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Guillem Fabre

Pus dels majors (BdT 216.2)

Hon mais vey, pus truep sordeyor (BdT 216.1)

The identity of the troubadour Guillem Fabre, author of two surviving *sirventes*, is unknown. Anglade's attempts to identify our troubadour among the many historical documents he collected referring to a *Guillem Fabre* have not met with scholarly acceptance; as Appel remarks, it is a tricky matter to try to pin down a «William Smith».¹ Since he was a burgher of Narbonne, as indicated in the ms. rubrics, he may nevertheless have at least been related to the men of the same name holding positions of some importance there.² That he was a man of some status is indicated by the fact that the troubadour Bernart d'Auriac composed a piece in his honour, complimenting him on his courtly hospitality and way of life in Narbonne:

Aqui poiretz ab luy trobar
valor, honor e messio,
gent aculhir, gent covidar;
.
.
.
pros es e larcx, cortes, e non dic tan
que vers no fos, si dos tans en dizia,
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.
.

¹ Joseph Anglade, «Deux troubadours narbonnais: Guillem Fabre, Bernard Alanhan», *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne*, 8, 1905, pp. 397-427, pp. 398-410, reviews by Alfred Jeanroy, *Annales du Midi*, 17, 1905, p. 446-447, and Carl Appel, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 116, 1906, p. 453.

² See the documents cited by Anglade on pp. 398-404.

and expressing the wish that Guillem should soon have a son to whom he might be godfather.³

In the first *sirventes* to be considered here (*Pus dels majors*, *BdT* 216.2), the troubadour bemoans the neglect of the urgent needs of the Holy Land in favour of bitter conflict between kings in the West, who are mustering their armies and seeking to arouse support through public propaganda. He focuses on the cruelty of war between kinsmen which is particularly odious to God, and blames the Pope for failing to enlist «the best-known man in the world» in a crusade against pagans in the East. The second (*Hon mais vey*, *BdT* 216.1) again laments the evil state of the world, the decline of courtly values, the power of false counsellors, and the decisions of the rich and powerful, both secular and ecclesiastical, to ignore God's business (the defence of Christendom) in favour of their wicked earthly ambitions.

The dating and historical circumstances of the two *sirventes* has given rise to widely divergent views, though versification evidence at least places the date of *Pus dels majors* after 1237-1240. The versification is identical to that of a *canso* of Peire Bremon Ricas Novas, *BdT* 330.16 (Frank, 812:2), and a *sirventes* of Peire Cardenal, *BdT* 335.13 (Frank 509:2). Peire Bremon's *canso* has the refrain words *clau* (v. 3), *soau* (v. 4) and *alegor* (v. 8). In Peire Cardenal's piece the first line is a decasyllable without internal rhyme (a10 b10 a10 a10 a5 c5 c5 d5 d5 e7 e7), and includes the refrain word *clau* or derivatives at v. 2. As Appel notes (p. 136), the present piece is probably modelled directly on Peire Bremon's *canso*. It also shares fourteen of the same rhyme-words with Peire Cardenal's *sirventes*. Vatteroni suggests that Guillem may have been aware of that piece, and considers it less likely that Cardenal had Guillem's piece in mind, though does not offer a reason for this.⁴ Marshall discusses Cardenal's piece but takes no view

³ *BdT* 57.2, 9-12, 23-24, 25-28, ed. Amos Parducci, «Bernart d'Auriac», *Studi medievali*, 6, 1933, pp. 82-98, on pp. 93-94. This sense of *compaire* (literally 'co-father') required here, is unattested in the Occitan dictionaries, but cf. Catalan *compare* and *Girart de Roussillon*, ed. W. Mary Hackett, 3 vols., Paris, 1953-1955, v. 9310 (Parducci «compare»).

⁴ Sergio Vatteroni, «Le poesie di Peire Cardenal. – II», *Studi mediolatini e volgari*, 39, 1993, pp. 105-218, on p. 147.

on its relation to Guillem's.⁵ Otherwise dating needs to take account of the following textual details:

1. Leading princes are in contention *say entre nos* (1-2).
2. The heathens are currently unchallenged in their hold on the holy places (2-4).
3. Kings are locked in conflict, each thinking he can win (13-15).
4. They are mustering armies and organising public speeches / preaching (16-17).
5. Preaching is being directed against Christians (17-21).
6. War is about to be not only savage but also internecine (23-25).
7. This war of hatred stems from greed (36).
8. The pope is at fault for having failed to order a crusade to the Holy Land before these hostilities broke out (45-50).
9. Who is «the best-known man in the world» who obeys the Pope (47)?

The *Histoire littéraire de la France* (HLF) proposed to see «the best-known man in the world» as Charles of Anjou, already King of Sicily, and concluded that the *sirventes* must have been composed after the death of Manfred on 26 February 1266 and before Louis's second crusade of 1270, in which Charles also participated.⁶ In 1905 Anglade suggested the date of composition fell between 1254, when Louis IX returned from his first crusade, and 1269, the date of the failed crusade of Jaume the Conqueror, and that there might also be some reference to Charles of Anjou's expedition to Italy and consequential struggles. Publishing in the same year, Lewent referred to the HLF, commenting that it was possible but uncertain that the Angevin is meant, since the epithet would be more appropriate for Louis IX, and this certainly seems right in the context of that time.⁷ But, Lewent asked, who are the two kings referred to in stanza II, if the time is af-

⁵ John H. Marshall, «Imitation of Metrical Form in Peire Cardenal», *Romance Philology*, 32, 1978-1979, pp. 18-48, on pp. 27 and 46.

⁶ *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Ouvrage commencé par des religieux bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur, et continué par des Membres de l'Institut [Académie royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres], 38 vols., Paris 1733-1927, = HLF), 19, 1838, p. 547-550.

⁷ Kurt Lewent, «Das altprovenzalische Kreuzlied», *Romanische Forschungen*, 21, 1905, pp. 321-448, on pp. 357-358.

ter the death of Manfred, of whom there is not the slightest sign in the poem? Could these be Charles and Conradin? As he rightly observed, in 1268 when Conradin came to Italy Louis was getting ready for a new crusade, and it is clear from the piece that there was no thought of a crusade at the time of composition. Lewent proposed a date between 14 May 1265, when Charles stopped off in Rome to be made King of Sicily on 26 June, and hence could then be called king, and before Manfred's death in 1266. Although Lewent's proposal could satisfy the requirements of items 2, 3, 5, 7, 8 and 9 in the list above, it does not explain the particular animosity between kinsmen (6), unless this just means «here among Christians» and that civil war will inevitably cause family conflict. Under this scenario *say entre nos* would need to be interpreted in opposition to an implicit *lay* in *lo sancte loc* (5): in other words, in the West.

Parducci offers a more precise contextualisation during the War of the Sicilian Vespers and the so-called Aragonese crusade against Pere III of Aragon.⁸ After the Sicilians had risen up against the rule of Charles of Anjou in 1282, Charles withdrew from the island, where Pere landed on 30 August, assuming the crown of Sicily as heir to Manfred. Charles's ally Pope Martin IV, formerly Simon of Brie,⁹ declared a crusade against him and granted Charles's nephew, King Philip III the Bold of France, tithes for the purpose. After the assembly of Paris on 20 February 1284, when Philip declared war on Aragon, the French King took the cross along with his sons and a host of nobles and non-nobles.¹⁰ In France the whole of 1284 was devoted to preaching the crusade against Aragon and to raising men and funds. In the South Simon de Beaulieu, Archbishop of Bourges, preached to the people in several places, both in church and the open air: «il parla à Poitiers, à Saintes, à Agen, *de cruce Aragonie*, et il moissonna de

⁸ Parducci, «Bernart d'Auriac», pp. 85-87.

⁹ Simon of Brie is also referred to in *BdT* 107.1 and 439.1: see my editions on *Rialto*.

¹⁰ Parducci, «Bernart d'Auriac», p. 87, cites Charles-Victor Langlois, *Le Règne de Philippe le Hardi*, Paris 1887, p. 154, which refers to Philip's departure from Paris but not the assembly, which is described on pp. 150-151; the *Histoire générale du Languedoc*, ed. Claude Devic and Joseph Vaissete, 15 vols., Toulouse 1872-1892 = *HGL*, VI, LXXIX, p. 217, refers to this as around Christmas-time 1283.

nombreuses adhésions grâce à l'appât des indulgences».¹¹ Charles died on 7 January 1285, but Philip continued with his plans, and taking the Oriflamme from Saint-Denis he headed for Narbonne where the crusaders were to assemble. He arrived at the abbey of Saint-Martial de Limoges on 24 March of that year, reached Toulouse on 19 April, left the Queen and the ladies of the court in Carcassonne, and entered Narbonne on 1 May where he was met by Pere's brother and antagonist King Jaume of Mallorca. Philip was accompanied by an impressively large army, and during the previous two years huge provisions had been piled up in Toulouse, Carcassonne, Béziers, Marseille and Aigues-Mortes.¹²

Parducci links the prospect of war between kinsmen to the then hostile relations between Pere and his brother. Jaume had his main residence in Montpellier and in 1282 he conceded to the seneschal of Beaucaire his acknowledgment of the King of France's suzerainty over the town and its environs, an agreement finally formalised on 18 August 1283 in Palairac in the diocese of Narbonne. In return Philip granted certain concessions to the lords of Montpellier and their successors. In so doing, according to the *Histoire général du Languedoc*, Philip thereby confirmed Jaume as his ally during the forthcoming war against the King of Aragon.¹³ When they met later in Narbonne, on 1 May 1285, Jaume granted Philip the right to pass through the Roussillon. Pere, to punish his brother and forestall the effect of his betrayal of the Aragonese cause, invaded the Roussillon and captured the whole of his family in Perpignan, as well as several Languedoc lords including the viscount of Narbonne's son.¹⁴ Philip subsequently entered the Roussillon where his crusading army committed various atrocities culminating in the sack of the town of Elne, where all, men, women and children, were massacred and the city razed to the ground.¹⁵

Parducci's contextualisation sheds a whole new light on how Guillem could be referring to events *say entre nos*, given that Nar-

¹¹ Langlois, *Le Règne*, p. 152.

¹² Langlois, *Le Règne*, p. 154

¹³ *HGL*, VI, LXVI, p. 208 and LXXIII, pp. 213-214.

¹⁴ Langlois, *Le Règne*, p. 153.

¹⁵ Langlois, *Le Règne*, pp. 155-156.

bonne was the focal point of the gathering army and the crusade was being preached all around the vicinity. In addition, the conflict between the two Aragonese brothers explains the prospect of kinsmen hunting each other down. This context is also compatible, if not exclusively so, with all the other historical indications enumerated above. The war is one of hatred, and stems from greed for the crown of Sicily. The pagans are certainly unchallenged in the East, and have been since the death of Louis IX at Tunis in 1270: in 1272 a ten-year truce was arranged between the kingdom of Jerusalem and Baybars, and although the second Council of Lyon in 1274 attempted to plan a crusade for 1283 this came to nothing. Powerful kings are locked in conflict. Pope Martin IV can be seen as at fault for actively supporting the crusade against Christians rather than declaring one against the Turks.

Is there a particular reason why Guillem suggests the Pope had had an opportunity to prevent this dubious war against Christians by declaring one against the Turks? In 1281, when Simon of Brie was elected pope as Martin IV, both Charles of Anjou and Pere of Aragon were preparing armadas. Charles was intending to attack Constantinople. His expedition «was officially said to be a crusade against the infidel; and on that excuse the Pope allowed him the tithes of the Church in Sardinia, an island which Charles and the Pisans disputed and Peter claimed as his own». Pere also «announced that his expedition was a crusade; and he could give good proof of it. Two years before, in 1279, he had taken advantage of a disputed succession to the Tunisian throne after the death of King Mustansir, Saint Louis's old enemy, to secure the succession of his own candidate, Ibrahim Abu Ishak. An expedition under Conrad Lancia installed King Ibrahim, who in return promised Peter a large yearly tribute and the right to open consulates at Tunis and Bougie. At the same time Peter took the governor of Constantine, Ibn Hasan, under his protection. During 1281 the governor quarrelled with the Tunisian king, who prepared to march against him. He appealed to King Peter, hinting that if he were given assistance he would adopt Christianity. It was therefore Peter's duty to rescue the potential convert and his territory from the infidel Tunisians. He had a ready and unexceptionable answer to give when King Philip of France, nervous for his uncle Charles's welfare, went

to ask him about the army and the fleet that he was collecting». ¹⁶ When he heard of the revolt in Palermo he headed for the Algerian coast on 3 June at the head of a great flotilla, allegedly to fight the Moors there, while waiting to see what would happen in Sicily. Runciman reports that «To maintain his pretence, he sent a special envoy to the Pope to ask for his blessing for his crusade and for the usual indulgences. Martin was not deceived». ¹⁷ When the fleet arrived at Collo, on the Algerian coast, Pere learned that his ally whose conversion he was supposed to achieve had been put to death, thus depriving his crusade of its object. Was Guillem aware of either or both of these alleged crusades, and did he think, naïvely, that there had been a real possibility of them happening if only Martin had put his authority behind them?

Parducci suggests that the *sirventes* was composed in May 1285, after the first skirmishes in the Roussillon, but perhaps before the sack of Elne, which had such vast resonance that it would be strange for the poet not to have mentioned it. However, in the scenario presently under consideration this is hardly possible. It must in fact have preceded the death of Martin IV on 29 March, since his speedily-appointed successor Honorius IV could not be blamed for not having preached a crusade against the heathen before the conflict degenerated into further atrocities.

A slightly earlier timing could better explain the allusion to «the best-known man in the world» who obeys the Pope, since the obvious candidate at this time, as the *HLF* originally suggested, was Charles, whose alliance with various popes against the Ghibellines was of long standing. It is more likely that Guillem composed his *sirventes* during the build-up to war in 1284, before the death of Charles in January 1285. This is the time when the two antagonistic kings, Philip and Pere, are making their war preparations, assembling their troops (*l'ajustamen que fan*, vv. 18-19) in the troubadour's own region (*say entre nos*, v. 2), and making their *prezicx*: crusading speeches on the

¹⁶ Steven Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in Late Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge 1958, pp. 209-210; see also Henry J. Chaytor, *A History of Aragon and Catalonia*, London 1933, pp. 101-102.

¹⁷ Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, p. 222.

part of the French King, but also propaganda speeches from the Aragonese side (see the note to v. 17).

In his discussion of the chronology of this piece and *Hon mais vey*, Parducci (pp. 86-87) argues that the latter must have preceded the present piece, since it announces the preparation for the conflict that began after the assembly in Paris of 20 February 1284, without anything suggesting that war has yet broken out, and that it must date from the end of 1284.¹⁸ But, he argues, *Pus dels majors* speaks of *conten* and *est mesclamen*, and *esvazir maynt guarnimen* (v. 29). To my mind this is not evidence that war has broken out in *BdT* 216.2 either: it is clear that historically the Kings are in conflict since war preparations are going on apace, but v. 29 refers to the future, not the present, and the conflict may be tense enough without yet having reached the stage of armed clashes.

In 1993 Vatteroni suggested that the piece could date from as early as 1244 and that the troubadour might be thinking of the fall of Jerusalem into Turkish hands in September of that year, but does not offer a detailed explanation of the specific circumstances to which it might allude.¹⁹ He is no doubt right to say that the most cautious conclusion is that the *sirventes* cannot be dated with certainty; nevertheless Parducci's hypothesis, modified to take account of the death of Martin IV, explains the textual details with considerable specificity.

¹⁸ Parducci, «Bernart d'Auriac», pp. 86-87.

¹⁹ Vatteroni, «Le poesie», p. 147.

Guillem Fabre
Pus dels majors
 (BdT 216.2)

Ms: C 358r (*G. fabre borze[s de narbona]*), the lower part alone legible because of the removal of a vignette); C Index 15v (*Guillem fabre borzes de narbona*), 28r (*Guillem fabre de narbona*).

Editions: François-Juste-Marie Raynouard, *Choix des poésies originales des troubadours*, 6 vols., Paris 1816-1821, V, 197, lines 8-36; *Provenzalische Inedita aus pariser Handschriften*, hg. Carl Appel, Leipzig 1890, reproduction Wiesbaden 1967, p. 136; Joseph Anglade, «Deux troubadours narbonnais: Guillem Fabre, Bernard Alanhan», *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne*, 8, 1905, pp. 397-427, p. 417 (on Appel with some normalisation of graphies; French translation; also published as an offprint by Caillard in Narbonne, 1905).

Versification: Frank, 812:1, a4 b6 c10 c10 b10 b5 d5 d5 e5 e5 f7 f7, *ars, e, ort, or, e*; five *coblas unissonans* and two four-line *tornadas*.

Author: Although his precise identity is unknown, Guillem Fabre was burgher of Narbonne, praised by the troubadour Bernart d'Auriac for his courtly hospitality and way of life (see above).

Date: The piece was probably composed during the build-up to the Aragonese war in 1284, before the death of Charles of Anjou in January 1285 (see above).

- I Pus dels maiors
 princeps auzem conten
 say entre nos, enquer tenran a frau
 li menscrezen, meyns de guerra, suau, 4
 lo sancte loc on Dieus pres nayssemen,
 per que salvamen
 det a sos amicx;
 don penran destricx 8
 tug li amador
 de nostre senhor,
 si·n desamor ven la fe
 don ys saus paguanesme. 12
- II La desamors
 s'aferma e ss'empren,
 si que l'us reys cuyda tener la clau
 d'afortimen, e l'autr'a·l contraclau, 16
 que a poder e ric cor d'ardimen;
 mas l'ajustamen
 que fan e·ls prezicx
 degran als mendicx 20
 que son en error
 virar, ad honor
 d'aquelh senhor que nos fe,
 per guazanhar sa merce. 24

Variants: 1 Puls **CReg** (f^o 29r)

I. Since we hear the greatest princes feuding among us over here, the infidels will fraudulently continue, without war, nice and quietly, to hold the holy place where God was born, through which he gave salvation to his friends. As a consequence all lovers of Our Lord will be racked with anguish if the faith comes to be unloved and paganism emerges safe and sound.

II. The hostility grows stronger and more deep-rooted, so that the one king thinks he holds the key to gaining the upper hand, and the other has the duplicate key, for he is powerful and full of driving ambition; but they ought

to direct their mustering and public addresses at the dastardly heathens, to the honour of that Lord who created us, in order to deserve His grace.

- III Ar em el cors
on veyrem man paren
l'us vas l'autre encaussar per esclau,
pueys al colpar ab felh cor mal e brau, 28
et esvazir veyrem maynt guarnimen,
si Dieus doncx no·y pren,
qu'es nostres abricx,
tal cosselh que·ls ricx 32
torn totz en amor;
pueys do entre lhor
sen e voler que desse
passon lay, si quo·s cove. 36
- IV Aitals calors
de gran adyramen
non es plazens a Dieu ni o congau,
quar cobeytatz ab erguelh s'i enclau, 40
et empachiers es de passar breumen
lai on pres vilmen
Dieus mort per aficx
de menscrezens tricx, 44
don sofri dolor
lo ver creator,
cruzal, ab qu'elh nos desfe
lo dan de qu'eram tug ple. 48

III. Now we are on course to see many kinsmen hunting one another down, then wounding each other with a deadly, wicked, ruthless heart, and we shall see many pieces of armour pierced, unless God who is our refuge then finds a way to convert the men of power wholly to love; afterwards may He give them the intention and desire immediately to make the passage overseas, just as they ought to do.

IV. Such burning, violent hatred neither pleases nor is approved by God, for greed and arrogance are locked into it, and it is an obstacle to passing swiftly to the place where God suffered ignominious death through the mach-

inations of the crafty unbelievers. In this the true Creator suffered cruel pain, and by doing so delivered us from the evil that was filling us all.

- V Selh qu'es rectors
 pauzatz en regimen
 de nostra fe n'a d'aitan gran deslau,
 quar, pus lo mielhs del mon que hom mentau 52
 li obezis, no mandet crozamen,
 ans qu'est mesclamen
 fos ni·l segl'enicx,
 sobre·ls fals mendicx 56
 que teno·l sanctor;
 quar tug li melhor
 per que l'ira se mante
 crey qu'er foran lai em be. 60
- VI Vers Dieus, per follor,
 en vostra doussor
 nos fizam tan, e merce,
 que de ben far no·ns sove. 64
- VII Clar-Esguar vey flor
 de vera valor,
 per qu'ieu non ai joy de re
 mas quan de lieys me sove. 68

Variants: 63 tan merce C (-1)

V. The one who is ruler established to govern our faith deserves equally heavy blame because, given that the best-known man in the world obeys him, he did not declare a crusade against the false ruffians who hold the Holy Sepulchre, before these hostilities broke out and the world was filled with enmity; for I believe that all the best of them who are the cause of this continuing anger would now be willingly over there (in the Holy Land).

VI. True God, out of folly we rely so much on Your sweetness and pity that we forget to do what is right.

VII. I see Clar-Esguar (Bright-Gaze) as the flower of true worth, so I delight in nothing but remembering her.

12. Appel: since neither *yssaussar* nor *eissaussar* is usually found in the intransitive, and there seems no real reason for the subjunctive here, it would be better to take *ys* as *es*. — *paguanesme* is a case of systole (the displacement of accent onto the post-tonic syllable): see François Zufferey, *Recherches linguistiques sur les chansonniers provençaux*, Geneva 1987, p. 56, § 1.3211.

13. *desamor*: lit. ‘lovelessness’.

16. In a note Appel suggests a correction to *l’autre-l*, but this is unnecessary.

17. Parducci, p. 87, takes this line to refer, favourably, to Philip III, perhaps because of the word *ardimen*. As I have argued above, I believe the two kings to be Charles and Pere, and as indicated in my translation, I do not think the line is necessarily complimentary.

18. Anglade translates *ajustamen* as «pacte» («mais ils devraient appliquer le pacte qu’ils font et les prédications aux malheureux qui sont dans l’erreur»), which has no dictionary support; compare *PD* «addition, jonction; réunion, assemblage; copulation, accouplement». For the sense ‘assembly’ compare *quar sancta glieiza romana / non es als mas ajustamens / de fizels Crestias crezens / en Jezu Crist e so qu’an dig / li sieu dicipol et escrig* (*Le «Breviari d’amor» de Matfre Ermengaud*, ed. Peter T. Ricketts, vol. V, Leiden 1976, 13760-13764).

19. For *prezicx* as both ‘sermon’ and, more broadly, ‘oration’, see *SW*, VI, 542-543, 1) «Ermahnung, Mahnung, Aufforderung», 2) «Aufforderung zum Kreuzzug», 3) «Rede». Miriam Cabré, *Cerverí de Girona: un trobador al servei de Pere el gran*, Barcelona 2011, p. 167, notes that Muntaner frequently refers to Pere going to *preicar* in the presence of the army and the courts. While the term here must refer in part to the widespread preaching of a ‘crusade’ against Aragon, since both leaders are making *prezicx* it must also refer to public propaganda speeches on behalf of Pere el Gran.

27-29. Appel places a semi-colon after *esclau* and nothing after *brau* (*l’us vas l’autre encaussar per esclau; / pueys al colpar ab felh cor mal e brau / et esvazir veyrem maynt guarnimen*). Anglade places a comma after *esclau* and semi-colon after *brau* (*l’us vas l’autre encaussar per esclau, / pueys al colpar ab felh cor mal e brau; / et esvazir veyrem maynt guarnimen*) and translates «Maintenant nous sommes à une époque où nous verrons maints parents se poursuivre les uns les autres, puis s’accuser d’un coeur félon, méchant et sauvage. Et nous verrons entamer mainte armure», suggesting (but not printing in the text) the emendation *pueys s’encolpar* in v. 28, «La faute *al* s’expliquant par *ab* qui suit?», which is unlikely. In his review Alfred Jeanroy (*Annales du Midi*, 17, 1905, pp. 446-447, on p. 447) remarked that the translation of these lines remained very doubtful, and that Anglade’s was already proposed by Levy in *SW*, I, 40-41, though I cannot see anything relevant there. Appel (review in *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 116, 1906, p. 453) rejected Anglade’s punctuation and

translated: «Hernach werden wir, wenn sie mit argem Sinn schlagen und angreifen, manche Rüstung sehen.» This is not wholly convincing, since it seems more likely that lines 28 and 29 contain two separate propositions. Rather than seeing *colpar* and *esvazir* as gerunds introduced by the preposition *a*, it is tempting to see *al* as a neuter indefinite pronoun meaning «someone else» or «elsewhere»: compare Frede Jensen, *The Syntax of Medieval Occitan*, Tübingen 1986, § 570, who comments that «serving as a vague formula for “another lady”, it has an exact parallel in the use of adverbs of place, specifically *alhors* “elsewhere”, in similar contexts», and § 930, «It is not uncommon for an adverb of place to serve as a reference to a person». However, I have been unable to find an example not referring to a woman. — For *encaussar per esclau*, compare *BdT* 335.13, 13 *et es Mentirs qui sec Tort per l'esclau* (*per esclau* **CRİK**; Sergio Vatteroni, «Le poesie di Peire Cardenal - II», *Studi mediolatini e volgari*, 39, 1993, pp. 105-218, p. 149 translates «e c'è Menzogna che segue Torto da vicino», with other Occitan and Old French examples noted on p. 155, along with *SW*, III, 170, «Geräusch der Fusstritte» and «Geräusch, Lärm (im allgem.)», as well as the sense ‘path’ in Sordel and Cercamon (Sordello, *Le poesie*, ed. Marco Boni, Bologna 1954, XXIII, 12 and XLIII, 610; *Il trovatore Cercamon*, ed. Valeria Tortoreto, Modena 1981, IX, 44).

49. *rectors*: *LR*, V, 64, «gouverneur, supérieur; directeur, guide [citing this passage]»; *SW*, VII, 126, «priest», and also the title of the prelates charged with governing the Comtat Venaissin. Here this has to refer to the Pope.

56. *BEdT* suggests *mendicx* may refer to mendicants, but surely the reference is to the infidels.

60. *em be*: Anglade «à faire le bien», but see *PD* and *SW*, I, 138.

63. Suppletion Appel (also Anglade).

Guillem Fabre
Hon mais vey, pus truep sordeyor
 (BdT 216.1)

Ms: C 358v (*G. fabre de nar.*); C Index 15v (*Guillem fabre borzes de narbona*), 27r (*Guillem fabre borzes de narbona*). Anglade, curiously, gives *G. Fabre de Narbones*.

Editions: François-Juste-Marie Raynouard, *Choix des poésies originales des troubadours*, 6 vols., Paris 1816-1821, V, 197, lines 7-33; *Provenzalische Inedita aus pariser Handschriften*, hg. Carl Appel, Leipzig 1890, reproduction Wiesbaden 1967, p. 134 («normalises» flexions in 6 and 40); Joseph Anglade, «Deux troubadours narbonnais: Guillem Fabre, Bernard Alanhan», *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne*, 8, 1905, pp. 397-427, p. 414 (on Appel with some normalisation of graphies; French translation; also published as an offprint by Caillard in Narbonne, 1905).

Versification: Frank 424:5, a8 b8 a8 b8 c6' d8 d8 c6' d8 d8, *or, ir, atge, atz*; five *coblas unissonans* and one five-line *tornada*. The versification is identical in all respects with ten other pieces of which the only *canso* is BdT 242.51 by Guiraut de Borneil, from which they no doubt derive.

Date: Probably 1284, during preparations for the so-called Aragonese crusade (see above).

- I Hon mais vey, pus truem sordeyor
 aquest segle, per qu'ieu l'azir:
 ab mais d'engan, ab meyns d'amor,
 sem de vertat, plen de mentir,
 mal e felh e salvatge, 5
 quar tricx e prims en falsetatz,
 enveyos d'autrus dos donatz
 e d'autruy heretage
 son lo pus d'aquelhs qu'er vey natz;
 per que-l mons es en mal mesclaz. 10
- II Joy e depo[r]t, pretz e valor
 vezem pauc en luen enantir,
 quar pauc son li pro valedor
 a cuy platz donar e complir
 valens faitz d'agradatge; 15
 mas maldizens vezem assatz,
 e reprendens, pel mon levatz
 qu'apellan nesciatge
 cortz e bobans e dos honratz,
 e lauzan ajustar rictatz. 20

Rejected readings: 11 depot

I. The more I see, the worse I find this world, which is why I hate it: more deceitful, less loving, void of truth, full of lies, wicked and criminal and savage, for the majority of those I see alive today are crafty and skilled at falsehoods, envying gifts given to others and other people's inheritance; which is why the world is embroiled in evil.

II. Joy and sport, merit and worth we see making little progress, as there are few men of worth and valour who like to make gifts and accomplish valiant, pleasing deeds; but we see the rise in the world of plenty of detractors

and censurers who call courts and pomp and honoured gifts foolishness, and praise the accumulation of riches.

- III Per so li fals reprintedor
 qu'amortan be, lauzan fallir,
 son appellat cossellador –
 e silh que·ls degran mielhs delir
 crezon pus lur lengatge – 25
 quar lur cossellan cobeyatz.
 Quar ylh an tals las voluntatz
 que leu sego·l viatge
 per qu'es lurs fals mestiers montatz
 quar es pels ricx trop autreyatz. 30
- IV Anc non crec de pretz ni d'onor
 Alexandres, segon qu'aug dir,
 per trop tener thezaur en tor,
 mas quar volc ben dar e partir
 lo sieu de gran coratge, 35
 don totz hom fazi'abrivat
 e voluntiers totz sos mandatz,
 mostran manh vassallatge,
 quar qui ben fes, bes l'era datz,
 per que·l mon fon sieus conquistatz. 40

III. The false censurers who stifle goodness, praising what is wrong, are called counsellors – and those who above all ought to destroy them are more ready to believe what they say – because they advise them to be covetous. For their desires (the desires of the rich) are such that they (the rich) easily follow the path through which their fraudulent profession (that of the false censurers) has thrived because it is greatly favoured by the rich.

IV. Alexander never grew in reputation or honour, as I hear, through keeping lots of treasure in a tower, but because he wanted to give and share his wealth generously. As a result people carried out all his orders swiftly and

willingly, demonstrating many deeds of bravery, for whoever acted well was well rewarded, so the conquered world was his.

- V Comte, rey e emperador
 volon crestiantat perir,
 e mesclan s'i nostre rector –
 silh que degran mielhs departir
 del mon lo gran folhatge. 45
 Mas er vey que pauc say's preztatz
 lo faitz de Dieu que·ns a formatz,
 quar s'obra per outratge
 cujan desfar devas totz latz:
 non gardan dreytz ni lialtatz. 50
- VI *Senher* Dieus, si totz los regnatz
 del mon davatz ad un justatz,
 non crey qu'el vostr'estatge
 laissus s em patz
 si·l n'era datz. 55

Rejected readings: 51 Per dieus (–1); 54-55 *damaged by the removal of a vignette*

V. Counts and kings and emperors want to destroy Christendom, and our rectors (religious rulers) involve themselves in this – those who ought instead to drive out the world's great sinfulness. But now I see that the business of God who formed us is little valued here, for they think to undo his work everywhere through their excesses: they pay no heed to justice or loyalty.

VI. Lord God, if you gave away all the kingdoms of the world united into one, I do not believe [you yourself would be] in peace in your dwelling-place in heaven above if

7-8. Parducci, p. 84, suggests that these lines refer to Charles of Anjou to whom Pope Urban IV granted the kingdom belonging to Manfred, whom he defeated at Benevento in 1266 and continued to expand his territory, especially in southern Italy, and to Pere III of Aragon, whom claimed Sicily and gained possession of it after the Sicilian Vespers of 1282.

11. Correction Appel.

12. Raynouard (*LR*, IV, 95) translates *pauc en luenh* [sic] *enantir* here as «peu s'avancer au loin». I have found no other attestation of this phrase. Appel corrects to *en luec*, without clarifying how he understood the line; Anglade retains Appel's *luec* but translates «Nous voyons joie et plaisir, mérite et valeur faire peu de progrès».

19. Parducci (p. 87) suggests this line may refer to the court of Philip III, known for his largesse: see Charles-Victor Langlois, *Le Règne de Philippe le Hardi*, Paris 1887, pp. 5-9. It seems more likely that Guillem is referring to the old values he tries to uphold himself in his hospitality and cultivation of troubadour song (see above), which he sees threatened by the presiding powers.

20. A typographical error has this line in Anglade's edition printed at the head of stanza III.

21-30. I take *Per so* to anticipate what follows, rather than refer back to what has just been said (Anglade, «C'est pourquoi on appelle...»). I also understand the syntax of the rest a little differently from Anglade, though the sense is essentially the same: he translates vv. 27-30 as «car leur désir (de s'enrichir) est tel qu'ils suivent facilement la voie (où ces faux conseillers les engagent) (1); aussi leur triste métier est-il en honneur, car les riches le favorisent trop» (note (1): «La traduction de ces deux vers est de M. Chabaneau»). In short, the rich potentates favour advisers who pander to their greed, and this leads to the burgeoning of a professional group inimical to traditional court life. — Are the censors 'false' because they are dishonest, or because they are wrong? It would seem that both epithets probably apply: clearly Guillem regards their values as wrong, but the implication of 29-30 is that they thrive through sycophancy.

41. Appel, Anglade *Comte, rey*. — Anglade sees this as referring to Charles of Anjou's expedition to Italy. Parducci (p. 85) asks whether these are precise references, noting that Philip at one time laid claim to the Holy Roman Empire (Langlois, *Le Règne*, pp. 64-65), and Charles of Anjou was laying claim to the Greek empire. Pope Martin IV tenaciously opposed the triumph of Pere of Aragon in favour of Charles of Anjou.

47. *lo faitz de Dieu*: a reference to God's business, in other words crusading. Anglade does not translate this («Mais je vois que maintenant on estime peu dans ce siècle Dieu qui nous a formés»).

51-55. I have followed Appel's suggested correction of *Per* to *Senher*, for the sake of scansion; it is clear from *davatatz* that God is being addressed. Anglade does not translate 51-52; I take *justatz* to have the same sense as

ajustatz: see *PD*, *ajostar*, «assembler, rassembler, réunir». — Appel suggests the sense of 54-55 may have been «auch Gott würde nicht in Frieden auf seinem Platz im Himmel bleiben, liesse er nur einen auf Erden mächtig genug werden ihn zu stürzen». The first part of this at any rate seems plausible. In a note on pp. 421-422 Anglade records this and suggests the following conjectural emendations: «Laissus [*mezeis fossetz*] em patz / Si-l n'era [*poders acor*]datz», or perhaps (see n. 1) *pocsels esser*? In his review of Anglade (*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 116, 1906, p. 453), Carl Appel says he would either supplete as Chabaneau or emend to something like *Laissus el cel fossetz em patz*.

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