guiraut de Luc, Huguet de Mataplana, Jofre de Foixà, Olivier del Temple, Ot de Moncada, Palazol, Peire de la Roca, Peire Ramon de Tolosa, Peire de Montsó, Peironet, Pere Salvatge, Pere Galceran, Ponç de la Guàrdia, Ponç d'Ortafà, Ponç Hug IV, Count of Empúries, Raimon Vidal de Besalú, Ramon de Rosselló and Tremoleta. To learn about their respective profiles, see Antoni Rossell, *Els trobadors catalans*, Barcelona, Dinsic, 2006, pp. 69-159.

[17] For a study of these cases, see Antoni Rossell, op. cit., and Dominique Billy, 'Contrafactures des modèles troubadouresques dans la poésie catalane (XIVe siècle)'. In: *Le rayonnement des troubadours. Actes du colloque de l'Association Internationale d'études Occitanes*, Amsterdam, 16-18 October 1995, Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1998, pp. 51-74.

[18] For a survey of the author and the chronology of his extant works, see Anton M. Espadaler, *Ramon Vidal de Besalú. Obra completa*, Barcelona, Edicions UB, 2018.

[19] Cf. Stefano Asperti, 'L'eredità lirica di Bertrán de Born', *Cultura Neolatina*, 64 (2004), pp. 475-525.

[20] Cf. Martí de Riquer, *Guillem de Berguedà*. 2 vol. Poblet, Abadia de Poblet, 1976; *Les poesies del trobador Guillem de Berguedà. Text, traducció, introducció i notes per…* Barcelona, Quaderns Crema, 1976; Vicent Salvador, 'Sobre la poesia del trobador Guillem de Berguedà: re-

cursos estilístics i pragmàtica del discurs'. In: *Actes du XVIIè Congrès International de Linguistique et Philologie Romanes. Aix en Provence, 1983*. Aix-en-Provence, Université, 1986.

[21] Isabel Grifoll, 'Guillem de Berguedà: de la cançó satírica al sirventès'. In: Aitor Carrera and Isabel Grifoll (ed.), *Occitània en Catalonha: de tempses novèls, de novèlas perspectives, Actes de l'XIen Congrès de l'Associacion Internacionala d'Estudis Occitans*, Lleida, Generalitat de Catalunya-Diputació de Lleida, 2017, pp. 529-542.

[22] See Antoni Rossell, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-122.

[23] Montserrat Cots, 'Notas históricas sobre el trovador Guillem de Cabestany', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras*, XXXVII (1977-1978), pp. 23-65; 'Las poesías del trovador Guillem de Cabestany', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona,* XL (1985-1986), pp. 227-330; 'Pervivencias de una leyenda medieval: el corazón comido'. In: *Studia in honorem prof. M. de Riquer* IV, Barcelona, Quaderns Crema, 1991, pp. 400-410. Luciano Rossi, 'Il cuore, mistico pasto d'amore: dal "Lai Guirun" al "Decameron", *Studi provenzali e francesi, Romanica Vulgaria*, Quaderni-6 (1983), pp. 28-128. Isabel de Riquer and Meritxell Simó, 'Cor de dona, dolça vianda'. In: *Miscellanea Mediaevalia. Mélanges offerts à Philippe Ménard,* Paris, Honoré Champion, 1998, vol. 2, pp. 1109-1122; Joan Dalmases, *Dones que mengen el cor de l'amant. La poesia de Guillem de Cabestany, el Châtelain de Coucy i Reinmar von Brennenberg*, Rome, Viella, 2023.

[24] Cf. Montserrat Cots, op. cit. 1977-1978; Joan Dalmases, op. cit.

[25] Cf. Luciano Rossi, *Le poesie di Guilhem de Cabestanh*, Aquila, Japadre, 1987; Joan Dalmases, op. cit.

[26] Martín de Riquer (ed.), *Obras completas del trovador Cerverí de Girona,* Barcelona, Instituto Español de Estudios Mediterráneos, 1947. The information and bibliography on Cerverí de Girona can be found on the page devoted to this troubadour that Miriam Cabré keeps up-to-date: http://narpan.net/recerca/cerveri.html.

[27] Cf. Simone Ventura, *'Intavulare'. Tavole di canzonieri romanzi* (series coordinated by Anna Ferrari). *I. Canzonieri provenzali. 10. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Sg (ms. 146)*, Modena, Mucchi, 2006, p. 48; Miriam Cabré, 'Un cançoner de Cerverí de Girona?'. In: *Canzonieri iberici. Atti del Convegno, Padova-Venezia, 25-27 May 2000*, Padova-A Coruña, Toxosoutos, 2001: vol. I, pp. 283-299.

[28] Miriam Cabré, *Cerverí de Girona: un trobador al servei del príncep*, Barcelona / Palma: Universitat de Barcelona / Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2010.

[29] Miriam Cabré, '*Ne suy juglars ne·n fay captenimentsˊ*: L'ofici de trobador segons Cerverí de Girona'. In: Actes du Cinquième Congrès International de l'Association Internationale d'Études Occitanes (Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail), Pau, 1998. vol. I, pp. 211-224.

[30] Cf. Stefano Asperti, 'Generi poetici di Cerverí de Girona'. In: *Trobadors a la Península Ibèrica*, op. cit. pp. 29-72; Dominique Billy, 'Les influences gallégo-portugaises chez Cerverí de Girona', in D. Billy, F. Clement and A. Combes (eds.), *L'Éspace lyrique méditerranéen au moyen âge: nouvelles approches*, Toulouse, Presses universitaires du Mirail, 2006, pp. 251-263; 'L'hybridation générique dans l'œuvre de Cerveri de Girona', *Méthode* 17 (2010), pp. 25-37.

[31] Irenée Cluzel, 'L'hermétisme du troubadour Cerverí', *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Occitanes* II (1970), pp. 49-64.

[32] Costanzo di Girolamo, 'Excursus. L'herència dels trobadors a Catalunya'. In: *Els trobadors*, Valencia, Edicions Alfons el Magnànim /Generalitat Valenciana, 1994, pp. 283-302

[33] Martí De Riquer, 'Contribución al estudio de los poetas catalanes que concurrieron a las justas de Tolosa', *Boletín de la Sociedad de Cultura Castellonense*, 26 (1950), pp. 280-310.

[34] Miriam Cabré, Sadurní Martí, and Marina Navàs, 'Geografia i història de la poesia occitanocatalana del segle XIV'. In: A. Alberni, L. Badia and L. Cabré (eds.), *Traslatar i transferir: la transmissió dels textos i el saber (1200-1500)*, Santa Coloma de Queralt, Obrador Edèndum - Universitat Rovira i Virgili, 2010, pp. 349-376; Miriam Cabré and Sadurní Martí, 'Les corts catalanes i els manuscrits trobadorescos', *Plecs d'història local*, no. 174 (2019), pp. 5-7.

[35] For the Vega Aguiló chansonnier, see the work by Anna Alberni, '*Intavulare'. Tavole di canzonieri romanzi (serie coordinata da Anna Ferrari). I. canzioneri provenzali, 8. Biblioteca de Catalunya: VeAg (mss.7 e 8),* Modena, Mucchi, 2006.

[36] Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 9-24-6/4579. The fragment, which S. Pellegrini reported, includes texts by Bertran de Born, Falquet de Romans, Jaufre Rudel, Guilhem Ademar, Giraut de Bornelh and Guilhem Magret. See F. Zufferey, *Recherches linguistiques sur les chansonniers provençaux*, Geneva, Droz, 1987, pp. 274-279. M. Careri found a second codex at the Real Academia de la Historia, which she labelled M^{h2}. See 'Alla ricerca del libro perduto: un doppio e il suo modello ritrovato'. In: M. Tyssens (ed.), *Lyrique romane médiévale: la tradition des chansonniers (Actes du Colloque de Liège, 13-17 décembre 1989)*, Liège, Publications de la Faculté des Letres de l'Université de Liège, 1991, pp. 329-378.

[37] The *Recull* of Castelló d'Empúries includes twenty-one poems, some of them fragmentary, dating from between 1288 and 1330, along with fourteen *coblas*, three *sirventes*, two *dansas*, one *canso* and a composition classified by M. Pujol as an *estampida*. The edition and philological study of the poems is complemented with a reconstruction of the cultural climate in the countship of Castelló d'Empúries, which favoured the reception and imitation of the troubadour models, and with a comparison between the *Recull* and the *Cançoneret de Ripoll* that examines the themes, metrics, literary influences, lin-

guistic hybridism (very close to Occitan in the *Recull*) and the purpose of both anthologies as a means of entertainment. M. Pujol defines the *Recull* as 'a set of literary amusements for the notaries and scribes and jurists themselves amateur troubadours' (Miquel Pujol i Canelles, *Poesia occitanocatalana de Castelló d'Empúries. Recull de poemes de final del segle XIII i primer terç del XIV*, Figueres, Institut d'Estudis Empordanesos - Girona Patronat Eiximenis, 2001, p. 76).

[38] Vicenç Beltran, 'El cançoner perdut de Girona: els Mayans i l'occitanisme il·lustra'. In: *Trobadors a la Península Ibèrica*, op. cit., pp. 91-117.

[39] Magdalena León, 'Los trovadores catalanes de *C*', In: *Trobadors a la Península Ibèrica*, op. cit., pp. 241-270.

[40] See Stefano Asperti, 'Flamenca e dintorni. Considerazioni sui rapporti fra Occitania e catalogna nel XIV secolo', *Cultura Neolatina* 45 (1985), pp. 59-103; Isabel De Riquer and Maricarmen Gómez, *Las canciones de Sant Joan de les Abadesses. Edición filológica y musical,* Barcelona, Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres, Series Minor, 8, 2003; Gemma Avenoza, 'Poemas catalano-occitanos en un ms. del s. XIV. La huella de Cerverí de Girona y del capella de Bolquera', *Revista de Literatura medieval*, XXI (2009), pp. 7-33.

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