

**Towards a Genealogy of the Gay Science:
From Toulouse and Barcelona to Nietzsche and Beyond**

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1. Introduction

*Out of the crooked timber of
humanity
no straight thing was ever made.*
(Immanuel Kant)

The term *gay science* (*gaya sciensa*) or *gay saber* refers to a post-troubadour *ars poetica* of the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Known to philologists as a poetics of recuperation, it is mostly associated these days with the title of Nietzsche's 1887 book, *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft*, variously translated into English as *The Joyful Wisdom* (1914) by Thomas Common, and *The Gay Science* (1974) by Walter Kaufmann and subsequent translators. It has been translated into Spanish as *La gaya ciencia* and *El gay saber*. How much Nietzsche actually knew about the poetry of the *gay science* is hard to know; most likely it came from his knowledge of the *minnesingers* (love singers) –the medieval German troubadour poets (Kippenberg, 721-730)– via Richard Wagner.¹ In any case, Nietzsche, the ex-philologist, incorporated the term into his philosophy, mixing it with elements from the Greek, Stoic, and dithyrambic tradition. Because today we know the term mostly through him is that we have began in some ways backwards. But Nietzsche was certainly not the first to have incorporated it into a holistic worldview.² The middle period, as it were, of an interest in the *gay science*, took place during the fifteenth century, and found expression in the poetics of the Marqués de Santillana, Enrique de Villena, and in the *Cancionero de Baena* (1454).

The troubadour-inspired poetics of *gaya sciensa* found its fullest articulation in the *Las leys d'amors* of Guilhem Molinier in 1356. Though certainly not the first,³ Molinier's *Leys d'amors* is the most comprehensive study of Provençal poetics, combining theory and examples from the best of troubadour poetry. It gave rise to two schools of *gaya sciensa*, one in Toulouse ("Consistoire du Gai Savoir" in 1323) and the other in Barcelona ("Consistori de Barcelona" in 1338). More on this later; but for now

¹ Wagner's opera *Tannhäuser* takes the title from the name of a *minnesinger* of the thirteenth century. He was supposed to have participated in one of Frederick II's crusade in the Holy Land (Kippenberg & Welker, 78-79). Another German composer who dedicated an opera to the *minnesang* (e.g., *Guntram*) was Richard Strauss, composer of the beautiful symphonic poem, *Also Sprach Zarathustra*, after Nietzsche's book. For a comparative study of the French-German troubadour poetry see "La poésie Française en Allemagne" in Jeanroy, pp. 274-307.

² An unjustly ignored work applying the theory of the gay science to contemporary literature is the two volume study of E.S. Dallas, *The Gay Science*, published in London in 1866 by Chapman and Hall, twelve years before Nietzsche's famous book of the same title. It was reprinted in 1969, under the editorship of René Wellek by the Johnson Reprint Corporation (NY/London).

³ Raimon Vidal de Besuldu's *Razos de trobar* was written between 1190-1200; the *Donatz proensal* of Uc Faidit was written in Italy, sometime around 1240; the *Doctrina d'Acort* was written between 1282 and 1296 by Terramagnino da Pisa" in Sardinia; the *Regles de trobar* authored by Jofre de Foixà at the request of Sicilian king, Jacme II, was written sometime between 1286 and 1291 (Marshall, lxxii). And finally, the *Doctrina de compondre dictats*, which immediately follows the *Razos de trobar* in the manuscript (H), was most likely written at around the same as the *Razos* and the *Regles*. J.H. Marshall conjectures that it was written by the Catalan, Jofre de Foixà, as the conclusion of *Regles de trobar* (Ibid., lxxviii).

what is most important –if we are to fully understand the meaning of *gay science*– is to follow the thread out of a complex labyrinth. To this end, we will begin our study by returning to the historical moment that gave rise to the poetics of *gaya sciensa* –the culture of Provençal troubadour poetry. It is only through such a return that we can best understand the *gay science* of Toulouse, Barcelona, the Spanish poets of the 15th century, and finally, that of our latest and most distinguished inheritor, Friedrich Nietzsche.

2. Provençal economics, culture, and poetry

Much has been written on Dante's famous treatise, *De vulgari eloquentia*, as one of the first attempts to articulate a romance language poetics. In some ways, though speculative in nature, it is also a philosophical treatise following traditional lines of rhetorical argumentation. *De vulgari eloquentia* argues for a consideration of the Italian language as a poetic language. And his *Divina Commedia* incontestably remains the greatest literary work of the middle ages, written in such a *vulgare illustre*. Yet, what is often forgotten, is that the south of France had already, by the time Dante had written his famous treatise, developed a poetry of its own, not in Latin but, in Provençal, Occitan, or *lange d'oc*.⁴

According to Martín de Riquer, what we know as troubadour poetry is made up of 2542 compositions from three hundred and fifty known poets, or *trobadors* (the plural of *trobair*), some anonymous, who commonly wrote in Provençal (1975, I: 10). This amazing output of work written first in the south of France and then in the north of Spain, can only be understood against the socio-economic, ethical, political, and religious soil which made its flourishing possible.

Although today we think of Provence as a region of France, the fact is that until the thirteenth century Provence was an autonomous territory with its own language and culture. “France,” was in all actuality the north of the country with its Frankish influence, and its center of power in Paris. In effect, France and Provence were two separate and distinct countries which merely shared a greater geographical area. The language spoken in southern cities and towns such as Toulouse, Narbonne, and Montségur was Occitan or Provençal, a language closer to Latin than that spoken in the Frankish or Germanic north.⁵ The historical influence upon the south was in the main, even if indirectly, Roman. “The survival of Roman law,⁶ the prominent role of women, and the refinement of a society not organized for war, marked it off from the more disciplined north...Its prosperity was shaped by the trade routes of the Mediterranean.

⁴ The Marqués de Santillana was one of the first to note Dante's debt to Provençal poetics in his “Prohemio e carta” (445). And in his edition of *De vulgari eloquentia* (1983), Sergio Cecchin points out that though it is doubtful that Dante had read Raimon Vidal's *Razos de trobar* (1972), some of his formulations bear resemblance (2). This is clearly Cecchin's response to Salvatore Santangelo's 1959 study, *Dante e i trovatori provenzali*, wherein Santangelo claimed that Dante had read an early, more complete version of Vidal's *Razos de trobar* (79-97) –a much disputed claim, which Marshall has masterfully responded to in Appendix II of *The Razos* (1972, 161-166). More recently Gregory B. Stone has outlined the points of agreement between Dante and Vidal regarding the more general assessment of the “derivative or secondary status of prose narrative” with respect to the lyric (8). See also pages 9, 14-15 in *The Death of the Troubadour*.

⁵ “After the French conquest of the thirteenth century a large section of the country was called Languedoc because in the southern language ‘oc’ was used instead of ‘oui’ to mean ‘yes.’ But Languedoc never included all of the South and eventually it was applied only to the districts of Tolouse, Carcassonne-Béziers, and Beaucaire-Nîmes. Moreover, it was not a name that the men of the South would have given themselves, though they accepted it in the end” (Strayer, 10). As such, we will always refer for simplicity and all-inclusiveness's sake to the language of the south as ‘Provençal.’

⁶ See also Strayer (4).

Its cities developed on Italian, not on northern lines” (Sumption, 17). More urbanized than the north, the merchant economy of the south had given rise to an advanced and powerful middle class. Landowners and not the aristocracy held most of the power in the Provençal cities. “By 1200 the greatest lord in the South, the count of Toulouse, had yielded almost all power in his own capital city to the counsel, the leaders of the bourgeoisie. In many ways, the southern towns resembled the rising city-states of Italy⁷...At Nîmes the governing body of the town was composed of four knights and four members of the bourgeoisie” (Strayer, 7).⁸ The trade and merchant economy of the south, doubtlessly led to the rise of a tolerant and permissive cosmopolitan culture. Jews had little or no problems being accepted by Provençal society, and were even allowed to own land. Other so-called heretics, as for instance, the Cathars “were not only tolerated, they were often completely absorbed into the society” (Strayer, 8). No wonder, then, the south with its cultural and economic *laissez faire*, would eventually come under the attack of the papacy in Paris. Provence did pretty much what Provence wanted, and it was seen by the north as a disorderly, heretical society that had to be brought in line with northern papal and aristocratic power. “The northerners thought the southerners were undisciplined, spoiled by luxury, a little soft, too much interested in social graces, too much influenced by contemptible people such as businessmen, lawyers, and Jews” (Strayer, 10).⁹ And the southerners viewed the northerners as being crude, arrogant, and aggressive.¹⁰ Notwithstanding the criticism of the north with respect to the south’s lack of political unity, it was the south’s political disunity that made it tolerant and gave it its cultural diversity. Such diversity, in turn, was a product of the new bourgeois economic order. Anachronistically as it may be to speak of capitalism, Provençal economics was beginning to move in a direction which resembled pre-capitalistic economic formations.¹¹ Its adoption of a trade economy, and its move away from the rigidity of a feudal, landed economy, was one of the earliest instances of what Deleuze and Guattari would call, a “deterritorialization” of wealth –the final, most advanced stage of capitalism. It is not surprising, then, that this represented a grave danger for the landed nobility and for the Church, whose status was now in question. If money could be made by anyone then it would be a matter of time before the bourgeois merchants would

⁷ “It is true that the merchant class developed very rapidly in the Southern cities, and particularly in Toulouse. Unlike the old patricians of these cities, unlike the nobles, the merchants were not rich in land. They were contractors and managers of money, and their revenues were essentially in movables. They came into head-on conflict with a Church that forbade loan with interest. Thus the game so familiar to the urban Republics of Italy was played out at Toulouse –with the prince and the nobility supporting the old patriciate against the new rich...” (Madaule, 12). And Jonathan Sumption writes: “The frontier of the Holy Roman Empire lay not at the Alps but at the Rhone; Provence was an imperial territory; Lyon and Avignon were frontier towns” (17).

⁸ It is interesting to note that it was perhaps on this kind of structure that the Consistori of the gay science was based, with its seven representative judges. Not to mention the competitive aspect of the poetry “games” and prizes.

⁹ For more on the southern tolerance of the Jews and their successes in the south see also *The Albigensian Crusade: An Historical Essay* by Jacques Madaule (5) and *Massacre at Montségur: A History of the Albigensian Crusade* by Zoe Oldenbourg (24-25). The secularism of Provence impacted Jewish life as well, as many Jewish intellectuals turned to the study of Aristotelian metaphysics and particularly, to the work of Maimonides (Abrahams, 369, 371).

¹⁰ Their disparate world views, no doubt impacted the kind of literature that each of these regions produced, for while the preferred genre of the north was the epic, that of the south was the lyric.

¹¹ “A society based on cash rather than services was inevitably more fluidly organized than the overwhelmingly agricultural society of the north” (Sumption, 15).

overtake the nobility in wealth and power.¹² As wealth became moveable so did the society, including the once stationary nobility.

The castles were no longer isolated fortresses each on its own rocky perch, but had genuine social contact with each other. People paid each other visits; there were gatherings at which the woman's place was supreme. Then it was the habit of many of the nobles in the South of France to leave their castles and establish themselves in town houses for part of the year. Here they met not only their peers but also the rich bourgeoisie, including the new rich, whose refinements in manners drew them closer to the nobility" (Madaule, 13).

Eventually the wits necessary (to make money), to rise above one's station, came to possess the same social value as the courtly *valors* of the feudal knight. "Wits are rarely inherited, and a lowly-born man could rise to great heights by his own merits. This was true of some of the most illustrious troubadours. They were the first men of letters, honoured by their protectors and living in familiarity with the great" (Madaule, 14). In fact, though a great number of troubadours came from the upper classes, a number of them did not.¹³ Marcabrun and Bernard de Ventadour (or Ventadorn"), two of the greatest of the troubadours, came from humble origins.¹⁴ As Madaule says above, what brought the troubadours together one with the nobility, and two to each other, regardless of their class differences, was their art. "The important thing is that, contrary to one's expectation regarding the rigid compartmentalization of social classes in the Middle Ages, differences of social standing were not observed when it came to the multiple interactions of troubadours with each other" (Riquer 1975, 21, my translation). Troubadours of humble origins enjoyed literary contacts with members of the high nobility, while nobles carried on poetic dialogues with court jesters. It is even believed, says Riquer, that Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (author of the beautiful *Kalendas maia*), son of a poor knight, might have began his career as a court jester reciting other people's poetry, and worked his way up to become a troubadour (Ibid., 21). If in the medieval scholastic tradition, the intellectual belonged exclusively to the "professional," ecclesiastical class, the troubadours were one of the first intellectuals to break with such a tradition, giving rise to both a professional and a non-professional class of poets. Professional troubadours like Marcabrun, Bernard de Ventadour, and Peire Vidal were among those who made their living primarily from their poetry (Ibid., 23), while non-

¹² "The increasing development of trade...had made its impact on the working classes. Even humble artisans were gradually being transformed into a powerful class, with full realization of their rights...[T]he burgher's social position was beginning to eclipse that of the nobility" (Oldenbourg, 23)

¹³ The point may be made that because the troubadours wrote in the vulgate and not in Latin that a troubadour without formal scholastic education could write at all, and be read and understood by a much larger audience than if he or she had written in Latin. The use of Provençal over and above Latin must have had a "democratizing" effect on high culture and the economy. The impressive number of troubadours alone is a testament to this.

¹⁴ "A tradition, according to which his parents were humble domestics in the castle of Ventadour, stems from little more than a too literal reading of a remark made in a satirical poem of the late twelfth century. It is, however, most probable that he in fact spent his early years (some time in the 1130s and 1140s) at the court of Ventadour and that he there received, under the guidance of the viscount Eblo his training in the art of lyric poetry" (*Anthology*, 64). A lot of what we know of the more famous troubadours comes from *razos* or *vidas* that were written about them by others who may have gathered the information either directly from the things the troubadours said about themselves in their poetry or what other troubadours said about them. Inaccurate as some of these *razos* or *vidas* may be, they are all we have about them, and on the whole they at least provide us with a general, albeit inexact idea, of their lives. For the difference between *razos* and *vidas* see Riquer (1975, 26-27) and Stone (8-9).

professional troubadours were usually noble men and womenlike Comtessa de Dia (countess),¹⁵ Guilhem de Peitieu (duke of Aquitaine), and Jaufré Rudel (prince), who made their living from things other than poetry.

Starting at the beginning of the twelfth century, under the influence of Latin theories of rhetoric, the troubadours came to articulate a theory of style which they applied to their poetry. Since their poetry was usually either read or sung to an audience, they became aware of the impact of different poetic styles on audience reception. In the end two camps were formed based on poetic styles, which went by the nominatives, *trobar leu* and *trobar clus*. *Trobar leu* was poetry written in a simple, clear, and light style, free of stylistic complications, and double entendres. Bernard de Ventadour's poetry is an example of *trobar leu*. *Trobar clus*, on the other hand, was poetry written in a closed or hermetic style: difficult, subtle, and elusive. Marcabrun's work is exemplary of this more difficult style. In between these two competing styles –and troubadours often attacked each other for writing in one style or the other– there were such variations as *trobar ric*, *trobar escur*, *trobar sotil*, etc. Significant in all this is that a substantial group of poets, as the world has not known since, argued, dialogued, challenged, and competed against one another at the most refined of artistic levels. That they shared a common culture with a certain political economy that made such artistic work possible cannot be denied. For directly or indirectly, the Albigensian Crusade launched against the “rampant” individualism of Provence, marked the beginning of the end of the age of the troubadours. It is no wonder that Nietzsche in the nineteenth century, at the dawn of the industrial revolution, would look back upon this moment in history as a golden age of joyous, artistic creation and self-expression.

3. The poetics of the *gay science* in Provence & and Catalonia

The golden age of the troubadours began circa 1100 with Guilhem de Peitieu and ended some time around 1300 with the poetry of Guiraut Riquier, and a poetic interchange in 1298 between Frederick II of Sicily and Ponç Hug IV of Ampurias (Riquer 1975, 11). Thus by 1333, the year the city of Toulouse commissioned Guilhem Molinier to edit *Las leys d'amors*,¹⁶ the actual poetical practice of the troubadours had become a thing of the past. Though the troubadours had not been a central target of the Albigensian Crusade, they were perhaps seen as part of the secular immorality of the Midi, making their poetry one of the first casualties of the northern crusade against the tolerant and permissive south. And as such, Molinier's *d'amors*, can be seen 1) as a project of recuperation and 2) as way of saving a part of (secular) Provençal culture by injecting it with a religiosity that it did not originally possess. The Consistori, as we will see later, was founded precisely to make troubadour poetry morally “safe” through the

¹⁵ “A fief was thought of as the possession of a family not of an individual. For this reason women could, and commonly did, inherit in their own right, a notable symptom of the unmilitary quality of southern fiefs” (Sumption, 20). And Meg Bogin writes: “There are countless examples of women who governed in their husband's name or were made regent, depending on the status of the husband...Phillipa, the wife of Guilhem de Poitou, the first troubadour, governed Aquitaine while he was in the East from 1101 to 1102” (35). This economic openness to ownership by women –most likely the result a reduction in the male population, due to the number of men who died fighting in the crusades– doubtlessly contributed to the emergence of a poetry composed by women troubadours, or *trobairitz*.

¹⁶ “There are three versions of *Las leys d'amors*. The first, in prose, was composed between 1328 and 1337; the second, in verse, between 1337 and 1343; and the third, in prose, is dated 1355” (Riquer 1975, 35, my translation). This last one, edited by Joseph Anglade (1919), and the one we will cite herein, is presently available in facsimile through Nabu Press/Amazon (2011). Or the reader may access it online in various electronic formats at <https://archive.org/details/lasleysdamorsman01angluoft>. See also the Appendix.

sanction of the “Santa Gleyza” (holy church): a word repeated many times throughout *Las leys d’amors*. However, before we turn to *Las leys d’amors* it is essential that we dedicate a few brief words to the essence of the poetry that came before it, for without it we have no way by which to make the necessary comparison that will shed some light on *the gay science* at its inception, and its impact on a number of fourteenth and fifteenth century Spanish authors, and on Nietzsche.

The word “troubadour” or “trobador” has its origin in the Provençal/Catalan verb, “trobar”; in French “trovaire”, in Italian “trovare”. Trobar, related to the Latin “inveniere,” means to find. Riquer reminds us that *inveniere* can also mean to imagine or to invent, but to invent in the sense of “literally creating” something, as exemplified in the title of Cicero’s essay on rhetoric, *De inventione*. “The troubadour Guiraut Riquier puts in the mouth of Alfonso X, the wise king of Castilla, this affirmation: ‘segon propietat/de lati, qui l’enten.../son inventores/ dug dig il trobador’” (Riquer 1975, 20). Or: “according to proper Latin/to him who understands/all troubadours/are called inventors” (my translation). In a marriage of traditions, the terms of classical Latin rhetoric were united with the poetical praxis of the troubadour and trobairitz who searched for the right word, rhyme, meter, etc, to compose his/her poetry; it was in this sense that he/she was conceived of as an “inventore”. The art of the troubadour was of one finding the right word(s) with which to express primarily, though not exclusively, his love (*fin’amors*) for the beloved *domina*, or woman. Bernard de Ventadour is an excellent example of a troubadour through whom we can readily see all the concerns of the art-form displayed in the very words he employs. We cite him here, followed by Press’ translation:

Chantar no pot gaire valer
 Si din’s dal cor no mou lo chans,
 Ni chans no dal cor mover
 Si no.i es fin’amors coraus
 Per so es mos chantars cabaus,
 Qu’en joi d’amor ai et enten
 La boch’e.ls olhs e.l cor e.l sen.

“Singing cannot much avail, if from within the heart comes not the song; nor can the song come from the heart, unless there be noble love, heartfelt. Hence is my singing supreme, for in love’s joy I hold and direct my mouth, my eyes, my heart, my understanding” (67, Press’ translation).

The references to a beloved, to a fine and noble love (*fin’amors*), to the joy of loving (*joi d’amor*), to the different parts of the body through which the lover expresses his love (la boch’e.ls olhs e.l cor), the mouth, the eyes, the heart, and finally through the understanding (e.l sen), are all part of a Provençal poetic compendium. *Sen* is sense, as it is sensorial or physical, but it is also cognitive understanding. *Sens and saber* often appear together, used interchangeably to mean the same thing –either knowledge in a formalistic “sense” of the word or understanding. “Amor blasmen per no-saber,” writes de Ventadour. “Love is blasphemed by those who do not understand.” “With *saber* is often associated the noun *cor*. Literally, this means ‘heart.’ In the mediaeval scheme, the heart was the seat of intelligence. One learned ‘by heart...Wisdom, which is close to knowledge, is the resultant of love seated in the heart.” (Schutz 508). Love, as conceived by the troubadours could only be the mutual love of two lovers: “En agradar et en voler/Es l’amors de dos fins amans,” writes de Vetnadour. “In agreement and in desire/is the love of two noble lovers.” What the lover fears most, says de Ventadour, is that his beloved will one day cease to look at him, to love him –this, he says, fills him

with fear (*temer*). What is joy? Answer: The happiness that comes from the lover's love for his mistress, for the woods, for the plains –out of Nature's womb. It is found, as the American poet, Walt Whitman, also found it, as much in a leaf of grass as in the body of the beloved.

Can l'erba fresch'e.lh folha par,
 E la flors boton'el verja,
 E.l rorrinhols autet e clar
 Leva sa votz e mou so chan,
 Joi ai de lui, e joi ai de la flor,
 E jois de me e de midons major;
 Daus totas partz sui de joi claus e sens,
 Mas sel es jois que totz autres jois vens.

“When the fresh grass and the leaf appears, and the flower blossoms on the bough, and the nightingale raises high and clear its voice and pours out its song, joy I have for it, and joy for the flower, and joy for myself and for my lady yet more: on all sides I am bound and circled by joy, but that is joy which all other joys overwhelms” (79, Press' translation).

These few stanzas we have quoted here are from a poet many consider the greatest of all the troubadour poets. Yet, nowhere in *Las leys d'amors* does Molinier cite a stanza or a even single line of Bernard de Ventadour; nowhere in *Las leys d'amors*, does one find comparable expressions of carnal joy and love. But that should not surprise us, for as we said earlier, *Las leys d'amors*, were written, edited, and compiled, as an opposition to the kind of bucolic, “pagan,” heretical love songs of the original troubadours of the 12th and 13th centuries. “Like Montanhagol, Guiraut Rirquier and their contemporaries, Molinier belonged to a society where morality and religion had become the dominant concerns of the day. After the Albigensian Crusade, after the establishment of the Inquisition, the society of the Midi –the society of the intellectual capital of Languedoc– had changed. A reflection of this change can be seen in the concept of love.” (Anglade, 45, my translation). Not only is Anglade correct in his assessment of Molinier, but one could very well read *Las leys d'amors* as a historical document –a mirror– of post Alibengian society, where the immoral *amors* of troubadour poetry had been totally re-conceptualized to fit the conservative, religious values of the new society. From the very first page of Book I to the very end of *Las leys*, God is source and inspiration of “el Gay Saber.” If, as Aristotle said, “all men desire to know [sciensa]” and from such knowledge wisdom is born (“naysh sabers”), and from wisdom is born understanding (“conoyshensa”), and from understanding, sense (“sen”) and from sense, good works (“be far”), and from good works courage, praise, honor, worth, and pleasure; then from pleasure at last, comes joy and happiness (gaug et alegriers). This is the basic syllogism presented by Molinier at the outset of *Las leys*, and yet as it is, it remains incomplete; for it seems to leave the question open as to whose happiness (*alegrier*) is being referred to here. Is it happiness of the philosophers, the happiness of poets? Or is it happiness in general? The answer, for Molinier, may have been all of the above and none of the above at the same time. Our five senses have been given to us (8) so that through them we may worship and praise God. To God, “nostre sobira maestre,” writes Molinier, “senhor e creator, platz qu'om fassa lo sieu servezi am gaug et am alegrier de cor...” (8) In other words, our supreme master, Lord and Creator is pleased when man serves him with the kind of joy and happiness that comes from the heart (*cor*). What then is the object of poetry? The answer: to sing to God. The Psalm says, according to Molinier: “Cantatz et alegratz vos en Dieu” (8, my

italics). Most likely taken from verse I and II of Psalm IX (dedicated to the chief Musician...A Psalm of David), it reads: “1. I will praise *thee*, Oh Lord, with my whole heart...2. I will be glad to *rejoice in thee*: I will sing praise to thy name, O though most High” (*Holy Bible*, 467, my italics). The “trobar” of the troubadours is sanctified through the Consistori (a pseudo-church with seven instead of twelve apostles) that will insure that the virtuous, God-given knowledge and wisdom “meravilha e vertuoza dona Sciensa” be employed in praising (*lauzors*) God (Dieu), the virgin Mary (glorioza *Mayre*, 8), and all the saints in Paradise (“totz los Sans de Paradis”). The enemies of the *gay science* (“enemigas del Gay Saber,” 8) are those who fail to employ their art of *trobar* to praise God in their songs. The pre-Crusade vocabulary of *pretz* (worth) *valors* (courage) *sciensa* (knowledge), *sabers* (wisdom), *honors* (honor), *plazers* (pleasure), *cor* (heart), *dezirer* (desire) *fin’amors* (noble love), *domina* (woman), *midons* (my lady) which once reflected the values of troubadour culture –as expressed by the poets to their beloveds– are either turned into Christian values, or eradicated outright, as with the concept of *fin’amors*, which disappears completely in *Las leys d’amors*. Nowhere in Molinier’s hundreds of pages that makes up his compendium is there any mention of woman, except, of course, the virgin Mary, “mayre de Dieu”. Where the troubadours placed women at the center of their poetry –the object of love– “el Gay Saber,” in all its hatred of women, *disappears* them. Woman is not to be trusted. Firstly, she lacks wisdom, and therefore, can be of very little assistance to men. “.I. home de mil he atrobat savi, mas de totas las femmas no trobada una savia,” (Molinier I: 158), pronounces the author in a citation, supposedly from the Psalms. “I have come across thousands of wise men, but of all the women that I have met I have never met one who was wise” (my translation). Women are deceptive; they have deceived such great men as David, Salomon, and Samson with their words (Ibid., 158). The counsel of women is worth little: “Cosselh de femma petit val” (159). A woman is like a beast (“femmas es...bestia” 159), confuser of men (“confuzios d’ome” 159), and a home wrecker (“domiciles de riota” 159). All that women can do, as creatures of Satan (*Sathan*), is to bring chaos and disorder into the lives of men. “Femmas fort qui la trobara?” (160) “A strong woman, where is she to be found?” “I don’t mean physically strong (“de fortsa corporal” 160), says Molinier, but morally strong. Such a woman would be one that would oppose vices (*vicis*), sin (*peccatz*) and the evil temptations (*malas temptacios*) of the flesh (*carnals*). However, such a woman does not exist, for “totas femmas son...malas...” (160) “All women are evil” and will lead the good, careless man into evil ways –a warning that men should keep this in mind when dealing with women. (161). So where, then, has all the love of the troubadours, gone? Clearly, Molinier took very little from troubadour culture. The more carefully one reads *Las leys d’amors*, the more astonished one becomes concerning the long-standing association of “el Gay Saber” with the Provençal poetics that preceded it. Far from Molinier’s mind was the troubadour idea of love. A greater influence upon his poetics of love was Albertano da Brescia’s *De amore et dilectione Dei et proximi et aliarum rerum et de forma viate*, especially Chapter III of Book I, “De doctrina amoris et dilectione Dei.”¹⁷ Here God, through his love (*amore*),¹⁸ inspires (*Dei inspiratione*) men to sing him praise. And

¹⁷ In 1328 Albertano of Brescia was imprisoned in Carmona by Frederick II. From prison he authored several treatises, among them, *Liber de amore* (Sedgwick, 222). Coincidentally, Frederick II, friend to the troubadours, and an admirer of Epicurean philosophy, was one of Nietzsche’s “European” heroes (*Beyond Good and Evil*, #200: 112). Dante placed Frederick II in Canto X of the *Inferno* (line 119) along with Epicurus and his followers (line 14).

¹⁸ There is an indirect relationship between Albertano’s conception of *amore* and the *fin’amors* of the troubadours (most often mistakenly referred to as “amour courtois” or “courtly love,” after Gaston

through God's love and man's reciprocal love of God happiness is realized.¹⁹ *Las Leys* shares basically the same sources (Aristotle, Isidore of Seville, Saint Bernard, Saint Gregory, St. Jerome, Seneca, Cato, the Psalms, Ecclesiastics, etc.) with Albertano's work.²⁰ Molinier also consulted Albertano's *Liber consolationis* and *Ars loquendi et tacendi*; the former for its ideas concerning women and their capacity to give counsel, and the latter for its theories of rhetoric (Anglade, 60-61). All of which brings us to the part of *Las leys d'amors* which has to do with rhetoric and composition, and to the earlier and later treatises on the art of *trobar*. Although Raimon Vidal's *Razos de trobar* (1972) preceded Molinier's compendium we shall continue with *Las leys* for now, if only because the more theoretical *Leys* serves as a bridge into Vidal's *Razos* and the other treatises.

Rhetoric begins with philosophy. Like the water that flows into many rivers, it branches out and expands into the different arts and sciences. "Isidore [of Seville] says that philosophy is understanding ["conoyshensa"] of causes human and devine" (Molinier, I: 72, my translation). Philosophy, reminds us Molinier, has its roots in the Greek word, *philos*, which means love (*amors*). Of the seven sciences which make up philosophy, two of them are grammar ("gramatica" 73) and rhetoric ("rhetorica" 73).²¹ Grammar teaches us to speak and to write well, it being the art of good orthography. Rhetoric, which comes from *rethos*, is the science of giving order and structure to words (81). According to Isidore this science was founded by Greek philosophers like Gorgias and Aristotle, and translated ("traslatada") into Latin by Cicero (81). "Aristotle says and Cicero agrees with him that the subject matter of this science [rhetoric] is divided into three parts: demonstration, advice, and judgment" (87, my translation). From this point on Molinier continues to quote Isidore, and occasionally his favorite "troubadour" and spiritual ally, the conservative poet, N'Ath de Mons.²²

Pronunciation, declares Molinier, should always be dignified; words must be uttered in a beautiful, measured manner. They must express humility ("humilitat" 115), simplicity ("simpleza" 115), authority ("auctoritat" 115), and great piety ("gran pietat"

Paris). Albertano read and extensively quoted Andreas Capellanus in *De amore*; he did so not so much in agreement with but rather as a critique of Capellanus' view of human love. "The major twelfth-century sources that shaped the thought of Albertanus were of French origin or were particularly popular in France. French influence is evident in all of Albertanus's works, including *De amore*. His classicism owed much to that of the French schools. The same was true of his readings of his contemporaries. Albertanus was certainly familiar with the literature of courtly love, at least through the writings of Andreas Capellanus...Albertanus...used Andreas chiefly to provide discussion of particular kinds of human relationships, and most often disapproved of his views" (Powell, 46). It is interesting to note the similarities between Albertano and Molinier; for though the latter's compendium is a post-troubadour *ars poetica*, the *fin'amors* of the troubadours is nowhere to be found in its nearly eight hundred pages.

¹⁹ Both Albertano and Molinier quote Seneca extensively. For many writers of the age Seneca represented a bridge from Epicureanism to Christianity. Through Seneca writers like Albertano and Molinier were able to arrive at a kind of Christian Epicureanism, as evidenced in the *Gay Saber* of *Las Leys* that would not have been possible otherwise. Such an attempt to "Christianize" Epicurus was revisited in the fifteenth century with the work of Italian humanist, Lorenzo Valla, and his treatise, *De voluptate*. For more on Valla's conception of joy and love (*voluptate-caritas*) see the bilingual edition of Valla's *On Pleasure/De voluptate* (1977).

²⁰ For a brilliant exposition of Molinier's borrowing of sources and imitation of Albertano (and Brunetto Latini) see Joseph Anglade (58-63).

²¹ The other sciences are logic (*logica*), geometry (*geometria*), arithmetic (*arismetica*), music (*muzica*), and astronomy (*astronomia*), 73.

²² N'Ath de Mons "was conservative in a certain sense, but he was also 'modern' for his age" writes Anglade (87).

115). As such, then, one must use good, honest, simple, and clear (“claras” 119) words (as the troubadours of the past once did in their *trobar leu*).²³

In Book III, Molinier leaves aside some of his philosophizing to turn once again to rhetoric; this time to explicate the kinds of rhetoric there are. One genre of rhetoric, says Molinier, is prose (*proza*), and this kind corresponds to the way “common people speak” (Molinier, II: 13), the other is rhyme (*rima*), and this genre corresponds to a certain calculated, sense of moderation (*mezura* 13) in writing. If *razos* (reason) is the capacity to judge good from bad (Ibid., I: 135), *trobar* is the subtle science (*sciensa*) of versifying with temperance. Molinier then provides us with numerous examples of verses (*bordos*) which employ lines of four to twelve syllables (63-72); of the use of pauses (*pauzas suspensivas*) in the different *bordos* (95); of the different ways of rhyming (98-120); of the different *coblas* and their metric and rhyming patterns (120-175); and lastly, of the definitions of *tornada* (176), *chanso* (177), *dansa* (179), *sirventes* (181), *tenso* (182), *partimen* (183), and *planch* (183-184). Book III, the last book of the *Las leys*, is essentially a treatise on grammar: on verb conjugations, on the use of nouns, parts of speech, etc. What distinguishes *Las leys d’amors* from all the other treatises of its kind is the philosophical breadth of the compendium; it grounds its science of composition, “*sciensa de trobar*,” entirely upon a religious moral foundation. Such was not the case with the Italian and Catalan theorists of *trobar*.

Vidal’s *Razos de trobar* (1972) begins with the author’s assertion that he, Raimon Vidal²⁴ (“ieu Raimonz Vidals” 2) has known very few men who truly know the right way to compose (“la dreicha manera de trobar” 2). He has written the book, says Vidal, to teach with examples from the best of the troubadours, how to compose correctly. Absent from Vidal’s *Razos* are any references to God, *gay saber*, or any sort of ethics. His sources are not the writers of the Greek and Latin antiquity (e.g., Gorgias and Cicero), nor the church fathers (e.g., St. Bernard and St. Jerome), but the troubadours themselves (e.g., G. de Borneill and B. de Ventadour). What we have before us is a secular treatise on grammar and poetics. In a sentence reminiscent of Aristotle’s “all men by nature desire” to know, Vidal instead writes: “Everyone, Christians, Jews, Moslems, emperors, princes, kings, dukes, counts, viscounts, nobles, vassals, clerks, middle class workers, peasants, small and great, turn their attention every day to composing and singing (*chantar*)” (2, my translation). Thus, the science of composing (*trobar*) is one which concerns everyone from the king to the peasant. That being so, one must know the right way to compose; for there is a right and a wrong way, and the delineation of the two is the object of Vidal’s *Razos* (1972). Fortunately, there is no language more appropriate for the art of composing poetry than the Limousin language, says Vidal. “French is best for writing romances and *pastorellas*, but the Limousin language is better for composing chansons and *serventes*. And there is no language, anywhere that possesses greater authority when it comes to singing than Limousin...” (6, my translation). However, before one can sing (*chantar*) or compose poetry (*trobar*) it is necessary that one know the rules of grammar. Vidal accuses many troubadours of ignoring the rules of grammar, in the false believe that rhyming is everything. They sacrifice grammatical correctness to rhyme. The troubadour, then, who has inherited the noble Limousin language, “should be careful not to introduce a rhyming word when it is not appropriate” (22). Instead, he should see to it that such things as gender and parts of speech, are respected. When Giorgio Agamben writes that the *gay science* of *Las leys*

²³ Neither the *trobar leu*, the *trobars clus*, nor any of the other troubadour styles, figure in any way in *Las leys d’amors*.

²⁴ Molinier cites Vidal once in *Las leys d’amors* (III: 23).

d'amors is “essentially a grammar of the Provençal language” (“La parola” 156), the summation applies with much more precision to Vidal’s *Razos de trobar* than it does to Molinier’s work. He is on target, however, when he points to the Saussurean difference between *langue* and *parole* (156-159) that was already operating in the *ars poetica* of theorists like Vidal. The importance of the *Razos de trobar* was to establish a distinction between *langue* (the correct way of composing, *trobar*) and *parole* (the spoken language; the phonetics that often determined rhyme for the troubadours). “Since the troubadour’s language lacked a codified grammatical structure, rhyme was the supplement for this lack and was transformed into an increasingly complex ‘pseudo-grammar’” (Stone, 16). In this respect the Vidal’s *Razos* is exemplary of a formalistic post-troubadour grammar and *ars poetica*. The moral Puritanism of Molinier becomes a formal, linguistic Puritanism in Vidal, which ends in the imperative: “You will write grammatically correct sentences.”²⁵ The *Razos de trobar* was later turned to verse by Terramagnino da Pisa (1972). Known as the *Doctrina d’Acort* (1972, 27-54) it leaves out the more personal references of the *Razos*, the geographical references, and any reference to the spoken language of Provence. Marshall believes that it was probably written for a small number of Italian intellectuals interested in Provençal verse. Other treatises followed between the *Razos* and Enrique de Villena’s *Arte de trovar* (356-370), among them, two anonymous treatises in MS. Ripoll 129 (Marshall, 99-106), Jofre de Foixà’s *Regles de trobar* and the continuation of the *Regles*, the *Doctrina de compoundre dictats* (Marshall, 93-98). The *Regles* was written some time between 1286 and 1291, at the request, says Foixà, of King Jacme, of Sicily (*The Razos*, 56). He wrote the *Regles*, declares Foixà, for those who could not understand the Latin grammar of Vidal’s *Razos*, but who nevertheless had an interest in the subject of composition. For them he writes a clear (*clar*) romance grammar that will provide them with the kind of knowledge (*saber*) that has to do with nouns, rhyme, case, articles, etc. The last two pages include a concise list of the different kinds of compositions beginning with the *vers* and ending with the *tenso* (97-98). What Marshall calls the “Vidal tradition” includes *Mirrall de trobar* and *Donatz Proensals*, and though Marshall does not include Villena therein, Anglade certainly does.

Enrique de Villena’s *Arte de trovar* (1994), written around the year 1413, is obviously a late comer to the scene. The *Arte de trovar*, as we have it today is but a fragment of what seems to have been until the time of Zurita and Quevedo, a much longer work. It is possible, says Pedro Cátedra in the introduction to the *Obras Completas* (Complete Works), that Villena’s essay may have been one of the literary casualties of the Escorial fire of 1672 (1994, xxvi). In any case, given what has remained to us, Villena’s *Arte* is unique with respect to the other treatises, which may explain why Marshall does not refer to it in *The Razos*. Its uniqueness is due to the fact that it is the only treatise on the art of composing poetry which turns most of its attention to phonetics. Rather than rules of grammar or rhyme, Villena concerns himself with diction and comparative phonetics. He traces the changes in the Romance alphabet from its Latin origins to his day, and the impact of those changes on phonetics (1994 361-363). His study begins with an enumeration of the lungs (*pulmón*) and the organs or instruments (*instrumentos*) responsible for producing sound: the trachea or bronchial

²⁵ “[T]he grammarian’s desire to formulate a clear-cut rule has led him to misinterpret the ordinary literary practice of the language. Vidal was deluded in thinking that, for any given element of the language, there must necessarily be a rule clearly separating a ‘correct’ from an ‘incorrect’ form. This left no room for the concept of alternative forms, free variants of equal currency in written usage...Vidal’s norm, therefore, was in a number of respects much narrower than that of the best troubadours of the twelfth century” (Marshall, lxxxv).

tubes (*tracharchedia*), the palate (paladar), tongue (*lengua*), teeth (*dientes*), and lips (*beços* 359). Differences in pronunciation vary from place to place according to the way sound is made, and linguistic changes occur primarily with variations in sound (360). What a good “trobador,” or poet must keep in mind is that the choice of one letter over another will determine the quality of his composition. The good poets, says Villena, were those who knew which letters produced pleasing sounds (“euphonía”) and which letters to avoid, because they sounded unpleasant (“desplazible” 366). Good diction (*dición*) was based on this knowledge. The decision, for instance, to substitute the hard sound of the *g* in the word *linatge* with a *t* to soften the sound, as in *linatge*, is an example of the kind of choice that a good poet will make. “This,” writes Villena, “is done in the Limousin language” (1994 366, my translation). Other examples of substitutions are the *ph* for *f* as in *philosophía* (366), or the second *n* in *año* with the *y* to create *anyo* which, according to Villena, sweetened the sound (“adulça el son” 367). In the end, for Villena the art of composition was linguistically based on usage and phonetics. The *Arte de trovar*, dedicated to the Marqués de Santillana (355), had an impact on the Spanish poets of the time, insofar as it was the first formal treatise to lay the foundations for a Castilian poetics based on the troubadour art of composition. For if Baena does not mention Villena by name, the term “gaya çiençia” is likely to have come 1) from Villena’s *Arte* and 2) from *Las leys d’amors*, which Villena mentions in his treatise (356). Anglade believes that Baena may have had access to one of the versions of *La leys d’amors* (114); and there is something to be said for such a conjecture. Firstly, Baena’s conception of “gaya çiençia” as an art infused by God’s divine grace (López Estrada, 37) seems to be derived from much of what is in the first book of Molinier’s *Las leys*, and not from Villena’s *Arte*, in which literary-theological concerns are entirely absent. Secondly, though the *Arte* may have pointed Baena in the right direction, Villena’s essay deals, as we said earlier, primarily with phonetics. And yet Baena alludes in his “Prologus Baenenssis” (“Baenean Prologue”) to a whole range of compositional topics that are not covered in the *Arte*, but are in *Las leys*: the subtle and right manner of determining meter, according to pauses, consonants, syllables, accents, etc., (37).

The case of the Marqués de Santillana is a bit more complicated. Anglade does not believe that Santillana had read either Villena’s essay, or *Las leys*. His reason for thinking so is Santillana’s assertion in the *Proemio* that many of the (troubadour) poetic terms had come from Portugal and Galicia (López Estrada, 59). But Anglade’s conjecture seems to be much more driven by his own cultural prejudices, than Santillana who viewed troubadour poetry as a “historical tradition to which many nations contributed” (Lapesa, 253, my translation).²⁶ What is clear, despite all the obfuscation, is that the well-read Santillana had a clear sense of Provençal poetry (“los lemosís françeses” 56); the consequent poetics of the Catalan troubadours (“aun catalanes” 56); and finally, the importance of troubadour poetics for Dante and the art of composing in romance (56, 58): “that in our vulgate we call *gay science* (“gaya çiençia llamamos” 52). In the end, Molinier’s articulation of a neo-troubadour poetics led to the institution of a Consistory, a society, as it were, of the *gay science* –the first one established in Toulouse, and the second chartered in Barcelona.

²⁶ Rafael Lapesa attributes this quote to Werner Krauss (254). And Patterson writes: “Few movements are more significant from the standpoint of comparative literature. The early poetic schools of Catalonia, Spain, Portugal, North France, Norman England, Sicily, Italy, and Germany show how pervasive was the Provençal influence” (37).

4. The Consistori of Toulouse and Barcelona

Dating the first Consistori of Toulouse has been somewhat problematic. R. Gubern following the work of Alfred Jeanroy, sets it at 1324; and while Anglade is clear with respect to its subsequent meetings, he, on other hand, shies away from establishing a foundation date. In 1324 Raimon de Cornet de Saint Antoine wrote his *Doctrinal de trobar* as a guide to the contestants of the Consistori competitions (Anglade 101; Patterson 36). From the very beginning, claims Anglade, Catalan poets were among the first to be awarded the prestigious golden violet (*violette*) award (105). The Consistori consisted of seven judges *or mantenedors* (maintainers) of the “gai savoir.” And in 1358, Molinier, who was put in charge of the Toulouse Consistori, imbued the language of its charter, with a religious spirit. The seven maintainers of the *Gay Saber* were to honor God, our Lord (“Dieu, nostre senhor”) in the name of *good* (virtuous) *love* or “bon’amor” (Molinier, I: 19, 21).

According to most historians of literature the Consistori of the *Gay Saber* was imported to Catalonia at the request of *Joan I el Caçador*, King of Aragon (1387-1396), who wanted to establish a school of the gay science in Barcelona, modeled after the one in Toulouse. And though the dates of the Barcelona Consistori vary from 1388 to 1393, we know that the first *floral games* (*jocs florals*) took place in the Catalanian city of Lleida, on May 31, 1338, in celebration of the Pentecost (Gubern, 96).²⁷ From the Catalanian Consistori of 1393, 1395, 1396, and 1398 (Riquer 1964, 565-567, 569) we can readily see that the school of *Gay Science* was under the direct economic control of the crown. While the Toulouse Consistori (or *Consistoire*) was instituted as a celebration of troubadour poetry as sanctioned by the church, the more secular Catalanian Consistori was sanctioned by the crown. If the Consistori in Barcelona, was more successful than its twin in Toulouse, it is probably due to the fact that Toulouse was a conquered city which instituted the Consistori in order to preserve a piece of its rich past, while the Barcelona Consistori, outside of the troubadours’ native soil, could more easily retain some of the secular features of the troubadour poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth century. The *domina* and *midons* of the troubadours had been transformed into the Virgin Mary. One no longer sang to a flesh and blood lover, but rather to the Virgin. The *albas*, once the “dawn” poems of the troubadours lamenting the approaching sunrise when they would have to leave the company of their married lovers, became the poetry sung by post-Albigensian “troubadours” in honor of the Virgin. The poetic competitions of troubadours such as Bernard de Ventadour, de Bertran de Born, Arnaut Daniel, Peire Vidal, and others, became the institutionalized, controlled, regular floral games of the fourteenth and fifteenth century. The troubadour poets competed against each other, but they did so individually, and outside of any academic, regulated system. Now with the Consistori the competitions could continue, and a “dangerous,” secular tradition could be made safe for everyone. The marginal power of the church in twelfth and thirteenth century Provence had now taken center-stage with a vengeance. By the time Villena wrote *Arte de trovar*, the Consistori had become a “living” museum of troubadour poetry. Moreover, Villena erroneously attributed the establishment of the first Consistori to Raimon Vidal, (355), and mistook the title of Jofré de Foça’s work to be “Continuacion del trobar” (355), when in fact, it was *Regles de trobar*. But Villena provides us with a detailed idea of how the Consistori was constituted. Not seven (as in Toulouse) but four judges made up the committee that decided on the prizes. Arranged hierarchically, the King was seated on an elevated chair where he could see everyone, next the judges (*mantenedors*) sat at a lower level to the

²⁷ Nothing is known as to who participated in these first floral games.

right and the left of the King, the scribes who took notes below the judges, and finally the poets at ground level from where they recited their poems, all of it staged pretty much like in an altar (“como un altar” 357). After listening to the poets the judges met in private where they assigned points to the different poems according to the rules of the *gay science*²⁸. The books on the art of composition and the rules of the award (*la joya*) were placed on a table (357). The accepted topics were poems dedicated to the Virgin Mary, to arms (*armas*), love (*amores*), and good behavior (*buenas costumbres*). Of the four *mantenedors* (a lord, an expert on law, an honored citizen of the community, and a theologian), the most important member was the master of theology (“maestro en teología” 357). For it was he who announced the rules of the game (“loores de la gaya sciencia” 357) before the competition began.

Villena’s description of the competition reveals that the Consistori had acquired a greater cultural significance than the very poets it awarded. The lower position of the poets in the physical hierarchy described by Villena makes it obvious that the poets were there to glorify the Consistori, and by extension the crown and the church. Crude as it may sound, the poets had become the entertaining monkeys (mere *juglares*), court jesters, to be kind, of the established power. Their very artistic expression was controlled by the Consistori’s rules on what did and did not constitute acceptable poetry. The Church in conjunction with the crown turned a dynamic poetry into an ossified product of power. To put it in Foucauldian terms, it turned a free, individual expression (poetry) into a *discursive formation*²⁹, and its discourse into a manifestation of institutional power. The Consistori, and what has come to be known as the *gay science* associated with it, may very well be, on close inspection, a sad, early instance of the kind of Christian-European, cultural decadence so much critiqued by Nietzsche.

5. Nietzsche’s “Gay Science”

“The body is a great intelligence,” wrote Nietzsche in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (61), thus making of his own bodily pain (migraine headaches) a source of knowledge. “There is more reason in your body than in your best wisdom” (62), he concluded: as a response to the Cartesian dualism of the previous two hundred years. For until Foucault, Nietzsche stood alone as the modern philosopher who put the body back into philosophy. And to this corporeal life-affirming philosophy he gave the name “*gay science*.” Moreover, according to Nietzsche, the pre-Socratics represented the last school of philosophers for whom the body had epistemic legitimacy. Unfortunately, Christianity with ascetic hatred of the body put an end to that. According to Nietzsche, the end of an appreciation of the body came with the advent of Christianity. Priests nuns, monks, these Christian “despisers of the body,”³⁰ as Nietzsche called them,

²⁸ For an example of the comments made by the judges on the margins of the page containing the poems recited in the competitions see Riquer’s “El Consistori de Barcelona” (1964, 573).

²⁹ “Whenever...one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions, functionings, transformations)...we are dealing with a *discursive formation*...” says Foucault in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (38). A discursive formation as Foucault defines it, in turn produces a certain discourse (associated with an institution or a discipline (178-181): sexuality, medicine, grammar, etc), and such discourse becomes the science (178-181) and knowledge (*savoir*) and ideology (181-186) that gives an institution its power. Institutions then create historical monuments (7, 137, 139), such as the artificially constructed “gay science” of the “troubadours”: in order to preserve a specific (cleansed) cultural “memory” (7).

³⁰ “They despised the body: they left it out of the accounts: more, they treated it as an enemy. It was their delusion to believe that one could carry a ‘beautiful soul’ about in a cadaverous abortion— To make this conceivable to others they needed to present the concept ‘beautiful soul’ in a different way, to revalue the natural value, until at last a pale, sickly, idiotically fanatical creature was thought to be perfection,

treated the body as a mere material vessel of all that was evil in the world; and consequently, as the opposite of a “good” soul.

Fortunately, said Nietzsche, there was an antidote to this Christian hatred of the body, and his name was Epicurus. In fact, without the Epicurean notion of embodied happiness there would be no *The Gay Science*. It is Epicurus’ idea that all knowledge and “happiness” originate in the senses that is the basis of Nietzsche’s *joyful wisdom*. Ironically, it was Epicurus’ conception of happiness that informed the American “Declaration of Independence,” and particularly Thomas Jefferson’s imperative “to life, liberty, and the pursuit of *happiness*” (my italics). This was indeed the *summum bonum* of life, according to Jefferson—a happiness that comes from reflection and a certain balance between our bodies and our minds.³¹ In fact, Jefferson himself advised his friend William Short, that if he wanted a healthier, more robust life, to follow in the steps of the Epicurean philosophy. He wrote:

Your love of repose will lead, in its progress, to a suspension of healthy exercise, a relaxation of mind, an indifference to everything around you, and finally to a debility of body, and hebetude of mind, the farthest of all things from the *happiness* which the well-regulated indulgences of Epicurus ensure; fortitude, you know is one of his four cardinal virtues.

(To William Short, October 31, 1819 in *The Thomas Jefferson Papers* online)

The enemy of a healthy life, in both body and soul, he said—in anticipation of Nietzsche—was Platonism and its reworking of “incomprehensible” “mysticisms” into Christianity by “ultra-Christian sects” (Ibid). Cicero, for instance, had failed to understand Epicurus, and had other overvalued Plato,” said Jefferson to John Adams in a letter of July 5, 1814 (Ibid). But in any case, what did Epicurean philosophy actually consist of, and how did Nietzsche connect it to his notion of *gay science*?

Epicurus’ corpus is fragmentary, brief, and laconic; and because this is so, he is a difficult philosopher to grasp. What little we know about him, is from Diogenes Laertius’ *Life of Epicurus*, and from Lucretius’ *On the Nature of the Universe*. Yet, laconic as Epicurus’ writings may be, some of his most important philosophical positions are actually quite clear, if we only take the time to unpack them.

In his letter to Herodotus, Epicurus sets out to explain what it is that he means, first by knowledge, and secondly how one comes to know things. He states it indirectly, but the meaning is quite clear. Epicurus writes:

[a student] is able to make immediate use of the things he perceives and of the resulting concepts by assigning them to the

‘angelic,’ transfiguration, higher man,” writes Nietzsche in *The Will to Power* (#226, 131). And he continues in the next aphorism (#227) with: “Ignorance in *psychologics*—the Christian has no nervous system—; contempt for, and a deliberate desire to disregard the demands of the body...” (131).

³¹ “The *summum bonum* is to be not pained in body, nor troubled in mind,” noted Jefferson at the end of his letter to William Short (Ibid). And Daniel Greenleaf Thompson writes: “It has not been appreciated that since cognition, feeling, and volition are all but different sides of the same experience, our emotional enjoyments are only representations of our sensational pleasures. Therefore, it has seemed to many that our ideal joys were something different in kind from our sensations, and while the term pleasure had a relevancy to the sensational enjoyments, the thinking mind, having failed to grasp the relations of ideas to sensations, could not associate the joy of higher faculties with animal pleasure, and was unwilling to mark the two by the same designation. Instead of identification they made an opposition which was part and parcel of an opposition running through their whole philosophy between the sensational and the ideal, the experiential and the intuitional. They ought to have made an opposition between one pleasure or set of pleasures and another; instead of this they wrongly opposed all pleasure to something they insisted was different from pleasure, and which they called *joy, blessedness, complacency, or virtuous bliss*” (70).

simplest classes and by calling them by their own names; for it is not possible for anyone to hold in mind in condensed form the whole interrelated system unless he is able to comprehend by means of short formulas all that might be expressed in detail. Therefore, since such a course is useful to all who are engaged with natural science, I, who recommend continuous activity in this field and am myself gaining *peaceful happiness* from just this life, have composed for you such a brief compendium of the chief principles of my teaching as a whole. (9)

Firstly, knowledge is attained through the senses. Upon perceiving the world, the mind gives a certain order to the chaos it perceives: it organizes it and gives it a name. It is in this name giving that concepts are created, as are the interrelations between different concepts. This is what Epicurus means by “short formulas.” “There are no simple concepts. Every concept has components and is defined by them. It therefore has a combination...There is no concept with one component. Even the first concept, the one with which a philosophy ‘begins,’ has several components...” (Deleuze, 17). The question, then becomes, how to conceptually organize the world –how to give order to things. This the mind does, says Epicurus, by creating concepts out of perceptions. For what else is there? Hence, “we must base investigation on the mental apprehensions, upon the *purposeful use* of the several senses that furnish us with knowledge, and upon our immediate feelings. In these ways we can form judgments on those matters that can be confirmed by the senses and also on those beyond their reach” (Epicurus, 9, my italics). Secondly, then, we acquire knowledge not through a passive gaze, but rather through the “purposeful use” of sensation, or what in phenomenology is called “intentionality.” Thirdly, it is not true that Epicurus failed to define “happiness.” In fact, a “happy life,” he says, is a life of “peaceful happiness” that comes from contemplation into the nature of things. And Deleuze similarly writes:

Sensation is pure contemplation...Contemplation is creating, the mystery of passive creation, sensation. Sensation fills out the plane of composition and is filled with itself by filling itself with what it contemplates: it is “enjoyment” and “self-enjoyment.”... These are not Ideas that we contemplate through concepts but the elements of matter that we contemplate through sensation. (212).

However, where Deleuze wants to limit the pleasure of knowledge gained through sensation to only that which can be perceived, Epicurus ends his epistemological formulation by reserving a place for Ideas which are “beyond the reach” of sensations. What remains intact for Epicurus, is of course, the body, for without the body there is no sensation, and without sensation there is no knowledge, pleasure, or happiness. It is not that he denies the soul, but rather that the soul itself is material (Epicurus 23), and instead of the soul being the entity that animates the body, it is the body instead that animates the soul (24). In essence, to destroy the body is to destroy the soul.

Pleasures that are not of the mind, says Epicurus, can only detract a rational being from following the kinds of virtuous, rational principles that lead to inner peace. “[B]y pleasure we mean the state wherein the body is free from pain and the mind from anxiety,” writes Epicurus (57). He continues:

Neither continual drinking and dancing, nor sexual love, nor the enjoyment of fish and whatever else the luxurious table offers ring about the pleasant life; rather it is produced by the reason which is sober, which examines the motive for every choice and rejection, and which drives away all those opinions though the greatest tumult lays hold of the mind. (57)

Though the body, then, is the nexus of sensation, and therefore of physical pleasure, it is most importantly the nexus of intellectual joy³² and the peaceful happiness that comes from knowledge and wisdom.³³ It is this Epicurean notion of the world, which I believe, informs Nietzsche's reformulation of *gay science*.³⁴

The position of Nietzsche within German Romanticism is highly problematic. Friends with Wagner, admirer of Goethe's and Beethoven's "joyful" artistic expressions, of Hölderlin, and of the ancient Greeks, he was a Romantic of sorts at odds with the idealism of Romanticism. His interpretation of the Greeks differed from that of many of his contemporaries like the Schlegel brothers, who saw in the ancient Greeks the very serenity lacking in the modern world. Under the direct influence of the Romantic rationalism of Kant's *Critique of Judgment*, and Johan Winckelmann's work on the Greeks, Schlegel wrote *On the Study of Greek Poetry*, wherein he went on to portray Greek poetry as the externalization of knowledge, and beauty as the mind's imitation of nature's harmony (*On the Study*, 42-43). Artistic and moral beauty were inseparable for the Greeks, declared Schlegel, for one could not separate the moderation of ethical behavior from the moderation of artistic imitation. A chaotic, disordered world, in which beauty had ceased to be an ideal of art, could only produce "representations of the ugly" (18). It was against this idealized Pre-Raphaelite interpretation of the ancient Greeks (e.g., the paintings of Alma Tadema) that Nietzsche wrote *The Birth of Tragedy*.

For Nietzsche, like Aristotle,³⁵ tragedy originated with the Greek chorus of the dithyramb performed at the Dionysian festivals in Athens (*Birth of Tragedy*, #7: 56). The dithyrambic chorus allowed the spectators to bodily and aesthetically experience the most difficult, painful aspect of existence, wrote Nietzsche:

This process of the tragic chorus is the *dramatic* proto-phenomenon: to see oneself transformed before one's eyes and to begin to act as one had actually entered into another body, another character. This process stands at the beginning of the origin of tragedy. (*Birth of Tragedy*, #8: 64)

In partaking of the dithyrambic suffering of Dionysus, the Greeks were able to identify with their god's overcoming of suffering, and as such proclaim "the truth from the heart of the world" (*Ibid.*, #8: 65). Such Dionysian truth, as bloody and as painful as

³² Lucretius, following Epicurus, writes: "...I maintain that *mind* and *spirit* are *interconnected* and compose between them a single substance. But what I may call the head and the dominant force in the whole body is that guiding principle which we term mind or intellect. This is firmly lodged in the mid-region of the breast. Here is the place where fear and alarm pulsate. Here is felt the caressing touch of joy. Here, then, is the seat of intellect and mind. The rest of the vital spirit [*anima*] diffused throughout the body, obeys the mind and moves under its direction and impulse. The mind by itself experiences thought and joys of its own at a time when nothing moves either the body or the spirit" (100).

³³ Nietzsche writes: "*Epicurus*.—Yes, I am proud of the fact that I experience the character of Epicurus quite differently from perhaps everybody else. Whatever I hear or read of him, I enjoy the happiness of the afternoon of antiquity. I see his eyes gaze upon a wide, white sea, across rocks at the shore that are bathed in sunlight, while large and small animals are playing in this light, as secure and calm as the light and his eyes. Such happiness could be invented only by a man who was suffering continually. It is the happiness of eyes that have seen the sea of existence become calm, and now they can never weary of the surface and of the many hues of this tender, shuddering skin of the sea. Never before had voluptuousness been so modest" (*Gay Science*, #45: 110).

³⁴ Nietzsche like other thinkers before him had a unified Epicurean-Stoic vision of the world. And though he spent a great deal of ink writing against the philosophers of the Stoa, his concept of the "eternal return" is a thoroughly Stoic concept, balanced, if you will, by his own existential, Epicurean, life-affirming imperative. The joyful, "scientific" idea of an "eternal return" appeared for first time in *The Gay Science* (#341: 273-274).

³⁵ See Aristotle's *Poetics* 49a10.

it could be, was also joyous in that it acknowledge the tragic, the darkest aspects of the human spirit, but did not judge it evil. It did not turn –Apollonian fashion– suffering into something negative to be overcome with self-knowledge³⁶. Dionysian art sings of “eternal joy of existence,” declared Nietzsche.

Only we are to seek this joy not in phenomena, but behind them. We are to recognize that all that comes into being must be ready for a sorrowful end: we are forced to look into the horrors of individual existence –yet we are not to become rigid with fear... We are pierced by the maddening sting of these pains just when we have become as it were, one with the infinite primordial joy in existence, and when we anticipate, in Dionysian ecstasy, the indestructibility and eternity of this joy. (*Birth of Tragedy*, #17: 104-105)

Distinguishing Apollonian knowledge (Socratic *logos*) from the more “Epicurean-Lucretian”³⁷ bodily knowledge of the Dionysian experience, Nietzsche held that the joyful wisdom that resulted from the latter was inextricably connected to the lyric music of the satyr.

Music and tragic myth are equally expressions of the Dionysian capacity of a people, and they are inseparable. Both derive from sphere of art that lies beyond the Apollonian; both transfigure a region whose joyous chords dissonance as well as the terrible images of the world fade away charmingly; both play with the sting of displeasure, trusting in their exceedingly powerful magic arts; and by means of this play both justify the existence of even the “worst world.” (*Birth of Tragedy*, #25: 143)

In addition to being a philologist and a philosopher, Nietzsche was also a composer of music (*Piano Music* CD) and a poet. He wrote dithyrambs,³⁸ and poems inspired by the poetry of the German troubadours or *minnesinger*. No one wonder, then, Nietzsche’s Zarathustra is dancing poet, a spirit of lightness, “enemy” as he says, “of the Spirit of Gravity” (*Zarathustra*, 210): of seriousness and pessimism.³⁹ Nietzsche writes:

In the great majority, the intellect is a clumsy, gloomy, creaking machine that is difficult to start. They call it “taking the matter *seriously*” when they want to work with this machine and think well. How burdensome they must find good thinking! The lovely human beast always seems to lose his good spirits when it

³⁶ “For Apollo wants to grant repose to individual beings precisely by drawing boundaries between them and by again and again calling these to mind as the most sacred laws of the world, with his demand for self-knowledge and measure” (*Birth* #10: 72). And Silk and Stern explain: “In classical tragedy as we know it [the tragedy of Aeschylus (525-456) and Sophocles (496-406)], the drama, as represented in the dialogue, gives a uniformly Apolline impression of form, precision, lucidity, and beauty, much like Homeric epic. But the heroes who convey this impression are merely embodying the Apolline response to life’s horror: the attempt to make that horror acceptable. *This* is the real meaning of the famous ‘Greek serenity,’ so often misinterpreted as some kind of untroubled cheerfulness” (71).

³⁷ In the 1886 edition of *The Birth of Tragedy Nietzsche* included a preface which he entitled “Attempt at a Self-Criticism”. There he asked the question whether one could interpret Epicurus as a response to the emerging pessimism of Greek society. “Was Epicure an optimist –precisely because he was *afflicted*?” (#4: 22) In other words, was Epicurus’ “yea saying” a sort of Dionysian optimism that affirmed life in spite of all its pain? And on the very first page of *The Birth Tragedy* Nietzsche cites, Lucretius (Epicurus commentator and disciple) as one who understood the power of dreams as a transformative medium of (Dionysian) art. “It was in dreams, says Lucretius, that the glorious divine figures first appeared to the souls of men: in dreams the great shaper beheld the splendid bodies of superhuman beings...” (*Birth* #1:33).

³⁸ In 2001 R.J Hollingdale published a bilingual (German/English) edition of Nietzsche’s *Dionysos-Dithyramben/Dithyrambs of Dionysus*.

³⁹ In the section on *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* of *Ecce Homo* Nietzsche wrote: “My *gaya scienza*...even offers the beginning of *Zarathustra*, and in the penultimate section of the fourth book [“The Intoxicated Song” 326-333] the basic idea of *Zarathustra*” (296).

thinks well: it becomes “serious.” And “where laughter and gaiety are found, thinking does not amount to anything”: that is the prejudice of the serious beast against all “*gay science*.” (*The Gay Science*, #327: 257)

This kind of disembodied thinking belonged to the “rationalist,” for whom all thinking, according to Nietzsche, was reduced to a series of cognitive functions, stripped of their emotions. The bloodiness of the world, the horror that Nietzsche famously called “human, all too human,” was made heavy with the pessimism of rational thought which imposed a logical explanation on every aspect of human life. This spirit of gravity or seriousness, said Nietzsche, has even changed the way we read a work like *Don Quijote*: poisoned by the Christian spirit of guilt and a bad conscience (*Genealogy*, 2: 7 66-67).

Published as an Appending of Songs to the *The Gay Science* are Nietzsche’s “Songs of Prince Vogelfrei,” a series of poems no doubt inspired by the poetry of the *minnesinger*. These songs of freedom, of *gay science*, as the “Vogelfrei” (literarily *free bird*) of the title indicates is also an allusion to the greatest of the German “troubadour” poets, Walther von der Vogelweide (c. 1170-1230), who for some time was a wandering poet writing in a style similar to that of Provençal troubadour song.⁴⁰ In *Ecce Homo* Nietzsche interpreted first his book, *The Gay Science*, and then the “Songs of Prince Vogelfrei” thus: “The *Dawn* is a Yes-saying book, deep but bright and gracious. The same is true also and in the highest degree of the *gaya scienza*: in almost every sentence profundity and high spirits go tenderly hand in hand” (“*Gay Science*”/*Ecce Homo*, 293).⁴¹ And of his “Songs of Prince Vogelfrei” and their relation to the troubadours he wrote:

The “Songs of Prince Free-as-a-Bird,” written for the most part in Sicily,⁴² are quite emphatically reminiscent of the Provençal of *gaya scienza*—that unity of *singer, knight, and free spirit* which distinguishes the wonderful early culture of the Provençal from all equivocal cultures. The very last poem above all, “To the Mistral,” an exuberant dancing song in which, if I may say so, one dances right over morality is a perfect Provençalism. (294).

And in a discarded draft for the section, “Why I Am So Clever” of *Ecco Homo*, Nietzsche suggested a (philosophical) connection between Dionysian, Provençal, and Roman poetics (specifically Petronius), as examples of anti-Christian, anti-moralistic, free-spirit expressions of “*gay science*”. He wrote:

Of all books, one of my strongest impressions is that exuberant Provençal, Petronius,⁴³ who composed the last *Satura Menippea*. Such sovereign freedom

⁴⁰ Erich Köhler writes in *Sociologia della fin’amor: saggi trobadorici* that the poetry of Walther von der Vogelweide lacked the free spirit of Provençal poetry. According to Köhler, Vogelweide was a stuffy, conservative, want-to-be-aristocrat that shared none of the values (like that of *largueza*) with his French counterparts (281). “[French] troubadour poetry is much closer to real life, and more realistic than that of Minnesang which instead is idealistic and spiritual,” says Köhler (282., my translation). If the poetry of the *Gay Science* Consistori was the mouthpiece of the Church, the poetry of Minnesang was the mouthpiece of the high nobility (282). What all this demonstrate, once again, is that Nietzsche’s knowledge of the French and German troubadours was probably second hand, and most likely a result of his conversations with Wagner.

⁴¹ Note Nietzsche’s insistence in equating depth and profundity with brightness and high spirits—qualities that are traditionally associated with gravity and seriousness.

⁴² It is no coincidence that Nietzsche mentions Sicily as the place where he wrote most of the poems of the “Songs”. Sicily was home—as was Germany—to its own tradition of troubadour poetry. Frederick II, one of Nietzsche’s heroes, was responsible for bringing the poetry of the troubadours to Sicily.

⁴³ Incidentally, in 1928 Philip Schuyler Allen in his book *The Romanesque Literature* compared the Romanesque lyric of Petronius to that of the medieval romance. “As the political extinction of Rome proper approached and the overwhelming interest of the City ceased to absorb individual passion and

from “morality” from “seriousness,” from his own sublime taste; such subtlety in his mixture of vulgar and “educated” Latin; such indomitable good spirits that leap with grace and malice over all anomalies of the ancient “soul” –I could not name any book that makes an equally liberating impression on me: the effect is Dionysian. In cases in which I find it necessary to recuperate quickly from a base impression –for example because for the sake of my critique of Christianity I had to breath all too long the swampy air of the apostle Paul– a few pages of Petronius suffice me as a *heroic* remedy, and immediately I am well again. (“Appendix”/*Ecce Homo* #1: 339-340)

The book that followed *The Birth of Tragedy* was *Human, All Too Human*, and was subtitled “a book for free spirits”. It was a book of personal liberation for Nietzsche. The academic world had attacked *The Birth of Tragedy* for not being a serious scholarly book –for being full of errors: imputing qualities to the dithyramb, the Dionysian, and Apollonian spirit that were incorrect. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möellendorf,⁴⁴ the most respected classical philologist of the time, practically advised the young philologist to leave the profession (Groth, 185-186). Even fellow philologist and friend, Erwin Rohde, distanced himself from Nietzsche. And in the end, Nietzsche retired from his position at the University of Basel, more interested in pursuing a life in philosophy than one in philology. Where “Wilamowitz asked ‘What can we do for philology?’; Nietzsche preferred to ask, ‘What can philology do for us?’” (Lloyd-Jones 13). Nietzsche would re-evaluate his life as a philologist years later, as one spent in the pursuit of meaningless, dead knowledge. His break with philology made him realize how much time he “had wasted.” Or as he put it: “how useless and arbitrary my whole existence as a philologist appeared in relation to my task. I felt ashamed of this *false modesty*” (*Ecce Homo*, #3: 286). He continued:

Ten years lay behind me in which the nourishment of my spirit had really come to a stop; I had not learned anything new that was useful: I had forgotten an absurd amount for the sake of dusty scholarly gewgaws. Crawling scrupulously with bad eyes through ancient metrists –that’s what I had come to! It stirred my compassion to see myself utterly emaciated, utterly starved: my knowledge simply failed to include *realities*, and my “idealities” were not worth a damn. (#3: 286)

Nietzsche had been rudely woken up from his dogmatic slumber by the rejection of the philologists, and from now on he would embrace “physiology” –everything that had to do with the body over and above any activity that atrophied the “instincts” (#3: 286). It was at this point that Nietzsche became the philosopher of the *gay science*. Or to put another way that Nietzsche became a philosopher. For one cannot understand such a concept as “gay science” in Nietzsche without first considering this transformation in his thought. The Nietzsche of the *gay science* was one who no longer believed that language revealed the metaphysical truths of the world. He had come full circle to his

emotion, the tension of poetry and art became relaxed. Feeling grew more humane and personal, social and family life reassumed their real importance; and gradually there grew up a thing new to literature, the Romanesque, the romantic spirit. With its passionate sense of beauty in nature, idyllic poetry reacted on the sense of beauty in simple human life; the elegy and epigram are full of a new freshness of feeling, and the personal lyric is born, with its premonitions of a simple pathos which is as alien to the older Roman spirit as it is close to the feeling of the medieval romance. Now no one has brought the phantom of freshness into the Latin poetry of love and nature more definitely than Petronius. In fact, if we except a very few of the best poems of Propertius, Latin elegiacs have nothing to show that combines such perfection of form with such sensuous charm” (Allen, 73).

⁴⁴ See Wilamowitz’s *My Recollections*, p. 150-152 and J.H. Groth’s article, “Wilamowitz-Möellendorf on Nietzsche’s *Birth of Tragedy*” in the *Journal of the History of Ideas* April 1950: 179-190.

earlier interests in rhetoric and in the inventive, metaphorical dimension of language⁴⁵. In his essay “On Truth and Lie in an Extra-Moral Sense” he had come to identify language, with its mobile army of metaphors, as an expression of the *will to power*. But Nietzsche had no idea that the poetics which he called “gay science” had actually been the tomb stone of the troubadours he so much admired. And yet, philosophically speaking, it does not really matter; he simply reinvented the term to mean (unbeknownst to him) quite literally mean the opposite of what Molinier and the Consistori had intended. He wrote of the troubadours in *Beyond Good and Evil* because for him the troubadours represented, the highest expression of the individual artistic will, who sang and danced “right over morality” with their love songs. The troubadours created the world and themselves through language. They did not sing to God nor the Virgin, as the poets of the Consistori would later do, but of love, and of joy. Nietzsche writes:

...artful and enthusiastic reverence and devotion are the regular symptoms for an aristocratic way of thinking and evaluating. This makes plain why love as passion –which is our European specialty– simply must be of noble origin: as is well known, its invention must be credited to the Provençal knight-poets, those magnificent and inventive human beings of the “gai saber” to whom Europe owes so many things and almost owes itself” (*Beyond Good and Evil*, #260: 208).

These poets were “aristocratic” in the original (and not in the economic) sense of the word; i.e., like Zarathustra they were light enough to give birth to a “dancing star”. Opposed to everything Christian, their poetry defied –as Nietzsche saw it– the “Spirit of Gravity,” of everything low, and weighed down with guilt and vapid moralism. In the end, these troubadours and their *gay science*, were a creation of Nietzsche’s natural, beyond good evil” romanticism. Interestingly, Nietzsche was not so much interested in the work of individual troubadours as he was in the creative, linguistic and cultural drive behind their poetry. The Provençal troubadour was for Nietzsche a nexus of active forces –an *übermensch*.

6. Conclusion

The story of the troubadours and the *gay science* must be seen as the unresolved tension between art and science, between science *qua* logic and rationality (cognition) and the affective knowledge of the body; between *langue* (grammar) and *parole* (the living, spoken word). The philologist/philosopher Nietzsche paid for this terrible

⁴⁵ “Consequently, metaphor serves Nietzsche as bridge to cross from language to the body,” writes Luis Enrique de Santiago Guervós in “El poder de la palabra: Nietzsche y la retórica,” (The power of the word: Nietzsche and Rhetoric) his masterful introduction to Nietzsche’s 1872-1874 lectures on rhetoric published in translation in Spain under the title *Escritos sobre retórica* (2000; *Friedrich Nietzsche on Rhetoric and Language*, 1989). And at the same time, Guervós says, “metaphor served him as an instrument with which to ground the driving “forces” which seek their expression in the body, before they are encapsulated in words and concepts. As such, consciousness, the conceptual world, abstract thought, and the soul, are nothing more than bodily modes, a plurality of drives that make up the unconscious penetrated by the great force to *interpret*. That is because before man creates concepts and judgments, he is first a creator of forms, so that in reality the body is the source whence the creative forces emerge...” (36-37). Metaphor is one of the creative ways through which the body externalizes its impressions, drives, desires, and instincts through language. Sarah Kofman, on the other hand, distinguishes the use of metaphor by the lyric poet from rhetoric and music. “Metaphor must be understood here not as a rhetorical figure, but as ‘a substitutive image which the poet really perceives in place of the idea,’ a live spectacle at which he is present. The lyric genius expresses in his way what the Dionysian musician, by identifying himself with the primitive echo of the world, is able to make resonate without having to resort to images,” writes Kofman (8). However, what she fails to take into account is that for Nietzsche the “rhetorical figure” no less than metaphor and music, was an active force (*pulsion*) of the will.

tension –from which we have not yet escaped– with bad eye sight and migraines. A lover of knowledge (philo-sophia) and a lover of words (philo-logia), he wanted to bring the latter closer to the former. For he lived in an age in which scientific positivism reigned supreme. Philology as we know it was in fact, an invention of the nineteenth century. The great philologist, Gaston Paris, invented the term “amour courtois” or *courtly love*, if only to prove to his father, Paulin Paris –an impressionist, Romantic critic– that even love could be analyzed under the scientific microscope of philology (Hult, 202-206, 212-213). Enrique de Villena defined science (“sciencia”) in his *Arte de trovar* as the “order of things immutable and true” (359). Molinier, Vidal, Foixà, the *mantenedors* of the Consistori, the supporters of the crown and the church turned the poetry of the Provençal troubadours into a science (“saber”), and in so doing transformed a lay poetics of freedom into something safe, predictable, regulated, and coded. It might prove fruitful to at some future date to investigate the possible relation between the Consistori and the rise of the European university, for there is much in the Consistori that reminds one of the medieval university. Today we live with the same intellectual split in the academia world, that Paris and others like him had already anticipated, and even promoted, over a hundred years ago –the thorny chiasm between philology or literary studies and literary theory.

Before there was the Roland Barthes of *The Pleasure of the Text*, with his emphasis on the *jouissance* of textuality, there was the work of E.S. Dallas who, in a two volume work on the Epicurean interpretation of literature, had attempted to imbue literary criticism with the spirit of *gay science*. Dallas wrote:

I have called the present work the Gay Science, because that is the shortest description I can find of its aim and contents. But I have ventured to wrest a little from its old Provençal meaning...The lighthearted minstrels of Provence insisted on the joyfulness of their art. In the dawn of modern literature, they declared, with a straightforwardness which has never been surpassed either by poets or by critics, that the immediate aim of art is the cultivation of pleasure. But it so happens that no critical doctrine is in our day more unfashionable than this –that the object of art is pleasure. (I: 3, 4)

Why not, asked Dallas in 1886, “a Science of Pleasure”? Does the body yield less knowledge than the mind? Does the *logos* of the philologist and the philosopher, guarantee the scientific immutable truth and meaning alluded to by Villena? In the last section of his essay, “La parola e il sapere,” Agamben reminds us of Wittgenstein’s conclusion –that language can yield no knowledge outside of itself because whatever we say, whatever categories we refer to (substance, essence, qualities, and so on) are themselves categories of language; linguistic signs referentially pointing to themselves and to no other (external, transcendental), external reality. If such conclusion ends in the pessimism of silence, there is still a way out it, and such a way is to be found in the realization that in a very Epicurean fashion, the body and the mind are not mutually exclusive of each other –that we are not in any way forced to subscribe to the modernist Cartesian split. The history of the *gay saber* or *gay science* is the history of an error, whose solution may found in the space between *gay* and *saber*. From Nietzsche we may learn the need for a historical *saber* of literature (even with his errors, and perhaps even more because of his errors), as well as the joyful (*gay*) knowledge derived from an affective, physiological interpretation of literature.⁴⁶ His ideas had a profound impact on

⁴⁶ “Only through forgetfulness can man ever achieve the illusion of possessing a ‘truth’...If he does not wish to be satisfied with truth in the form of a tautology –that is, with empty shells– then he will forever buy illusions for truths. What is a word? The image of a nerve stimulus in sounds. But to infer from the

classical philology, and he may very well be credited as the founder of comparative literature. Who else could have put Petronius, the Provençal troubadours, and the cult of Dionysus together in a way that made philosophical *sense*, if not the philosopher who announced the death of God, and for whom language had at last been liberated from its metaphysical moorings? And yet there is problem here, for in Nietzsche's abandonment of philology for philosophy, there was also an abandonment of intellectual responsibility, for which we have dearly paid with all kinds of banal conclusions.⁴⁷ What Nietzsche's error regarding the gay science (as well the Dionysian/Apollonian dialectic) did was to usher in the age of hermeneutics, chaperoned into the twentieth century by Heidegger (National Socialist mythos) and Vattimo (2010, 2011: neo-liberal relativism). To respond to Nietzschean hermeneutics it may be worthwhile to return something akin to a Kantian critical project. A student once said that to me that Hobbes was a Marxist, and though I sort of understood what he meant by it –given the popular interpretation of Marx in the United States– I did my best to explain to him why this could not be so. And I think most of us would do our best to correct such a student's mistake, so why should a great philosopher like Nietzsche, be allowed to get away with a similar mistake? Yet, unfortunately, lack of intellectual rigor is rampant in our culture today. The artist, the philosopher, the philologist, and the critic, each in his/her own *discipline* ought to recognize the importance of craftsmanship and philosophical inquiry, without which there may be very little of any worth. For when we speak of "creative writing" as opposed to academic writing, for instance, we do both a great disservice; for what is not creative in "academic writing" and what is not subject to a science, to craftsmanship, in "creative" writing? The reason for this science/art binary equation lies in the romantic notion of Art (understood in its most general terms) as the result of genius and inspiration rather than labor. Concerning this split, Agamben writes:

The existence of a dual status for man's poietic activity appears so natural to us today that we now forget that entrance of the work of art into the aesthetic dimension is a relatively recent event, and one that, when it took place, introduced a radical split in the spiritual

life of the artist, changing substantially the aspect of humanity's cultural production. Among the first consequence of this split was the rapid eclipse of those sciences, such as rhetoric and dogmatics, of those social institutions, such as workshops and art schools, and of those structures of artistic composition, such as the repetition of styles, iconographic continuity, and the requires tropes of literary composition... (1999, 62)

Ironically, what at first seemed like a liberation of the artist, has become the death of the artist as a maker, as an individual who know his/her craft. The result is that today there are artists, and specially poets, everywhere, who have no idea that writing a poem requires material as well as intellectual labor. Nietzsche's romantic notions no doubt contributed to this inebriated "Dionysian" thinking. Therefore, this monograph has been

nerve stimulus, a cause outside us, that is already the result of a false and unjustified application of the principle of reason..." wrote Nietzsche in "On Truth and Lie in the Extra-Moral Sense" (45).

⁴⁷ Even Peter Sloterdijk in his apologia of Nietzsche, *Nietzsche Apostle*, cites a letter in which Nietzsche expresses some apprehension regarding the reception of his bombastic conclusions and its possible cultural ramifications (2013, 73). All which unfortunately has come to fruition in the capitalist marketplace of *doxa*, where ideas are turned into consumer products (in political terms: "issues") of exchange value. This is what Nietzsche's intellectual irresponsibility has led to. And while Marx has rightly been taken to task for proposing a "dictatorship of the proletariat," Nietzsche has always had plenty of apostles making all kinds of excuses for him. Perhaps in Nietzsche's case more Judases, with a good conscience, are needed.

an attempt to correct a major mistake made by a major thinker, and to shed some light into the history of a concept (*gaya sciensa*) and an institutional practice (*gay trobar*) that has been mistaken for something else by a great many people. Does it contain errors of its own? No doubt. But I don't want my readers to let me off the hook. Philosophize and analyze, not with a hammer, but rather with the rigor of meticulous critical inquiry. For now at least, let us say farewell to hermeneutics and to its often facile analogical expressions.

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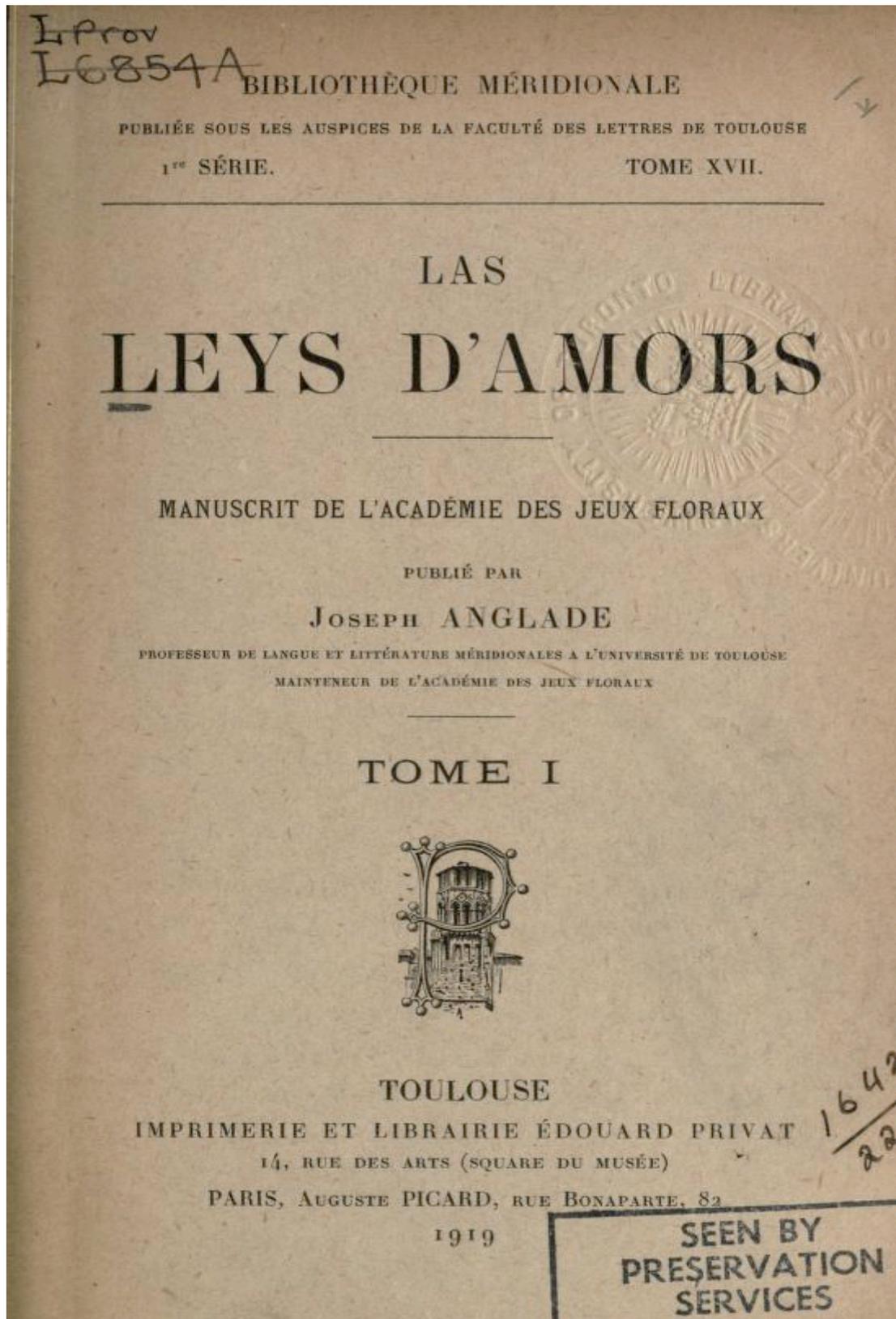
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Appendix: Selections from Guilhem Molinier's *Las leys d'amors*



AVERTISSEMENT

Des deux manuscrits originaux des *Leys d'Amors* que possède l'Académie des Jeux Floraux, l'un a été publié depuis longtemps par Gatién-Arnoult¹. L'autre était encore inédit, sauf le début du livre I² publié par Chabaneau dans l'*Histoire Générale de Languedoc* (éd. Privat, X, pp. 180-194) et les poésies religieuses que nous avons éditées récemment (Toulouse, librairie Ed. Privat, 1919; extrait des *Annales du Midi*, XXIX (1917), pp. 1-48).

La rédaction imprimée par Gatién-Arnoult comprend cinq livres; celle-ci n'en contient que trois, dont le premier, d'ailleurs, ne correspond à aucun des livres de l'autre rédaction. Un volume sera

1. *Monumens de la littérature romane*. Toulouse, 1841-1843, 3 vol.

2. Chabaneau a publié également (*Op. laud.*, p. 195 sq.) les rubriques ou tables des matières des deux livres suivants, une partie des folios xvii et xviii, ainsi que le début du livre II, folios lxx verso à lxx verso.

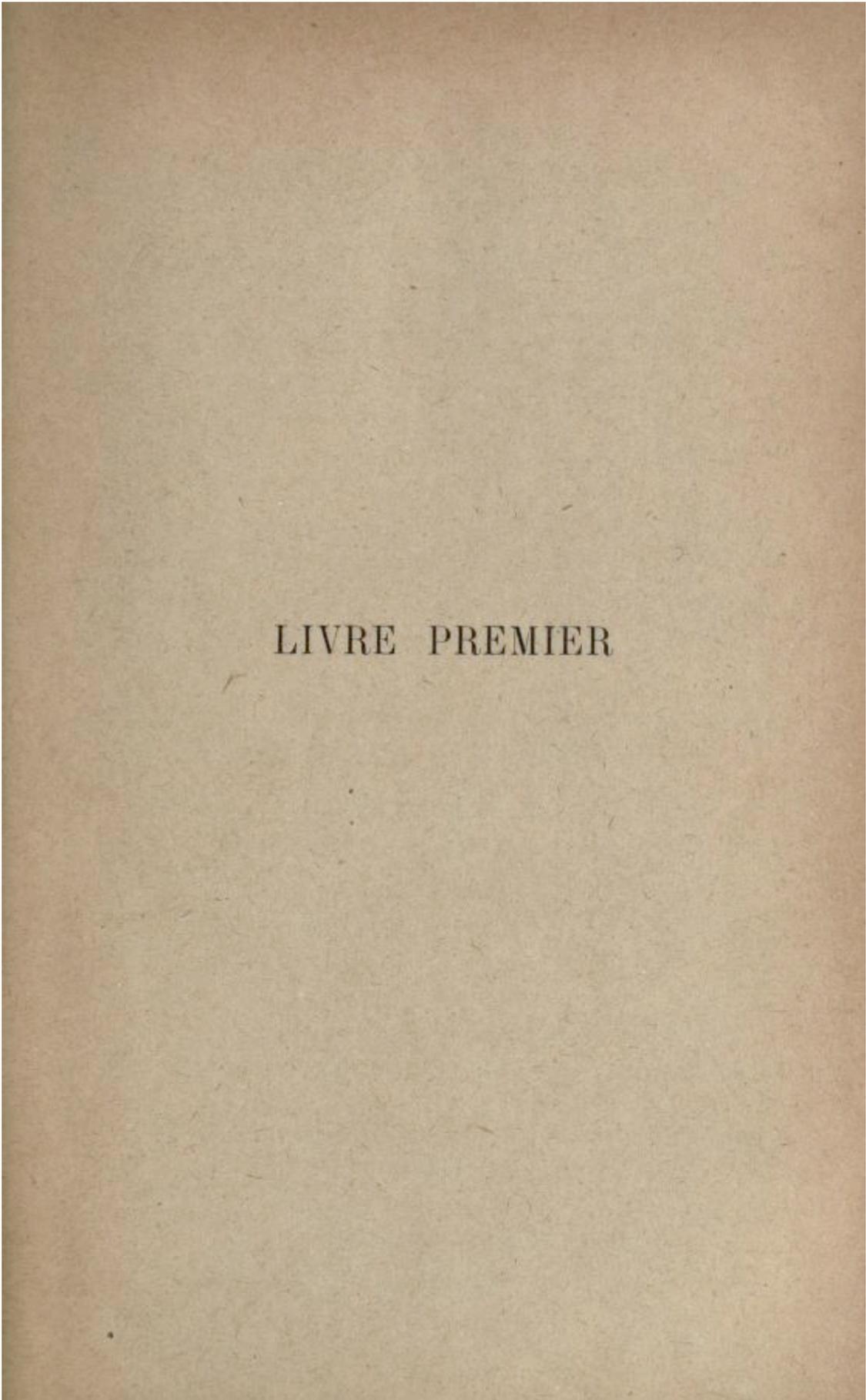
VIII

AVERTISSEMENT.

consacré à chaque livre. Un quatrième tome contiendra des *Études* sur les *Leys d'Amors*, des *Notes*, un *Index* des noms propres et le *Glossaire* des mots rares ou difficiles.

Dans les trois volumes du texte, les notes sont en général d'ordre paléographique. Nous avons cependant indiqué, lorsque il y avait lieu, les passages correspondants de l'édition Gatién-Arnoult.

On trouvera, au tome IV, une description du manuscrit.



LIVRE PREMIER

[F° 1 r°] **De las tres cauzas necessarias
en far obra ¹.**

Tres cauzas son necessarias a perfectio d'obra : volers, sabers e poders; e la una defalhen, las doas petit podó. E quar ses Dieu hom ayssó no pot aver, per so humilmen lo pregam qu'el, essenhan, secorren et ajudan, nos do saber e poder, pus que'l voler nos ha dat, per que, pauzan, prenden e supplen, puscám comensar, prosseguir e complir la prezen obra.

Et entendem, luy ajudan, procezir algunas vetz prozaygamen, segon us acostumat de parlar, am bon cas, ses gardar autre ornat, e soen per acordansas, segon que nos sera vist.

**Quo e per que trobada fo la prezens sciensa
del Gay Saber al commensamen.**

Segon que ditz le Philosophes, tug li home del mon deziro haver sciensa; de laqual naysh sabers; de saber, conoyssensa; de conoyssensa, sens; de sen, be far; de be far, valors; de valor, lauzors; de lauzor, honors; d'onor, pretz; de pretz, plazers; de plazer, gaug et alegriers.

E quar, segon que ditz Catos ² e certa experiensa ho mostra, totz hom am gaug et alegrier, can locz e temps

1. En haut de la page, écriture du xvii^e siècle : « Ce commencement contient la fondation des Jeux Floraux. »

2. Gatién-Arnoult, I, 10.

3. Dyonisius Cato, en ses distiques (Chabaneau) :

« Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis,
Ut possis animo quemvis sufferre laborem. »

ho requier, porta miels e sufri tota maniera de treball, so's assaber las miserias, las angustias e las tribulacios, per lasquals nos cove passar en la present vida; e regularmen, amb aytal gaug et alegrier hom [F^o 1 v^o] endeve miels en sos bos faytz e sa vida melhura trop miels que am tristicia; quar ayssi coma gaugz et alegriers coforta'l cor, avida e noyrish lo cors, conserva la vertut dels .V. sens corporals, e'l sen l'entendemen e la memoria, e red la etat d'ome florida, ayssi ira e tristicia cofon lo cor, gasta lo cors e seca'ls osses e destru lasditas vertutz e fa semblar la etat d'ome may's vieilha que non es; e quar a Dieu, nostre sobira mestre, senhor e creator, platz qu'om fassa lo sieu servezi am gaug et am alegrier de cor, segon que fa testimoni le Psalmista que ditz : « Cantatz et alegratz vos en Dieu »; per so, en lo temps passat, foron en la reyal nobla ciutat de Tholoza¹ .VII. valen, savi, subtil e discret senhor, liquial hagro bon dezirier e gran affectio de trobar aquesta nobbla, excellen, meravilhoza e vertuoza dona Sciensa, per que lor des e lor aministres lo gay saber de dictar, per saber far bos dictatz en romans, am losquals poguesso dire e recitar bos motz e notabbles, per dar bonas doctrinas e bos essenhamens, a lauzor et honor de Dieu nostre senhor e de la sua glorioza Mayre, e de totz los Sans de Paradis, et ad estructio dels ignorens e no sabens, e refrenamen dels fols e nescis aymadors, e per viure am gaug et am l'alegrier dessus dig, e per fugir ad ira e tristicia, enemigas del Gay Saber.

1. En marge (main du XIV^e siècle?) : « Nota (?) fuisse inventores ... arte thol[osa] p z h' » (mot illisible).

E finalmen li dit senhor, per miels atrobar aquesta vertuoza dona Sciensa, lor gran dezirier e lor bona affectio mezeron ad execucio. E tramezeron lor letra per diversas partidas de la Lenga d'Oc, afi que li subtil dictador et trobador venguesso al jorn a lor assignat, per so que'l dig .VII. senhor poguesso auzir e vezer lor saber, lor subtilitat e lors bonas opinios, e que apenre pogues la us am l'autre, e la dita nobla poderoza e vertuoza Dona trobar.

E per que miels venguesso, promezero donar certa joya de fin aur, ayssi cum miels es contengut en la dita letra, la tenors de laqual es aquesta.

Als honorabbles et als pros
 Senhors, amix e companhos,
 Als quals es donatz le sabers
 Don creysh als bos gaugz e plazers,
 Sens e valors e cortezia¹,
 La sobregaya companhia
 [F^o 2 r^o] Dels .VII. trobadors de Tholoza
 Salut e mays vida joyoza.

Tug nostre major cossirier
 E'l pensamen e'l dezirier
 Son de cantar e d'esbaudir,
 Per quey may volem far auzir
 Nostre saber e luenh e pres;
 Quar si no fos qui motz trobes,
 Sempre fora chans remazutz
 E totz plazens solatz perduz
 E'l plus de pretz entre las gens.

1. Au bas du folio, main du XIV^e siècle (peu lisible) : « Litera directa omnibus dictatoribus data eius(?) M. CCC. e. III. » Sic; il manque un ou plusieurs chiffres romains.

Mas tant es grans l'ensenhamens
 De cels que fan vers e chansos
 Qu'atersi quo'l religios
 Mostran la vida sperital,
 Et ilh mostran la temporal
 Francamen, si cum vos sabetz.

E donx pus que'l saber havetz
 E l'art e'l ginh de ben dictar,
 Aujam nos so que sabetz far,
 Quar segon faytz se tanh lauzors,
 Et al lauzar no falh honors,
 Seguen son bon comensamen;
 Mas be's cove que subtilmen
 Cossire sos faytz e sos ditz,
 Quar leu es hom envergonhitz,
 Can s'entramet d'autrus foldatz,
 Si tant non es amezuratz
 Que's fassa tenir per cortes
 E per leyal sus totes res,
 Qu'adonx pot hom parlar a pleg,
 Can leyalatz lo te cap dreg,
 Razo gardan, e temps e loc,
 No que per ira ni per joc
 Sos sens paresca trop leugiers,
 Que'l mal ditz hom plus volontiers
 Que'l be de totz essenhadors.

Perque nos set, seguen lo cors
 Dels trobadors qu'en son passat,
 Havem a nostra voluntat
 .I. loc maravilhos e bel,
 On son retrayt mant dit noel,
 El pus dels dimenges de l'an.
 E no y suffrem re malestan,

Qu'essenhan l'us l'autre repren
 E'l torna de son falhimen
 A so que razos pot suffrir.
 E per mays e miels enantir
 Lo saber qu'es tan ricz e cars,
 Fam vos saber que, totz affars
 E totz negocis delayshatz,
 El dic loc serem, si Dieu platz,
 Lo prumier jorn del mes de may,
 E serem ne mil tans plus gay
 Si us hy vezem en aquel jorn,
 Qu'a nos no cal d'autre sojorn
 Mas quan d'isshausar lo saber.

E per tal que miels s'alezar
 Cascus en far obra plazen,
 Dizem que, per dreyt jutjamen,
 A cel que la fara plus neta
 Donarem una violeta
 De fin aur, en senhal d'onor,
 No regardan pretz ni valor,
 [F^o 2 v^o] Estamen ni condicio
 De senhor ni de companho,
 Mas sol maniera de trobar.

Et adonx auziretz cantar
 E legir de nostres dictatz;
 E se y vezetz motz' mal pauzatz
 O tal re que be non estia,
 Vos² ne faretz a vostra guia,
 Qu'a razo no contradirem.
 Mas ben crezatz que sostendrem
 So qu'aurem fayt, en disputan;
 Quar responden et allegan

1. Corrigé en *ditz* postérieurement (écriture du xiv^e siècle?).
2. Au-dessus de la ligne, même main et même encre que *ditz* (cf. note précédente) : *les tornetz a dreyta via*.

Es conogut d'ome que sap,
 Can gent razon' e tray a cap
 So q'us altres li contraditz;
 E cel que reman esbahitz¹
 Tant que so qu'ades ha retrag
 No sab razonar, l'autruy fag
 Par que vol per sieu retenir,
 Et enayssi fasescauir²,
 Car l'autruy saber vol emblar.
 Per qué us volem assabentar,
 E us suppleyam e us requirem
 Que'l dit jorn qu'assignat havem
 Vos veyam say tan gent garnitz
 De plazens sos e de bels ditz
 Que'l segles ne sia plus gays,
 Tant que joglar ne valhan mays
 E torne valors en vertut,
 E'l Dieus d'Amors que vos ajud.

Donadas foron el vergier
 Del dit loc, al pe d'un laurier,
 El barri de las Augustinas
 De Tholoza, nostras vezinas,
 Dimars, quar no's poc far enans,
 Aprop la festa de Tutz Santz,
 En l'an de l'Encarnacio
 De Crist, nostra redemptio,
 M . e . CCC e . XX . e tres .

1. En marge, écriture du XIV^e s. effacée (mots coupés par le relieur) : « [No]ta quod anno Dni M^o XX^o fuit ordinata sciensia et [an]no XXIII^o fuit ... ars (?) dicendi. »

2. « Sic ms. Corr. *fa s'esca[r]nir?* Lafaille *fases cahir.* » (Chabaneau.)

E per que no duplessetz ges
 Que no'us¹ tenguessem covenens,
 En aquestas letras prezens
 Havem nostre sagel pauzat,
 En testimoni de vertat.

Al qual jorn assignat vengro de diversas partidas mant trobador am lors dictatz en lodit loc, on foron recebut mot honorabblamen per los ditz .VII. senhors²; so's assaber Bernat de Panassac, donzel; Guilhem de Lobra, borgues; Berenguier de Sant Plancat, Peyre de Mejanaserra, cambiayres; Guilhem de Gontaut, Pey Camo, mercadiers; mestre Bernat Oth, notari de la cort del viguier de Tholoza; presens los honorables senhors de Capitol de Tholoza, de l'an M. CCC. XXIII³, so's assaber : mossen Frances Barrau, Azemar d'Agremon, Arnaut del Castelnou, Bertran de Morlas, cavalliers; Guilhem Pageza, donzel; Macip Mauran, senhor de Mont Raba, am los autres senhors de Capitol, lors companhos, [F^o 3 r^o] et am gran re d'autres bos homes, so's assaber : Mossen Guilhem Pons de Morlas⁴, Pey Ramon del Castelnou, Ramonat de Tholoza, senhor de Quint, cavalliers; Pons de Garrigas, Bernat Barrau de Marvilar, Mauran de Pompinha, En Pey de Prinhae, borguezes de Tholoza, e gran re d'autres bos homes,

1. Chabaneau, *non*.

2. En marge, main du XIV^e siècle : « *Nomina VII.* » Sur ces personnages et sur ceux qui sont cités dans le prologue, voir l'*Introduction*.

3. En marge, main du XIV^e siècle : *data*.

4. En haut du folio, à gauche, main du XIV^e siècle (?) : « *Nota ordinatum ex deliberatione consili quod jocalia fiant de emolumento civitatis et judicentur per VII manutentores qui... fuerunt prim[i] inventores.* »

doctors, licenciatz, borguezes, mercadiers, e motz autres ciutadas de Tholoza.

Et adonx lidit senhor de Capitol, hagut cosselh am los ditz senhors et alcus autres, ordenero que ladita joya d'aqui avan se pagues de l'emolumen de la villa de Tholoza. Et enayssi es estat fayt, e's fa encaras, e's fara Dieu volen et ajudan.

Si que lo primier jorn de may, li dit .VII. senhor receubero los dictatz, de mayti e de vespre; e l'endema, auzida lor messa, ilh s'ajustero per vezer los dictatz e per elegir lo mays net.

E l'autre jorn apres, so fo lo ters jorn de may, festa de Santa Crotz, jutjero en public e donero la joya de la viuleta a mestre Arnaut Vidal de Castelnoudarri, loqual, aquel meteys an, de fag creero doctor en la gaya sciensa, per una noela canso ques hac fayta de Nostra Dona¹. Et enayssi d'aqui en sa es estat fayt e's fara, Dieu ajudan.

Quar li dit .VII. senhor jutjavan ses ley e ses reglas que no havian, e tot jorn reprendian e pauc essenhavan, per so ordenero que hom fes certas reglas, a lasquals haguesson recors et avizamen en lor jutjamen. Et adonc comezero de bocca a mestre Guilhem Molinier², savi en dreg, que el fes e compiles las ditas reglas, am cosselh de l'honorabbe e reveren senhor mossen Bortholmieu Marc, doctor en leys; e si casian

1. Au bas de la page (xiv^e s. ?) : « Nota primum premiatum fuisse de Castro novo de Arrio. »

2. En marge (xiv^e s. ?) : « Nomen compositoris istarum leg[um]. » Main du xvii^e s. « Quod ab septem viris illis antea institutum fuerat in se recipiunt faciendum idque urbis impensis Capitolini. A. 1354 hujus (ou unius?) meminit Catel. »

en alcus doptes que aquels reportesso al cosselh de lor Gay Consistori. E cant las ditas reglas foron faytas en partida, li dit .VII. senhor volgro que fossan appeladas LEYS D'AMORS. En las quals far covenc metre gran trebalh e gran estudi¹.

Las ordenansas dels .VII. senhors mantenedors del Gay Saber.

E per so que las ditas LEYS fosso per certas rubricas ordenadas e corregidas e per certz libres devizidas, quar a penas obra noela se pot far al comensamen ayssi del tot complida [F^o 3 v^o] que no sia deffectiva d'alcuna cauza e no haja mestiers d'alcuna reparacio, el ayssó trobam per aquels que primieremen (*sic*) fero leys e decretals, per amor d'ayssó, per los savis e discretz mantenedors del GAY SABER de l'an .M. CCC. LV. so's assaber : mossen Cavayer de Lunel, doctor en leys, mossen Bartholi Yzalguier², cavalier, mossen Pey de la Selva, licenciat en leys, de Samata, mestre Johan de Seyra, bachelier en leys, Bertran del Falgar, donzel, mestre Ramon Gabarra³, bachelier en leys, Germa de Gontaut, mercadier, ordenero que degus dictatz no fos sagelatz, si donx primieramen no era passatz per lo dit consistori e senhatz per lor cancelier, am subscripcio del sieu nom.

Encaras ordenero que totz hom que voldra esser bacheliers en la dita sciensa del Gay Saber, que primie-

1. En marge (xiv^e s. ?) : « Nota hic(?) quod totum actum pertinet(?) vii. dominis »; plus bas : « reglas nomnadas leys d'amors. »

2. En marge (xiv^e s.) : « Nota nomina manutentorum anni M. CCC. LV. »

3. En marge (xiv^e s.) : « De Condom. »

ramen haja aguda la una de las joyas principals e que norremens sia examinatz per los .VII. senhors mantenedors [o] per la major partida, prezen lor cancelier e'ls autres que hayer voldran en lor cosselh¹. E si dignes es d'esser bacheliers, que en public, lo jorn que's dona la principals joya de la viuleta, jure que el tendra e gardara en sos dictatz, al miels que poyra e a bona fe, las LEYS e las FLORS del Gay Saber, e a honor e profieg del dit Consistori, e la festa principal qu'om dona la viuleta hondrara tot lo temps de sa vida, si per cauza necessaria no era empachatz. E si letra vol testimonial, cum es faytz e creatz bacheliers, que'l sia autrejada, am lo sagel del dit Consistori en cera verda, et am cordo de seda verd en penden. per esta manera.

Als savis, discrets e cortes²,
 Francz, liberals e gent apres,
 Am cor subtil, plazen e gay
 E fizel, vertadier e may
 A totz aycels que receubran
 Las prezens letras ni veyran,
 En Dieu que tot quant es avida,
 Salut tostemps e bona vida.
 Et a cels que son majorals
 Et drechurier, pros e leyal,
 E teno lo mon en defensa,
 Honor amb humil reverensa,
 De part nos .VII. Mantenedors
 Am leyaltat del joy d'amors
 De la ciutat nobbla Tholoza.

1. En marge (XIV^e s.) : « Nota quod in solidum [hi]c actus spectat mantentoribus et cancellario, »

2. En marge (XIV^e s.) : « Litera baccalari hujus sciencie. »

Obra nos appar gracioza
 Ques hom lauzor et honor done
 Als be fazens e gazardone,
 Per so que degus no's destorsa'
 [F° 4 r°] De be far en loqual s'esforsa,
 E per que puescan haver tug
 De lor treballh gracios frug,
 Per miels sostener lor estat.

Fam vos saber qu'en la ciutat
 Nobbla, leyal, fizel e bona,
 Laqual lassus hom vos mesona,
 Lo jorn de Santa Crotz de may,
 On eran man trobador gay,
 Havem nos .N. aytal enquist,
 Segon que miels a nos fo vist,
 En l'art joyoza de trobar.

E quar, al sieu examinar,
 Am subtil engenh et agut
 Claramen nos ha respondut,
 Fayt sagramen per luy que tenga
 Nostras LEYS e contra no venga,
 Prezen lo nostre cancelier,
 Nos l'avem creat bachelier
 En la subtil sciensa gaya.

E quar Amors de lui s'apaya,
 Quar de fin cor am liey s'afranh
 E leyalitats que no'l sofranh,
 De tot aysso fayt' acordansa,
 E quar chanso fe, vers o dansa,
 Qu'el am gay so dins l'an dictec,
 Segon que dish e nos jurec,

1. Au bas de la page (xiv^e s.) : « Nota hic literam et posse videlicet quod vii. domini possunt conferre gradum baccalaureatus hujus (?) sciencie. »

Laquals per mays neta jutjem,
 Per so la joya li donem
 D'aytal flor en senhal d'onor.

Pregam vos donx, honrat senhor,
 Qu'a luy, en so que s'aperte
 A bachelier, vos donetz fe
 En far questios, arguïr,
 Et en recitar e legir
 Las nostras LEYS am plazens motz,
 Per so qu'el, am sa clara votz,
 Lo Gay Saber tot jorn semene,
 Solamen que no determene,
 Quar sos poders no s'esten plus.

Et que miels ho crezats cascus,
 Las prezens letras autrejam
 Et en penden las segelam
 Del nostre gracios sagel

E B E L

La data del jorn hy metra
 E del loc qui mestiers n'aura.

Ordenero mays li dit .VII. senhor que, si fos vist a lor cancelier que'l dit senhor fossan appellat sobre alcun dopte, qu'el los fes appelar per lo bedel del Gay Consistori et am letra, afi que miels s'en recordes cascus. Et ayssi es estat comensat.

Et afi qu'om sapia per temps la forma de la letra, la tenors es aquesta¹.

Als hondratz e discrets senhors
 Del Gay Saber mantenedors,

1. En marge (xiv^a s.): « Litera cum qua mandant manutentores per cancellarium cum est opus. »

Salut en Dieu, nostre senhor,
E vida tostemp amb honor.

No's penet ni blasmes no'l sobra
Qui ditz am bon cosselh et obra ;
E quar algunas questios
E cazes subtils e doptos,
[F° 4 v°] Que toco la nostra sciensa
Cove tractar ab diligensa
E determinar en tal guiza
Qu'es hom de nostre fag no's riza,
Mejansan la opinio
Del vostre cert cosselh e bo,
Per so plassia vos que vengatz
Al loc, on soen etz estatz,
Del nostre bel vergier florit,
On mant dictat son corregit,
Lo primier dimenge prompda,
Lequals deu esser l'endema
De la Nativitat gaujoza
De la Regina glorioza,
Per donar bon cosselh e tal
Que'l nostre fayt sian leyal;
Et en ayso cascus s'atenda,
Ses vaccar en outra fazenda.

E per tal qu'ayso miels vos membre,
A .VI. jorns del mes de setembre,
En la ciutat plazen e bona,
Tholoza, que bos cosselhs dona,
Las prezens letras foron dadas,
En l'ostal nostre de Baladas,
Aprop sopar, venen la nueg,
L'an .M. CCC. XLVII. ¹

1. En marge (xiv^e s.?) : « lan mil CCC^e XLVIII. » C'est en effet *ueg* (VIII) qui est nécessaire pour la rime.

Am l'autentic sagel penden
 Del Gay Consistori plazen,
 Per l'umil vostre cancelier
 Mensonat Guilhem Molinier.

Ordenero¹ apres li davan dit senhor que'l bedels de lor Consistori haja los emolumens acostumatz, so's assaber : rauba entiera d'una color cascun an, laqual devon pagar li franc e liberal senhor patro en la dita festa, en laqual se mudo cascun an. E li antic patro elegisso los noels per l'an seguen, e los publico lo jorn que's dona la viuleta.

Encaras le bedels deu haver del fin ayman que gazonha la viuleta .X. sols thol., e de cascu dels autres que gazonho las autras joyas, l'englentina e'l gaug, .V. sols tornes de la moneda que adonx correra. E quar algunas vetz es donada certa joya extraordinaria, per cobbla esparsa, per apenre et essenhar los noels dictadors, et en aysso cove que'l bedels trebalhe, deu haver de cel ques ha la joya .V. sols tornes, si donar los hy vol de grat.

En la creacio del dit bedel se deu hom enformar que sia bos homs, de bona fama e de honesta conversacio.

Et en lo comensamen de sa creacio, deu jurar que el sera bos e leylals, e no revelara los secretz del Consistori a qui revelar no'ls deura, e que bonas relatios e bon report fara [F^o 5 r^o] e leylalmen servira a bona fe, duran son offici.

1. En haut de la page (xiv^e s. ?) : « lo degut del bedel per son trebalh ». En marge (xvii^e s. ?) : « Le vedeau » ; plus bas : « les bailles ».

E registrara los dictatz principals de son temps, en lo libre que'l dit .VII. senhor mantenedor li balharan.

E noremens hom li balhara la verga d'argen, am lo floc de seda al cap, en senhal de possessio; e si letra vol, per major fermetat de son uffici, deu li esser autrejada per esta forma¹.

Als savis e bos dictadors²,
 Fis aymans, subtils trobadors,
 Et a totz cels que receubran
 Las prezens letras o veyran,
 Nos .VII. Mantenedor leyal
 Del joy d'amor ques als sieus val,
 Salut en Dieu e bon'amor;
 Et als senhors qui son major
 E de bon cor leyal e mon
 E fizel governo lo mon,
 Honor tostemps e reverensa.

En so qu'es affar providensa
 Home releva de treballh,
 E'l non curos leumen defalh;
 Per que, am mot diligen cura,
 Nos .N. aytal, lequals procura
 Tostemps bos faytz am bona fama,
 Tant que lunhs hom de luy no's clama,
 Ans ha lauzor d'onesta vida,
 Laquals entre nos es auzida,
 Per bona conversacio,
 E quar, per enformacio³

1. En haut (xiv^e s.?) : « creacio vedelli ».

2. En marge (xiv^e s.?) : « litera officii bedelli ».

3. Au bas de la page (xiv^e s.?) : « manutentores faciunt bedellum hujus artis ».

D'ayso cascus de nos es certz,
 E qu'es avizatz et apertz,
 Havem lo fayt nostre bedel¹,
 Verga d'argen, am floc mot bel,
 Baylan en sas mas per servir
 E'l dig uffici possezir².

Faytz es e'l fam per las prezens
 Bedel, am los emolumens
 Acostumatz el temps passat.

Primier pero nos ha jurat
 Qu'el nos sera fizels e bos,
 Fazen bonas relacios,
 Bon report, e secret tendra
 So que revelar no deura,
 E que l'onor de totz essems
 El profiet gardara tostemps.
 Et aytan cum tendra l'ufici
 Fara degut e bon servici
 Leyalmen et a bona fe.

Per que nos, si cum s'aperte,
 Pregam vos, aytan quan podem,
 E si co's tanh vos requirem
 Ques al dig bedel fe donetz,
 En so que de luy auziretz,
 De part de nos, en sos reportz.

Dieus qu'es nostre joy[s] e cofortz,
 Nos tenga totz en sa vertut.
 Et amb aytant Dieus vos ajut.

1. En marge (main du xvii^e s.) : « Le vedeau doit faire office de greffier. »

2. En marge (xiv^e s.) : « Nota uerba fa... » La fin du mot a été coupée par le couteau du relieur.

Al dig bedel son autrejadas
 Las prezens letras, sageladas
 Del sagel autentic notori
 Del nostre joyos Consistori.
 [F° 5 v°] La data vos metretz ayssi
 Del jorn e del loc atressi.

En creacio de doctor en la dita sciensa¹, deu hom gardar que haja hagudas las tres principals joyas, e que sia estatz bacheliers en la dita sciensa, e que sia be fondatz et entendutz en la primitiva sciensa de gramatica; et deu esser primieramen examinatx de manera que de tot dopte de la Gaya Sciensa sapia respondre. E deu esser *bos* homs, e que *puesca tener honorable estat del nostre Consistori*².

E deu legir en public, lo jorn que's donara la principals joya, una ley, aquela que'l sera assignada per los .VII. senhors mantenedors, e respondre als argumens qu'om li fara, almens a dos o a tres.

Et ayssó fayt, deu demandar am bel dictat compassat per novas rimadas tres causas : la cadiera, lo libre, e'l birret. E fayta la conclusio li dit .VII. senhor o aquel que per lor ad ayssó sera deputatz, lo deu assetjar en cadiera e metre lo libre denan, e sul cap³ .I. birret de color verda. E cel que cera deputatz ad ayssó far deu

1. En marge (xiv^e s.) : « Mostratur de doctore... [sc]iensie quomodo fieri ht (habeat?). »

2. « Ces deux dernières lignes (depuis *E deu*) avaient été omises; elles ont été écrites à la marge du ms., de la même main que le reste. Les lettres imprimées ici en italique y manquent aujourd'hui, ayant été enlevées par le couteau du relieur. » (Chabaneau.)

3. En haut de la page, col. 2 (xiv^e s.) : « Nota quod .VII. domini comitunt eorum cancellario ea quae sunt agenda circa hanc sciensiam. »

haver dictadas paraulas proprias e graciosas e rimadas, que diga can l'assetjara en cadiera, aquo meteys can li pazara lo libre denan, et ayssy meteys can li metra lo birret sul cap. E si letra vol de son doctorat, sia li autrejada en la forma dessus pazada dels bacheliers, exceptat que'l doctors haura poder de determenar, la quals cauza a bacheliers non es permeza.

En apres, li dit set senhor fero certa commissio al dit mestre Guilhem Molinier, lor cancelier, que el las ditas LEYS repares, ordenes e corregis, am letra sagelada del sagel del Gay Consistori, la tenors de laqual es aquesta.

La Commissio dels .VII. Mantenedors del Gay Saber per metre las *Leys d'Amors* en bona forma.

Al nostre fizel et amat,
 Escrinh de gran subtilitat,
 Font e meniera,
 Del Gay Saber vera lumniera
 E dreyt sendier,
 A mestre Guilhem Molinier¹,
 Veray amic
 E nostre cancelier antic,
 Salut veraya
 E vida tal ques a Dieu playa,
 E bona fi,
 De part de nos .VII., am cor fi,
 Mantenedors
 Del joy sobreleyal d'amors,

1. En marge (xiv^e s.) : « nomen cancellarii ».

[F^o 6 r^o] Joya donan
 D'aur e d'argen al miels dictan,
 En temps saubut.
 Quar en vos, gran cosselh agut
 Am gens notabblas
 E mot subtils e razonabbblas,
 Tug d'un acort
 Havem pazada nostra sort,
 Fam vos saber
 Que nos las LEYS del Gay Saber
 Volem complir
 Et emendar e corregir,
 En esta guiza
 Que, segon la vostra deviza,
 D'Auferezis,
 Vulhatz far patz am Prothezis,
 Quar de la testá¹
 Si fiero fort, si lor tempesta
 Hom no refrena.
 E quar Sincopa s'aremena
 En lo mieg loc,
 E Penthezis, feren d'estoc,
 La sobranceja,
 Per que faytz tant que lor peleja
 Cesse del tot.
 D'Apocopa que trenca'l mot
 Deves lo pe
 Ostatz e de Paragoge
 Tota discordia.
 Pueys Brachologia concordia
 E patz haura
 Am Na Perizologia,
 Ostan, supplen.
 E quar no podem bonamen

En ayso far
 Atendre, quar del tot vacar
 Ges no y podem,
 Per so pregan vos cometem,
 Mot confizan
 De la sciensa vostra gran,
 Que so qu'es dig
 Fassatz e metatz en escrig.
 Cosselh prendretz
 Cel que volretz; e procezetz
 Am diligensa,
 Declaran la Gaya Sciensa
 Qu'agensa.
 Lay el temps dous, plazen e gay,
 Festa de Santa Crotz de may
 L'an de Clemens¹
 E de Cascu, nos las prezens
 Dins a Tholoza²,
 Nobbla ciutat e graciosa,
 Havem segnadas
 E pueysh en penden sageladas
 E DA DAS.

La receptios de las ditas³ letras.

Fayta la presentacio
 De las prezens letras notabblas,
 Contenens ma comissio
 Per gens d'estat et honorabblas,

1. En marge (xvii^e s.) : « Le pape Clément VI (1342-1353) ». Les lettres à valeur numérale contenues dans *Clemens* et *Cascu* donnent l'an MCCCLV. (Chabaneau.)

2. En marge (xiv^e s.) : « No (nota) ms. nō) titulum ciuitatis Tholoze. »

3. Chab. *duos*.

- Esta fes¹ santa nos adutz
 712 Et am si gran re de vertutz
 Don N'ATH DE MONS, que fo garnitz
 De gran saber, enayssi ditz :
 « Razos d'arma adutz
 716 « En home bona fe,
 « Esperansa merce
 « Pietat caritat,
 « Vergonha honestetat,
 720 « Mezura² abstenensa,
 « Patiensa suffrensa,
 « Cortezia largueza,
 « Leyaltat savieza³. »
 724 D'ayssó qu'es dig e dir volem⁴
 De tot en tot nos sosmetem
 E singularmen et en soma
 A la fizel Gleyza de Roma,
 728 Don tug prendem govern e vida
 Quar le Sans Esperitz la guida.

Protesta l'Actors que d'ayssi avan [f^o 17 r^o] procezira prozaygamen sino en alcus cazes dejos expressatz.

Ses rims hueymais procezirem
 E nostras LEYS compilarem
 Am la comuna parladura
 Qué d'enpost liamen no cura,
 De hyat, fre, collizio
 D'accen, ni replicacio,

1. Ms. *fe*.
2. Ms. *Mesuzura*; en marge (xvii^e s.) *Mezura*.
3. Ed. W. Bernhardt, I, 471 et sq.
4. Ces six vers sont entourés d'une accolade en forme de figure.

Gardan lo cas ayssi co's tanh
 Alqual bos lengatges s'afranh ;
 Enpero can mestiers fara
 Hom d'acort de rims uzara
 Per miels declarar et entendre
 Per breu report e tost aprendre
 A gloria, lauzor et honor
 De Dieu nostre veray senhor
 E de la sua graciosa
 Vergena mayre glorioza
 En cuy totz fizels se cofiza
 E procezem per esta guiza¹.

A lauzor, honor, gloria e reverencia de Dieu lo Payre, e del Filh, e del Sant Esperit, ·I· Dieu veray senhor e creator de totas causas visiblas e no viziblas, qui es, en loqual, per loqual son, don veno e procezisho totas cauzas, procezem en la prezen obra. E quar tractam de las *Lays d'Amors*, mostram ayssi que es Amors.

Amors es bona voluntatz
 Plazers e deziriers de be
 E desplazers del mal que ve.

Quar es petita la sciensa e'l sens d'ome, sino aytant cum ne pot recollegir et haver per los digz dels anticz autors e per las auctoritatz dels Sans e dels savis doctors, als quals Dieus vertuozamen ha donat pur entendemen, sciensa e sen; per so nos lo presen tractat de nostre sen del tot far no podem, si donx no

1. Au bas du f° 18 on lit (xiv^e s.): « Nota opus presens ad instructionem laicorum principaliter. »

Dans la copie du xvii^e siècle, les dix-huit vers précédents sont entourés d'un trait à l'encre.

recorrem a Dieu et als Sans et als digz d'aquels als quals Dieus ha donada sciensa e sen. E que aysso sia vertatz appar, quar a penas hom pot re dire que no sia dig, jaciayso que vertutz es mot grans recordar, recitar e saber essenhar so qu'om ha apres e retengut. E per so ditz N'Ath de Mons per esta guiza :

E quar ges er no vol
 Hom tot quant voler sol,
 Vuelh vos, segon que'm par,
 So que mays val mostrar;
 Non ges per sol mo sen,
 Ans vuelh l'entendemèn
 [Fº 18 rº] E la manier' e'l cors
 Dels pus savis doctors,
 Tant quant ne puese, haver,
 A creysson mon saber;
 Et enayssi'm cove,
 Qu'ieu non enten ni cre
 Qu'om pogues leu trobar
 Bo mot ni bon estar
 Que ja retraytz no sia,
 Ans ha gran maestia
 Qui so que pot aprendre
 Sab retrayr' et entendre'.

Per que nostre present tractat tot que mays enten- dem trayre e fondar sobre los digz dels Sans e dels ancias auctors, e sobre las auctoritatz dels savis doctors, Dieu ajudan.

E si procezem algunas vetz per paraulas que s'apar- rian² mays a natura de glosa que de test, aysso fam

1. Ed. Bernhardt, II, 77 sq.

2. Ms. *sapian*. En marge : *saparian* (xviiº s.)

afi que'l layc, per losquals principalmen fam la prezen obra, miels ho puescan entendre.

Dig havem :

Amors es bona voluntatz¹.

Ayssi cum de peccat se podon segre tres cauzas malas : colpa, pena e dampnatges, tres autras cauzas mot bonas se podon segre de be, so's assaber : cauza honesta contraria a colpa, cauza deleytabbla contraria a pena, cauza utils contraria a dampnatge. E quar Amors es us sobiras bes, per so en la diffinició d'Amors pazada laycalmen podon esser notadas e trobadas las ditas tres bonas cauzas. Quar en so que ditz *bona voluntatz* mostra cauza honesta. Apres ditz *plazers*, so es plazers de be, mostra cauza deleytabbla, et en so que ditz *deziriers de be* mostra cauza util e de profieg. Et en so que ditz *e desplaizen del mal que ve* mostra cauza de pietat, laqual naysh d'amor. E quar vas la fi d'aquest libre devem tractar d'amor², per so d'aquela parlar ayssi no curam.

Mostra jos qual partida de philozophia es fundada la sciensa de las *Lays d'Amors* e per consequen tracta de philozophia et de sas partidas.

Razos nos somo e ns endutz que mostrem sotz qual partida de philozophia, mayre de totas sciensas³, es

1. Ms. *Volontatatz* avec la première syllabe *ta* exponctuée.

2. Au bas de la colonne : « Nota oppus pressens fieri ad instructionem laycorum principaliter. » (Main du XIV^e s.)

3. En marge (XIV^e s.) : « Nota philozophiam matrem omnium scientiarum. »

fundada la nostra prezens sciensa de nostras LEYS D'AMORS. Per so cove mostrar que es philozophia¹, don se deshen e's deriva, e quantas e quals sciensas conte en si, en quinh temps e per qual maniera foc trobada. Philozophia segon lo dig d'alcus auctors es coma una dona de tan gran valor e nobbleza, de tan gran subtilitat e nauteza que [F^o 18 v^o] de terra estan monta, trauca e passa lassus als cels; et lunha humanals creatura del tot no pot saber perfiechamen la natura d'aquesta dona nomnada Philosophia, mas qu'ela se mostra coma una fontayna don salho mant delicios riu, liquial per tot lo mon corro e s'espando : so son diversas sciensas et diversas artz. Et enayssi cum alcu bevo de las aygas d'un riu et li altre d'un altre, e la us mays e l'altres mens, ayssi meteysh es de las sciensas que veno e salho d'aquesta nobbla, subtil et excellen dona Philozophia, que la us pren de la una e l'altres de l'altra e la us mays et l'altres mens.

Philozophia² es verays ensercamens de las cauzas celestials, naturals et humanals, tant cum per home s'en pot entendre. Yzidoris³ ditz que philozophia es conoyshensa de las cauzas humanals et divinals amb estudi de be viure, so es am bona cura e diligensa de be viure. Philozophia se deshen e's deriva d'aquesta dictio greca *philos*, que vol dire *amor*, e per so Amors pot esser dicha mayres de philozophia, per que premieramen havem mostrat qu'es Amors que tractat de

1. En marge (xiv^e s.) : « Quid est philosophia. » xv^e siècle? Ne paraît pas être de la même main que la note précédente.

2. En marge : *Quid est philozophia* (xiv^e s.?).

3. En marge (xiv^e s.?) : *no* avec tilde sur *o* (= *nomen*, sans doute).

philozophia. Segon la comuna opinio, philozophia ha ·VII· sciensas jos si : gramatica, logica, rethorica, geometria, arismetica, muzica, astronomia. Mestre Philip Elephan, maestros excellens en medicina, e filhs de philozophia mot subtils, seguen la opinio de Plato, que foc mestres d'Aristotil, loqual Plato Sans Augustis allega, pauza ·IX· sciensas e devezish primieramen philozophia en tres partz : logical, en outra maniera dicha racional, natural e moral.

La sciensa logical pauza gramatica, mathematica, dialetica, rethorica; jos natural, pauza phizical, so es phisica, pauza mays alquimia, astronomia, medicina. La morals rema en si meteysha et aysso appar mays perfiechamen segon que son ayssi figuradas.

De las quatre partz d'oratio que son en rethorica.

[Fº 19 rº] Aquestas sciensas son verayas e son dichas liberals de libertat, quar han tal libertat e franqueza que son de lor dreg e donas de lors meteyshas ses que no son sosmezas ni en servitut d'autru, en tan que lors reglas e mandamens fan estantejar, tener e gardar ses mudar et ses variar. Encaras son dichas liberals, so es leyals, coma persona qu'es dicha leyals, can ve de veray matremoni. Et aysso dizem en respieg de las outras sciensas mecanicas, so es bastardas o bordas, coma persona qu'es dicha borda cant ve d'azulteri o de fornicacio; jaciayso que aytals sciensas mecanicas sian necessarias a vida humanal, coma drapier, saba-tier, sartre, pelicier, laborador, e mant autre menestral, quar las sciensas leyals no mudo ni vario lors

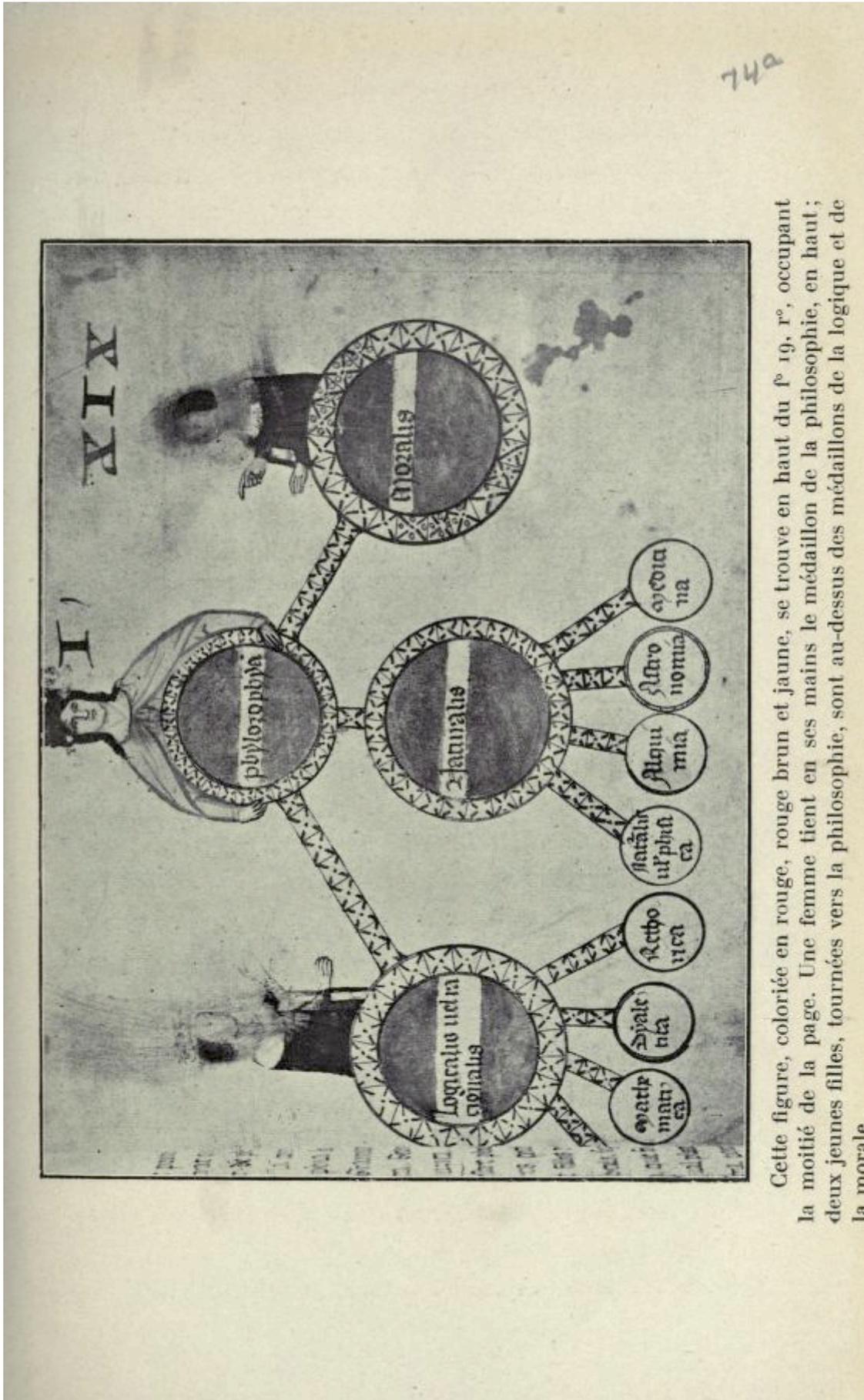
reglas ni lors mandamens, segon qu'es estat dig, e las mecanicas fan lo contrari. Et appar en sartres e sabatiers, que vario soen e mudo la forma de lor menestier, so es de lors obras. Et ayssó vezem ad huelh, qui regarda los portamens so es [F^o 19 v^o] diverses talhs de raubas, breus et estrechas; aquo meteysh de capayros e sabatos, et enayssi de granre d'autres; e mayss que las sciensas leyals endresso la pessa humanal vas lo cel a Dieu, en tan que fan servir la carn a l'esperit, e las sciensas mecanicas fan soen lo contrari, que teno la pessa d'ome repressa et enclinada vas terra e fan servir l'esperit a la carn.

Artz son dichas de *artar*, so es estrenher, quar nos estrenho e nos lio a tener lors mandamens.

Autras artz et sciensas nominadas *magicas*, so es a dir *encantativas* et *divinativas*, pauzo algun actor, lasquals no son dignas que sian apeladas artz ni sciensas, quar del tot son devedadas coma *diabolicsals*, so es faytas e obradas per obra de *diabbe* per decebre las gens del mon : entre lasquals ne recitan onze, non pas per ensenhar, mas per esquivar, coma del tot reproadas¹ e dampnadas per Santa Gleyza; e son aquestas : nigromancia, geomancia, ydromancia, aerimancia, piromancia, aruspicia, augurium vel auspitium, horoscopita, sortilegium, maleficium, prestigium.

Nigromancia soes divinatios que's fa per sacrifici de sanc humanal, loqual li demoni mot cobezejo et en aquel, can lor es ufertz, mot se deleyto. Geomancia es divinacios que's fa part de diabbe en terra; ydromancia en ayga; aerimancia en l'ayre; piroman-

1. En marge *reproadas*; XIV^e siècle.



Cette figure, colorée en rouge, rouge brun et jaune, se trouve en haut du f° 19, r°, occupant la moitié de la page. Une femme tient en ses mains le médaillon de la philosophie, en haut; deux jeunes filles, tournées vers la philosophie, sont au-dessus des médaillons de la logique et de la morale.

cia en foc; aruspicia es divinacios que's fa regardan certas horas e cert temps en so que hom vol far e negociar; augurium seu auspitiu so es augurs e divinacios que's fa per obra diabolical en lo movemen, o en lo can, o en lo volamen dels auzels; horoscopita es divinacios fayta en las estelas, coma cant home vol saber son fat e son astre segon la costellacio en que sera natz; *sortilegium* vol dir sortilharia que's fa per invocacio de *demonis* per algunas sortz. Maleficium so es malefics que fan alcu per dar remedis, fazen conjurs, liaduras e breus am caractas¹ et amb outras cauzas devedadas, dampnadas e repro- [F^o 20 r^o]² adas; *prestigium* es illuzios diabolicals, laqual fa semblar als sens humanals que sia so que non es.

Autra distincio pot hom ayssi trobar de las ciencias que son dejos aquesta dona philozophia, tractan en quinh temps foc trobada et en qual maniera. E quar l'Escriptura nos mostra tres temps, per so aquels declaram per mostrar en quals d'aquels foc trobada. Le primiers fo ses ley, le segons am ley, le ters es temps de gracia en loqual nos em. Et en aquestz tres temps son ·VI· etatz. La primera de Adam entro Noe; la segonda de Noe entro Abraam; la tersa de Abraam entro David; la quarta de David entro la transmigracio de Babilonia, can Nabuzardan, senescalco de Nabugodonozor³, destruc Jheruzalem e captivec los Juzieus; la quinta d'aquel temps entro l'avenimen de Jhesu-Christ, nostre Salvayre. La seyzena de l'avenimen de

1. Ms. *Caractasctas*, avec les quatre dernières lettres exconctuées.

2. En haut de la page (xiv^os.): « Vide hic de etatibus temporis. »

3. Écrit *Nabugo-donozor*.

Jhesu-Christ entro la fi del mon. La setena es cant ad aquels que son en lo repaus de Paradis. La uchena sera en la general resurrectio. Enayssi que en lo primier temps, so fo en lo comensamen del segle, can las gens vivian e's governavan per dreg de natura e ses ley per la dignitat de la razo et de la conoyshensa que Dieus lor havia donada, comensero las cauzas regardar, emagenar e per consequen fort meravilhar; si que adonx per amors aguero en lor bona voluntat, plazer e dezirier de be, de sercar e saber la vertat de las cauzas, per far bonas obras; e per so vengro e cazer en philosophia; e cilh que d'ayso s'entrametian foro dreyt e veray filh d'aquesta valoroza dona philozophia, per que foron appellat philosophe; e per so ditz Yzidoris que *philozophes* en grec vol dir en lati *amayre de saviza*, e que aquel es verays *philozophes* que ha sciensa de las causas divinals e humanals, e te e va per la dreciera de bona vida; en tan que cossiran, emagenan e deziran saber aquestas cauzas, cazeron en tres questios: la una de saber la natura de las cauzas celestials, la segonda de las naturals, la tersa de las humanals. E quant aquestas tres questios foro tractadas longamen [F^o 20 v^o] e disputadas entre'ls savis clercz et philozopes, il trobero en philozophia, lor mayre, tres membres, so es à dire tres manieras de sciensas per essenhar e proar la vertadiera razo de las tres questios dessus dichas, so es assaber: *theorica*, *practica*, *logica*.

Theorica, la primera principals sciensa de philozophia, nos essenha saber la primera questio¹ de co-

1. Ms. *questios*.

noysher las naturas de las cauzas celestials e terrenals. Practica e logica son de las cauzas humanals. La primera e la segunda essenho quals cauzas deu hom far e quals no; la tersa essenha e mostra razo e proansa per que deu hom far las unas e las outras no.

Donx Theorica essenha a conoysher las naturas de las cauzas celestials e terrenals, e quar aquestas naturas son diversas las unas de las otras, quar una natura es de las cauzas que no han pong de cors ni conversan entre las corporals cauzas, et outra natura es de las cauzas ques han cors e conversan entre las cauzas corporals, et outra natura es de las cauzas que no han cors e son entre las cauzas corporals; e per so fo razonabla cauza que aquesta sciensa theorica fes de son cors tres otras ciencias per mostrar la diversitat d'aquestas tres diversas maneras, lasquales tres ciencias son aquestas : theologia, phizica, mathematica.

Theologia es la plus nauta sciensa de las tres ciencias trachas de theorica, quar aquesta sobremonta los cels e nos mostra la natura de las cauzas que no han cors ni conversan entre las cauzas corporals, en tant que per aquesta havem conoyshensa de Dieu e per aquesta crezem la santa trinitat del Payre e del Filh e del Sant Esperit en una divinal essencia; per aquesta havem nos la fe catholical e la le de Santa Gleyza, e finalmen per aquesta havem tot so que s'aperte a nos quant a la divinitat; aquesta es la plus nauta sciensa no solamen de las ditas tres, ans ho es be de todas otras ciencias, quar aquesta es mays apta a parlar adreytamen que gramatica e mays veraya [Fº 21 rº] e viaciera a razonar et a disputar que logica, e plus perfiecha a mezurar que geometria e plus discreta a nom-

brar que arismetica, plus subtils ad especular et ymaginar que astronomia e mayns aprofichabbla ad obrar que mathematica, plus nauta et excellens a senhorejar que phizica ni metaphizica, quar so qu'es impossible a parlar sab denunciar e no gramatica, so que claramen non appar sab verificar e no logica; de so que non ha terme ni fi sab parlar e no geometria; e so qu'es ses nombre sab far entendre e no arismetica; so qu'es invizibble sab especular, vezer e gardar e no astronomia: so que atenher no's pot naturalmen met en esperansa d'aver e no mathematica; so que no's pot comparar sab penre et abrassar e no phizica ni methafizica.

Que theologia sia sciensa de totas sciensas appar, quar jaciaysso que naturals philozophia essenhe a conoysher las cauzas naturals, no essenha a conoysher lo creator; e jaciaysso¹ que philozophia racionals essenhe arguir e conclurre als homes, no essenha arguir ni conclure als demonis; e jaciaysso que philozophia morals essenhe aquirir vertutz acostumabblas, enpero no essenha aquirir caritat. E theologia fa et obra totas aquestas cauzas, quar essenha a conoysher lo creator e rezistir als demonis, et essenha a treballar continuamen en obras de caritat; aquesta es officina e celariera del pimen divinal, may dous e deleytable que mels ni bresca; aquesta es thezaur mayns precios, vertuos e delicios que aurs ni peyras preciozas; aquesta es fontayna veraya que ve e naysh del loc glorios e delicios enrosans la santa mayre gleyza militan.

Phizica es la segonda sciensa de theorica per laqual

1. En marge (main du xvii^e s.) : *jaciaysso*.

nos sabem la natura de las cauzas que han cors e que conversan entre las cauzas corporals, sos assaber d'omes, de bestias, d'auzels, peyshos, plantas, d'aybres, de peyras e d'autras cauzas corporals que son entre nos.

[F^o 21 v^o] Mathematica es la tersa per la qual sabem la natura de las cauzas que non han cors e son entre las cauzas corporals; et ayso en quatre diversas manieras; e per ayso son quatre sciensas en le cors de mathematica, sos assaber arismetica, muzica, geometria et astronomia.

Arismetica es la primera d'aquestas quatre sciensas a comtar et ajustar la ·I· comte am l'autre et ostar la ·I· e l'autre, partir e devizir per tropas partidas; e d'ayso son li essenhamen de l'algorisme.

Muzica es la segonda, que nos essenha a far voz may plazens e sos e chans en estrumens et en orguenas et en autres estrumens acordans li ·I· am los autres per plazer de las gens o en gleyza per lo servizi de Dieu.

Geometria es la tersa, per laqual nos sabem la mesura e la proportio de las cauzas per lonc, per ample e per auteza, so es la sciensa per laqual li savi auctor se perforsero de trobar la grandeza de cel e de la terra e la nauteza de la ·I· e de l'autre e motas outras proporcios que nos fan meravilhar.

Astronomia es la quarta sciensa, que nos essenha tot l'ornamen del cel e del fermamen e de las estelas e de las planetas per son zodiaque, so es per los .xii. senhals, e cum si mudan li temps a freg et a caut, a plueja et a sec o a vent, per la razo e la influensa establida en los planetas et en las estelas.

Practica es la segonda principals sciensa de philozophia, que nos essenha quals cauzas devem far e quals no; et ayssó pot estre en tres manieras, quar una maniera es de far alcuna cauza e d'esquivar per governar si meteysh et un' altra per governar sa maynada, son hostel, son aver e son heretage, et un' altra maniera per governar gens, poble, ciutatz o tot ·l· regne en temps de patz e de guerra; e per ayssó foron trobadas tres manieras de sciensas per govern de si meteys e dels autres, sos assaber : ethica, ychonomica et politica.

Ethica nos essenha governar nos meteyshes, a tenir [F^o 22 r^o] honesta vida e far obras vertuozas e gardar de vicis, quar luns homs no poyria viure el mon honestamen ni far profieyt a si ni ad altre si el no governava sa vida segon vertutz.

Ychonomica nos essenha a governar nostras gens, nostres efans e nos mezeyshes, e nos essenha a gardar et acreysher nostras possessios e nostres heretatges e ad haver mobble e cabal per despendre e per retenir segon que locz e temps se mudo.

Politica es la plus nauta sciensa d'aquestas que son trachas de practica e la plus nobbla, quar essenha a governar las gens d'un regne o d'una vila, poble, comuna, en temps de patz e de guerra segon drechura e segon razo e nos essenha totas las artz e totz mestiers que a vida d'ome son necessari; mas ayssó es en doas manieras, quar la una es en obrar e l'altra es en parlar; aquela que es en obrar son li mestier qu'om obra tot jorn de pes e de mas, cum son li drapier, sabatier, sartre, pelicier e mant altre menestral per necessitat de la vida de las gens; et aytal menestral son appellat

mecanic. Aquela que es en parlar¹ es obra de boca e de lenga. Et aquesta se pot far en doas manieras, per que d'ayssó son doas sciensas, la una gramatica e l'autra rethorica.

Gramatica es fondamens et porta et intramens de totes autras sciensas; et ensenya nos a parlar et escriure bona orthographia e legir adreytament ses vici de barbarisme e de soloecisme.

Rethorica es sciensa de bel et adreytament parlar, dictar et ordenar; e per so pren so nom d'esta dictio greca, *Rethos*, que vol dire adreytament, drechurierament et ordenadament. Trobada foç esta sciensa per Grecz, segon Yzidori, sos assaber per Gorgias, Aristotil e per Ermagora e traslatada de grec en lati per Tulli. D'aquesta no volém parlar plus quant a presen, quar ades ne parlarem plus plenieramen, quar aquesta entendem adure a nostre principal perpauzamen.

Logica es la tersa principals sciensa de philozophia per laqual hom pot proar per vivas razos per que e en qual [F^o 22 v^o] maniera so que nos dizem es vertatz, ayssi cum nos ho metem avan. E segon alcus ayssó se pot far en doas manieras, la una maniera es veraya e l'autra no veraya; e per so dizon alqu^e que logica ha jos si doas sciensas o dos membres, sos assaber dialectica et sophistica.

Dialectica ensenya tensonar, contendre e disputar e far questios, respostas e defensas la us contra l'autre e mostrar per dreyta razo e per vertadiers argumens la vertat e la veraya oppinio de la questio moguda.

Sophistica ensenya a proar que las paraulas qu'om

1. Ms. *palar*. En marge (xvii^e s.) : *parlar*.

ditz son vertadieras; mas la proansa non es veraya, quar aquela fa per fallacias, per malvat engenh, per falsas razos e per sophismes, so es per argumens que han¹ semblansa de vertat mas no y a cauza si falsa no. E veus la natura e la fi de pbilozophia.

Aras es a vezer sobre qual partida de philozophia es fondada la nostra prezens sciensa de las LEYS D'AMORS. E dizem que aquesta sciensa, en quant que toca bel ornat e bo de parlar, se fonda sobre rethorica. E quar en aytal parlar, coma en verses, chansos et en autres dictatz hom pauza e ditz bos essenhamens e doctrinas bonas e vertuozas per esquiyar vicis e peccatz e per essenhar bos costums e vertutz, per so la prezens sciensa se pot fondar sobre ethica de laqual havem lassus parlat assatz, mas non ges de rethorica per que d'aquela parlam per esta maniera.

Rethorica, segon Yzidori, es sciensa de dir be e eloquencia copioza en questios eivils per requerir e amonestar cauzas justas e bonas. Aquesta es aquela nobbla sciensa per laqual hom sab trobar, dictar et ordenar e dire paraulas ornadas, bonas e plazens e fondadas e be assetiadas en dreg et en razo e plenas de sentensa segon que la natura requier, so es la mayres de parlar, so es l'essenhamens de dictadors, so es la sciensa que essenha lo mon a be far e governar e predicadors a predicar la Santa Scriptura e la ley de Nostre Senhor e reys, princeps, comtes, jutges et autres justiciers e bos e leylals avocatz a drechura defendre, sostener e [F^o 23r^o]²

1. Ms. après *han san* exponctué.

2. En haut du folio (xiv^e s.) : « Nota ad quid prodest hec sciencia. »

far, so es la sciensa de laqual Tullis ditz en son libre que aquel conquer sobrenauta et excellen cauza per laqual passa e sobremonta totz animans, so es bona e bela parladura; per que cascus se deuria esforsar d'aquela saber, si sa natura lo dona; quar senes natura e ses essenhamen lunhs homs no la poyria conquerir¹. E qui be regarda la natura d'aquesta sciensa, d'aquesta ha hom mestiers continuamen² en totas bezonhas divinals e mundanals, en far patz et acort et en far autres bos tractamens. Tullis ditz que al comensamen can las gens vivian a ley de bestias ses propria mayso e ses conoyshensa de Dieu estavan per los boscatges, per cluzels de roquas e per autres amagatalhs e degus no gardava maridatge ni conoyshia payre ni filh; si que per temps fo us savis homs ben parlans que tant acosselhec los autres e lor mostrec la gran nobleza d'ome e la gran dignitat de la razo e de la discretio que am lo sieu bel parlar e plazen los ostec de lor vida campestra e salvatja e los fe ajustar en ·l· loc e gardar justicia et razo; e per so el mezeys ditz en autre loc que la plus nauta sciensa que sia de governar ciutat es rethorica, so es la sciensa de bon e bel parlar; quar ciutatz non es als sino ajustamens de gens per viure jos una ley e jos un govern; quar si parladura no era, ciutatz no seria ni lunhs establimens de drechura. Aristotils reputa parlar per mala cauza, quar a tropas gens ne ve mays de mal que de be; pero jaciayssó que parlar sia donatz a totas gens que mays, quatre manieras son de parlar, quar algu son garnit de gran sen

1. En marge : « Nota quod oportet hominem docilem. » (Copie du xvii^e siècle. Peu lisible dans l'original).

2. En marge : « Nota quod ad omnia servit. » (Même observation.)

am bona, bela, plazen et uberta parladura; et aquesta es gloria del mon; et alqu son nut de sen e de bona parladura et aquesta es de gran mescap e d'aquesta ditz Aristotil qu'es mala; li altre son nut de sen am lenga presta de viacieramen, claramen et ubertamen parlar et aytals parladura es de gran perilh; li altre son que han gran sciensa e sen, mas que son paubre de parlar; et aytal savi home han mestier de ayda quant a parlar. E per aquestas diversitatz [F° 23 v°] foro li antic philozophe en dopte si aquesta sciensa ve per natura o per art; e jaciayssó que Platos e Tullis s'acordo que ve per natura, enpero aquesta sciensa no es solamen en parlar, mas en be parlar; et aytals bona e discreta parladura ha mestiers de tres cauzas, so es assaber, natura, us et art¹. Natura dona la bona lenga, plana et viaciera a parlar; us et artz dono bon essenhamen; bos essenhamens, cant es adquiritz, non es outra cauza mas sapiensa, so es savieza, laqual savieza hom aquirish per doctrina, e doctrina per diciplina, e diciplina per humilitat. Savieza compren tostemps las cauzas segon que son e per so es appellada sobirana e maestressa de las cauzas, quar ela las preve (ms. *perve*) et lor va al denan e las met a bona fi et a certa mezura; e finalmen de parladura on ha savieza non pot venir mas be. D'aquest parlar² ditz Nath de Mons per esta guiza.

Bos volers e sabers³
 Fan en parlar dever,
 490 Falhir fan fol voler;

1. En marge : « Est naturae donum facundia » (xiv^e s.).

2. Ms. *palar*; *parlar* en marge (xvii^e s.).

3. Ed. Bernhardt, p. 68, v. 488 et sq.

No saber atersi ;
 Parlars pren cap e fi
 Per la vertut del sen ;
 Pero ges non enten
 Sitot se par semblans
 Qu'om sia miels parlans,
 Si cum mays de sen ha ;
 Quar mans homs parlara
 Leu e pla ses gran sen
 500 E mains homs yshamens
 Es savis e membratz
 Qu'al parlar sembla fatz.

Encara el meteys pauza quatre vertutz necessarias en be parlar per esta manera.

A ben parlar cove,
 Can voluntatz ne ve,
 505 Quatre vertutz haver :
 Lenga plana, saber,
 Sen, bona qualitat ;
 Lenga per veritat
 Plana per parlar pla
 510 Per qu'om no parle va ;
 Saber qu'om sapcha que ;
 Sen atressi cove,
 Qu'om no parle foldat,
 E bona qualitat
 515 Per leu e cert parlar ;
 D'estas quatre, so'm par,
 Han tug diversamen
 L'un parlan planamen,
 Quar han la lenga bona,
 520 L'autri leu quar lor dona

Maniera qualitat;
 Et ha n'i d'enparlatz
 Que parlan leu e pla
 Et han saber a ma,
 525 Mas non ges par mezura,
 Quar sens lor fa fractura;
 Cist son aparelhat
 A dir manta foldat
 Quar sabers ses sen bo
 530 No fay leu si mal no;
 Per que'l cove bo sen
 Que no parle folmen.

Donx appar que la sciensa de rethorica no es solamen¹ [F^o 24 r^o] per natura, ans es be per us e per art. L'uffici d'esta sciensa de parlar, segon que ditz Aristotils, es de parlar apessadamen, si que am si las paraulas que voldra dir rumine motas, vetz enans que las² pronuncie per far creyre a la fi que vertats es so que ditz. La matiera d'esta sciensa, segon alqus, es tot aquo de que hom pot parlar, dire o questio far. Aristotils ditz e Tullis que s'acorda am luy que la matiera d'esta sciensa esta en tres cauzas : en demostramen, cosselh e jutjamen. — *medieval*

E quar ayssi parlam de bona e discreta parladura de laqual rethorica es mayres et diverses auctors trobam que parlan diversamen de las cauzas qu'om deu cossirar can vol parlar, per so tractem ayssi d'aquelas. N'Ath de Mons ne pauza cinq per esta guiza :

1. Au bas de la colonne 2 : « Nota que requiruntur ad bene loquendum » (xiv^e s.).

2. Ms. *la*. *Las* (main du xvii^e s.).

Cinq cauzas en parlar :
 535 *Que ni quo, cuy, loc, temps ;*
 Aquestas cinq essem
 Qui vol parlar de re
 Cove que sapcha que
 Deu gardar, quo dira
 540 So que dire voldra ;
 Deu atressi gardar
 Ab cuy voldra parlar ;
 Deu loc d'ayzin' atendre
 Que's puesca far entendre
 545 E temps per tal que sia
 Mays grazit ; tota via
 Tot ayssó fa gardar
 Sens qui'l cre en parlar.
 E ja qui so fazia ¹
 550 Parlan no falhiria ;
 Sens ditz qu'om deu gardar.
 Pero dels plus parlans
Ne vezem falhir mans,
Quar a petitz es datz
En parlar ² sens membratz ;
 555 Li hu son maldizen
 Denan per maltalen,
 Li altre a rescos
 Quar son yssizios ;
 L'altri son trop parlier
 560 Quar han lo sen leugier ;
 L'autri volon mentir
 Per lor blasme cubrir
 E per mal vetz ques han ³.

1. *Sic ms.* En marge *faria* (xvii^e s.).

2. Les mots soulignés sont écrits en marge.

3. Suite de la citation précédente. Au bas de la page (xiv^e s.) :
 « Nota quinque pertinentia ad bene loquendum. »

Huc de Sant Victor pauza aquelas meteyshas cauzas o quay emblans. Alqun autre, coma Alberta, ne pauzo ·VI·, lasquals podetz aver per lo primier verset dels dos seguens :

Qui, que, cuy, per que, quo, quan
A bon parlar mestiers fan.

Qui mostra qui deu parlar; *que* essenha que deu hom parlar; *cuy* assabenta ab cuy deu hom parlar; *per que* ditz per qual razo o per qual cauza deu hom parlar; *quo* aviza per qual maniera deu hom parlar; *quan* amonesta e notifica qoras deu hom parlar, so es en qual temps o en qual loc, quar aquesta dictios *quan* pot significar loc e temps. Aquestas ·VI· dictios son de gran sentensa; e si [F^o 24 v^o] per ytal hom las layshava estar, ses outra expositio et declaratio mays uberta, la sentensa d'aquelas no seria be expauzada ni be declarada; per que a declaratio d'aquelas procezem per esta maniera seguen la bona opinio dels anticz auctors.

Qui, so es qui vol parlar, cossire si a luy s'aperte de dire so que vol parlar o no, e si no, cale se, quar no es ses colpa qui s'entramet de so que a luy no s'aperte. Qui vol parlar cossire si es torbatz o pagatz; si torbatz cale se, quar hom qu'es torbatz be no pot conformar am razo¹ ni be vezer la vertat de la cauza; qui vol parlar no vuelha autre reprendre del crim del qual es tocatz, quar per semblan cas poyria esser repres, don remendria envergonhitz; qui vol parlar cossire si es certz per sciensa o per fag de so que vol dire o si n'es

1. En marge (xiv^e s.) : « Nota turpe est doctori culpa redarguit ipm (*inprimis? ipsum?*). »

doptos; si doptos, refrene la lenga, quar hom que ditz so que no sap a greu er que no mescap¹. En tant que per aytals paraulas² es hom soen repres, qui vol parlar cossire que sas paraulas hajan bon comensamen e bona fi e si no podon haver bona fi quanque hajan bon commensamen cale se. Et en dopte si podon haver bona fi o no, miels es calar que parlar; quar mays es de expedien ad home savi calar per se que parlar contra se, majormen en dopte, quar motz en parlar e no en calar vezem soen envergonhitz e repres, quar paraula pus qu'es pronunciada no pot esser revocada, so es que no sia dicha per que en dopte miels es calar que parlar. Alberta ditz que, ayssi cum le pols ans que cante bat tres vetz las alas, enayssi entre las autras cauzas ne deu hom cossirar tres enans que parle, sos assaber : *qui yest tu que parlas? e so que dire vols e si a te s'aparte a dire oz ad autre.*

Sec se d'aquesta dictio *que* so es : cossira que diras motas vetz enans que parles, en tal maniera que tas paraulas sian verayas e no finchas, vertadieras e no bauziozas, falsas ni menssongieras, razonabblas e no vanas ni fadas, doussas, suaus, plazens e no duras ni aspras, bonas e no dezonestas ni lajas, humils e no orgulhozas, enjuriosas ni derrizorias, claras, ubertas et no [F^o 25 r^o] escuras, doptozas, ni sofisticadas, aprofitabblas e fructuozas e no-ociosas; ayssi no curam allegar, quar enjos devem d'ayssso may a ple tractar.

Cuy, so es cossira a cuy parlaras, si es amix o ennemi; si amix es, am luy certamen podes parlar, quar

1. Il semble qu'il y ait là un proverbe sous forme de distique.
2. Il semble qu'on avait d'abord écrit *paraules*.

non es cauza mays doussa ni mays plazen que haver amic am qui hom pueca parlar e son coratge declarar. Enpero tal cauza no vuelhas dir a ton amic que, en cas que fos enemix, l'aguesses a doptar; e per so ditz Seneca : « ayssi parla am ton amic cossi Dieus ho auzia; Et enayssi viu am ton enemic cossi Dieus ho vezia¹. » E'l Savis ditz : amic haias tal que no'l te co- venga doptar. Si ton enemic se fa cauza secreta on cosselhs no pot obrar, am te la vuelhas retener e no a lunha persona revelar; e per so ditz le Savis : enclau ton secret en ta carcer, quar dece qu'er revelatz sera de carcer, relaxatz, quar aquel es de son dreg e senhors de si meteys qui so qu'es secret am si sab retener; e miels es secret retener que revelar; e pueys cel a qui l'aura revelat que s'en cale pregar (*sic*). E per so ditz Seneca :

So que tu no potz celar
Quo mandas autre calar?

Enpero am son amic secret e longamen esproat de son secret pot hom haver cosselh; e per so ditz Catos que a son companho humil e suau, no parlier ni enboqiparlat², hom dire pot son secret e la cura de son cors a son fizel metge. Am son enemic no deu hom gayre parlar e mens secret revelar ni ayta pauc a cels qu'es estatz enemix e puys s'es tornatz amix; quar escriut es ques hom leumen son enemic no retorna en

1. Les rimes indiquent ici un quatrain; les vers du *Seneca* étant de huit syllabes, il faudrait corriger les trois derniers. Même observation pour la citation suivante de *Seneca*, où on lirait facilement : *Quo mandas az autre celar*, et *Et so* au lieu de *So*. Mais d'autres citations paraissent renvoyer à une rédaction en prose.

2. *Enboqiparlat* en un seul mot.

gracia, quar soen la vapors de l'antiqua ira esta dins lo cor d'ome enemic rescosta; e per so ditz Seneca que lay on longamen fier le focz la vapor de la calor no cessa. En autre loc ditz que miels es murir per son amic que am son enemic viure; e Salamons ditz : a ton enemic antic degun temps no crezas; e per so ditz us savis homs : am los enemicz no't vuelhas acompanhar que d'autres ne puecas trobar; quar si o fas tos vicis notaran e so que be faras condampnaran et en mala significacio enterpretaran. L'Actors :

Per amic reconsiliat
 No't [F^o 25 v^o] tēngas per assegurat;
 Lo foc escantit mantas vetz
 Remano caudas las paretz.

Donx am tota maniera de gent se deu hom haver saviament en parlar et obrar, quar soen cuja hom haver amic de cel que sera enemix. De parlar am fol se deu hom gardar, quar Salamos ditz que hom no deu parlar am fol home, quar hom que es fols no troba plazers en bonas paraulas ni en bona doctrina. En autre loc ditz : « savis homs que conten o s'iraysh o ri o ganha am fol no trobara repaus. » Encaras ditz enayssi : « le fols no recep paraulas de savieza, mas be pren e recep qui li ditz so que porta en son cor. » Jesus Sirac ditz : « qui reconta paraulas de savieza a fol ayssi es cum parlar am cel que dorm. » Amb home janglayre, estribotayre ni escarnidor no deu hom gayre parlar, quar escriut es que am escarnidor no deu hom haver companhia, ans enayssi co' hom fug a tueyshec et a vere,

1. *Con* avec *n* exponctué.

deu hom fugir a sas paraulas; e per so ditz Salamos : « No vuelhas reprendre escarnidor per que no t'haja en odi ni t'escarnisca; repren lo savi et aquel te amera'. » E Seneca ditz : « qui repren escarnidor enjuria fa a si meteysh, quar qui repren fol serca quo sia sulhatz e vil tengutz. » Amb home parlier e lengos no deu hom gayre parlar. Le propheta David : « homs lengos no sera endressatz en terra. » Jesus Sirac : « fols homs e lengos es cauza mot terribbla en ciutat » e d'aytal ditz que en sas paraulas sera mot odios. El meteysh : « qui azira locacitat, so es parlaria, escantish maleza. » En autre loc ditz : « Am home lengos no vuelhas parlar si'l sieu foc no vols alucar. » Encaras ditz : « Amb homes nescis e fatz no t vuelhas acosselhar, quar no aman mas so que lor platz, so es folia. » Amb homes entercz, natres e regancz no deu hom gayre parlar. Aytals homes regancz appella *Tullis cinicis*, quar *cinos* en grec vol dire *ca*. E per so ditz Tullis que de la razo ni del parlar d'aytals homes cinicis, entercz, natres e regancz e tot jorn layrans a maniera de *ca* no deu hom curar; e sembla que en aysso hajan loc las paraulas de Jhesu nostre Salvayre : « no vuelhatz semenar margaridas, so es peyras preciosas, entre porcz. » Amb homes diverses e mals, so es (F^o 26 r^o) maliciozes, no deu hom gayre parlar. Sant Augustis ditz : « Ayssi cum focz creys on mays ha lenha, ayssi homs malicios, cant que hom li diga cauza de razo, creysh en sa maleza; quar en arma malvalen no intra savieza. » Et ayssi pot haver loc so que ditz *Catos* que « contra aytals homes no deu hom contendre de pa-

1. *Sic.* Ms. En marge, main du xvii^e s. *amara*.

raulàs, quar jaciaysso que paraula sia donada a totz, pero saviza es donada a petitz. » De cauza secreta no deu parlar am tozet, ni am home hyure, ni am mala femna, quar Salamos ditz que « lay on es homs hyures no y a secret. » Et us savis ditz que « femna¹ ses plus cela so que no sab. » En autre loc es escriut que « de tozet e d'ome hyure pot hom haver leugieramen la vertat. » No solamen deu gardar am cuy parla, ans ho fa en prezencia de cuy parla. Sobre aysso ditz enayssi l'Actors :

Qui secret vol parlar
Entorn se deu gardar,
Per que cel que s'amaga
So qu'om ditz no retraga.

Per que : aquesta dictios *per que* de sa natura cauza requier et aquesta pot regardar no solamen la fi, ans ho fa lo commensamen; quar enans que hom meta la cauza en obra, leumen la cocira e la cocep el cor; e pueysh quan la cauza de son perfieyt parlar o d'autra cauza far ha coceubuda aquela met ad execucio; e cant es executada es finals; e per so pot hom dire que aquesta dictios *per que* es pazada quays en lo mieg loc de las. VI. causas principals que hom deu gardar en parlar, quar es cologada en lo quart loc per so quar regarda lo commensamen e la fi per la maniera dessus dicha, laqual fi sobre totas causas deu hom gardar, quar si la cauza finals es bona tot es bo, estiers no; donx la cauza majormen final, o sia en dir on² en far,

1. Ms. *femna*; plus haut *fena* avec un trait au-dessus de e (= *fenna*?).

2. *Sic*, ms.

deu cascus cocirar e gardar, quar en totas cauzas faytas e fazedoras aquela es necessaria; per que ditz Seneca : « de tot fag requier e serca la cauza e cant hauras trobat lo comensamen cogita la fi »; e Cassiodori ditz : « ses cauza re no vuelhas parlar. »

Aquesta cauza pot haver quatre caps; quar enayssi cum en tota obra fayta o fazedora son necessarias quatre causas, sos assaber la cauza fazens, materials, formals e finals, enayssi en tot dig et en perfieyt parlar [F° 26 v°] leumen son necessarias aquestas quatre causas, lasquals hom pot aver per algunas de las sieys dictios principals dessus pazadas, soes assaber *qui*, *que*, *cuy*, *perque*, *quo*, *quan*, *quar*; *qui*, so es aquel que parla es la cauza fazens; *que*, so es aquo que hom parla, pot estre la cauza materials; *quo*, so es la bona e bela manera de parlar, et aquo meteys *cuy* e *quan* pot estre la cauza formals; *per que* pot estre la cauza finals.

Las cauzas specials entre las autras que devon e podon moure et endure a bon parlar son aquestas : lauzors divinals, profieytz humanals, o tot essems; defensa de si meteys, de son amic e de son pruesme, o tot essems; divinals, so es per lo servezi de Dieu, cum fan li bon religios et autras personas devotas que am bonas paraulas lauzon Dieu nostre Salvayre; humanals, cum fan li franc, noble reys poderos, li princep bo, li comte pros, duc, baro valoros e li fizel naut justicier, juge leyal e drechurier, liqua am lors reyals, excellens et justz mandamens governo, gardo e teno en defensa lor pahys e la cauza publica e singularmen lors somezes, fazen drechura e redder a cascu so que sieu es; e cum fan ysshamen li savi, discret, e leyal

avocat e li altre bon clerc et algun layc be enparlat et en razo natural be fondat, tractan acortz e patz fazen, las gens a be far enduzen, acosselhan e de mals retrazen. Sant Augusti ditz dels avocatz que « ad aytals bos avocatz es cauza leguda vendre sa bona e justa avocatio, et a savi en dreg son drechurier coselh. » L'Emperadors lauz a bos e leylals avocatz e ditz que « li bon avocat am lor glorioza votz en cauzas publicas e dels privatz, so es dels singulars, los faytz escurs e doptozes declaro, definisho et determeno, so es fan definir et determenar per jutge competen »; ditz mays que « las cauzas mal faytas, biayshadas, cazutas et fatigadas dresso e reparo; e no remens l'esperansa e la vida de cels que son en treball e de lors successors restauro e defendo, si que ayssi be o miels son militan, so es fan faytz de cavalaria, cum si defendian la cauza publica guerras seguen, plagas prenden e sufertan autras grans male[F^o 27 r^o]nansas, o cum son aycil que de fag defendo amb armas lo pahys, els payros e la cauza publica », en tan que per aquestas paraulas de l'Emperador pot hom sentir e reportar que'l bes fructuos que'l singular e la cauza publica preno dels bos avocatz es tan grans que no's pot estimar.

Donx, segon qu'es estat dig dessus, aquest humanal profieg fan li Rey, princep, comte, duc, baro, naut justicier e li bon jutge drechurier, fazen drechura, quar ses drechura poders no dura. Trop es grans le poders de drechura, quar, segon lo dig de nostres actors, totas cauzas per drechura son governadas¹ e destruchas; e us regnes, segon que ditz Jhesus Sirac, des-

1. Ms. gouuernadas.

truitz e transportatz de gent en gent, so es d'una gent ad altra, per falta de drechura, so es per enjurias e violencias faytas.

Notem ayssi so que havem dig dels savis, discretz e leyals avocatz; quar, ayssi cum son gran li be qu'om pren dels bos e leyals avocatz, ayssi son gran li dampnatge que veno per avocatz maliciozes; la malicia dels quals es fondada et enrazigada en cobezeza am laqual son tan liat que d'aquela no's podo deslassar. Et appar finalmen en alcus de lors successors. Vejatz que ditz Sant Jeronim : « entre totz los peccatz dels sobiras es le majors, quar cociro las personas e no las cauzas, mesprezo lo paubre just e hondro lo malvat ric. » Sant Gregori : « re non es plus vil que esser vencutz per carn ni mays glorios que vendre la carn. » Donx si li mal avocat layshavan cobezeza, vencerian la carn; e quar no la laysho son vencut per carn. Cauza per que? quar non han conoyshensa de so en que pecco ni per conseguen non han dolor de lor peccat; e per so ditz Seneca : « comensamens de salut perdurabbla haver conoyshensa de peccat; comensamens de salut tristicia de peccat. » El meteysh : « lunhs homs non es plus dignes de Dieu que cel que mespreza riquesas. » Sant Bernat ditz enayssi : « si cociram la desesperacio dels mals avocatz, ni la gran guerra ni la impugnatio de lors paraulas, mays se avanso a subvertir e desviar vertat que a mantener aquela ni atrobar; aquest son aycil que han essenhadas lors lengas a dire messonjas; aquest son avizat contra drechura, instruit per falcetat, savi [F° 27 v°] et apercebut a mal far e gran parlier ad impugnar vertat. » Innocen ditz enayssi : « mala-ventura sia a vos autres que etz corromput per pretz o

per pregarias, quar enclinat et endug per amor o per odi dizetz que so qu'es be es mal e so qu'es mal es be. Et enayssi pauzatz tenebras per clartat e clartat per tenebras e mortificatz las armas que no moro e vivificatz las armas que no vivo; vos no atendetz los meritx de las cauzas, mas los meritx de las personas; no atendetz dreg, mas dos, no drechura, mas peccunia, no so que razos dicta, mas so que voluntat dezira, no so que la leys vol e manda, mas so que la pessa cobezeja. Drechura no enduzetz en vostre coratge, mas vostre coratge a drechura, que so que non est legut plassia e so que es legut no plazia; quo havetz l'huelh de la pessa e de l'arma enayssi simple e corruput que per .I. petit vulhatz vostre cors bel e resplenden del tot¹ corrompre? La cauza dels paubres retardan mesprezatz, la cauza dels rix am gran instancia promovetz e procuratz; en aquelas gran rigor e gran cruzeltat mostratz, en aquestas am gran cura et humilitat dispensatz; los paubres am gran difficultat mesprezatz, los ricz am gran favor tractatz; aquels necligenmen auzetz, aquestz subtilmen escotatz; crida'l paubres, non es auzitz; si'l ricz parla mot grazitz es e tug calo e si atendo; so que ditz diligenmen es auzit et escotat e notat e lauzat entro las nivols; si'l paubres parla, tug dizo : « qu'es aysso? »; e si's mostra, ades lo subvertisho, so es lo mesprezo e'l meto al bas. »

No solamen per Reys, princeps, comtes, dux, baros, nautz justiciers, jutges drechuriers e per leyals avocatz es sostengutz aquest profieytz humanals, ans ho es be per autras savias e discretas personas que am lors

1. Ms. *tout* avec u exponctué.

bonas, plazens, pazadas et enductivas paraulas e fondadas en gran razo natural sabon tractar et ordenar e far patz et acort; e dizem per savias e discretas personas, a diferensa dels fols homes e lengos, so es que son meria lenga¹, tant volon parlar; et aytal home son de gran perilh en tot loc, quar no gardo razo ni maniera [F^o 28 r^o] en lor parlar; e d'aquest ditz le Propheta que « hom lengos no sera endressatz en terra. » Et Jhesus Sirac ditz que « fort es terribles en la ciutat on habita hom qu'es fols e lengos. »

Ayssi cum li Rey, princep, comte, duc e li altre dessus nomnat devo gardar aquest profieg humanal, ayssi meteys tug li altre singular, de qualque conditio et estat sian, en lors faytz, en lors digz, en lors officis, en lors negocis e mercaderias, en tal maniera que aquest humanals profieytz sia bos e legutz e ses cobezessa d'avol gazan. Quar Seneca ditz : « ad avol gazan fug coma a cauza de ton dampnatge. » Sobre ayssos ditz us² savis : « gazanhs amb avol fama dampnatges deu esser ditz. » Et en autre loc es escriut :

Mas vuell haver pergut
Que avolmen recebut.

Donx aytals profieytz humanals deu esser moderatz e tempratz. *Profieytz*³ en romans so es *comodum* en lati e compo se de *quo* et *modo*, que vol dire en qual maniera, quar en aytal profieyt deu hom garder maniera, so es tempransa e mezura que no y haja excès;

1. Sic ms.

2. Ms. *uns* avec *n* exponctué.

3. Ms. *umanals* exponctué; il n'y a que le premier jambage de *u*.

bonas, plazens, pazadas et enductivas paraulas e fondadas en gran razo natural sabon tractar et ordenar e far patz et acort; e dizem per savias e discretas personas, a diferensa dels fols homes e lengos, so es que son meria lenga¹, tant volon parlar; et aytal home son de gran perilh en tot loc, quar no gardo razo ni maniera [F^o 28 r^o] en lor parlar; e d'aquest ditz le Propheta que « hom lengos no sera endressatz en terra. » Et Jhesus Sirac ditz que « fort es terribles en la ciutat on habita hom qu'es fols e lengos. »

Ayssi cum li Rey, princep, comte, duc e li altre dessus nomnat devo gardar aquest profieg humanal, ayssi meteys tug li altre singular, de qualque conditio et estat sian, en lors faytz, en lors digz, en lors officis, en lors negocis e mercaderias, en tal maniera que aquest humanals profieytz sia bos e legutz e ses cobezessa d'avol gazan. Quar Seneca ditz : « ad avol gazan fug coma a cauza de ton dampnatge. » Sobre ayssos ditz us² savis : « gazanhs amb avol fama dampnatges deu esser ditz. » Et en autre loc es escriut :

Mas vuell haver pergut
Que avolmen recebut.

Donx aytals profieytz humanals deu esser moderatz e tempratz. *Profieytz*³ en romans so es *comodum* en lati e compo se de *quo* et *modo*, que vol dire en qual maniera, quar en aytal profieyt deu hom garder maniera, so es tempransa e mezura que no y haja excès;

1. Sic ms.

2. Ms. *uns* avec *n* exponctué.

3. Ms. *umanals* exponctué; il n'y a que le premier jambage de *u*.

e per so ditz Cassidori : « profieytz si passa mezura d'engaltat perd so nom. » Profieytz o gzanhs humans deu esser naturals e quays comus, so es a profieg nostre e d'altre. E per so ditz la leys de l'Emperador que « d'engaltat natural es que lunhs homs no's fassa rix am l'altre dan. » E Tullis ditz que « paors ni dolors, ni mortz ni lunha cauza de mal que puesca avenir dins lo cors d'ome non es tant contra natura cum es creysher sa riqueza an l'altre dampnatge. »

Aquestas paraulas¹ fan contra los mals gzanhadors e contra los cobes e ls avars; e jaciayso que totas las sciensas e las auctoritatz no solamen dels sans mas dels antiez et aproatz philozophes hajan en mespretz riqueza et essenho cobezessa et avaricia esquivar, pero ayso non contrastan a penas pot hom trobar home que en riqueza no trobe plazer e no la vuelha am si; per so ditz l'Actors segon lo dig del Versifiayre :

Ò bona paubriera, dura
 Foras a tota natura
 Si Dieus no t'agues volguda
 E per amor sostenguda.

[F^o 28 v^o] Quar, coma ditz Innocen papa ters en son tractat, li paubre son apremegut per mizeria, son turmentat per derrisio et per vituperi e viltengut e mesprezat per fam, per set, per nuditat; si demanda ni quier, vergonha lo cofon; si no quier ni demanda, sofracha lo consumish; e sobre ayso allega lo savi que ditz : « miels es murir que esser sofrachos », quar hom qu'es paubres o sofrachos a sos parens es odios,

1. Ms. *paraulaulas*, corrigé en marge *paraulas* (xvii^e s.).

sa vida a cels que'l deurian amar es pezans et enuioza¹, entant que de luy s'aluenho que no'l voldrian vezer ni encontrar. Tota maniera de gens que may es huey deceubuda, quar tant es amada riqueza que hom ric communalmen reputa hom per bonaürat e paubre per malaürat; per so ditz Seneca : « homs fortunatz cuja esser bonaüratz. »

Tres bos rix legem en l'Escriptura : Abraham, Job e David. Abraam crezet a Dieu, per que'l fo reputat a drechura; de Job ditz l'Escriptura que « en terra non era homs a luy semblans, quar era homs simples e temens Dieu e que fugia tostemps a mal »; de David legem que « Dieus lo trobet aytal quo'l volia, segon son cor. » Aquestz legem cum re non havens e tot posezens segon lo dig del propheta. Enayssi dizem : si riquezas habondozamen vos veno, no las vulhatz trop amar ni en aquelas vostre cor pauzar, quar de tot son cor deu hom Dieu amar sobre totas cauzas, no sas riquezas transitorias, que apparo coma flors que ades se marfezish e seca, quar huey hom ama tant las riquezas que en aquelas hom mays trebalha, pessa, emagena e met son cor que en Dieu ni en lo sieu servizi; e per so quar mays trebalho, mays amo e mays dolor cor a las riquezas que a Dieu, aysso es mays servir a creatura que al creator; et enayssi hom comet ydolatria. Et es enayssi aquest' amors de riqueza dezaordenada que plus tost trobaras home ses riqueza aman riqueza que home am riqueza no aman riqueza; quar ayssi cum es cauza difficils et impossibbla esser en lo mieg del foc e no ardre ni escaudar, ayssi es cauza

1. Ms. *enuioioza* avec le premier groupe *io* exponctué.

impossibbla haver riquesas et aquelas no amar; e per aysso ditz Seneca : « A qui va be? a ric paubre. » E'l meteysh ditz : « Yeu no contradic que no hajas bonas riquesas, mas be vuelh que aquelas [F^o 29 r^o] am gran paor poseziscas. » Salamos en sos proverbis ditz : « bonas riquesas temporals, per lasquals gran re de bes fam, si per bona persona son posezidas, bonas son. » Et aysso ditz en respieg dels mals homes posezens riquesas, quar adoux aytals riquesas malas son; quar a penas pot esser bo re que hom haja, si el non es bo; jaciaysso que riquesas, en tant que es de lor, bonas son; mas am mals malas son, quar dono occasio de mal far. E per so dit hom :

Jovens fa peguejar
Et avers folejar.

Donx que direm de riquesa? digam segon la oppinio d'alcus que thesaurizar, so es ajustar riquesas de bon gazan, es cauza leguda als seglars coma als payros, per noyrir lors efans e per maridar lors filhas segon lor estat e lor conditio, non pas per lor enriquezir en exces; e si otra aysso han sobras, aquelas devo dar per Dieu. Encaras es cauza leguda thesaurizar per lo be public et per defensa del regne. E mays es leguda cauza thesaurizar per creysher et ampliar lo servizi de Dieu, coma als princeps et als reys et als autres nautz justiciers. A personas ecclesiasticas propriamen non es donat thesaurizar ni tener peccunia per gardar, mas per donar; per so ditz Sant Ambrosi : « aur ha la Gleyza, no per gardar, mas per donar. »

Thesaurizar e voler ajustar riquesas am mal gazan, peccatz mortals es d'avaricia. Per so Tullis ditz en

ayssi : « Avaricia es amors dezordenada d'aver. » Sant Bernat : « Avaricia es cobezessa dezonestada e no sado-
labbla d'aver tropas cauzas. » Segon l'Apostol, avari-
cia es servitutz de ydolas, quar hom cobes et avars
dona a creatura so que donar deu a son creator, sos
assaber fe, esperansa et amor; donx amors dezorde-
nada d'aver riquezas mena¹ home a perdicio. Sant Ma-
thieu : « Cil que volon esser ric cazo en temptacio² et
en lo las del demoni et en mot deziriers inutils et
dampnozes, liqual meno home a mort et a perdicio ;
quar razits de totz mals es cobezessa, laqual comet sa-
crilegi, usa de furtz e de rapinas, engendra guerras et
homicidis, ven e compra am symonia et amb uzura,
iniquamen demanda e pren en frau, et en engan s'es-
tudia et enten, passa covensas³, trenca [F^o 29 v^o] sa-
gramens, corromp testimonis et pervertish jutjamen.
Avars propriamen es qui rete so que no deu retener.
Cobes es cel que a mal gazan h s'aten ; propriamen hom
qu'es avars non ha riquezas, mas las riquezas han
l'avar, lasquals lo teno tant liat que d'aquelas no's pot
gauzir ni frug haver ; e per so ditz Salamo : « Qui
ajusta riquezas no pren bo fruch d'aquelas. » L'Ac-
tors, segon la opinio d'Ignoscom, ditz enayssi :

Avar es prestz a demandar
E tardiús e greus a donar,
Prezentiers a dire de no,
Quar servir del sieu no'l sab bo ;
So que despen te per pergut,

1. Ms. *men* avec *o* (et non *a*) au-dessus de *n v.*

2. En marge (xvii^e s.) : « Première épître de saint Paul à Timo-
thée, vv. 9-10, et non saint Mathieu. »

3. En marge : *covensas conventions* (xvii^e s.).

So que stalvia per cregut ;
 Tristz es tostemps e querelhius,
 Cociros, doptos e pessius ;
 Si que leumen tot jorn sospira
 Et en haver formen cocira ;
 Joy ses plus ha cant hom li dona
 E volontiers no gazardona ;
 Prestz es tostemps a covitz prendre
 E fugitius e dur a rendre ;
 Abandonatz es de l'autru,
 Del sieu de no ditz a cascu ;
 Petit en la gola semena
 Per so que l'arca tenga plena ;
 E quar avars part d'avol agre
 Lo sieu cors te caytiu e magre,
 Per multiplicar son gazan
 On mays qu'en amar Dieu s'afran ;
 Per penre ten las mas ubertas
 E clauzas per dar e dezertas ;
 So que l'avars ajustara
 Coma flors de camp secara ;
 Lo sieu gazan mal e enic
 Soen per lo sieu enemie
 Vezem gastar e consumir
 E paucz de *Pater nostres* dir.
 Estan l'avar en la payrola
 D'ifern del sieu hom se rigola.
 Qui d'avol gazan ajust fa
 Per dreyt jutjamen tost s'en va ;
 Quar so que de mal procezish
 Dechay leumen e deperish.
 Cel que d'avol gazan a cura
 En ynfern haura sepultura,
 Si de part dessa no s'aviza
Am bona guiza.

De tres cauzas que hom dezira cominalmen¹ en aquest mon, sos assaber riquesas, delieytz et honors, vezem segre ad huelh tres mals : primieramen de riquesa se sec cobezessa, quar qui mays ha mays vol, de delieytz lageras, de honors vanetatz; e per so ditz sant Joan l'apostol : « No vulhatz amar lo mon ni so que es en lo mon o es cobezessa de carn o cobezessa [F^o 30 r^o] d'uelhs o erguelhs de vida. » Sant Augusti : « Cobezessa de carn per haver delieytz, cobezessa d'uelhs per haver riquesas, erguelhs de vida per haver honors. » Trop lauza la Santa Escripura paubriera, quar aquela Dieus volc e sostenc; per so ditz sant Bernat : « De que deu hom mays plorar ni haver dolor ni tristor, ni que es mays habominable ni mays punidor que hom que's vol glorificar en aquest mon, can ve lo filh de Dieu, son creator, humiliat, mesprezat, viltengut et mes a mort ontoza per nostra salut? » El meteysh : « L'amors d'aquest mon decep, arrapa home e lia; l'amors de la carn suelha et enpoyzona; l'amors de peccat a la mort d'ifern amena; l'amors de Dieu la pessa d'ome ellumena, la cociensa sana e l'arma d'ome alegra. » Sant Jeronim : « Qui vol esser amix d'aquest mon enemix es de Dieu. » Beda : « No us corrossetz ni vos meravilhetz, vos humil e fizel crestia, si'l malvat home florisho en aquest mon per prosperitat mondanal e vos suffertatz mal, engoysha e treball! quar a dignitat de veray cristia non es donat que en est mon sia yshaussatz, mas humiliatz et appremegutz; quar li mal lunh be non han en lo cel ni vos fizel crestia en lo mon; per que ale-

1. Ms. *conminalmien* avec la troisième lettre exponctuée.

gratz vos, mentre etz en lo cami d'aquest mon, et hajatz a cor lo be que devetz haver amon. » Sant Augusti : « Si petit aprofiecha al layro qui'l fa anar per bel prat o per autre loc delicios cant hom lo mena penjar, mens aprofiecha als amadors de las riquezas mondanals can le demonis los mena pompozamen per honors e delieytz e riquezas ad eternal perdicio. » Sant Gregori : « Dieus en los coratges d'aquels se repauza que no han cura de las riquezas transitorias d'aquest mon. » Sant Bernat : « Aytans deniers quo has d'uzura e de mal gazanhan aytant demoni en yfern t'enportaran. » Sant Jeronim : « Impossibbla cauza es que hom uze dels bes presens et endevenidors, so es que en aquest mon umplisca so ventre et ane de be' en miel e de riquezas en riquezas e que pueysh en lo cel et en la terra sia nomnatz glorios. Sus aysso ditz l'Actors [F^o 30 v^o] :

Ges fres dauratz ni argentos
 No fan caval mays valoros;
 Tals es be vestitz et ornatz
 Que be non es acostumatz.

Seneca : « L'unh home no vezem naysser ric; donx per que volem riquezas? » El meteys : « No solamen es paures qui pauc ha, ans o es cel que assatz ha e mays vol e cobezeja. » Ditz mays : « Saber uzar de paubriera grans bonaüransa es. » El meteys : « Crey me d'una cauza : lunhs hom no pot esser rix e del tot bonaüratz; quar hom on mays es rix e poderos, quar se cuja que non sera punitz, es soen mays plegios a falhir que us paubres sofrachos. »

i. En marge : *Nota contra usurarios* (xiv^e s.).

E per so ditz N'Ath de Mons^t enayssi :

Quar so mostra sabers
 Segon veritat fina
 Que ja per lunh' aizina
 Lunhs homs non falhiria,
 Si fermamen crezia
 Esser ades punitz.

Et en autre loc ditz² :

Erguelhs e cobeytat
 Son major e peyor
 E nostre gran senhor
 Han mays per veritat
 Erguelh e cobeytat
 E s'auzan mays plejar
 De tot cant volon far,
 O sia bes o mals;
 Hom bos e cominals
 Vol soen far falhensa,
 Que s'abste per temensa
 D'aquo que fort dezira;
 Mas senher quan s'albira
 Que non sera punitz
 Es plejos et arditz
 A complir son dezir.
 Assatz par per albir
 Qu'om sia pus plejos
 E pegers orgulhos¹
 On major poder ha;
 Mas contra semblan va
 Cum homs mays a rictat
 Ha ja mays cobeytat.

1. Ed. Bernhardt, II, vv. 445-450.

2. Ed. Bernhardt, V, vv. 111-154.

Pero vers es proatz :
 Gardatz las cobeytatz
 D'un rey o d'un pages ;
 Ges un pages non es
 Cobes de gran afar
 Mas sol d'aquo que'l par
 Que pot leu conquerer ;
 Per que no pot tener
 Sa cobeytatz gran dan ;
 Homs es cobes d'aytan
 Cum l'azesma sos sens,
 Que pot leugieramens
 Conquerer et haver.
 Per qu'om de pauc poder
 Non es cobes de gayre ;
 Mas hom que pot mot fayre
 Pot mot cobezejar ;
 Veritatz es e par
 Al gran mal et al dan
 Que nostre senhor fan
 Per lor gran cobeytat.

Sant Gregori : « Avaricia suelha l'arma, la faisso e la beutat corromp, la vida d'home defforma e defayssona, omplis et clau la borsa, vueja la cociensa, aluenha de si drechura, malicia tot jorn procura, los huelhs yssorba, clau las mas, tol et osta libertat, met et endutz servitut, engendra fam, multiplica set. » [F° 31 r°]
 E'l meteysh : « Paubriera es garda d'umilitat, sor de puritat, companhona de castetat, forma de beutat, autars de fizeltat. » E'l meteysh : « Avaricia es razits de malicia, servitutz de ydolas, noyrissa d'ifern, abis no sadolabbles, perills devorabbles, que on mays beu, mays n'a talen de beure. »

Sant Augusti : « Frayre mieu, regardatz lo sepulcre dels rix e cociratz on han lors riquesas, ni lors bels ornemens, lors anels, lors coronas, las vanetatz de lors honors, lors delieyts carnals; tot es passat coma ombra. Si penitencia non han fayta, am pena, derrizio et am pecat lostemps remano. »

Sant Bernad : « Digas me on son li aymador d'aquest mon que non ha gayre eran am nos; re no lor rema, mas verm e cendres. Que lor aprofiecha lor vana gloria, ni'l vers plazers¹, ni'l poders d'aquest mon, le delieyzt de la carn, las falsas riquesas, la grans companha, la cobezessa? On es ara le grans solas, le jocz e'l ris, le deportz, la vanetatz e la grans pompa que avian en aquest mon? Halas! e de tan 'pauc alegrier tan gran[s] tristicia! Quar d'aquel va e petit gaug e plazer son cazut en gran decazensa et en grans turmens perdurables. »

Cocira donx que en aysso meteys podes escazer e vuelhas te provezir de so que't pot avenir. E pren la vestimenta de laqual parla Sant Bernat per esta guiza. « Bonaüratz es aquel que ha camiza de humilitat, gonela de paciensa, sobrecot e mantel de caritat, sinta de drechura, borsa de misericordia, anel de fe, sporla de speransa, bordo de fermetat. » E'l meteych : « Temps sera que mays valdran li pur coratge que paraulas de folia, e mays bona cossiensa que borsa plena, quar hom aqui veyra cel que paraula no deceubra ni lunhs dos no virara. »

Sant² Gregori : « Tres martires son de pessa : pa-

1. *ni poders*, exponctué.

2. Ms. *Sanc.*

ciensa en adversitat, compassios dels paubres e tormentatz¹ et amar sos enemicz. »

Sant Bernad : « Tres martires d'obra son : paubriera en fertilitat, largueza en paubretat, joventutz amb castetat. »

Sant Augusti : « Ayssi cum es razitz de totz mals cobezessa, ayssi es razitz de totz bes caritatz. » D'aquesta vertut que es caritatz [F^o 31 v^o] ayssi no curam, quar en autre loc ne tractam.

Mostrat havem quo en parlar deu hom gardar profieyt divinal et humanal e declarat de cascu per si e singularmen. Aras volem dir d'amdos essem; e dizem que aquest duy profieyt podon estre essem, le divinals e l'umanals. Aquest duy profieytz son essem segon la oppinio d'alcus en so que Sancta Mayre Gleyza prega Dieu per lo poble am sas bonas oracios, en lasquals Dieus es lauzatz, e per aquelas le pobbles per Dieu regitz et governatz et a creyre la santa fe catholica enclinatz e finalmen salvatz. Alberta ditz que « per aquest dos profieytz divinals et humanals essem li capela et li clerc seglal dizon lors paraulas ordenadas per Santa Gleyza, messas, oratios e las horas ordenadas principalmen per lo servizi de Dieu, segondamen per lo humanal profieyt don puescan viure, quar segon las decretals aytal capela e clerc de l'autar devo viure »; e per so ditz Sant Paul : « qui ad autar servish am l'autar deu participar », so es que d'aqui haja viure; et ordenansa es de Dieu que cil que denunciò l'euvangeli vivan de l'euvangeli; e per so ditz hom cominalmen : « qui autar servish d'autar deu viure ». Donx li capela

1. Ms. *trmentatz*.

e li clerc segglar lors messas e lors oracios devo dire principalmen per lo servizi de Dieu e segondamen per lo profieg humanal don puscan haver competenmen lor vida; mas huey vezem ad huelhs que viesto lor vestimenta so devan detras, quar mays bado e regardo a la renda que al servizi¹ de Dieu ni al profieyt ni a la salvacio de l'humanal linhatge, mas solamen per lors meteyshes engrayshar et enrequir lors parens; et per so s'esforsan d'enpetrar gleyzas ses cura per gauzir dels bes temporals ses treballar en los esperitals. Sant Bernad dit[z] enayssi : « Tu qui yest clerchez be vuelh que vivas de l'autar, si be servishes l'autar, non per luxuriar ni per erguelh mostrar, ni per haver fres ni esperos dauratz ni celas pinchas, ni per grans almussas ni prims sobrepelisses portar, quar finalmen tot quant prendes de l'autar has de rapina, quar non es tieu outra ton viure necessari e ta simpla vestimenta no ergulhezir, ni luxuriar, ni² [F^o 32 r^o] majors palaytz far, ni sos parens enriqueir, ni filhas maridar. » E'l meteysh : « vejas gran re que son en la gleyza de Dieu faytz soptamen de no nobbles nobbles, de paubres rix, et en gran erguelh levar e la miseria del temps passat oblidar; de lor linhatge no volon auzir parlar ni lors parens vezer ni regardar. » Huc de Sant Victor : « huey se apropiarian li capela de Crist, liquial si re non sabian prendre no s'en apropiarian. » Sant Gregori : « Clerchez que de son patremoni se pot sustentar si pren los bes dels paubres son jutjamen manja e beu. » Sant Jeronim recita aquo meteysh, mas que en la fi ditz que

1. Ms. *seuiezi*, avec le dernier *e* exponctué.

2. Au bas de la page : « Nota contra viros eccleziasticos. » (XIV^e s.).

aytal clerc cometo sacrilegi; *alqu* dizo que *vertat es quant ad aquels que no servissho a la gleyza don preudo lor benefici*¹. Sant Cipria ditz : « las festas dels sans colam e celebrem am sollempnitat de bona e pura pessa, no en sadolamen de ventre per aquel engrayshar. Gaufre contra los clerz necligens e perezos ditz *en ayssi* : « *ad home necligen e perezos*² legir es desplazens, oracios greus, devocios freja, predicacios enuioza, estudis odios, fes morta, esperansa lunhdana, caritat estranha, mezura dezerta, paubriera ño suffertabbla; calar li peza, dejunhs li es durs, obediensa li es servitutz, humilitatz vils, castetatz desplazens, cofessios abominabbla, satisfacios non portabbla e finalmen perseveransa dezesperada. » Dels clerz dissolutz e viciozes Sant Bernad ditz enayssi : « Clercz coytatz a taula, tardius a la gleyza, poderos a beure, malautes a cantar, prestz a flaujar, dormilhos a velhar, curos a lag parlar, mutz a legir, apparelhatz ad ira, pigres ad orar, amayres d'enveja, enquiridors de son pruesme, regardans la petita busca en l'autru huelh e no vezen la gran trau en lo sieu, los autrus faytz condempnans e sos grans vicis no cocirans, los autres repren, si meteysh no corrigish³; los autres vitupera, si meteysh lauza; trobayres de malicia, maldizens de diciplina, amix de vicis, enemix de vertutz, vertat azira, messonjas ama. » E'l meteysh : « qui mays ama lo mon que Dieu, le seggle que la claustra, la gola que abstenensa, luxuria que castetat, sec lo diable am loqual ira en dampnamen perdurable. » E'l meteysh : « alcu son religiosos, que volon

1. Écrit en marge, de la même main, avec renvoi.

2. Même observation que à la note précédente.

3. Ms. avec *e* exponctué *corriegish*.

esser paubres, mas que res no lor falha, humil [F° 32 v°] mas qu'om no·ls mespreze, patien mas qu'om no lor fassa desplaizer, cast ses restrenher e mortificar la carn, parsonier del regne del cel ses haver trebalh en aquest mon. » Crisogom : « motz capelas vezem de nom e paucz d'obra. » Sant Augusti : « non pas le locz, mas bonas costumaz e bona vida fan sant lo capela. » Sant Gregori ditz dels clerchez e capelas e del[s] autres no devotz enayssi : « Dieus aquela oracio no au a laqual cel que pregua no s'aten. » Sant Cipria : « quo demandas que Dieus te auja, can tu meteysh no t'entendes? » Quays que diga que Dieus en est cas no auja cel que·l prega. Ad ayso dizo li senhor theologia que cant que hom no entenda abasta que hom haja entencio de Dieu pregar o sas horas dire *ses atentio, mas que la atentio sia honesta e leguda; quar si no era leguda aylals atentio poyria engendrar peccat mortal*¹. Pero l'Apostol en persona de Dieu ditz enayssi : « Je mieus pobbles de boca me hondra, mas lo sieu cor ha luenh de mi. » Donx en Dieu pregar e lauzar et en far majormen lo divinal offici deu hom esser diligens et atendutz. Per so ditz sant Jeronim : « Ayssi co diligensa es mayres de totz bes, ayssi necligensa es mayrastra de totz mals. »

Diverses estatz de gens trobam en aquest mon; e si en aquestz de que havem parlat hom troba fautas atertantas e² mays en los autres; e per so legem que·l demonis espozet iniquitat de laqual hac nou filhas : symonia, ypocrizia, rapina, uzura, deceptio, erguelh, fals servezi, sacrilegi, luxuria; e quar a son avis no

1. En marge, rogné par le relieur; une main du xvii^e siècle a rétabli le texte.

2. La lettre est peu lisible : o? ou m (= mille).

pot trobar mas .VIII. manieras d'ome, non maridec mas .VIII.; symonia donec a clerchez, ypocrizia als religiozes, rapina als cavaliers et als homes de parage, uzura als ricz, cobes et avars, deceptio als baratayres e falces mercadiers, erguelh als senhorejans, fals servezi als obriers, sacrilegi als lauradors, luxuria remas communa a totz.

Avaricia ha .VII. filhas : dureza de cor nomnada per *Yzidori inhumanitat, violensa, nomnada per Yzidori¹ raubaria*, treball ses repaus, appellat en lati *inquietudo*, perjuri lequals soen se commet en vendre et en comprar, fallacia so es deprecios² rescosta, [F° 33 r°] *fraus* so es deceptios perfiecha fayta en presentia del decebut, *trahios* so es decepcios fayta absen lo trahyt.

D'avaricia se seguio gran re de mals : le primiers quar es maldita de Dieu; le segons quar es tostemps sofrachoza; le ters quar riquesas am gran treball conquerish, am gran temor las possezis, am mot gran dolor las laysha; le quartz quar la pessa d'ome offega; le quintz enlassa et tira home tant que de liey partir no's pot ni desliar; le seyzes yssorba home del tot; le setes part lo cor d'ome e pesseja; le uytes quar aytan pauc coma sacz traucatz, ydropicz, yferns ni l'avars no's pot sadolar; aquest mal e gran re d'autres procezisho d'avaricia.

La causa de dire per son amic e per son pruesme deu tot home exitar e moure, mas que las paraules³ sian bonas et justas. La leys d'amistat, segon Tulli, es aquesta que per avols cauzas no preguem ni aquelas

1. Mots oubliés et écrits en marge; texte récrit au xvii^e siècle.

2. Sic; 1. *deceptios*.

3. Sic ms.

per pregarias no fassam ni procurem; quar hom per son amic no deu far ni dir cauza que puesca dar occasio de peccar; quar, segon la regla d'amor, peccar per amistat no escuza peccat. L'Actors :

Los crims de ton amic fas tius
Sostenen ses cauza los sieus;
Los crims de son amic s'enpauza
Qui aquels soste senes cauza.
Aysel ques ha crim sostenh a
No pecca mens que cel que'l fa;
A crim m'apar qui s'abandona
Que secors a colpable dona.

E per so ditz Cassiodori que « aquel es verays defendeyres que defen cel qu'es ignoscens e senes colpa. » Donx paraulas utils e cauzas justas e fondadas en razo deu hom en sos ditz allegar e perpauzar, o sian per lo servezi divinal o per profieyt humanal, o per defendre si meteysh o son amic o son pruesme, o per tot essems.

Quo de sa natura requier maniera; quo si hom dizia; « *Quo* fas tas fazendas, so es tas bezonhas o tos negocis », so es a dire en qual maniera fas tas fazendas. Maniera es de gran necessitat en faytz et en ditz, quar lunh fag ni dig no trobaras ses falta si no hy a maniera. Et enayssi cum en far, enayssi en parlar deu hom gardar maniera; [F^o 33 v^o] e ses aquela parlar no pot esser grazitz ni haver lauzor. E per so ditz Cassiodori que « maniera en tot loc es lauzabblá. » Per haver aquesta maniera de parlar¹ deu hom gardar sine cauzas : pro-

1. En marge deux mots dont une partie a été rognée par le relieur : *st preambulatois* avec abréviation de *n* marquée sur *i*.

nunciacio, tarditat, velocitat, quantitat e qualitat. Vejam donx quinha cauza es pronunciacios qu'es la primera.

Pronunciacios es dignitatz e nobbleza de paualas a las cauzas et als sens d'ome applicada am temprada et am bela contenensa corporal; e per so paualas am bela manera et am bela contenensa pronunciadas, quant que sian mens utils, son leumen mays agradablas que outras estiers dichas, quant que sian mays fructuozas e mays utils; quar paualas mal pazadas e mal ordenadas e ses bona manera, quant que sian de bona e nauta materia, enduzo los auzens¹ a murmuratio et a derrizio, so es qu'en fan lor esquern. En pronunciacio es necessaris excessis de sperit, so es de l'ale d'ome que fa mejansan l'ayre e tempransa de votz e no remens de cors e de lenga. Segon loc e temps e la materia de que hom parla deu hom prendre manera en son parlar; quar algunas cauzas son dezidoras pregan am simpleza, benignitat et humilitat, et outras amonestan amb auctoritat; et outras mandan o revocan am rigor e outras enduzen doussamen am gran pietat. E no remens no trop lauzar ni vituperar, mas tempradamen, en tant que la votz del parlan se conforme am la materia de que parla. Am la cara dreyta deu hom parlar, no trop elevada ni trop enclinada, ni ab huelhs ni sobrecilhs trop elevatz ni trop basses, ni l cors trop crossan, ni trop brassejan, ni trop cridan, ni bas parlan, mas am votz temprada, distinctamen, ponchadamen, claramen et amb accen competen pronunciada et am bona e ferma audacia et am tal² fermetat e tem-

1. Ms. *auzens*.

2. Ms. *tal répété mais exponctué*.

pransa de cor que per pauca ocayso no's torbe ni layshe sa materia a proseguir; quar hom que leu se torba mostra que pauc ha de constancia, so es fermetat; pero a greu es que'l cors no's mova segon la affectio del cor; e per so cant hom parla am bona e devota affectio de las cauzas celestials o a gran profyet de la cauza publica per miels enprentar las paraulas devotas e las autras mot fructuozas a la causa publica en los corages dels auzens pot [F^o 34 r^o.] hom e deu elevar las mas junctas vas lo cel, e'l cors, e'l cap, e totz sos membres; quar al movemen dels membres hom pot conoysher la voluntat e la gran affectio del cor. E quar so que no es convenable no pot lunh plazer portar, per so ditz Ysidori que en cauzas petites leugieramen deu hom parlar; et en las grans majormen en presencia de grans senhors grans e nautas auctoritatz allegar; e si en presencia d'aytals grans senhors es necessaria reprehensios tempradement¹ am gran subtilitat deu hom dire e parlar. Lunh home en sa presentia hom no deu trop lauzar ni trop vituperar², quar lauzar en presentia sembla lagotejar et trop vituperar sembla malvolensa portar; per que ditz le Savis: « Trop lauzar es vituperar e trop vituperar engendra malvolensa. »

Tarditat e velocitat, so es maniera de tart e deliu-ramen parlar, deu hom gardar; e no solamen en parlar, mas en far, quar lunhs homs no deu esser trop coyatz de parlar, mas al plus tart que poyra tempradamen. Sant Jaemes ditz: « Sia coyatz ad auzir e tardius a parlar et a iraysher. » Cassiodori ditz que « reyalis

1. Sic ms.

2. Ms. vituperat.

vertutz es tart parlar et leu sentir so qu'es de necessitat. » Yshamens en cosselhs sollempnials, tarditatz de parlar es necessaria, quar longamen un negoci manegan et tractan hom ve a la vertat e pel contrari hom soen ne porta pena; quar tres cauzas son contrarias en aytals cossels : cocha, ira e cobezeza, e soen parlar per azulacio, so es per far plazer a so major, per segre sa opinio, cum fan li lagotier per haver profieyt de lor major no per profieyt del senhor. Maniera donx deu hom penre en parlar, si que trop no's coche mas tempradamen e pauzadamen. D'aquesta tarditat de parlar devem enjos tractar, per que abaste so qu'en havem dig ayssi.

Velocitatz, so es bona e breus e perfiecha deliberacios, laqual es necessaria en parlar perfietamen, quar alcu parlo am destemprada tarditat et am tan longas pauzas que hom ditz que el meteys s'escota, aquesta velocitats ha loc yshamens en far. Et per so ditz Seneca : « Mens digas e mays fay, e so que far volras deliuramen e tost fay » ; quar tost donar red lo do agradabble; e per so ditz hom vulgarmen : *qui tost dona doas vetz dona*; e per so ditz Salamos : « *Hom que deliures¹ en totz sos faytz estara denan los reys.* » Et Jesus Sirac ditz : « En totas [F^o 34 v^o] obras sias apertz e deliures e lunha enfermetatz no's pauzara en te » ; pero en aquesta velocitat deu hom haver maniera en tal guiza que trop cochar la perfectio de l'obra ni del parlar no puesca empachar.

Quantitatz en parlar deu hom gardar et en aquela gardar maniera, si que hom se garde de trop parlar,

1. Les mots en italiques sont en marge dans le ms.

so es de far lonc sermo, longas elengas o longa prepozicio en parlar, per que los auzens no pueca fatigar ni enuiar, quar en trop parlar no falh peccatz. E Salamos ditz : « A motas curas mant somi et en trop parlar folia. » E per so ditz le Savis : « Motas cauzas vuelhas auzir e a paucas respondre. » Et Socrates ditz enayssi : « A totz poyras plazer si fas so ques er bo e parlas pauc e bo. »

Qualitatz es la sinquena cauza; et en aquesta deu hom yshamens guardar maniera, so es qu'om parle de be, qu'om no's cargue de dire mal d'autrui en especial, quar escriut es que dire be d'ome es comensamens d'amistat e dire mal es comensamens de malvolensa e de enemistat. E no solamen se deu guardar de dire mal d'autru, en especial publicamen et en presencia de trops, ans ho deu far yshamens secretamen et a rescost, cum fan li envejós e'l lauzengier, delsquals ditz N'Ath de Mons per esta guiza :

Mas li fals lauzengier
 Fan pieytz de lor mestier
 Que layro ny trachor,
 Si cum vos dic alhor,
 Si membrar vos ho cal¹...
 Home son que fan tant de mal²
 Que lunhs senhors no'ls deu sufrir,
 E cant de malfachor m'albir,
 Qual home fan pieytz a senhor?
 Pieytz fan que layro ni trachor
 Ni lunh malfachor lauzengier,
 Quar mays obran de lor mestier

1. Éd. Bernhardt, V, v. 196-200.

2. A partir d'ici, éd. Bernhardt, IV, 134-157.

E mays fan lor senhor falhir.
 Senhers bos, qui s'en pren albir,
 No perd son pretz ni sa bontat
 Qui'l pana ni'l fa falsetat,
 Si tot li sab greu quar l'es dans;
 Non perd son pretz senhers prezans,
 Si donx de be far no s'estra
 Ni sa bontat si donx no fa
 Qualque falhimen volontiers;
 Mas per cosselh de lauzengiers
 Vezem mant bo senhor falhir:
 Quar lauzengier am lor mentir
 Li fan so que non es cujar,
 Lauzengier fan dezamparar
 A senhor mant home valen
 E'l camjan son cor e son sen
 E'l vedan can cuja be [Fol. 35 r^o] far.

Et enayssi bona maniera de parlar es dire paraulas bonas, graciozas, honestas, claras, simplas, compostas, am lenga plana, am bona cara, ses ganhar e ses dire escaysh, ses trop cridar, ses bas parlar, am temprada contenensa pronunciadas; e per so ditz Salamos que « paraulas compostas son mels e bresca e doussors de l'arma et sanetats de cors ».

QUAN de sa natura requier e significa temps, cossi hom dizia : *quan vendra le coms?* so es en qual temps vendra; en outra maniera ditz hom : *quoras*, coma *quoras fazem aytal cauza?* E jassiaisso que *quan* signifie propriament temps e *quoras* hora, pero soen la un prendem per l'autre. Donx en parlar deu hom guardar temps; e per so ditz Jhesus Sirac : « hom qu'es savis calara tro que haja temps e cel qu'es fols e dis-

solutz no gardara temps. » Qui en parlar garda temps fa segon lo savi Salamo, que ditz : « Temps hy ha de parlar e temps de calar. » Grans vertutz es donx qui sab haver tempransa de parlar e de calar, segon loc e temps. E per so ditz Seneca : « Garda te de parlar tro que't sia necessari ; e no solamen garda lo tieu calamen, ans espera que li altre calo, per so que sias auzitz et escotatz. » E per so ditz Jhesus Sirac : « lay on hom no't vol escotar, no vuelhas parlar ; quar parlar ses esser auzitz et escotatz es coma muzica en plor, so es qui canta en loc de dol e de plor¹ ; quar en aytal loc de tristitia cantar es cauza importuna ; e qui parla a cel que no si aten es coma resshidar home de son greu dormir. E no solamen en dire et en parlar deu hom gardar loc e temps, ans ho deu hom far ysamens en respondre ; quar escriut es que « hom no's deu coytar de respondre, tro que la enterrogacios haja fi. » E per so ditz Salamos : « cel que respon enans que auja es fols e de confuzio se red digne. » En autre loc ditz : « Qui enans parla que auja ni entenda als autres se fa escarnir e mesprezar » ; e per so Jhesus Sirac ditz : « Denant ton jutjamen aparlha² drechura et apren enans que parles. Donx en parlar loc e temps deu hom gardar e mays orde segon la qualitat del fag.

De las quatre partz d'oratio que son en Rethorica.

Yzidoris ditz que « quatre partz d'oratio son en rethorica, so's assaber : exordis, narratios, argumenta-

1. En marge, main du xvii^e s. : *Eccles.*, 22, 8.
2. Lisez *aparelha* (xvii^e s.).

sieu membre no sian armas d'eniquitat, e cant mestiers sera aquel refrenar, corregir e deciplinar, per so que corregit e castiat per veraya penedensa puesca per bonas obras dignamen fructificar.

Aquela drechura es bona que no vol sobremontar ni haver avantatge de son engal ni's vol engalhar a major de si; pero mais es bona, santa [F^o 39 v^o] e vertuoza aquela drechura que a son par no's vol engalhar ni menor sobremontar, so es no voler haver de luy avantatge, quar ayssi cum es grans erguelhs voler avantatge de son engal e voler esser engals a son sobira, ayssi es grans humilitatz se no voler engalhar a son engal ni a son sotira. Et ayssi cum l'erguelhs d'aquel es tan grans e tant abhominables que no's pot sosten¹, que vol sobremontar et haver avantatge sobre son sobira, ayssi es sobrenauta et excellens drechura et humilitatz passans e vertuoza se sosmetre a menor de si. Estudie se donx cascus de far redre e complir tota manera de drechura.

De la dreytura de Dieu.

La drechura de Dieu, segon que ditz Sant Thomas, en son *Compendi*, penre se pot en tres manieras: la primera, can Dieus red ad home so que ha merit; la segonda, cant so que es promes es fayt et atendum; la tersa cant so que non es perfieg es acabat e complit. La primera comma can Dieus gazona los bos e punish los mals. La segonda podetz haver per la encarnatio del filh de Dieu, quar promes era estat per

1. Il semble qu'on ait d'abord écrit *sostenir*.

los prophetas. La tersa, coma can Dieus justifica los peccadors et tira a si e los habitua en gracia, fazen so qu'es en si, quar le Sans Esperitz lay on se vol aspira. La drechura de Dieu lunh temps non es ses misericordia, mas que algunas vetz la drechura es rescosta e la misericordia manifesta, coma can Dieus lo peccador tira a si, convertish e justifica; o cum fo en lo primier avenimen del filh de Dieu. Algunas vetz se fa per lo contrari, so es que la drechura es manifesta e la misericordia cuberta et amagada, comma en la punicio dels parvols que moro ses baptisme, et ayssi cum sera en lo segon avinimen del filh de Dieu. Algunas vetz cascuna es rescosta et amagada, coma vezer podem en las tribulacios que Dieus dona als drechuriers, cum fe a Job, et en diversas malautias que Dieus dona als parvols enfans innocens e ses peccat.

Algunas vetz cascuna es manifesta, so es la drechura e la misericordia, coma can Dieus remunera e gazar-dona los bos [F^o 40 r^o] de mays que non han merit, et punish los mals de menor pena, quant que de major sian digne; et ayssó per misericordia et en so que als bos dona be e mal als mals es drechura.

Jutjamens verays es la quarta cauza sobre laqual rethorica se fonda. Jutjamens es digs de Jutge o digz de dreg per Jutge. En jutjamen son necessarias certas personas e certa maniera de procezir; d'ayssó parlar no curam, quar als senhors legistas e canonistas ho laysham. Et a cels qu'en trop plaidejar fan lor dan, d'aquest jutjamen parla le Propheta e ditz : « vos que etz filhs dels homes, jutjatz drechurieramen. » Pero sembla que Dieus diga lo contrari, can ditz : « no

vulhatz jutjar e no seretz jutjatz; no vulhatz condampnar e no seretz condampnatz. » Pero no y a contrarietat lunha qui be vol atendre a las cauzas que son necessarias en jutjar, lasquals entre las autras son aquestas : so es assaber, sciensa, juridictios, razos, deliberacios, drechura, temors de Dieu.

Sciensa es conoyssensa de las cauzas aptas a saber, so es que saber se podó; sciensa es necessaria en jutjamen; e per so ditz Salamos : « enans que jutges, apparelha drechura, so es drechura met denan. Et enans que parles, apren. » Et ditz : apren, per haver sciensa, quar jutges qui per falta de sciensa mal jutja del sieu mal jutjamen es tengutz cum metges de sa mala cura.

Juridictios en jutjamen es necessaria; e per so li Juzieu dizian a Pilat que a lor no era legut de aucir home, so es de jutjar home a mort, per so quar no havian juridictio. E qui jutja ses juridictio, la sentensa es nulla, quar es donada per jutge non competent.

Razos es vertutz e forsa discreta a conoysher be e mal e so qu'es legut o no legut et honest o dezonest am electio de be et am fucha et encaussamen de mal. Razos et inquizi[ti]os¹ de razos es cauza mot vertuoza, quar lay on es razos l'obra es sobrebona; e can razos hy falh, re no val, quar adonx motas errors son prestas. Qui razo porta am si tot lo mon vens. E per so ditz le Philosophes enayssi : « si vencer vols tot lo mon, sosmet te a razo. » Donx am razo [F^o 40 v^o] se deu hom governar e per drechura tener e gardar; donx

1. Ms. *enquizios*.

en jutjamen razos es necessaria et enquizitios de razo; quar quan la razos es be enquirida, no y ha gayres a far; et aquela mesprezada o oblidada, le jutges cay en error. E per so ditz le Savis: « re qu'om fassa ses razo no sera durable ».

Deliberatios per haver cosselh es necessaria yshamens en jutjamen, quar Jutges que be vol jutjar am deliberacio, pazadamen, ses cocha e tempradamen, ses ira e ses affectio dezordenada, deu procezir a deliberar; per be jutjar triga es sobrebona, e per so ditz le Savis: « aquel jutge tenc yeu per sobrebo que tost enten e tart jutja, quar a penedre se coyta qui soptamen jutja. » En jutjar celeritatz, so es cocha, es criminoza; e si be triga es soen odiosa, al mens red savi cel qu'es ha a jutjar; e per so jutges savis e discretz deu penre la mejanciera via en tal manera que entre trop e pauc meta mezura e balansa am que haja a balansar e'l temps e las sentensas que dara; e per so ditz la leys de l'Emperador que jutjes deu donar sentensas ponderadas, so es justas e balansadas, e soen enterrogar las partidas, si re volon dire ni prepauzar de noel. Donx deliberacios es necessaria; et aquela deu haver denan sos huelhs enans que jutge. E quar deliberacios requier cosselh e cosselhs prudencia, per so tractem primieramen de prudencia per so que no procezis cam per cauzas escuras e no conogudas¹.

¹. Ms. *cognoguda*, avec le premier *g* exponctué.

men e no per temor creysh la vertutz d'amor »; ni lunhs forfatz be no pot amar cant que per temor semblan¹ fassa d'amor.

Après havem que d'ome yure hom no deu voler cosselh. Alcu dizo *ybre* et alcu *yvre*² et alcu *enbriayc*; et en lati ha nom *ebrius*, que vol dire ses mezura; quar en beure es destempratz e ses mezura, per que d'aytals cosselh no deu hom voler, quar no podo ni sabon cellar cosselh secret. E per so ditz Salamo : « no y a secret [F^o 48 r^o] lay on es ebrietatz. » Ni aytam pauc no deu hom penre cosselh d'aquels que fora cosselh secretamen murmuro, et han una cauza el cor e pueysh altra ne mostran defora. E per so ditz Cassiodori que « grans decepcios es haver una cauza el cor et altra dire de boca. » Ni aytan pauc no deu hom voler cosselh d'ome mal e de singular oppinio. E per so escriut es que « hom qu'es mals bon cosselh no dona ni reporta. »

De jovencels voler no deu hom cosselh, quar no han sen pauzat ni madur e leumen amo e volo mays solas e deport per lor joventut que discrecio ni savieza. E per so ditz Salamo : « Dezastruga es la terra le reys de laqual es enfans e'l sieu princep manjo de mayti. »

Si es expedien haver femnas en cosselh. ✓

Femnas haver en cosselh doptes es si es expedien o no; e sembla que no, quar en cosselh *deu hom voler persona savia e per so en cosselh no*³ deu hom voler femna,

1. Ms. *samblan*.

2. Ou *yure*?

3. En marge (main du xvii^e s.) : *Ecclé. 33.*

quar hom non troba deguna savia segon que ditz Salamo per esta guiza : « .I. home de mil he atrobat savi, mas de totas las femnas non he trobada una savia. » Donx am femna no's fa bo s'acosselhar. La segonda razos es quar donar cosselh s'aperte ad home e no a femna. E si hom pren cosselh de femna, hom la engalha ad home o'l dona senhoria sobre home. E per so ditz Jhesus Sirac : « Femna, qui'l dona senhoria, contraria es a so marit. » E Salamos ditz¹ per esta maniera : « pobble e totas gens e rector de gleyzas a filh, a femna, negueysh a vostre amic² no vulhatz dar poder sobre vos en vostra vida, quar miels es que vostre filh et enayssi dels autres regardo vas vos que si vos covenia regardar en las mas de lor. » La tersa razos es quar soen cove que cosselhs sia secretz, tro que per necessitat se publique. E si femna era en aytal cosselh apelada, secretz no seria. Quar escriut es que « tan grans es la parlaria de femna que no cela mas so que no sab. » E majormen quar malas femnas venso los homes en cosselh, segon que ditz le Philosophes, e quar femna es de tant freol condicio e de tan pouca fermetat que tost deceb e leu es deceubuda. E apparec per la primera e mays, quar per femna David, Salamo e Samso e gran re d'autres savis homes son estat deceubut. E per so ditz le Versifiayres enayssi : « Quid flamma levius? fulmen. Quid fulmine? ventus. [F^o 48 v^o] Quid vento? mulier. Quid muliere? nichil. » So es a dire : « Qu'es plus leugier que flama?

1. Mots écrits avec renvoi à la marge intérieure (xiv^e s., comme la plupart des renvois de ce genre signalés ci-dessus).

2. On a écrit d'abord *vostre amic*, puis *e* et *c* finals paraissent avoir été transformés en *o* ; d'où *vostro amio*.

foldres. Qu'es plus legier¹ que foldres? vens. Qu'es plus leugier que vens? Femna. Qu'es plus leugier que femna? no re. » Finalmen en femna trobaras totas las cauzas que mays q'om deu esquivar en cosselh, las quals son lassus expressadas, majormen quar si una vetz endeve en dar bon cosselh, tostemp ho retrayra. L'Actors :

Cosselh de femna petit val
 Quar mays que be porta de mal ;
 De son gazan no cures gayre
 Si viure vols senes retrayre.

Salamo ditz que tres cauzas son que gieto home de sa mayso : fums, gotiera, so es cant hy plou, e mala molhers. Encara ditz mays que « miels es habitar en terra dezerta que am femna riotoza. » En *Exodi*² se lieg que vis e femna fan lo savis apostatar e reprenendo los assenatz; apostatar so es de bona regla gitar o desviar.

La diffinitios de femna segon alcus es aytals : femna es bestia no sadolabbla, confuzios d'ome, mayzos de tempesta, domicilis de riota,

Las perilhos
 D'ome luxurios,
 Carga mot greus a motz no sufertabbla,
 Votz de Sathan, roza pudens,
 Veres dous e plazens,
 En parlar destemprada,
 En cosselhs dezordenada,
 A mal far abandonada,

1. Sic, ms.

2. En marge (main du xvii^e s.) : « Ce n'est point dans l'*Exode*, mais bien dans l'*Ecclésiastique*, ch. 19, v^o 2. »

E trop coytada,
 A far cauza devedada,
 So es a far lo contrari can pot,
 Cum fe la molhers de Loth,
 E presta a creyre enans lo mal que'l be
 Quar d'avols cutgz ha son corage ple,
 D'erguelh noyrisa,
 De vanetatz faytissa,
 Soen s'erissa
 Vas sos efans e'ls fissa
 Tant que'ls abissa ¹.

E per so ditz Salamos enayssi : « Femna fort qui la trobara? » Quays que diga que no degus. E ges Salamo no parla de fortsa corporal, mas de fortsa esperital de l'arma, laquals es tenguda en sas forsas per las quatre vertutz cardenals de lasquals havem parlat lassus. Quar bona femna deu haver forsa e vertut per contrastar als vicis, als peccatz, a las malas temptacios e als somovemens carnals. Encaras deu haver en sos faycz², en sas obras, en son parlar et en totas sas captenensas prudencia, so es savieza e discretio, drechura, leyaltat e razo, e mays tempransa e mezura. E d'aytal femna parla Salamo, can ditz per maniera de questio : « Femna fort qui la [F^o 49 r^o] trobara? »

Non contrastan las ditas razos, sembla qu'om no deja cosselh de femna sofanar. Sobre ayssso que Salamos ditz, que totas femnas son ayssi malas que una

1. Quoique le vers libre soit rare dans l'ancienne poésie provençale, sauf dans le *descort*, il est difficile de ne pas voir ici un fragment de poésie en vers libres ou de *descort*.

2. Sic ms.

bona non pot trobar, hom pot respondre que, per salva la sua reverencia, hom no deu generalmen totas las femnas mesprezar ni lor imprudencia ni simpleza reproar; quar qui totz mespreza a totz desplatz. E per so ditz Catos : « Lo cosselh de ton sirvidor ni'l sen de l'un' autre, si aprofitabbles es, no'l mesprezes. E per so ditz le proverbis cominals :

No gardes la persona
Que bon cosselh te dona.

Donx, segon aysso, cosselh de femna hom no deu mesprezar, majormen quar motas femnas son e tantas que nombre no y ha lasquals trobam honestas e bonas. Et aysso appar vertatz, quar si lunha bona femna no pogues esser, le filhs de Dieu en femna no fora vengutz, ni carn humana de femna no hagra preza. E motas autras bonas femnas honestas et santas trobam; et appar quar Dieus, Nostre Salvayre, per la santetat et la bontat de femna aprop la sua rezurrectio se vole mostrar, apparer e manifestar enans a femna que ad home; quar primieramen se mostrec a la Magdalena que als apostols. Et si Salamos ditz que « no troba lunha bona femna », hom pot respondre que si el non ha trobada li altre gran re motas bonas femnas trobo et han trobadas. O pot hom dire que quant Salamos ditz que no troba lunha bona femna, enten a dire bona, so es de perfiecha bontat. Quar d'aquesta perfiecha bontat ni home ni femna hom no pot trobar, sino solamen nostre glorios maestre Jhesu Crist, lequals no solamen foc et es perfieytz e perfiechamens

1. Lire : *lunh*?

bos, ans es de si pura et perfiecha bontatz, segon que el meteysh en l'avangeli testifica.

Après es estat dig que, si hom appellava femna en cosselh, que hom la engalharia o'l daria senhoria sobre home. Aquesta razos petit val; quar jaciaysso que yeu demande cosselh ad alcuna persona, no se sec que per so yeu li done senhoria sobre me, quar en ma voluntat et en mon franc e liberal arbitri es de penre o de layshar lo cosselh que'm dona. Après havem dig que tan grans es la garrulitat[s], so es la par [F^o 49 v^o] laria de femna que no cela mas so que no sab. Aquesta allegatios pauc val, quar parla de las parlieras e maliciozas femnas. Et appar en so que ditz : tan grans es la parlaria; e d'aytals maliciozas femnas e parlieras deu esser entenduda l'actoritatz, sos assaber que fums, gotiera e mala femna gieton home de mayzo. Et yshamens l'autra auctoritatz de Salamo, sos assaber, mays val habitar en terra dezerta *qué am mala femna rioto[za]*. *L'autra [ra]zos sos assa[be]r¹* que malas femnas venson homes en cosselh non ha loc; quar cel que demanda cosselh o el vol mal cosselh o bo; si mal, e femna vens e osta aquel mal cosselh, donan bon cosselh, d'ayso deu esser femna lauzada e no vituperada. E per so ditz Sant Paul : « No't layshes vencer a mal, mas vens mal am be. » Si hom vol bon cosselh e femna lo dona mal, et enayssi vens home, ayso seria mays enputador ad home que a femna; quar homs es senhors del cosselh e deu esquivar e reproar mal cosselh et elegir lo bo. E per so ditz Sant Paul : « Totas cauzas proatz e so que bo sera tenetz e gardatz. » O pot hom respon-

i. Mots écrits en marge (xiv^e) en partie rognés par le relieur.

dre que la dita auctoritatz, so es que malas femnas venson homes en cosselh, que aysso deu esser entendet de las maliciozas femnas, can dono cosselh a lors fols maritz e nescis. En so que ditz Salamos per manera de questio : « Bona femna qui la trobara? », hom pot respondre que aquesta letra, segon la opinio d'alqus, es negativa, coma « femna fort qui la trobera? », quays que diga que no degus. O pot esser dubitativa, coma « femna fort qui la trobara? », quays que diga que paucas n'atroba hom. Et aquesta oppinios nos sembla plus vertadiera et appar en so que se sec can ditz : De luenh e de las derrieras fis es le sieus pretz; le cor de son marit en ela mot se cofiza e de despuehas no haura sofracha; a luy redra be e no mal totz los jorns de sa vida; e serquec li e lana que obrec am cosselh de sas mas. Ela es fayta coma naus de mercadier, que de luenh porta son pa, la nueg se leva, a cels que son de sa mayso dona sa preza e viandas a sas sirventas. Cocirec camp e comprec lo e del fruch de sas mas plantec vinha; sintec estrechamen sos loms am gran fortaleza [F^o 50, r^o] e fortifiquec¹ lo sieu bras, gostec so es assaborec e vic que sa negociacios, soes a dire so que faria, era bo; le sieu lums no s'es-cantish la nueg; e mes sas mas en so qu'era mayso fort e necessari; e pres am sos ditz lo fus per filar, la sua ma ubric als sofrachos e sas palmas estendec al paubre; no doptara a sa mayso los freytz de ven².

1. Sic ms.

2. Il semble qu'on ait écrit d'abord *fortifiquel*, ainsi qu'au bas du f^o 49 v^o, puis qu'on ait transformé le *t* final en *e* par un grattage.

3. Au bas de la page : *neu* (xvii^e s.).

Tug cil que son de sa mayzo son vestit de dobblas¹ raubas; a si meteysha fe rauba de diversas mesclas e colors; sa vestimenta fo de bis e de porpra; nobles es sos maritz en las portas, can seyra am los senadors. Tela fe subtil, prima e blanca, e vendec la e sinta balhec a Cananieu. Fortaleza e beutatz es sa vestimenta; e rira al derrier jorn. Sa bocca ubric a savieza; leys de clemencia en la lenga de lieys; cocirec las drecieras de sa via et ocioza no manjec son pa. Levero se li sieu filh e preziquero la sobrebonazurada e sos maritz lauzec la; motas filhas ajustero riquezas. E tu sobre totas enganabbla es gracia, e vana es beutatz. Femna temens Dieu aquela sera lauzada. Donatz li del frug de sas mas e lauzo la en las portas las suas proprias obras.

O pot hom dir que las ditas paraulas : « *femna fort qui la trobara*²? » propriamen no foron dichas de femna, quar, segon la bona comminal oppinio, per aquesta femna es entenduda la Santa Gleyza o l'arma de tot fizel crestia bonas obras fazens. Et appar vertatz en so que ditz que *de luenh*³ e *de las derriera[s] fis* es le sieus pretz, quar Santa Gliza (*sic*) e l'arma d'ome del tot era estranha de la gracia de Dieu per lo peccat del primier payre tro que'l sieus pretz venc de luenh e de las derrieras fis. Aquest pretz de Santa Gleyza o d'arma fizel bonas obras fazen fo le filhs de Dieu, que venc de luenh, sos assaber de lassus naut, del sobira cel encarnar en la Verges; e per so ditz Salamos : « *femna fort qui la trobara*? », so es a dire,

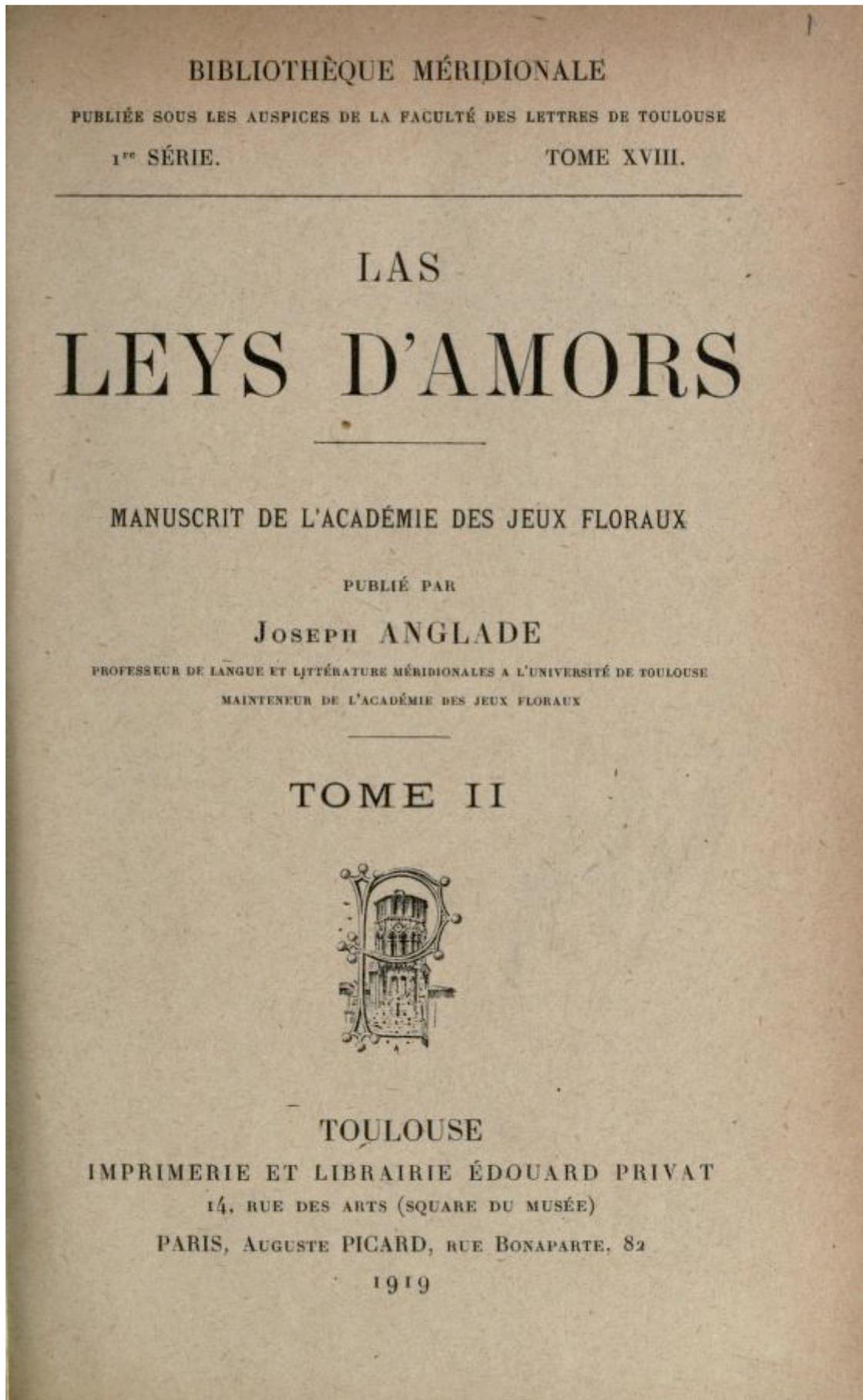
1. Ms. *dob-blas*.
2. Souligné dans le texte.
3. Souligné dans le texte.

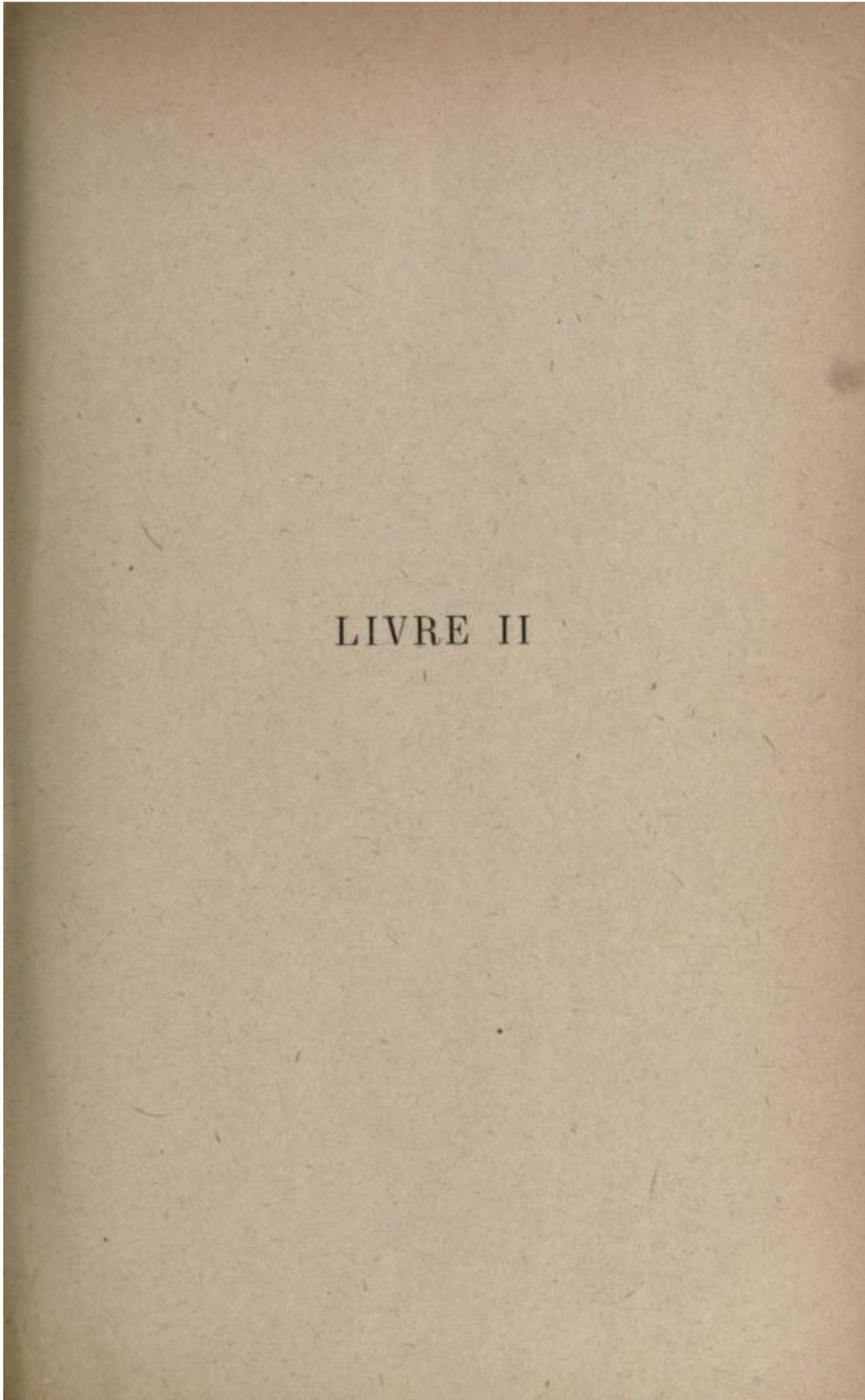
Santa Gleyza engendran filhs esperitals a Dieu per ayga e pel Sant Esperit o arma fizel fazen bonas obras¹ qui la trobara²? E ditz *fort* per sostener adversitats e mesprezar³ mondanals prosperitatz. *Qui la trobara?* so es qui es aquel qui la trobara, quaysh que diga que solamen le filhs de Dieu [F^o 50 v^o] apparens en carn mortal. Quar en lo temps de Salamo la encarnatio del filh de Dieu no foc fayta, mays aprop gran temps. Donx lo pretz d'aquesta femna o dona Santa Mayre Gleyza o³ d'arma fizel fo et es le filhs de Dieu que del sobira e plus naut cel venc en est mon penre carn humana de la Verges, de laqual nasquet ses ofensa de la vergenetat, e per nos rezemer vole suffrir mort e passio, en cant que era verays homs. E per so ditz Sant Paul : « Comprat em de gran pretz, no d'aur ni d'argen, mas del sanc precios de Jhesu-Crist. » Apres ditz Salamos : « *Le cor de so marit en ela mot se cofiza* » ; *De so marit*, so es de Jhesu-Crist; *en ela*, so es en Santa Gleyza; quar Jhesu-Crist es espos e maritz de Santa Gleyza, am laqual ha fayt matremoni. Le primiers matrimonis de Adam e d'Eva foc figura d'aquest sant e benezeyt matremoni. Sec se *e de despuelhas no haura sofracha*, sos assaber l'espos ni l'espoza. En aquest parlar es una figura nominada *liptote*, en ayso que ditz *no haura sofracha*, quays que diga : ans n'aura habondansa, sos assaber d'aquestas despuelhas, so es a dire de las armas deceubudas per lo demoni, lasquals Santa Gleyza covertish e tol et osta al dyable per

1. Ms. *obras* répété et exponctué.

2. Ms. *Mesprezan*.

3. Il semble que le copiste ait d'abord écrit *e* et qu'il l'ait ensuite transformé en *o*.





Dels bordos de quatre sillabas¹. R.

Totz homs se dol
 Et ha gran dol
 Can ve que mor
 Cel que de cor
 Ama fortmen.

E si tant es que amb aytals bordos de quatre sillabas termenans en accen agut vols ajustar bordos termenans en accen greu, adonez cascus [F^o 80 v^o] d'aytals termenans en accen greu deu haver mays una sillaba. Et aysso meteys de quantas que sillabas sian li verset, per so que l'accens longs et agutz cajon en paritat de sillabas; estiers seria desemblans le compas e que no hauria bela cazensa. E que aytal bastonet termenan en accen greu dejan haver mays una sillaba que cil que termeno en accen agut, pazam vos aquest yshemple.

Le cor me part,
 Quar me soy tart
 Reconogutz
 Dels bes pergutz
 Per ma folia,
 Quar yeu solia
 Per mas rictatz
 Esser prezat
 E tempsutz fort;
 E quar al port
 Freol soy ara,
 Cascus la cara

¹. G. A., I, 102.

Tantost me vira ;
 Pueys una vira
 O tal matras
 Que'm fier detras
 Casqus me lansa ;
 Que ferrs de lansa
 Mays no m'acora,
 Que mi transfora
 Lo cor e'l cors
 L'envejos mors
 E verenos
 Coma poyzos
 Dels vilas motz
 Que'm fan jos votz
 Per maestria.

Dels bordos de .V. sillabas¹. Rubrica.

Las en mon joven
 Era per la gen
 Temsutz e prezat
 E pueys apelatz
 Per los grans senhors
 En mantas honors,
 En gran reverensa,
 E ma bevolensa
 Volia cascus.
 Mas ara negus
 De mi non ha cura
 Ni vezer non cura,
 Quar endevengutz
 Soy vielhs e canutz

1. G. A., I, 104.

Et en frevoleza,
 Anz ma vida peza
 Als mieus et a trops
 Que prendo lor ops
 Tot jorn de mos bes.

Dels bordos de .VI. sillabas¹. Rubrica.

Senher Dieus Jezu Crist,
 Qui cel e terra fist
 Et el mon deshendiast
 [F^o 81 r^o] Per amor e nasquiest
 Per nos de peccat trayre
 De la Vergena Mayre,
 Trauca mon cor e fen
 Ab tal regardamen
 Quo regardiast San Peyre,
 Can se tirec arreyre
 Lo tieu nom renegan
 Per paor ques hac gran,
 Per so quez am dolor,
 Am lagremas e plor
 De gran contricio
 Et am cofessio
 Me puesca denejar
 Dels peccatz e lavar;
 Pueys fier me de l'estoc
 D'aquel benezeit fòc
 Del ver Sant Esperit
 Del qual foron ferit
 L'apostol e tocat
 E forment abrazat,

1. G. A., I, 106.

Per so que yeu m'acaze
 En t'amor e m'abraze :
 Et en la vera fe
 Que Sancta Gleyza cre
 Tostemps en bonas obras,
 Vers Dieus que totz bes obras,
 Entro la fi de say
 Perseverar me fay ;
 E pueys aprop ma vida
 Dona'm joya complida
 En lo regne dels cels
 Am los autres fizels. *Amen.*

Dels bordos de .VII. sillabas¹. Rubrica.

Aylas non puesc dar conort
 Quar tot jorn vau a la mort ;
 Avenhat m'es del murir
 E per re noy puesc fugir,
 Pueys no say vas on me tenga ;
 Enpero, quanque m'avenga,
 Cert es qu'ieu adonx prendray
 Segon qu'ayssi fag hauray ;
 Per que us prec, Verges Maria,
 Que'm siatz capdels e via ;
 Et adonc per mi pregar
 Vulhatz lo vostre filh car
 Qu'el per sa gran passio
 Dels mals quez ay faitz me do
 Perdo.

1. G. A., I, 108.

Dels bordos de .VIII. sillabas¹. Rubrica.

Tant veg lo mon pres e liat
 Per erguelh e per vanetat²,
 Per frau e per gran cobezeza,
 Que lunhs hom coven ni promessa
 No vol tener huey a son par ;
 E per so cove playdejar³ ;
 E trops de bes en va despendre
 Et en las cortz tot jorn contendre
 E dir et auzir mans otratges.
 Per que le mons es tant salvatges
 Que'l payres del filh ha regart
 E'l filhs del payre d'otra part,
 [F^o 81 v^o] E soen may que d'un estranh.
 Si lunha cauza vos sofranh,
 A penas comte no fassatz
 D'amic ni paren ques hajatz,
 Per tant que sia poderos ;
 Quar mantenen plus sofrachos
 Se fenhera que vos non etz⁴,
 Mas a prestar per .xi. detz
 Ad autre no dira de no,
 Solamen que bon gatge do
 O d'eretatz lo veja ric.
 Appar donx a so ques yeu dic
 Que tot lo mon erguelhs abraza ;
 Humilitatz no sab que's fassa ;

1. G. A., I, 110.

2. Ms. *venelat*.

3. En marge : *Nola bona ùb (verba?)*; le reste a été coupé par le couteau du relieur. Cette note est postérieure au ms.

4. En marge : [*A*]dhuc *pratica[ndum ?]*.

Huey regna per tot cobezessa ;
 Merces dejos terra s'es messa,
 Fraus et engans per tot se pauzo
 E leyaltatz e fes s'enclauzo,
 Eveja corr per totas partz
 E say e lay fier de sos dartz
 Que res no'l pot haver deffensa ;
 Caritatz, amors, conoyssensa
 Al bas estan coma sirventas
 Dolentas.

Dels bordos de .IX. sillabas¹. Rubrica.

Bordo de .ix. sillabas no podem trobar am bela ca-
 zensa, per que non es en us, jaciayssó que am rimas
 multiplicativas puesca estar per esta manera.

Lo mon veg maladreg e destreg
 Quar apleg fran hom dreg per naleg

Dels bordos de .X. sillabas². R^{ca}.

Senher vers Dieus, qu'en la crotz perdonetz
 Al bon layro e moren l'autregetz
 La joy del cel, la mi' arma salvatz
 E'ls mieus forfaytz, Senher, me perdonatz ;
 E non layshetz a l'enemic decebre
 E vulhatz me lassus el cel recebre.

La pauza que aytal bordo han en la quarta sillaba no

1. G. A., 112-114 ; beaucoup plus développé dans la rédaction
 publiée par Gatién Arnoult.

2. G. A., I, 114.

deu hom trasmudar, so es que la pauza fos en la seyzena sillaba, quar no haurian bela cazensa, jaciaysso que am rimas multiplicativas oz am bordos enpeutatz poguessan estar en aquel loc o en autre. Aquo meteysh en bordos de .xi. sillabas e de .xii.

Dels bordos de .xi. sillabas¹. Rubrica.

Sia diligens, savis e coratjos
 E pros et arditz e fortz e vigoros
 E de bon auberc garnitz de fina malha
 Qui vol gazarhar d'aquest mon la batalha;
 L'elme ni l'escut, l'espaza ni la lansa,
 Las sagetas, l'arc que de luenh fier e lansa
 No vuelha layshar e mene bon² dest[r]ier
 Gran re de pezos e mant pros cavalier,
 E mays trompadors per mesclar las companhas.
 Tant que retendir fassan vals e montanhas.
 E per satisfacer de las dispensas grandas
 Haja bon thezaurer e sobras de viandas,
 Per que'n sia larcz e per mar e per terra,
 Quar hom qu'es escas no fa son pro de guerra;
 Naus, linhs e gales e nautors avizatz
 Tenga, si locz es, nueg e jorn ayzinatz;
 E sia curos on poyra miels pauzar
 Las tendas e'ls traps e sas gens cologar.
 Gaytas deu haver mot sabens e guiscozas
 E de ben gardar aprezas e curozas,
 Si que nuey e jor hajan avizamen
 De gardar la ost e'ls passes majormen

1. G. A., I, p. 116.

2. *Bon répété*, exponctué.

Perillos e greus; e mayns las encontradas
 De las regios e las forsas gardadas
 Sian dels castels e de la terra tota
 D'arnes, de sirvens e de vitalha mota
 E de tot lor ops sian las establidas
 Ses defalhumen¹ per .j. gran temps garnidas.

En aytals bordos de .xi. sillabas pot hom mudar lo compas ques aras havem mostrat², quar vezer podetz que la pauza es en la quinta sillaba. E pueysh segon se .vi. sillabas, et enayssi son .xi. Virem donx lo compas de la pauza so denan detras enayssi que la pauza fassam en la seyzena sillaba. E pueys segan se .v. sillabas, e digam enayssi.

Totz homs destru son cors ans dura soen
 Can trop vol trebalhar e repaus no pren
 O sueffre dins mayzo tot jorn iras grandas
 O vi beu entorbat pren malas viandas.

Et enayssi dels autres. Et aytals pauza no ha bela cazensa, segon qu'es estat dig.

**Dels bordos de .XII. sillabas³ on declara las ditas
 armas e'l caval. Rubrica.**

L'aubercz es fermelatx e fervors de la fe
 De Dieu, Nostre Senhor, que Santa [F^o 82 v^o] Gleyza cre
 E l'elmes es temors de Dieu qu'om deu haver
 Nueg e jorn en son cor per miels far son plazer.

1. Sic, ms.
2. Ms. *Monstrat*, n exponctué.
3. G. A., I, 118.

La lansa te cascus am la ma per traucar,
 Per qu'om deu per bos faytz bos yshemples mostrar;
 Mas l'espaza brandens qu'es fortz e ben talhans
 Essenha que trenquem los vicis paucz e grans,
 E l'escutz es la mórtz e la passios cara
 Del veray fil de Dieu am que totz nos ampara;
 E l'arcz ques ha dos caps mostra dos testamens,
 Sos assaber lo vielh e'l novel yshamens;
 E las sagetas son las paraulas de Dieu,
 Lasquals trauco de luenh en lo sante nom sieu;
 Per la corda prendem lo sen esperital
 Que las armas enpenh al gaug celestial;
 Mas le cavals es Dieus q'om deu menar am si
 Et en luy cofizar et fermar atressi;
 Pels valens cavaliers los angels entendem,
 Els Sans de Paradis per los pezos prendem;
 É cil que trompo fort sont li bon sermonayre
 Que sabon amb bels ditz home de peccat trayre
 Et enardir los flatz e gitar de noalha
 Per vencer prozamens d'aquest mon la batalha.
 Per las trompas hom pot los ysshemples entendre
 Dels sans Payros, del[s]quals podem tot jorn aprendre
 Don yeysh vius bufamens amb acort glorios
 De sos esperitals plazens e gracios;
 Las despessas assatz, si cum auzir podetz,
 Mostro renegamen, oblit e menespretz
 Qu'om deu haver del mon e de solz e de marcz
 Per so ques als mesquis ne sia francz e larcz;
 E las viandas son pascenc d'oracio
 E de bos pessamens e de devocio.
 Nos em la naus qu'estám dins en la mar preonda
 [Fol. 83 r^o] D'aquest mon perihos que de grans mals sobronda;
 Li nautor son aycil que son de ferm coragge,
 Que governo la nau tro la fi del ribatge,
 Am remes de bonas mas e de veraya lenga

Per far e dir bos faytz tro ques a bon port venga ;
 E l'asetiamens dels traps e de las tendas
 Es locz paubres e francz de mondanals fazendas
 E mayzos excellens tota celestials
 Per mot nautas vertutz dels bes esperitals,
 Am continuamen d'oratio devota,
 Quar en aytal mayzo no's tanh persona lota ;
 Las gaytas de la ost certas et avizadas
 Mostro discretio, laqual totas vegadas
 Hom deu voler am si e mays li gran senhor
 Per que'l mon governar puecam miels ad honor ;
 Per las forsas podem bonas vertutz entendre
 Ques han mestiers a cel qui's vol a mal defendre.
 Dieus nos arme, si'l platz, d'aquestas armaduras
 Que las armas a luy¹ puecam redre seguras.

Veus autre yshemple dels bordos de .XII. sil-
labas per lo presen dictat appellat la *Contem-*
***platio de la Crotz*. E quar la Passio de Nostre**
Maestre Jhesu Crist commensec a com-
pleta, per so le prezens dictatz comensa a
completa.

1

[Completa]².

Verays Dieus Jhesu Crist, lumniera de l'Altisme,
 Senhor de tot poder e de cel e d'asbisme,
 3 Gaug, vertutz e honors de Paradis e gloria,
 Pas sagratz, saboros, vida, patz e victoria,
 Abrazamens d'amor, fons de totz bes veraya,
 6 Etz vos, Senhors humils, e doussors que'ns appaya.

1. Mot mal écrit; en marge, main du XVII^e s. : *adieu*.
 2. Nous ajoutons ce mot d'après l'indication qui précède.

En aquest mon venguetz vezitar la Vergena,
 Ples del glorios ros que dossamen semena
 9 Le vers Sans Esperitz e plenieramen dona,
 [F^o 83 v^o] Per so que s'averes la prophecia bona
 Del Senhor dezirat; per que vos carn humana
 12 De la Verges prezetz, quar la trobetz certana.

E forotz¹ verays homs e filhs de Dieu lo payre,
 De layt verge noyritz per la Vergena Mayre,
 15 De liey prendre volguetz e noyrimen e vida,
 Vos ques etz verays pas que noyrish et avida;
 En la grepia fos mes, can vos hac la piucela;
 18 Cel que no cap els cels en sa fauda capdela.

Vos etz verays solelhs, l'estela nos ho mostra.
 Symeons ab gran joy ditz qu'etz lumniera nostra.
 21 Herodes per aucir vos quier per que'us amaga
 La Verges e cove que del pahys vos traga;
 En Egipte s'enfug, de sa terra s'estranha,
 24 Vos portan en son bras e Josep l'accompagna.

A liey vos sosmezetz, Jhezus, vera lumiera,
 E lums e resplandors e clartatz vertadiera;
 27 Pueysh intretz al dezert far penedensa granda,
 Quar de quaranta jorns no receubetz vianda;
 Pueys sanan orbs e mutz per la vertut divina
 30 Essenhetz tot lo mon am veraya doctrina.

Als vostres gran amor, Senher, havetz mostrada,
 Cant del vostre pur sanc de vostra carn sagrada,

[*Six lignes en blanc*².]

1. *Sic*; cf. la vraie forme *foretz*, au v. 39.

2. Il est probable que ce poème devait être illustré d'enluminures, comme on le verra par le nombre de blancs indiqués.

- 33 Hostia viven e frug de la Verges corteza,
 Los volguetz sadolar per vostra gran franqueza.
 Los pes dels servidors lavetz, per dar entendre
 36 Que cel que majors er vuelha ressemblar mendre.

Après los sermonetz et prezetz vostra via
 Per montar sus lo pueg on hom penre·us devia;
 [F° 84 r°] Mot tristz et engoyshos foretz en aquel' hora;
 Vostre cors paor ha de la mort, per que plora
 E trassuza de sanc d'engoysha que sufferta;
 42 Dieu lo payre pregan amb oracio certa.

En l'escurtat fos pres, vos qu'etz lums de las armas,
 Per vostres enemicz am lansas e gazarmas.

[*Six lignes en blanc.*]

- 45 Al senhal del bayzar del traydor maligne
 Meto lors cruzels mas en vos, Senhor benigne;
 Manejar vos layshetz coma l'anhels al tondre
 48 Et a lor no·us volguetz amagar ni rescondre.

- Fons de gran pietat e de misericordia,
 E princeps glorios de patz e de concordia,
 51 Atras fezetz tornar lo vostre defendeyre;
 El no fis e'l sanetz qu'en re no·us denhec creyre;
 E reddetz be per mal, don cascus s'adoctrine
 54 Ques on plus nautz sera humilitatz l'encline.

- Li cruel cruelmen vos lian e·us estaquo
 Et am burces mot grans vilanamen vos maquo:
 57 Las vostras santas mas, que tot quant es creero,
 Ayssi coma layro fortmen vos estaquero;
 A totz pogratz haver, sius volguessetz, deffensa;
 60 Mas plac vos lo suffrir per nos en paciensa.

Pres, liat e ferit lo senhor e'l bon pastre,
 Las ovelhas s'en van, tristas, seguen lor astre,

- 63 Ploran e sangloten, ayssi cum yssharradas,
E van a regiros totas espaventadas;
Et han paor mot gran qu'ades sian atenchas,
66 E planho lor pastor qu'emmeno ad enpenchas.

Senher, quar vos han pres li fals Juzieu s'en gabo
E han ne tant de joy que il meteysh no sabo
[F° 84 v°] Quo s'en puescan portar; et entertant vos meno
Ad Anna; pueysh aqui li gran capela veno
Per que puescan legir contra vos lor sauteri
72 D'ontas e de despieytz e far tot vituperi.

*Lúms de gran resplandor, joy de sans e de santas,
Gloria, laus et honor, hajatz, Senher, que tantas
Engoyshas de dolor, escupimens ed antas
Suffritz per nostr'amor, qu'ieu no say dire quantas;
Joencel saytz lauzor, vielh, efan et efantas
Al clavelhat senhor, e de mas e de plantas.*

I

A matinas. Rubrica.

- La votz e'l brugz se mou e la gran brega's dressa.
Can l'aguero menat vilmen ab gran detressa
75 Denan los majorals, per far de luy enquesta,
Ganho s'en li Juzieu e'n fan aqui gran festa
D'esquerns e de despieytz e pueysh cascus l'acuza
E'l bos Senhors s'estay qu'en re no's dezencuza.

- Duy testimoni fals creysho la mala salsa
E contra l'ignoscen fan guerentia falsa.
81 L'avesques fort l'enquier am paraula terribla
E'l conjura fortmen; el ditz am votz pazibbla :
« Sezer veyretz lo filh de la Verges encaras
84 En la dextra de Dieu sobre las nivols claras. »

76

LAS LEYS D'AMORS. — LIV. II.

Can l'avesques auzic d'esta razo la thema,
 Cridet coma raujos e ditz que Dieu blasphema;
 87 Tant se fenh corrossat que sa rauba n'esquissa,
 Si que·ls autres maustis contra l'anhel atissa;
 Pueysh crido tug essem am motz espaventabbles
 90 E dizo que de mort es dignes e colpabbles.

E quar la voluntatz sobra lo sen e'l gasta,
 Aysso que mal han dig als maustis non abasta,
 93 Ans veno contra luy e dessobre s'acato
 E de pes e de punhs mot cruzelmen lo bato;
 [F° 85 r°] E'l menan entre·ls pes, baten cossi fos garba,
 96 E li rompo los pels del cap e de la barba.

Tant li dono grans colps li truan ple d'enveja
 Que retondish le cors e la cara blaveja,
 99 Dels sieus pels glorios portan las plenás pautas;
 Pueysh auziratz los colps que·l dono per las gautas;
 Son cap viratz torbat e'l mieg d'aquela guerra
 102 E·ls pels aqui marcar a grans mas sotz en terra.

Ay, Senher beutados, ad aytal gent cruzayga,
 105 Quar la vostra beutatz es del tot ara truma,
 Plena de blavayrols e de la vil' escuma
 Dels escupimens grans que·us fan la truandalha;
 108 Mas per nos restaurar vos play esta batalha¹.

Can be foron tug las de ferir e de batre
 Amb antas e despieytz lo commenson combatre.
 [Blanc de six ou sept lignes.]
 111 Meto·l sul cap .j. drap am que los huelhs li clauzo
 E de mayshelejar li bacalar no's pauzo;

1. Un vers manque au début de la strophe.

Cascus lo fier ta fort ques a pauc no'l derroca;
 114 Et apres dizon li : « Divina tost qui't toca. »

Sans Peyres vay al luenh, ques home non espera,
 Seguen lo sieu capdel per vezer hom que'n fera;
 117 Mas enterrogatz fo per alcuna gent pega
 Et el son car Senhor tres vetz ades renega;
 Et cant le pols cantet del sieu dig se recorda;
 120 Ploret amaramen et am Dieu el s'acorda.

Le dous vostre regartz, Senher, ayssi transfora,
 Que sant Peyre trauquet, punh en dins e defora
 123 E l'ostet de la gent mala, cruzel e fera
 [F° 85 v°] E'l sieu cors escalfet, quar freyetz e gelatz era
 Del veray foc d'amor que las armas sadola
 126 Et intra doussamens tro qu'es dins la mezola.

Am lo dart glorios dels vostres uelhs Sant Peyre
 Redressetz que la fes no retornes areyre,
 129 E de sos falhimens vous li sanetz las plagas,
 Quar vitz que bon cor ha que'us fassa bonas pagas
 De lagremas e plor am contricio ferma;
 132 Per que vostra bontatz en la fe lo conferma.

Cant be'us han malmenat e fayt lo mal que podo,
 Li malvat bacalar que'us van entorn e rodo
 135 Tot las et enuiat, ple de colps e de bossas
 E de grans blavayrols e d'autras nafras grossas
 Dins una preyzo greu on los murtriers estujo
 138 Vos han mes, quar ades, Senher, perdre vos cujo.

Ay, flors de gran beutat, sus lo sol dur quo't macas,
 Estan en la preyzo cuberta de grans tacas!
 141 Escalfamens d'amor, que tot quant es consolas,
 Ses tot consolamen de gran freg quo tremolas!

78

LAS LEYS D'AMORS. — LIV. II.

Rays del veray solelh, que lum tostemps celebras,
 144 Aras estas enclaus e pres en grans tenebras.
 [*Lums de gran resplandor. etc.*]¹.

III

A prima.

Li major capela gran mayti se revelho
 Et am los plus anticz d'ajustar s'aparelho,
 147 En una sala gran on la gens falseguita
 En re mays en barat no pessa ni cogita:
 Quar als no van queren mas que Jhezu traziscan
 150 Et ayssi cum layro en crotz lo destruiscan.

Li major de la ley, coma lop devorable,
 Fan ades amenar lo senhor perdurable;
 153 L'anhels suaus estay am mot humil coratge
 El mieg dels grans maustis que son fer e salvatge,
 [F° 86 r°] E perdecebre luy cascus son par affoga
 156 Et am fallacias grans l'enquier e l'enterroga.

Sa doctrina li fals e son affar demando,
 Et apres s'il es Crist tot dire lo comando.
 159 E'l bos Senhors, que ve lor voluntat maligna,
 Ditz que seyra le filhs de la Verges benigna
 En la dextra de Dieu celestial e nauta:
 162 Aysso reputan fort li Juzieu a gran fauta.

Contra luy s'enardish cadaüs e s'arufa
 E l'escrida fortmen e l'escarnish e'l trufa;
 165 Trastug son d'un voler e dizo: « Pauc nos preza,
 Quar vitupera Dieu en public e'l mespreza,

1. Cette indication manque ici: nous la rétablissons d'après les autres passages analogues.

Quar filh de Dieu se fa el meteysh o cofessa » ;
 168 De luy vituperar la mala gent no's cessa.

Aysso fayt, entre lor engenho et enarto
 Que'l menon a Pilat; per que d'aquí se parto
 171 E fan l'anar tot las; el mieg de la gran brega
 De burs lo fier cascus e l'enpenh e'l punhega.
 L'anhel pres e liat per que luenh no demore
 174 Al lop malicios han liurat que'l devore.

Li gran clerc de la ley totz los autres enduzo,
 E pueysh denan Pilat l'umil senhor acuzo;
 177 Contra luy falcetatz e tracios¹ allego
 E Dieu, pura vertat e veray lum, renego;
 Dizo que trops de mals e gran re de malezas
 180 Contra Dieu e la ley ha faytas e comezas.

Pilatz ara l'enquier en una part secreta
 E'l Juzieu crido li : « Rey se fa e propheta
 183 E gira nostra gent et en apres deveda
 Ques al rey hom no do traütage ni redde;
 A pauc non ha del tot Galilea conquista :
 Aytal secta d'error lunh temps mays no fo vista. »

Can Pilatz au qu'el es de la terra [F° 86 v°] d'Erodes
 Am si meteysh el ditz : « Ges tu jutjar no'l podes. »
 189 Tantost aquí meteysh lo remet a son jutje,
 Ad Herodes ques el a son plazer lo jutge.
 Am gran brug li Juzieu mantenen lo van segre
 192 Per so que'l pueSCAN miels acuzar e persegre.

Can li foro denan Jhezu Crist li presento
 E no'us cal demandar li bacalar si mento;

1. Ms. *tracios?*

principal bordo, segon qu'om pot vezer lassus can ditz *el do*, et en autre loc *e col*.

Bordos biocatz pren so nom de *bioc*. E pot esser d'una sillaba o de doas o de tres o de quatre, si donx le principals compas non era de quatre sillabas¹, quar adonx le biocz deu esser menors de quatre.

Biocz de quatre sillabas requier que'l compas principal de cascu bordo sia majors de .vi. sillabas.

Li bordo biocat no devon passar la meytat dels bordos principals.

Bordos biocatz en respieg de son par biocat o de l'acordansa que soen ha amb alcus bordos verays principals pot esser digz principals; et en so que no es entiers de sillabas es non principals.

De las pauzas². Rubrica.

Pauza es ponhs suspensius o plas o finals. Et aytals pauza, quals que sia quant à la sentensa, pot estar en cascu loc del bordo, sol que greu separacio en la fi del verset no haja coma *quar*, *per que*, *can*, et ayssi de lors semblans. Pero aytal separacio sufertam per cauza de necessitat, coma de mot trencat, sillabicat, equivoc, accentual, utrissonan, retrogradat, o altra manifestā necessitat.

Enpero la fis de cobla requier pauza plana o final.

Pauza pot esser cossiderada en tant que es preza per una alenada; e d'aquesta entendem ayssi tractar principalmen.

1. Ms. *silbas*.

2. G. A., I, 130-136.

Suspensiva pauza es aquela qu'om fay en lo mieg d'un bordo per far alcuna alenada.

Plana es aquela qu'om fay en la fi d'un bordo per far plus pleniera alenada.

Finals es cela que es en fi de cobla.

Li bordo de quatre, de .vi. e de .viii. sillabas son indiferen, quar en aytal pot hom far pauza qui's vol. Si tug aytal bordo no son continuat de pauzas, non es vicis, qui donc no fazia scienmen e per cert compas per haver plus bela cazensa.

Bordos de .v. sillabas ni de .vii. non ha mestiers de pauza suspensiva. Bordos de .ix. sillabas non ha bela cazensa, per que no li cal pauza. Enpero, en cas qu'om lo volria paucar, covenria qu'om fes pauza amb acor — [F° 93 r°] dansa en la quarta o en la quinta.

Bordos de .x. sillabas vol pauza en la quarta, de .xi. en la quinta, de .xii. en la seyzena.

Pero en totz los bordos principals, de quantas que sillabas sian, can procezisho per acordansas multiplicativas, pot hom far pauza aqui on cay aytals rims multiplicatius.

Pauza plana pot estar en la fi de cascun bordo o de cobla, en cant qu'es preza per plana alenada. E d'ayssó no cal dar yshemple, quar casqus sab qu'es fis de bordo o de cobla.

En outra maniera pot esser entenduda cant a la sentensa, so es cant hom ha paucada alcuna razo que assatz ha bon entendemen e complit, jaciayssó qu'om y pogues mays ajustar, segon qu'om pot ayssi vezer.

Hajas mal, hajas be,
Am los tieus te capte.

Aquesta sentensa es assatz complida, jaciaysso qu'om y puesca ajustar aquestas paraulas :

E ja noy falhiras.

Pauza finals preza per alenada se fay en la fi de cascuna cobla; mas, preza segon sentensa, pot esser plana o finals. Quar cobbla deu haver perfiecha sentensa; e tenem la per complida e perfiecha per pauza plana o final.

En novas rimadas es pauza finals on que la sentensa sia perfiecha. Yshamens pauza suspensiva se pot far en sentensa. Pero d'aquestas pauzas segon sentensa devem tractar enjos pus pleniaramen, can tractem de *coma*, *colum*, e *peryodus*.

En quals locz dels bordos deu hom gardar accen¹. Rubrica.

Accen deu hom gardar en la fi dels bordos, de quantas que sillabas sian, quar si la us bordos fenis en accen agut, l'altres qu'es sos parios deu yshamen fenir en agut, o si fenish en greu, aquo meteysh.

En bordos de quatre, de .v., de .vi. ni de .vii. sillabas hom no garda accen, sino en la fi. Enpero can bordos de .iiii. sillabas de .vi. o de .viii. han pauza, adonx aqui on es la pauza garda hom accen, so es agut. E can bordos de .viii. sillabas² no recep pauza, deu hom pauzar en la tersa sillaba accen agut, o greu

1. G. A., I, 136-138.

2. Ms. *sillas*; en note, main du xvii^e s., lisez *sillabas*.

solamen, quar en aquel loc accens lonx .j. petit mal sona, coma :

Si mezura vols en tot cas,
Ja de leu no vendras al bas.

Can ditz *si mezura*, aquel ha accen lonc en la tersa sillaba, so es a [F^o 93 v^o] saber en aquel .zu., per que sona mal. E pot hom adobar aquestz bordos per esta manera :

Mezura vuelhas en tot cas
E de leu no venras al bas.

Enpero d'aquest accen guardar en bordo de .viii. sillabas, can no recep pauza suspensiva, son exceptadas novas rimadas, majormen can son longas, jassaiysso que plus neta sia l'obra qui guardar o pot.

Las pauzas suspensivas dels bordos de .ix. sillabas, de .x. et de .xii., devon termenar en accen agut. Estiers l'accent reputariam per fals e per no covenable.

Compas d'accent lonc et agut deu cascus guardar en las cobblas dels dictatz que de sa natura devon haver so, e majormen en cobblas singulars, capcaudadas o capcoadas, retrogradadas o doblas, e enayssi de lors semblans.

Dictat que no garda en sas cobblas compas d'accent lonc et agut no pot haver perfieg so ni covenable. E si tant es qu'om dê fag li enpauze so, en aquel loc on es la us accens per l'autre, no cay ni passa bel le sos, ans rena per alcuna dezacordansa.

Escuzatios d'accent es preza algunas vetz segon que devem tractar enjos en una figura apelada *exthazis*.

Diffinicions de Rim¹. Rubrica.

Rims es certz nombres de sillabas,
 Si d'autre bordonet l'acabas,
 Am divers oz am plazen so
 Engals de sillabas o no,
 Am compas de certa sciensa
 Pauzat et am bela cazensa.

Pero totas las gens que may
 Rim no reputo per veray,
 Si donx am son par en la fi
 No s'ave, per que nos ayssi,
 Quar lor voler aytal vezem,
 Rim per acordansa prendem
 Motas vetz, per miels dar entendre;
 Per que d'ayso no deu reprendre
 Degus aquesta prezen obra,
 Quar lors abuzios nos sobra.

Rim pot cascus o *rima* dir,
 Si qu'en ayso non pot falhir.

De las diversas maneras de rim².

Tug li rim o son *estramp* oz *acordan*, *ordinal* o *diccional*.

Rims *estramps* es digz quar no s'acorda am degu dels autres, ni degus dels autres ab luy en leyal acordansa.

Rims *estramps* ha dos membres, comu e car. Comus es digz, quar las finals sillabas o la majors partz...

1. G. A., I, 140. Cette définition rimée n'existe pas dans l'autre rédaction.

2. Au-dessous *ms*, effacé. G. A., I, 144.

[Lacune de six folios¹. Le texte reprend au f^o 100 :]

De l'umil Verges e pura.
 Flors humils, tu nos razona
 Am lo sieu filh liberal
 Que Dieus que'ls peccatz perdona
 Nos done joy eternal
 E dessa vida segura.
 A M E N

Las ditas cobblas son capcoadas singulars. Et enayssi las pot hom far capcoadas dobbblas, ternas, quazernas o de mays, o totas acordans. De dobbblas vos donam yssemble, e per aquestas poyretz haver las ternas e las autras.

Dobblas son aquestas :

De mon loc parti joyoza,
 Cavavalgan sus mon rossi,
 Et intrie m'en a Tholoza
 .I. jorn de may gran mati.
 Anc^s no fuy descavalgada
 Que'm pres marrimens e plors,
 Quar la ciutat vi torbada
 Per alcus malfazedors
 Don fuy lassa cossiroza.
 Ay! he co fuy engoyshoza
 Del gran trebalh qu'adonx vi
 Per mala gent perilhoza
 Negueys qu'erau mon vezi!

1. Cette lacune existait au moment où a été faite la copie moderne; voici en effet ce que dit le copiste: « N^o qu'il manque six [sept barré] feuillets au livre, sçavoir depuis le 94 jusques au 99 inclusivement. »

2. Au bas de la page, main du xvii^e s.; « au lieu de *anc* lisez *ans*. »

o razonans, concluziva o concluzens, occupativa o occupans, distributiva o distribuens, deznignativa o deznignans, constructiva o construens, rescosta o cluza, capcaudadas o capcoadas.

Ayshí tracta dels dictatz.

Dictat es pronunciamens
 Faytz per compas de motz plazens
 E bos per que l'auzidor brug
 Ne puescan portar alcun frug.
 Dictatz que de bos motz defalh
 Es coma squila ses batalh ;
 Per qu'om d'aquels deu haver cura ;
 Veus apres de vers sa natura.

Mostra qu'es vers¹.

Vers es us dictatz en romans,
 De sen quar es verays tractans,
 E quar dir se pot de virar.
 D'amors yssamens pot tractar,
 De lauzors o d'esenhamens,
 E qui's vol de reprendemen.
 E conte de .V. a .X. cobblas ;
 E la tornada, si la doblas,
 Far se pot neysh en tot dictat ;
 E deu haver long so pauzat
 E noel am belas montadas
 E deshendudas e passadas,

1. G. A., I, 350 et suiv. Cf. aussi la rédaction rimée.

Doussas, plazens e graciozas,
 Acordans e melodiozas,
 Procezen am vivas razos
 Et am leyals concluzios.

De tornada.

Qui vol far tornada complida
 La meytat debes la finida
 Prenga de la cobbla derriera
 E seguen aquela maniera
 En nombre par tornada fassa;
 La qual meytat d'un bordo passa
 Can troba non pars los verssetz
 E merma d'autre mantas vetz.
 Soen per engaltat se dobla
 En tot dictat qui la vol dobla;
 E motas vetz pauzam major
 La denan e l'autra menor:
 La una lo senhal mensona,
 L'autra lo nom de la persona
 A cuy le dictayres donar
 Vol son dictat o presentar.
 [F^o 120 r^o] Li rim pero que son estramp
 Gardo se del dissolut camp,
 E si'l dictats se retrograda
 De jos en sus vay la tornada,
 So es vas lo mieg o d'aqui
 Procezir pot entro la fi.
 Pero qui vas la fi comensa
 De l'accen haja sovenensa.
 Li cap coat avan atras
 Hauran qui's vol semblan compas.

De Chanso.

Chansos es dictatz que d'amors
 Principalmen o de lauzors
 Tracta, recitan motz plazens
 Am alcus bels essenhamens
 Per dar a totz bona doctrina,
 Qu'estiers del tot non appar fina.
 De .V. a .VII. cobblas encara
 Et aytal so cum vers ampara;
 E si d'aquest defalh³ es nuda
 O coma bela dona muda
 Si que del tot appar estranha
 Quar sos noms am liey no s'afranha.

De descort.

Descortz es dictatz mot divers
 D'aytantas cobblas coma vers,
 D'acort, de so dezacordabblas
 E de lengatges variabblas,
 E singulars¹ e d'un amas
 O totas de divers compas.
 E deu mays, segon que'ns appar,
 D'amors o de lauzors tractar,
 O cant hom de sidons se clama,
 Quar enayssi cum sol no l'ama
 O de tot essens qui volia.
 Si far tornada mays plazia
 Retenga cascus la maniera
 Laqual lassus pauzem primiera

1. Ms. *singulas* : « *singulars* » (XVII^e s.).

On dels lengatges que dig so
 Deu hom far compilacio.
 E si de totz l'es esquerrier,
 Prenda cel ques ha mes derrier.
 Pero si trop li torna greu,
 Quar troba la tornada breu,
 Recorsa pot far cadaüs
 De totz los lengatges dessus,
 Ayssi co'ls ha pauczatz a renga,
 Mas que las acordansas tenga,
 Lasquals vezetz ques ha per si
 Cascuna cobbla sus la fi.
 Quar d'aquel loc pren acordansa,
 Recorsa, qui be la balansa
 E segon dever la compassa,
 Lo compas de cobbla no passa.

Mostra quals lengatges es estranhs.

Lengatges qu'es per estranh pres
 A nostras Leys non es sosmes;
 Sentensa, compas, rim leyal
 Requier solamen per engal;
 E si vol accen retener,
 Aytant pot l'obra mays valer;
 D'ornat qui's vol autre no cura.
 Aytal estranha parladura
 [F^o 120 v^o]¹ Coma Frances, Norman, Picart,
 Breto, Flamenc, Engles, Lombart,
 Navarr, Espanhol, Alaman,
 Et de cascu lor quays semblan

1. En haut du folio, main du XIV^e s. (?) « Quels languatges son recebutz e quals deffendutz ». En marge, rogné par le relieur : « apte ad [d]ictandum », avec un renvoi au vers *Coma frances*.

Qu'en lor parlar Oc non han prest.
 Los autres han en lor arrest
 Nostras LEYS ques Oc oz O dizon,
 Cum so per so que miels s'avizo
 Li Peyragorc e'lh Caerci,
 Velayc, Alvernha, Lemozi,
 Rozergue, Lotves¹, Gavalda,
 Agenes, Albeges, Tholza;
 Yssamens son de nostra mers
 Carcasses, Narbona, Bezers
 E tug cil qui son lor sosmes
 E Montpeslier et Agades;
 Pero de nostras LEYS s'aluenha
 La parladura de Gascuenha.

De dansa.

Dansa dictatz es gracios
 Amb .I. tan solamen respos
 Et am tres cobblas atressi
 Ad aquel semblans en la fi;
 E la tornada vol per fort
 Esser tostemps d'aquel ressort,
 Los commensamens de lasquals
 Deu hom per compas far engals.
 Enpero, quant a l'acordansa,
 Son divers o d'una semblansa;
 Del respos han diversitat
 D'acort e qui's vol d'engaltat.
 De mieja cobbla ses biaysh
 Pren son compas respos o quaysh,

1. Ms. *lotues* ou *botues*, *botnes*.

Quar de dos versetz mays o mens
 Al plus es sos variamens.
 Et alcu fan de *dansa dans*,
 Quar es de cobblas razonans.
Desdansa desdans volo far
 Per lo contrari descantar.
 E ges per so lor mayestria
 No's part de dansa ni varia.
 Degus versetz que dansa col
 Passar .VIII. sillabas no vol;
 Pero soen trobam que passa,
 Can rims multiplicatz l'abrassa.
 De bels motz deu esser garnida
 E que del tot sia complida.
 D'amors deu tractar per dever
 E gay so per dansar haver.
 E ses aquel appar deserta,
 Quar lo sieus noms be no'l reverta.
 Tres bordos o mens qui's volra
 Del refranh retronchar poyra.
 E can sol es de tres versetz,
 Los dos o mens tornar poyretz;
 E de so qu'ayssi vos sofranh
 Cobbla vo'n da lassus refranh,
 Et yssamens lay on mostradas
 Vos havem cobblas retronchadas.
 Gardat pero so que dig es
 E'l plus on hom vos ha remes,
 De tota cobbla don que's port
 Dansa poyra far son report,
 Si donx no'l dava tal pressura
 [F° 121 r°] Que la gites de sa natura
 O non havia tal proces
 Que son compas li varies.

De sirventes.

Sirventes es dictatz que play
 E servish se leu men que may
 De vers, descort o de chanso,
 Cant a las cobblas et al so,
 Am l'acort dels meteyses motz
 O d'autres d'aytan semblan votz,
 Oz am diversa, mas que tenga
 L'autre compas e-l so retenga¹;
 Tractans de mal dig general,
 Per castiar cels que fan mal;
 E si de fag parla de guerra,
 En son proces per so non erra;
 Am belas razos deu reprendre
 Et enductivas ad aprendre

De pastorela.

Us bels dictatz es pastorela
 Que .VI. o .VIII. cobblas capdela
 E .X. algunas vetz o may
 Am noel so plazen e gay;
 No ta lonc cum chansos requier,
 Ans lo vol. I. pauc viacier.
 Pero cant .XXX. cobblas passa,
 Cascus pot dir qu'es longa massa.
 D'esquern deu pauzar son dictat,
 Ses far e ses dire viltat.

1. Ms. *Se retenga*. Au bas de la page : « se n'est pas à l'autre volume et fait ici le vers faux. » (xvii^e s.).

De tenso.

Tensos es dictatz on tenzona
 Cascus per sa part e razona
 Per mantener o dig o fag;
 E deu hom fenir aytal plag
 De .VI. a .X. cobblas al may,
 E pueys tornada cascus fay,
 En laqual devon elegir
 Jucge per lor plag diffinir;
 E'l juges lor compas seuguen¹
 Poyra dictar son jutjamen,
 O si's vol per novas rimadas,
 Quar en est cas son costumadas:
 Loqual deu hom dar ben adreg,
 Non pas recitar segon dreg.
 Pero ges mens non es prezat,
 Can segon dreg es recitatz.
 Si novas rimadas presenta,
 Vint cobblas pren e mays de .XXX.
 E no vol só de sa natura,
 Quar sol de bonas razos cura,
 Si donx no fay en aicel cas
 Can d'autre loc pren son compas,
 Coma de vers o de chanso
 O d'autre qu'aver deja so:
 Quar adonc per mielz alegrar
 Se pot en autru so cantar.

1. Ms. *Senguen?*

De partimen.

Partimens es segon romans
 Questios dos membres portans
 Contraris donatz ad algu
 Per so que defenda la .I.
 Cant al remanen, sec la via
 De tenso que no s'en desvia ;
 E qui's vol partimens encara
 [F^o 121 v^o] Diverses lengatges ampara,
 E tensos e las' pastorelas
 E celas ques han lors pagelas,
 Coma son monjas e vaquieras
 Et ortolanas e vergieras,
 Dictatz qu'es d'autru lenga totz,
 Si be plazens appar a motz,
 En nostre jutjamen no's met,
 Cant que'l trobem subtil e net ;
 Quar d'erguelh mou e fay obratge
 Qui vol jutjar l'autru lengatge,
 Si no's mesclatz am nostra lenga
 E quez adonx cert compas tenga.

De planch.

Planx es dictatz qu'om fay per dol,
 Que de .V. a .X. cobblas col,
 Am so noel e quaysh planhen
 E lonc e pauzat e plazen ;

1. Ms. *la*.

E soen per abuzio
 Se pren de vers o de chanso;
 E deu hom dire lauzors grans
 Am plazens motz e mays los dans
 Qu'om pren e son aparegut
 De so qu'om planh et ha pergut.

D'escondig.

Escondigz es trop bos dictatz
 Per loqual cel qu'es acuzatz
 Se dezencuza tota via;
 Estiers de chanso no's desvia.

De retroncha.

Retroncha dictatz es d'acort
 Am vers quar es del sieu ressort,
 Exceptat que tolas vegadas
 Se fay de cobblas retronchadas.

Lassus en los mandamens de trobar havem tractat de escondig e de retroncha, per que abaste so qu'en es dig ayssi.

Tractat es estat dels dictatz principals. E veus dels no principals. R'.

Autres dictatz pot hom far ed ad aquels enpauzar nom segon la voluntat del dictayre e segon que'l dictatz de sa natura requier en tal maniera que'l noms sia be consonans et acordans a la cauza.

De redondels ni viandelas no curam, quar cert actor ni cert compas noy trobam, jaciaysso que alcu comenso far redondels en nostra lenga, losquals hom solia far en lengatge frances.

Dictatz no principals no estrenhen a cert nombre de cobblas. D'aytals haven gran re coma *somis*, *vezios*, *cossirs*, *reversaris*, *enuegz*, *plazers*, *desplazers*, *conortz*, *desconorts*, *rebecz*, *relays*, *gilozescas*, et enayssi de trops autres [F° 122 r°].

Dictatz no principals pot esser am tornada o ses tornada. È pot hom repetir la una cobbla del comensamen o de la fi am tornada o ses tornada, majormen cant ha so, per so que am so hom hy puese a respondre en la manera et al compas que'l dictayres voldra e compassara.

Alcu fan gilozescas al compas de dansa o de chanso. Item alcu fan bals amb .I. respos et am motas cobblas. Pero bals es divers de dansa, quar dansa no ha mays tres cobblas estiers lo respos e la tornada e bals ha de .V. a .X. cobblas o mays. Encaras bals ha so mays minimat e viacier e mays apte per cantar amb estruments que dansa. L'autra diversitatz es quar hom cominalmen fa e ordena lo dictat de dansa e pueysh li empausa so, e'l contrari fa hom leumen en bal. Quar hom primieramen troba'l so amb esturmens e pueysh, aquel trobat, hom fa lo dictat del bal, jaciaysso que aysso meteysh pot hom far en dansa. Bals deu tractar d'amors o de lauzors o d'otra materia honesta, segon la voluntat del dictayre.

Ostampida ha respieg algunas veltz quant al so d'esturmens; et adonx d'aquesta no curam. Et algunas veltz ha respieg no tant solamen al so, ans ho ha al

dictat qu'om fa d'amors o de lauzors, a la manera de vers o de chanso. Et adonx, segon aquesta sciensa, pot haver loc.

De garips no nos entrametem, quar solamen han respieg a cert et especial so d'esturmens ses verba.

FIN DU LIVRE II.

About the Author

Rolando Pérez is professor of Spanish in the Department of Romance Languages at Hunter College-CUNY. While generally his specialization is in the area of twentieth century Latin American literature, he has also written and published on Peninsular literature, and specifically on Medieval Literature. His research is primarily focused on the relationship between philosophy and literature, and between literature and art. His on-going projects consist of reading literary texts vis-à-vis the philosophical concepts of thinkers like Nietzsche, Deleuze, Guattari, Baudrillard, Badiou, Levinas, and Dussel, to name a few. In fact, with Prof. Nuria Morgado (College of Staten Island & The Graduate Center of CUNY), he has co-edited a book of articles on the encounters between literature and philosophy, entitled, *Sin fronteras: encuentros transversales entre la literatura y la filosofía en las letras hispánicas*. His most recent book publication is *Severo Sarduy and the Neo-Baroque Image of Thought in the Visual Arts* (Purdue UP 2012).