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Beyond the Mirror: Joufroi de Poitiers and the Poetical Background of its Author

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Resum

Come è stato a più riprese osservato, il *Joufroi de Poitiers*, romanzo d'autore borgognone collocabile verso la metà del XIII secolo, si ispira molto da vicino alla figura di Guglielmo IX d'Aquitania, grande signore e primo trovatore di cui ci siano giunti i componimenti. Ma a quali materiali si ispira veramente l'autore del Joufroi? Alla *vida* provenzale conservata, o piuttosto a una più ampia biografia latina perduta, o ad altri testi ancora? La presente ricerca cercherà di mettere in luce quali siano state le effettive fonti del romanzo e di abbozzare un'ipotesi che spieghi le motivazioni di questi recuperi.

Paraules clau:

Abstract

As has been repeatedly noted, *Joufroi de Poitiers*, a novel written by a Burgundian author and composed around the middle of the thirteenth century, is based very closely on the figure of William IX of Aquitaine, great lord and first troubadour whose poems have been compiled. But what materials did truly inspire the author of Joufroi? The extant Provençal *vida*, or rather a lost broader Latin biography, or still other texts? This research will try to shed light on what were the actual sources of the novel and to outline a hypothesis that explains the motivations of these works.

Key words:

That *Joufroi de Poitiers*, a novel written in octosyllabic couplets, in a French strongly imbued with southeastern traits,[1] blatantly alludes to the historical but, especially, to the legendary events of the life of William IX, Count of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine, has never escaped commentators. The thematic connections between the plot of *Joufroi*[2] and the series of rumours—between scandalized and humorous—which quickly turned the first troubadour into an unorthodox, even negative, model of sexual behavior have been more or less clearly highlighted at least from the review of Camille Chabaneau of the first edition of the novel onwards, edited by Konrad Hofman e Franz Muncker (Chabaneau 1881).

The problem, which Chabaneau had already noted, were the sources used by the author of *Joufroi*. It is indeed difficult to think of him as a kind of erudite, who perused annals and old chronicles to put together an accurate summary of the scandals and sexual exploits of which William was the alleged protagonist ... But it is also difficult, at least at first, to think that his only inspiration may have been the meager Provençal *vida*, as well as the narrow manuscript tradition which passed it on:

> Lo coms de Peitieus si fo uns dels majors cortes del mon e dels majors trichadors de domnas, e bon cavalliers d'armas e larcs de dompnejar; e saup ben trobar e cantar. Et anet lonc temps per lo mon per enganar las domnas. Et ac un fill, que ac per moiller la duquessa de Normandia, don ac una filla que fo moiller del rei Enric d'Englaterra, maire del Rei Jove e d'En Richart e del comte Jaufre de Bretaingna (Boutière, Schutz 1964: 7).

Chabaneau (and, after him, most of the scholars of *Joufroi*), endorsed the indication, offered by ll. 2324-32 of the novel, about the existence of a written Latin source—certainly *antiquissima*, as all worthy sources should be—preserved in the cathedral of Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul in Maguelone, which would have been simply translated into French and versified. On this basis, he put forward the hypothesis that, perhaps not too far from his death, the Duke of Aquitaine had actually become the protagonist of a Latin life, already very romanticized, which contained, in practice, all the narrative elements that would be reflected in *Joufroi*.

However, taking into account the Ockhamist golden principle that advises against multiplying entities *praeter necessitatem*, the actual necessity of postulating the existence of this mysterious Latin biography is questionable. Moreover, as John Grigsby—who authored with Percival B. Fay

[1] See, in this regard, the considerations of Fay, Grigsby 1972: 29-48.

[2] For the convenience of the reader, I will briefly recall the plot of the novel on the basis of the summary provided by Ruby 1992: 871: "Le roman raconte les diverses aventures de Joufroi, fils du comte Richier de Poitiers et […] d'Aliénor. Après une éducation chevaleresque en Angleterre, au terme de laquelle il combat pour défendre l'honneur de la reine Halis, Joufroi retourne à Poitiers et délivre une dame, Agnès de Tonnerre, prisonnière de son mari jaloux. Suivent diverses aventures du héros, en Angleterre à nouveau, avec son compagnon Robert – ils portent, entre autres, secours au roi Henri contre le roi d'Écosse et d'Irlande – et Joufroi se marie avec une fille de riches bourgeois, dont il convoite la dote et qu'il abandonne par la suite. Après avoir été recherché à la cour anglaise par le troubadour Marchabrun, Joufroi rentre à Poitiers assiégé par le comte de Toulouse, non sans avoir eu avant son départ une aventure assez leste avec la reine Halis. Il remporte la victoire sur le comte de Toulouse, grâce en partie à Robert; la paix reviendra avec le mariage du héros et de la fille du comte."

the reference critical edition of our text—also noted, the final lines of the Provençal *vida* of the *Coms de Peitieus* already includes names that will then be used by at least three characters of the novel: Enrico, Riccardo, and Goffredo, not to mention that "la reine Aliénor est mentionnée aussi sans être nommée" (Fay, Grigsby 1972: 20). One might add that the imaginative genealogy of Eleanor herself, who, according to the Provençal biographer, was the daughter of an unspecified "Duchess of Normandy," already hints at a tendency to rebuild kinship relationships in a very casual way, a trend that the author of *Joufroi de Poitiers* will take to the highest degree, mixing families and generations. Eleanor becomes the mother of Joufroi, whereas Richard is his father, and King Henry of England is only a few years older than the protagonist (in fact he will be the one to *adouber* the young and lively son of the Count of Poitiers), and so on. Even the name change (from William to Joufroi) could be explained by the fact that the *vida* assigns no name to its "coms de Peitieus".[3]

The extant Provençal biography, the alleged existence of a Latin biography of William of Aquitaine, and even the eventual, although unlikely, evidence of the pages the outraged chroniclers had dedicated to the questionable exploits of the Duke, fail to explain beyond doubt a curiously enough fact. The character of Joufroi lacks the trait that most conspicuously characterized the historical figure of William: his quality as a poet. The novel never mentions the poetic production of the protagonist, not even at the most simple level, that is, some kind of activity as a performer. Yet we know that in the thirteenth century, where the action of the novel is set, the exercise of the composition and/or execution of lyric poetry was considered quite worthy of the aristocracy. This fact is even more strange bearing in mind that, obviously, the author of *Joufroi de Poitiers* had to know very well not only the poetry of William IX, but also troubadour poetry in general. Alfons Hilka, reviewing the Streng-Renkonen edition of *Joufroi*, showed how, in a few cases, the novel borrows almost word for word several lines of the first troubadour.[4]

I will show in a moment that the group of passages extracted from William's works, but also from the works of other Occitan poets (mostly from the early period) can be explained better, and further extended. For now I will just point out a fact that seems important to me. The lyrical knowledge of the author of *Joufroi de Poitiers*, and not only in relation with William's production, is integrated into the text only at a very superficial level: as pure ornaments for the discourse of the author or as trivial ideas for the plot. Therefore, this is a very different path from that taken in the later *Roman du Chastelain de Coucy*, in which the plot is constructed as a sort of ongoing—and hypertrophic— *razo* of the lyrical texts incorporated. In fact, the inspiration provided by the biography and the knowledge of the poems of William IX did not prevent the author of *Joufroi de Poitiers* from using in the construction of the main lines of his plot ubiquitous motifs of medieval narrative, among others, despite the fact that these did not reflect any situations in which the real Duke of Aquitaine was involved (actually or allegedly).

[3] See Fay, Grigsby 1972: 20, n. 16.

[4] Hilka 1936. On the second borrowing indicated by Hilka, see also LECCO, 2006: 55-59. Despite the promising title, no new data has been added in Kukułka-Wojtasik 2004.

Starting mainly with the study by Leo Jordan,[5] the sequence of events of the novel has been thoroughly covered revealing a remarkable chain of thematic borrowings. In the opening episode, *Joufroi* develops the famous topic of the woman falsely accused of adultery, in this case, the Queen of England (Aarne-Thompson 1981: K 2110.1 and K 2112). A variation of this motif (that of the so-called *gageure*) appeared already in the *Roman du Comte de Poitiers* (ca 1220), which in its first part, the source of the slightly later *Roman de la Violette* by Gerbert de Montreuil, featured a Count of Poitiers challenged by the Duke of Normandy. The latter bet that he could seduce the wife of the former, and tried to win his bet with a false accusation of adultery. It should be noted that the episode of the *Roman du Comte de Poitiers* curiously ends with the Countess cleared of the false accusation, and obtaining the properties of her accuser, becoming *dame des Normans*. One would wonder if "this" wife of a count of the Poitou who became Duchess of Normandy did not led astray the Provençal biographer of William IX, who was a little disoriented regarding the lineage of the troubadour.[6] But, to return to our text, the thematic borrowings that appear in later episodes are just as obvious. From the famous motif of the so-called *inclusa* (after the title of the novella included in the *Historia Septem Sapientum*), that the *Joufroi de Poitiers* shares, as is known, with *Flamenca*, to the motif—of Eastern origin, but clearly present in a *chanson de geste* (albeit *sui generis*), such as *Pèlerinage Charlemagne*—of the contest between two lords to determine which one of them is more brave and liberal: here, in contention, we find Joufroi himself and Robert, his friend and companion of adventures.[7] In the final part of the story, when the hero finally gets to enjoy the love of the Queen of England, we find a pattern characteristic of fables for a long time (it has been followed up to Cervantes's *Quixote*):[8] the bed trick. In this case the trick, maliciously orchestrated by Robert, risks dragging the unsuspecting queen into a double adultery.

In short, if it is true that some striking features of *Joufroi de Poitiers* (from the names of the characters to the libertine demeanour of the protagonist) seem to allude to the biography, real or legendary, of William IX, it is equally true that the developments of the narrative have little to do with this biography. But, as I have already noted, the presence of the Duke of Aquitaine and his troubadour colleagues also appears in the novel in another way, through actual quotes and trivial thematic ideas derived from their poetry. The texts of William are obviously involved in this work, but the texts of some other poets of the early generations, from Marcabru to Raimbaut of Orange, plus at least a couple of interesting echoes of later poets, such as Arnaut Daniel and Raimon de Miraval, can also be found.

Here is a quick list of the most significant borrowings. In ll. 32-35 of the prologue, which inaugurate the series of self-reflective interventions where the author alludes to the events of his

[5] Jordan 1920. For a more recent approach, see Bonafin 2006.
[6] This actually proves that the author of the *vida* of William IX (Uc de Saint-Circ, probably) knew the *Roman du Comte de Poitiers* and drew (erroneous) inspiration from it for his genealogical framework, it could also provide a quite accurate *terminus post quem* for the composition of the *vida*.
[7] See Jordan 1920: 195, Grigsby 1986-87 and finally Bonafin 2006: 398-400.
[8] On this matter, see Segre 1993.

own love story, producing psychological analysis and comments on his own moral behaviour and that of his beloved, the quote, sometimes almost literal, from ll. 25-30 of William's *Molt jauzions mi prenc amar*,[9] in which the effects of love are described, stands out. ("Per son joi pot malaus sanar, / e per sa ira sas morir, / e savis hom enfolezir / e belhs hom sa beutat mudar / e·l plus cortes vilanejar / e·l tot vilas encortezir"):

> [Amors] fait de coart ardi,
> saje de fol, de l'eschars large,
> et [le] mauvais cuer [a]soage
> et de vilan fat cortois fin.[10]

A little further on, upon stigmatizing the wicked behaviour of the lovers of the *segle*, so different from the impeccable conduct the author attributes to himself and, above all, to his beloved, we find an evident formal borrowing from ll. 19-21 of one of the most famous compositions of Marcabru, *Dire vos vuoill ses doptanssa* ("Dirai vos d'amor cum migna: / a vos chanta, a cellui gigna; / ab vos parla, ab autre cigna"):[11]

> S'en est li segles plus mauvés,
> quant la fause le faus engigne,
> et cil d'Amor se gabe e guigne,
> e dit, fausse Amor m'a traï (vv. 34-37).

Regarding this quote, it should also be noted that Marcabru appears as a background character in the plot of *Joufroi de Poitiers*. It is him who compels the Count, who is living his shameless adventures at the English court in disguise, to return to his territories, threatened by the Count of Toulouse.[12]

Finally, in the closing lines of the prologue, the author uses a famous metaphor of Arnaut Daniel, albeit twisting its sense, to characterize his own activity, that of the *obrador* poet who pragmatically works as a file:[13]

> E je por che si vos dirai
> une istoire que bien sai,
> que ja ai mis por Amor en rime:
> ne onques n'i ai martel ne lime
> ne nul maistre fors que s'amor.

[9] Hereinafter, the edition of reference for quotes from William IX will be Eusebi 1995a.
[10] This borrowing was already remarked by Hilka 1936. Other similar passages of the work of troubadours such as Peire Rogier, Cercamon or Aimeric de Peguilhan, noted in Sakari 1993: 364-65, are definitely less close to the text of *Joufroi* than the passage from William's work.
[11] Hereinafter, the edition of reference for quotes from Marcabru will be Gaunt, Harvey, Paterson 2000.
[12] On this matter, see Fasseur 2009.
[13] The first person of the verb *limar* and the noun *lima* often appear in strong positions in the poems of Arnaut Daniel. Suffice it to recall *cobla* II of *Canso do·ill mot son plan e prim* ("obri e lim / motz de valor / ab art d'Amor", ll. 12-14) or the first *cobla* of *Ab guai so cuindet e leri* ("A guai so cuindet e leri / fas motz e capus e doli / que seran verai e sert /quan n'aurai passat la lima, / qu'Amor marves plan e daura / mon chantar…") (Eusebi 1995b).

But it should be noted that the combination of the rhyme *rime*:*lime* has an exact (and, to the best of my knowledge, unique in the context of troubadour poetry) counterpart not only in Arnaut, but also in ll. 37-40 of *Aissi·m te amors franc*, a curious composition by Raimon de Miraval—it is probably a composite text, for the metrical pattern of the first two stanzas is significantly changed in the remaining four:

> E mon cor port la lima
> ab que mos cars motz lim,
> e·ls fatz en cara rima
> quar de car loc los rim.[14]

The data just mentioned above suggest that the prologue of the novel (definitely thought by the author as a kind of manifesto of his ideas about courtly love) condenses a particularly high amount of lyrical allusions. The presence of lyrical allusions in the last extant self-reflective sequence (the only extant copy of *Joufroi* is unfortunately mutilated) is not so outstanding, but it is nonetheless significant. In this sequence the novelist suggests that his erotic exploits, unlike those of his character, are proceeding in a far from satisfactory way: the woman he loves does not seem to love him back, and this state of frustration is driving him insane. To give an idea of the madness that now dominates him, the anonymous author blatantly resorts,[15] as has long been noted, to a formal and conceptual borrowing from the renowned *Vers de dreit nien*. Suffice it to recall the initial lines (ll. 4347-51) of this long *tirade*, largely dominated by an anaphoric series conspicuously indebted to the text of the troubadour (see especially ll. 7-8 and 13-14: "No sai en qual hora·m fui natz / no soi alegres ni iratz… // No sai cora·m sui endormitz / ni cora·m veill s'om no m'o ditz"):

> Ne sai si muer o si je vi,
> ne sai que faz ne que je di,
> ne sai quant chant ne quant je plor,
> ne sai si ge ai joie o dolor,
> ne sai quant je dorm ne quant veil.

The reminiscense of William's poem is joined in this extreme reflection of the novelist by at least another one, especially evident in ll. 4369-75:

> chant d'estornel et d'oriol
> et de merle et de roisinol,
> de quinçon, d'aloe et d'aurés
> me sanblent raines en marés.
> Li pre me resenblent livieres,
> et li bois et li puis rivieres.
> Ne sai que soit flor ne verdure…

[14] Quoted after Topsfield 1971.

[15] See Alfons Hilka's review of the edition by Streng-Renkonen of *Joufroi* (Hilka 1936) and more recently, in more depth, Lecco 2006: 55-59, and Meneghetti 2013: 45-46. In my opinion, the comparison proposed by Sakari 1993: 363, with Guillem de Saint-Didier, *Be chantera, si m'estes be d'amor*, ll. 9-10: "No sai si·m muor o viu o veing / o vau…", is less perspicuous.

Here the borrowing, even more syntactic than semantic, involves, if I am not mistaken, the celebrated *Flors enversa* by Raimbaut of Orange:

> … bel plan mi semblon tertre,
> e tenc per flor lo conglapi,
> …
> el tro mi sont chant e siscle,
> e paro·m fulhat li giscle. [16]

Even the most narrative parts of *Joufroi de Poitiers* are scattered with several occasional references to William's lines. Suffice it to recall the *maison* built by Joufroi, disguised as a hermit, with the purpose of receiving (and seducing) the beautiful Agnès de Tonnerre "chambres i ot et bel fornel" (l. 1643). This obviously brings to mind the "chambra" and the "fornel" (*Farai un vers pos mi sonelh*, l. 32) where another Agnès—the "molher d'En Guari"—lodges William, disguised as a pilgrim and ready to seduce both her and her friend Ermessen.

However, within the body of the narration, the unquestionable knowledge of the poetry of the Duke of Aquitaine the author shows prompts in numerous places not only literal borrowings, such as those already pointed out, but also allusive rewordings, which develop in a diegetic manner (maybe toying with the use of antiphrasis), several of the remarks that appear in lyrical texts. In the episode of the seduction of Agnès de Tonnerre, we find the blatant antiphrastic reference to the metaphor on which the most famous *vers* of William, dedicated to the *companhos,* is constructed. In *Companho, farai un vers … covinen*, William talks about the two women between which his heart is divided—Agnès and Arsen—as two horses which their respective owners, his vassals, must put at his disposal in compliance with feudal rights (Pasero 1989: 990-992). In the first part of the episode of the seduction of Agnès de Tonnerre, after having obtained victory in the tournament organized by the lady's husband, Joufroi clearly decides to give the horses that corresponded to him as the champion to the lord of Tonnerre. The horse goes to the husband, whereas, in a future he expects to be at hand, the real prize hidden behind the metaphorical prize corresponds to him …

In my opinion, the enigmatic *tornada* of the *Vers de dreit nien* ("Fait ai lo vers, no sai de cui, / e trametrai lo a celui / que lo·m trameta per autrui, / enves Peitau, / que·m tramezes del sieu estui / la contraclau", ll. 37-42) has also left its mark in the plot of the novel. It shows specificaly in the episode (ll. 2197-2268) of the arrival to the court of Joufroi of a *serjant* who carries a *escrin* [chest] full of jewels; the gift of a misterious admirer—later it will be revealed that the gift comes from none other than the Queen of England, in love with the Count since he defended her against the false accusation of the seneschal. At this point, the original invitation of William, dedicated to a misterious interlocutor in Poitou (according to the version of MS E, adopted by the editor),

[16] Raimbaut d'Aurenga, *Ar resplan la flors enversa*, ll. 10-14 in Pattison 1952.

or maybe in Angiò (according to the version of MS C), to resolve the mystery of the enigmatic writing by exploiting his own intelligence (the *contraclau* to the *estui*) is frivolized, and read as a friendly erotic invite that uses the clear, and ultimately vain, simbology of the container—cases or chests—locked with more or less complicated and irresistible keys.[17]

Finally, another essential allusion to the contents of another of William's compositions, *Companho, non puesc mudar qu'eu no m'effrei*, can be found in ll. 1706-19. Joufroi, disguised as a hermit, convinces the lord of Tonnerre of having made a dangerous mistake when, suffering from a ferocious jealousy, he locked up his wife Agnès in a tower. The argument used by the false hermit is quite simple, almost a common-sense advice: he who locks up his wife and impedes her to frequent, without any dishonest intent, selected people of her own rank, risks that she relates instead with the people at hand, that is, her guardians, which is not commendable either at the social nor the moral level. In order to give grounds to his reasoning, the false hermit resorts to what he himself defines as a popular proverb: "N'oez vos al vilain retraire / que l'aigua boit qui n'a lo vin?" (ll. 1718-19). Although, as the episode of the chest sent by the Queen of England, this scene lacks specific rewordings of the lyrical composition, the whole context, including the proverbial clause, closely recalls the theme of William's *vers*, in which the reclused lady is the one who complains about her *gardadors*. That the author of *Joufroi*, despite not quoting it explicitly, had in mind that poem seems evident. First, the proverb quoted is marked by a clear Provençalism, *aigua*; second, the two testimonies of the proverb in the medieval Gallo-Romance area that most resemble the form of the poem are included in *Joufroi* and in the *vers* of William, which, with a slight variation, or, rather, by recourse to the *expolitio,* sounds as follows: "Non i a negu … / s'om li vedava vi fort per malavei, / non begues enanz de l'aiga que·s lassez morir de sei" (ll. 19-21).[18]

A question arises at this point: on what kind of troubadour tradition may have drawn a poet from southeastern France (probably a southern Burgundian, from the region between the Allier and the Loire)[19] who must have been trained a few decades before the middle of the thirteenth century, that is, at the time when the lyrical songbooks, as we know them, were probably just emerging?

Observing with a little attention the data just described, it is immediately obvious that almost all the texts, mainly by William IX, but also written by other troubadours, in whose works the

[17] It is perhaps worth mentioning that a well-known satirical text of the Galician-Portuguese *trobador* Pero da Ponte (*Maria Pérez, a nossa cruzada*) speaks ironically about the jewel chest—the *maeta*—of the jester Maria Pérez, whose contents are no longer controllable once the lock is lost (Marcenaro 2005).

[18] Thesaurus proverbiorum Medii Aevi 2001: 440-441.

[19] For the sake of brevity, see Sakari 1993: 357, which summarizes the views of several scholars who have studied the location of the text. I will not tackle the problem of the language of the copyist of the only written evidence, placed by the editors of *Joufroi de Poitiers*, even tentatively, in the northern Italian area (Fay, Grigsby 1972: 49-61). I will simply note that all the phenomena they have described as Italian are actually perfectly compatible with Franco-Provençal *scripta*.

author of *Joufroi* seems to have found inspiration (or, rather, to which he wanted to pay homage), are included in MS BNF fr. 856, known to Provençalists with the abbreviation C. At least one characteristic attributable to the *varia lectio* could also corroborate this observation at the textual level. I have shown above that ll. 36-37 of *Joufroi de Poitiers*, denouncing the audacity of those who "d'Amor [that is, *true* love] se gabe e guigne" and then dare to complain about the betrayal of *fausse Amor*, conspicuously air a passage of Marcabru's *Dire vos vuoill ses doptanssa*. A clear and explicit condemnation of those who follow *fals'amor*: "Ab diables pren barata / qui fals'amor acoata" (ll. 49-50), can only be found in the singular version of the composition offered by C, and largely shared by a codex from the Auvergne, as was the copy of *a—a* is in fact a sixteenth-century copy of the lost songbook of Bernart Amoros.[20]

Given that MS C dates from the fourteenth century and it was composed in Narbonne,[21] the source of *Joufroi de Poitiers* can not be the codex we possess, but a distant antecedent, or rather a partial more or less remote model. The identification, if possible, of the matrix and provenance of the source could offer important information about the culture of our novelist and his area of activity.

My analysis here will focus on materials related to the songbook of William IX, whose presence in the narrative fabric is by far the most significant, as we have already seen. Recent studies have confirmed that, as for the versions of the five parts they have in common, manuscript C, in fact the richest evidence of the production of William (it contains seven of the ten texts definitely attributable to the Duke of Aquitaine), closely matches codex E (BNF, fr. 1749, late thirteenth or early fourteenth century),[22] transcribed in the area of Montpellier, but more broadly related to what has been referred to as "eastern Languedocian tradition."[23] It is also worth noting that in *Farai un vers pos mi sonelh*, which is not included in E, the text of C, while contributing important innovations, such as omissions and additions of whole *coblas*, in a few cases joins MS N (New York, Morgan Library, MS 819) in error. MS N is a codex produced in the Veneto, but it remains faithful to an Occitan source in the section devoted to William's work. One of these mistakes is significant for us, because it involves that l. 32 that our novel recalls. In this case, it is therefore reasonable to think that the materials known to the author of *Joufroi de Poitiers* were of higher quality than those later incorporated into the two songbooks, in particular C. As has long been clear, the coincidences (not only in error) between C and N are indeed quite common as far as William's songbook is concerned.[24] This may lead to the reasonable implication that the original version of *Companho, non puesc mudar qu'eo no m'effrei* circulating in the eastern Occitan area and known to our novelist, was not too different from what now is only attested to in N. A final interesting point is the possible error in l. 17 of *Pos vezem de novelh florir* that

[20] In this composition the opening words of the poem sound *Dirai vos senes duptansa*.
[21] Radaelli 2005: 21 summarizes the data related to the dating and location of the manuscript.
[22] Léon Gómez 2012: 27-28; Menichetti 2010-2011: 411-426.
[23] The expression was coined by Zufferey 1987.
[24] For the sake of brevity, see Menichetti 2010-2011: 411-426, which accounts for all the critical discussion above.

appears in CE and *a*. This detail is not specifically interesting for us, as this poem does not seem to have left traces in *Joufroi de Poitiers*. However, it becomes a significant confirmation of a possible movement to the north (to the Auvergne of Bernart Amoros) of eastern Languedocian materials, corroborated by the previously mentioned proximity C*a* in the "alternative" version of Marcabru's *Dirai vos senes duptansa*.

Turning back to the author of *Joufroi de Poitiers'* claim about the existence of a southern source, it seems legitimately questionable that this "source" was a biographical account—more or less broad and more or less imaginative—of the exploits of William IX, as the lines of the novel would have us believe. A collection of poems, perhaps even a small songbook, seems much more likely. This collection could very well be kept in Maguelone, not far from Montpellier, where the novelist could have examined it. One can not of course overlook the opposite hypothesis, namely, that it was not the novelist who travelled south, but the poetic texts that moved north, following, as some stemmatic evidence seems to suggest, the same eastern path "part Alvernhe" that was plausibly travelled by many products of Occitan lyric meant for the French market.

In this second case, the allusion to Maguelone would be a sort of symbolic—or rather metonymic—reference to a region that was the cradle of the southern civilization of which William IX was considered one of the founders, and to which the poet of *Joufroi de Poitiers* certainly wanted to pay tribute with his cryptic anthology of quotes and borrowings. A southern civilization which, in the first decades of the thirteenth century, let us not forget it, was suffering the blows of the northern armies, leaders of the two Albigensian Crusades. Since the Burgundian Gui II de Saint-Pol, Count of Tonnerre on account of his marriage to Agnès de Donzy, who died during the siege Avignon in 1226, took part in the second Crusade, directly promoted by Louis VIII of France, the less than honourable role that *Joufroi de Poitiers* reserves for the husband of Agnès de Tonnerre could represent a kind of subtle posthumous revenge enacted by a novelist who was in love with the troubadours and their message.

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