

Wendy Pfeffer

Jofre de Foixa

*Subrafusa ab cabirol*

(*BdT* 304.4)

Jofre de Foixa's fame lies on his grammatical treatises; however, he also composed a total of four short lyrics. The pair of *coblas* under consideration here was discovered about one hundred years ago and has been published several times since. Jaume Massó Torrents, first to publish the piece, thought it fairly simple, «trop clair pour qu'il y ait utilité à le traduire». <sup>1</sup> However, even he found terms he did not grasp. <sup>2</sup> He did cite some culinary material to explain one of the words in the poem whereas few scholars since have explored the culinary literature to explain the lyric. As interest in, and knowledge of, medieval culinary history grows, <sup>3</sup> it is worth bringing the culinary elements to the attention of literary scholars again.

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<sup>1</sup> Jaume Massó Torrents, «A propos d'une pièce inconnue de Jaufré de Foixa», *Annales du Midi*, 36, 1924, pp. 313-318, on p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> Massó Torrents states, «J'avoue que je ne réussis pas à comprendre (v. 1) les mots *subra fusa*, sur lesquels les lexiques ne me donnent aucun éclaircissement. Quant au mot *juxell* (esp. *jusello*), il désigne un potage dont on trouvera plus loin la recette», «A propos d'une pièce», p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Bruno Laurioux, *Écrits et images de la gastronomie médiévale*, Paris 2011; Id., *Manger au Moyen Age: pratiques et discours alimentaires en Europe aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris 2002; Id., *Une histoire culinaire du Moyen Age*, Paris 2005; Massimo Montanari, «Valeurs, symboles, messages alimentaires durant le Haut Moyen Age», *Médiévales: Nourritures*, 5, 1983, pp.

Jofre de Foixa's life is relatively well documented. Ettore Li Gotti suggests he was born around 1251-1252 or shortly afterwards.<sup>4</sup> John H. Marshall identifies him as the second son of a noble family, who had entered the Franciscan order by 1267; he was associated first with the of Monzón. In 1275, he became a Benedictine; by 1282, he was a monk at San Felú de Guíxols in Gerona. Marshall notes that in 1284 and 1285, Pedro III of Aragon sent him gifts. Also in 1285, he was given financial responsibility for the Benedictine monastery of Sant Pere de Galligans.<sup>5</sup> His accounting expertise established, he was charged in 1286 with administration of the affairs of the Priory of Santa Maria de Monserrat; multiple documents from 1287 associate him with the administration of Monserrat.<sup>6</sup> A document from 1289 describes Jofre's need for money in order to make a trip to Rome. This trip may have brought him into contact with the King of Sicily, named in Jofre's grammatical treatise, the *Regles de trobar*. By May 1293, he was abbot of San Giovanni degli Eremiti in Palermo. He is named in a bull of Pope Boniface VIII, which granted him a waiver from a ruling that prevented Franciscans from obtaining certain preferments.<sup>7</sup> As Marshall concludes, «Jofre, then, enjoyed a successful career as ecclesiastic and diplomat».<sup>8</sup>

Jofre de Foixa is best known for his works on grammar and poetry, the *Regles de trobar* and the *Doctrina de compondre dictats*, both of which were edited by John Marshall in 1972. Marshall describes his

57-66; Id., *Cheese, Pears, and History in a Proverb*, trans. Beth Archer Brombert, New York 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Ettore Li Gotti, *Jofre de Foixà. Vers e regles de trobar*, Modena 1952, p. 10, note 13.

<sup>5</sup> These details are taken from John H. Marshall, *The Razos de trobar of Raimon Vidal and Associated Texts*, London 1972, pp. lxxii-lxxiii.

<sup>6</sup> See Eduardo González Hurtebise, «Jofre de Foixà (... 1267-1295). Nota biográfica», in *Congrés d'història de la Corona d'Aragó*, 2 vols., Barcelona 1910-1913, vol. II, pp. 521-535 and 1171-1172, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> This document was printed by Antoine Thomas, «Extraits des archives du Vatican pour servir à l'histoire littéraire», *Romania*, 10, 1881, pp. 321-333; by Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, «Notes sobre les Regles de trobar de Jofre de Foixà y sobre les poesies que li han atribuit», *Estudis universitaris catalans*, 1, 1907, pp. 234-256 on pp. 255-256 and by Antoni Rubió y Lluch, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-èval*, 2 voll., Barcelona 1908-1921, vol. I, pp. 12-13.

<sup>8</sup> Marshall, *The Razos de trobar of Raimon Vidal*, p. lxxiii.

other works in these terms: «He left behind three courtly songs and a satirical *cobla*. ... The lyric pieces are unremarkable».<sup>9</sup> When he composed these lyric pieces is unknown (see below).

The specific circumstances of the two *coblas* of interest to us here are also unknown; they present two different scenes. In the first stanza, we have a description of the elements of sumptuous feast, complete with variations depending on the season (one wine in Springtime, a different beverage in winter). In the second stanza, we have the description of a meal to be avoided, from the diseased source of the meat to the vinegary wine, served in connection with a sad moment on the Christian calendar. Such a litany of disgusting victuals is found in a tradition of curse-poems, from the time of Tibullus (55-19 BC) through Pseudo-Ovid's *De Vetula*.<sup>10</sup> Given his education, Jofre was certainly aware of this literary tradition and may invoke it with these *coblas*.

This lyric inclines towards the genre of *plazer-enueg*, in which an author sets two different scenes, one pleasing, the other not. Jofre does not seem to recognize this distinct genre in his rhetorical treatises, however. He himself comes closest to a description of the *plazer-enueg* when he speaks of the genre of *cobla esparsa*: «Si vols fer cobles esparses, potz les far en qual so te vulles. E deus seguir les rimes del cant de que trayras lo so; e atressi les potz far en altres rimes. E deven esser dues o tres cobles e una o dues tornades».<sup>11</sup> He adds later, «Cobles esparses son dites per ço cobles esparses cor se fan esparsament, en qual so te vulles. Empero coven se que li seguesques hom manera axi com a canço».<sup>12</sup> As Marshall notes, Jofre's observation of borrowing «can be verified on almost any page of Frank's *Répertoire métrique*».<sup>13</sup> If we use Jofre's description to analyze our lyric, we observe that the two *coblas* are not followed by a *tornada* – the two stanzas that we have are possibly incomplete. The anonymous author of another treatise, found in Ripoll manuscript 129, agrees on the

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>10</sup> See Robert A. Taylor, «*L'altrier cuidai aber druda* (PC 461, 146). Edition and Study of a Hybrid-Language Parody Lyric», in *Studia Occitanica in memoriam Paul Rémy*, ed. Hans-Erich Keller *et al.*, 2 vols., Kalamazoo 1987, vol. II, pp. 189-210, for details on this theme.

<sup>11</sup> Marshall, *The Razos de trobar of Raimon Vidal*, p. 97.

<sup>12</sup> Marshall, *The Razos de trobar of Raimon Vidal*, p. 98.

<sup>13</sup> Marshall, *The Razos de trobar of Raimon Vidal*, p. 140.

presence of a *tornada* in the *cobla esparsa*: «Cobles no son sino .ij., ab una tornada qui.s fa a la dona d'aquel qui fa les cobles; e son de materia d'acuyndamens».<sup>14</sup>

The two *coblas* are precisely balanced. The first opens with an evocation of four-legged animals (venison, pork), before passing to poultry (capon and chicken). Jofre invokes a cheese course and finishes with two wines. In the second *cobla*, again we begin with a four-legged animal, though in this case, the pork is to be avoided at all costs. There is no poultry, but cabbage instead, a further decline in the quality of the meal evoked. The wine in the second stanza has gone bad; the room is barely lit. In both stanzas, a religious festival is invoked in the seventh line, Easter, a happy moment in the Christian calendar, marking the triumph of Jesus Christ, and All Saints' Day, a moment to remember all who have died for the Catholic faith, as the Occitan term, *Martror*, reminds the reader (Jean Chelini has observed that the Catholic calendar has two peak seasons – Easter and All Saints<sup>15</sup> – the two moments evoked in this lyric). The fifth line of both stanzas works as an internal refrain with the wish of the poet for delivery of his wishes, either for himself or for his target audience.

One point of scholarly disagreement is whether Jofre composed only the first stanza or both *coblas*. Li Gotti explicitly took the view that there are two authors, but he buried this statement in a footnote, far from the text itself.<sup>16</sup> He interpreted the text as a dialogue, printing the first *cobla* in normal font, the second in italics, with these titles: *Hoc dixit monachus de Fuxano* and *Responcio sibi facta*, both found in the manuscript. However, there are at least two interpretations of the scribal rubric *Responcio sibi facta*, either «The response made to himself» (one author) or «The response made to a third party» (two authors); the Latin is open to both readings. Martín de Riquer agreed with Li Gotti, thinking the second *cobla* by some unknown author inclined to name calling.<sup>17</sup> Pierre Bec also suggested two authors, «la

<sup>14</sup> Cited by Marshall, *The Razos de trobar of Raimon Vidal*, pp. 101-102.

<sup>15</sup> Jean Chelini, *Le Calendrier chrétien, cadre de notre identité culturelle*, Paris 1999, p. 31.

<sup>16</sup> Li Gotti, *Jofre de Foixà*, p. 11, note 15: «Credo che la seconda *cobla* ... non sia del Foixà».

<sup>17</sup> Martín de Riquer, *Los trovadores. Historia literaria y textos*, 3 vols., Barcelona 1975, vol. III, p. 1648.

réponse peu amène qui suit est l'oeuvre d'un troubadour inconnu (peut-être un autre moine)»,<sup>18</sup> as did Antonio Petrossi, «indeterminabile è invece l'identità dell'autore dei versi della risposta».<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, Paola Allegretti sees the work as entirely by Jofre, a last example of the genre of *plazer-enueg*.<sup>20</sup> I too believe that Jofre composed both *coblas*. That he does not speak of exchanging *coblas* in his poetic grammars,<sup>21</sup> is an additional argument for his having composed both stanzas, as is the striking parallelism of the *coblas* and the repeated refrain linking the two parts.

I see the two *coblas* as a clever joke. They lend themselves to performance, inviting a dramatic presentation such as those proposed by Evelyn Vitz for other medieval texts<sup>22</sup> – we can imagine Jofre interpreting his lyric physically, miming the activity of eating, drooling over the gourmet meal and then caricaturing himself in the second stanza. While our lyric does not have great literary merit, it is not without quality and serves as yet another witness to the foods and beverages available in medieval Catalonia.

<sup>18</sup> Pierre Bec, *Burlesque et obscenité chez les troubadours. Le contre-texte au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1984, p. 98.

<sup>19</sup> Antonio Petrossi, *Le coblas esparsas occitane anonime. Studio ed edizione dei testi*, Doctoral thesis, Università di Napoli Federico II, Napoli 2009, p. 450. This work is also available on line: [www.fedoa.unina.it/3772/1/petrossi.pdf](http://www.fedoa.unina.it/3772/1/petrossi.pdf).

<sup>20</sup> Paola Allegretti, «*Parva componere magnis*. Una strofa inedita di Bernart de Ventadorn (*BdT* 70,33) e due schede per *BdT* 461,127», *Rivista di studi testuali*, 1, 1999, pp. 9-28, on p. 26. Petrossi also saw the work as close to the genre of *plazer* and its contrary, the *enueg*.

<sup>21</sup> See Marshall, *The Razos de trobar of Raimon Vidal*, p. 140; and also Marshall on the Ripoll theorist, p. 141.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. Evelyn Vitz, «Performing Saintly Lives and Emotions in Medieval French Narrative», in *The Church and Vernacular Literature in Medieval France*, ed. Dorothea Kullmann, Toronto 2009, pp. 201-213.

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Ms.: Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 309, fol. 35v (old numbering). Li Gotti, p. 21, speaks of the manuscript in these terms: «una miscellanea trecentesca anch'essa catalana». According to Anna Gudayol Torelló (electronic communication with author, 17 February 2011), the volume is composed of separate quires from different provenances with different original foliations.

*Critical editions:* Jaume Massó Torrents, «A propos d'une pièce inconnue de Jaufré de Foixa», *Annales du Midi*, 36, 1924, pp. 313-318, on p. 316; Ettore Li Gotti, *Jofre de Foixà. Vers e regles de trobar*, Modena 1952, p. 64; Antonio Petrossi, *Le coblas esparsas occitane anonime. Studio ed edizione dei testi*, Doctoral thesis, Università di Napoli Federico II, Napoli 2009, p. 450.

*Other editions:* Martín de Riquer, *Los trovadores. Historia literaria y textos*, 3 vols., Barcelona 1975, vol. III, p. 1648 (ll. 1-8); Pierre Bec, *Burlesque et obscenité chez les troubadours. Le contre-texte au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1984, p. 98; Paola Allegretti, «Parva componere magnis. Una strofa inedita di Bernart de Ventadorn (BdT 70,33) e due schede per BdT 461,127», *Rivista di studi testuali*, 1, 1999, pp. 9-28, p. 26.

*Versification:* a7 b7 b7 c7 c7 d7 d7 e7' (Frank 714:8). Two *coblas unisonans*. Rhymes a: -ol, b: -el, c: -an, d: -or, e: -erna. Petrossi reminds us that Paolo Canettieri, *Il gioco delle forme nella lirica dei trovatori*, Roma 1996, p. 208, suggested a model for these rhymes in Arnaut Daniel's *canço*, *La lauzet'e-l rossignol* (BdT 29.3). A similar structure was used by Bertran de Born (*Molt m'es descendre car col*, BdT 80.25), Aimeric de Peguilhan (*Li fol e-l put e-l filol*, BdT 10.32) and Peire Vidal (*La lauzet'e-l rossinhol*, BdT 364.25), all of whom used the same rhyme sounds as Jofre (the poets who shared the rhyme scheme of this lyric were all known to Jofre, who quoted them in another of his lyrics). Line 5 in each stanza resembles an internal refrain, with identical rhyme (see Nathaniel Smith, *Figures of Repetition in the Old Provençal Lyric: A Study in the Style of the Troubadours*, Chapel Hill 1976); the three similar lyrics do not have this feature. The poem is not included by István Frank (II, pp. 66-67) in his list of poems with *mots-refrains*.

*Dating:* Li Gotti (pp. 11-12) proposed that Jofre composed his lyrics after 1275 and before 1284, during what would have been the beginning of his religious career. Petrossi, p. 450, suggests a larger window, between 1267 and 1293. There is insufficient evidence to fix a precise date.

*Text:* Li Gotti (however, I print as a single word *Subrafusa*).

I	Subrafusa ab cabirol, porch ab unyo novel, e galina ab juxell, e capo rostit d'un an vul que hom me pos denan, e formatge torrador, e vi rosat en Paschor, e giroflat cant iverna.	4       8
II	Truga vella morta a dol, et al ventre haga porcel, e cols ab magre anyel, . . . . . vul que hom li pos denan aqueu monge enguanador, e vi torbat part Martror, e haja foc de lentera.	   12     16

I. A sauce served over venison, pork with fresh onion, chicken with parsley sauce and roasted year-old capon I wish that I could get some right now, and roasted cheese and rosé wine at Eastertime and a spiced wine in winter.

II. An old sow who died in pain, with a piglet in her belly and cabbage with scrawny lamb [...] I wish that he could get some right now, that deceiving and deceived monk and wine gone bad, in the season of martyrs/November and may he eat by lantern-light.

In order to resolve vocabulary issues, I have used both time-honored reference works, as well as culinary texts that help explain elements of the poem. These latter texts were composed shortly after Jofre wrote his ditty, close enough in time to provide useful information for the modern reader.

The first of these culinary texts is a Catalan recipe collection, known as the *Libre de Sent Soví*, composed in the first half of the fourteenth century (Joan Santanach, *The Book of Sent Soví: Medieval Recipes from Catalonia*, trans. Robin M. Vogelzang, Barcelona-Woodbridge 2008). Now extant in one manuscript (Universitat de València, Biblioteca Històrica, MS 216, a fifteenth-century copy), this recipe collection appears to have been well-known in the late medieval period; it formed the basis for several subsequent collections, including the *Llibre d'aparellar de menjar* and the *Llibre de totes maneres de potatges* (Santanach, *The Book of Sent Soví*, p. 12).

The second is a text that may be considered the closest equivalent to a medieval Occitan cookbook, a work entitled the *Modus viaticorum preparandorum et salsarum* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 8435), known as the *Modus* for short (*Trois réceptaires culinaires médiévaux: Les Enseignemenz, les Doctrine et le Modus. Edition critique et glossaire détaillé*, Diss. Université de Montréal, Montréal 1989). This Latin text with Occitan contamination has been localized to the Languedocian region of Occitania. Its recipes are also specific to that Mediterranean region.

A third recipe collection, that of Mestre Robert de Nola, the *Libro de guisados, manjares y potajes intitulado Libro de cozina*, is much later than our text: we have copies of the book as first published in Barcelona in 1520 and in several later editions; scholars have suggested it might date from the end of the previous century (Carmen Iranzo, *Roberto de Nola. Libro de cozina*, Madrid 1969, p. 9; Veronika Leimgruber, *Mestre Robert. Libre del coch, tractat de cuina medieval*, Barcelona 1977, p. 15).

1. The term *subrafusa* has caused some difficulty. Bec and Riquer published it as a single word; Li Gotti and Petrossi printed it as two separate words. It is no doubt to be explained by the Catalan word *subrefusa*, a sauce (see *DCVB*, s.v. *subrefusa*), entirely appropriate here. In the context of this poem, such a translation makes good sense. The *Modus* uses the term *sobrefusa* without explanation (recipe 33). Carole Lambert understood the word in that context as an onion sauce (*Trois réceptaires culinaires médiévaux*, p. 294). Compare the *Sent Soví* recipe for Porriol (an onion sauce), below. Jaume Fàbrega points to contemporary Andalusian cuisine, where a *sobrehúsa* sauce is defined as a fish sauce, with onions, garlic, and goat's milk (*La Cuina del país dels Càtars. Cultura i plats d'Occitània, de Gascunya a Provença*, Barcelona 2003, p. 20); he offers a recipe for «Cabirol amb sobrefusa» (p. 82) based on recipes found in the *Libre de Sent Soví*.

2. The phrase *unyo novel*, has not elicited comment; it may represent the only use of the term *unyo*, meaning *onion*, in Catalan. As the *FEW* observes, the Latin etymon *ŪNIO* established itself in the French-speaking world and spread from there into neighboring Germany and England. The term is found in the northern parts of the Occitan-speaking region and in Gascony. However, «Das übrige occit. hat an *CĒPA* festgehalten», a statement supported by the absence of the term in all Catalan dictionaries I have consulted (*DCVB*; *DECLIC*; *GDLIC*, *DIEC*). In the *COM 2*, we find few other instances of 'onion' from the etymon *ŪNIO*. A first case occurs in an anonymous pair of *coblas*, *BdT* 461.127, which begins, *Ges c'om eschiu suis per no-mondas mans*. The orthography of this text as printed in *COM* points to the northern Occitan area (consider words such as *tochada* [l. 5] and *auchas* [l. 12]), consistent with where one might find *onhos* (l. 15). However, *COM 2* prints Kolsen's text (Adolf Kolsen, «Fünf provenzalische Dichtungen», *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 39, 1938, p. 159); the German scholar offered *onhos* for his rejected



reading of *oillos*. Paola Allegretti, who has since edited the text, restores *oillos* at this point (Allegretti, «*Parva componere magnis*», p. 16), a different *hapax*, which she understands as pointing to a Tuscan *fagioli all'uccelletto* (Allegretti, «*Parva componere magnis*», p. 21). Whether the anonymous author intended *oillos* or *onhos* we will never know; in either case, the example is distant from Catalonia. The other example occurs in a different pair of *coblas* connected to Raimon de Miraval, *Er avem N'Ait de Borbo*, *BdT* 406.10a, whose eighth line reads: «si·l datz faisols ab ugnos», linking beans with onions. The editor of Raimon de Miraval is categorical: «Rien n'autorise à croire que ces coblas ... soient de Miraval» (Leslie T. Topsfield, *Les Poésies du troubadour Raimon de Miraval*, Paris 1971, p. 54). Given some of the orthographies in this text, again markers of northern pronunciation (*vacha*, l. 16, *bocho*, l. 11), we have another example of a northern text, from the area where the word for 'onion' would derive from *ŪNIO*, again distant from Catalonia. If the feast does occur at Eastertime, then new onions are a logical luxury. In our own times, the Catalan community of Valls has an annual festival known as the *calçotada*, a celebration of new onions; see «Valls fête l'oignon dimanche», *Dépêche du Midi* (21 janvier 2011, p. 10 and Valls, ville d'origine, «La Calçonada, plus de cent ans de calçotades», brochure distributed by *la Dépêche du Midi*, 16 January 2011. The Catalan city of Vic is known satirically as the city of onions (*DCVB*, s.v. *ceba*). The *Sent Soví* offers a recipe for Porriol (onion sauce) with the implication that one serve this sauce over fowl («Si vols fer porriol, pren ceba tallada, e ab sal coga en aigua freda. E escurri-la moltes vegades, e fes-la-hi poc bullir ab greix de porc. E puis mit-hi vinagre e pebre e sal e aigua; e no sia massa forts. E mit-hi tots los quarters entregeus», Santanach, *The Book of Sent Soví*, p. 154 and note on p. 155).

3. Riquer suggests that *juxell* is parsley (III, p. 1648); *Bec*, a kind of dish or bouillon-based soup, with cheese, meat broth, eggs and parsley (p. 99). Modern Catalan uses the term *julivert* or *jujvert* (*DCVB*, s.v. *julivert*). The *Sent Soví* offers a recipe for «Salsa verd», with several suggestions for variations (sweetened, thickened with toasted bread, or thinned with vinegar) depending on the dish it might accompany («Si vols fer salsa verd, hages fulla de juivert e, lo tendre, llava'l e eixuga'l al sol u sens sol. E pica'l molt ab canyella e gingebre e clavells, pebre e avellanes torrades. Amesura-ho de casc'u e tasta-ho, e si veus que la una cosa sap més que l'altra, trempa-ho per equal. E destrempa-ho ab vinagre; e lo vinagre parega-hi més. E pot-hi hom metre pa torrat banyat ab vinagre. Mit-hi mel o sucre a hom delicat o a malalt», Santanach, *The Book of Sent Soví*, p. 82). The *Modus* also has a recipe for «Salsa julverti» (number 6: «Ad faciendum salsam julverti simplicem vel compositam, recipe de julverti, de pane et unum parum de allis. Et mole et distempera cum aceto», Lambert, «Trois réceptaires culinaires médiévaux», p. 137). Finally, Mestre Robert offers a recipe for «Jolivertada», made with parsley, ground cloves, white bread and verjuice (Number 159, Leimgruber, *Mestre Robert*, p. 95), which yields a thick and very green sauce, «fes que sia ben espès e ben vert».

4. Roast capon is well-known as a festive dish. Matfre Ermengaud in-

cluded it among the gifts traditionally shared at Christmastime; consider his «Letter to his Sister» where he discusses the bird's metaphorical value (Wendy Pfeffer, «Christmas Gifts in Medieval Occitania: Matfre Ermengaud's Letter to His Sister», in *Courtly Arts and the Art of Courtliness: Selected Papers from the 11th Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2004*, ed. Keith Busby and Christopher Kleinhenz, Suffolk 2006, pp. 517-526). Jofre de Foixa is not seeking a culinary metaphor; he wants a good meal. The *Sent Soví* offers no recipe for roast capon, perhaps because the dish was so well-known, it needed no detailed explanation. There is, however, a recipe for stuffed capons, with details on cleaning the bird and preparing the stuffing (Santanach, *The Book of Sent Soví*, p. 170).

6. Roast cheese makes good sense here. Bec (p. 99) understood this phrase to mean a kind of cream made of bits of cheese, meat bouillon, beaten eggs and sugar, in line with the recipe for «Bon formatge torrador» offered by Mestre Robert (Number 133, Leimgruber, *Mestre Robert*, p. 82). Fàbrega thinks of Jofre's dish as an ancestor of today's «Swiss fondue» (*La Cuina del país dels Càtars*, p. 87). It may represent a dish similar to the baked camembert frequently served today in US restaurants, a small whole cheese baked in a pastry crust. Alcover and Moll offer a medieval example of *formatge torrador* which could be shipped (DCVB, s.v. *torrador*), suggesting that baking cheese might also facilitate packaging. We know that cheese was appreciated at the end of the meal (see Santanach, *The Book of Sent Soví*, note on p. 129), and the *Sent Soví* offers a recipe for cheese fritters which calls for frying («Si vols donar llesques de formatge ben gras, fes llesques del formatge ben grosses. Aprés hages de la pasta llevada, com damunt és dit, e mescla-la ab vermells d'ous e fes-ho molt debatre ab una cullera. E puis unta'n la llesca del formatge dessus e dejús, e mit-la en la paella ab del greix damunt dit. Gira-la adés adés. E, quan serà cuïta, tra-la e mit-hi sucre dessus e dejús», Santanach, *The Book of Sent Soví*, p. 130), but I suspect that thick slices of cheese, covered by an appropriate bread-batter, could also have been baked, leading to a roast cheese dish, albeit a dish that might not travel well. As the *Sent Soví* offers a second recipe for a fritter, «Bunyols», made with grated cheese (Santanach, *The Book of Sent Soví*, p. 132), it seems evident that dishes such as these were appreciated in fourteenth-century Catalonia. The several editions of Mestre Robert's cookbook also offer recipes for items that might approach cheese fritters (e.g. «Reuanadas o tajadas de queso fresco que es fruta de sarten» [Iranzo, *Roberto de Nola*, p. 103], «Fruta de queso fresco» [Iranzo, *Roberto de Nola*, p. 109], «De lesques de formatge freschs» [number 129, Leimgruber, *Mestre Robert*, p. 81] or «Bones toronges de Zàtiva» [number 134, Leimgruber, *Mestre Robert*, p. 83]. His recipe for «Formatge torrador» calls for draining a cheese similar to a buffalo mozzarella, combining the cheese with a meat broth, and cooking these together slowly. Into each serving bowl, he adds a well-beaten egg yolk and pours the melted cheese over the egg, followed with a bit of powdered sugar [Leimgruber, *Mestre Robert*, pp. 82-83] – in some respects this recipe leans to an early instance

of cheese fondue, compare Isabelle Raboud-Schuele, «Comment la fondue vint aux Suisses», in *L'Alimentation en montagne*, ed. Gilles Boëtsch and Annie Hubert, [Gap] 2007, pp. 153-161.

7. Rosé wines were not as common as red wines in the medieval period, but they were certainly consumed. It may be that Jofre is increasing the value of his repast by including this less frequent beverage. Fàbrega suggests this is the first documented reference to a rosé wine (Fàbrega, *La Cuina del país dels Càtars*, p. 21).

8. Heated wines and spiced wines were frequently served at medieval tables. Cloves (*clous de girofle* in French, *girofle* in Catalan) have given the name to this beverage. Alcover and Moll define *giroflat* as «of the color of cloves» (*DCVB*, s.v. *giroflat*), which explanation may tell us something of the appearance of the beverage, not so much red as brown.

9. The author describes what is perhaps the worst possible meat. The animal was not properly butchered, but has simply dropped dead; it is, furthermore, the female of the species, something often avoided for reasons that are more anthropological than rational. The anonymous text *L'altrier cuidei aver druda* (*BdT* 461.146) also offers old sow, «velha truda», as an insulting food offering. The vocabulary of cuisine today tends to avoid female terms to describe meat: in English-speaking countries, people eat beef, not cow; in French-speaking countries, *le boeuf*, not *la vache* is consumed. In fourteenth-century Occitania, to call someone a sow, «una trueia», is the worst of insults (see Jean Duvernoy, *Le Registre d'Inquisition de Jacques Fournier (1318-1325)*. *Manuscrit Vat. Latin no 4030 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*), 3 vols., Toulouse 1965, vol. I, § 194b). On the other hand, the anonymous lyric mentioned earlier (*BdT* 461.127) also counts cow, *la vach[a]* (l. 9), as something that could be eaten, with no apparent denigration of the meat.

10. The mention of the piglet in the belly of the sow increases our aversion and may refer to some kind of taboo.

11. Compare *cols* to Modern Catalan *col*. The description of this dish, cabbage with hardly any meat added, is part and parcel of the meager meal offered in this stanza. I find no recipe in the *Sent Soví* nor in the *Libro de cozina* of Mestre Robert for simple cabbage and meat, though Mestre Robert does tell his readers how to prepare cabbage leaves to serve as a complement to a meal (Number 120, «de troços de cols», Leimgruber, *Mestre Robert*, pp. 76-77). A number of culinary historians have suggested that the normal peasant meal in the late Middle Ages was based on cabbage (e.g. Louis Stouff, *Ravitaillement et alimentation en Provence aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, Paris - The Hague 1970, *passim*); perhaps Jofre is setting another menu item that would have been so normal as to offer no gustatory pleasure at all. Alternatively, one can understand the reference in this line as pointing to *mique*, a cabbage-wrapped breadstuff (one modern recipe for *mique* calls for cubed bread, mixed with eggs, fat, bacon and cornmeal; formed into a single large dumpling; simmered in a soup pot in bouillon, and served with a cabbage soup; see

Anne Penton, *Customs and Cookery in the Périgord and Quercy*, South Devon House Newton Abbot Devon 1973, pp. 149-150) and offered as a special dish during the season of All Saints' Day (see Rolande Bonnain, «The Bread of the Dead, or One Use of a Forgotten Cereal», *Food and Foodways*, 5, 1992, pp. 199-200).

12. Robert Taylor suggests that perhaps the missing line was omitted on purpose, because Jofre named himself in it – with the rhyme word Foissan – this name serving as antecedent for the pronoun *li* in the following line (electronic communication to author, 9 June 2011).

15. The term *vi torbat* means, literally, disturbed or muddied wine. The sense is surely wine that has turned to vinegar, making it undrinkable. At the beginning of November, we are past the season of the grape harvest; new wine would have been available, whereas a wine from the previous year's harvest would more likely have turned, given the difficulties of putting wine up during this period. — *Martror* is All Saints' Day, November 1, a date set by the ninth century (Jean Chelini, *Le Calendrier chrétien, cadre de notre identité culturelle*, Paris 1999, p. 38). According to Chelini, the festival of All Saints was linked to All Souls, November 2, as early as the tenth century; by the thirteenth century, the two days were considered as a single feast (Chelini, *Le Calendrier chrétien*, p. 38). Other Occitan authors who use the expression include Guilhem de Berguedan (*BdT* 210.14, l. 35), Johan de Castellnou (*Rialc* 34.8, l. 15) and Guilhem de Tudela (several times in the *Canso de la crosada*: laisses 178, l. 20; 179, l. 52; 191, l. 119; 209, l. 20) – all authors with ties to Spain. According to Alcover and Moll, *Martror* is found in Catalan documents from circa 1285 and circa 1315 (*DCVB*, s.v. *Martror*). Rolande Bonnain notes associations of All Saints' Day and *la mique* («The Bread of the Dead», p. 200).

16. I thank Jacques Gourc for the suggestion that Jofre is contrasting the setting of the treacherous monk, in a room that is barely lit, with the large and open fire that would both heat and illuminate a more festive occasion such as that evoked on the first *cobla*.

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References

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## Abbreviations

- BdT* Alfred Pillet, *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, ergänzt, weitergeführt und herausgegeben von Henry Carstens, Halle 1933.
- COM 2* *Concordance de l'occitan médiéval (COM 2). Les troubadours, Les textes narratifs en vers*, ed. Peter T. Ricketts, CD-rom, Turnhout 2005.
- DCVB* Antoni M. Alcover i Francesc de B. Moll Casanovas, *Diccionari català-valencià-balear*, 10 vols., Palma de Mallorca 1930-1962.
- DECLIC* Joan Coromines, *Diccionari etimològic i complementari de la llengua catalana*, 9 vols., Barcelona, 1980-1991.
- DIEC* Institut d'estudis catalans, *Diccionari de la llengua catalana*. Barcelona 1995.
- FEW* Walther von Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Eine Darstellung des galloromanischen Sprachschatzes*, 14 vols., Bonn ecc. 1922-2001.
- Frank István Frank, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie des troubadours*, 2 vols., Paris 1953-1957.
- GDLIC* Jesús Giralt i Radigales *et al.*, *Gran Diccionari de la llengua catalana*. Barcelona 1998, 2003.
- Rialc* *Repertorio informatizzato dell'antica letteratura catalana. La poesia*, ed. Costanzo Di Girolamo, online, 1999ss.